

MORAL ORDER AND THE INDUSTRIAL  
ENVIRONMENT IN THE WOOLLEN TEXTILE  
DISTRICTS OF WEST YORKSHIRE, 1780-1880

by

Stephen John Daniels

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of how changing ideas of moral order between 1780 and 1880 were expressed in the perception of and designs for the industrial environment. The term 'industrial environment' includes industrial plant, especially textile mills, and built environments that were closely connected with the running of an industrial enterprise, for example workers' housing and public parks. The lives and works of five textile entrepreneurs are examined: the Gotts of Leeds, the Milnes of Wakefield, the Akroyds of Halifax, the Crossleys of Halifax and the Salts of Bradford and Saltaire.

Chapter One is an examination of the theme of moral order and the industrial environment in England from 1780-1830. It considers varying and conflicting moral attitudes to industrial environments, those of poets like Wordsworth and industrialists like Arkwright. It includes a detailed criticism of the novel Shirley by Charlotte Brontë. Chapter Two is an examination of the attitudes of merchants and clothiers to the rise of the factory system in Leeds. Chapter Three considers the life and work of Benjamin Gott and his sons. Gott's attitude to industrial landscape reflected his dual role as a merchant and manufacturer. The careers of two families of Wakefield merchants, the Milnes and the Naylor, are examined in Chapter Four. Chapter Five is an examination of the theme of moral order and the industrial environment in England from 1830 to 1880. It emphasises how some Victorian industrialists attempted to extend their moral influence beyond their factory gates into the places where their workers spent their leisure time. This is seen as an attempt to foster more cordial class relations than existed in manufacturing districts in the 1840s.

This chapter includes a criticism of the novel North and South by Elizabeth Gaskell. The industrial and social changes in early Victorian Halifax are outlined in Chapter Six. Chapters Seven and Eight examine the response of two large manufacturers to class conflict in Halifax in the 1840s. The Akroyds and the Crossleys created and sponsored a wide range of 'model' environments including houses, churches and parks. Chapters Nine and Ten are an examination of the career and influence of Titus Salt. Salt created a model mill village, Saltaire, as an antitype to the squalor, crime and industrial unrest of Bradford where he ran five mills in the 1840s. An assessment is made of how successful the Akroyds, Crossleys and Salts were in their attempts to moralise mill workers. Their moral attitudes are compared with those of the Gotts and the Milnes who made their careers in the period 1780-1830.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PREFACE

The period of this thesis is one of radical change but I am concerned less with explaining the process of change than with recovering states of consciousness and the texture of social relationships during it. There is little causal analysis of such broad developments as the rise of the factory system, the growth of working class consciousness or the extension of bourgeois hegemony; I am more concerned with what these developments meant at a local level, in how they were manifest in particular lives and landscapes. I am not suggesting that theoretical questions are separate from experiential questions, that the factory system had a developmental logic that was independent of changing conceptions of work or the class structure a logic that was independent of changing perceptions of fellowship and authority. I am stating what the emphasis in the main body of the text is. In the conclusion I engage the theoretical implications of the text more directly.

There are many characters in this study, a few with leading parts, more with supporting roles. This theatrical analogy is perhaps inappropriate for it may suggest the manipulation rather than selection of evidence and too neat a narrative and thematic structure. I have, with the minimum intervention, allowed the characters to speak for themselves. This does not mean that their utterances are taken at face value. The varying contexts and conventions of their testimony are established, the better to understand for example the evasiveness of clothworkers when harranged by a Parliamentary Select Committee or the extravagant imagery of middle class slum descriptions. Silences also demand attention. On many issues it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to recover points of view, particularly of those who had little access to the written record or

who only appear in it when they are seen as a problem.

In a recent article Cole Harris discusses some epistemological implications of historical studies that are essentially narrative syntheses not theoretical analyses. He describes the difficulties of combining theoretical enquiry with fundamental historical practice - the close and critical attention to the disparate source material of an often fragmentary historical record. Out of this practice evolves a disposition which Harris calls 'the historical mind'. This seeks an understanding that is "contextual" rather than theoretical and is based not so much on formal investigative procedures as on a deepening familiarity with a particular place and period. Working with eclectic source material it is the habit of "seeing things together".

The historical mind surveys (the) intertwining of values and landscape, enthralled by the connections that open before it but finding them within a particular context ... The historical mind is also contextual in the sense that it takes people as they come. It seeks to understand why people acted as they did, and this means understanding why they thought as they did.<sup>1</sup>

This mode of historical understanding may be called 'humanistic' if, in Louis Mink's words, it "insists on the narration of actions and events in terms which the participants and contemporary observers themselves understood or could have understood".<sup>2</sup> But "understanding why people acted as they did" may also involve narrating their actions in terms which were unavailable to or understood very differently by those people. Some such terms, for example 'alienation', 'community', 'social control', may be derived from particular theories. Yet their function in narrative syntheses may not be to explain events as instances of particular theories. Rather they may be used informally and synoptically as a means of "understand(ing) the interrelationships of particular events, ideas and institutions in their complicated development".<sup>3</sup> Some concepts may be so contentious as to

justify prising them apart from the narrative and scrutinising them more directly. This more analytical mode of enquiry is incorporated in the conclusion of this thesis.

Notes: Preface

1. Cole Harris, "The Historical Mind and the Practice of Geography", in David Ley and Marwyn S. Samuels (editors), Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems (London, 1978), pp. 121-137 (128, 127).
2. Louis O. Mink, "Philosophical Analysis and Historical Understanding". Review of Metaphysics 21 (1967-68) pp. 667-698 (693).
3. Louis O. Mink, "The Autonomy of Historical Understanding", in William H. Dray (editor) Philosophical Analysis and History (New York, 1966), pp. 160-192 (181). See also Stephen Daniels, "Metaphor and Explanation: Some Implications for History and Regional Geography", (Unpublished M.Sc. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975).

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ABBREVIATIONS

- B.M. - British Museum Manuscript Collection
- H.D.A. - Halifax District Archives
- H.O. - Home Office Papers
- J.G.L. - John Goodchild Loan Collection
- L.C.A. - Leeds City Archives
- P.P. - British Parliamentary Papers
- P.R.O. - Public Record Office
- S.P.L. - Saltaire Public Library Local Collection



## INTRODUCTION

Almost any hundred year period in English history may be described as a 'century of change' but the fundamental and qualitative nature of the changes from 1780-1880 justify describing this century as one of revolutionary change. England became the first industrial nation. Both society and environment were transformed and the way people apprehended their environments changed no less radically. In this thesis I examine the various and often conflicting ways contemporaries responded to the changing circumstances of their lives in industrializing areas and in particular how they appraised the relationship between social and environmental aspects of change. The term "response" perhaps implies too great a sense of detachment. Contemporaries were part of the process of change and some by their actions altered the pace and direction of change. The attitudes I will examine are not only those of individuals who described industrial environments but also those of individuals who designed, built, lived in and worked in industrial environments. Changes were often too immediate and urgent for dispassionate observation. Men celebrated and lamented, engaged in and escaped from the circumstances of industrial change.

The term 'industrial environment' needs amplifying. The industry in question is manufacturing industry and almost always textiles. The regional focus of this study is the West Riding of Yorkshire, the main centre of the wool textile industry in England. The 'industrial environment' does not denote a specific type of building or collection of buildings or a particular setting. The industrial environments I will discuss include upland weaving cottages, spinning mills in rural

valleys and urban factory complexes. Also I examine built environments including houses and parks which have no industrial function but which are closely connected with industrial sites.

In a period of radical change it is not surprising that men and women argued vigorously about how they and others should conduct their lives. The changes themselves were often the product of consciously moral decisions. Varying and often conflicting moral notions informed appraisals of and designs for the industrial environment. The fact that clothier homesteads, cloth halls, cropping shops, spinning mills and weaving sheds existed on the ground for the manufacture and sale of cloth should not divert attention from their emblematic status in the moral imagination. Contemporaries were most conscious of the moral significance of industrial environments not when they were well established and running smoothly but when their existence needed to be affirmed or reaffirmed. The puritan ethic of work discipline, which informed the design and organization of factories and the conduct of nonconformist entrepreneurs in modest houses next to their mills, was promulgated with greatest intensity when workers proved indifferent or hostile to discipline and when mill-owners hankered for a mansion in a landscaped park and the easier going religion of the gentry. With its not unconflicting combination of social discipline and economic laissez faire the factory system contravened a sense of moral order among domestic cloth workers. The clothier homestead was sentimentalised in both radical and conservative critiques of the factory system. In the Victorian period the first factory colonies were in turn sentimentalised and contrasted favourably with sprawling manufacturing districts by those anxious to establish a new industrial paternalism. Some of the industrial images

that appeared in explicitly moral discourse were quite fanciful but they cannot be written off as idle fantasies. Some shaped the creation and the destruction of actual industrial environments.

The period under review is divided into two phases: c. 1780-1830 and c. 1830-1880. This division is not a chronological convenience. The historical character of these phases differs significantly if it is difficult to date their beginnings and endings with precision. The first phase is the classic period of industrial revolution in textiles. The revolution in the production of wool textiles was not as sudden as that in cottons nor as dramatic in terms of its expression in the landscape but there was still a radical social and economic transformation sometimes within the dispersed domestic system. This first phase is that of, in E.P. Thompson's phrase, "the making of the English working class". Resistance to the factory system was an integral part of this process of creating class consciousness. The most violent episode in West Yorkshire was the Luddism of 1812. Social conflicts were never cleaved neatly along class lines. There were shifting alliances between manufacturers, merchants, workers and squires. An understanding of these conflicts is essential to an understanding of industrial imagery.

The first five chapters deal with the first phase. The first chapter is a review of English industrial imagery during this phase. I examine the views of tourists, poets and industrialists and a novelist, Charlotte Bronte, who in Shirley raises issues that I take up in the following chapters. In the second chapter I consider the transition to the factory system in the Leeds area from the point of view of merchants, domestic cloth workers and a miller, Joseph Rogerson. The subject of the third chapter is Benjamin Gott, a

merchant who became the largest woollen manufacturer in Leeds. This is the first of six detailed biographical studies in the thesis. The careers of the men in question are examined in the light of changing moral and environmental attitudes, their own and the attitudes of those who were directly affected by their enterprise. The fourth chapter is a study of the Milnes and Naylor families, families of "merchant princes", who were blamed for obstructing the industrial development of Wakefield.

The second phase, c. 1830-1880, was a period of prodigious urban and industrial growth in the worsted manufacturing districts of Bradford and Halifax. The processes of manufacture became more concentrated, more mechanised and more steam powered. Working class consciousness was never more pronounced than in the 1840s. The folk violence that characterised Luddism gave way to the more constitutional activism of the Chartists. Bradford and Halifax were Chartist strongholds. In the 1840s the middle class reformers were anxious about the conspicuous social distance between employers and employed. During the economic prosperity of the following decade some employers instituted schemes to foster class cooperation. Among these schemes were 'model' environments including dwellings, churches and parks. Victorian millowners took a more earnest interest in the conduct of their workers beyond the factory gates than their Georgian forbears. Some, by a combination of social and environmental engineering, attempted to transform their polluted and conflict ridden mill towns into healthy and harmonious centres of civic pride.

Chapters five to ten deal with this second phase. Chapter five is a review of industrial imagery in literature, moral tracts and parliamentary papers. Chapter six is a narrative of the industrial

and social history of Halifax until 1850. This serves as an introduction to the next two chapters on the Akroyds and the Crossleys, the two principal textile manufacturing families in the town. Both attempted to moralise the environment of Halifax with model institutions but their attempts grew out of a two very different relationships with the local Chartist movement. The final two chapters are studies of Titus Salt, probably the most prominent manufacturer-moralist of Victorian times. Chapter nine is an examination of his career in Bradford in the 1830s and 1840s. Chapter ten is a study of Saltaire, the model factory community which he created as an antitype to Bradford.

In this thesis I am as much, sometimes more, interested in what sources disclose about their authors as what they reveal about the world they describe. All historical evidence from landscape painting to statistics, and all reconstructions of that evidence, can be studied for the way they represent the world according to certain conventions. The census enumerators' books are as much "ways of seeing" as paintings, novels or moral tracts. They do not reveal much about the individual psychology of the enumerators but they can be read as expressions of nineteenth-century modes of enquiry. Statistical investigations were organised to define, categorize and analyse areas of life which had, in middle class imaginations at least, become shrouded in a fog of fear and superstition. These investigations were based on a positivist and utilitarian epistemology in which observation and definition were upheld as preconditions of control. This epistemology informed the design not only of statistical investigations but the design also of factories and reformed prisons. It is no coincidence that anti-utilitarians like Wordsworth

and Dickens singled out factories and statistics, both of which treated society as "human aggregate", as prime targets for moral censure.<sup>1</sup> In their very different forms, written documents and built structures articulate a shared convention.<sup>2</sup> They were means not just of interpreting or organizing the world but also of changing it. It is important to emphasise the "conventional" nature of historical evidence because it enables us to discern a common logic to apparently disparate forms of evidence and the convention suggests critical distinctions between sources which appear to be expressing much the same thing. To take, for argument's sake, a rather obvious example. Early West Riding woollen factories provoked the outrage of both touring gentlemen and local domestic cloth workers, but the specific nature of their grievances and their ways of expressing them were quite distinct. Touring gentlemen saw and responded to factories in terms of certain landscape conventions. Domestic clothworkers petitioned Parliament, threatened factory owners and sabotaged machinery. The different perceptions of the weaver at his loom and the gentleman passing in his carriage are not to be explained by the weaver's perception being less environmental and more social than the gentleman's; the relationship between environmental and social aspects of perception was constituted very differently in their minds. We may conjecture that the weaver's local knowledge and his working relationship with cloth production was not conducive to his seeing the factory as part of a landscape, as this way of seeing was constituted in polite culture.<sup>3</sup> But the fact that clothworkers were organized in nationwide unions and regarded machines and factories as symbols of oppression shows that they had the power to abstract, both socially and environmentally, from local circumstances, if this

process of abstraction involved much less of a gap between thought and action than for the gentleman tourist.

Different sources present differing and sometimes conflicting images. If we are rigorous empiricists then the value of representations is their content, if any, of indubitable neutral fact which we may attempt to separate from the dross of emotions and beliefs. We might then arrange sources on a scale of reliability, placing most confidence perhaps in official statistics and reports and being most suspicious of poems and seditious gossip. But if we are interested not just in what happened and why but how events were experienced and imagined; and if we go so far as to claim that we cannot adequately understand the nature of and reason for change unless we reconstruct the contemporary consciousness of change then our evaluation of sources will be necessarily more holistic. The phenomena of this study vary greatly in composition, duration and extent, from landscaped parks to acts of sabotage: experience and imagination constitute not just impressions of these phenomena but the phenomena themselves. The gentleman in his park and the rioters in the crowd picture themselves in their own vastly different ways. The images of the crowd from the park and of the park from the crowd may not correspond with these representations but there is no way of composing an agreed picture by establishing which image best 'fits' reality. "For in the last analysis it is human consciousness which is the subject matter of history", wrote Marc Bloch, "The interrelations, confusions, and infections of consciousness are, for history, reality itself".<sup>4</sup> And that includes the consciousness of historians and of historical geographers.

This thesis mediates two fields of geographic inquiry: historical

geography and environmental perception. The boundaries of these fields are not clearly demarcated but comparatively few have explored or exploited the potentially rich ground where they meet. Those who have include J.K. Wright, David Lowenthal and Hugh Prince and I owe much to their pioneering spirit.<sup>5</sup> An ontology for this mode of enquiry was sketched in 1951 by William Kirk.<sup>6</sup> Twelve years later he expanded his notion of the "geographical environment" as a synthesis between the "phenomenal environment", which includes both natural phenomena and environments built or altered by man, and the "behavioural environment", the perceptual field in which these phenomena are constituted:

When geographers grapple with problems by "experimenting" in the great laboratory of the past or seek to analyse alien environments it is clear that they must recreate not only Phenomenal Environments as they were or are but also the Behavioural Environemnts of the communities whose spatial actions they are trying to interpret. Only then will the<sup>7</sup> Geographical Environment and its problems achieve reality.



Notes: Introduction

1. Asa Briggs, "The Human Aggregate", in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, The Victorian City: Images and Realities (London, 1973), pp. 83-104.
2. My evaluation of sources owes much to a tradition of cultural criticism exemplified most forcibly in this country by Raymond Williams, in the United States by Steven Marcus and in France by Michel Foucault. All have considered the relationship between the design and organization of built environment and the articulation of less concrete cultural formations, especially literature. See Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (London 1973); Steven Marcus, Engels, Manchester and the Working Classes (London 1975); Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish (London, 1977). This tradition converges with a tradition of social history which emphasises the importance of experience and imagination in the constitution of historical events. Its leading practitioner in this country is E.P. Thompson. Thompson's major philosophical statement of this view is "The Poverty of Theory", one of a collection of his essays in The Poverty of Theory (London, 1977).
3. See John Barrell, The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1740-1830: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare (Cambridge, 1972).
4. Marc Bloch, The Historians Craft (1953) p. 151 quoted in Hugh C. Prince, "Real, Imagined and Abstract Works of the Past", Progress in Geography 3 (1971), pp. 1-87 (24).
5. See especially J.K. Wright, Human Nature in Geography: Fourteen papers 1925-1965 (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); David Lowenthal, "The American Scene", Geographical Review 48 (1968), pp. 61-68. D. Lowenthal and H.C. Prince, "English Landscape Tastes", Geographical Review 55 (1965), pp. 186-222.
6. William Kirk, "Historical Geography and the Concept of the Behavioural Environment", Indian Geographical Society Silver Jubilee Souvenir and N. Subrahmanyarn Memorial Volume 26 (1951), pp. 152-160.
7. William Kirk, "Problems of Geography", Geography 47 (1963), pp. 357-371 (366, 368). Two recent reaffirmations of Kirk's notion are Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "Praxis and Theory in the Writing of American Historical Geography", Journal of Historical Geography 4 (1978), pp. 277-290 (286). Kenneth Robert Olwig, "Historical Geography and the Society/Nature 'Problematic': the Perspective of J.F. Schouw, G.P. Marsh and E. Reclus", Journal of Historical Geography 6 (1980), pp. 29-45 (43).

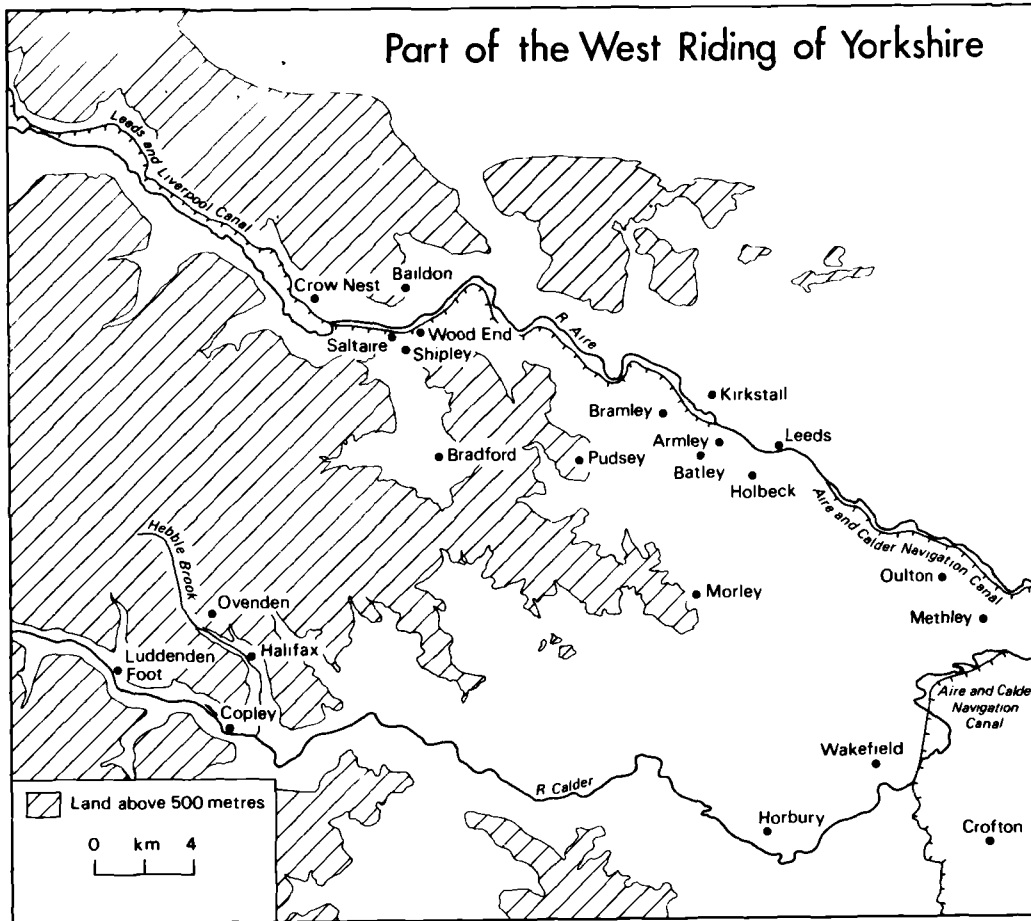


Figure 1 The Textile Districts of West Yorkshire.

CHAPTER ONE

IMAGES OF THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT, 1780-1830

Before the great increase in scale and concentration of manufacture in England towards the end of the eighteenth century many writers expressed an unqualified admiration of industrial scenes. They saw them as industrious scenes. In the early part of the century the Calder Valley near Halifax was densely populated with small farmer-clothiers. Daniel Defoe observed it from a height during his Tour (1724-1726) and "thought it was the most agreeable sight that I ever saw". The "wise hand of Providence" had supplied coal and running water to this "otherwise frightful country" which "however mountainous ... is yet infinitely full of people; those people all full of business; not a beggar, not an idle person to be seen ...". The white drying cloth on scattered tenter grounds sparkled in the sun. Nearer Leeds, where settlement was more concentrated, "the country appears busy, diligent ... a noble scene of industry and application is spread before you here".<sup>1</sup> A quarter of a century later John Dyer described the Calder Valley in his Georgic pastoral The Fleece (1757). "Industry which dignifies the artist, lifts the swain", is a premise which allowed Dyer to domesticate developments from which many of the next generation of tourists and poets recoiled. A spinning machine provides "easy-tended work/that copiously supplies the greedy loom ... These curious instruments of speed obtain/various advantage, and the diligent/supply with exercise ...". A workhouse manufactory is a "delightful mansion ... seat of kind restraint". Manufacture is a stage in the progress of "the homely fleece" which Dyer follows from the valleys of Shropshire to

the trading posts of North America and Asia, a journey which unites the commercial energy of merchants, the hard work of spinners and weavers and the more languid virtues of shepherds.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent commentators were to find the relationships between these styles of life in their associated landscapes much more problematic.

For Dyer and for Defoe scenes of work and production were visually appealing. For William Gilpin, who popularised the Picturesque, the sight but not the idea of a "loitering peasant" was more "pleasing" than that of an "industrious mechanic". In contrast to Dyer, he roundly asserted "the arts of industry are rejected; and idleness, if I may so speak, adds dignity to a character".<sup>3</sup> Not all industrial scenes offended Picturesque sensibilities. Gilpin considered "the broken ground about a copper work near the town (of Neath) would afford hints for a noble landscape".<sup>4</sup> Quarries and open cast mines that provided raw material for disturbing developments elsewhere were in themselves thought agreeably ruinous. But factories announced their purpose in a form as severe and angular as that of a newly enclosed field. Not all travellers of the 1790s were averse to utilitarian landscapes. John Barrell describes how agricultural reporters of the time delighted in scenes of productivity.<sup>5</sup> One reporter, William Marshall, denied the conventional opposition of beauty and utility. In a treatise on landscape gardening he congratulated a landowner for converting a temple into a windmill: "what was before a useless, lifeless fabrick, now stands as an emblem of activity and industry ... a mill is not only a striking instance of the power of human invention, but is frequently a great relief to the poor of the neighbourhood".<sup>6</sup>

It was less easy for his contemporaries to accept useful scenes

and buildings that appeared separate from and opposed to agrarian landscape and society. The Herefordshire squire Uvedale Price developed a social picturesque to include farmland but he failed to domesticate industrial plant. In the 1810 edition of his Essays on the Picturesque he describes his disgust at seeing a new seven storey mill near Matlock: "these monstrous lumps (which) are so placed, they contaminate the most interesting views: and so tall, that there is no escaping from them in any part".<sup>7</sup> The Tory landed interest expressed their outrage at industrial scenes. On a visit to the Yorkshire Dales in 1792, John Byng, later Viscount Torrington, came upon "a great flaring mill" in the "pastoral vale" of Aysgarth.

With the bell ringing, and the clamour of the mill, all the vale is disturb'd; treason and levelling systems are the discourse; the rebellion may be near at hand ... Sir Rd. Arkwright may have introduced much wealth into his family and into the country, but as a tourist I execrate his schemes ... if men thus start into riches, or if riches from trade are too easily procured, woe to us men of middling income, and settled revenue.

Two years earlier Byng had marvelled at Arkwright's seven storey mills at Cromford, which when "filled with inhabitants remind me of a first rate man of war and when they are lighted up on a dark night look most luminously beautiful". But on the same visit, in the summer of 1790, he tempered his enthusiasm for this spectacle when he considered the landscape as a product and expression of general changes in English society which he found profoundly disquieting: "the rural cot has given way to the lofty red mill ... the stream, perverted from its course by sluices and aqueducts ... the simple peasant changed into an impudent mechanic".<sup>8</sup>

Byng's Tory sensibilities were finely tuned to the social and moral implications of landscape change, particularly those changes

which represented an intensively capitalist re-organisation of society. "As a sportsman I hate enclosures, and, as a citizen, I look upon them as the greedy tyrannies of a wealthy few to oppress the indigent many". When they met at Huntingdon in 1792 Byng upbraided Humphry Repton for advocating enclosure and recalled Oliver Goldsmith's moral indictment of landscape gardening in The Deserted Village.<sup>9</sup> Depopulated parks and industrialized valleys offended, in contrasting ways, the Tory vision of a quiet settled landscape under the solicitous eye of an ancient family.<sup>10</sup> Both reflected the avarice of the ambitious and often newly rich whose money and disrespect for tradition dissolved the bonds of obligation and affection between social ranks. The crowded and highly productive landscapes of industry disturbed moralists rather more than desolate ornamental parks. Entrepreneurial upstarts challenged the authority of the ruling elite while a disaffected proletariat agitated from below. It is not only because of its effect on his senses that Byng portrays the industrial landscape as highly volatile.

Commentators emphasised baneful aspects of the industrial environment during periods of pronounced deprivation and unrest. In the famine year of 1812 they identified social dislocation in the landscapes of both farming and manufacturing districts. In Norfolk high profits and enclosures since the 1790s had increased the social distance between rich and poor and poaching wars hardened class antagonism. At Sheringham in 1812 Humphry Repton designed a park to help repair social relations. His client, a pious Christian, hated the local workhouse, personally distributed food and fuel, invited the destitute to dine in his kitchen, allowed local people to forage on his estate and joined in their sports. Beauty and use were blended

in a park that expressed paternal care and social propinquity. Repton revealed labourers working in arable fields but considered it a "local advantage"

There are no Manufactories near, this is of far more importance to the Comfort of Habitation, than is generally supposed. The manufacturer is a different species of animal to the Husbandman, the Sailor, or even the Miner: not to mention their difference in Religion and Morality. The latter from being occupied in employments requiring bodily exertion, look for their Relaxations in the society of their families with whom they are shared ... but the Manufacturer leads a sedentary life, always working at home and looking for Relaxation in the Society of his Club that birthplace and cradle of discontent and of Rebellious principles.<sup>11</sup>

That summer the starving and unemployed of the West Riding industrial districts were not so deferential as the poor of Sheringham. Luddism was the most violent expression of plebeian antagonism to a system of manufacture which many workers identified as a cause of their distress. Where capital was concentrated and visible antagonism was often direct and open. Attacks on factories were of course not just literary. Arkwright's mill at Cromford was designed to withstand armed assault.

Perhaps the most celebrated meditation on the industrial landscape at this time is in Book VIII of The Excursion which Wordsworth wrote between 1810 and 1814. This was provoked by the sight of a cotton mill in a Derbyshire valley, once "The assured domain of calm simplicity/And pensive quiet". Wordsworth acknowledges the economic benefits of the factory system while reflecting on the "darker side/ of this great change". In a note on the poem he recalls the "pleasing picture" of industrial landscape composed by John Dyer, who

wrote at a time when machinery was first beginning to be introduced, and his benevolent heart promoted him to augur from it nothing but good. Truth has compelled me to dwell upon the baneful effects arising out of an ill-regulated and excessive application of powers so admirable in themselves.

The metaphors of agitation and turbulence are characteristic. On the night shift "an unnatural light/Prepared for never-resting

Labour's eyes/Breaks from a many-windowed fabric huge"; the "harsh" bell tolling at the "appointed hour" is a "local summons to unceasing toil"; the mill race "glares, like a troubled spirit in its bed". Wordsworth looks forward to a time when men are "strengthened, yet not dazzled" by the power to harness nature. Meanwhile "fled utterly (are) the old domestic morals of the land". Only on a gentleman's estate nearby is there "harmony serene ... diffused/around the mansion and its whole domain".<sup>12</sup>

Factories were, as Wordsworth recognised, centres of labour discipline. Early industrial entrepreneurs confronted a labour force indifferent and sometimes hostile to the utilitarian virtues of regularity, punctuality and sobriety.<sup>13</sup> Domestic outworkers, though often under the tight economic control of a factory owner and often more desperately poor than factory hands, still valued their ability to organize their own routine of work.<sup>14</sup> Children were valued as factory workers because they were more docile and pliable than adults. Utilitarian moralists appreciated the regulating effect of machinery on human conduct. But not all processes contained within a factory were mechanised. The factory was essentially a place where labour was efficiently organised: concentrated, enclosed, divided, coordinated and supervised. It was, as a whole, a piece of disciplinary apparatus, a device for harnessing the power and transforming the raw material of both nature and human nature.<sup>15</sup> Bentham's utilitarian utopia, the Panopticon, was a blueprint for prisons, factories, workhouses and schools - he described it as "a mill for grinding rogues honest and idle men industrious".<sup>16</sup> The panoptical mill built by William Strutt, a friend of Bentham, at Belper was exceptional and most early factory masters favoured a less impersonal



style of management than that Bentham advocated, but the principles of division and surveillance of labour were articulated in the architecture of factories of every shape and size.<sup>17</sup> The resemblance of some factories to workhouses was not lost on contemporaries. Some of the first children to be employed in factories were pauper apprentices transported from distant parishes.

The assiduous involvement of early industrial entrepreneurs in the exigencies of production is unlikely to have encouraged their appreciation of their industrial sites as landscape. They were more concerned with what went on inside their factories. Many shared Wedgwood's reluctance to delegate the responsibility of supervising accounts, the condition of machinery, the quality of product and the behaviour of workers.<sup>18</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones describes how

In the early phase of industrial capitalism, where capitalist control of the economy was still very incomplete, it was necessary for the capitalist to bind his workforce to him. He minimised the social distance between himself and his labourers, and exercised a patriarchal face-to-face supervision legitimated in a Calvinist interpretation of Christianity.<sup>19</sup>

The increasing scale, differentiation and technical sophistication of manufacture made it increasingly difficult for one man to monitor his enterprise. The separation of management from the person of the entrepreneur was made possible by subcontracting, by the employment of managers and overlookers and by the use of formal and printed work rules.<sup>20</sup> The entrepreneur could then enjoy his wealth at a distance from its source.

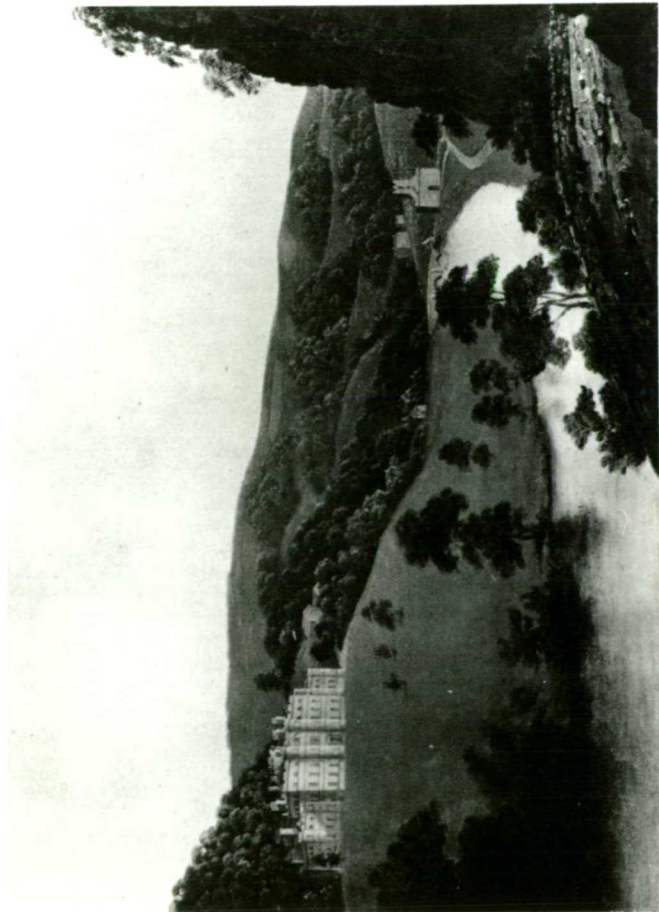
Richard Arkwright's first residence at Cromford, a simple brick house next to his mills, was strategically positioned to enable him to exercise supervision. In the 1780s he relaxed this and began to set the seal on his social ambitions. His origins were quite humble. He arrived in the Midlands as an itinerant and semi-literate hair

dealer but aspired to the lifestyle of a landed gentleman. Cromford, the nucleus of his empire was surrounded by country seats and two miles from the spa town of Matlock. The site had few economic advantages and Stanley Chapman interprets his choice of it in terms of his social aspirations.<sup>21</sup> Arkwright employed a London architect to design a castellated mansion. This was set in a park on the opposite bank of the Derwent to that of Cromford and the mills were hidden from his view by a large bluff, Scarthin Rock (Figs. 2 and 3).<sup>22</sup> John Byng derided Arkwright's attempt to acquire the landscape taste of a gentleman. Willersey Castle was he declared

within and without an effort of inconvenient ill taste ... and really he has made a happy choice of ground, for by sticking it up on an unsafe bank, he contrives to overlook, not see the beauties of the river, and the surrounding scenery. It is the house of an overseer surveying the works, not a gentleman wishing for retirement and quiet.<sup>23</sup>

The multi-storey textile mill was functionally efficient but mills had a symmetry and simplicity of line that appealed to some Georgian tastes. Certainly they were considered more attractive than blast furnaces, casting halls or pit engines. Many water powered mills in the west of England blended in with the rural scenery and presented a pleasanter prospect than the clamour, smoke and flames of Coalbrookdale.<sup>24</sup> So practical a man as Arthur Young recoiled from the spectacle of Coalbrookdale, yet relished a little its "horrible sublimity".<sup>25</sup>

The facades of some mills, particularly in the Midlands were rusticated and embellished with pediments, cupolas and arched windows. This was often to impress the local gentry and prospective customers. Arkwright's mills at Cromford were austere but his later Masson Mills looked quite elegant. Jennifer Tann considers this "undoubtedly reflects (his) desire to live and behave like a country gentleman".<sup>26</sup>



Figures 2 and 3 Willersey Castle and Arkwright's mills by day. A pair painted by Joseph Wright of Derby c. 1790. Scarthin Rock is the steep cliff on the right hand margin of Figure 2 and the left hand margin of Figure 3.

Arkwright began to take appearances very seriously and it is said that he and David Dale dissolved their partnership when they quarrelled about the positioning of a cupola on a mill at New Lanark.<sup>27</sup> The cotton spinner Samuel Unwin mingled with the Nottinghamshire gentry and ornamented his mill in a style complimentary to the Duke of Portland's gothicized mansion at Welbeck where once he had been received.<sup>28</sup> Matthew Boulton, who visited country houses noting improvements, "joined taste and philosophy with manufacture and commerce". He designed his factory in a Palladian style and set in a landscaped park (Fig. 4).<sup>29</sup> The workers, like domestic servants, slept in one of the "wings". The most extreme example of this strategy is Samuel Oldknow's Mellor Mill. In I.H. Parry's painting, dedicated to Oldknow, its function as a cotton mill is completely obscured by its appearance as a country house in a picturesque park (Fig. 5). Cherubic pauper apprentices gambol among the bushes in the foreground.<sup>30</sup> Such fantasies were not common and were difficult to contrive when industry became steam powered and urbanised, but they do illustrate the compelling attraction of the lifestyle of the landed gentry for many of the newly rich. This was often not so much the style of the paternal squire as the dissolute aristocrat. Many families made the transition from the production to the conspicuous consumption of wealth. In an article on the second and third generations of the Arkwrights E.L. Jones describes how

Much of the money which passed out of industry into land was squandered on prodigious bouts of port drinking, on assemblies, race meetings, foxhunts, pheasant battues. Resources were dissipated on unproductive activities like to gyrations of armies of flunkeys, the sonorities of private chapel building, the ordered informality of landscape gardening, the contrived futility of mock ruins and follies. A share of industrially created wealth constantly disappeared in the bonfires of good living for a small, landed class or was immobilised in their ornaments.<sup>31</sup>

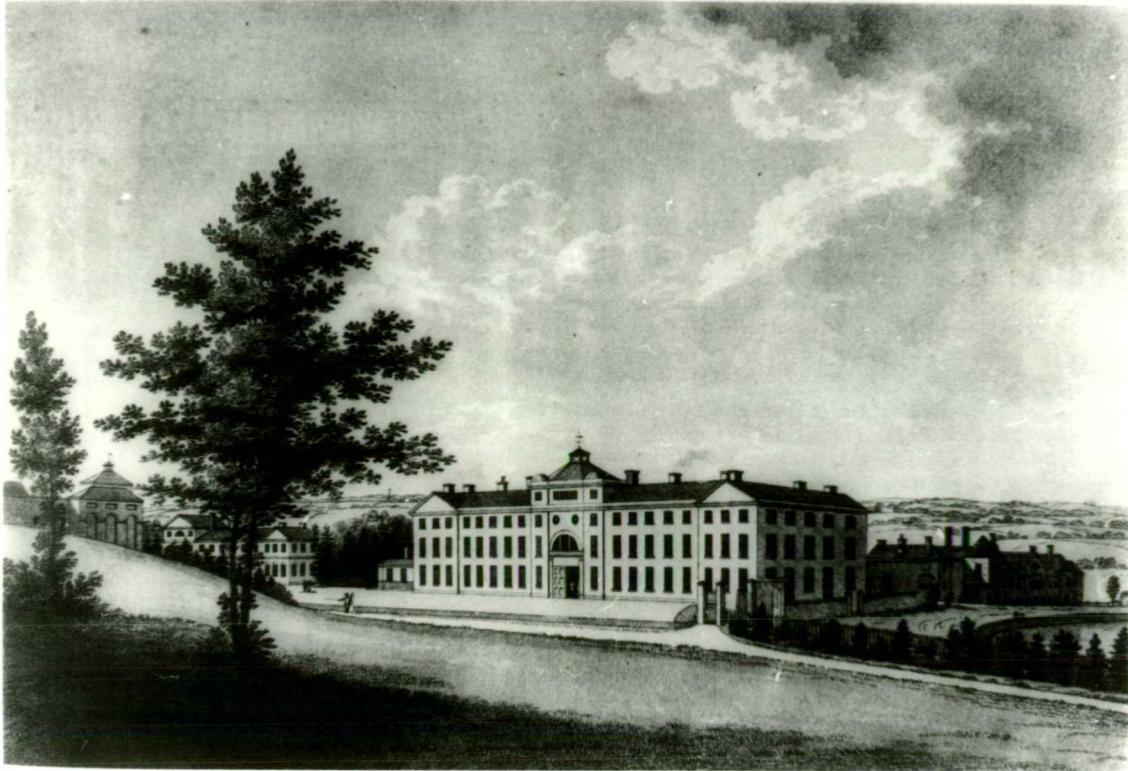


Figure 4 Boulton's factory at Soho. From Stebbing Shaw, The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire (1801).

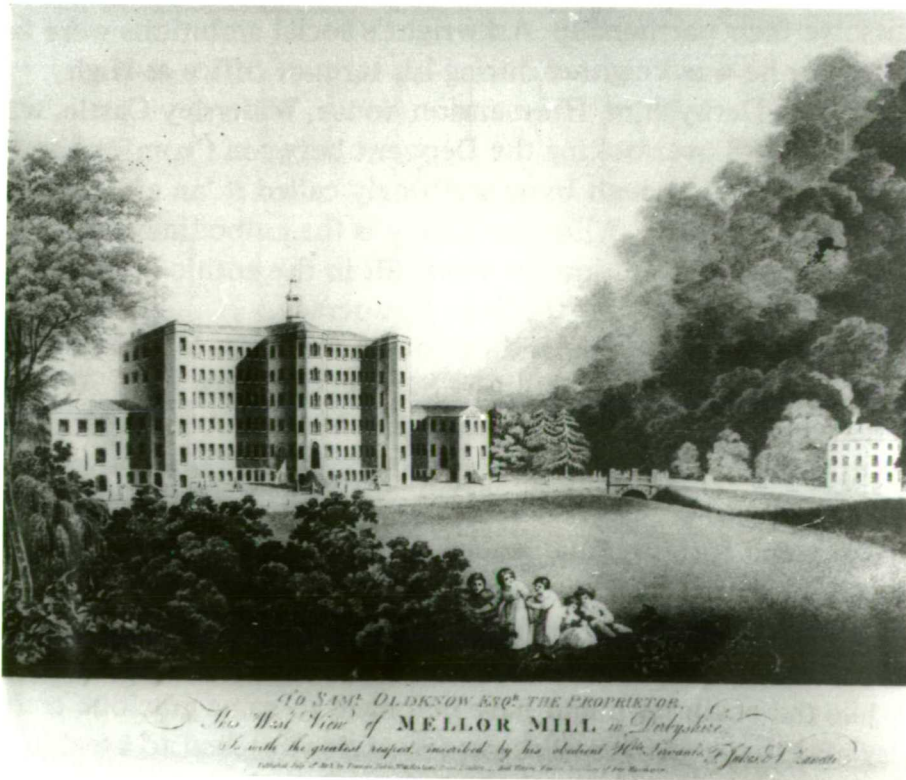


Figure 5 I.H. Parry, West View of Mellor Mill (1803)

Sir Robert Peel, the cotton magnate, declared, it was "impossible for a mill to be managed at a distance unless it is under the direction of a partner or superintendent who has an interest in the success of the business."<sup>32</sup> John Marshall, the flax spinner, seized the opportunity to be relieved of long hours and daily attendance at his mills in the increasingly crowded and polluted city of Leeds. The success of his business was established in a period of rapid growth from 1793-1800. In 1804-5 he employed two managers who were taken on as junior partners. Marshall retained complete control of the firm but exercised this not with a proverbial "master's eye" but with the more modern and detached notion of "judgement". In his own words, Marshall was able to "with propriety relax a little from my attendance on business ... a concern directed, in the general plan of conducting it by a good judgement, may be well and profitably managed in the detail by servants". In 1805 he moved two miles away from the smoke and bustle of Leeds to a small estate. At the end of the Napoleonic wars he purchased a country estate on the banks of Ullswater. Not until 1840, aged 76, did Marshall spend his first winter in the Lake District. He did not effectively withdraw from the firm until 1843, but gradually invested more capital outside the firm and took as much interest in spending money as making it. In the last thirty years of his life he paid about a million pounds in wages to his mill hands and spent about the same amount on land, household expenses and gifts for his family. Marshall, entered metropolitan society and after a few seasons decided to seal his social ambitions by acquiring a parliamentary seat. The Broughams, neighbours in the Lake District, secured him the seat at Petersfield for five thousand guineas.<sup>33</sup>



In his absence, Marshall could rest secure his mills were run efficiently. An observer noted in 1821

The hands had very particular printed instructions set before them which are particularly attended to ... so strict are the instructions that if an overseer of a room be found talking to any person in the mill during working hours he is dismissed immediately - two or more overseers are employed in each room, if one be found a yard out of his own ground he is discharged. No overseer is allowed to hold a tool, or shift a pinion with his own hands, on pain of dismissal - everyone, manager, overseers, mechanics, oilers, speaders, spinners and reelers, have their particular duty pointed out to them, and if they transgress, they are instantly turned off as unfit for their situation.<sup>34</sup>

Overlookers, seated at a desk at the end of each room were empowered to fine or dismiss workers for lateness or inattention to their task. Marshall himself enjoyed more pleasant, if not unprofitable views.

In 1828, aged 63, he looked back on the decade:

New scenes and situations ... a taste for paintings ... a taste for natural scenery and for laying out ornamental ground ... the improvement of land by draining and fencing, and the increase of its value by planting ... the novelty of a change of dwelling ... I have made frequent changes for the better.<sup>35</sup>

Marshall developed his taste for landscape in the company of, and undoubtedly under the influence of, William Wordsworth. His wife Jane and Wordsworth's sister Dorothy had been friends from the days when Dorothy lived in Halifax.<sup>36</sup> The Marshalls spent holidays at Grasmere in the 1790s and it is therefore not surprising that John Marshall should purchase an estate in the Lake District. But the area was also popular with the newly rich, ironically the "aliens" Wordsworth scorned in The Guide to the Lakes. Marshall, a Whig and Dissenter, had found it difficult to be accepted not only by the Tory oligarchy of Leeds but also by the Yorkshire gentry. Marshall consulted Wordsworth on purchases for his sons. In March 1832 Wordsworth wrote to him:

The Derwentwater Estate at Keswick is as to picturesque beauty above all praise - but for a gentleman's residence its neighbourhood to the town would be a strong objection and especially from

the cause you mention - viz. The people and strangers having been used to ranging over it in all directions.<sup>37</sup>

The son in question, opposed a railway, however discreetly disguised, along the edge of Derwentwater even though it would have enabled him to exploit the mineral resources of his estate.<sup>38</sup>

John Marshall thought it entirely appropriate that his sons should spend their money for pleasure and in style. On a visit to Glasgow in 1807 he observed

The first effects of newly acquired wealth are always seen in the buildings of a town. Refinement of taste and manners are of slower growth. It is the next generation which must learn to spend what their fathers have learned to accumulate.<sup>39</sup>

But not all industrialists had such an indulgent attitude to their progeny. William Crawshay II showed more interest in horticulture than in iron production, purchased an estate in the Vale of Glamorgan and lavished £30,000 on a castellated mansion which was completed in the boom year of 1825. The parsimonious William I considered that the family fortune was in danger of being dissipated by his prodigal son. Not only was he locking up capital in land rather than investing in quickly relizable securities but he was also neglecting the production of wealth. William II recognized the error of his ways. He sold the estate in the 1830s and began to take a personal and direct interest in the firm. In turn he remonstrated with his errant son Richard for "gross mismanagement" of finance and labour and for lacking that moral fibre which stiffened the outlook of his grandfather. "I know what the Master's Eye is", William II wrote to his son in 1860, "nothing can go along without it and I dread the consequences of your long continued inability to personally look after the large concern at Cyfarthfa". After a pit explosion in 1865 in which forty-nine died, William II felt "quite ashamed that any son of mine should leave his



post in a time of difficulty or distress". In January 1867 he summarised his feelings about Richard's timidity before organized labour: "My Eye would have shewn them what I meant ... You are afraid of the Devils!!!"<sup>40</sup>

In some nonconformist families personal supervision was recognized not merely as a managerial expedient but as a moral obligation. The Morleys remained successful cloth manufacturers and devout Congregationalists throughout the nineteenth century. John Morley established a business in Cheapside in the 1790s. The Victorian biographer of his son noted approvingly "Instead of setting up a large domestic establishment in the suburbs, as many would have done, he lived on the premises ... when it was demonstrated to a moral certainty that success was ensured, and not until then, John Morley took a home in Homerton". Eventually the family moved to a detached mansion in three acres of ground in Hackney. But they did not withdraw from active participation in production or defect to the easier going religion of English gentlemen. Hackney was a centre of nonconformity and Morley went into work each day. His sons also "were at their posts with unvarying regularity". Samuel Morley was responsible for finance but "kept his eye on every department and knew the real state of each". Samuel referred to the factory as his "household" and ran his own household to the strict regimen of a factory.<sup>41</sup> Despite, or more probably because, of the increasing scale of production and increasing impersonality of industrial relations, such employers attempted to maintain the outlook of the small master manufacturer.

The impression of humble nonconformist industrialists hankering, perhaps guiltily, after Palladian mansions in ornamental parks is a caricature of the social history of the rich during the industrial

revolution. Established gentry were anxious to exploit the industrial resources of their estates. Many disdained any direct involvement in this and remained rentiers, but others like the Duke of Devonshire and "His Carbonic Majesty", the first Earl of Durham, were entrepreneurs.<sup>42</sup> The most celebrated are the Fitzwilliams, one of the largest English landowning families, who succeeded to the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate on the South Yorkshire coalfield in 1782. The family were staunch freetraders and supporters of the commercial and industrial interest in the county. The previous owners of the estate had established some collieries but from the 1790s the fourth earl invested heavily in developing mining. But the earl also spent prodigiously on pleasure. In 1790 he commissioned Humphry Repton to improve the park around the palatial mansion designed by John Carr. The duties of his steward were

as widely different as those of butler and mine manager. Therefore in any one day he might have ordered wine for the house or rails for the collieries: alternatively he might have instructed the gardener on his planting arrangements or an undermanager on the sinking of a new shaft.

Farmhands on the estate often worked seasonally as miners. The earl learnt the technicalities of many mining operations but the mines themselves were invisible from the park. His son, reversing a trend in industrial families, was much more involved than his father in running mines and later iron works. He spent time in the pits testing instruments and his attitude to the park was that of natural historian - measuring tree shoots, taking weather reports, observing birds - rather than that of a landscape connoisseur. Also he took a great interest in the morality of his employees, providing welfare for the honest and industrious and being as ruthless against unions as any urban industrialist of more modest origins. In 1826 Fitzwilliam and John Marshall stood in partnership, unopposed to represent the West

Riding in Parliament, a political expression of the rapprochement between landed and industrial interests in the county.<sup>43</sup>

Many of the issues I have discussed so far are crystallized in a novel, Shirley, by Charlotte Brontë, which merits further examination. It describes events in the West Riding of Yorkshire during the Luddite activism of 1812. It was written in 1848-49. It is a historical, not a contemporary, account and perhaps inevitably the concerns and character of the time and place when it was written are projected onto the past it describes. Chartists were active in Haworth in the 1840s and the novel could be read as an oblique commentary on contemporary events alongside other "condition of England" fiction published in the same period. But Charlotte Brontë has a determined respect for the conditions of 1812. The central incident of the novel - a Luddite attack on a woollen mill - is based on a real event, that occurred near Roehead, between Leeds and Halifax, where Charlotte went to school. The mill was attacked nearly twenty years before she started school but social relations in Roehead, described by her teacher, were still deeply affected by the incident.<sup>44</sup> Charlotte did her own research for the novel from the files of The Leeds Mercury for 1812-14. Many of the characters are based on real people. The buildings and landscapes of the time are accurately described.

The value of the novel for my purposes is its accurate reconstruction of social attitudes. This reconstruction is of course viewed from a partisan point of view, largely that of Shirley, the heroine of the novel. Terry Eagleton draws attention to the equipoise which Charlotte attempts to achieve in the resolution of her novels. She occupies "a middle ground between reverence and rebellion, land and trade, gentry and bourgeoisie, the patiently deferential and the

actively affirmative self".<sup>45</sup> It is from this vantage point that Charlotte observes with great insight the ideological conflicts within the ruling class but from which she has much greater difficulty in discerning the attitudes and feelings of working people.

Charlotte uses the historical landscape around Roehead - a mixture of old estates and modern mills - as a literary device to articulate the issues of the novel. In her biography of Charlotte Brontë, published in 1857, Elizabeth Gaskell wrote: "in no other part of England, I fancy, are the centuries brought into such close, strange contact". On walks with her pupils, Charlotte's schoolmistress told stories of "this old house, or that new mill, and of the states of society consequent on changes involved by the suggestive dates of either building".<sup>46</sup>

In the novel Robert Gerard Moore is a recent tenant of Hollows Mill on the Fieldhead estate which has been owned by the Keeldar family for five generations. "There were mercantile families in the district boasting twice the income, but the Keeldars, by virtue of their antiquity, and their distinction of lords of the manor, took the precedence of all". The architecture of the house and the "fine, bold and spreading" trees in the park expressed the longevity of the family's presence. At the beginning of the novel the house has been untenanted for ten years, awaiting the arrival of Shirley Keeldar, the female heir on whom it has descended. "But it was no ruin ... an old gardener and his wife had lived in it, cultivated the grounds, and maintained the house in a habitable condition". Hollows Mill is also old but in the utilitarian mind of its tenant woefully out of date and inefficient. Moore "had from the first evinced the strongest contempt for all its arrangements and appointments: his aim had been to effect

a radical reform". He had gone some way to modernising it but his capital resources, especially in this period of economic stagnation, were limited, "a restraint which galled his spirit sorely". He was in no way restrained by reflecting on the social consequences of installing new machinery at a time when many local people were already out of work and could scarcely afford to buy bread.

Moore is modelled on a real industrialist - William Cartwright of Rawfolds Mill - and is portrayed as an uncompromising Whig-Radical, an opponent of the war and critical of the Orders in Council which are strangling his trade. Like Cartwright he is half foreign, although the other half is a ruined Yorkshire mercantile family he wishes to revive, and he is extremely unpopular with his employees. Charlotte Brontë uses his Flemish origins and recent arrival to emphasise and in part explain his "disconnection" from the "general interest". Moore is contrasted not only to the local parson, a rabid "Church and King" Tory who thinks Moore and his like traitors to their country, but also with another mill-owner, Hiram Yorke. Yorke is Shirley's guardian and has kept her house in good repair. His family is "the first and oldest in the district". He "was much beloved by the poor, because he was thoroughly kind and very fatherly to them ... and to his workmen he was considerate and cordial", but he crushed the root of any insubordination that threatened to spread "within the sphere of his authority". Yorke spoke both "broad Yorkshire" and "pure English". He had cultivated a taste in Europe for art and the walls of his comfortable house were hung with Italian landscapes - "the subjects were all pastoral, the scenes were all sunny". Yorke was not effete. He could "see the charm of a fine picture", but could not tolerate a "quiet poet (who) could not have played the man in the counting house

or the tradesman in the Piece Hall". Yorke enjoys leisure for which Moore's anxieties leave him little time. Moore sleeps in his mill three nights a week and wanders about the Hollow not to enjoy the scenery but with a loaded musket to search out adversaries. His cottage is a short distance from the mill but is secluded and, kept by his sister, a model of Flemish domesticity. It was "a snug nest for content and contemplation, but one within which the wings of action and ambition could no longer be folded".

Shirley Keeldar comes of age and takes up residence at Fieldhead. Her interest in the industrial resources of her estate is seen by the local parson as unfeminine and in the following conversation he refers to her in masculine terms.

"I like a descent", said Shirley - "I like to clear it rapidly and especially I like that romantic Hollow, with all my heart".

"Romantic - with a mill in it?"

"Romantic with a mill in it. The old mill and the white cottage are each admirable in its way".

"And the counting house, Mr. Keeldar?"

"The counting house is better than by bloom-coloured drawing room: I adore the counting house".

"And the trade? The cloth - the greasy wool - the polluting dyeing vats?"

"The trade is to be thoroughly respected".

"Captain Keeldar, you have no mercantile blood in your veins: Why are you so fond of trade?"

"Because I am a mill owner, of course. Half my income comes from the works in that Hollow".

But "Shirley's head ran on other things than money" and "her serious thoughts, they tended elsewhere" particularly to the problem of class relations. She sees herself locked in a struggle with "political incendiaries" for the hearts and minds of the working people on her estate. She personally dispenses charity to "allay suffering and thereby lessen this hate" that the poor have for the rich. But if her efforts are unsuccessful and the poor "gather and rise in the form of a mob, I shall turn against them ... let them meddle with Robert's mill

... and I shall hate them". Moore tells her that the method of social control she advocates is inappropriate to a modern industrial conflict. "Eleemosynary relief never yet tranquilised the working-classes - it never made them grateful, ... besides to whom should they be grateful? To you - to the clergy perhaps, but not to us millowners. They hate us worse than ever ... the disaffected here are in correspondence with the disaffected elsewhere: Nottingham ..., Manchester ..., Birmingham".

The details of the attack on Hollows Mill are taken from the twenty minute attack on Rawfolds Mill by 150 Luddites on 11 April 1812. In readiness Moore had fortified and garrisoned his mill. The attack is repelled. Shirley watches from a safe distance.

All the copse up the Hollow was shady and dewy, the hill at its head was green; but here in the centre of the sweet glen, Discord, broken loose in the night from control, had beaten the ground with his stamping hoofs, and left it waste and pulverized. The mill yawned all ruinous with unglazed frames; the yard was thickly bestrewn with stones and brickbats ... muskets and other weapons ... more than one deep crimson stain was visible on the gravel: a human body lay quiet on its face near the gates; and five or six wounded men writhed and moaned in the bloody dust.

Shirley walks down to the scene of destruction: "this is what I wished to prevent". Moore takes no action against local people he recognised in the attack but hunts down the leaders, who conveniently turn out to be

Strangers: emissaries from the large towns. Most of them were not members of the operative class: they were chiefly "down-draughts", bankrupts, men always in debt and often are drunk - men who had nothing to lose, and much - in the way of character, cash, and cleanliness - to gain.

Moore enjoyed the task, "he liked it better than making cloth".

E. P. Thompson describes how

During 1812 traditional class antagonisms were thrown into the crucible of Luddism; mill owner and squire entered the year in bitter hostility to each other ... Then Cartwright, by this defiant action at Rawfolds, earned the admiration and gratitude of the military officers and Tory squirearchy ... The gunfire at Rawfolds signalled a profound emotional and reconciliation between the large mill-owners and the authorities.

The reconciliation in Shirley is organised differently. While seeking out the ringleaders in London and Birmingham Moore learns something of the privations of the poor and develops a new sympathy for them. While he would still "resist a riotous mob just as heretofore", he vows to be "more considerate to ignorance, more forbearing to suffering". The Orders in Council are repealed. Moore can sell the cloth in his warehouse, pay his debts, "take more workmen, give better wages, lay wiser and more liberal plans: do some good, be less selfish". The most obvious and expedient resolution would be marriage to Shirley. Charlotte Brontë is a Tory Romantic and rejects this precisely because of its obvious economic advantage to Moore. Shirley rejects Moore's entreaties despite his reformed character. "You want to make a speculation of me" she tells him, "You would immolate me to that mill - your Moloch". Moore reflects on the wisdom of her decision: "If we had confidences, they were confidences of the countinghouse not of the hearth". The desired union between gentry and capitalist is organised by marriage but in a more roundabout way. Moore marries Caroline the domestic and deferential daughter of the local parson who plans to open a Sunday School for her husband's employees. Shirley marries Moore's brother who has since his arrival been her tutor. The two marriages are solemnised together and a festive dinner is provided for both the Fieldhead tenantry and labourers and the workers at Hollows Mill. Moore plans a community where once he was isolated:

I can double the value of their mill property: I can line yonder barren Hollow with lines of cottages, and rows of cottage gardens ... the copse shall be firewood ere five years elapse: the beautiful wild ravine shall be a smooth descent; the green natural terrace shall be a paved street; there shall be cottages in the dark ravine, and cottages on the lonely slopes: the rough pebbled track shall be an even, firm, broad, black, sooty road, bedded with the cinders from my mill; and my mill, Caroline - my mill shall fill its present yard.



The above narrative reconstruction of Shirley is not a synopsis in the sense of a bald summary of the course of events. It selects the events that dramatise the issues that are examined in the following chapters. Two sets of social relations are structural to the novel: those between landed gentry and industrial capitalists and, at a more general level, those between the ruling class and working class. In a fictional context Charlotte Brontë examines the implications of these relationships and their attendant ideologies for the perception and design of the environment; for example Shirley's ironic admiration of the landscape of Hollows Mill, Moore's attachment to his mill but separation from his employees, Moore's modernisation of his mill with new machinery and the attack on it by Luddites, Moore's growing sympathy with the labouring poor and the building of a model industrial community, the reconciliation of land and industry by Shirley's marriage. I will examine these implications in the context of the actual historical development of the West Yorkshire wollen textile industry where of course the dialectics of social life did not have the symmetry and closure of those plotted in Charlotte Brontë's novel.

Moore's plans did indeed materialise and both couples are present when the foundation stone of a new mill is laid. This is recalled some years later by a local woman who is not enthusiastic about the transformation of the landscape. The equipoise between land and industry is disrupted and with disturbing implications: "I saw the manufacturer's day-dreams embodied in substantial stone and brick and ashes ... a mighty mill, and a chimney, ambitious as the tower of Babel". The woman notes "there is no such ladies nowadays" as Shirley.

Notes: Chapter One

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CHAPTER TWO

WOOLLEN TEXTILE MANUFACTURE IN LEEDS: TRADITION AND CHANGE

When early nineteenth-century travellers approached Leeds at night they marvelled at the spectacle spread before them. In March 1811 Louis Simond, an American shipowner, described his view of "a multitude of fires issuing, no doubt from furnaces, and constellations of illuminated windows (manufactories) spread over the dark plain". Simond was not unusual in combining an admiration for the visual effects of the factory system with a distaste for its social expression. The cloth-hall was the landmark of the more traditional order of woollen cloth trade where urbane gentlemen merchants did business with small country clothiers, and there he found "a respectable set of people, and a pleasing instance of domestic manufacture, so preferable to the crowds and depravity of great establishments" (Fig. 6).<sup>1</sup> In 1816 Thomas Whitaker, a local antiquarian, wrote nostalgically of Leeds before the vulgarity of factory society - the "wild spirit of adventure which disgraces modern commerce", the "disorderly and brutal manners created or fostered among the lowest order of the people by manufacturers", - when a rich and powerful patriciate of merchants conducted their business and enjoyed their leisure in a town graced by their elegant houses.<sup>2</sup> When Whitaker wrote this some had escaped from the smoke, noise, smell and overcrowding to villas in the out-townships. Many of the commercial dynasties of the eighteenth century had given up the cloth trade which came under the control of more thrifty, hardworking and enterprising men who took advantage of new markets, new fashions and innovations in the management and technology of manufacture. The local political power of a Tory and Anglican commercial oligarchy



Figure 6 Leeds Cloth Hall. The final stage in the domestic system of manufacture. Shearing, spinning and weaving are shown in the foreground. The factory system appears as an apparition above the heads of the clothiers and gentlemen merchants in the cloth hall. My thanks to Derek Gregory for drawing my attention to this illustration.



weakened in the face of pressure from Liberals, dissenters and manufacturing interests.

The traditional organization of the broadcloth trade of the Leeds area was characterized by a strict separation of production and marketing. A wide social and economic gap existed between clothiers and merchants. It was not unknown for a merchant to rise from the ranks of clothiers but it was rare. The high prices of apprenticeship premiums and partnerships were prohibitive. The ancestry of the merchant class included substantial yeomen and small landed gentry. In the eighteenth century it recruited from the local gentry and the professions. There were strong financial, social and political ties between the merchant houses of Leeds and the landed families of the county. Merchants provided loans and mortgages; marriages between commercial and landed families were common and dowries handsome; county administration was shared between merchants and gentry. Although it was the ambition of every merchant to found a landed dynasty the reciprocity between commercial and landed society was not merely an exchange of new wealth for old manners accompanied by the transition from making money to spending it. The county gentry were not drones; they were commercially active in mining and in transport, an interest they shared with merchants. Neither were the urban merchants unremittingly industrious; a correspondent in the Leeds Mercury in 1742 was surprised to discover "that many of the merchants divide the week between their Pleasures and their Business and what they gather with one Hand scatter with the other". He had mistakenly assured himself that "the merchant ... was but a mere ant ever solicitous for what he never had time to enjoy".<sup>4</sup> Their working day was leisurely. They often left the counting house at three in the after-

noon in winter to enjoy the round of dinners, visits, plays, concerts and assemblies which drew in the local gentry to Leeds. In summer they sojourned on their estates, or those of their country cousins, and hunted with neighbouring landed families. On their travels in the country and abroad they combined business with pleasure. The merchants moved, without moral scruple or social discomfort, between town and country.

The organization of the cloth trade was hierarchical. "Merchants", announced a correspondent in the Leeds Intelligencer in 1793, "are superior links in the chain which connects the various ranks of Society in the firm bonds of mutual necessities".<sup>5</sup> That this had to be affirmed betrays the fears, widespread at the time and justified, that the status quo was threatened. In 1794, the clothiers of Leeds expressed before Parliament their fear of merchants engrossing the process of cloth manufacture.<sup>6</sup> As the eighteenth century came to a close, cloth workers became more militant in their opposition to the adoption of new forms of technology and the abandonment of customary and still lawful procedures in the manufacture of cloth. The combination of merchanting and manufacturing was not unusual in the kersey and worsted areas of West Yorkshire and factories were established in Halifax by the 1780s; but in the fine broadcloth district of Leeds factories were both novel and to many unacceptable.

The parties to the conflicts in the woollen industry testified before a House of Commons Select Committee in 1806. William Cookson, the doyen of the Leeds commercial interest claimed: "I know nothing of clothmaking whatever". When asked if he would combine the roles of merchant and manufacturer he replied: "I certainly should not, and I think it almost incompatible for the comfort of either". His fellow

representative from Leeds John Hebblethwaite declared: "I would give up business wholly before I would be a factory manufacturer". Some merchants said they could sell cloth more profitably than they could make it - Cookson and Hebblethwaite had indeed amassed great fortunes - but their arguments were not narrowly economic. Selling cloth was gentlemanly; making it was not. Few wished to lock up their capital in industrial plant, or be confined fifteen hours a day, six days a week supervising the various aspects of manufacture. The Select Committee concluded that their primary objection was to "(submitting) to the constant trouble and solicitude of watching over a numerous body of workmen".<sup>7</sup>

In the first half of the eighteenth century merchants employed a few packers in their warehouse and a clerk and a bookkeeper in their counting house. They kept a close eye on business and their premises usually occupied the yard of their residence. The situation of the house of William Denison, the leading partner in the largest export house in Leeds, demonstrates the close conjunction of domestic, social and business affairs. It was opposite the Assembly House in the most crowded street in town and in his narrow yard were a garden, a counting house, packing shops, stable, coach house and an enormous dunghill.<sup>8</sup> After 1750 merchants began to assume responsibility for cloth finishing and added dye houses and dressing shops to their business premises. The smoke and smell were unpleasant and there were many more employees - between 20 and 30 croppers - to supervise, but quality control was crucial and many merchants resisted the temptation to live apart from their business. Francis Chorley of Park Lane walked from his house to his finishing shop without going out of doors.<sup>9</sup> Despite the larger scale of operation and the unpleasantness of the by-products, a clear

distinction remained in the minds of merchants between dressing or finishing cloth and making it. The responsibility for supervising finishing was often delegated to master dressers and some cloth was still finished in independent dressing shops. Also the premises for bookkeeping, storage and finishing were not permanent in the sense that factory premises were; they were usually leased for the duration of the partnership. The extra time and trouble of organizing finishing may have been a sufficiently chastening experience to dissuade many from venturing further, particularly with the risk of conflicts with croppers over the use of machinery. William Cookson, a magistrate as well as a merchant, would have had his fine cloth dressed by machinery if he had lived anywhere but Leeds; "I do not wish to breed disturbance or breed disquiet" he declared, and he urged other merchants not to install machinery for this reason.<sup>10</sup>

The competitive challenge of factories in the Colne and Calder valleys had been "such to excite the jealousies of the Leeds merchants, who are accustomed to buy the same articles from the lower manufacturers at the cloth-halls" that in 1794 a deputation was sent from Leeds to petition for an act to prevent any merchant becoming manufacturers.<sup>11</sup> Their opposition to the combination of making and selling cloth was quickly dropped principally because it brought them into an alliance with small clothiers and cloth workers who proposed the enforcement of apprenticeship laws and laws against the use of machinery which affected the merchants directly in their finishing. From the cloth workers point of view this was the tightening up of protective legislation; from the merchants' point of view it was the application of restrictive practices which seriously threatened their own interests. Although many merchants expressed their disinterest in and distaste of manufac-

turing few wished actively to discourage or prevent others from owning factories. Their conservatism was personal and temperamental; it lacked the moral seriousness and breadth of vision of the Tory radicalism in Leeds in the 1830s which constituted an ideology of direct and active opposition to that of the factory system.<sup>12</sup> They endorsed the principle of laissez-faire but let others risk their capital in industrial plant. They opted for their traditional and safer outgoings of government stocks, transport improvement, land and pleasure.

For most of the five thousand or so small clothiers who lived and worked in the country districts of Leeds factories were not merely sensual objects which either enhanced or devalued (according to taste) the amenity value of Leeds. Nor were the more aggressive business methods of factory owners and coarse behaviour of crowds of factory workers merely an offence to their sensibility, if indeed they possessed so refined a faculty. Factories were the conspicuous landmarks of a system which threatened a way of life in which divisions between morality and economy, work and leisure, household and workplace, were not pronounced. This is not to say their lives were harmonious, wholesome or unchanging. Since Defoe's visit the processes of wool preparation and cloth finishing had been assumed by millers and merchants respectively. Relations between masters and men were intimate but not necessarily warm and satisfying; William Cookson was presented frequently with cases of runaway apprentices. It was not uncommon for clothiers to employ outworkers. Workshops adjoined, but were separate from domestic quarters. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century many clothiers lived and worked cheek by jowl with merchants in the centre of Leeds but the rising cost of land and rising rents had driven them to the out-townships, areas which had been predominantly agricultural.<sup>13</sup> Not all clothiers put their

collective interests before their individual aspirations: the majority of successful factory owners started out not by selling cloth but by making it on a smaller scale.

The Commons Select Committee of 1806 heard the testimony of clothiers and cloth workers from the villages surrounding Leeds before making its celebrated declaration for laissez-faire, and professing its confidence that the factory system would not displace the domestic system.

Country clothiers commanded respect. Since Defoe many writers had expressed their delight at the sight of the West Riding countryside populated with industrious households working both on their land and at their loom.<sup>14</sup> Around Leeds, the dual economy was a more recent development and some clothiers did not occupy enough land to farm as well as tenter their cloth and pasture their packhorse. There were fewer freeholders than in Defoe's time in the Calder valley. Sir James Graham, a member of the Commons Select Committee, following the example set by a neighbouring landlord, divided former farms in the township of Armley into small closes with purpose-built premises for clothiers. He thought it "very pleasing to see the domestic clothiers living in a field, with their homestead rather than shut up in the street". No doubt he derived some of this pleasure from the prospect of the higher financial return from this land. Walter Spencer Stanhope, a colleague on the Committee, also a local landowner maintained: "If the factory system were to root out that of the domestic clothiers, it is my firm persuasion and belief that my estate would not be worth having: inasmuch as it would take its whole rent to maintain the poor, that would then fall upon the parish". But neither Graham nor Stanhope believed that the domestic clothiers would be rooted out. Graham, who married a Leeds merchant hieress, had an informed interest in

factory technology and, in addition to clothier homesteads, he leased out factories, including one to the largest Leeds cloth producer Benjamin Gott whose first factory in Leeds incited the clothiers' campaign of resistance.<sup>15</sup>

The master clothiers in Leeds and its vicinity were men of small capital. James Ellis, was their representative before the 1806 Committee. He made superfines, occupied 4½ acres of land, owned one jenny and three looms, employed two journeymen, an apprentice and an odd-job boy who worked on his premises and a married couple who spun for him in their house. He had his cloth scribbled, slubbed and fulled in a mill and rode twice a week to the Coloured Cloth Hall in Leeds to sell his cloth. Ellis considered himself fairly typical of the 150 clothiers in Armley - none owned more than four looms, most employed from six to eight people and most occupied sufficient land to pasture a horse and a cow. Ellis himself had been apprenticed to his father-in-law in 1793 and became his own master in 1802. The clothiers wished to conserve the even distribution of wealth by restricting the number of looms in each establishment: one witness commented on the economies of scale represented by factories: "Wealth has more gone into lumps". Since the beginning of the century seventeen clothiers had set up in Armley but three times that number had given up. Armley people walked into Leeds for the more lucrative wages but less secure employment offered by factory owners - "the men may be said to earn something more", stated Ellis "but I believe the income of the family is not so great as when they were employed in their own houses". He was reluctant to employ a man who had been turned off from a factory during slack trade. The economic fortunes of outweavers employed by factory owners were also synchronised more closely with fluctuations in trade.<sup>16</sup>

The greater concentration and division of labour in factories was seen to represent a threat to custom and morality as well as livelihood. Apprentices were trained by clothiers in all aspects of cloth manufacture with a view to becoming the masters themselves; the greater specialization of factory work thinned the future ranks of masters. The separation of the family from home, the division of its membership into different departments and the promiscuous and mercenary character of factory crowds were seen as symptoms or causes of moral disintegration.<sup>17</sup> Robert Cookson, a clothier from Holbeck, who discharged any of his employees if they frequented beer houses saw that there was a great opportunity to do this in the less restrained social environment of a factory town. John Atkinson had worked both for a clothier and in a factory where the routine was "irregular"; "Men might leave their work and go to drinking"; there was "no going to alehouses at Bramley as from Mr. Gott's". This temperate outlook conflicts with that attributed to other opponents of factories who regarded the emphasis on punctuality and regular hours as inimical to their customary freedom to abandon work for prolonged bouts of drinking. The workers who had the most notorious reputation - the slubbers, who worked at mills, and the croppers, who worked in dressing shops, were not part of the domestic unit. Also local conduct and opinion might differ between villages. Bramley may well have been temperate but the cloth workers of Pudsey were infamous for their drunkenness and uproariousness.<sup>19</sup>

James Walker from Wortley was a clothier who broke with custom and became a merchant manufacturer. He had started out with one loom and by 1806 owned 21, eleven in his own workshop and ten in the homes of outworkers. He employed 20-30 outworkers and 70 in his own premises which included dressing shops and a scribbling and slubbing



mill. He employed an overlooker, but apart from occasional afternoons when he travelled into Leeds, he exercised close personal supervision in his workshop where high quality broadcloths were produced; this "induces them to do their best" and "prevents improper behaviour". Walker incurred the reproach of the local cloth-workers, in particular for employing a 'snake', a man who had left the 'Institution', the clandestine union of clothiers and cloth workers. The windows of the snake's house were smashed and Walker received threats against his life and property.<sup>20</sup>

Walker dismissed a journeyman clothier, William Child, who had worked for him for 17 years, for "neglecting his work" and organizing for the Institution in the villages. Child was the most militant of the anti-factory lobby before the 1806 Committee. He was reduced to very irregular employment by 1806 and was forced reluctantly to send his two children to work in Gott 's factory in Leeds, a conspicuous landmark from his house. He had never worked in a factory himself; "They are under my eyesight, they are all my neighbours that wrought (work) in them except one or two ... I did always set my face against them, because I thought them an evil to the community ... A tender man when he had his work at home could do it at his leisure; there you must come at the time". "How do you conceive the domestic manufacturer to be injured by the opulent manufacturer, by the Factory System?" a member of the Committee asked Child. "By getting their hands when they are going day and night together" he replied, "Mr. Gott's factory has been going day and night for four days and four nights together". The illuminated factories of Leeds formed a sublime spectacle for travellers from the southern counties and overseas, but for a local journeyman clothier they were a more serious and disturbing sight.<sup>21</sup>

There was a critical difference between a mill and a factory which clothiers recognized. Fulling mills were often combined with corn mills and had been part of the West Riding landscape since the twelfth century. In the last decades of the eighteenth century scribbling machines were added. In 1786 a petition was published in both Leeds' newspapers "on behalf of thousands" of cloth workers claiming the support of the majority of the clothiers attending the cloth hall that called for an end to the use of machines that, it claimed, were causing serious unemployment.<sup>22</sup> Opposition quickly died down. James Ellis recalled scribbling, carding and slubbing being done by hand in homes but he found it convenient and thought it an improvement to have his wool prepared in a mill. When asked his opinion of Gott's 'factory' in Armley he replied "No that is not a factory, that is for scribbling and slubbing".<sup>23</sup> Although factories were built around scribbling mills, usually by enterprising clothiers, the mill was not seen as a threat to the domestic system. This is not to say that the miller was an easy taskmaster, or an inefficient businessman, or that his mill was old fashioned in its design or construction. The point is that he owned no wool or cloth and the clothiers were his customers. The Diary of a Bramley Miller Joseph Rogerson for 1806-14 reveals how a modern mill dovetailed into the domestic system. Rogerson lifted his fulling stocks and drove his scribbling machines by steam and inspected the latest Boulton and Watt gas plant at Armley Mill with a view to improving his own lighting. Yet in his dual occupation of farmer and miller and in his observance of seasonal holidays he shared the world of the local clothiers. But the world of the clothier village was by no means without conflict or exploitation. The slubbers who prepared wool by hand for spinning earned high wages and had a reputation of

spending much of it on drinking bouts and paying just a pittance to the children they employed for long hours as piecers. They considered themselves altogether superior to weavers. Rogerson had difficulties with the slubbers he employed. He shut down his mill on 28 August 1809 so they could go to the Pudsey feast. Two days later his scribbling machines and fulling stocks were operating but he noted with obvious annoyance "our slubbers have not given over feasting yet; they have done nothing those three days past; they are a clever set of fellows ... I wish the devil had him who first instituted feasts". Rogerson crossed out this last sentence which, in its uncompromising opposition to local custom, is more characteristic of a factory disciplinarian like Wedgwood or Arkwright. The next week he was harvesting with the villagers and took himself to the feast at Armley. Rogerson is in many ways a marginal figure. He was not a manufacturer but his relationship to the domestic clothiers he served was equivocal. In December 1809 Bramley clothiers met to choose new trustees to enlarge the Leeds Mixed Cloth Hall. Rogerson commented with some prescience, "my opinion of Leeds Cloth Hall is this: that in some future day it will be of very little consequence as I think cloth will get to be manufactured at Mills and carried to Merchants houses and indeed this deserves to be the case for they are an arbitrary set of men".<sup>24</sup>

Notes: Chapter Two

1. Louis Simond, An American in Regency England: The Journal of a Tour in 1810-11, edited by Christopher Hibbert (London, 1968), pp. 111-112, 112. For a similar appreciation of the nocturnal landscape of Leeds see H.L.H. von Pueckler - Muskau, Tour in England, Ireland and France, 1826-1829, (Zurich, 1940), p. 198. Not all visitors admired the leisurely pace of the Cloth Hall. When Arthur Young visited Leeds in 1796 he reported: "I viewed the cloth hall on a market day and the scene was animated but I could not help being struck with the reflection that such an immense number of men were idle, twice a week, to come from all parts of the clothing country in order for half a dozen to execute business which might as well be performed by one woman: or if these men inhabited towns, who would, instead of a day lost not more than an hour, one third of the productive time of such multitudes lost, to say the least, is a disadvantage of this mode of spreading manufacture". Annals of Agriculture 27 (1796), p. 311.
2. Thomas D. Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete (Leeds, 1816), p. 87.
3. R.G. Wilson, Gentleman Merchants: the Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830 (Manchester, 1971), p. 9-36, 181-182. Some of the arguments in the next four paragraphs derive from this book and from conversations and correspondence with Dr. Wilson.
4. Quoted in R.G. Wilson, 'Records for a study of the Leeds Woollen Merchants 1700-1830', Archives 8 (1967-8), p. 15.
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6. 34, Geo III (1794) L.C.A. D.W. 986 (A-E, K).
7. Report from the Select Committee - (on) the State of Woollen Manufacture in England PP. 1806 III, pp. 179, 158, 10.
8. Wilson, Gentleman Merchants, p. 196.
9. Michael F. Ward, 'Industrial Development and Location in Leeds North of the River Aire 1775-1914'. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1972), p. 18.
10. P.P. 1806 III, P. 171. Letter from William Cookson to Earl Fitzwilliam, Leeds 18 August 1802 printed in A. Aspinall, The Early English Trade Unions: Documents from the Home Office Papers in the Public Record Office (London, 1949), P.52.
11. J. Aikin, A Description of the Country from 30-40 Miles Around Manchester (London, 1795), pp. 504-565. No document has been discovered which substantiates this story.
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13. P.P. 1806 III p. 172, 158.

14. For example John Housman, A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland and part of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Carlisle, 1800), p. 186.
15. P.P. 1806 III, pp. 445, 447, 444-5.
16. P.P. 1806 III, pp. 5-29, 59-64, 138.
17. 34 GRO III 1794.
18. P.O. 1806 III, p. 77.
19. Joseph Lawson, Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey (Stanningley, 1887).
20. P.P. 1806 III, p. 175-181.
21. P.P. 1806 III, p. 103-113.
22. Leeds Intelligence, Leeds Mercury June 13 1786.
23. P.P. 1806 III, p. 14.
24. By 'arbitrary' Rogerson means 'despotic'; 'The Diary of Joseph Rogerson, Scribbling Miller of Bramley, 1808-1814', in 'The Leeds Woollen Industry 1780-1820', edited by W.B. Crump, Thoresby Society Publications 32 (1929), pp. 59-106, quotations on pp. 100 and 109.

CHAPTER THREE

BENJAMIN GOTT AND THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT OF LEEDS

Benjamin Gott was exceptional: a wealthy merchant who became an even wealthier manufacturer. He was born in 1762 at Calverley, two miles west of Leeds, the youngest son of a civil engineer. Calverley was a clothier village but there is no recorded family connection with the cloth trade. In 1780 Gott's father paid a substantial premium for his son's apprenticeship to the woollen merchants Wormald and Fountain, one of the five largest firms in Leeds. Five years later Benjamin was taken into partnership. By 1790 John Wormald and Joseph Fountain had died and Gott became senior partner to young Harry Wormald and the driving force of the firm.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1792 Gott and Wormald purchased Bean Ing, a meadow on the western outskirts of Leeds, and proceeded to build a factory which astonished visitors and alarmed clothiers. The Leeds historian W. G. Crump wrote in 1929: "Other great mills, either in the woollen or the worsted industry, grew from very humble beginnings, or arose at a later period. But Bean Ing sprang out of nothing; it was an ideal, a dream of the new age of industrialism, materialized forthwith in bricks and iron, in steam and machinery". The first building at Bean Ing was a dry house and scribbling and fulling mill, driven by a 40 horse power Boulton and Watt steam engine. The mill was converted into a factory by the addition before 1799 of weaving shops, spinning rooms, finishing shops, a pressing house, drying house, warehouse, and tenter ground (Figs. 7 and 8). All 29 processes of manufacture were eventually contained within the walls of the mill yard.<sup>2</sup> The scale, degree of specialization and physical concentration of manufacture was

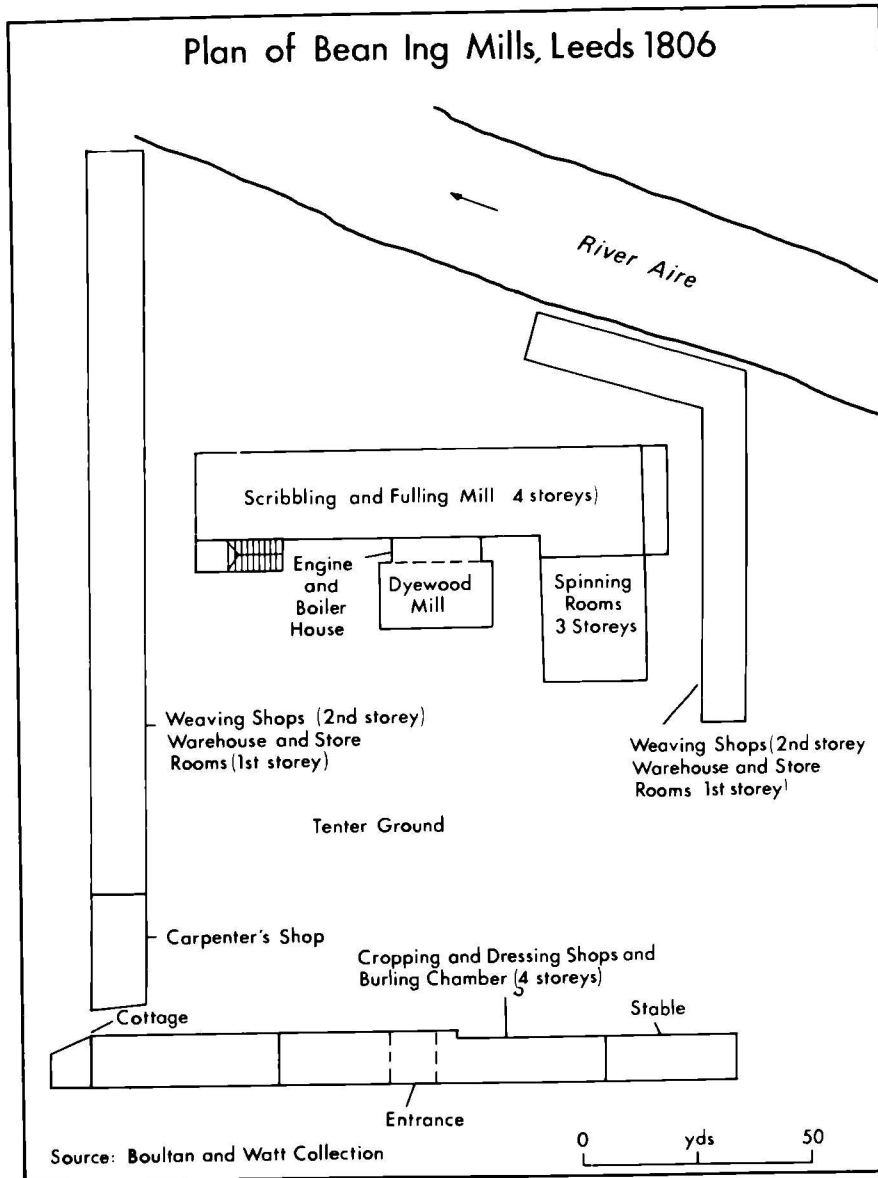


Figure 7 (above). Figure 8 (below) Bean Ing (1929)



THE GREAT MILL-YARD AT BEAN ING

Drawing by Fred. C. Jones

unprecedented in the area. Bean Ing represented an extreme rationalization of both time and space. A clock dominated the mill yard, and workers who were not punctual were locked out. The domestic system was dispersed and the distance covered and time spent transporting wool in various stages of manufacture could be measured in miles and hours but at Bean Ing it was reduced to yards and minutes. The likelihood of embezzlement, theft and industrial espionage were reduced. Arthur Young, who admired the economy of an enclosed landscape commented on his visit to Leeds in 1793: "That evils are found in the present (domestic) system I should suspect by Mr. Benjamin Gott building houses etc. like a town, in order to bring the fabric close, instead of spreading it over the country".<sup>3</sup> Security and close supervision were particularly important in the manufacture of the superfine cloth that was a specialty at Bean Ing. The mill architecture was massive and austere: plain brick walls were pierced by regularly spaced cast iron window frames. In 1824 a large entrance archway and bell cupola were added, giving the factory a sense of magnificence. The building became a symbol of manufacturing pride and was frequently copied by local factory owners whose mills often proved to be smaller than their entrances led a visitor to expect.<sup>4</sup>

On taking up manufacturing, Gott neither transformed his character nor his business methods. His main interest remained the commercial side of the business. He told the House of Lords in 1828: "I was brought up as a Merchant, and became a Manufacturer rather from possessing Capital than understanding the Manufacture. I paid for the Talents of others in different Branches of Manufacture". At that time, when Bean Ing had grown to cover fifty acres and over a thousand workers were employed within its walls, he still purchased three times as much



cloth from domestic clothiers in the cloth hall as he produced himself.<sup>5</sup>

After his marriage in 1791 Gott lived at Burley Bar in a house where the garden stretched down to the firm's warehouse. Reputedly he walked across the fields every morning to be at Bean Ing by 6.00 a.m. but spent most time in the counting house.<sup>6</sup> The works manager was his nephew Joshua Dixon, who had considerable technical and scientific expertise. Responsibility for manufacture was taken by three men who owned their own looms and paid their own wages at rates fixed by Gott, and by another man who was in charge of looms owned by the firm. They did not weave on commission for Gott but he received a commission from them, in lieu of their overhead charges, on cloth which they made to his order and he bought from them.<sup>7</sup> Gott journeyed to the market in Huddersfield twice a week and in most years, he made prolonged business trips around the country.<sup>8</sup> No matter what particular role Gott assumed in the organization of his factory, he was still the reason for its existence and those whose comfort or livelihood it threatened singled him out as a target for their hostility. The conflict between Gott and his croppers was acute. Gott dressed cloth for other merchants. The finishing department of Bean Ing was large and the workforce there, numbering about 80, was well organized. The croppers' union claimed a hundred per cent membership in the area and as operations commenced at Bean Ing local croppers became increasingly militant. In 1793 Gott joined a committee convened to break their union. In 1800 he headed a local volunteer force dedicated to putting down machine smashers and saving Leeds from the French.<sup>9</sup> Labour disputes assumed, at least in the minds of the ruling class, a political significance.<sup>10</sup> But the Combination Acts of 1799-80 forced the croppers' union "into an illegal war in which secrecy and hostility to the authorities were

intrinsic to their very existence". The croppers could bargain collectively without resorting to a formal strike; "a hint would be dropped, an overlooker would be prompted, or an unsigned note be left for the masters to see".<sup>11</sup> Gott was the largest employer in Leeds and he had declared a commitment to large-scale manufacture and opposition to organized labour. Disputes with his croppers escalated into formal confrontations and the dressing shops at Bean Ing became flashpoints of conflict. In 1799 Gott's croppers refused to use a mechanical press. In 1801 Gott attempted to introduce a gig mill. In August of that year a local magistrate wrote to Earl Fitzwilliam: "Gott has been threatened very seriously - his windows all broken in the night, and though a man of pretty strong nerves he has thought it advisable to have an armed Guard about his house which I am sorry to say events have proved to be no more than a necessary precaution. This ill-temper towards him arises from his having put up a Gig Mill in his Factory, which the Croppers consider as interfering with their particular employ, and they are considered as so desperate a crew as Gott to have thought it necessary to take the Mill down again, which is a lamentable circumstance, the Croppers considering it as a victory".<sup>12</sup> A year later Gott's croppers sought a showdown on the apprenticeship question and struck in opposition to the taking in of two boys over the recognized age for starting apprenticeships. Croppers in the rest of Leeds refused to finish Gott's cloth and he failed to recruit blacklegs from the West Country. The magistrates refused to enforce the Combination Laws. A Lincoln's Inn lawyer, acting as arbitrator in the dispute, declared in favour of the croppers.<sup>13</sup> The croppers' union became more powerful and broadened its membership to include not only clothiers, weavers and woolsorters but also workers from other trades

and industries. "By 1806", writes E. P. Thompson, "the case of the croppers had almost melted into the general grievances and demands of the working community".<sup>14</sup> By 1809 all protective legislation concerning mechanization, apprenticeship and numbers of looms and employees had been repealed. Militant activism now in the form of intimidation and sabotage increased, culminating in the Luddism of 1811-12. In May 1812 Gott received a note from 'I.G.', "Your Gardin angell".

A friend of Mine ad it from a Man that was Theair and on Sunday Night at Rounda (Roundhay) Wood to the Number of 400 thay theair Decreed Death of 2 and with Great Diffecalty He Extorted from the man that you was one = Be Careful of your Self for a few Weeks - alter your Usal walks to your Busness ..."

In the aftermath of Luddism the hostility of croppers did not die down. The merchant manufacturer William Hirst, ironically a former cropper of Gott's, claimed that in 1816 when he installed a gig mill he had to have an armed guard round his mill. He never ventured out at night and always kept a brace of loaded pistols in his pocket during the day.<sup>16</sup> During the summer of 1812 Leeds resembled an armed camp but two years later when the French were defeated labour troubles were sunk in an outburst of patriotic fervour in the town. Gott's workers at Bean Ing paraded the streets with emblems of wool manufacture, after feasting at Bean Ing on roast beef and ale. The front of the mill was illuminated by lamps forming a crown and anchor. Gott's house at Burley Bar was lit with glass and mirrors to show the Regent's Feathers and Europa trampling on a serpent and unfurling the Bourbon standard, Fame crowning her with a laurel.<sup>17</sup>

The mill at Bean Ing aroused hostility among middle-class residents in Leeds. The site was sold by the same family, the Wilsons, who had developed an exclusive residential estate a half-mile to the east. Smoke from the steam engines and gas plant drifted with the prevailing

wind across the elegant Georgian houses and squares (Figs. 9 and 10). When the steam engine at Bean Ing commenced operation 93 houses had been built around two squares. A majority of inhabitants were merchants only too pleased to escape the overcrowding in Leeds which, until the development of the Wilson estate, had been largely confined within its medieval limits. The institutional foci of the estate were the Mixed Cloth Hall, where many residents traded, and St. Paul's Church, where residents enjoyed exclusive pew and interment rights. The planned leasehold estate, with strict social and environmental controls, presented a striking contrast to the city centre with its mosaic of small freehold properties and multitude of land uses.<sup>18</sup>

The five residents of South Parade in 1792 looked across an open square to the fine new cloth hall and beyond to the meadows by the River Aire. They included an attorney, a merchant's widow and three merchants - William Cookson, Thomas Lloyd and Edward Markland - who showed no interest in manufacturing themselves and did not remain in business or in Leeds much longer. That year, control of the estate passed to Christopher Wilson who took no interest in preserving the polite character of a residential quarter. He remained an absentee ground landlord and made no effort to enforce restrictions in the leases. In consequence, dressing shops, dye houses, warehouses and scribbling mills were built there. The open space in front of South Parade became a tenter ground. Wilson himself never occupied the family house on the southeast corner of the estate. He explained in 1803: "From the great increase of Manufacturing Trades of late years, and particularly from the Erection and construction of a great Number of Fire Engines and other Erections for carrying on Manufactures the Mansion House would be a very unhealthy Place for Residence and in no

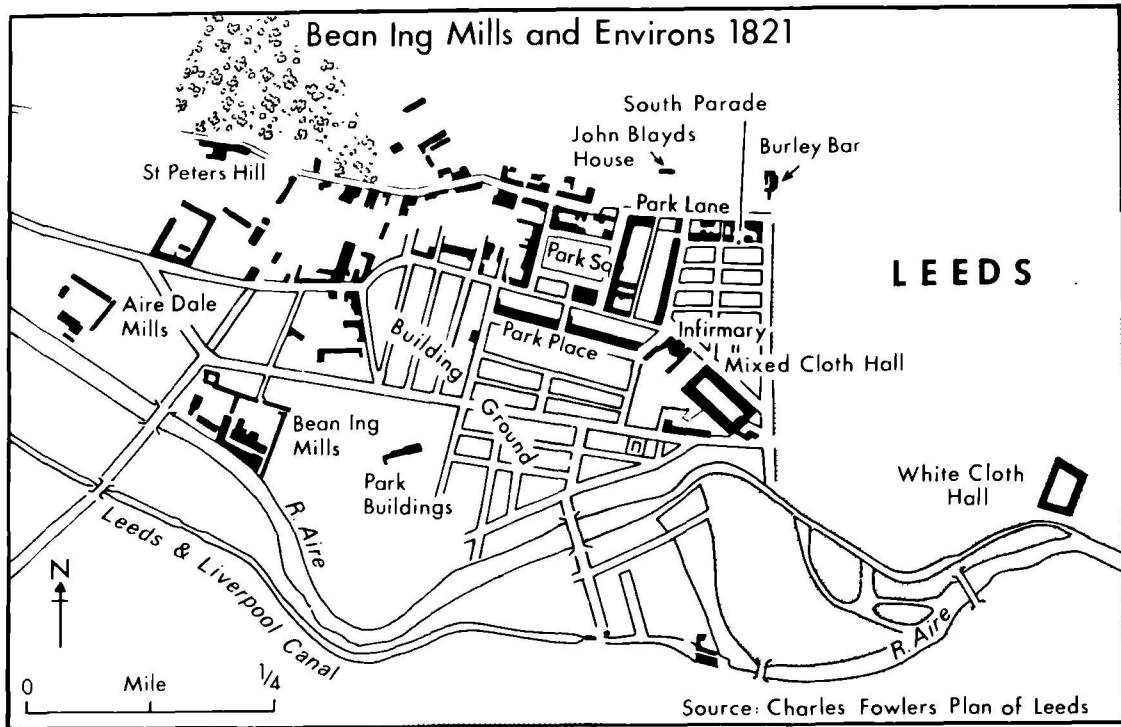


Figure 9 Bean Ing Mills and Environs in 1821

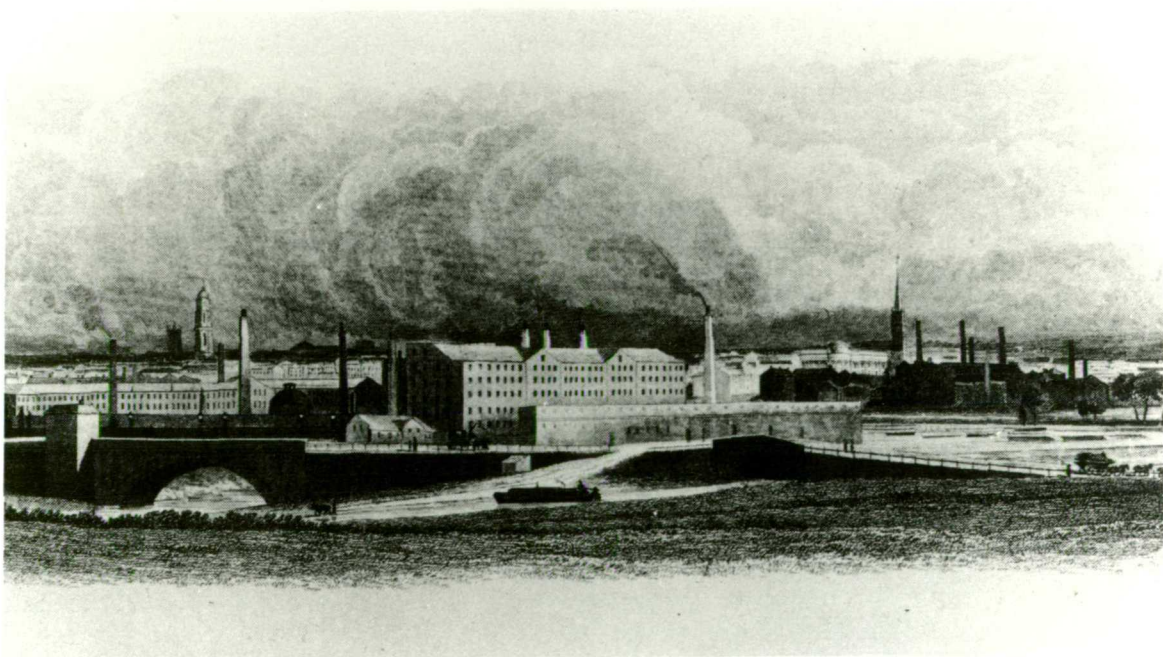


Figure 10 Bean Ing Mills. View from the south across the River Aire c. 1830.

respect eligible for (one) who is wholly unconnected with Trade".<sup>19</sup> His ambition to become a successful racehorse owner was furthered in 1817 by the sale of the remaining land to the south and west of the residential squares. The land was soon covered with factories and cheap workers' housing. Some houses near Gott's mill were "built as cheap as possible for labouring people. Two or three of them were partly blown during the winter (of 1823)". By 1824 Lisbon Street had undergone an "entire change of the class of its habitants from middling tradesmen to labouring mechanics".<sup>20</sup>

Legislation passed in 1821 made it easier to prosecute for smoke nuisance.<sup>21</sup> The installation of a gas works increased the volume of smoke belching from Bean Ing and five residents of Park Place and one of South Parade were among the prosecution witnesses in an attempt to sue Gott in 1824.<sup>22</sup> Gott was now sixty-two and had handed over the burden of running the business to his son, but he was still senior partner and sufficiently involved to be piqued by the legal action. "The old gentleman had become very testy about this prosecution", reported the Leeds Mercury "and considered it an officious interference with his private concerns".<sup>23</sup> The prosecution witnesses lived to the north as well as to the east of Gott's mill, a point which the defence was at pains to emphasize. They included a merchant who claimed that it was risky to tenter his light cloth, a ladies' boarding school mistress who explained that "a lady must go a considerable distance from the town to pluck a rose without soiling her fingers" but who had difficulty in distinguishing Gott's smoke from any other, a retired gentleman who on Sundays could not see the end of his garden and some merchants who lived in the Parks estate but whose own finishing premises, the defence claimed, created just as much smoke nuisance as Bean Ing.

The defence emphasized that one prosecution witness "is not in Trade, but is one of those good easy souls who seldom allow anything to disturb the even tenor of their ways". The defence witnesses included one resident of Park Place who had lived there for ten years, had "always considered it a very pleasant and healthy situation" and claimed never to have heard any complaints from his neighbours. All the prosecution witnesses were middle- or upper-class but the defence witnesses who lived nearer the mill included labourers, artisans and small tradesmen. They testified that they were not bothered by the smoke at all. John Spencer, who made bricks for the houses in Park Lane, declared "there have been so many Gentlemen's seats built within the last 20 years that people talk about (the smoke) more than they used to". The judge found in favour of Gott because most of the prosecution witnesses had moved within range of Gott's mill after the steam engine was started.<sup>24</sup>

In 1816 Thomas Whitaker drew attention to the "dread of smoke and desire of comfort" which had prompted the building of a ring of "cheerful and commodious" villas around Leeds - "a swarth Indian with his belt of beads". Whitaker observed that the decline of Leeds as a residential and social centre for the elite was accompanied by an increase in the appreciation of the local countryside as scenery. "If a merchant smitten with the charms of rural quiet and retirement, erected a country house, it was a gloomy and dismal habitation, with a few distorted evergreens and miserable pot-herbs impounded within four walls ... but now cheerfulness and even elegance had descended almost to the cottage, and a rood of land about a country house is a little landscape".<sup>25</sup> In Armley, 2½ miles west of Leeds, Gott owned a country house situated on a high bluff commanding extensive views of the Aire valley. "I believe Mr. Gott has taken good care to get out of his

smoke", snapped an embittered prosecution witness, " - where does he live? - at Armley House".<sup>26</sup> Gott was a connoisseur of landscape. He hung pictures by Claude, Poussin, Salvator Rosa and Ruysdael in Armley House. Nine out of the ten pictures that Gott loaned to an exhibition mounted by the Northern Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, of which Gott was a founder member, in 1824 were landscapes. He patronised the Yorkshire landscape painter J. C. Ibbetson. He collected books on landscape gardening, including all Humphry Repton's published works. In 1809 he employed Repton to re-design his 73-acre park and the proprietor himself supervised the planting.<sup>27</sup>

Gott began renting Armley House from Thomas Wolrich, a Leeds merchant, a short time after his marriage in 1790, and it became home for his wife's mother and sister. In 1803 he purchased the whole estate from Wolrich's executors (Fig. 11). Visits were frequently exchanged between Armley and Gott's house at Burley Bar in Leeds; the Gott children stayed with their grandmother for long periods and Gott occasionally stayed overnight. It was not until her death in 1816 that the Gotts made Armley their permanent home.<sup>28</sup> Gott had recently taken two of his sons into partnership; they lived in Leeds to keep a close eye on the running of the business. Gott became less active in the firm but did not forsake the commercial or social life of Leeds for the quieter pleasures of rural retirement. He commissioned a bridge to be built across the Aire at Redcote, considerably shortening the journey from Armley House to Leeds. His wife's diaries reveal that in his mid-60s he rode into Leeds twice, sometimes three times a week.<sup>29</sup>

Gott's landscape taste and the design that Repton made for his park reflect the dual outlook of 'a country life in business'. Industrialists who rose from modest beginnings, when they showed any



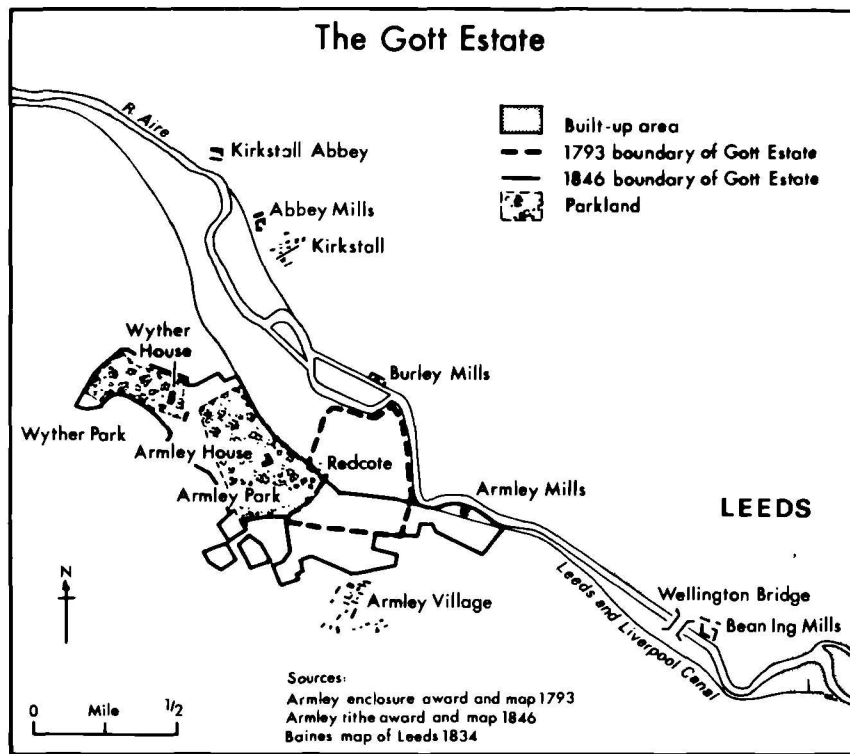


Figure 11 The Gott estate at Armley.



Figure 12 Arkwright's cotton mills by night by Joseph Wright of Derby c. 1783.

interest in art, preferred portraits of themselves to landscapes. Benedict Nicolson suggests "once they had sorted themselves out from the others who had struggled with equal tenacity through a combination of mismanagement and bad luck had come to grief, had reason to be proud of their achievement, and wished to see it immortalised not by banditti plotting vengeance at the entrance to some sun-drenched-cavern, nor by naval tactics in some distant bay, but in the shape of their own bodies, as an example to their descendants". In 1790 Richard Arkwright commissioned Joseph Wright of Derby to paint a portrait of himself. He is shown clutching a model of the spinning frame he claimed to have invented (Fig. 13). The cotton magnate was indifferent to landscape and showed no interest in the view of his mills illuminated by night that Wright had painted in 1783 (Fig. 12).<sup>30</sup> Gott's beginnings were, in contrast to Arkwright's, substantial and in Leeds he inherited a position of ease and some culture. Gott did sit for his portrait; it was painted as one of a pair with that of his wife by Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1827 and they were hung in Armley House (Fig. 14). There are telling differences in composition and characterization between the portraits of Gott and Arkwright. Wright, a provincial painter of industrial scenes as well as of industrialists, depicts a plainly dressed somewhat boorish and braggartly figure seated astride a chair against a plain interior. Lawrence, a painter of the elite of landed and metropolitan society, portrays a refined subject elegantly dressed, posed against a landscape. Lawrence asked Gott to sit in "your usual dress". Lawrence's landscape backgrounds are impressionistic but they are relevant to the life of the subject. The setting for the Gott portrait is parkland sloping steeply behind a column. It recalls the view from the raised portico at Armley House.<sup>31</sup>

Lawrence imposed his own prejudices upon the Yorkshire industrialist's appreciation of park scenery. In a letter to Gott about his journey from Leeds the painter enthused about Chatsworth; "It is the noblest Mansion and park, I Mean for Magnificence, site and scenery that I have ever seen. But I am sending you a letter of idle talk, when you are engaged wither with business, or the duties of affection".<sup>32</sup> Unlike Lawrence, Gott did not dissociate a commercial from an aesthetic outlook in his appreciation of landscapes. He admired views with a utilitarian content. In June 1809 he wrote to his son Benjamin: "We have had Burley Mill illuminated by Gas from Coal for ten days past & a beautiful and interest object it is, the shade of light so pure ... and the quantity so great and at so small a price ... I have ordered similar apparatus for Armley Mill".<sup>33</sup> Gott's use of the adjective 'interesting' is significant: this had not become the rather lifeless word to denote a general and none too forceful power to attract attention that we use today - it still resonated with a specialized financial meaning and also with a stronger sense of moral involvement or concern.<sup>34</sup> In the Observations ... (1803) Repton opposed the interest of an object to its aesthetic value. Interesting objects were "to a benevolent mind ... more than objects of beauty" but that did not justify admitting them into a park or into the view from a park which was an essentially aesthetic construction.<sup>35</sup> In his later writings, describing a picturesque of paternal benevolence, Repton was less dogmatic about the visual opposition of beauty and use. In the Red Book for Sheringham (1812) the moral sense of interest is distinguished from its financial sense; arable land visible from the house reminds its owner of his responsibilities to his tenants and labourers and "the proximity of the Village ... may be a source of interest, more interesting than the

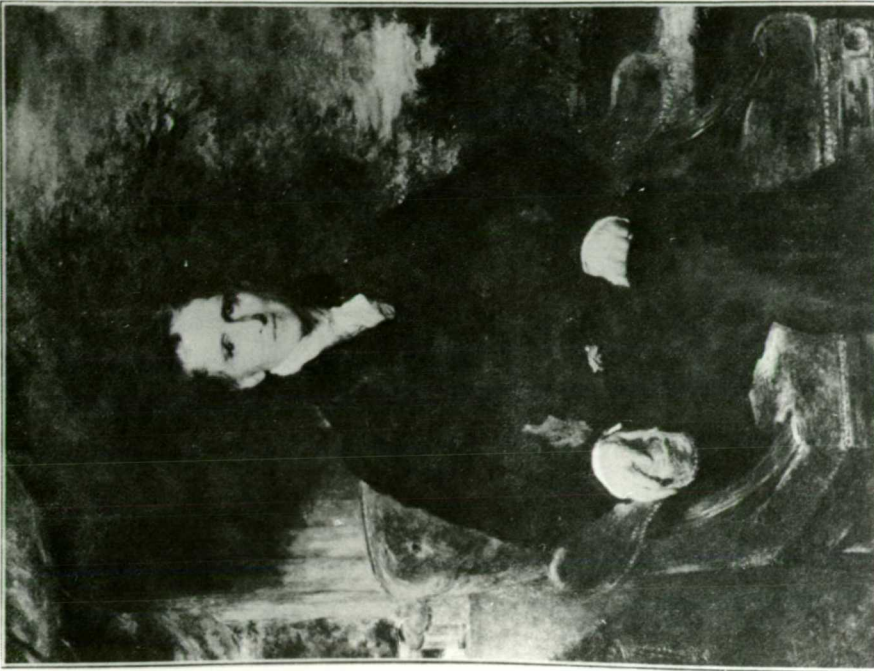


Figure 14 Portrait of Benjamin Gott by  
Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1827.

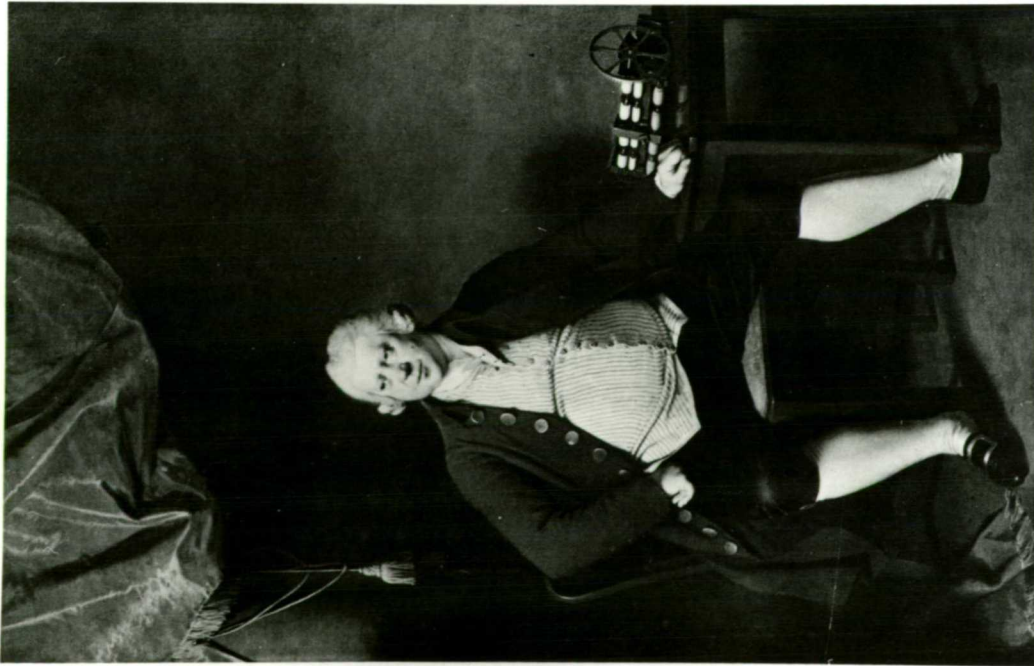


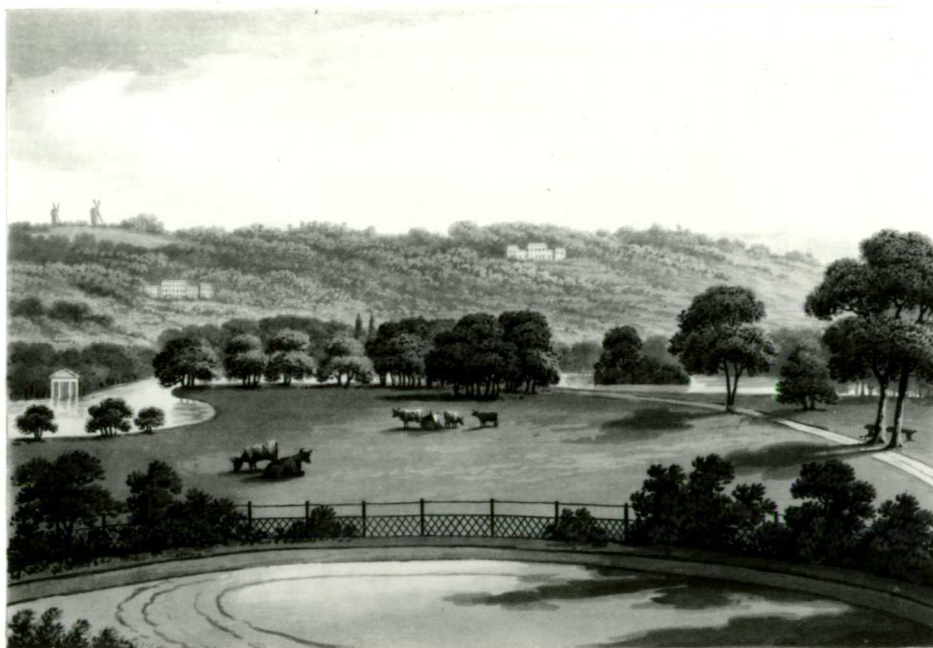
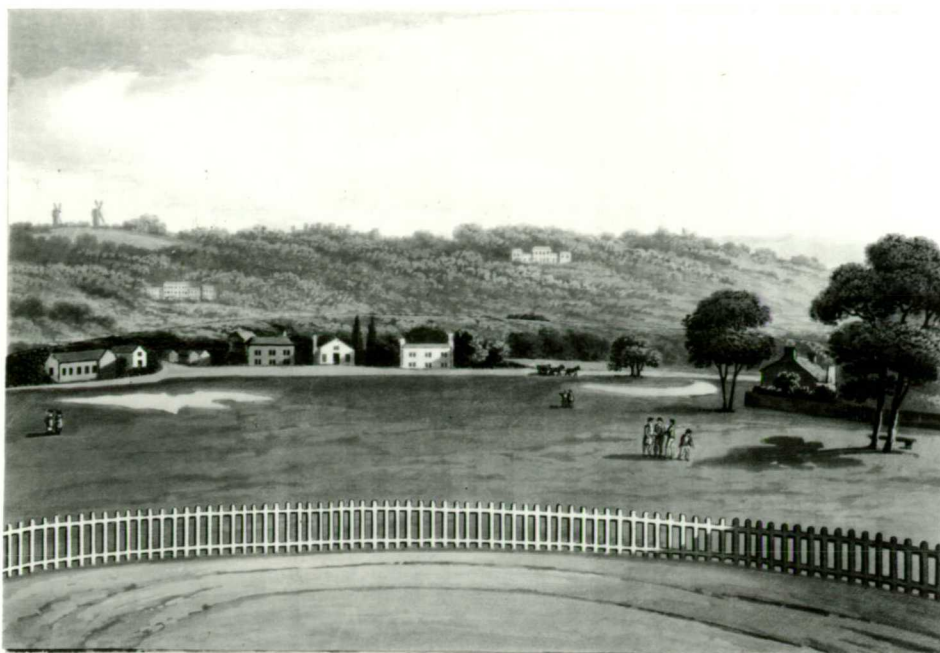
Figure 13 Portrait of Richard Arkwright  
by Joseph Wright of Derby, c. 1790-1.

interest upon interest of the Usurer". Repton's outlook was in accord with the outlook of his fellow Norfolkman, the owner of Sheringham, and the Red Book includes a lengthy denunciation of industrialism, written with a smug conviction.<sup>36</sup> The Red Book for Armley, written three years earlier, is a less genial but more revealing work. The arguments are convoluted and sometimes contradictory; in places the tone is ill-tempered. Christmas with the Gotts in Leeds in 1809 cannot have been a very agreeable festival.<sup>37</sup>

Repton came to Leeds in 1809 probably at the invitation of John Blayds, a banker and a friend of Gott. Blayds inherited an estate at Oulton, five miles southeast of Leeds, and in the summer of 1809 the passing of a local enclosure bill gave Blayds an opportunity to re-design the landscape around the house. Repton surveyed the site in November and completed the Red Book in March the following year. "The changes to be made in the character of this place can hardly be classed under the name of Improvement", wrote Repton, "it is rather the total creation of a new place". Blayd's house in Park Lane, Leeds, had been engulfed in the westward tide of urban expansion. At Oulton Repton created a suburban retreat - a villa in a smallish park where both Leeds and the life of the local community were kept at a distance (Figures 15 and 16). The goose common in front of the house was grassed over, dressed with walks and shrubs; the pond was converted into an ornamental lake; the cottages and chapel "which remind us of a busy town" and farm buildings were either removed or hidden with a raised and tree-covered bank. In 1816 Repton recalled:

The leading feature of the landscape was a row of mean tenements, with some of those places of worship too apt to disfigure the neighbourhood of all great manufacturing districts. These white washed scars in the modern landscape form a melancholy contrast to the venerable churches and remnants of edifices of former times which are now suffered to moulder in ruins.





Figures 15 and 16 The view from Oulton Hall before and after Repton's proposed improvements. These illustrations are taken from Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (1816) and differ slightly from the originals for the Red Book. The Red Book is in Leeds City Archives but is at present not available to be photographed.

Repton erased the visual evidence of the local community in a view across the park extended to include a distant prospect of the park at Temple Newsam, designed in 1762 by Capability Brown.<sup>38</sup>

The commission for Blayds was straightforward. Blayds had no commitment to the economy or society of Oulton and the Red Book is a brief and perfunctory application of Repton's ideas for villas, a fresh inscription on a landscape that to Blayds was tabula rasa. The commission for Gott a month later was problematic. Difficulties arose from the proximity to Leeds, the uses of the surrounding land, the topography of the site, the lifestyle and outlook of the client.

An industrial landscape surrounded Gott's villa and park but its appearance and organization contrasted with that which had developed near his house and garden in Leeds. Adjacent fields to the south were occupied by clothiers and used for tentering cloth. Below the steep wooded sides of the bluff to the north on the Cardigan estate were a chain of water-powered mills extending from a goit that began near Kirkstall Abbey (Fig. 11). The mill at Burley was built by James Graham in 1799-80 and leased to Gott for 21 years. This was a much smaller factory than Bean Ing producing much coarser cloth, mainly army blankets. There is no record of hostility against this mill, probably because it did not compete with the local manufacture of fine broadcloth by clothiers and because there was no finishing there. Also the mill was owned by Graham who had built premises for local clothiers. There were no middle-class residents whose senses might be offended. It was a cleaner, quieter and more elegant-looking factory than Bean Ing.<sup>39</sup> Armley House overlooked Armley Mills to the east. There had been a fulling mill on the site since at least 1590. Thomas Lloyd, a merchant of South Parade with no

personal interest in cloth making, purchased the mills in 1788, remodelled them and added a scribbling mill. The trustees of Leeds Cloth Hall praised Lloyd for his public spirit and encouraged "our Brethren the Clothiers", who had had to travel up to ten miles to get their wool and cloth milled in the dry season, to use them. A short while after 1800 Gott became joint tenant with a corn miller. In 1805 the mills were severely damaged by fire. Lloyd rebuilt them to Gott's specifications and sold them to him in 1807. When Gott showed Repton over Armley he pointed to the most powerful, the most technically advanced, and the safest mill in the area. It was gas lit, fire proof, steam heated through cylindrical columns, and had spacious workrooms. A mill school was built about 1810. A local historian described it as "the most elegant pile of buildings devoted to the manufacture of cloth in the neighbourhood of Leeds".<sup>40</sup> Gott both supported and threatened the livelihood of local clothiers. In 1818 he laid the foundation stone for a bridge, built by his friend James Rennie, which shortened the journey from Armley to Bean Ing and brought the township more effectively within the orbit of his factory. Yet Armley always remained the nucleus of a local domestic industry and in 1824 its capacity was increased to 140 horsepower. Armley Mill was an integral feature of the local landscape: it was the only mill that Gott owned outright and he could look upon it with undivided pride of possession. While Gott himself obtained himself obtained considerable revenue from it, it also served the local community as a public mill. There is no record of labour conflict there and Gott had a local reputation as a kindly employer.<sup>41</sup> Gott gazed down from the terrace of Armley House to his mill where 180 of his employees looked up from their work through the large windows to his house on the hill.



Circumstances at Armley confounded Repton's distinction between a villa and a residence:

The villa is supposed to be the occasional and perhaps only the summer retreat of those whose engagements do not admit the permanent residence in the country; and whether it be the villa of a Prime Minister, or a Merchant, its character supposes seclusion from intruders, with a command of view rather than a territory: because, the vicinity of a populous neighbourhood and consequent excessive value of land, will hardly ever allow a large extent of demense attached to it.

Although land values were high in the out-townships of Leeds, Gott was wealthy enough to make large purchases in Armley. Repton thought Gott should turn his 'command of territory' to good effect by using it as a buffer to urban expansion:

That distance (between Armley and Leeds) is very precarious and will daily become less and less as the increasing prosperity of the town daily increases its dimensions and brings it nearer, and nearer, to the spot under our consideration: a circumstance not to be disregarded, when we reflect on the change so recently produced on Mr. Blayd's house in Park Lane, which was lately in the Country though it is now surrounded by streets and other houses.

Repton justified the presence of clothiers in the adjoining fields on political economic grounds: "it is a proud consideration to reflect, that instead of the adjoining landed property being appropriated to the feeding of a few sheep or cattle, almost every acre supports hundreds of human beings, whose labour and ingenuity are usefully directed to the aggrandisement of the country, while it increases the happiness by increasing the employment of each individual".<sup>42</sup> This moral reflection could not atone for the conspicuous effects of domestic cloth making - the eyesore of cloth drying and the annoying clatter of shuttles; it could not "compensate for the want of that quiet and seclusion, which the country is supposed to afford, and which is the peculiar characteristic of a proper villa". Repton advised surrounding the grounds with a secure fence hidden with a belt of trees.

Gott would then derive more enjoyment from his exclusive if necessarily restricted view than from "the most extensive prospects which the public can enjoy equally with himself ... With respect to the distant prospects they may be so often obscured by smoke or vapour, and even the contiguous landscape may be so marred by the intrusion of unsightly objects, that I may say 'vix ea nostra voco' (we may scarcely call them our own)".

The plans for a villa were never fully realized. Armley became a hybrid of Repton's ideas for a villa and country house. This was perhaps appropriate for an owner who intended to move permanently to Armley but at the time of the commission lived in Leeds and remained there for another seven years. The clothier homesteads to the south of the park were visible on high ground and the orientation of the house towards Leeds was retained. Repton recognized the view east as Armley's principal asset. He advised adding a raised terrace in front of the house "which will become a source of ornament and comfort to whole of East front, as well as a frame worthy of the picture". In the distance Bean Ing was visible against the chimney dominated skyline of Leeds (Fig. 17). The sight of belching smoke, which earlier in the Red Book was regarded as a baneful aspect of the view, is now appreciated for its distancing effect - the "busy town ... softened by its misty vapour". In the middle distance lay the River Aire, the Leeds-Liverpool canal and Armley Mill. Repton advised pruning some woodland to produce a view of the river "without opening too much to a scene that is too populous" and positioning the terrace so that

the line of the canal is more hid and that of the river more visible ... However advantageous such a canal may be in a commercial point of view, when its artificially stiff and parallel lines are compared with the natural bed of the River

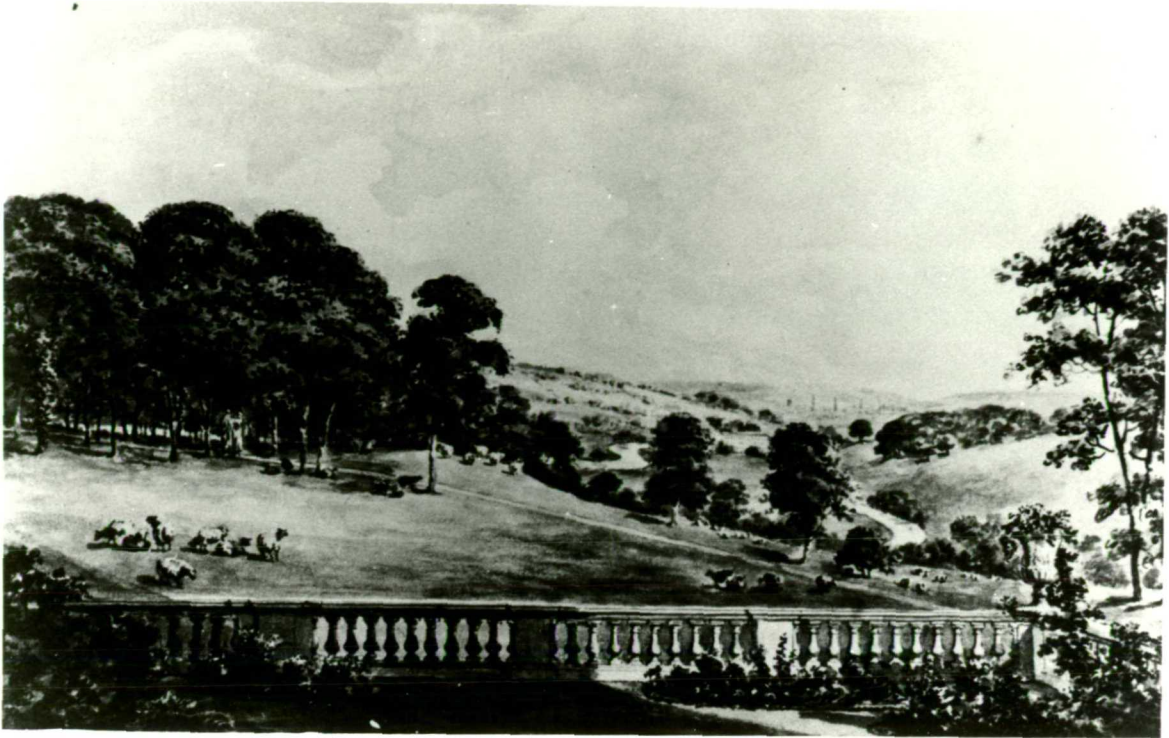


Figure 17 View East from Armley House. Improved view from  
Repton's Red Book for Armley



Figure 18 View of Kirkstall Abbey from Armley Park. From  
Repton's Red Book for Armley.

Ayre, we cannot in a picturesque point of view but regret Brindley's discovery 'that Nature did not intend rivers to be navigable, but that she only created them to supply canals with water'.

The most formal and utilitarian feature of the scene was Armley Mill. Repton made no attempt to conceal it. On the contrary it became, framed by two elm trees in the park, the focus of attention: "The prominent feature of this scene is that large building which at such distance and so accompanied by trees, can never fail to be an interesting object by daylight, and at night presents a most splendid illumination of gaslight". The effects of distance and the rural setting tempered the impact of Armley Mill but there was no mistaking its function. Repton's aversion to the sight of features which signified commerce, industry, hard work and confinement was accompanied by a countervailing appreciation of authentic appearance and an impatience with picturesque excess. In the Observations, for example, he admires St. Luke's Hospital (a lunatic asylum) and Newgate Prison "because they both announce their purposes by their appropriate appearance".<sup>43</sup> Although he mistook the precise purpose of Armley Mill he admired its functional architecture: "I must here compliment the good taste of the proprietor on the unaffected simplicity of this large building, which looks like what it is - a Mill and Manufactory, and is not disguised by Gothic windows, or other architectural pretensions too often misapplied by way of ornament". As a contrast to the modern and utilitarian prospect from the park to the east Repton created an opening in the plantation to the north of the house, to reveal the serpentine bend of the River Aire leading to a celebrated picturesque landmark - the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey (Fig. 18).<sup>44</sup>

The visual connection between Armley Mill and the house was apparent on the approach from the Leeds-Kirkstall road. Repton wished to

strengthen this by enlargements to the house and planting in the park (Fig. 19):

Now from the mass of wood along the ridge above Armley Mill and the hanging trees from the house to the canal, and the manner in which they are combined in perspective, the distant effect of Armley House is that of an important Residence, rather than that of a mere Villa, and this effect is worthy of being increased by proper attention ... We are told at a distance, that is such a Place.

Repton adjudged that the architecture of Armley House "as a mere villa" required no attention but he found it seriously wanting as a family residence. With customary snobbery he described it as "the work of an ignorant country builder after the design of the more experienced ... If columns are necessary at the doors, we do not expect to see their place occupied by bedposts ... The great world of London must be copied at a distance of 200 miles, as well in the shape and uses of a Room, as in its furniture". Repton's design and disposition of the rooms at Armley were in sympathy with the informality of sophisticated social conduct during the Regency. Repton created an enfilade through the front of the house: drawing room, ante room, living room, library and conservatory opened en suite (Figs. 21 & 22). The landscape flowed into the house and was reflected in strategically placed mirrors. Through this "one large room of irregular shape" family and guests could wander and chat, peruse books, sketch, play or listen to music, look at paintings and sculpture and admire the view. For Gott, who entertained liberally, owned a large library and a collection of art, and whose daughters were moderately talented musicians, this was an ideal domestic environment.<sup>45</sup> Repton contrasted it with the "dank cold rooms deemed sacred to the chilling circle of a formal visit; where neither a book nor an instrument were ever suffered to litter and disgrace its solemn state". Repton illustrated this contrast in



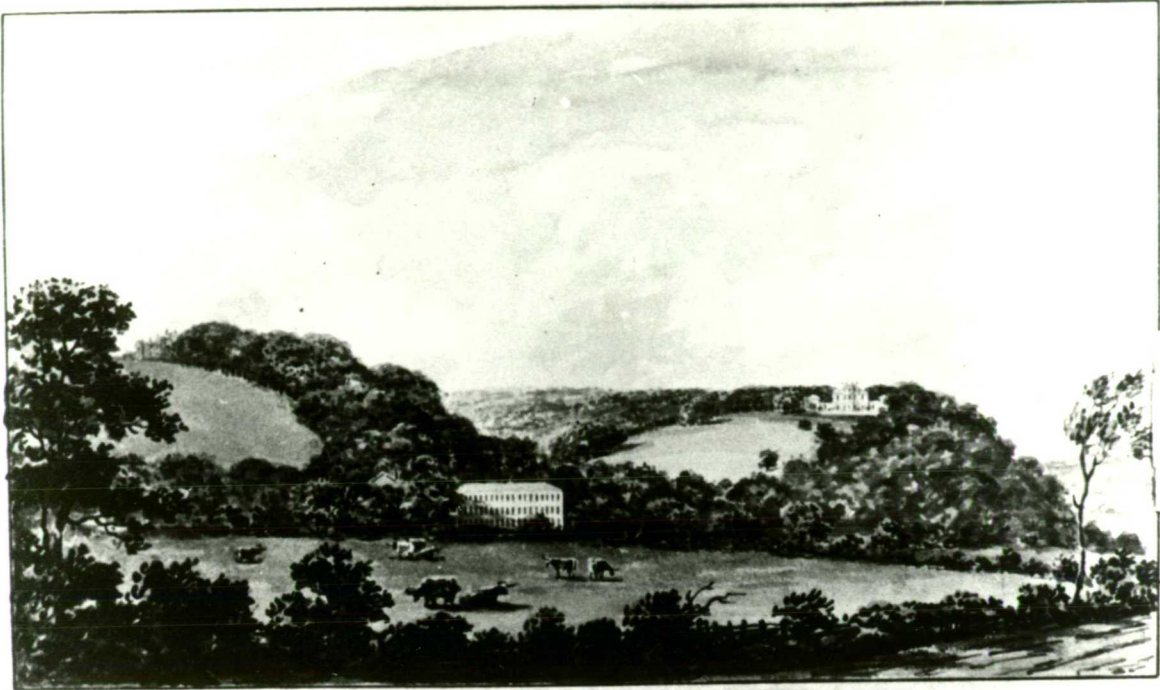


Figure 19 Armley Mill and Armley House from the Leeds-Kirkstall Road. Improved view from Repton's Red Book for Armley.

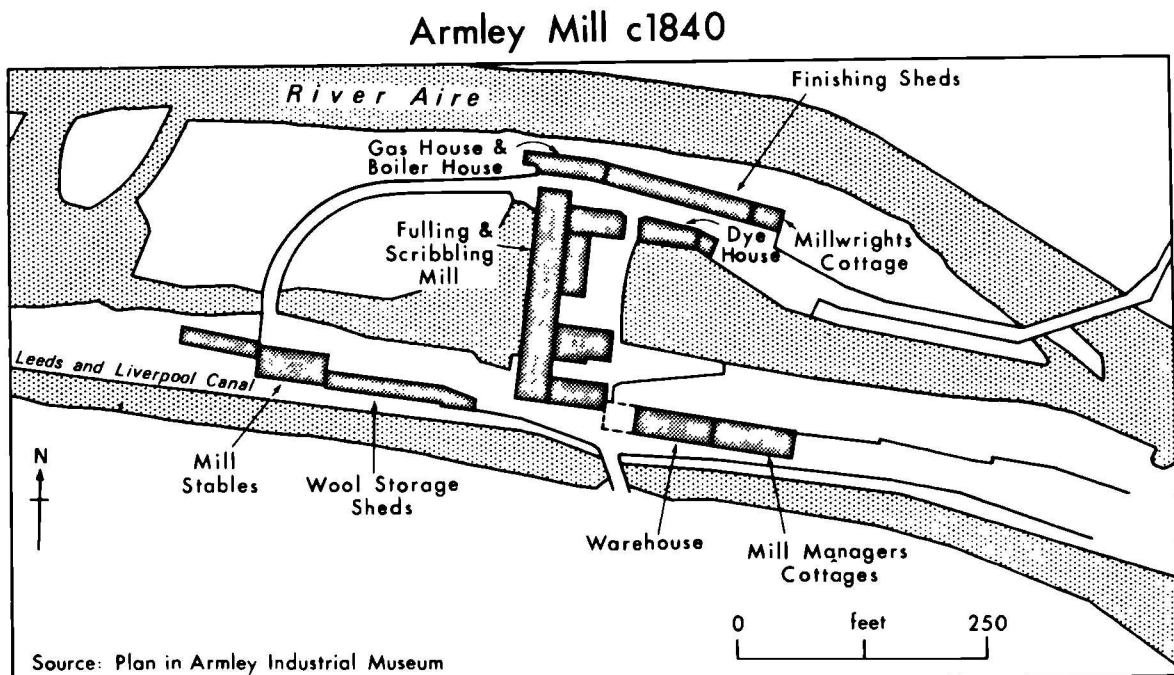
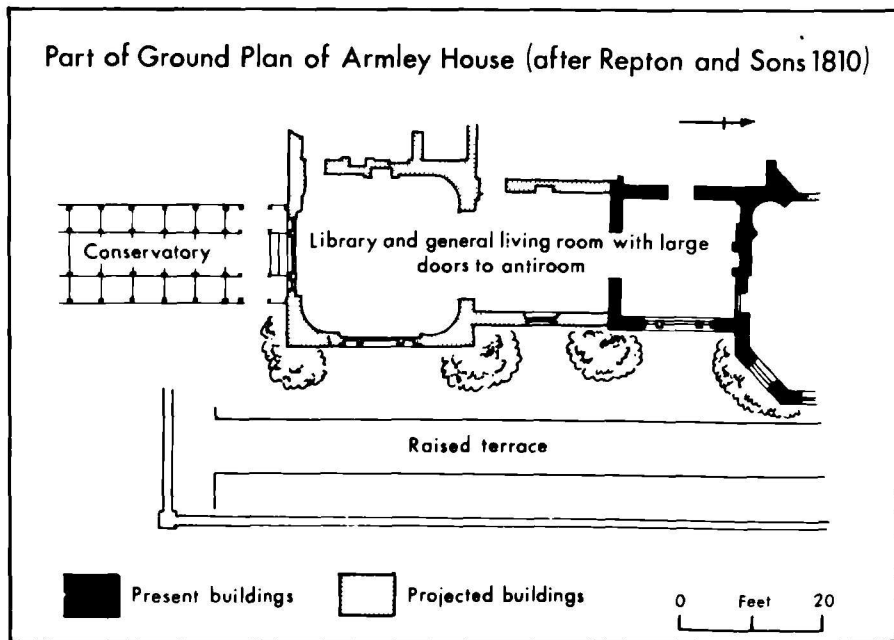
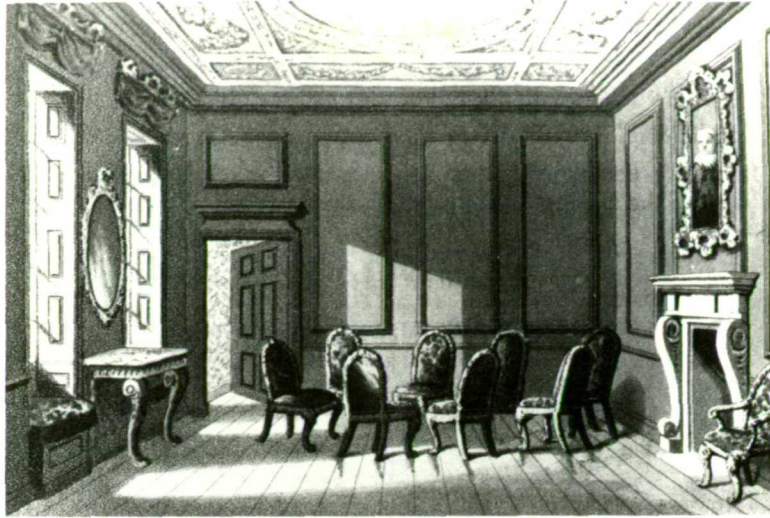


Figure 20



Figures 21 (above) and 22 (below) Figure 21 is an illustration from Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (1816). Figure 22 is part of Repton's plan for the house from the Red Book for Armley.

pictures and verse in Fragments. No illustration was included in the Armley Red Book but one in Fragments conforms with all the details of Repton's ground plan for Armley.

No more the seed of parlour's formal gloom  
With dullness chills, 'tis now the living room,  
Where guests to whim, to task or fancy true  
Scatter'd in groups, their different plans pursue ...  
Here books of poetry and books of prints  
Furnish aspiring artists with new hints;  
Flour's (sic), landscapes, figures, crowned in one portfolio,  
There blend discordant tints to form an olio ...  
Here, midst exotic plants, the curious maid  
Of Greek and Latin seems no more afraid.<sup>46</sup>

Repton's recommended improvements to the park were carried out but his re-design of the house may not have materialised. In 1816-17 the house was re-modelled to a design by Sir Robert Smirke (Fig. 23).<sup>47</sup> John Blayds also commissioned Smirke to re-design Oulton Hall, probably at the same time. Smirke retained Repton's idea of a raised platform from which to view the landscape. A portico with fluted Ionic columns was added to the east front. The conjunction of classical architecture and picturesque landscape appealed to Regency taste. Victorians, sensitive to the social meaning of the park perimeter, interpreted classical mansions as symbols of repressive authority. George Gilbert Scott asserted that "the cold and proud Palladianism seems to forbid approach".<sup>48</sup> Armley House, even in its present truncated form, presents a rather chilling image of domination. It is an image which certainly conflicts with Repton's ideas on the social function of landscaped estates. We do not know how Gott interpreted the architecture of his house.<sup>49</sup> Its social function may be interpreted narrowly in terms of the network of Tory patronage - as a friend and patron of Rennie, Watt, Lawrence and Chantrey, it is not surprising that Gott gave the commission to Smirke. Its local meaning is a matter of conjecture. Gott did not allow local people to wander



over his park at will; he invited children from local churches to the house and park every Whitsunday. Gott worshipped in Armley Parish Church and endowed almshouses, and he was held in not unaffectionate respect by local people.<sup>50</sup> But quite what connection, if any, local people made between class relations and the design of Armley Park is difficult to establish. Certainly, workers at Armley Mill were confronted with a strong visual impression of the authority of their employer.

The only recorded modifications to Repton's plan for the park were to the approach. Repton followed the existing line of approach from Redcote Bridge below the southeastern brow of the park to the kitchen garden (Fig. 24). From there he altered its course and lined it with trees to confine the views to Gott's property and enhance its "apparent extent". In 1835 Gott wanted another approach, perhaps one convenient for the journey to and from the house which he had purchased at Wyther and into which his son John had moved that year. Gott purchased William Sawrey Gilpin's Practical Hints for Landscape Gardening (1832) and commissioned a design from him. Gilpin sanctioned the admission of useful scenes into park landscapes and in his book stated that an approach might pass "with perfect propriety" by arable fields, stable offices and farm buildings. Such is precisely the line of approach adopted for Armley. Gilpin's plans drew a riposte from Joshua Major, a local landscape gardener, who advised a southward approach. This, he claimed, would be more convenient for Leeds and also would give a view of the "perfect Landscape which embraces the Abbey" . He shuddered at the prospect of an approach from the farm: "You are liable either within or about the (farm) Gates to meet with interruptions or disagreeable objects of some kind - for instance leading coals and manure and by persons going to the house on Domestic



Figure 23 Armley House in its present form. Two of the original wings are missing.

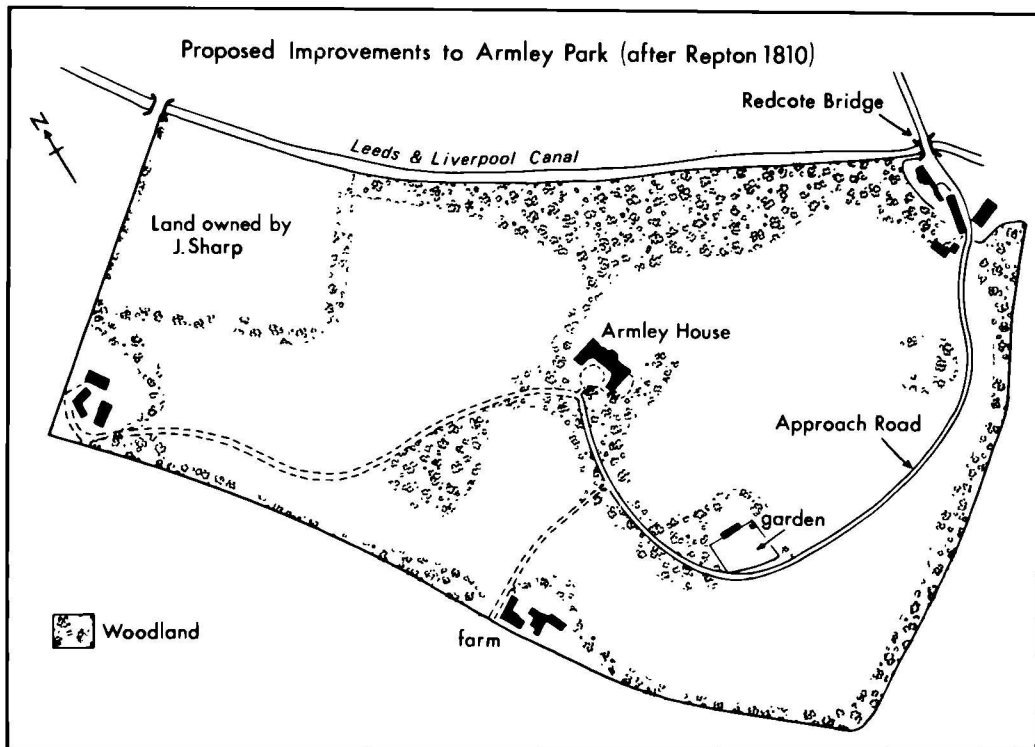


Figure 24

business: Beggars and other unpleasant objects must necessarily present themselves - you will never be private being always liable to be overlooked by your servants or anyone who may be with them". Gott disregarded Major's advice.<sup>51</sup>

In January 1839 Gott retired from business. His eldest son John had been a partner since 1815. Gott intended his sons to be trained in Business from an early age. In his late teens John Gott compiled a mill note book under the tutelage of Joshua Dixon. It included details of all stages of production, including the more offensive such as fulling. This is a recipe from the notebook for fulling wash: one barrow of pigs' dung to eighty gallons of stale urine, let stand for a week when the dung is to be squeezed out by hand.<sup>52</sup> Bean Ing was a showpiece but proved too noxious for those with fastidious tastes. The Prince Regent's secretary explained that when visiting Leeds in 1806 "His Royal Highness expressed himself desirous to see the Manufactory, but ... the fact is that the smell of the different things used in dying &c. is apt to make him unwell".<sup>53</sup>

In April 1811 Gott wrote to his son Benjamin, then aged eighteen: "Your brother probably informed you that he has left the Mills for the Warehouse and Counting House and has begun to attend the Market which I hope he will now soon undertake succession". He encouraged Benjamin in the study of Chemistry and Mathematics, "but in the present state of society in the duties you will reasonably be expected to discharge every branch of learning has its full share of effects". In June Benjamin's tutor described him as "more sedate and reflective than his older brother, more ambitious of general knowledge and professing a refined taste". On his tours of Europe in 1814 and 1817 he combined visits to art galleries and antiquities with visits to factories and the

firm's customers. The letter Benjamin sent to his father in February 1817 from Rome opens with two pages on the state of European commerce and an enquiry about Burley Mill: it continues with ten pages of rapturous appreciation of the landscape of northern Italy. He admired particularly the cultivated look of the Val D'Arno but regretted that the people in the places he visited were in a "state of ignorance and degradation". Benjamin died in Athens four months later. As a memorial to his son, his father commissioned a painted view of the city which was hung in Armley House.<sup>54</sup>

Benjamin Gott died in 1840, aged 78. The last ten years of his life were a period of social turbulence in Leeds. Agitation for political reform and for factory reform was pronounced. The decade closed with a severe depression and militant Chartism. Leeds Tories, few of them manufacturers, were in the forefront of the Factory Reform Movement.<sup>55</sup> Gott was a Tory but he and his sons were reticent on the factory question. No doubt Gott was suspicious of the alliance between Tory squires and radical cloth workers - a nine month strike by his weavers in 1831, which he tried to break with scab labour, forced him to raise their wages.<sup>56</sup> Gott was a friend of the Unitarian Whig John Marshall and the condition of Marshall's spinning mills were a target of reformist propaganda. H. W. Farrar, the manager of Armley Mills, told the Factory Commissioners in 1834 that he did not see the point of regulating hours for such water powered mills.<sup>57</sup> Conditions at Gott's mills do not seem to have been as harsh as many the Commissioners investigated. At Bean Ing men were not dismissed for being unable to work long hours.<sup>58</sup> As early as 1795 Gott asked Matthew Boulton to send him details of the sickness fund at Soho.<sup>59</sup> In 1833 Samuel Day, a superintendent in the finishing shops at Bean

Ing, testified that Gott paid medical expenses and pensions to those injured at work.<sup>60</sup> A year later H. W. Farrar testified that full wages were sometimes paid to those injured at Armley Mills. There were no fines at Armley and no corporal punishment there or at Bean Ing. At Armley there were no reductions in wages because of loss of time due to drought or floods. There was also holiday pay at Armley.<sup>61</sup> Legend has it that Gott used to walk down from Armley House each Christmas and personally dispense gifts to the workers.<sup>62</sup> The mills were on his estate and his attitude to them was more squire-like than was his attitude to Bean Ing which in the 1830s was part of a sprawling industrial city. His sons did make a benevolent gesture at Bean Ing in the depression of 1838-42 when they converted the former tenter ground into allotments for workers.<sup>63</sup> Allotments were intended to promote in leisure time the industrious habits that William Chambers admired when he saw the Bean Ing employees at work in 1841:

Throughout the different large buildings containing the workmen you do not hear a word spoken. Every individual is busy as a bee at his own peculiar work; no such thing as straggling out is observable, and the whole system seems perfect in point of concentrated industry and organization.<sup>64</sup>

The firm was continued after Gott's death by his first and third sons, John and William. They made some improvements to Bean Ing and Armley Mills but lacked the entrepreneurial vigour of their father and were unwilling to adjust to the changing methods of manufacture and trade. The markets for superfines declined. After 1850 the ready-made cheap clothing industry in Leeds demanded inferior fabrics and shoddy. What is more, rivals in the superfine trade were adulterating their cloth with shoddy. The firm asked its travellers in 1863 why orders were declining. One replied: "I know the use of shoddy is very objectionable to you, but if the spirit of competition drives you

to it you must do it or be driven out of the market ... I see no other course". That year William died after devoting most of his time and energy in his later years to his collection of books and art and a house at Torquay. John pioneered the custom for local Leeds businessmen to spend their summers in Harrogate. He moved into Armley House on the death of his mother in 1857. He outlived her by only ten years and his death signalled the end of the family's active involvement in the cloth trade. William's son moved to Armley where he confined his interest to agriculture. Meanwhile the park plantations were allowed to grow and spread to eclipse the view of Armley Mill and Leeds.<sup>65</sup>

Notes: Chapter Three

1. H. Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott and the Industrial Revolution in Yorkshire', Economic History Review 3 (1931), 45-66 (pp. 46-49).  
R. Offer, 'The Papers of Benjamin Gott in the Library of the University of Leeds', in 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', edited by Crump, 167-186 (pp. 170-173).
2. W.B. Crump, 'The History of Gott's Mills' in 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', edited by Crump, 254-271 (quotation on p. 255).  
In 1815 a second mill yard was added. Two 80-h.p. engines were added in 1835 and 1829 to drive gigs and mules.
3. Arthur Young, Annals of Agriculture 27 (1796), p. 311.  
See chapter two, note 1.
4. Derek Linstrum, West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture (London, 1978), p. 292.
5. Report of the House of Lords Committee on the British Wool Trade, P.P. 1828 VIII, p. 526.
6. Mrs. Frank Gott, Memoirs of the Gott Family (1940). Typescript in Gott Family Papers deposited in Brotherton Library, Leeds 15/423, VIII (i).
7. Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', pp. 33-35.
8. Letters to Gott from John Hopps, the counting house Bean Ing Mill, 1796-1809 Gott Business Papers 193. These are printed in Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', pp. 233-253.
9. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Industrial Revolution", 57-58.
10. Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Pelham, 28 July 1802 printed in A. Aspinall, The Early English Trade Unions, p. 46. Fitzwilliam referred to a "Jacobinical conspiracy".
11. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1963), pp. 503, 514.
12. Letter from John Beckett to Earl Fitzwilliam Leeds 8 August 1801 reprinted in Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', p. 327n.
13. Heaton, p. 58-59.
14. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, p. 527.
15. I.G. to Benjamin Gott, Leeds 15 May 1812 Gott Business Papers 193/107. There was little Luddism in Leeds. It was not necessary because the croppers union was so strong and they had forced masters to accede to their demands. See Malcolm I. Thorn's, The Luddites: Machine Breaking in Regency England (New York, 1972), p. 55.

16. William Hirst, History of the Woollen Trade for the Last Sixty Years (Leeds, 1844), pp. 8-19.
17. Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Mercury 23 April 1814 .
18. M.W. Beresford, 'Prosperity Street and Others: An Essay in Visible Urban History', in Leeds and Its Region, edited by M.W. Beresford and G.R.J. Jones (Leeds, 1967), pp. 186-197. Wilson, Gentleman Merchants, pp. 198-203.
19. 'An Act for vesting parts of the Estates devised by the Will of Chrostopher late Lord Bishop of Bristol ... 1803', in M.W. Beresford, 'The Rise and Fall of the West End of Leeds: A Select Anthology of Pollution References' (1972) typescript in Leeds Library.
20. 'Report of the Trial of an Indictment preferred against Messrs. Benjamin Gott and Sons for an alleged Public Nuisance in Neglecting to Consume the Smoke of their Steam Engine Finances at Leeds', York Spring Assizes (1824), p. 9. Brief for Defendants Rex vs. Gott (1823) L.C.A. D.B. 116, p. 12.
21. 1st and 2nd Geo. 4 Cap. 41 (28 May 1821).
22. 'Case for Defence' Rex vs. Gott (1823) L.C.A. D.B. 116.
23. Leeds Mercury 10 April 1824.
24. 'Case for Defence' Rex vs. Gott, 'Report of the Trial ... (of) ... Gott and Sons'.
25. Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete, p. 87.
26. 'Report of the Trial ... (of) ... Gott and Sons', p. 16.
27. 'Catalogue of the Gott Collection' (1894) Leeds City Art Gallery. 'A Catalogue of Pictures by the Ancient Masters in the Gallery of the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts' (Leeds 1824) Diary of Elizabeth Gott 16 January 1810 Gott Family Papers 194 3/8. J.P. Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, Volume 5, (London, 1822). Trevor Fawcett, The Rise of English Provincial Art (Oxford, 1974), p. 88.
28. Elizabeth Gott, Diary 16 February to 7 July 1809, 1 January - 8 May 1810. There are no further diaries until 1829. Mrs. Frank Gott, Memoirs of the Gott Family, pp. 3-5. Gott's sister-in-law remained in the house with her own maid and carriage driver.
29. Elizabeth Gott Diary and Cash Account, January 1829 Gott Family Papers 194 3/9.
30. Benedict Nicolson, Joseph Wright of Derby (London, 1968), pp. 164-5. The painting was sold to Daniel Parker Coke, Fellow of All Souls, M.P. for Nottingham.



31. Letters from Sir Thomas Lawrence to Benjamin Gott 1827-1829, Gott Family Papers 194 2/31-43. See also Hugh Honour, 'Sir Thomas Lawrence and Benjamin Gott', Leeds Art Calender 7, (1954), pp. 13-19.
32. Sir Thomas Lawrence to Benjamin Gott, Russell Square, London, 10 October 1827. Gott Family Papers 2/33.
33. Benjamin Gott Sr. to Benjamin Gott Jr. Leeds 9 June 1809, Gott Letters: Bundle Marked 'Personal', John Goodchild Loan MSS, Wakefield District Archives.
34. Raymond Williams, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (London, 1976), pp. 143-144.
35. Humphry Repton, Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (London, 1803), pp. 92-97, quotation on p. 97.
36. Repton, Plans for Sherringham (1812) no pagination.
37. Elizabeth Gott to Benjamin Gott Jr., Leeds 22-25 December 1809, Gott Papers John Goodchild Loan MSS Bundle Marked "Personal". The Red Book for Armley (1810) is in the Paul Mellon Collection, Upperville, Virginia 22176, U.S.A. A set of photographs of the Red Book is in the Leeds Art Gallery.
38. Humphry Repton Red Book for Oulton (1810) L.C.A. D.B. 176. Fragments, p. 76. See also Bryan E. Coates, 'Park Landscapes of the East and West Ridings in the Time of Humphry Repton', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal XL (1965), pp. 465-480.
39. Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', pp. 269-271. Ward, 'Industrial Development and Location North of the River Aire': 349-350, 371-373.
40. Returns of H.W. Farrer, Manager of Armley Mills to 'Factories Enquiry Commission, Reports, P.P. 1834 (XX), p. 808. Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', pp. 267-269. Thomas Allen, History of the County of York (London, 1832), IV, 432. Armley Mills are now the Leeds Museum of Industry and Science. I am grateful to the curator Mr. P.J. Kelley for providing me with details of the history of the mills, some of which has come to light from recent unpublished archaeological research. Some of the mill history is printed on a twelve page information sheet available from the museum.
41. J. Hanson, 'The Gott Family of Leeds' (part 1) (1926). Hand written manuscript Gott Papers 194 15/423.
42. Repton's attitude to cloth workers here contradicts that in the Red Book for Sheringham where his moral arguments are conservative not liberal. Repton of course had to please his clients. The Armley Red Book has no pagination. Unless otherwise indicated all subsequent quotations from Repton in this chapter are from the Red Book for Armley.
43. Repton, Observations ..., pp. 206-207.

44. The ruins were painted by Thomas Girtin and J.M.W. Turner. See William Bishop, "Views of Kirkstall Abbey", Leeds Art Calender, Number 81 (1977), pp. 10-18.
45. See the recorded impressions of the house and household by the Swiss engineer J.C. Fischer in 1825 and the German architect C.F. Schinkel a year later. J.C. Fischer and his Diary of Industrial England edited by W.O. Henderson (London, 1966), p. 59. C.F. Schinkel, Aus Schinkel's Nachlass (Berlin, 1863), pp. 86-89.
46. Repton, Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (London, 1816), pp. 53-58 quotation p. 58.
47. Estimates, invoices, accounts, receipts from tradesmen in connection with renovation of Armley House (1816-1817). Gott Family Papers 194 2/53. J. Mordaunt Crook, 'The Career of Sir Robert Smirke', (unpublished D. Phil, Dissertation, Oxford, 1961), pp. 382-383.
48. George Gilbert Scott, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture (London, 1858), p. 147. See also Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (London, 1978), pp. 241-242.
49. Dr. Terence Friedman in Leeds Arts Calender (1972) p. 19 suggests that Armley House is a mausoleum for Gott's son Benjamin who died in Athens in 1817. The design resembles that of the Thesium below the Acropolis where Benjamin is buried. Documentary evidence (note 47) shows that work began on Smirke's design before Benjamin Jr. died.
50. Hanson 'The Gott Family of Leeds'. R.V. Taylor, Biographia Leodiensis (London, 1965), pp. 378-379.
51. William Sawray Gilpin, Practical Hints on Landscape Gardening (London, 1832), p. 181. 'Plans of the new approach from the farm gate, Armley House'. Numbers 1 and 2 (1835) Gott Papers 194 2/55, 56. Letter from Joshua Major to Benjamin Gott, 31 December 1835. Gott Letters, J.G.L. MSS. See also Joshua Major, The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (London, 1852), p. 112.
52. Notebook of Prices and Processes, p. 74, Gott Business Papers, 193/117a.
53. Letter reproduced by John Hopps in letter to Benjamin Gott, Leeds, 4 October 1806. Gott Business Papers quoted in Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', p. 241.
54. Benjamin Gott to Benjamin Gott the younger Leeds 7 April 1811. Gott Papers J.G.L. MSS. Andrew Duncan to Benjamin Gott 25 June 1811. Gott Family Papers 194 2/19. Benjamin Gott the younger Diary of Tour, 8 June - 5 July 1814, Gott Family Papers 194/5/5. Benjamin Gott the younger to Benjamin Gott, Rome 14 February 1817, Gott Family Papers 194/5/4. Hugh William Williams to Benjamin Gott, Edinburgh, 9 June 1822, Gott Family Papers 194/2/51.

55. J.T. Ward, "Leeds and the Factory Reform Movement", Thoresby Society Publications 46, Part 2, (1961), pp. 87-118.
56. Leeds Intelligencer 12 May 1831.
57. 'Factories Enquiry: Reports from Commissioners', P.P. (1834), X, p. 808.
58. 'Factories Enquiry: Reports from Commissioners', P.P. (1933), XX, p. 103.
59. Benjamin Gott to James Lawson, Leeds, 20 May 1795, Boulton and Watt MSS, Birmingham, reproduced in Crump, 'The Leeds Woollen Industry', p. 216.
60. P.P. (1833), XX, pp. 102-103.
61. P.P. (1834), X, p. 808.
62. Information from Mr. Kelley, curator of Armley Industrial Museum.
63. Penny Magazine Volume 12 (1843), pp. 457-464 (459).
64. Quoted in Henry Bourne, English Merchants Volume II (London, 1866), p. 353.
65. Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott and the Industrial Revolution', pp. 65-66, quotation on p. 66, R.V. Taylor, Biographia Leodiensis, pp. 511-514. Letters from William Ewart Gott to Francis Gott, September 1879, 10 October 1879, Gott Family Papers 194 8/7, 9.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE "MERCHANT PRINCES" OF WAKEFIELD

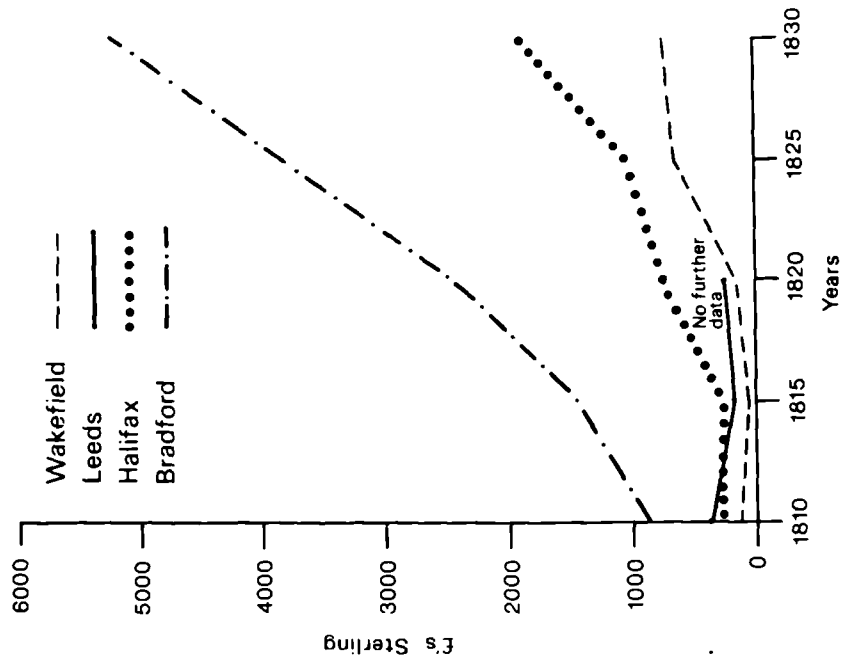
Georgian Wakefield impressed visitors. Defoe described it as "a clean, large, well-built town, very populous and very rich".<sup>1</sup> It developed a sophisticated social life in the eighteenth century and rivalled Leeds as a centre for polite leisure and entertainment. As the county town it attracted the local gentry who came in also for the races, assemblies, coffee houses, pleasure gardens, theatre and concerts, to consult with their lawyers and to purchase luxuries.<sup>2</sup> During Race Week in 1774 Tate Wilkinson brought his theatre company to Wakefield and was "astonished at beholding the number of Gentlemen's elegant carriages attending that theatre, to convey their wealthy and spirited owners to their neighbouring villas, several of which may be termed palaces".<sup>3</sup> "Wakefield is now considered as one of the handsomest and most opulent of the clothing towns, being inhabited by several capital merchants who have costly and elegant houses", wrote J. Aiken in 1795.<sup>4</sup> Wakefield was in the Georgian period the predominant wholesale market for wool, cattle and corn in the West Riding but it was the cloth merchants, the "merchant princes", who were the commercial and social elite of the town. Most of them owned small estates within a few miles of Wakefield and also kept up fine houses in Westgate, the largest of the three main streets that radiated from All Saints Church. Westgate was the wealthiest residential quarter of Wakefield. The mansions of the merchants lined the street; in the yards were their business premises and cheap cottage property. In May 1777 Samuel Corwen, an American loyalist refugee, arriving in Wakefield from "Black Barnsley", noted the

"evident tokens of taste in building" in the town, and described Westgate as having "the most notable appearance of any street I ever saw out of London ... were it not for some old low buildings, London could not boast a more magnificent street".<sup>5</sup>

During the opening decades of the nineteenth century the rates of population increase and industrial growth were considerably lower than those in Leeds or the worsted towns further west (Figs. 25, 26, 27). The implications for the character of the town were significant. Baines' Directory for 1822 commented: "The manners of its inhabitants unite the honest frankness of the manufacturing character with the urbanity and the polish of those places where the clatter of the shuttle never breaks upon the ear of the stately citizen".<sup>6</sup> Twelve years later Edward Parsons, a county historian, observed: "There is more general diffusion of comfort than in most other places in the district and both the appearance of the town and the manners of its inhabitants are indubitably superior to those of the places which are exclusively peopled by clothiers".<sup>7</sup> Wakefield's reputation was that of a genteel backwater which had somehow been cut off from the vigorous and turbulent currents of industrial society. Local reaction to this was divided. Some were thankful that Wakefield had been spared the baser social and sensual aspects of neighbouring industrial towns; others complained that it lacked the entrepreneurial spirit of these places.

Unlike Leeds, Wakefield had never been an important centre of cloth manufacture. White cloth was produced in the surrounding villages: "in most of the houses in the village of Alverthorpe and the adjoining ones to the west", Henry Clarkson recalled, "one or two looms could be found; and the clatter and hum of the shuttle could be heard from early morning to evening".<sup>8</sup> The later eighteenth-

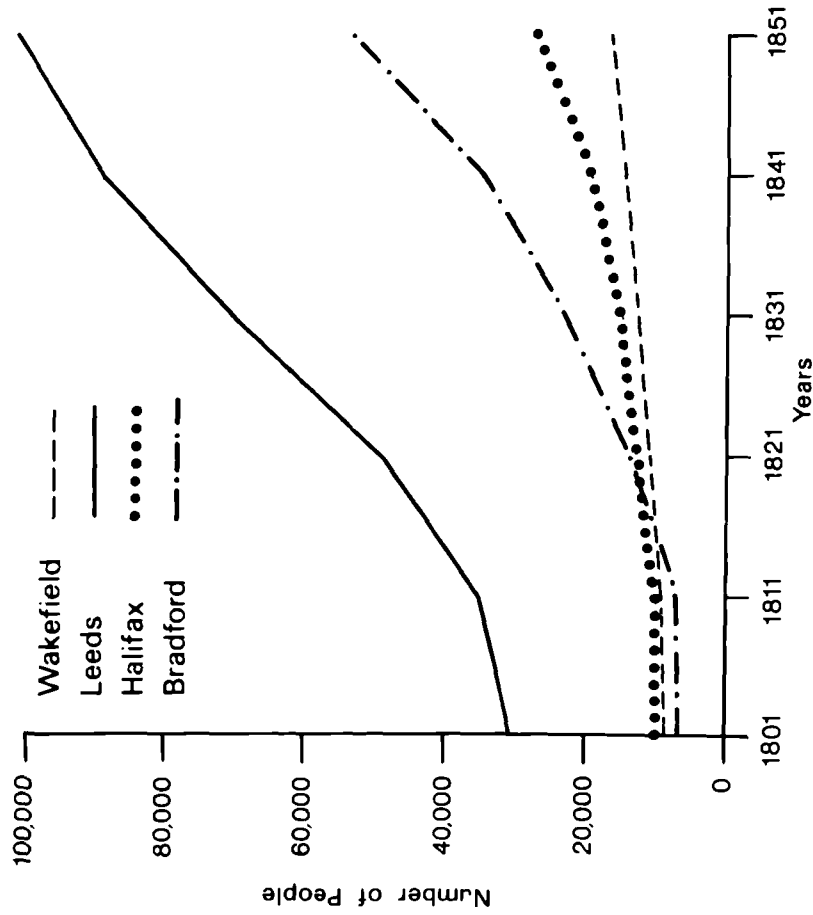
Drawback on Soap 1810-1830 used in Worsted Manufacture  
Tax 2<sup>s</sup>4<sup>d</sup>/1lb (hard water) 1<sup>s</sup>3<sup>d</sup>/1lb (soft water)



Source J. James History of Woollen Manufacture in England (London 1857) chapter 10.

Figure 26

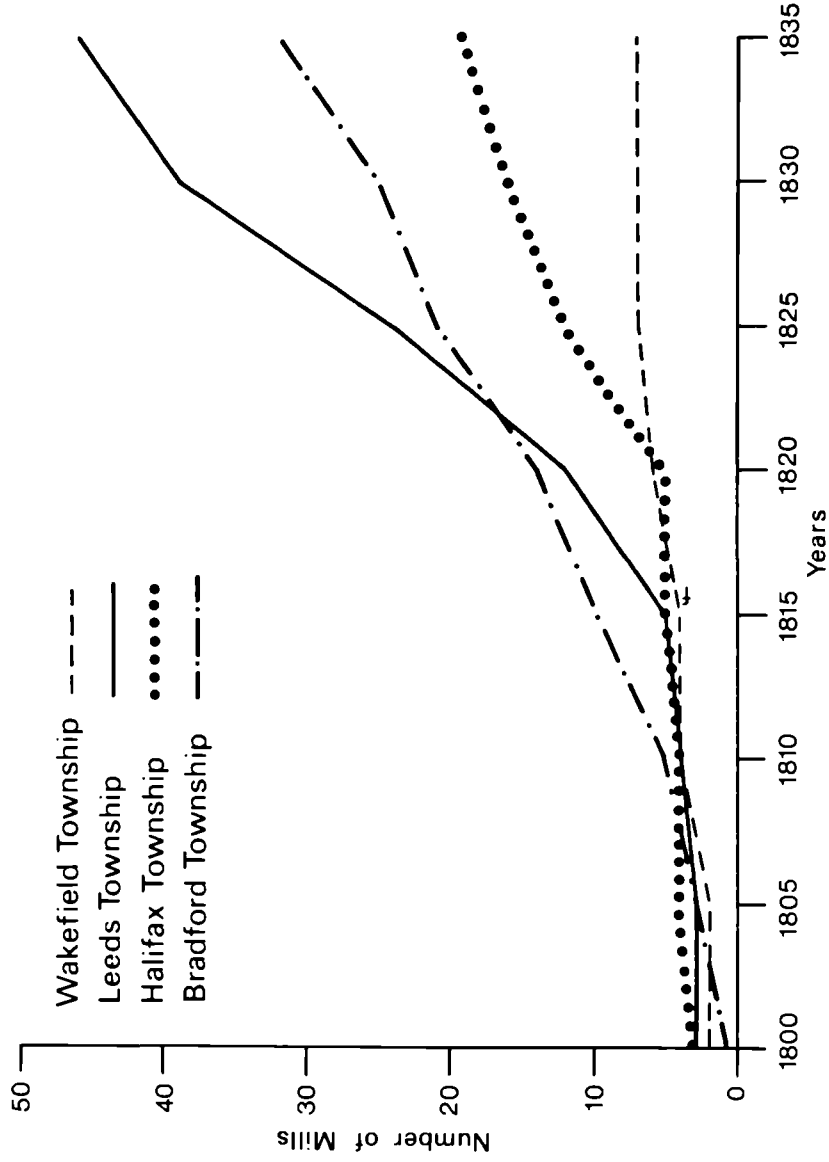
Population Growth of Townships 1801-1851



Source Printed Census Returns P.P. LXXXVI 1852-1853

Figure 25

Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Mills included in 1835 Factory Returns



Source: D.T.Jenkins, The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770 - 1835  
A study of Fixed Capital Formation (Edington, 1975) pp 242-275

Figure 27

century local clothiers specialised in 'tammy' a glazed worsted used for blinds and curtains and particularly fashionable on the Continent. This justified the building of a special Tammy Hall in Wakefield in 1778 but changes in fashion and the Napoleonic blockade caused its demise. In 1857 an octogenarian former chairman of the Leeds Worsted Committee reflected on Wakefield's comparatively poor industrial performance: "there was no spirited individual to raise up the factory system and we must attribute its loss of the worsted trade mainly to its manufacture having been confined, as it were, to one article which had gone out of vogue and the lack of ingenuity to devise new articles".<sup>9</sup> Many local commentators agreed that a rich and powerful minority had conspired to prevent industrial development. The Rev. Charles E. Camidge wrote in 1866:

It is a well-known fact, that at the time when manufacturers began to excite considerable interest in the West Riding, the aristocracy of Wakefield, who had already made their fortunes, refused to permit mills or factories to be established here; they were well content to ride in their carriages and four, and attend the markets in other towns, but would not have manufacturers brought to Wakefield ... It was, however, but a shortsighted policy, for after a while they removed from the town, and left poor Wakefield to itself without its aristocracy, and without the manufacturing wealth and importance which otherwise would have remained here.<sup>10</sup>

The commercial aristocracy of the cloth trade in Georgian Wakefield showed little personal interest in manufacture but there is no evidence that they were actively opposed to it. The most powerful merchanting family were the Milnes. They claimed descent from the Derbyshire gentry and settled in Wakefield in 1690. By the middle of the eighteenth century four branches of the family had accumulated a huge fortune principally in the export trade to Russia. Their townhouses, designed by John Carr, the leading architect in the county and consultant to the Fitzwilliams at Wentworth Woodhouse, were constructed



from bricks made at the family's kilns and from timber imported from Russia. These were built at the same time and next to a new Unitarian chapel (1751-2). Most of the leading cloth merchants were Unitarians and the Milnes dominated the congregation.<sup>11</sup> The life-style of the Wakefield congregation was considerably less frugal than that of other Non-conformists. They were not noted for evangelism or the tireless endeavour of Unitarian manufacturers such as Marshall, Wedgwood, Oldknow and Strutt. Neither were they renowned for the Unitarian virtue of intellectual enquiry. A visitor to the chapel in 1787 noted with evident surprise:

Instead of philosophy and Theology we talked of I scarce tell thee what, and we spoke of Matlock and of Buxton, and of what dashing youths were there, and of the Lords and Dukes, and of their equipages, and of their horses, and of their laquies and of their dogs".<sup>12</sup>

Leading members of the congregation attended both the chapel and the parish church. An accommodation with the Established Church was in general socially advantageous but specifically it enabled members to hold positions of local office from which, as dissenters, they were nominally debarred.

By the end of the eighteenth century the involvement of the Milnes in the cloth trade had lessened considerably. John Milnes abandoned business wholly for pleasure. His house in Westgate, the largest and most luxurious in Wakefield, contained a suite of ball-rooms and concert rooms. Tate Wilkinson described it as "one of the most elegantly furnished houses of any private gentleman in the kingdom". Milnes brought over Italian artists to paint the ceiling. A fine collection of books lined the shelves of his library and a fine collection of paintings was displayed on the walls. The grounds at the rear of the house were wholly ornamental. A garden

with an arbour and an Italian summer-house stretched down to the Ings, the meadowland of the River Calder. A sunken fence at its foot hid a public footpath, and from the summer-house Milnes enjoyed "an unbroken view of pleasant fields up to Lawe Hill".<sup>13</sup> If this scenery proved too bland or provincial he could go inside and sharpen his tastes before painted views of the Alps and the Italian campagna. Milnes was a connoisseur of landscape. From the mid 1770s to the early 1790s he accumulated one of the largest collections of landscapes painted by Joseph Wright of Derby. It included the celebrated Siege of Naples but no scenes of industrial England.<sup>14</sup> In 1780 during his social prime he employed six male servants to support his lifestyle. In 1798, after his wife's death, he employed only one, and he lived in a small cottage built in his garden. By 1808 he had left Wakefield.<sup>15</sup>

John Milnes' cousin James lived next door in a smaller house. He was active in the cloth trade and in the 1780s made a loan to Ebenezer Aldred, a fellow Unitarian, to build a scribbling mill at Westgate End. In 1781 a judicious marriage to the daughter of a Unitarian merchant from Leeds, Hans Busk, realised him over £100,000.<sup>16</sup> James purchased land across the River Calder in the township of Thornes, embarked 112 acres and commissioned John Carr to design him a twenty four bedroom palladian house. The house had both urban and rural characteristics. The interior was a scaled down version of Harewood House with a circuit of rooms but the exterior, with a flat facade ornamented with a pediment and fluted Ionic pilasters, was more like a town house. The plans published in New Vitruvius Britannicus, dated 1800 when Milnes was no longer living there, show domestic offices in one wing and stables in the other.<sup>17</sup> Reputedly Milnes used one wing as a warehouse and counting house.<sup>18</sup> Thornes House

commanded "a charming view of the town of Wakefield and its two handsome churches"<sup>19</sup> but it was a view that Milnes forsook in 1799 when he sold the house and moved to a house in Piccadilly from where he participated more fully in Whig politics and took his place in metropolitan society. From 1804 he was Member of Parliament for Bletchingley in Surrey.<sup>20</sup>

On the opposite side of Westgate lived Pemberton Milnes and his nephew Richard Slater Milnes. In 1775 Pemberton settled £20,000 on his daughter to marry the son of the Archbishop of York. Four years later he spent a further £30,000 on an estate at Bawtry, near Doncaster, where he devoted more time to the politics of the Yorkshire Association, horse racing and drinking port which he bottled himself and reputedly drank more of "than any other gentleman in Yorkshire".<sup>21</sup>

Richard Slater Milnes married the other daughter of Hans Busk and like James Milnes received a handsome dowry of over £100,000. In 1786 he purchased the 1,373 acre Fryston estate two miles from Pontefract. He refaced the house in the Italian manner. To seal his status he commissioned Stubbs to paint him hunting in a Yorkshire landscape. He was a diligent improver. In 1791 he was awarded the gold medal from the Society For the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce for planting 384,300 mixed trees on his estate.<sup>22</sup> His house in Wakefield was sold in 1809, five years after his death, but his widow kept up the business in partnership with a fellow Unitarian, Benjamin Heywood. His second son, Rodes, travelled the twelve miles from Fryston to Westgate two or three times a week. Business commitments proved too irksome for him and he abandoned himself to the pleasures of drinking and gambling with the Prince Regent's set and in the process almost dissipated the family fortune.<sup>23</sup> When

Mary Spencer Stanhope, an intimate of Rodes, made the journey from Fryston to Wakefield in January 1807 it was to a neighbourhood ball; there she was astonished to see "a Bond Street loungeur ... I believe he was rouged".<sup>24</sup> Rodes' elder brother Robert Pemberton, after a brief political career, dedicated himself to improving the agriculture and hunting on his estate, and paid off all outstanding debts. The Milnes' connections with the Wakefield cloth trade were finally severed in 1825, when their second partnership with another Unitarian family, the Holdsworths, was dissolved. The lease of their premises was sold to the Holdsworths two years later.<sup>25</sup> The details of this lease reveal that the firm had begun manufacture - the property includes a steam-driven scribbling and finishing mill and spinning and weaving shops - but while the cloth was being produced, the corpulent Rodes was either drunk at the races or taking pot shots at game from a special revolving chair built for him in the park at Fryston.<sup>26</sup> When Robert Pemberton's son Richard Monkton Milnes, later Lord Houghton, succeeded to the Fryston estate commerce was an agreeably distant memory. His active involvement with Fryston estate amounted to a mild interest in ornamental landscaping. His forebears had reconciled business with pleasure in an agreeable urban setting. In 1841, when Thomas Carlyle visited Fryston and recorded his impressions, the local towns presented a darker and more disturbing image to country gentlemen:

It is almost strange to myself how memorable Fryston, with its porches, parks, and all the environment far and wide now dwells with me ... airy hill tops, with an outlook over wide fruitful expanses: and ever in the distance some Leeds, some Wakefield sending up its great black smoke coulisse, its great black banner which announces "Behold, Oh Squire, I too am here!"<sup>27</sup>

The Naylor's were the self-proclaimed successors to the Milnes dynasty in the Wakefield cloth trade. "The Milnes were ... the Naylor's

will be", was their family toast around 1800.<sup>28</sup> John and Jeremiah Naylor began business as cloth merchants in 1775. The previous year they began renting one of the most expensive pews in Wakefield chapel, flanked on either side by the Milnes'.<sup>29</sup> But they never approached the wealth or lifestyle of the Milnes, even at the height of their trade with Portugal and South America when, according to John Clarkson, a cloth-dresser they put out to, they purchased a thirteenth of all cloth manufactured in the West Riding. Their social and geographical horizons were more circumscribed; their houses were smaller; they had fewer servants and carriage horses - Jeremiah possessed only an old grey mare on which he rode twice a week to the cloth hall in Leeds. John Clarkson's son Henry described Jeremiah as "the working bee of the concern and by no means such a polished gentleman as his brother". The counting house, packing shop and warehouse and finishing shops were in the rear of his house and the tenter ground extended down to the Ings. John Naylor, the senior partner, "always very well-dressed and wearing hair powder" lived a mile and a half away at Belle Vue, but rode into Wakefield to attend business every day. In his years he spent more time on his estate at Newstead Hall near Hemsworth, "a genteel neighbourhood", where he rented two and a half pews in the parish church, having been confirmed in 1799.<sup>30</sup>

Jeremiah Naylor was the main spokesman for the Wakefield commercial interest before the parliamentary enquiries into the woollen trade. He was very much a representative of the old order: "I am not a manufacturer, or ever intend to be" he declared in 1806. He purchased all his cloth from domestic clothiers and valued the trust he had established with them. "I know nothing of (the cloth) until it comes to the market" he testified fifteen years later; "I conducted

my business with a great deal of pleasure to myself, and also to the manufacturers". It was, Naylor said, "a trade of confidence". He employed twenty-five croppers in his own workshop as well as putting out work to two independent cloth dressers in Wakefield. He didn't use the gig mill - it was, he said unsuitable for the cloths he purchased - and claimed he had never seen one even though some were in use in Wakefield. With characteristic insouciance Naylor replied to a question on combinations among cloth workers: "we have very little of disturbances in the town I live in; they have at times turned out, but I always looked upon it more as a holiday". He didn't consider it mattered "in point of morality" whether cloth workers lived with their masters or worked at large. Naylor was not opposed in principle to modern innovations in the organization and technology of manufacture. He and the Wakefield merchants he represented were strongly opposed to petitions to restrict the number of looms in one workshop and to enforce the apprenticeship laws. "Every Merchant, to a man, I was with the day before I came off, and they were all inimical to the (clothiers') petition", he told the Select Committee of 1806. Naylor thought cropping machinery would lighten labour and not put men out of work; he described the apprehensions of his croppers as "a phantom".<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless Naylor did not let his principles prejudice his business methods and this was probably wise. In 1806 he confirmed that the unions were particularly strong in Wakefield and had successfully forced employers to submit to their demands.<sup>32</sup> "So cautious are they now become", wrote a Wakefield magistrate in 1804, "no general striking or communication with masters is necessary; it is done in a way which is perfectly intelligible to masters, but so as impossible to be given in evidence to prove a combination".<sup>33</sup> The

quiescence of Wakefield at this time is deceptive; it masks tensions which could erupt through a rather featureless surface of documented events. The use of machinery was not widespread in Wakefield, perhaps in consequence of the power of the croppers' union, and its installation precipitated strikes. Henry Clarkson recalled the atmosphere of 1812: "The Luddites were becoming very much dreaded in this neighbourhood". Clarkson's father invited the attentions of the Luddites. There is no record of him mechanising his cloth dressing but in 1812 he installed spinning mules in the scribbling mill at Westage End that he had taken over from Ebenezer Aldred sixteen years before. He dismantled them after receiving a threatening note from General Ludd wrapped round a stone thrown through his window.<sup>34</sup> Two miles away at Horbury Bridge Joshua Foster established the first fully fledged manufactory in the Wakefield area. On 9 April 1812, a few days after the threat to Clarkson and a few days before the attack on Cartwright's mill at Rawfolds, Foster's factory was beseiged by several hundred men. His two sons, who were posted to guard it were bound. In his account of the attack one son recalled that the Luddites did not wander through the factory breaking machines at random; instead they bypassed the scribbling machines "which when they saw they said they were not what they wanted for the machines they wanted were the cropping machines". The gig mills and shearing frames were destroyed, the cloth was set ablaze.<sup>35</sup>

Foster's experience may have dissuaded others from becoming large scale manufacturers. The Naylor's continued to purchase from domestic clothiers and to have their cloth finished by hand. They made their exit from the trade at about the same time as the Fryston branch of the Milnes family but more suddenly and in a much less graceful fashion.

In the depression of 1825 their bank, Wentworth, Challoner and Rishworth, failed. This dealt a severe and stinging blow to the local trade because many smaller firms had entrusted their capital with the Naylor's. The Naylor's struggled on for four years until May 1829 when their creditors met and closed the business. The brothers were forced to sell their homes and business premises. John Naylor died the following year. Jeremiah Naylor moved to the village of Rawmarsh near Rotherham and into obscurity.<sup>36</sup>

Two exclusive residential estates - St. Johns and South Parade - contributed to the impression of Wakefield as a place of Georgian elegance. The houses of the St. Johns estate were built on two sides of a square containing a new Anglican church a quarter of a mile from the built-up edge of the town. The developer was an enterprising and unscrupulous local lawyer, John Lee who convinced the parish he should build a new church on land he owned and gained control of the disposal of pews, selling or leasing them with the houses and building plots on the estate. Leases stipulated architectural uniformity, the exclusion of "noisy noxious noisome trades", and the restrictions were enforced. As an accomplished property speculator Lee was, of course, not unaware that industrial development was highly profitable and he built and leased out a woollen mill on the St. Johns estate. The mill was hidden by relief and behind a back street of stables and servants' quarters from the houses which he and an assortment of magistrates, attorneys and rich widows inhabited. A gate in the southwest corner of the square prevented the passage of undesirable through traffic.<sup>37</sup> In 1834 Edward Parsons described St. Johns as "a handsome square and place, which for beauty and situation, elegance of buildings, regulation of plan, and tasteful arrangement of ground



is equal, if not superior to, anything of the kind in the county of York".<sup>38</sup>

South Parade was developed as a residential area from the early 1790s by the children of a local cloth merchant William Charnock, who had purchased the land in 1751. There were certain building restrictions in the leases (mainly concerned with the maintenance of a clear carriage way outside the houses) but no stipulations that the houses should be built to a special size or design. There were the usual restrictions on industrial and commercial development and places of public drinking and amusement.<sup>39</sup> But the situation of South Parade was altogether less promising than that of St. Johns. It was an enclave surrounded on three sides by offensive environments. To the west and upwind was the town cattle and pig market; to the north were the yards of Westgate; and to the east was Kirkgate, the poorest residential quarter of the town. Some of the anti-industry lobby were reputed to live in South Parade.<sup>40</sup> Like its namesake in Leeds it commanded a view over meadowland. This view was not without commercial interest - there were corn warehouses and dyehouses run by some of the residents a third of a mile away. The despoiling of a similar stretch of meadowland by Benjamin Gott might have hardened their resolve to prevent a large industrialist developing this site (Figs. 28 and 29). But most of the evidence for a conspiracy theory is retrospective hearsay. It is not clear what powers could have been employed other than threatening to prosecute for smoke nuisance nor is it clear why a few entrepreneurs were successful in establishing mills.

One successful entrepreneur was Thomas Marriot, a Unitarian but of humbler origins than the 'merchant princes'. Marriot began his

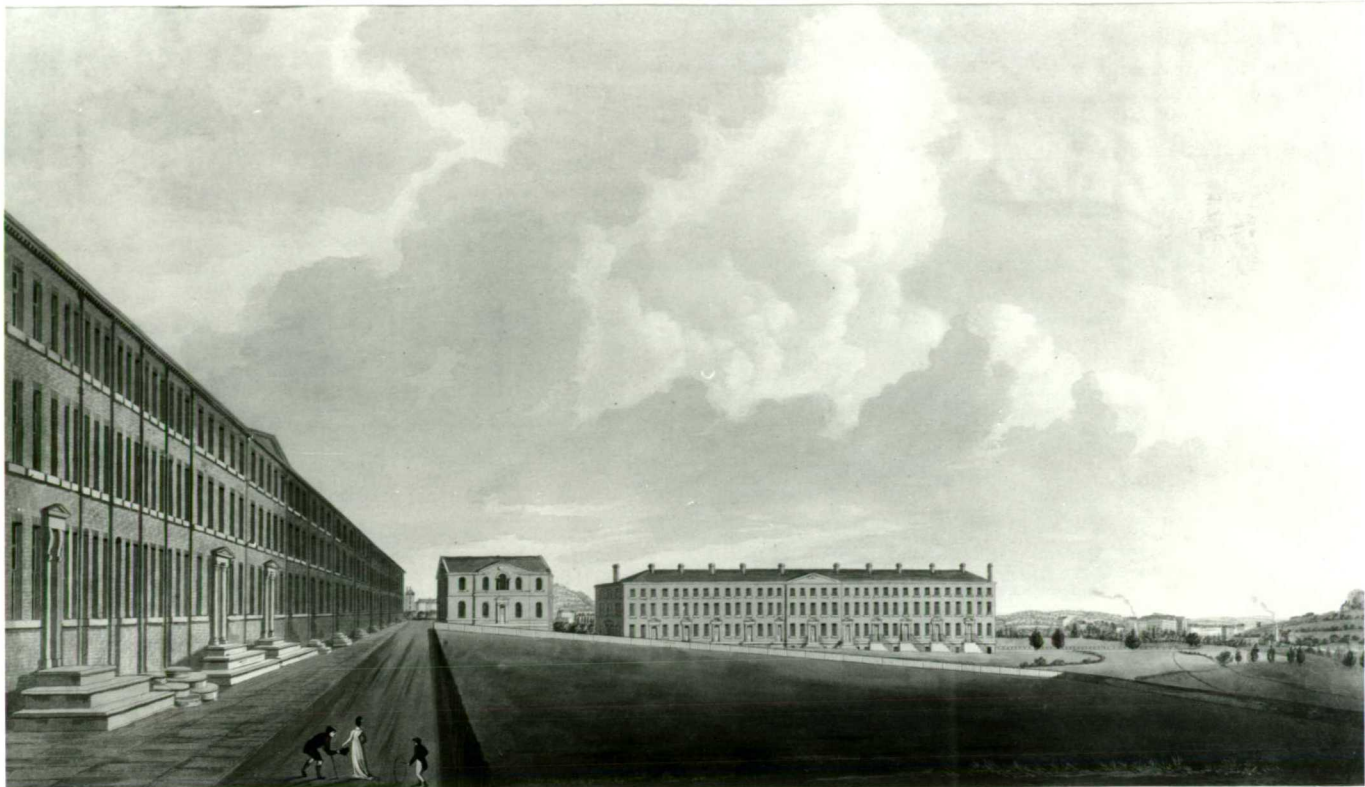


Figure 28 A View of South Parade Completed by J. Cawthorn Junior, c. 1804. South Parade was never in fact completed as shown (see Fig. 29). The houses that were built were not uniform in style and the open square was divided into private gardens.

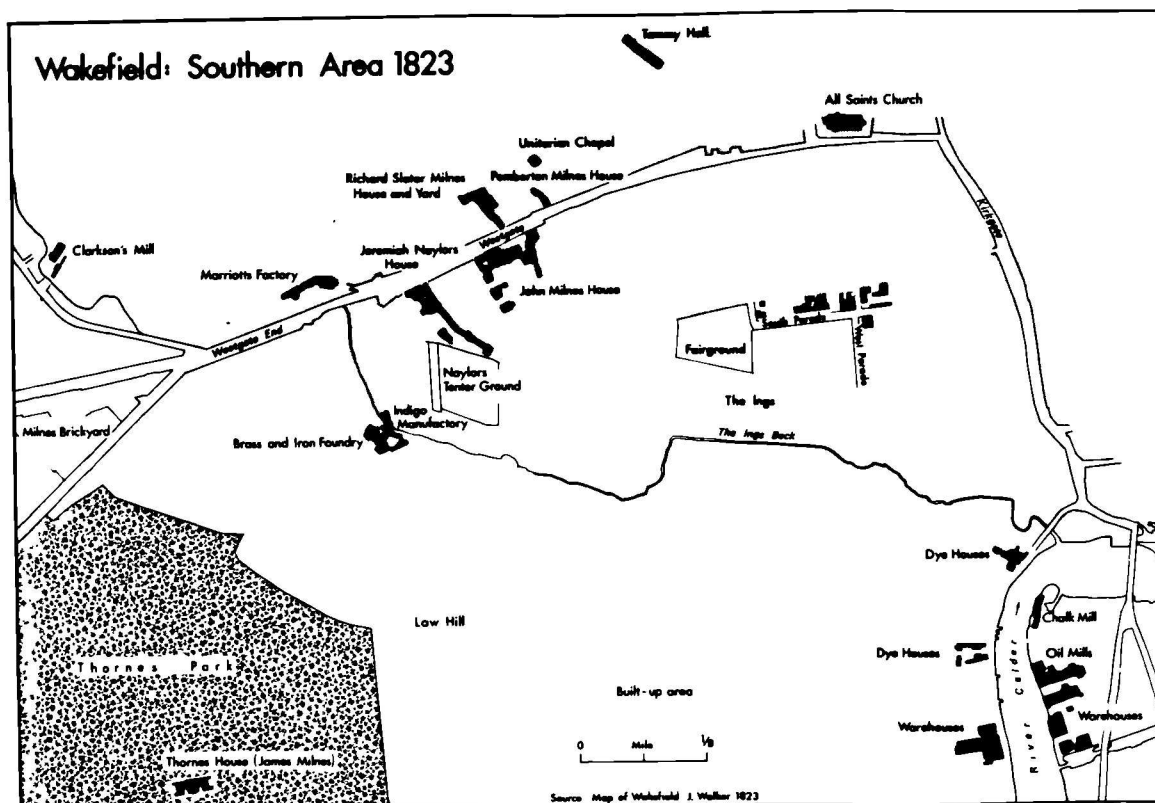


Figure 29

career hawking blankets and yarn from a basket when living at a cottage on Westgate Common. In 1803 he moved to premises in Westgate next to Milnes and Holdsworth. In 1822-23 he built two large mills at Westgate End for spinning hosiery yarn which was sent to the Midlands. In the early 1820s he took over St. Johns Mill and converted the Tammy Hall into a spinning mill.<sup>41</sup> The output of these mills was responsible for the sharp rise in drawback in Wakefield between 1820 and 1825 (Figure 26). It was doubtless the sight of Marriot's enterprise which provoked Edward Moxon, the son of a local cropper and an apostle of Wordsworth, to write these lines when he returned to Wakefield in the late 1820s, after an absence of ten years.

... Time once has seen,  
Where yonder spire alone was seen to rise,  
Where now obnoxious chimneys pierce the skies,  
Tainting the air, while 'neath their sultry walks,  
Mechanic childhood for scant pittance toils,  
Whose melancholy doom the heart appalls,  
From which in vain the pitying muse recoils.<sup>42</sup>

Marriot was not repelled by his mills and lived between the two largest at Westgate End.<sup>43</sup> His son-in-law and partner may have been more fastidious. In 1826 Marriot bought him a house in South Parade.<sup>44</sup>

Marriot promised to be an intriguing figure in the light of the issues I am examining, yet he and his enterprise remain in shadow for they are very poorly documented. Much of the social history of Wakefield in the period 1780 to 1830 that is relevant to this thesis has to be reconstructed from rather gossipy Victorian sources, particularly Henry Clarkson's Memories of Merry Wakefield (1887). It is in the Victorian period that the conspiracy theory of Wakefield's relative industrial decline seems first to be hatched. Because the leading merchants, dressers, dyers and millers appear in the registers of Westgate chapel it is tempting to suggest that the Unitarians had

a stranglehold on the local woollen trade. Certainly we would expect partnerships and trade agreements. As in Mill Hill Unitarian chapel in Leeds civic restrictions fused the economic interests of the congregation. But it would be fanciful to suggest that the chapel operated as a closed shop and was a barrier to the establishment of cloth manufacture in the town. Mill Hill chapel assimilated the new manufacturing classes who usurped the authority of the Tory merchants and played an important role in the economic and public life of the city.<sup>45</sup> Thomas Marriot was assimilated, why not others? In a sense the 'merchant princes' belong as much to Victorian as to Georgian Wakefield, for it is then that they become prominent in the local imagination.

The manufacturers of Halifax and Bradford who will be discussed in the following chapters had a less easy going lifestyle than the merchants of Leeds and Wakefield, less relaxed also than that of Benjamin Gott who in many ways retained the outlook of a gentleman merchant. This is in part because these were men of humbler origins and as manufacturers were more committed to their place of work. They were also more committed to improving the morality of their workers. This attitude is part of that Victorian earnestness which was a conscious reaction against the licence and indolence of the Regency. In her biography of Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell described the masters of the West Riding in Georgian times who stopped their mills during bull baitings "to increase the amount of water as well as to give their workpeople the opportunity of savage delight".<sup>46</sup> Joseph Rogerson shut down his mill for repairs so that his slubbers could go to the bear baiting at Pudsey. Enlightened Victorian millowners attempted to wean their employees from brutal

amusements and promote leisure that was sober and rational. Like Robert Gerard Moore at the end of Shirley they added houses, gardens and schools to their industrial sites and created a moral environment for both work and leisure.

Notes: Chapter Four

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5. Quoted in George H. Crowther, A Descriptive History of Wakefield Battles (Wakefield, 1886), p. 29.
6. Edward Baines, History and Gazetteer of the County of York Vol. 1, (Leeds, 1822), p. 425.
7. Edward Parsons, The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial and Miscellaneous History of Leeds ... and the Manufacturing Districts of Yorkshire (Leeds, 1834), Vol. 1. p. 314.
8. Clarkson, Merry Wakefield, p. 208.
9. Quoted by John James, A History of Worsted Manufacture in England (London, 1857), p.
10. Charles E. Camidge, A History of Wakefield and Its Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition (London, 1866), p. 8. The theory has been promulgated by D.I. Scargill, 'Wakefield: A Study of Arrested Urban Development', Town Planning Review 36 (1965-66), pp. 101-110 (pp. 106-109). The theory was projected back into the seventeenth century by S.H. Walters, Wakefield in the Seventeenth Century (Wakefield, 1933) and into the fifteenth century by J.M. Walker, Wakefield: Its History and People (Wakefield, 1939), pp. 388-389 without reliable documentary evidence. See W.G. Rimmer, 'The Evolution of Leeds to 1700', Thoresby Society Publications 14 (1967), pp. 91-129 (111).
11. R.G. Wilson, "The Denisons and Milneses: Eighteenth-Century Merchant Land Owners", in Land and Industry: The Landed Estate and The Industrial Revolution, edited by J.T. Ward and R.G. Wilson (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 145-172 (pp. 162-163). 'Westgate Chapel Account Book' 17 December 1750, Wakefield Archives. John Goodchild, 'The Building of Westgate Chapel Wakefield' (1975) unpublished paper. The Works in Architecture of John Carr (York, 1973), p. 33.
12. Quoted in F. Walker and J.F. Goodchild, Unitarianism in Yorkshire (Wakefield, 1962), p. 16. See also "West Riding Religious Tract Society", Reports 1818, 1820, 1823.

13. Clarkson, Merry Wakefield, p. 46. 'Sale Particulars', Milnes House, 21 March 1836, J.G.L. MSS. Walkers Map of Wakefield (1823). Linstrum, West Yorkshire Architects, p. 99.
14. Nicolson, Joseph Wright of Derby, pp. 159-160.
15. Property Tax Lists (1798) J.G.L. MSS. Joseph Hunter, 'Biographical Notices', 19 April 1830 B.M. Add. MSS. 36527 f. 27. Wakefield Star 29 July 1808, 2 March 1810.
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17. Linstrum, West Yorkshire Architects, p. 80. George Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus (London, 1802), pp. 51-53.
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19. Unidentified source c. 1800 quoted in Linstrum, p. 80.
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23. Weymyss Reid, p. 7. James Pope-Hennessey, Monkton Milnes: The Years of Promise (London, 1949), pp. 7-9. Clarkson, pp. 47-48.
24. A.M.W. Stirling, The Letter Bag of Lady Elizabeth Spencer Stanhope (London, 1913), p. 116.
25. Milnes, Holdsworth and Company Lease J.G.L. MSS.
26. Stirling, The Letter Bag of Lady Elizabeth Spencer Stanhope pp. 120-121.
27. Quoted in Pope-Hennessey, Monkton Milnes, pp. 82-83.
28. Clarkson, p. 52.
29. Wakefield Unitarian Chapel Pew Rent Register 1774, J.G.L. MSS.
30. Clarkson, pp. 48-54. Wakefield and Halifax Journal 4 September 1829. Walker, Wakefield, p. 466.
31. P.P. (1806), pp. 173, 374, 377. 'Reports from the Select Committee on the Laws relating to the Stamping of Woollen Cloth' PP. (1821) VI, pp. 496-500.
32. P.P. (1806) III, p. 375.
33. William Dawson to Lord Hawkesbury, Wakefield 15 October 1804, reprinted in A. Aspinall, The Early English Trade Unions, p. 93.

34. Evidence of Thomas Bruton, Wakefield cropper P.P. (1806), pp. 275, 278. Clarkson, Merrie Wakefield, p. 42. In 1834 Clarkson employed thirty-five workers, only eight older than 21. 'Factories Enquiry ... Queries: Addressed by Commissioners for the North East District to millowners' P.P. (1834) XX, pp. 804-805.
35. Leeds Intelligencer, April 13 1812. Leeds Mercury, 18 April 1812. Josiah Foster to Home Office, 20 April 1812, HO 42/122. Quoted in Malcolm I. Thomis, The Luddites: Machine Breaking in Regency England (New York, 1972), p. 105.
36. Wakefield and Halifax Journal, 27 April 1827, 15 May 1829, 4 September 1829, 9 October 1829.. Clarkson, Merrie Wakefield, p. 51. William Naylor, a brother of John and Jeremiah had an independent finishing business at Westgate End. He mechanised his finishing in 1831. See Crowther, Wakefield Battles, pp. 49-50.
37. Keith A. Cowlard, "The Urban Development of Wakefield, 1801-1901". (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1974), pp. 359-366.
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44. John Cryer Diary, April, 1832.
45. Wilson, Gentlemen Merchants, p. 189.
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CHAPTER FIVE

IMAGES OF THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT, 1830-1880

By 1840 the factory system was well established in England although its development was very uneven and its physical expression in landscape varied greatly. In 1841 no less than 83 per cent of English cotton workers were employed in factories, as against 44 per cent of woollen workers.<sup>1</sup> Large urban complexes of mills were more typical of South Lancashire than the West Riding of Yorkshire where small rural mills, many employing less than fifty people, were very common.<sup>2</sup> The employment structure of the country was still dominated by non-factory occupations. But the five per cent employed in textiles created the bulk of England's exports and their lives and work seized the imagination of contemporaries. Large textile towns like Manchester and Bradford both inspired enthusiasm and provoked alarm.

In the 1830s the Factory Reform movement gathered momentum. Long hours, low wages, child labour and bad working conditions were not peculiar to factory employment. But the subjection of many more people to factory discipline and the conspicuous social distance between employers and employed especially in industrial towns, helped mobilize opposition. In the 1830s England witnessed intensive ideological conflicts involving the landed interest, an increasingly self conscious industrial and urban middle class and a politically articulate working class. Factories became the foci of attention in these ideological struggles.

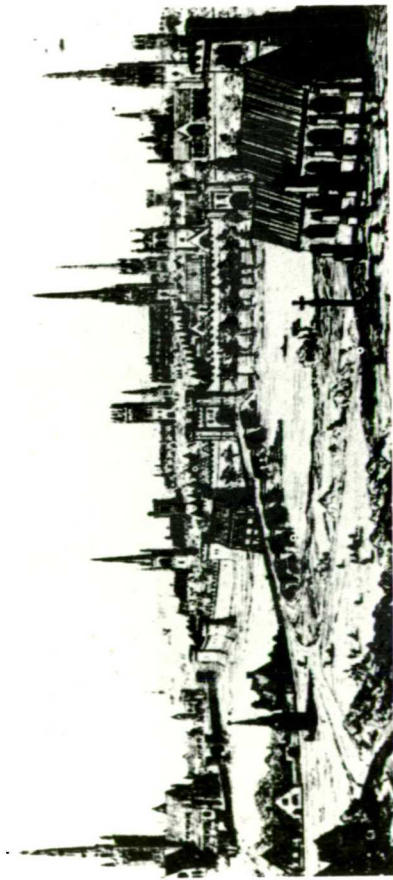
Tory humanists such as Robert Southey and Thomas Carlyle deployed their arguments against the factory system as part of a general critique of utilitarianism. They deplored the social implications

of brute materialism, particularly the devaluation of human nature and the depersonalisation of social relations by the "cash nexus", the tedium of factory work and the mechanistic psychology of factory discipline. Carlyle used the image of the textile mill as a metaphor for the mechanical universe of modern rationalism and exploited the pun on the name of the Utilitarian John Stuart Mill. Carlyle, like many Tory critics, yearned for a revival of the spirit of medieval English society. No matter how imperfectly understood as real history medieval life became established as a conventional antithesis to the modern age but it was not always exalted - Mill referred to it as "an age of barbarism".<sup>3</sup> Augustus Welby Pugin was a reverent medievalist and saw the opposition of the medieval and modern ages reflected in the landscapes of the respective periods. In Contrasts (1835) he juxtaposed scenes of an imaginary town in 1440 with the same town in 1840 (Fig. 30). Gothic spires and benevolent monasteries are replaced by belching chimneys, brutal factories, bare chapels, a panoptical prison and a 'Socialist Hall of Science'.<sup>4</sup>

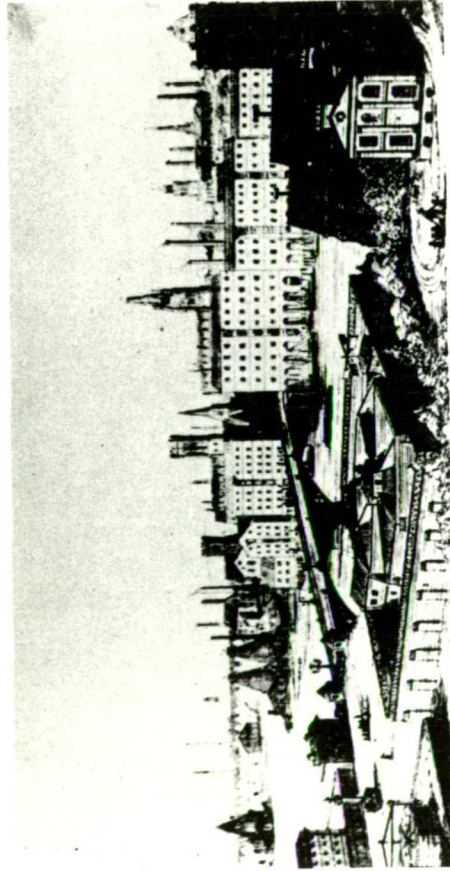
As well as criticising the factory system in a literary fashion some Tories sought actively to reform it. The extrovert Richard Oastler spoke in favour of the Short Time Movement. His father, a Leeds cloth merchant, objected morally to the use of finishing machinery and sold his business in 1800. Richard Oastler failed as a merchant and took his father's job as steward to an estate near Huddersfield, whence he conducted a militant campaign.<sup>5</sup> He once suggested that the people take up arms but his activism was otherwise constitutional if his rhetoric was violent: a "canting religionist" kept children until 11.30 p.m. in "two mills blazing like fury in the (Calder) valley";<sup>6</sup> the worsted mills of Bradford were "magazines of British infantile slavery".<sup>7</sup>



Figure 31 Trade Union Certificate (1851)



A Catholic town in 1440.



The same town in 1840

Figure 30 From A.W. Pugin, Contrasts (1835)

Oastler and his working class supporters united in their attacks on the factory system and in opposition to the bleak New Poor Law but there were crucial differences between the two parties especially on the question of political rights. Oastler's High Tory Anglicanism, summarised in his motto "The Altar, the Throne and the Cottage", was irreconcilable with the egalitarian notions of Primitive Methodists in the movement. In 1842 William Cooke Taylor heard a Chartist orator in Burnley "loudly applauded when he united churches and mills in the same category and expressed an ardent hope that both should be involved in oen common conflagration".<sup>8</sup> In the hot summer of that year Lancashire was the centre of a wave of strikes and sabotage that spread over the Pennines into the West Riding. Anti-Corn Law League employers were accused of reducing wages to force the hand of a Protectionist Ministry. Many received the attentions of the "Plug Plot" rioters, so called because they drew or forced in the plugs of mills to bring them to a standstill. Their disaffection was given a political edge when they were joined by the Chartists. Factory employment was a central theme in Chartist literature. The following verse is from The Factory Town by Ernest Jones, a leader of the movement.

Yet their lord bids proudly wander  
Stranger eyes thro' factory scenes;  
"Here are men, and engines yonder".  
I see nothing but machines!

A vigorous counter-attack was mounted against the Factory Reform Movement. Dr. Andrew Ure, a Scottish chemist, published an apologia for the factory system, The Philosophy of Manufacturers, in 1835. He identified "the ancient feeling of contempt entertained by the country gentleman towards the burghers (which) seems still to rankle in the breasts of many members of our aristocracy ... and displayed

itself, not equivocally, in the late parliamentary crusade against factories". He characterised farming districts as areas of "torpor and brutality ... dark dens of incendiarism and misrule" in contrast to the enlightenment, material comforts and social contentment he had witnessed in manufacturing districts. Factories were "magnificent edifices, surpassing far in number, value, usefulness and ingenuity of construction the boasted monuments of Asiatic, Egyptian and Roman despotism". The philosophy of manufactures was best studied in its "noblest creation" the cotton mill. The frontispiece of his book shows Orrell's seven storey cotton mill near Stockport, compared favourably "in respect of grandeur, elegance and simplicity with many aristocratic mansions".

Ure was more interested in the internal function of factories than their external appearance. He rhapsodised factory operation as a harmony of labour, capital and science. A factory "in its strictest sense, involves the idea of a vast automaton, composed of various mechanical and intellectual organs, acting in uninterrupted concert for the production of a common object, all of this being subordinated to a self-regulated moving force". When Ure published his book not all the processes of yarn production were incorporated in this system. Slubbing was still done by hand and he thought the way slubbers treated the young pieceners they employed was worse than anything millowners could be accused of. But "science now promises to rescue this branch of business from handicraft caprice, and to place it like the rest, under the safeguard of automatic mechanism", he declared. "The more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of the mechanical system". He went on to describe his delight at witnessing

factory children whose work he likened to the "sport of lively elves": "the scene of industry, so far from exciting sad emotions in my mind, was always exhilarating". Ure recognised the potential for disorder of concentrating large numbers of working people in a factory, and emphasised the importance of imposing labour discipline, "the noble achievement of Arkwright".

The neglect of moral discipline may be readily detected in any establishment by a practised eye, in the disorder of the general system, the irregularities of the individual machines, the waste of time and material ... It is therefore, excessively the interest of every mill owner to organize his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical.

In Ure's mechanistic imagination legislative restrictions on industrial capitalism would only "clog" the factory system (Fig. 32).<sup>10</sup>

William Cooke Taylor, a spokesman for the Anti-Corn Law League, expressed the conventional fear of factories as store houses of unpredictable social energies: "a stranger ... cannot contemplate these 'crowded lives' without feelings of anxiety and apprehension". But Cooke Taylor's purpose in publishing his Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire (1842), and the League's purpose in sponsoring it, was precisely to make strangers familiar with the virtues of factory life and assuage their fears. Manchester, which was the source of many contemporary impressions of factories and factory life was "not a fair specimen". The delinquent and destitute of the city were not factory workers but "a class of immigrants and passengers" from agricultural districts "whose character is blighted in the country (and) seek to escape notice in the crowd of the town". Like Engels he noted that the architectural and geographical structure of Manchester conspired to keep them hidden, in courts and cellars, behind mills and warehouses and far from the wealthy residential suburbs. The landscape of the city both expressed and reinforced

the divisions between rich and poor. But in rural mill colonies he found social relations closer and more harmonious

Nowhere can a more perfect contrast to this isolation (of classes) be found in Turton, Egerton, Hyde and most indeed of the country mills I have visited: there the employers knows the employed and is known by them; an affectionate sense of mutual dependence and mutual interest is created equally advantageous to both parties; the factory displays to a great extent the relations of a family, and the operatives regard themselves as members of one common household.

In mill colonies it was easier to extend discipline beyond the factory gates. They "afforded employers opportunities of coming frequently into personal communication with their work people and exercising a healthy control over their domestic habits and private morals". Such model colonies were very select. Not all workers at Henry Ashworth's mill at Turton lived in the village. The honest and industrious were given permission to rent them and anyone lapsing into "vice or immorality" was evicted.<sup>11</sup>

Taylor's notion of harmonious social relations conflicted with that upheld by advocates of landed paternalism. It was based not on deferential rank and the duties of property but on equality, liberty and self-interest. In the 1840s it was difficult to pretend that landed paternalism was either widespread or successful. Taylor argued that because most of a manufacturer's capital was invested in purpose built and specialised plant he had a greater incentive than a landed proprietor to keep his workers employed and happy: "a landlord may clear his estate with profit, but a factory capitalist cannot discharge his operatives without ruin". When a factory lay idle not only did the owner lose his interest but the capital itself deteriorated "as rust destroys his machinery and the moth consumes his materials". Taylor argued that in rural mill colonies where capital was also invested in cottage property the capitalist had a further incentive



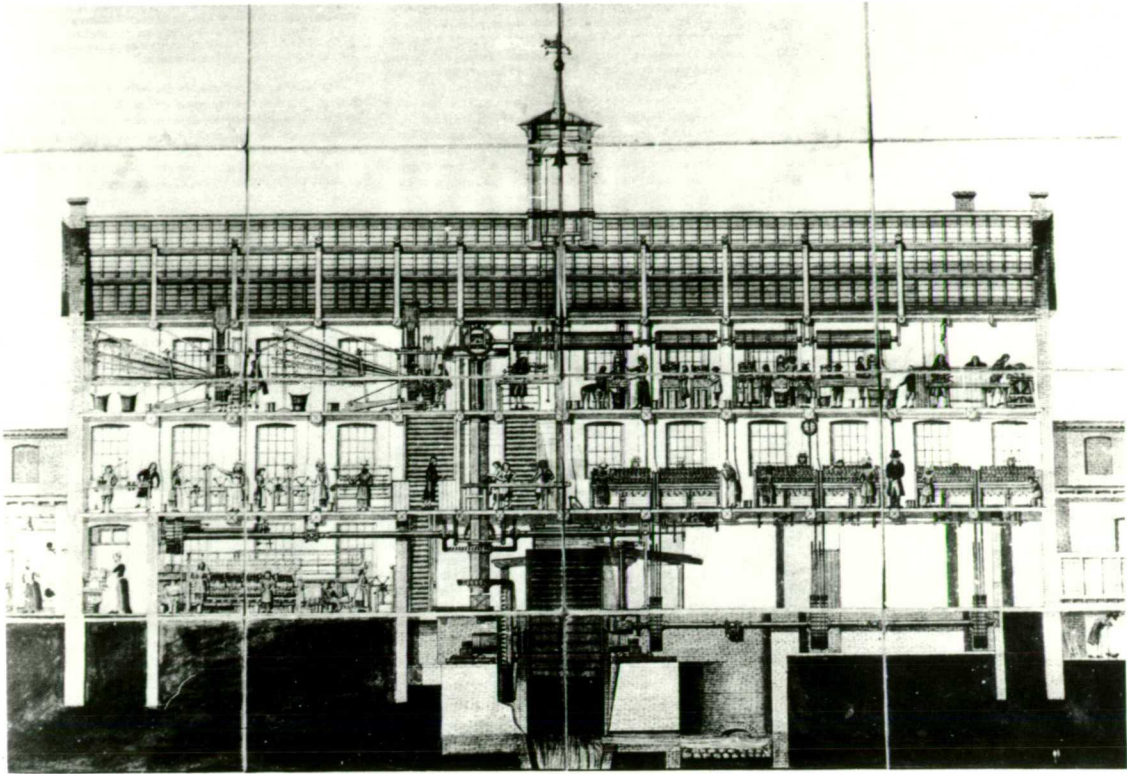


Figure 32 Bedworth Mill, Colyhurst, c. 1800. A visual representation of Ure's philosophy for manufacturers.

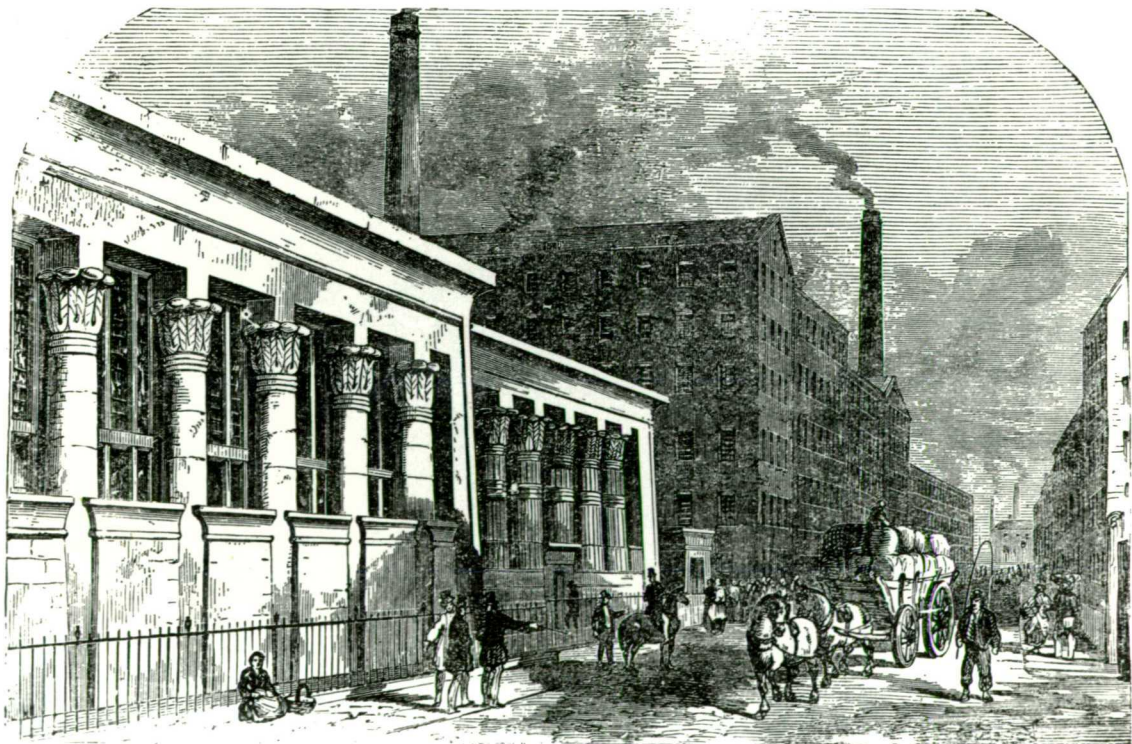


Figure 33 Marshall's Temple Mill, Leeds, c. 1850.



to continue working his mill at a disadvantage during economic depressions: "as a necessary consequence there is a more patriarchal relation between master and man ... than can possibly exist in large towns". Taylor did not pretend that a benevolent hidden hand invariably guided industrial relations. His faith in it informed his perception of the industrial landscape. He came upon a valley near Bolton "studded with factories and bleach works":

Thank God, smoke is rising from the lifty chimneys of most of them! for I have not travelled this far without learning, by a painful illustration, that the absence of smoke from the factory chimney indicates the quenching of the fire on many a domestic hearth, want of employment to a willing labourer, and want of bread to many an honest family.<sup>12</sup>

The factory village was widely upheld as an emblem of social integration. The owner of the village in Disraeli's Sybil (1845) who lived among his employees "comprehended his position too well to withdraw in vulgar exclusiveness from his real dependents". The process of integration described in the narrative is not just between the "two nations" of rich and poor but also between the properties of the agricultural and industrial interest. While something of a "feudal feeling" subsisted between the employer, the scion of an old landed family, and those he employed the architecture of their social relations was utilitarian. The mill was a huge single storey room. It was a well ventilated and healthy environment but "the moral advantages resulting from superior inspection and general observation are no less important: the child works under the eye of the parent, the parent under that of the superior workman, the inspector or employer can also at a glance behold all".<sup>13</sup> Compare this description with one by Bentham's amanuensis Edwin Chadwick in the Sanitary Report (1842). It is of the one-storey Deanston Mill near Glasgow.

The arrangement of the work in one room had moral advantages of high value. The bad manners and immoralities complained of as attendant on assemblages of work people of both sexes in manufactories, generally occur, as may be expected, in small rooms and places where few are employed, and that are secluded from superior inspection and from common observation. But whilst employed in this one large room, the young are under the inspection of the old; the children are in many instances under the inspection of parents, and all under the observation of the whole body of workers, and under the inspection of the employer.<sup>14</sup>

Quite how working people reacted to the close attention of an employer depended a great deal on what sort of man he was. John Wood, a Bradford worsted spinner, was a Tory, evangelical Anglican and a supporter of factory legislation. John Clark, an employee, described his mill with its exemplary working conditions as "a blessing". When Wood entered a workroom "all seemed glad to see him, as if it were felt and fully recognized that his was the grateful task to watch over them and promote their general good and that only one common interest existed between them". Wood retired to be a Hampshire squire and took on a partner, William Walker, to attend to the running of the mill. Clark describes Walker as "an unjust and tyrannical man, his actions mean and treats the work people with all the austerity and harshness of a despotic ruler; he excites the envy and increases the malice of the poor against him; his life has sometimes been placed in jeopardy & mobs has (sic) assembled and broke the lamps and windows of his own house".<sup>15</sup>

In her novel North and South (first published in 1854-55) Elizabeth Gaskell examines the ideological issues in a textile manufacturing centre of the 1840s. The place, Milton, is based on the Manchester where Mrs. Gaskell lived. Many of the themes are similar to those in Charlotte Brontë's Shirley but Mrs. Gaskell shows through her heroine a deeper understanding of and greater sympathy to working

class militancy. The resolution of the conflicts in the book belongs very much to the period of its publication when the textile districts were both economically more prosperous and socially more quiescent.

Margaret Hale, the heroine of the novel, is the daughter of a vicar whose parish is in the New Forest. Her father loses his faith in the Established Church and the family move to the northern industrial town of Milton where he becomes tutor to a Nonconformist mill-owner, Mr. Thornton, on the recommendation of a friend at Oxford who owns the land on which Thornton's mill is built. Margaret's initial reaction to Milton is openly hostile. She despises "trade"; she loathes the sight, smell and noise of factories and shudders at the prospect of going inside one; she only manages to avoid crowds of disrespectful factory workers when she has worked out the timetable of their shifts; she complains about the fragmentation of a society dedicated to self-interest and is shocked by the conspicuous class antagonism: "sometimes I used to hear a farmer speaking sharp and loud to his servants", she reminisces, "but it was so far away that it only reminded me pleasantly that other people were hard at work in some distant place, while I just sat on the heather and did nothing".

Mr. Thornton is a militant laissez-faire mill owner who has risen from poor beginnings. Not surprisingly Margaret takes an instant dislike to him. His indifference to the architecture and landscape of Milton - "we've been too busy to attend to mere outward appearances" - dismays his tutor whose environmental sensibility is Romantic: "Don't say mere outward appearances", said Mr. Hale, gently. "They impress us all from childhood upward". The Thornton's dismal house is built in their mill yard and commands a view of "bald ugliness". Margaret is surprised that they do not live in the country or a suburb.

The mill loomed high on the left-hand side of the windows, casting a shadow down from its many stories, which darkened the summer evening before its time.

Mr. Hale was standing at one of the windows as Mrs. Thornton spoke. He turned away saying, "Don't you find such a close neighbourhood to the mill rather unpleasant at times?" She drew herself up: "Never, I am not become so fine as to desire to forget the source of my son's wealth and power".

Mrs. Thornton objects to her son studying archaic literature with

Mr. Hale: "The time and place in which he lives, seem to me to require all his energy and attention. Classics may do very well for men who loiter away their lives in the country or in colleges".

The dramatic climax of the novel is an attack on Thornton's mill. His employees have struck and he has called in Irish scab labour. Thornton confronts the crowd at the gates. Margaret joins him and implores him to speak to his workmen "as if they were human beings". Since she has learned to listen to and respect the independent attitudes of Milton workers Margaret sympathises with their grievances and recognises the value of union solidarity. She appeals to the crowd not to spoil their cause by violence. A worker, inimical to the union and maddened by starvation, hurls a stone at Thornton but succeeds only in striking Margaret who is shielding him. Thornton embraces her unconscious body. The sexual dimension of this incident is clear enough and serves to dramatise a reconciliation of values which is plotted in the remainder of the book. The blow Margaret receives effectively breaks the strike. Thornton, humanised by Margaret's self-sacrifice and her understanding of the workers, does not attempt to prosecute the man who attacked her and re-employs the leader of the strike. He provides a dining room at his mill which the men organize themselves and occasionally he dines with them.

And thence arose that intercourse, which though it might not have the effect of preventing all future clash of opinion and action, when the occasion arose, would, at any rate, enable

both master and man to look upon each other with far more charity and sympathy, and bear with each other more patiently and kindly.

Margaret becomes acculturated to Milton and this changes her attitudes to the southern countryside she left. She persuades an unemployed factory worker not to go south and become a brutalised and dull witted farm labourer. On a visit to her father's old parish she is appalled at the cruelty of rural customs. In secret Thornton visits the parish but he discovers the scenes and situations that nurtured Margaret which have a further humanizing effect on him.

The marriage of Mr. Thornton and Margaret Hale, the representatives of North and South, is the emotional, social, economic and geographical resolution of the novel. Its narrative organization is contrived. Thornton has mended his speculative ways and fails to take a risk which, it turns out, would have saved his fortunes which are rapidly declining in a depression. He is about to give up his mill when Margaret reveals that she has unexpectedly inherited this and much other property from her father's old friend in Oxford who has conveniently just died. She offers to loan him eighteen thousand pounds. "Trembling with tender passion", Thornton proposes.

Those places where the factory system had not been established were often felt to be the most disorderly. The difference between Leeds and Sheffield, Dr. G. C. Holland wrote in 1839, was that in Sheffield "men are masters of their own time and free from the ordinary restrictions of well regulated factories. They are not taught daily the value of time, or the effects of its misapplication".<sup>16</sup> In those places where there was factory employment moral reformers saw a blur of indiscipline beyond the factory gates. Outside working hours energies were released into activities beyond middle class control -

prize fights and political meetings on commonland outside town boundaries, drinking and discussion in beer houses down blind alleys. From the 1830s there were earnest attempts to reconstruct the pattern of working class leisure. The planning and design of the built environment was part of this attempt. Reformers sought to provide well-defined and well-disciplined environments for the leisure of working people as they provided factories for regulating their labour. Factory owners often took an active part not only in providing leisure facilities for their own employees, but also, as mayors and aldermen of newly incorporated industrial towns, in promoting recreational activities for all citizens.

The regimen of moral improvement outside the workplace included housing in a model dwelling, instruction in a mechanics institute, saving with a Penny Bank, entertainment at a temperance concert and exercise in a public park. Robert D. Storch calls these institutions "conventicles of respectability" - "to venture beyond the conventicle and its deviant values meant courting the risk of falling away, being re-absorbed into the comrade cluster of the pub, lapsing back into 'sensuality' and 'vice'".<sup>17</sup> Such institutions provided moral quarantine. They sequestered a select group of working people from the rougher and more gregarious aspects of working class culture, the more effectively to inculcate middle class virtues.

In the 1840s the domestic life of working people became a matter of great concern and the object of increasing scrutiny. For the first time the condition and design of dwellings were identified as having a critical influence on the health and morality of their inhabitants. In many working class districts family life was not contained within the walls of a house. In contrast to the quiet thoroughfares of

middle class suburbs doors remained open and life spilled out onto the streets. What shocked reformers about the interiors of crowded slum dwellings was not so much the physical discomforts of high density but the moral implications of promiscuously mixing activities - resting, working, sleeping, cooking, eating, defecating, urinating, washing, bathing, undressing, copulating, ailing, dying, giving birth - that in a respectable pattern of life occupied separate, specified spaces.<sup>18</sup> This apparent confusion was probably more apparent in the living arrangements of non-factory workers - the "wandering tribes" of Mayhew's London, the handcombers of worsted manufacturing towns, the inhabitants of old weaving villages. Yet visitors to industrial towns expressed their concern about factory workers leaving the discipline of the mill for "those recesses of private houses which no legislative restrictions can reach, and where the searching eye of public opinion never penetrates".<sup>19</sup> The German geographer J. G. Kohl made this observation of Manchester in 1844. Leon Faucher visited Manchester the same year. He was shocked by the physical and moral condition of the city and proclaimed the virtues of the model mill village of Turton. But even here he discovered that improved architecture and close supervision did not guarantee model habits.

the benevolent intention of the proprietor (Henry Ashworth) ... has been too much in advance of the habits of the workpeople. They have not the sentiment of modesty sufficiently developed to separate their children of both sexes during the night. There are never more than two chambers occupied ...<sup>20</sup>

The strict regulation of human activity and human relationships was articulated in another model environment, the public park. Since the 1820s reformers had complained of the disappearance of open space for recreation as towns expanded and infilled. But the parks, gardens and public walks that they wished to create were not places where

working people could improvise their own entertainment. Among their explicit purposes were weaning the working classes from brutal amusements and instilling the virtues of 'rational recreation', promoting contact with the middle classes and strengthening family life.<sup>21</sup>

Lists of regulations, enforced by keepers, spelled out the required standard of conduct within park railings. The landscape within helped structure conduct. The creation of serpentine paths for the distribution of movement made anything but gentle promenading both difficult and conspicuous. The principles of rational recreation were upheld by the two leading Victorian landscape gardeners John Claudius Loudon and Joseph Paxton.<sup>22</sup> Loudon designed the Derby Arboretum, the quintessentially rational public pleasure garden, for Joseph Strutt, the cotton spinner. The purpose of the Arboretum was to "unite information with amusement". It was planted with five thousand species, each labelled with details of history and life cycle, along six thousand feet of winding gravelled walks within an area of eleven acres.<sup>23</sup> The contrast between the casual landscape of public parks and the more formal structure of factories helped reify the reformist idea of separating work and leisure. But the appearance of parks should not obscure the fact that they were highly organized environments or that reformers promoted leisure that was complementary to, and not opposed to, work.

Attempts to moralise the environment were based on a belief that its condition, design and organization had a critical influence on human character and conduct. Victorian reformers were not the first to believe this but among them the belief became more pervasive and its proclamation more insistent. Chadwick's proclamations were influential. A passage from the Sanitary Report is worth quoting at length.



On the holiday given at Manchester in celebration of Her Majesty's marriage, extensive arrangements were made for holding a chartist meeting, and for getting up what was called a demonstration of the working classes, which greatly alarmed the municipal magistrates. Sir Charles Shaw, the Chief Commissioner of Police, induced the mayor to get the Botanical Gardens, Zoological Gardens, and the museum of that town, and other institutions thrown open to the working classes at the hour they were urgently invited to attend the chartist meeting ... The effect was that not more than 200 or 300 people attended the political meeting, which entirely failed, and scarcely 5s worth of damage was done in the gardens or in the public institutions by the workpeople, who were highly pleased. A further effect produced was, that the charges before the police of drunkenness and riot were on that day less than the average of cases on ordinary days.<sup>24</sup>

Eighteenth century magistrates and millowners employed various counter-insurgency tactics but opening a botanic garden would not have occurred to them.

Many mill towns that were congested, polluted and conflict ridden in the 1840s underwent a transformation of character in the 1850s and 1860s. This was an era of sustained material prosperity and social stability. Wages in general rose but there was also a significant cultural mutation within the working class. The number of skilled workers conscious of their economic and social superiority expanded rapidly and they reproduced bourgeois versions of values such as respectability, independence, thrift, self-help and cooperation.<sup>25</sup> Those anxious to improve class relations promoted institutions that fostered these values. Building societies for example were transformed from small terminating clubs controlled by working people which met in the warmth and noise of public houses to large permanent institutions with a strong element of middle class control and patronage which met in cold and sober chapels and mechanics institutes.<sup>26</sup> They flourished in the West Riding of Yorkshire and the local apostle of self-help, Samuel Smiles, made extravagant claims for them: "The accumulation of property has the effect which it always has upon

thrifty men; it makes them steady, sober and diligent. It weans them from revolutionary notions and makes them conservative".<sup>27</sup> Confidence in class consensus replaced anxieties about class antagonism.

Reformed corporations and enlightened employers undertook extensive programmes of public works. New municipal monuments - town halls, museums, parks, squares, mechanics institutes, neo-Gothic churches and lavish chapels - were confident assertions of progress, fellowship and civic pride.<sup>28</sup>

The prevailing model of social harmony was not stable and hierarchical - the society of ranks so often invoked by conservative moralists during the industrial unrest from 1812 to the 1840s. In a period of economic confidence the liberal mid-Victorian model was dynamic and egalitarian. Class distinctions were dissolved as men strove cooperatively for self-improvement. Or so the theory went. Class distinctions were, of course, not abolished but they assumed a guise of purely moral distinctions which, by moral effort, could be removed.<sup>29</sup> Social contentment was not universal but disaffection was rarely mobilized against the economic or social status quo. In the crises of the 1830s and 1840s adult Chartists could recall a time before large mechanized factories. To the new model unionists of the 1850s and 1860s industrial capitalism seemed a permanent and indeed progressive system in which they had a growing stake.<sup>30</sup> Consider the iconography on the membership certificate of one such union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Fig. 31). The emblematic factory reveals the engine which supplies power to five skilled, unsupervised, departments. The roof is surrounded by cameos of celebrated Captains of Industry including Arkwright. Two workmen are stepping up towards a cornucopia and are destined to have their final reward in heaven. The achievements of

industry dominate the landscape beyond. The whole nation is "united and industrious".

Engineering was the critical industry of mid-Victorian period. It expanded the export economy and swelled the ranks of the labour aristocracy. Engineers were folk heroes and their achievements, both their careers and the machines they designed, astonished contemporaries. The Great Exhibition of 1851, designed to show the superiority of British manufacturers, signalled an era of optimism and the Crystal Palace was a fitting monument. Its designer, Joseph Paxton, engineer, naturalist, landscape gardener, railway director and self-made man, embodied the ideals of the time. "Architecture had had to wait for help from a botanist", wrote one commentator, "Quite in keeping is the building with the age. It is the aesthetic bloom of its practical character, and of the practical tendency of the English nation".<sup>31</sup> Titus Salt, the Bradford worsted manufacturer and a leading exhibitor at the Great Exhibition, seriously considered removing part of the Crystal Palace and using it as a weaving shed.<sup>32</sup>

Factories, especially textile factories, expanded considerably in size. Many of the constituent buildings were utilitarian in appearance but the style of some was grandiose. William Fairbairn, the foremost millwright of the time, encouraged millowners to bring together "the taste of the architect and the stability of the engineer". The employment of architects "produced in the minds of the millowners and the public a higher standard of taste", and he considered "the factory buildings in this country are vieing with our institutions and public buildings as works of art, both in the power and harmony of their parts and the tout ensemble of their appearance".<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the most extraordinary is Marshall's one-storey, steam heated flax mill in Leeds,

designed to look like an Egyptian temple (Fig. 33). On the immense roof "a layer of earth, sown with grass, flourishes so well that sheep are occasionally sent to feed upon it". Its opening was marked by a Temperance Tea for the firm's 2,600 workers.<sup>34</sup>

The relationship between the landed and industrial interests had improved markedly since the repeal of the Corn Laws and the enfranchisement of the middle classes. The attempt to repeal the land laws alienated the support of many a successful millowner who in Disraeli's words "has his eye already upon a neighbouring park, avails himself of his political position to become a country magistrate, meditates upon a baronetcy, and dreams of a coroneted descendant".<sup>35</sup> Not every industrialist of course came near to realising this but there was a ready supply of donors for the transfusion of new money into old land and this helped prevent any serious breakdown within the ruling class. The political power of the commercial interest strengthened considerably but the landed interest by no means abdicated theirs. There was a transfusion of values too. The mid-Victorian gentry tended to be more sober, thrifty and generally "serious" than their Regency forbears.<sup>36</sup> Nonconformist industrialists might suffer fewer scruples about entering their ranks. The change in outlook is manifest in the design and organization of country houses and parks. The informal circuit of Regency houses was replaced by a strict separation of route and destination and complex functional, social and sexual divisions of space. Victorian gentry also tended to take a more earnest interest in the moral welfare of those beyond the park perimeter, sending out hospitable invitations and making charitable visits. Not all Gothic country houses were designed in this style for moral reasons but both Pugin and George Gilbert Scott thought Gothic architecture exuded a sense of social fellowship.<sup>37</sup>

A few contemporaries derided the architecture and society of mid-Victorian industrial England. John Ruskin dismissed the Crystal Palace with impatient contempt.<sup>38</sup> His criticism of the design and function of the built environment was, like that of Pugin, also social criticism.<sup>39</sup> He deplored the architecture and landscape of industrial capitalism, built for the consumption as well as the production of wealth. He was never more vigorous in attack than when lecturing in 1866 to the Bradford millocracy who sought his advice on a style for a new Stock Exchange. Ruskin spelled out his axiom that taste and morality were inseparable. The proper style for the exchange was not the Gothic or Greek styles so frequently ransacked for such buildings but one approximate to "your great Goddess of 'Getting-on' ... I can only at present suggest decorating its frieze with pendant purses; and making its pillars broad at the base for the sticking of bills".

Your ideal of human life ... which this Goddess is to evoke and maintain ... is, I think, that it should be passed in a pleasant undulating world, with iron and coal everywhere underneath it, On each pleasant bank of this world is to be a beautiful mansion, with two wings; and stables, and coach horses; a moderately sized park; a large garden and hot houses; and pleasant carriage drives through the shrubberies ... At the bottom of the bank, is to be the mill; not less than a quarter of a mile long, with one steam engine at each end, and two in the middle, and a chimney three hundred feet high. In this mill are to be in constant employment from eight hundred to a thousand workers, who never drink, never strike, always go to church on Sundays, and always express themselves in respectful language.<sup>40</sup>

An ideal of such complacency was more difficult to imagine after 1875 as the economy of the nation as a whole and the textile industry in particular suffered the onset of the Great Depression.

Notes: Chapter Five

1. J.T. Ward, The Factory System; Volume 2: The Factory System and Society, (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 17.
2. D.T. Jenkins, The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770-1835: A Study of Fixed Capital Investment, (Edinburgh, Wiltshire, 1975), p. 68.
3. Robert Southey, Essays, Moral and Political 2 Vols. (London, 1832) Vol. 1, p. 112; Vol. 2, pp. 225, 268. Thomas Carlyle, "Chartism" (1839) in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays Vol. 5, (London, 1869), pp. 325-428. Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (1958), Penguin edition (Harmondsworth, 1963), pp. 39-47, 85-98. Alice Chandler, A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth Century Literature (London, 1971), pp. 122-151.
4. Augustus Welby Pugin, Contrasts: or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, showing the Present Decay of Taste (London, 1855), Williams, Culture and Society, pp. 137-139.
5. Cecil Driver, Tory Radical: The Life of Richard Oastler (Oxford, 1946).
6. Quoted in E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, p. 348.
7. Letter to Leeds Mercury, 16 October 1830.
8. William Cooke Taylor, Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire (London, 1842), p. 101.
9. Ernest Jones, 'The Factory Town' in The Battle Day and Other Poems (London, 1855), p. 82.
10. Andrew Ure, The Philosophy of Manufacturers (London, 1835), quotations on pp. 277, 354, 18, 33, 13, 9, 301, 417.
11. Taylor, Tour ... of Lancashire, quotations on pp. 13, 15, 165, 140. cf. Friedrich Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844 (1845) translated and edited by W.O. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner (Stanford, 1968), pp. 54-56.
12. Ibid, pp. 118-121, 163. See also David Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England (London, 1979), p. 176.
13. Benjamin Disraeli, Sybil, or the Two Nations (Paris, 1845), quotations on pp. 157, 156. See also Williams, Culture and Society, pp. 108-110. The model village Disraeli describes in Book III, Chapter 8 of Sybil is the antitype of Wodgate, the squalid, lawless, violent district of small workshops and mines, described in Chapter 4 of Book III.
14. Edwin Chadwick, Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, 1842. Edited, with an introduction by, M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 306-307. Some have speculated that Disraeli based his description on a visit to Marshall's Temple Mill in Leeds (see p. 136). It is highly likely that it

is based on Chadwick's description of Deanston Mill. Disraeli was one of those influential figures to whom Chadwick gave a free copy of the Sanitary Report.

15. John Clark, History and Annals of Bradford (1840), pp. 183-191 MS. in Bradford City Library. Clark was actually unjust. Walker also was Tory factory reformer and the mobs in question were employed by masters opposed to his beliefs. See J.T. Ward, "Two Pioneers in Industrial Reform", Journal of the Bradford Textile Society (1963-64), pp. 33-51 (41).
16. G.C. Holland, An Enquiry into the Moral, Social and Intellectual Condition of the Industrious Classes of Sheffield (London, 1839), p. 12.
17. Robert D. Storch, "The Problem of Working-Class Leisure. Some Roots of Middle Class Moral Reform in the Industrial North: 1825-50", in A.P. Donajrodzki (editor), Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, 1977), pp. 139-162). I owe reference 16 above to p. 146 of this article.
18. Robin Evans, "Rookeries and Model Dwellings: English Housing Reform and the Moralities of Private Space". Architectural Association Quarterly Vol. 10 (1978), pp. 25-35.
19. J.G. Kohl, Ireland, Scotland and England (London, 1844), p. 137.
20. Leon Faucher, Manchester in 1844 (London, 1844), p. 107.
21. "Report of the Select Committee on Public Walks" P.P. (1835) XV, pp. 337-345.
22. John Claudius Loudon, "Remarks on Laying Out Public Gardens and Promenades", Gardeners Magazine Vol. 2 (1835), p. 654.  
George F. Chadwick, The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London, 1966), p. 80.
23. John Claudius Loudon, The Derby Arboretum (London, 1840).
24. Chadwick, The Sanitary Report, p. 337.
25. Robert Gray, "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain", in Ian Bloomfield (editor), Class, Hegemony and Party (London, 1977), pp. 72-93.
26. Enid Gaudie, Cruel Habitations: A History of Working Class Housing 1780-1918 (London, 1974), pp. 196-198.
27. Samuel Smiles, Thrift (London, 1975), p. 107.
28. Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (Pelican edition, Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 139-185.
29. Trygve R. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976), p. 218.

30. E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain Since 1750 (London, 1968), p. 100.
31. Quoted in Asa Briggs, Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Things 1851-67, Pelican edition (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 45.
32. Robert Balgarnie, Sir Titus Salt, Baronet: His Life and Lessons (London, 1887), p. 120.
33. William Fairbairn, Treatise on Mills and Millwork (London, 1863), Part II, pp. 114-115.
34. Rimmer, Marshalls of Leeds, pp. 203-206.
35. Benjamin Disraeli, The Spirit of Whiggism (1836) quoted in Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1867 (London, 1959), p. 408.
36. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1963), pp. 286-287.
37. Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (New Haven and London, 1978), pp. 268-298.  
George Gilbert Scott, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture (London, 1858), p. 149.
38. Ruskin's invective, written in 1854, is reproduced in Christopher Harvie, Graham Martin and Aaron Scharf (editors), Industrialisation and Culture 1830-1914 (London, 1970), pp. 296-303.
39. Williams, Culture and Society, pp. 143-153.
40. John Ruskin, "Traffic", (1866) in The Crown of Wild Olive: Four Lectures on Industry and War (London, 1900 edition), pp. 72-114, quotations on pp. 101, 105-106.



CHAPTER SIX

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN EARLY VICTORIAN HALIFAX

In 1816 Thomas Whitaker lamented that Halifax had "declined into manufactures" and was "shocked by a tone of defiance in every voice, and an air of fierceness in every countenance".<sup>1</sup> The town did not have a conspicuous community of gentlemen merchants like Leeds and Wakefield but it was still in 1816 an important commercial centre for the worsted industry. The last of the West Riding Piece Halls - a magnificent colonnaded building - was built in 1779 and was still used in the 1830s. Clothiers travelled in over the packhorse trails from as far as Keighley, Haworth and Colne. The plentiful supply of water delayed the introduction of steam. In the outlying deans and cloughs were scores of small water powered mills operated by master spinners. In the 1830s the industry became concentrated in fewer hands: larger steam powered mills filled the valley bottoms of the Calder and Hebble. In March 1837 the owner of a large estate overlooking Halifax noted ironically in her diary how "our borough of Halifax is now brightening into the polish of a large smoke - canopied industrial town".<sup>2</sup> Out of the smoke but securely within the economic domain of the large mill owners were hundreds of domestic weavers and combers. When power was applied to weaving and combing in the 1840s and 1850s they congregated in great sheds built near to the mills.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1840s Halifax exhibited many features of the stereotypical northern mill town - insanitation, pollution, overcrowding, privation, class conflict. The southern half of the town was spared the development of industry and cheap housing. Land here was in larger and more consolidated holdings and the large Savile estate was entailed until

the 1850s. This became, from the 1830s, an area of detached villas in Loudonesque gardens for those anxious to escape the squalor and overcrowding nearer the town centre. Restrictive covenants in leases were enforced to maintain it as polite, salubrious, low density residential area.<sup>4</sup> Between 1831 and 1847 the population of Halifax township increased by over eight thousand but only three hundred more houses were built to accommodate them. The Ranger Enquiry of 1851 found over a thousand people living in cellar dwellings. Many cellar dwellings and most of the lodging houses were found in the lower part of the town centre, in a tangle of streets and snickets known as "The Foulds". There had been heavy Irish immigration to Halifax in the 1840s and the immigrants were concentrated here.<sup>5</sup> Land and house ownership was highly fragmented. Many were owned by publicans, who, in the words of an official enquiry into local conditions in 1845 "wish to have around (them) not the most provident class".<sup>6</sup> A housing reformer described this area in 1843 as "a mass of little, miserable, narrow, ill-looking streets jumbled together in chaotic confusion, as if they had all been in a sack and emptied out together upon the ground, one rolling this way, another rolling that way, and each standing where chance happened to throw it". Like many of his fellow reformers he believed overcrowding generated a "notorious ebullion of passion", and, predictably, recommended that wide thoroughfares be driven through such districts.<sup>7</sup> The local Improvement Commissioners, who were notoriously inefficient, inept and corrupt, had not initiated slum clearance. From 1823 to 1840 only one major improvement - a new street from Westgate to the town centre - was made. Following the incorporation of Halifax in 1848 there was little opposition to the application of the Public Health Act and to reforming the particular conditions brought to light by the Ranger Enquiry of 1851.<sup>8</sup>

The main sources of working class militancy in Halifax were not among the Irish in the Foulds but among dissenting Yorkshire men and women in the mill colonies and more particularly in the weaving hamlets of the out townships. Militancy was political rather than trade unionist. There was a considerable diversity of employment in Halifax, even in textiles; levels and rates of pay varied considerably and probably this was the main reason why there was little effective unionisation and why wage disputes and strikes were rare.<sup>9</sup>

Halifax became a Chartist stronghold. The movement locally was less insurrectionary than in Bradford and its leaders were "moral force" rather than "physical force" Chartists. Violent rhetoric abounded in Chartist propaganda, especially in opposing the Poor Law, but physical violence was uncommon. The rarity of "folk-violence" - arson, machine smashing, effigy burning, threatening letters, rough music, and the use of "rational" activism - political meetings, friendly societies, educational classes, marks the movement off from the popular militancy against textile employers in the previous generation. The Luddite typically asserted his position against manufacturers covertly and sometimes violently. Chartists stood up in public meetings and debated their position, sometimes face to face, with their adversaries. In Halifax they packed meetings of the Anti-Corn Law League. The local Chartist movement was intensely class conscious but not without its middle class sympathisers and supporters. To be sure the Charter was a reformist and not a revolutionary manifesto but it still demanded a radical transfer of political power from the propertied classes. At a time of economic depression, great social privation, fierce attacks on the New Poor Law and factory conditions and equally militant laissez-faire liberalism among local factory owners, Chartism was a subversive doctrine.<sup>10</sup>

The Chartist movement in Halifax embraced workers in various trades but drew much of its strength and recruited many of its leaders from the ranks of impoverished weavers and combers. In the period 1780-1820, when the independence and status of the master clothier was being reduced, that of the weaver was rising. Work was abundant and he had a choice of masters, including the mill owners that he perhaps knew only through their middleman who put out the yarn to him. Weavers in their upland hamlets became more dependent on the spinning millers in the valleys. Their ranks were swelled by immigrants, former clothiers and farmer-weavers who were forced to give up the land for the loom. Most late eighteenth century weavers were skilled in other processes of cloth production (some became clothiers) and many farmed a small plot of land. By the 1830s they were reduced to proletarian outworkers, exposed in both good trade and bad, to a succession of wage cuts. When Cobbett rode through the Halifax district in 1832 he reported: "It is truly lamentable to behold so many thousands of men who formerly earned 20 to 30 shillings per week, now compelled to live on 5s, 4s or even less ... It is the more sorrowful to behold these men in their state, as they still retain the frank and bold character formed in days of their independence". Weaving hamlets were often quite as insanitary as industrial towns but despite the poverty and privation weaving communities remained committed to customary routines of work and leisure and hostile to the regimen of factory work in the valleys. It was the Chartist leader, Ben Rushton, handloom weaver and Methodist preacher, who led the Plug Rioters, singing "The Old Hundreth" and intent on sabotaging local mills, into Halifax in August 1842.<sup>11</sup> The depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s was acutely felt in Halifax. The diversity of employment initially

cushioned but eventually could not resist its impact. From 1838 to 1842 the number receiving outdoor relief increased from 3,704 to 8,531.<sup>12</sup> The New Poor Law was bitterly opposed and was a frequent target in Chartist propaganda. A new panoptical union workhouse, the physical embodiment of the repressive attitude to the poor, was built in 1838, at a cost of £10,000. Its construction outraged some ratepayers as well as many whose objections were not purely financial.<sup>13</sup> That year Ben Rushton rose to speak at a radical meeting: "He had now been a common labourer thirty-three years, and after having toiled fifty or sixty years, he had the consolation of knowing that he might retire into a bastille and finish his existence upon fifteen pence halfpenny a week. They who produced the necessities of life had a right to live ..."<sup>14</sup>

The epicentre of Chartist activity in Halifax was Skircoat Moor. Since the late eighteenth century this had been the meeting place for large gatherings of political radicals and militant dissenters. This large, unenclosed stretch of moorland on the outskirts of the town was an ideal arena for plebeian activity. But even in the town itself, at the height of Chartist militancy, it was difficult for the authorities to maintain control. General Sir Charles Napier's troops were being seduced by Chartist propaganda. He introduced barracking - "surveillance militaire" - to reduce the number of desertions. "Detachments of one hundred, well-lodged, do not alarm me" he wrote in his journal for 1839, "but having only thirty six dragoons among the ill-disposed populace of Halifax - with a man in his billet here and his horse there - that does".<sup>15</sup>

The negative aspects of the local Chartist movement's class consciousness - the hostility, the talk of violence, the armed drilling,

should not obscure the more peaceful and constitutional aspects which were the foundation of the movement's strength and solidarity - the schoolrooms, the summer camps, the temperance groups. It is ironic that what gave the movement its strength played a large part in assimilating many of its supporters into the dominant mid-Victorian middle-class culture. There was a good deal of overlap between the Chartist morality of improvement and that proselytised by middle class reformers. Increasing employment, rising wages and an expansion of skilled employment for the working class contributed to a lessening of class conflict but it was in this common ground of values that many of the roots of class consensus grew and bore fruit. The ground was eagerly cultivated by the middle class grafting and transplanting their versions of fellowship, civility, independence, rationality and respectability.<sup>16</sup> A more genial and socially responsible liberalism was abroad among them. The two largest employers in Halifax - Akroyds and Crossleys - sponsored, out of their enormous profits of the 1850s and 1860s, a whole range of improving institutions. Their attempts to improve the environment of the town and the character of its inhabitants, enterprises which were seen as closely related and sometimes identical, were part of a general effort to transform the image of Halifax from that of an insurgent and insanitary mill town to that of a healthy and respectable centre of civic pride.

Notes: Chapter Six

1. T. Whitaker, Loidis and Elmete, p. 255.
2. Anne Lister's Diary, March 1837, reprinted in Halifax Guardian, 15 August 1891.
3. John James, History of the Worsted Manufacture in England (London, 1857), pp. 614-619. Carpet handloom weavers did work in large sheds. Crossleys did not patent the power loom for carpet weaving until 1851.
4. Alan Dingsdale, 'Yorkshire Mill Town: A Study of the Spatial Patterns and Processes of Urban Industrial Growth and the Evolution of the Spatial Structure of Halifax 1801-1901. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leeds, 1974), p. 75. John H. Crabtree, A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax (Halifax, 1836), p. 359.
5. William Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health ... on ... Halifax (London, 1851), 115-125. Dingsdale, "Yorkshire Mill Town", pp. 21, 360-365.
6. James Smith, Report on the Condition of the Town of Halifax from Second Report of the Commissioners for Inquiry into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts (London, 1845), p. 152.
7. T.J. Maslen, Suggestions for the Improvement of our Towns and Houses (London, 1843), pp. 116, vii, 123.
8. G.R. Dalby, "The work of the Halifax Town Trustees from the Passing of the Improvement Act of 1823 to the Incorporation of the Borough in 1848". (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, University of Leeds, 1953).
9. Kathleen Tiller "Working Class Attitudes and Organization in Three Industrial Towns", (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1975), p. 47.
10. Dorothy Thompson (editor), The Early Chartists (London, 1971), pp. 1-36; "Chartism, Success or Failure?" in David Rubinstein (editor), People for the People (London, 1973), pp. 90-97. G.R. Dalby, "The Chartist Movement in the Town and District of Halifax" Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society (1956), pp. 94-111. Tiller, "Working Class Attitudes ...", pp. 402-430.
11. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class 269-313, 398-40, quote from Cobbett's Political Register 20 June 1832 on p. 284.
12. Halifax Guardian, July 30 1842.
13. The Times, 4 November 1838.

14. Halifax Guardian, 23 January 1838.
15. Sir William Napier, The Life and Opinions of Sir Charles James Napier (London, 1857) Vol. II, pp. 8-16, 22-23, 56-81. Charles Napier was sincere in his sympathy for the Chartists.
16. Trygve R. Tholfson, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976), pp. 85-109.



CHAPTER SEVEN

EDWARD AKROYD AND THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT OF HALIFAX

Edward Akroyd was born in 1810 in the township of Ovenden, part of the large parish of Halifax. His grandfather was established in Ovenden as a yeoman clothier in the 1770s. His father Jonathan, and uncle James were taken into partnership. James Akroyd moved to Halifax in 1811 to establish an independent worsted business at Old Lane. Jonathan Akroyd moved to Halifax seven years later to preside over a new mill at Bowling Dyke from a villa, Woodside. James installed power looms in the mid-1820s and was one of the first local manufacturers to do so. Jonathan continued to have his weaving done by hand. The best handloom weavers of two-fold warps lived in the Luddenden Valley to the south of Halifax and he leased a spinning mill at Luddenden Foot to supply them with yarn.<sup>1</sup> In the 1830s the Akroyds used their independence and different methods of manufacture as levers to depress local wages. A witness informed the Select Committee on Handloom Weavers' Petitions in 1835:

In Halifax there are two very extensive manufacturers, two brothers (James and Jonathan Akroyd); the one weaves by power looms and the other by hand looms ... They have to sell their goods against each other, therefore they must bring their wages as near point of comparison as possible ... to obtain a profit.<sup>2</sup>

The Akroyds were militant laissez-faire employers. On the 5th March 1831 in the Old Cock Tavern James Akroyd chaired a meeting of the Halifax masters which unanimously passed fourteen resolutions against statutory limitations of working hours and raising the age at which children could be employed. They found themselves "unimpeachable" in their "humanity, kindness and considerate attention to those in their employ".<sup>3</sup> On Shrove Tuesday the following year a huge crowd gathered

in Halifax to hear the great Ten Hours campaigner and Tory Radical, Richard Oastler. Oastler evoked days when kind-hearted employers lived in modest houses next to their mills and then told the story of two young girls struggling to get to their work in a mill on time on dark cold morning and the cold hearted employer who docked them each half a day's wages for being five minutes late. "As he continued, the indignation of his hearers mounted. They immediately identified his various innuendos. "'Akroyd, Akroyd', they shouted, 'Shame, shame'".<sup>4</sup>

A new mill and power loom weaving shed was built for Jonathan Akroyd in 1837 at Haley Hill, just above the mills at Bowling Dyke and at the bottom of his pleasure grounds a hundred yards from his house Woodside (Fig. 34). Plantations softened their visual effect and hid the mills, including those of the Crossleys, in the valley below. Swans glided on a lake between the house and the weaving shed and peacocks strutted in the grounds.<sup>5</sup> In 1838 his son Edward married and moved into Bankfield, a villa a few minutes walk from Haley Hill. Edward Akroyd and his brother Henry were taken into partnership the following year, as the economic crisis was deepening and poverty and disaffection were spreading.

Edward Akroyd became the figurehead of the family firm and following his father and uncle a leading spokesman for the laissez-faire liberal interest. On 25th July 1842 he attended the Anti Corn Law League Conference in London. He introduced himself as an employer of "two thousand hands" who paid out "£1,000 a week in wages". He informed Peel of the economic crisis and social distress in Halifax: the scarcity of capital, the bankruptcies among small tradesmen, the increasing numbers of vagrants and recipients of outdoor relief, the political unrest:

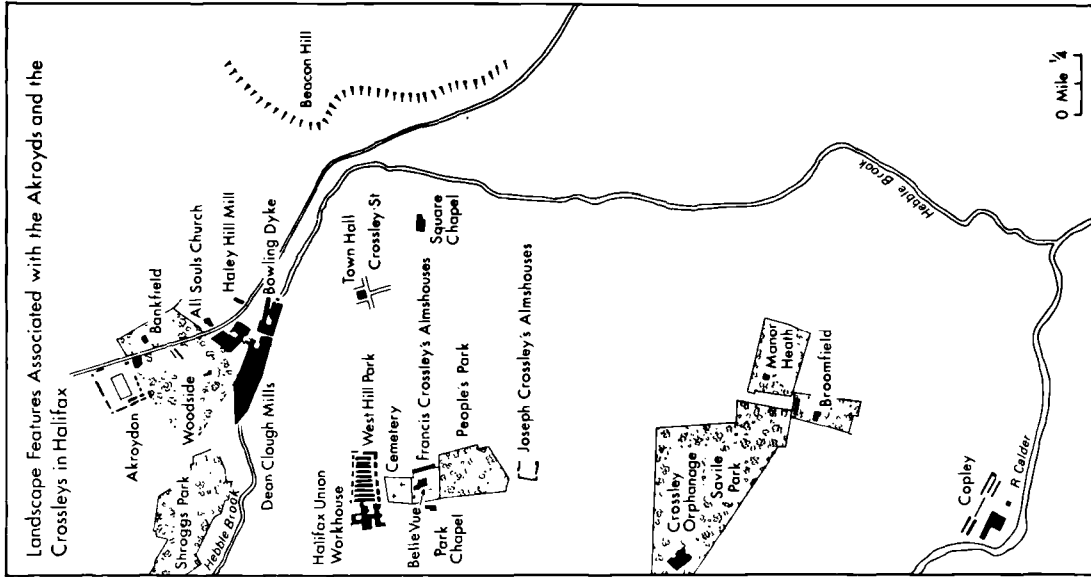


Figure 35

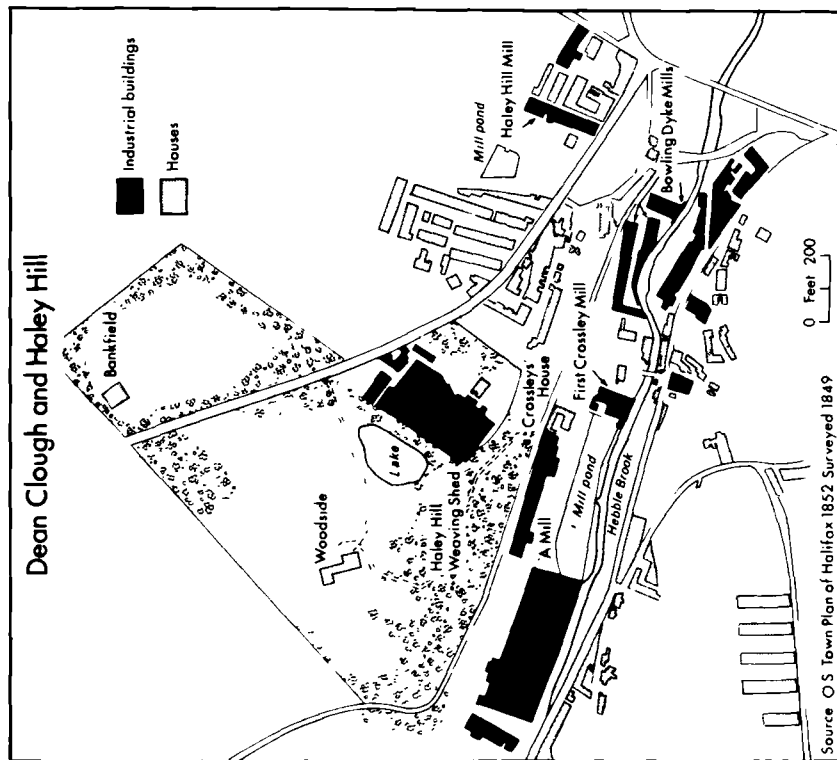


Figure 34

Symptoms of disaffection were now rife amongst the operatives. Meetings of the Chartists were held every Sunday, and on Sunday there was a gathering of 15,000 on the heights of Blackstone Edge to debate the ulterior steps. Should the miserable prospect of starvation to the poor be realised during the ensuing winter, it was to be feared that the horrors of famine might be heightened by anarchy and confusion.<sup>6</sup>

The Tory Halifax Guardian ascribed the cause of local distress not to a scarcity of cheap grain but to industrial overproduction by machinery. In an editorial on the Leaguer's Conference it evoked the vanished felicity of domestic manufacture.

There was so much of a home character in their little half farmstead, half clothing-shop; the master and his men and domestic apprentices were so much associated in friendly, almost family, intercourse, that the destruction of such a system cannot but be productive of evil, succeeded as it is by the gloomy factory system ... it is plain that the class whose destruction we both lament, could not coexist with establishments "employing 2,000 hands and paying £1,000 a week in wages."<sup>7</sup>

These are familiar Tory sentiments but they also inspired plebeian radicalism and in 1842 it was acutely discomfiting for the largest manufacturer in Halifax to read them in the local paper. Akroyd's reply was published in the next edition. He gave the editor a sharp lesson in the unsentimental realities of political economy and accused him of stirring up mob violence. The paper was quick to disassociate its position from that of the Chartists: "we write also in fear least any of the remarks of ours should be perverted by artful demagogues from their, and our, original meaning". This mollified Akroyd and he wrote a more conciliatory letter which the paper published on the 13th August. But still he accused them of "pandering to the prejudices of the operative, when smarting under distress, and his feeling rankled by the sight of a starving wife and children goading him into desperation ... Are you, Sir, whilst we are treading on a volcano of smothered popular excitement, to point to large concerns as if they were another cause of the people's misery".<sup>8</sup>

Three days later the volcano erupted: the Plug Rioters marched into Halifax. There had been a wave of strikes in Lancashire in August, a collective protest against wage cuts and conditions of factory work rather than an affirmation of explicitly Chartist principles. Lancashire Chartists endorsed their action and in Halifax the rioters from over the Pennines were joined by local men and women and given a supporting address by the Chartist leader Ben Rushton. On Monday 16th August many mills in the Hebble valley had their plugs knocked in or out. Akroyd's mills were singled out. The plug at Haley Hill was forced in and the saboteurs were about to drain the reservoir when they were repelled by armed volunteers and mounted hussars. Next morning a large crowd gathered on Skircoat Moor and passed three resolutions: no return to work until the Charter became law, the restoration of wages to levels of 1840 and a guarantee to maintain them at those levels. That afternoon the crowd advanced on Bowling Dyke Mills. The entrance was barricaded with sacks of wool and surrounded by an armed guard, including some employees. A signal station to the military was set up on the roof. As the crowd moved forward they were met by a volley of fire and ridden through by hussars slashing with the edges of their sabres; many fell wounded. The crowd then moved towards Akroyd's mansion in Bankfield but were driven away by gunfire from the windows. Five military units and 1,300 special constables re-established order in the town. The riot act was read, the streets cleared and the pubs closed. That evening the mill owners met and sent a letter of thanks to the military command. The town was quiet although rumours were rife: another 3,000 Lancastrians were reported to be marching over the Pennines and three men were reported dead in Akroyd's garden. The next day boilers were refilled, plugs reinstated and furnaces re-lit.<sup>9</sup>

From 1843 to 1846 were years of fair activity in the woollen and worsted industries. There was less unemployment among handworkers, although most still lived and worked in appalling conditions. But within the mills both wages and working conditions improved markedly. In July 1846 at a bye-election for Charles Wood, a candidate Akroyd supported, a working man stated:

He had no less than six children all working in concerns under Mr. Akroyd's management, and some of them have so worked during the last fourteen years ... One girl, who was now above 21 years of age, when she first went to work received nothing for the first fortnight, and afterwards only 1s a week for working about 14 hours a day; but now a younger sister of hers was receiving 2s 6d a week for only six hours a day labour.

Working class militancy did not weaken with the dispersal of the Plug Rioters and the revival of trade but it was strongest outside the mills. In 1844 the Ten Hour agitation revived. In the forefront were local Chartists, among them hand loom weavers who hoped that a limitation upon the hours worked in factories would increase the demand for their labour. In the 1846 bye-election Charles Wood was severely challenged for his statement in the House of Commons that "The operative classes of Halifax are not in favour of the 10 hours bill".<sup>10</sup> In the second week of April 1844 supporters of the Ten Hours Bill filled the Oddfellows Hall to hear Ben Rushton and Richard Oastler harangue employers. Meanwhile in the Talbot Inn the local millocracy met to assert their opposition to the Bill. Edward Akroyd was in the chair. "They were termed hard hearted mill owners", he stated, "task masters and fellows who were almost worse than West India slave holders, but he thought they had in this neighbourhood especially, shewn considerable humanity, although others endeavoured to be humane at their expense".<sup>11</sup> The general election of 1847 coincided with a trade recession in the woollen and worsted industries which fuelled the enthusiasm for the

Chartist candidate. During an electoral meeting Jonathan Akroyd dropped dead while being heckled from the floor. In 1848 conditions worsened especially for the hundreds of unemployed combers and weavers. Early in the year a deputation of 400 combers marched to the workhouse demanding not relief but employment. On Good Friday 1848 a Chartist meeting of 20,000 was watched by 500 special constables and some units of yeomanry. Pikes were sharpened, bullets cast and the tricouleur carried in processions but there was no insurrection. In the autumn of 1848 trade improved suddenly and considerably. Mills ran for longer and employment for combers and weavers increased. Class relations improved. But an economic explanation of the lessening of class conflict is not adequate. The focus of political activism was passing from the old handworkers who read Cobbett and followed Oastler and yearned for land and independence to the younger factory workers who were more accepting of the factory system and who combined a much more effective industrial organization with a less extreme political radicalism.<sup>12</sup> Akroyd, who assumed personal control of the family firm in 1853 and who at this time employed over six thousand, seized the opportunity to win them over.

The class tension generated by the Ten Hours Bill impressed upon Akroyd the need to restore "a kindly feeling between the opposing classes of employer and employed".<sup>13</sup> In later years he, like many reformed laissez-faire liberals, was a supporter of the Bill and after Oastler's death lavished praise on the Tory Radical and promoted his memorial fund. "Those mill owners who most actively opposed the Ten Hours Bill have observed with pleasure its good fruits in the improved health and morals of the factory population".<sup>14</sup> On the death of his father, Akroyd inherited one and three-quarter million pounds. In 1847 he

and his brother retired temporarily from public life to Denton Hall in Wharfedale, a Palladian mansion designed by John Carr. Here, in peaceful surroundings, away from the turbulence of Halifax they planned a range of improving institutions for their employees to fill the leisure time released by the shorter working day. Akroyd's first experiment in purchasing social quiescence had been to distribute food to the Plug rioters.<sup>15</sup> The new venture was strongly imbued with the ethic of self-help; the institutions included a building society, penny bank, clothing club, library, science classes, horticultural and floral society, a burial club.

In 1849 and 1850 trade was good and wages rose but in the winter of 1851-52 wage reductions for woolcombers precipitated a strike. The Chartist leader Ernest Jones, defeated in the parliamentary election of 1847 and released from prison in July 1850 after serving two months, admonished the strikers for the conciliatory language of their appeal.

Woolcombers, place not your trust in the "kindly feelings and gentlemanly manner" of any capitalist. I impute no bad motives to Mr. Akroyd, more than the general policy of the whole capitalist class - to depress labour and pay wages as low as possible ... working men, arise and learn to know yourselves.<sup>16</sup>

But there was little response to Jones' call. In 1852 Akroyd and Titus Salt purchased the patent of some combing machinery. The new combing shed at Haley Hill opened in June 1856. Akroyd found some young hand combers new jobs, gave pensions to some of the old and assisted some of the middle aged to emigrate. Others, like the Chartist leader, John Snowden were reduced to the workhouse. Later Snowden accepted a pension of ten shillings a week from Akroyd, on whose election committee he served in 1868.<sup>17</sup>

The themes of class consensus and cooperation characterise most of the projects that Akroyd sponsored. When expressing his support



for cooperatives and limited liability companies he drew attention to how "The feeling of a common interest harmonises with the desire for selfish individual benefit".<sup>18</sup> His own firm became a joint stock company in 1871: "one of the main objects of this change was to obviate the antagonism between capital and labour, and to give to those who had contributed to the past prosperity of the business an opportunity of obtaining as proprietors an interest in its future success".<sup>19</sup>

The first expression of Akroyd's social vision in the landscape of Halifax was All Souls Church (Fig. 36). This was designed in a late thirteenth century style by George Gilbert Scott who considered it "on the whole my best church".<sup>20</sup> It was built between 1856 and 1859 for an extravagant £70,000. Akroyd employed the best craftsmen and artists available to create a rich High Victorian interior. Akroyd himself designed the up-to-date coal fired heating system. All Souls was not disfigured by a chimney, the smoke was led into the main flue of Bowling Dyke Mill. All Souls was built on the site of a former Baptist chapel. The Baptists had evacuated the chapel, and Akroyd, eager for an Anglican place of worship near his house and factories, had it consecrated for church services before he purchased the site in 1854.<sup>21</sup> Akroyd was brought up a Methodist and his father had built a New Connexion chapel and Sunday school at Haley Hill. One reason for Akroyd's conformity and for the building of All Souls may have been the close relationship in Halifax between New Connexion Methodism and Chartism: Ben Rushton was a New Connexion preacher. Anglicanism, especially the medievalist variety Akroyd preferred, was more appropriate to his paternal style. Akroyd had the remains of both his parents disinterred from the chapel burial ground and transferred to a tomb in All Souls. The spire of All Souls soared to a height of

256 feet perhaps significantly one foot higher than the spire of Square Congregational church which was funded by the Crossleys and completed two years earlier. It formed a striking garden feature for those strolling in the grounds of Bankfield and conveniently occluded the spire of Square Church below in the valley (Fig. 37). It was intended also to make an impression on those who worked in the factories below (Fig. 38). The official historian of the firm wrote in 1874:

The site of All Souls is on a commanding elevation overlooking Haley Hill weaving shed and combing shed ... In choosing this position, the founder sought to impress upon the work people in their daily avocation the aspect of a temple to the living God, and to inculcate the everlasting truth - that man has a craving for something higher, loftier and purer than the material world around him; and that whilst employers and employed may obtain subsistence from the busy work in which they are engaged, they may, even so disposed join in worship at All Souls.<sup>38</sup>

The seating arrangements - 800 free, open pews - were intended to encourage the working class to attend. It is difficult to establish how successful Akroyd was in promoting class contact in All Souls. Many of Akroyd's employees lived on Haley Hill in the shadow of All Souls but the marriage registers do not suggest that many worshipped there. Of the 128 marriage partners listed between 1856 and 1881 who were gainfully employed only twenty three worked in a worsted mill. The great majority, ninety five, were artisans or lower middle class. Only twenty three were semi-skilled and only nine unskilled workers.<sup>23</sup>

Akroyd was a leading figure in the National Education Union. He considered employers should "successfully promote the sound education, the welfare, and the happiness of the work people, over whom it has pleased God to place them and for whom they are more or less responsible".<sup>24</sup> In his factory schools Akroyd claimed to have "guarded against any doctrinal learning or attempts to convert the children of Dissenters towards the Church of England".<sup>25</sup> In 1857 Akroyd employed



Figure 36 Statue of Edward Akroyd on eastern side of All Souls Church.



Figure 37 All Souls spire from the garden of Bankfield.



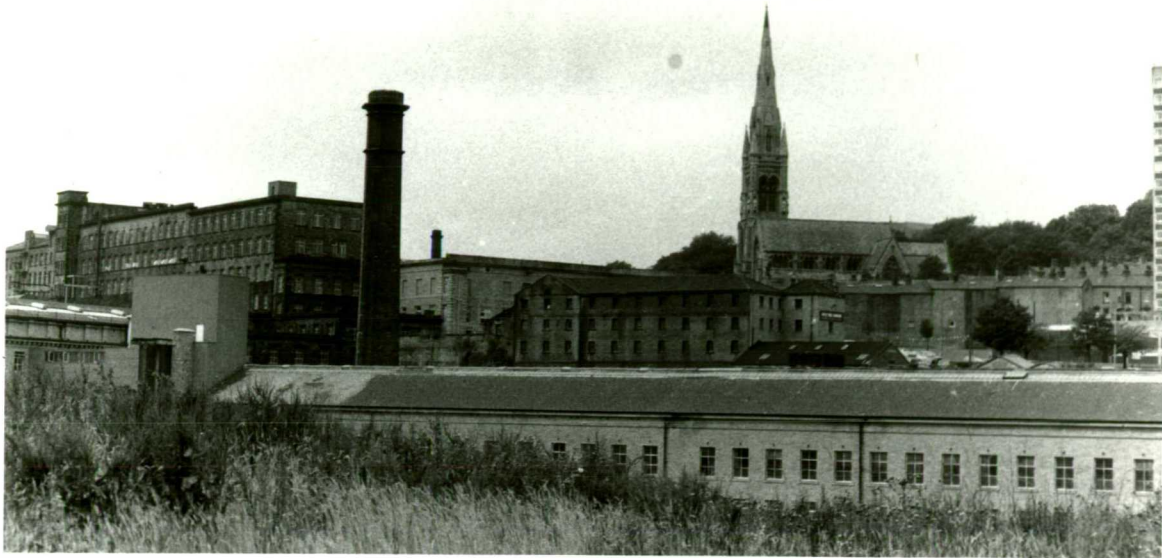


Figure 38 All Saints Church above Bowling Dyke Mills

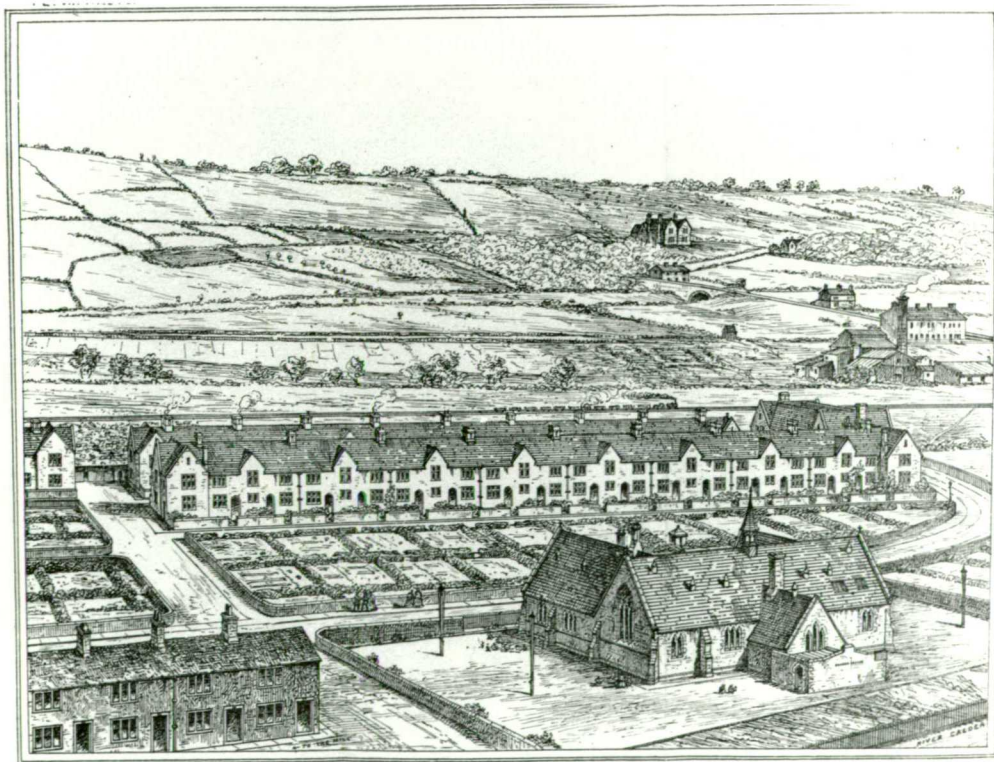


Figure 39 Eastern part of Copley, from James Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes (1866).

over a thousand halftimers aged 8-13, who for 2d a week could attend the firm's infant school. He established a Working Man's College for those over 13 and evening classes for women "for the cultivation of domestic arts which were too often neglected in the manufacturing districts".<sup>26</sup> Akroyd's idea of education was didactic and opposed to the Chartist traditions and the principles of the National Education League which had a groundswell of working class support in Halifax. "The main object of education in our elementary schools", asserted Akroyd, "is, or ought to be, not to bring up clever roudges, but to raise a body of orderly, loyal citizens". Akroyd provided uniforms for his pupils. G. J. Holyoake, the publicist for the local cooperative movement, compared Akroyd's gesture favourably with that of "trade unions who do little to promote the personal appearance of their members or to revise their social habits".<sup>27</sup>

At a meeting in Leeds in December 1856 the idea of the Yorkshire Penny Bank was mooted. Three years later it commenced and Akroyd became its president. He emphasised its function as a social emollient. A sermon by Charles Kingsley in 1856 had left a lasting impression on him. It was on behalf of a London slum mission: "he dwelt chiefly on the wide separation which divides rich from poor, class from class, in London; and on the dangers which threaten society from this cause". Akroyd himself observed the "sad contrast" between the luxury of the West End of London and the penury of the East End. He thought there was less social distance between rich and poor in provincial towns but even there "the problem, the puzzling question" remained: "how to bridge over the wide chasm intervening between high and low in society without injury to self-respect on either side?" Akroyd considered the Penny Bank was one solution. In 1871 there were 4,708 depositors which was no doubt encouraging, but they of course represented only a

fraction of the West Riding working population. That year a local branch secretary informed him that "besides inculcating and fostering habits of thrift and economy, the Bank is doing a great work in smoothing down class asperities". A manager's kind words were carried back into the homes of depositors, the motives of middle class gentlemen who volunteered to help at the bank were revealed as uncondescending philanthropy and not "idle curiosity", clergymen met parishioners they might otherwise "not so readily find out". The Halifax branch was connected with the Mechanics Institute and deserved special mention because of its success (which justified longer opening hours) and the "courtesy and assiduity" of its staff.<sup>28</sup>

Akroyd provided a small recreation ground for the workers at Haley Hill and persuaded the Savile family to lease to him for 999 years a 24 acre site to donate to the corporation as a public park. The public had already used the site for recreation but there were plans to develop it privately. Akroyd financed the landscaping (by Edward Milner, a pupil of Joseph Paxton) at a cost of £10,000. The site was a wooded spur at the confluence of the Hebble and Ovenden brooks above Akroyd's mills and those of the Crossleys (Fig. 35). Shroggs Park, as it was called, presented an industrial panorama. The Halifax Courier described it in October 1873: to the north the valley of the Ovenden brook was "studded with small mills and cosy farmhouses ... and the prospect, with the morning sun upon it, is far more lovely than many will suppose". The mill chimneys at the southern end of the Wheatley valley were conspicuous to the west and their smoke streamed across the park. "Turning to the left (eastwards) on entering you notice a thick canopy above a hundred long chimneys ... the view gives an idea of the manufacturing importance of Halifax but one

does not care to linger over it". The two other main public parks in the town were an appreciable distance from working class districts. Shroggs Park was not only more accessible to mill workers but also was seen to increase respectability of the area of their employment. "The Park is already raising the tone of the place, several superior buildings (which included two schools and a church) having been placed near it. Shroggs Wood was an eyesore but Shroggs Park will be a place of beauty which will serve to make life enjoyable in this working-day part of the town".<sup>29</sup>

Akroyd was best known to his contemporaries for planning and financing two model settlements. Samuel Smiles and James Hole, two self-help moralists from Leeds, praised his efforts at improving material conditions and social relations.<sup>30</sup> In The Housing Question (1872) Engels interpreted such settlements as instruments of class domination and considered that they diverted attention from fundamental causes of housing problems in the structure of society itself: "And to give us old Akroyd as an example. This worthy was certainly a philanthropist of the first water. He loved his workers and in particular his female employees to such an extent that his less philanthropic competitors in Yorkshire used to say of him that he ran his factories exclusively with his own children".<sup>31</sup>

Akroyd's two model settlements, Copley and Akroydon, differed in character. Copley was a rural mill village with services and social institutions and Akroyd rented out all the houses. Akroydon was a suburban leasehold residential estate.

Copley, Akroyd's first "experiment" (as he called it) in providing improved dwellings was "no great novelty". The first houses were built in 1849, shortly after Jonathan Akroyd's death, and Edward and

Henry Akroyd consciously followed the example of the Whitehead brothers who had built a model mill village at Greenfield near Saddleworth. In twenty years Copley grew to a village of 136 houses which accommodated a population of 720 (Figs. 39 and 40). The nucleus of the village was the mill. Akroyd declared his primary purpose in building the village was, "to be secure against the sudden withdrawal of work-people" but the houses were "erected not merely for the purpose of aggregating a sufficient number of operatives for the supply of labour, but also with an eye to the improvement of their social condition, by fitting up their houses with every requisite comfort and convenience". Also built were schools, a church, shops a cooperative store, a recreation ground and allotments.<sup>32</sup>

Jonathan Akroyd purchased the site, two miles south of Halifax, in 1844. With its steep wooded slopes Copley Vale was a particularly beautiful part of the Calder Valley but its social character was then much less appealing than its scenery. A mill and a few cottages were already built on the site but the mill had not been in use since 1837. Since then "the locality had obtained a somewhat unenviable notoriety. Gamblers made the mill a constant resort, rows and disturbances occurred, and not infrequently persons met with serious ill-treatment from roughs of this character".<sup>33</sup>

In 1846 the firm's mill at Luddenden Foot was closed and most of the workers were then walked along the narrow pathways to the new mill built that year at Copley. It was monumental and dramatised the valley (Fig. 41). "On looking upon this giant structure ... from the surrounding heights", wrote an official guide in 1865, "one feels it must be the life-giving element of the village. And as you come near and hear the incessant drone of machinery, the idea is further



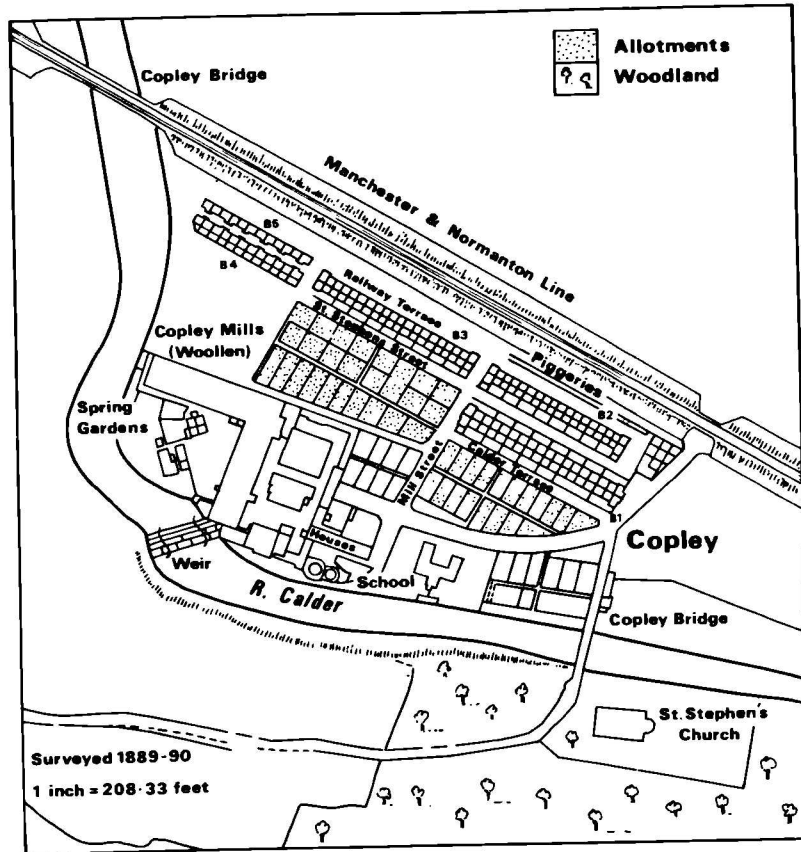


Figure 40

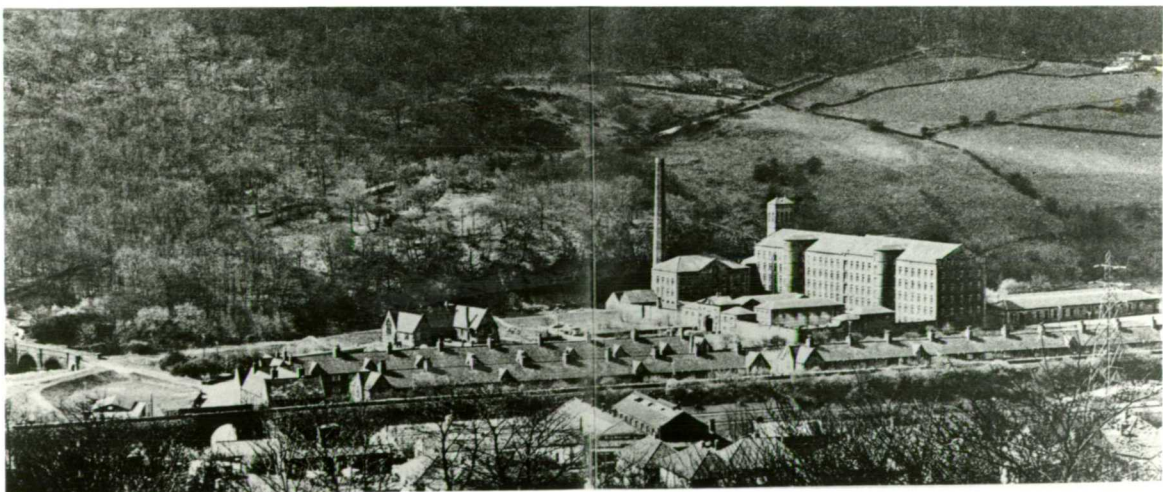


Figure 41 Copley. View from the North East.

impressed upon you". A triumphal arch formed the entrance to the mill yard and to a scene of concentrated, unremitting industry: "Enter within the precincts of the yard, ascend from storey to storey, travel from room to room, and you behold the realization of the idea. Its busy life is then displayed before you - nothing still - all in motion. Men, women and children; old, young and middle-aged, all working for their daily bread". The mill workers spun and twisted yarn. Much of this was sent to the weaving sheds at Haley Hill but some was woven at Copley in a shed in the mill yard. "Previously, each hand-weaver was accustomed to have a loom in his house", continued the Guide, "if for no other reason than that it took up much useful room in a small cottage, this was an objectionable arrangement; but besides this it was undoubtedly prejudicial to the health of the family".<sup>34</sup>

Akroyd thought the "modified old English style" which he chose for the dwellings not only harmonised with the landscape but also looked like the vernacular style of local domestic architecture. In fact, the steep pitched roofs and uniform rows of Copley had no precedent in weaving hamlets nearby.<sup>35</sup> The exterior surfaces of the dwellings reflected the medievalist's somewhat misplaced vision of the past, their interiors embodied the moral preoccupations of the modern reformer. Privacy and the specification of space were written into their plan. Each dwelling was intended for one family and had its own water supply, drain, privvy and ashpit. There were separate entrances to the bedrooms of adults and children in the dwellings of the first block. Domestic arrangements were less structured, more old-fashioned in the physical plan of dwellings of the second and third blocks. These were built more cheaply, "in order" explained Akroyd

to accommodate a different class of tenants who were unwilling to pay the rental affixed to the more complete dwelling. Reluctantly, therefore, on the part of the landlord, a cheaper structure was erected of a similar outline, but internally more in the common style of the country, with one sleeping apartment above stairs, the living room being used by the elders at night as a second bedroom with a shut-up bedstead ... These single bedrooms may be easily partitioned by wooden screens or by curtains. The latter appliance is frequently applied.<sup>36</sup>

Another cardinal principle of domestic improvement was compromised - the dwellings were organized in back-to-back terraces thus obstructing the through passage of air. The Builder, in a lead article in January 1863 praised most details of Akroyd's housing scheme, but censured him for this.<sup>37</sup> "Notwithstanding the well founded objections", rejoined Akroyd, "practically no inconvenience has been found in this respect. The windows are well provided with lattice openings and the staircase landing also conveys ventilation".<sup>38</sup> The salubrity of dwellings in Copley varied considerably with the situation of the terrace they were in. The residents of the terrace below the railway embankment who faced a row of privvies and piggeries had an altogether less pleasant sensory environment than the residents of the terrace facing the river who looked across their gardens to the wooded slopes of the valley side opposite. The terrace under the embankment was known as "Pig Street". Its name was changed officially to Railway Terrace sometime between 1861 and 1871 "alas for the fancies of a later generation and the changeful efforts of a Sanitary Committee" wrote a local newspaper reporter in 1880.<sup>39</sup>

In 1851 twenty-four of the original dwellings, some perhaps former drying houses, were inhabited. Some were in the millyard and in three of these lived the millwright, the cashier and overall mill manager. These were gradually demolished over the next twenty years. Between 1849 and 1851 the first two blocks of new dwellings, a total

of seventy-two in four terraces of eighteen, were built.<sup>40</sup> The dwellings in the first block cost Akroyd £120 each to build and he let them each (in 1862) for £5.15 a year. The dwellings in the second block were smaller, each cost twenty pounds less to build and rented for £4.5s.<sup>41</sup> These figures were given as averages and no doubt end of terrace dwellings and those with private gardens commanded higher rents. After 1851 many of the end of terrace dwellings were converted into shops, the shopkeepers living in the adjoining dwelling on the terrace. Akroyd claimed that workers were "unwilling" to pay the rent of dwellings in the first block but it is clear that many would have been scarcely able to. Lower income heads of household needed to supplement their wages considerably to afford the rents. For example, two residents and household heads in 1851, George Stansfield and Thomas Sutcliffe, were weavers earning by piece work probably a maximum of 20s a week. Stansfield supplemented his wages with income from his six working children and payment from four lodgers. Sutcliffe supplemented his wages with income from one lodger. Stansfield's household numbered thirteen and Sutcliffe's eleven which would have disturbed a contemporary housing reformer sensitized to the implications of overcrowding. Both households contrasted in size and composition, with that of Eli Dyson, a manager at the mill who lived two doors away from Stansfields. He earned probably 40-45s a week and he was the only breadwinner in a household that comprised himself, his wife and young daughter.

In 1851 the great majority of houses (14) in Block 1 were inhabited by lower middle class heads of household - managers, overlookers, shopkeepers and one schoolmaster (see Appendix). The social composition of the cheaper houses in Block 2 was significantly

more lowly. Twenty-one heads were either semi-skilled or unskilled workers (compared with 12 in Block 1) and only eight were "lower middle class". (Table 1). At the end of one terrace in Block 2 lived a Stone Delver, employing twenty-four men, who thus constitutes the only member of the "middle class" category. Like the stone mason's labourer who lived next door to him he was no doubt involved with the building of the village. It was not unusual for household heads of very different occupational classes to be next door neighbours.

Not everyone who worked at Copley Mill lived in the village. Many of the lowest paid adult male workers had to find cheaper accommodation elsewhere. In 1851 only ten household heads worked outside the mill and most of these were connected with the creation and maintenance of the village - shopkeepers, gardeners, painters, stone workers. Only three of those gainfully employed in 1851 - a railway constable, railway labourer and a smallholder farmer - could be said to have worked always beyond the boundaries of the village.

Between 1851 and 1853 a third block of forty dwellings was built. These were identical in size and style to those in Block 2 but constructed from cheaper materials and rented, on average, for £4 a year.<sup>42</sup> The terrace facing the railway embankment was occupied mainly by semi-skilled heads of household, especially weavers. There were more overlookers in Block 3 than in Block 2 in 1861 and they occupied the terrace with gardens that faced the river. In the intercensal period Block 1 lost nine households (through some dwellings being amalgamated and others being unoccupied) and proportionally it was now more middle class. Block 2 was now the most proletarian, having lost three lower middle class heads of household and gained four unskilled (Table 1).

Table 1    Copley: Location Quotients

1851

	L.M.C.	S.W.C.	S.S.W.C.	U.W.C.
Block 1	1.3	1.5	.7	.7
Block 2	.7	.5	1.3	1.3

1861

Block 1	1.8	.8	.6	.5
Block 2	.5	1.2	1.1	1.5
Block 3	.8	.9	1.2	.9

1871

Block 1	1.7	1.6	.6	.5
Block 2	.7	.6	1.1	1.2
Block 3	.8	.5	.8	1.5
Block 4	.8	1.6	2.0	.4

- L.M.C.    -    Lower Middle Class
- S.W.C.    -    Skilled Working Class
- S.S.W.C. -    Semi-Skilled Working Class
- U.W.C.    -    Unskilled Working Class

"The location quotient is simply defined as the ratio between the percentage of one population in a given area and the percentage of another population in that area. In the formula,  $x_i$  is the percentage of the total 'x' population occurring the i'th area and  $y_i$  is the percentage of the 'y' population in the i'th area.

$$L_Q = \frac{x_i}{y_i}$$

A location quotient of one indicates that the two populations are proportionally equally represented in the area. An index of less than one indicates an under-representation of the 'x' population, while an index of more than one indicates an over-representation of the 'x' population."

D.W.G. Timms, "Quantitative Techniques in Urban Social Geography", in R.J. Thorley and P. Haggett (editors), Frontiers in Geographical Teaching (London, 1965), pp. 239-262 (p. 243).

Between 1861 and 1871 another two terraces of twelve dwellings were built. Akroyd may have accepted previous criticism because these were parallel but not back-to-back. One terrace had a row of gardens. It is not known how much they rented for but they were larger dwellings than those in Blocks 2 and 3 and probably commanded higher rents. Semi-skilled heads of household occupied a majority of nineteen inhabited dwellings. In 1871 occupational class differences between the blocks are discernible (Table 1). Perhaps unsurprisingly lower income heads of household tended to live in cheaper dwellings; also their households tended to be larger, with more gainfully employed than those of the highest paid workers. But the levels of occupational class segregation between neighbours and also between blocks were never so high as to be exclusive. Hannah Blagborough, a retired widow supported by two adult daughters, both unskilled mill hands and a 24-year-old son, a skilled fitter, could in 1871 share the same type of house and enjoy the same view as the mill manager next door in the most expensive terrace in the village.

Akroyd earned a "philanthropic" rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent interest on his outlay on the dwellings at Copley. "In a financial aspect the Copley experiment is not very successful", he wrote in 1862, "indirectly, however, many collateral advantages accrue from a more attached and contented population - advantages which can only be secured in this manner".<sup>43</sup> The evidence of the attitude of the workforce is fragmentary and indirect. A crude assessment might be intercensal persistence rate. Among heads of household this was 39% in the village and 26% in the same house between 1851 and 1861. The rates dropped to 34% and 19% between 1861 and 1871. These last rates are lower than those in the same period for a mill colony in Shipley with

ordinary back-to-backs (Fig. 81). No one occupational class was more persistent than others for both periods. But the turnover rate among workers outside the mill was twice as high as mill workers in each period. Not only did the proportion of household heads who did not work in the mill increase over the twenty year period (from 14% to 24% to 35%) but the proportion of those born outside Yorkshire increased also (from 3% to 12% to 19%). In 1871 all but two of the twenty non-Yorkshire born worked outside the mill. The cohesiveness of the mill community largely transplanted from Luddenden Foot was felt to be decreasing. In 1851, of the 96 heads of household 79 were born within walking distance of Copley; the three born outside the West Riding were a weaver from Lancashire, a schoolteacher from Glasgow and a railway constable from Ireland. In 1871 the majority of non-Yorkshire born were from the Midlands and the South - six were from Loughton in Buckinghamshire. In 1880 a local journalist reported: "they (the older residents) allege that these foreigners have brought with them habits of unthrift and intemperance ... and that they are not so clean and tidy in their household affairs as becomes true citizens of a village so select".<sup>44</sup>

There was no pub in Copley but Akroyd sponsored a panoply of improving institutions for the leisure time of the residents. The half-timers were taught for two years in a large room in the mill yard until a school was built. Sunday school was taught in the dining shed in the mill yard. An evening class started in 1862 but attendance dropped rapidly to about twenty "when the novelty wore off". A lending library was opened in 1850 which was free until 1863; a charge was then levied "with the hope that the books would be more appreciated, and that a greater value would be placed upon the privilege



of reading them": the readership promptly dropped from two hundred to thirty. A burial club was started in 1849, a clothing club in 1863 and a moderately successful Penny Bank in 1862. The Penny Bank was a middle class invention but not all the institutions at Copley bore the heavy hand of middle class patronage. A cooperative was started in the 1860s. The local cooperative movement was very conscious of its working class origins but became assimilated into the mid-Victorian consensus culture. It came to share the same rhetoric of aspiration as the Penny Bank and, not surprisingly, received Akroyd's endorsement. The organizing committees of these institutions were made up mainly of managers and overlookers: authority in labour relations reached beyond the mill yard into the times and spaces reserved for leisure.<sup>45</sup>

Akroyd provided the houses, paid the wages and gave money for worthy causes but his personal authority was probably less effective among the workers at Copley than among his employees in Halifax near where he lived. Certainly Akroyd's attempt to proselytise his religious principles was less effective. Until Copley became a separate ecclesiastical district in 1863 a room in the school was licensed for Anglican worship. A church, completed in 1865, was then built on the opposite bank of the Calder. This was designed by W. H. Crossland, a pupil of Gilbert Scott, in early English style to complement the domestic architecture. Akroyd paid a stipend to the incumbent.<sup>46</sup> But Non-Conformity was strong among the workforce. The house of the overall mill manager, William Holgate, did duty as a Wesleyan chapel. The Reverend J. B. Sidgwick, the Anglican vicar and a leading light in many of the institutions, disregarded sectarian divisions in matters of spiritual and moral welfare: he "visited alike the churchman and Dissenter and was apparently as much at ease

in the house of the latter as in that of the former. But troublesome times came. Mr. Sidgwick and Mr. Akroyd got at variance on points of doctrine and much bitterness and strife ensued". In 1873 Sidgwick moved to a parish in Sheffield.<sup>47</sup>

The model mill village was the leitmotif of much reformist rhetoric. One element - the house of the employer - was missing at Copley. By the 1860s Akroyd was prominent in public life in Halifax and had extended his influence beyond the limits of his industrial enterprise. Some of the moral authority vested in his person as employer was delegated to the managers and overlookers. The evidence suggests that Copley was indeed in the 1870s a 'respectable' place and that the bonds of loyalty were geographical and transcended the distinctions of class and status. As such it would appeal to reformers anxious at the estrangement and disorder they perceived in large industrial towns.

According to the official handbook of 1863 the improving institutions Akroyd had set up at his Haley Hill factories were intended for those "who long for comfort and quiet or that necessary relaxation they ought to find in their own houses, where it ought to be found, but which they now desert for the Casino, the Music Saloon and the Cheap Theatre". It pointed out "the baneful effects to morality engendered by this overcrowding of families, aggravated perhaps by taking in lodgers to help bear the burden of heavy rent".<sup>48</sup> The rows of mean back-to-backs on Haley Hill were inhabited by many of Akroyd's lower paid employees. In 1862 Akroyd described these houses as "of an inferior class, inconvenient and ill ventilated, and for the most part with only a single living room and chamber, however numerous may be the inmates". Before incorporation of the district into the borough of Halifax brought improved drainage and water supply there were out-

breaks of typhus. Akroyd realised the need to start a model housing scheme in Halifax, but Copley had proved costly and he was not prepared to invest so large a sum in it. Akroydon, the scheme he decided upon in 1855, was to be capitalised by the Halifax Permanent Building Society.<sup>49</sup>

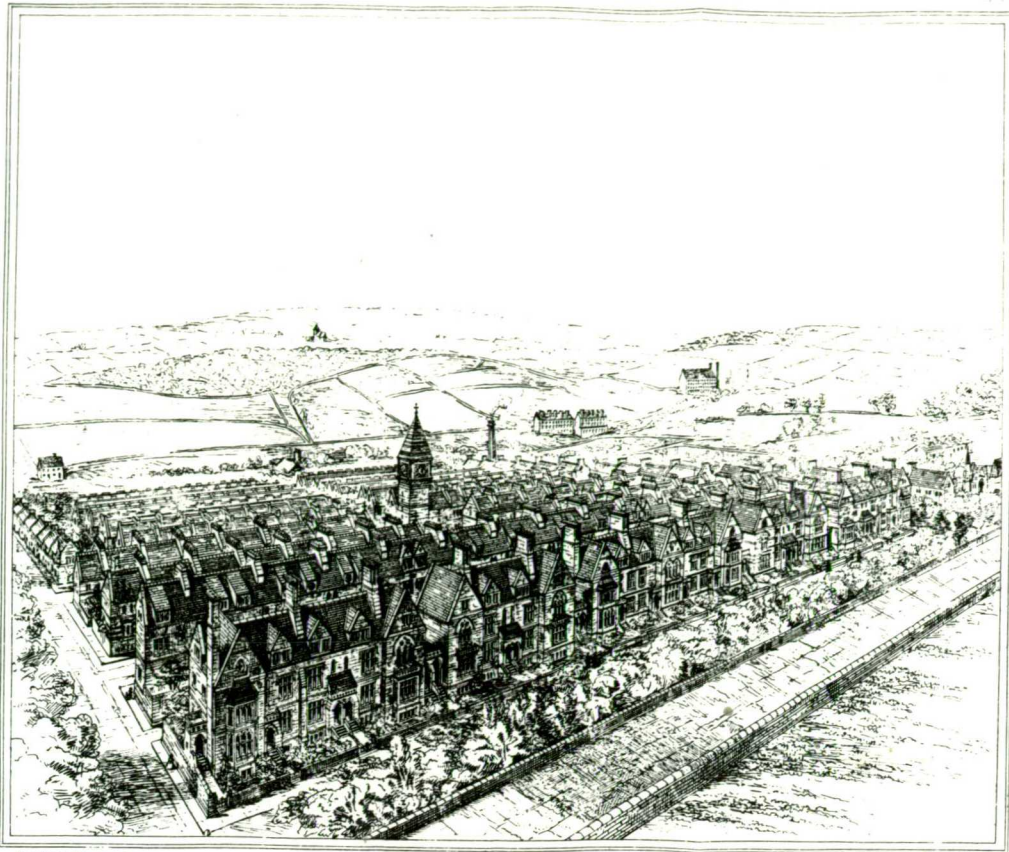
Akroyd was a patron of the Halifax Permanent which was formed in December 1852 and commenced operation two months later. In its first prospectus the promoters "earnestly beg(ged) the working classes to examine carefully the claims this Society has upon them". A minimum deposit (a fifth share) was sixpence a week and the interest rate five per cent. Nicely summarising the morality of thrift, the prospectus informed the prospective member that his first deposit "not infrequently forms the basis of his future character". By the end of the first year 144 depositors had invested a total of £6,568.<sup>50</sup> The early records of the Society have been destroyed but the proportion of depositors to this total makes it clear that there had been substantial individual contributions. For the middle class investor permanent building societies became, in Enid Gauldie's words, "an attractive way to make his savings work for him, with the additional virtue that while his money was appreciating, it might also be helping to house the poor".<sup>51</sup>

The Akroydon scheme was not Akroyd's first involvement with building societies. In 1845 he was a trustee of a terminating society, the Halifax Union. Its main purpose was, as Akroyd readily admitted, political - to increase the number of forty shilling freeholders. Akroyd also admitted the architectural shortcomings - the 112 houses were cheap back-to-backs. His special plea that the scheme did at least realise "a latent desire on the part of working men to build houses of their own and to become their own landlords"<sup>52</sup> is humbug.

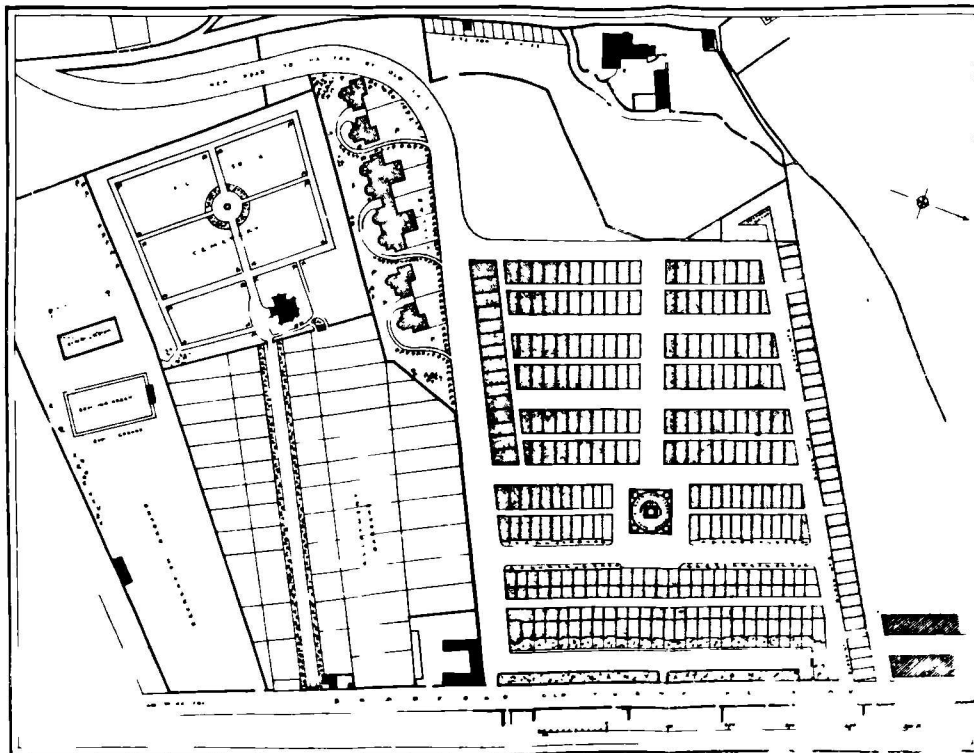
In 1852 only twenty of the houses were owner-occupied, most were owned by members of the middle class including one, described as a "gentleman", who owned seven. Because of the rapid increase in population in the 1840s their value increased substantially, from thirty to forty per cent; many were overcrowded, some with cellars occupied as separate dwellings.<sup>53</sup>

In 1855 Akroyd purchased land for Akroydon: 60,000 square yards on the opposite side of the Bradford road from his villa Bankfield. The site sloped down towards James Akroyd's Old Lane Mill in the valley of the Ovenden brook and was surrounded on all sides by fields. 350 dwellings were planned in blocks of eight to ten dwellings around a square (Figs. 42 and 43). Each block was to be taken up by a party of members of the Akroydon Building Association, formed in association with the Halifax Permanent.

In 1858, the year All Souls was completed, Akroyd commissioned George Gilbert Scott to design the houses.<sup>54</sup> Scott's ideas on the function of domestic architecture and the responsibility of wealth were in sympathy with those of Akroyd. Scott's ideal philanthropist was the country squire, personifying "the bond of union between the classes", a person who would build "comfortable and sightly" houses for the poor of his estate in view from his house. Scott recognised that this ideal was difficult to transplant into industrial towns because the structures of land ownership and employment were more complex. Nevertheless he considered it incumbent on a large urban or suburban landowner "in laying out his land for building, to see that proper provision is made for the poorer classes" and on "the great manufacturer who draws around him a teeming population" to see that good houses for workers were provided even if he was himself not



AN IDEAL SKETCH OF AKROYDON, NEAR HALIFAX.



AKROYDON.- GENERAL BLOCK PLAN.

Figures 42 and 43. Ideal Sketch and Plan for Akroydon. From Edward Akroyd, On Improved Dwellings for the Working Classes (1862).

a large landowner.<sup>55</sup> When The Builder described Akroydon in 1863 it observed: "Mr. Akroyd is very desirous of keeping up the old English notion of a village - the squire and the parson as the head and centre of all progress and good fellowship; then the tenant-farmers; and lastly the working population".<sup>56</sup> It is perhaps ironic that the former Anti-Corn Law Leaguer, the bitter antagonist of the landed interest, now employed this imagery.

Scott designed Akroydon in domestic gothic. Scott considered this style exuded a spirit of fellow feeling and Akroyd claimed for it an arcane power to heal the breaches he perceived in contemporary society - between past and present, country and town, master and man. Akroyd chose it "not solely for the gratification of my own taste" but because he thought it to be historically authentic to Halifax. He hoped the style would "awaken the innate taste of the people for the beautiful in outline ... intuitively this taste of our forefathers pleases the fancy, strengthens house and home attachment, entwines the present with the memory of the past, and promises, in spite of opposition and prejudice, to become the national style of modern, as it was of old England". Opposition and prejudice were unfortunately so widespread among local people that Akroyd was forced to compromise his architectural principles. The houses Scott drew struck prospective buyers as archaic, dingy, uncomfortable and inconvenient. The dormer windows reminded them of almshouses: "the independent workmen who formed the building association positively refused to accept this feature of the Gothic, which to their minds was degrading", wrote Akroyd. He therefore left them off the houses in the first two blocks and added emblems of independence - shields above the front door carved with the owner's monogram - for which they were "much gratified" (Fig. 44).

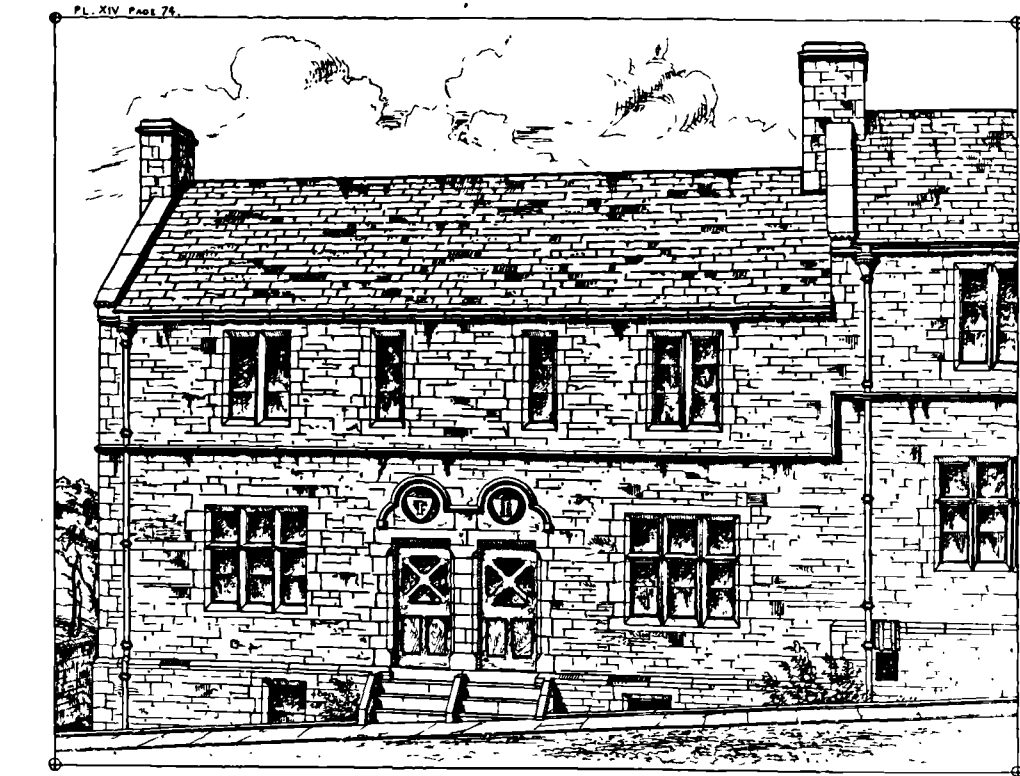


Figure 44 Monogrammed houses in Salisbury Place, Akroydon. Sketch from James Hole, The Houses of the Working Classes (1966).

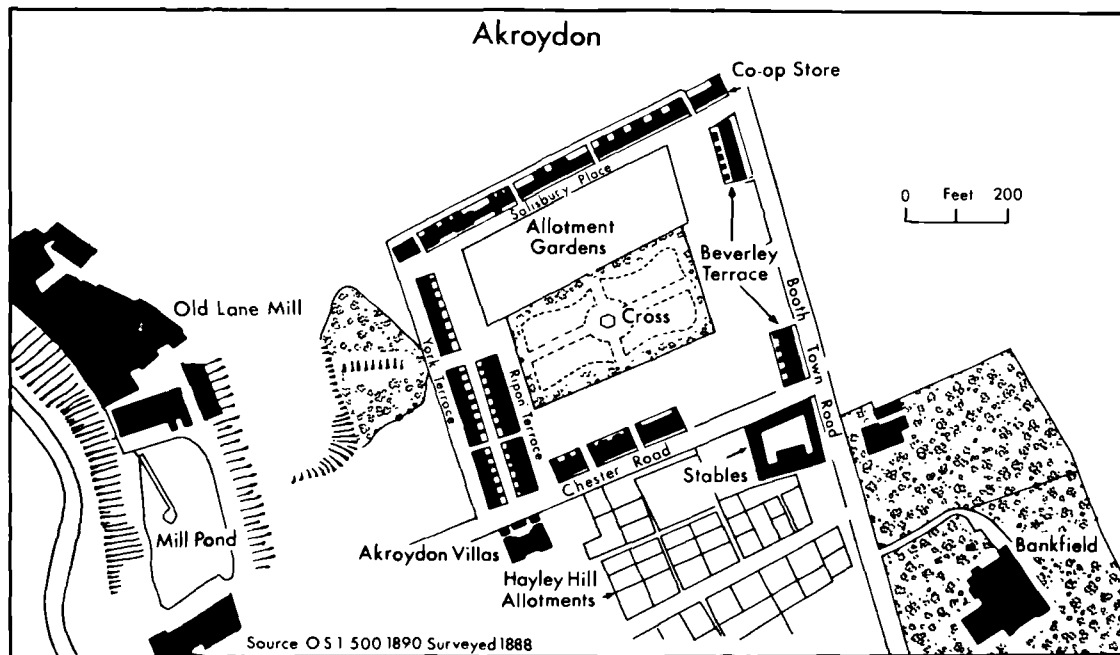


Figure 45

Scott's designs were revised by his pupil, W. H. Crossland (a local architect who designed St. Stephens Church, Copley) and submitted to the shareholders of the Akroydon Building Association in June 1860.

Building commenced in March the following year, six years after the site was purchased and surveyed. Reservations about the style were not the only cause of delay. No doubt recalling Akroyd's venture with the Halifax Union, "The working classes were slow to believe that the undertaking was intended for their benefit, and were disposed to look upon it as a speculation, keeping aloof accordingly". There was a general unwillingness to pay the high prices of the houses. Akroyd thought this was because they were inured to life in cheap but bad accommodation. As an inducement he offered houses in the first two blocks at a premium: "I am sanguine that the houses will advertise themselves and obtain such a rental as will enable me to protect myself from material loss in future blocks and yet insure to the proprietor or member a good return for his outlay". Also he offered to guarantee to the Halifax Permanent the deposit of those of "good character". In 1862 a party of members contracted for a third block on terms more favourable to Akroyd: "the occupiers find their new houses commodious in every respect, with abundance of light; and their prejudices against the pointed style are now finally uprooted".<sup>57</sup> In its annual report that year the Akroydon Association reiterated the principle of domestic reform but with somewhat guarded optimism: "we have sought to improve the home of the working man; and by improving his home to improve his health, his habits, his taste, and his character, and altogether to raise him in the social scale; and in these respects we think the houses already built are evidence that our efforts have not been entirely fruitless".<sup>58</sup>



On joining the Association the member declared the type of house he wished to buy. In 1863 prices ranged from £136 for two-bedroomed houses to £190, £220, £240, £320 and £460 for three bedroom houses of varying sizes and styles. The Builder commented:

Mr. Akroyd is very strong in his idea of not placing all houses of one class together. He rather desires to carry out as much as possible his original scheme of mixing individuals of various grades in one community, so that the better paid and better educated might act usefully on the desires and tastes of others in an inferior social position.<sup>59</sup>

Social improvement was regarded as a consequence both of intermixture within Akroydon and of separation of the estate from the cheap housing on Haley Hill. Akroyd emphasised that there was no danger of the value of a house on the estate depreciating "by juxtaposition to an inferior dwelling". In 1866 G. J. Holyoake observed that "by cooperating with others" in the Akroydon Association, not only is "great economy of construction attained" but also "a better class of neighbours is secured".<sup>60</sup>

The first three blocks had a variety of houses but the later blocks were uniform. The position of a member's house in a block was determined by ballot. The block plan, as originally conceived, was an attempt to reconcile the twin virtues of familial independence and communal interdependence. This idea is manifest in the original design of a central square. This was not a piazza for idle chat and relaxation; it was dominated by a reading room surmounted by a large clock tower. A public baths was sited in one corner of the estate. In another was a cooperative store: "as the embodiment of the accumulated savings of working men it will be admirable in keeping with the objects of the Association". In keeping with the spirit of the architecture, streets were named after English cathedral towns. There was no pub.

Who could afford to live in Akroydon? Much of the publicity referred to benefits that would accrue to the "working classes".

Contemporaries used this term both as a general description of manual workers and more specifically and evaluatively to discriminate skilled workers, or artisans, from unskilled labourers. Akroyd alluded to skilled men when referred in 1862 to the "independent workmen" who joined the Association although it was part of his ideological outlook that moral characteristics transcended class distinctions.<sup>61</sup> The Association itself was more explicit in its prospectus a year later; its object was "to enable the various grades of artisans employed in the vicinity of Haley Hill and Boothtown, as well as others who may feel so disposed to erect for themselves houses of an improved character upon easy and favourable terms".<sup>62</sup> The reference to "others who may feel so disposed" is of course a coy invitation to the middle classes. Unskilled labourers, even with supplementary income from kin and lodgers in a household, had little real chance of owning a house in Akroydon. To purchase, in 1861, the cheapest type of house he or she had to pay back the mortgage in weekly installments of 3s 6d (if Akroyd guaranteed their deposit to the Halifax Permanent) or, having made a deposit of £34, in weekly installments of 3s 3d. Membership dues were 2s 6d a week and fines for non-payment of dues increased each month for three months until after the fourth month membership was terminated. To keep up with membership dues or mortgage repayments unskilled labourers needed a prospect of regular employment and good health, which almost by their class definition were denied to them. The sheer financial burden of a mortgage would have been extremely heavy to bear. It was a general truth in the mid-nineteenth century that the percentage of income spent on accommodation was inversely proportional to the level of income. An unskilled labourer, earning say 12 shillings a week, would spend about 15-16 per cent of

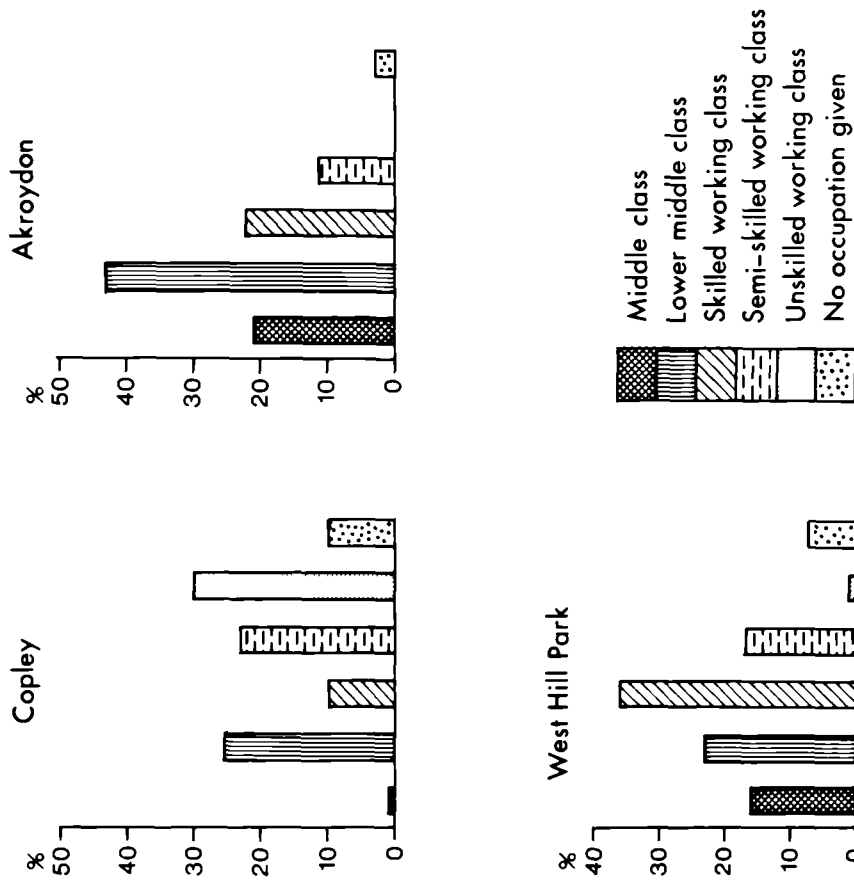
his or her income, on the rent of a back-to-back in Halifax.<sup>63</sup> A mortgage repayment on the cheapest house in Akroydon would represent almost thirty per cent of his or her weekly income.

In 1871, the first year of census information on Akroydon, there were no unskilled and only six semi-skilled heads of household in a total of sixty-three heads of household. A third were skilled workers but overall Akroydon was a middle class estate (Fig. 46). Working class residents were on average appreciably older than middle class residents and more members of their household, often adult siblings, were gainfully employed (Figs. 47 and 48).

In the first years of building, skilled workers were in the majority. They predominated in all five blocks of Salisbury Place. The first two blocks to be built were originally intended to be made up of two bedroom houses. Only four were actually built. At the request of the first members the rest were altered and enlarged by the addition of a lean to kitchen at the back, the conversion of the living room into a parlour and the extension of the second storey to include a third bedroom. These alterations put an extra £54 on the purchase price and put up the repayments to about 4s 6d a week.

The Builder was not convinced they were wholly successful improvements. It did admit that artisans needed an extra room: "far more gifted workmen have been driven from their own home to places of less profitable resort, through the want of a quiet room in their own house, than perhaps by any other circumstance"; and on inspection "the parlours were models of neatness and comfort, furnished in a manner which we venture to say is scarcely known in the houses of artisans in the South of England". The reporter was dismayed to find that residents only used the parlours for Sunday best, partly because of the cost of heating

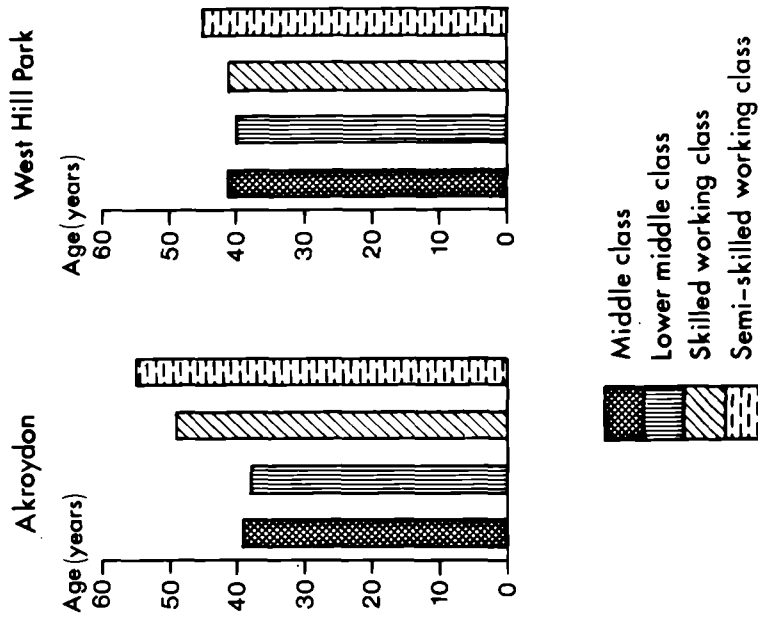
Social Composition



Source: Census Enumerators Books 1871

Figure 46

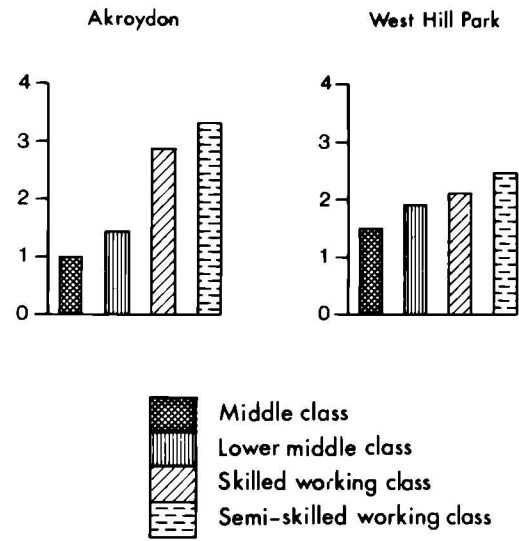
Average Age of Head of Household



Source: Census Enumerators Books 1871

Figure 47

### Average Number in Household Gainfully Employed



Source: Census Enumerators Books 1871

Figure 48

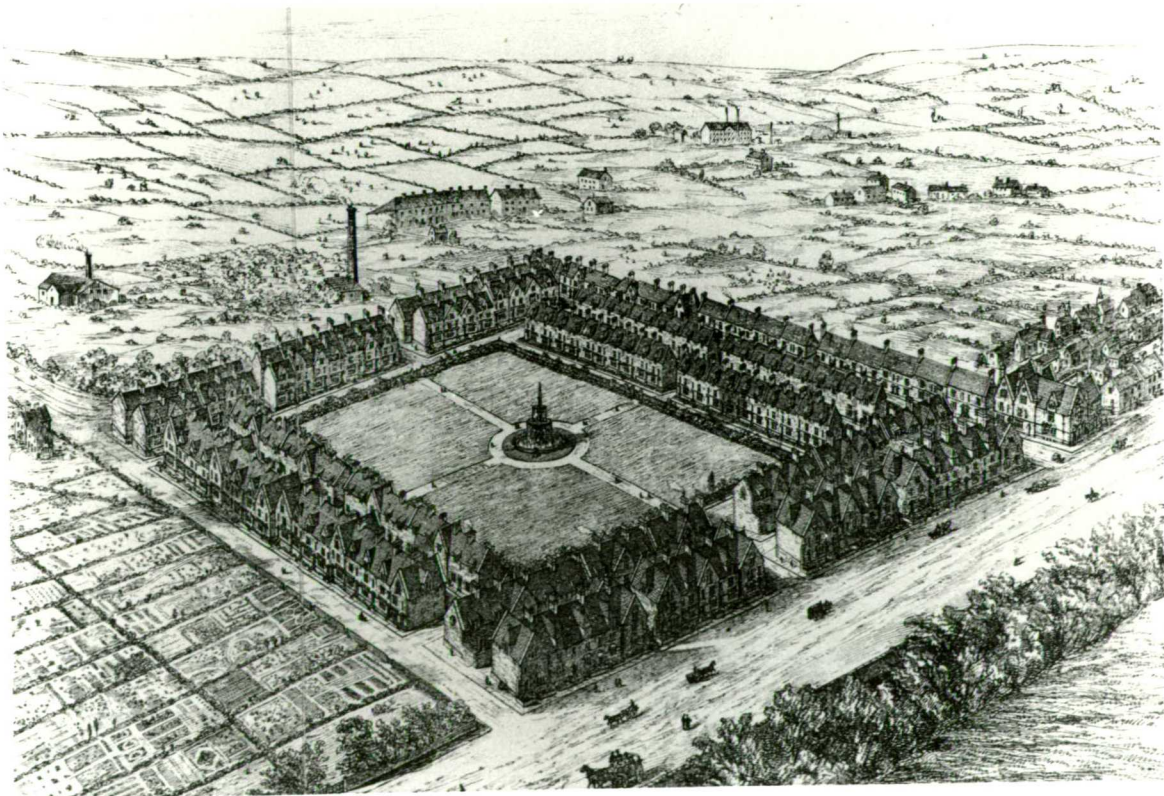


Figure 49 Sketch of Akroydon. From James Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes (1866).

them, and used the kitchen as a living room for the rest of the week. The Builder preferred ground floor arrangements of the cheaper houses in which a small scullery off the living room was, at all times, reserved solely for the preparation of food. But the disadvantages of these houses were discovered on climbing the stairs. On the second storey it was impossible to arrange for tripartite sleeping arrangements between parents, daughters and sons: "let it be understood that it is necessary to inculcate moral as well as physical health, as influences constantly and mutually reacting".<sup>64</sup>

Houses in the third block were given more gothic detail. The four two bedroomed houses, without the premium enjoyed by the first members of the Association, cost £150. The other six three bedroomed houses, larger than those conversions in the first two blocks, cost £240. At each end of Salisbury Place were two short blocks of two houses (at £240) and of two three-storey houses (at £320) which adjoined the cooperative store. One of these three-storey houses was owned by a plumber who in November 1868 advertised it at a rent of £18 a year (about 7s a week).<sup>65</sup> In 1871 it was rented by a skilled workingman (a machine toolmaker) for his family of eight (none of whom were gainfully employed) and two lodgers. One of the houses in the short block at the other end was owned and occupied in 1871 by a carpet designer at Crossleys and his wife and infant daughter; that year he earned fifty shillings a week to support his family.<sup>66</sup> Six skilled wool-sorters lived in Salisbury Place in 1871. The official figures for Halifax in 1869 put their earnings at 18s 6d - 28 shillings a week (depending on age, seniority and the length of their working week). As might be expected they occupied the cheaper houses - four rented £150 houses and two owned £190 houses. The income of clerks varied

considerably - at Crossleys in 1871 it ranged from 12 shillings a week (probably for junior clerks) to 36 shillings. Of the five, all over thirty, who lived in Salisbury Place in 1871 one owned and three rented £190 houses and one rented a £136 house; two employed servants. Other residents of Salisbury Place included a gardener and his family of four and a wire manufacturer, an employer of ninety people, and his wife. The street was therefore socially mixed but by no means representative of the social structure of the town as a whole.

The seventh, eighth and ninth blocks sold comprised York Terrace. All the houses were three-bedroomed and all were similar in size and style but there was considerable class diversity between heads of household. Householders included a stuff merchant and manufacturer, a professor of music, a draper, a woolwasher, a foreman.

At about £460 the most expensive houses in Akroydon were in Beverley Terrace. These were exclusively middle class. Four of the eight residents employed servants. The two large Akroydon villas bordered the All Souls burial ground and one was occupied by the church curate (Fig. 45).

Home ownership was a central theme of social reform. Never more than a third of the residents of Akroydon between 1871 and 1881 owned the houses they occupied. The proportion increased from 22 per cent in 1871 to 31 per cent in 1876. The first figure is deceptively low, because that year the Halifax Permanent is listed as the owner of all the houses in York Terrace and the three occupied in Ripon Terrace - a total of twenty-three occupiers; sixteen were still in occupation five years later and all but three of these were now listed as owner-occupiers. In the next five years the proportion for the estate dropped to 26 per cent.

There were many permutations of ownership and occupation in Salisbury Place. In 1871 thirteen of the thirty-one houses were owner occupied. Three absentee landlords each owned two adjoining houses and one owned three adjoining houses. Five years later one had sold his two houses to another absentee landlord, a second had sold one of his two houses to the occupant of 1871 and rented the other to a new occupant, a third had sold one of his three houses to the occupant of 1871 and had rented the other two to new occupants. By 1876 the number of owner-occupiers had increased by one but with a considerable turnover in personnel. Five occupiers who had previously rented their houses now owned them; four former owner-occupiers and two former renter-occupiers became absentee landlords.

The class distribution of house ownership reflected that of the occupation of the estate as a whole. In 1871 six were lower middle class, seven were skilled workers and one was semi-skilled. Only one was middle class but he was the most substantial landlord on the estate: Thomas Cordingley was a housebuilder and the local overseer for the poor and owned other residential property in Halifax. Cordingley owned one of the first houses offered for sale in Salisbury Place and all of the most expensive houses in Chester Terrace (four in 1871, eight in 1876 and 11 in 1881), one of which he occupied. It is difficult to accommodate Cordingley's enterprise in Akroyd's original vision for his model estate.

In many ways the vision had been compromised. In 1862 the Akroydon Association had looked forward to "homesteads springing up thickly around us". This is an apt description of Crosslands visual impression of the future Akroydon with the 350 dwellings that were originally planned (Fig. 42). In 1862 Akroyd referred to this



illustration as "an architect's dream of a model town". The illustration by Crossland that Akroyd submitted to James Hole for publication four years later is less optimistic (Fig. 49). Less than two hundred dwellings are shown surrounding a large square in which a fountain replaces the reading room; now no public baths are shown. This impression of the future extrapolates from the first building on the estate - both the positioning of the blocks and the less extravagant appearance of the houses. The projected total of about two hundred dwellings still proved too optimistic - eventually only 92 were built. After 1871 building slowed appreciably - plots were converted into allotments and gardens. The square was left much larger than originally planned and in 1876 donated by Akroyd to the residents.<sup>68</sup> A market cross, designed by Gilbert Scott and dedicated to monarchy and the Established Church, was placed at its centre. The Akroydon that was built is a fragment of that which was originally conceived.

Akroyd's parliamentary career began in 1857 as member for Huddersfield. On nomination day a number of workmen from Haley Hill, Bowling Dyke and Copley were given half a day's pay to vote for their employer but recalled Ben Wilson, an old Chartist, "one of those who went told me when he had heard Mr. Cobden (another candidate) speak he decided not to hold up his hand for Mr. Akroyd". Akroyd won at the polls and was pulled up Haley Hill by some of his employees wearing blue ribbons in their coats. "Britons never shall be slaves", called out Wilson, "a remark which roused the ire of a few of Akroyd's enthusiastic supporters". Two years later Wilson had the satisfaction of watching Akroyd return after defeat at Huddersfield. In 1865 Akroyd was returned unopposed for Halifax but during the election Ernest Jones, expressing widespread feeling, spoke "in very strong

language" against Akroyd for his tactics eight years before. To the anger of the rank and file of the party, Halifax Liberal Association chose Akroyd as a candidate for the election of 1868. The Radicals put up a rival candidate. No election aroused such popular enthusiasm since that of 1847 when Ernest Jones stood as the Chartist. At the nomination Akroyd lost on a show of hands but demanded a ballot and won. On election day he was roughed up by a crowd outside the Temperance Hall. Akroyd described himself to Gladstone as a "moderate church liberal" but his conservative voting record in Parliament was unpopular with Halifax Liberals who nominated John Crossley for the next election. Akroyd eventually became a Tory.<sup>69</sup>

In 1867, in accordance with both his wealth and his social position, Akroyd transformed Bankfield from a plain stone villa to an Italianate palazzo. From the entrance vestibule a grand staircase swept up to a piano nobile. A gallery lined with scenes from classical mythology and marble statues led to a sumptuous banqueting hall. A retinue of fifteen servants, including a footman and page, were housed in a narrow north wing. Akroyd reserved a gothic style for his stables on the opposite side of the road.<sup>70</sup> He had a passion for horse riding and a headfirst fall from his horse hastened a decline in his fortunes. He became an invalid and lost his powers of judgement. After losing heavily on investments he left Halifax in 1878 for a small house in St. Leonards where he died nine years later.<sup>71</sup>

The involvement of the Akroyd family with Halifax ended with Edward's departure. His image remained conspicuous in the town for many years. The statue sculpted by Birnie Phillips in 1875, which now stands next to All Souls (Fig. 36), stood originally on the North Bridge at the entrance to Akroyd's fiefdom of mills, mansion, church

and model village. He is shown holding a plan of his improvements. Another panoply of improvements was planned and financed by the Crossleys, the other great family of textile entrepreneurs in nineteenth century Halifax. They are the subject of the next chapter.

Notes: Chapter Seven

1. History of the Firm of James Akroyd and Sons (Leeds, 1874), pp. 1-6. Memoir of Akroyd in Halifax Courier, 26 November 1887. Thomas Baines, Yorkshire Past and Present Volume II (London, 1875), p. 407. R. Bretton, "Colonel Edward Akroyd" Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society (1948), pp. 61-102 (pp. 61-64).
2. 'Select Committee on Handloom weavers Petitions', P.P. (1835) XIII, p. 60 (465-6).
3. Halifax and Huddersfield Express, 12 March 1831.
4. Cecil Driver, Tory Radical: The Life of Richard Oastler (New York, 1946), p. 138.
5. Arthur Porritt, It Happened Here (Halifax, 1959), p. 118.
6. Halifax Guardian, 30 July 1842.
7. Halifax Guardian, 6 August 1842, see also the editorial for 30 July.
8. Halifax Guardian, 13 August 1842.
9. Halifax Guardian, 20 August 1842.
10. Halifax Guardian, 11 July 1846.
11. Halifax Guardian, 13 April 1844.
12. Dorothy Thompson and E.P. Thompson, "Halifax as a Chartist Centre", unpublished paper.
13. History ... of James Akroyd and Sons, pp. 15-16.
14. Edward Akroyd, On Factory Education and its Extension (Leeds, 1858), pp. 17, 22.
15. T.W. Hanson, "The Early Volunteers and Cavalry of Halifax" Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society (1920), pp. 103-132 (p. 125).
16. Notes to the People, 3 January 1852.
17. Tiller, "Working Class Attitudes....", pp. 416-430. Halifax Guardian 26 November 1887. J. Snowden, Radicalism Vindicated (Halifax, n.d.) Akroyd threatened to withdraw the pension he granted Snowden because of the old Chartist's intransigent disestablishmentarianism. See their correspondence: Halifax District Archives SH 4/VL.
18. Edward Akroyd, On the Present Attitude of Political Parties (London, 1874), p. 58.
19. Baines, Yorkshire Past and Present Vol II, p. 409.
20. George Gilbert Scott, Personal and Professional Recollections (London, 1879), p. 176.

21. A Description of All Souls Church (Halifax, 1860). The Times, 5 November 1859. The Builder, 5 November 1859 Vol. 17, pp. 727-728.
22. History of ... Akroyd and Sons, p. 18. On Akroyd's strong Anglican beliefs see the letter to Gladstone, 12 January 1874 B.M. Add. MSS. 44442 ff. 29, 62. Also the letters between Akroyd and former Chartist John Snowden, Halifax Archives SH: 4/VL/. See also Akroyd, On ... Political Parties, pp. 11-20.
23. All Souls Church Marriage Registration, W.Y.A. D78/6.
24. Quoted in Tiller, "Working Class Attitudes ...", p. 125.
25. Edward Akroyd, On the Plan of Juvenile and Adult Education Adopted in the Writer's Manufactory (London, 1857), p. 269.
26. Ibid, p. 269.
27. Akroyd, On ... Political Parties, p. 35. G.J. Holyoake, The History of Co-operation in Halifax (London, 1866), pp. 34-35.
28. Edward Akroyd, The Yorkshire Penny Bank (Leeds, 1872), pp. 1-3, 22, 23, 64-65.
29. Halifax Courier, 11 October 1873.
30. Samuel Smiles, Thrift (1875), p. 199. James Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes (London, 1866), pp. 69-75. Hole's book is dedicated to Akroyd.
31. Friedrich Engels, The Housing Question (1872) (Moscow, 1970), p. 56. The sexual exploitation of factory girls by their employers was not uncommon at this time, but Engel's accusation against Akroyd has never been conclusively proved or disproved, and it is unlikely that reliable evidence will be discovered.
32. Edward Akroyd, On Improved Dwellings for the Working Classes (London, 1862), pp. 4-5.
33. Halifax Courier, June 12 1880 and Horsfall Turner Newspaper Clippings Part I. Halifax Public Library.
34. A Handy Book Descriptive of the Various Institutions in Haley Hill and Copley (Halifax, 1865), pp. 86, 88.
35. Linstrum, West Yorkshire, Architects and Architecture, p. 135.
36. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, p. 5.
37. The Builder Vol 21, No. 1045 (14 February 1863), p. 109.
38. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, p. 5.
39. Halifax Courier, 12 June 1880.

40. Census Enumerators Books 1851 - P.R.O. H.O. 107 2299 For 1861 - RG 9 3285-3286, for 1871 RG 10 4401-4402.
41. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, p. 5.
42. Ibid. p. 5.
43. Ibid. pp. 5-6.
44. Halifax Courier, 12 June 1880. In a Huddersfield mill in 1866 birthplace was an important index of social esteem. See Brian Jackson, Working Class Community (London, 1968), p. 75.
45. A Handy Book ... of ... Haley Hill and Copley, pp. 89-106. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism, p. 261. Holyoake, The History of Co-operation in Halifax, pp. 15-16, 26.
46. A Handy Book ... of ... Haley Hill and Copley, p. 107.
47. Halifax Courier June 12 1880. See also Akroyd's letter to Gladstone (above footnote 22).
48. A Handy Book ... of ... Haley Hill and Copley, p. 70.
49. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, pp. 6-7.
50. History of the Halifax Permanent Building Society (London, 1903), pp. 67-68.
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52. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, pp. 6-7.
53. Dingsdale, Yorkshire Mill Town, pp. 107-109.
54. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, pp. 7-9.
55. George Gilbert Scott, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture (London, 1858), pp. 143-145, 183-184.
56. The Builder, Vol. 21, No. 1045 (14 February 1863), p. 110.
57. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, pp. 8-9, 12.
58. Handy Book ... of ... Haley Hill and Copley,
59. The Builder Vol. 21, No. 1045 (14 February 1863), p. 110.
60. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, p. 9. Holyoake, The History of Co-operation, p. 33.
61. Akroyd, Improved Dwellings, p. 8.
62. Handy Book ... of ... Haley Hill and Copley, p. 72.

63. Vanessa Parker, The English House in the Nineteenth Century, Pamphlet No. 78 of the Historical Association (London, 1970), p. 31.
64. The Builder Vol. 21, No. 1045 (14 February 1863), pp. 110-111. Census Information from Enumerators Books P.R.O. RG 10 4424.
65. Halifax Guardian, 28 November,,1868.
66. Wage Book, deposited in safe in Cashier Strongroom, John Crossley and Sons Ltd., Halifax.
67. Rating Assessments HXT 84/4 (1871), 1261 (1876), 271/1 (1881).
68. Halifax Courier, 26 November 1887.
69. Wilson, The Struggles of An Old Chartist (Halifax, 1887), reprinted in David Vincent (editor) Testaments of Radicalism: Memoirs of Working Class Politicians 1740-1885 (London, 1977), pp. 233-235.
70. Linstrum, West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture, p. 83. Vanessa Parker, The English House in the Nineteenth Century, p. 18. Census Enumerators Books (1871).
71. Halifax Courier, 26 November 1887.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CROSSLEY BROTHERS AND THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT OF HALIFAX

In mid-Victorian Halifax the wealth and influence of the Crossleys, the largest carpet manufacturers in England, rivalled that of the Akroyds but their beginnings were comparatively more modest. In Thrift (1875) Samuel Smiles celebrated the achievements of the Crossley brothers in promoting self-help among local working people and drew attention in particular to the example of their parents. Their father, John Crossley, raised himself from the position of hand loom weaver to overlooker to mill manager and ultimately to mill owner. He reached the first stage in this ascent more through a happy accident than by hard work. He wove for George Currer who owned the largest weaving shop in the West Riding at Luddenden Foot. When clearing up a broken bottle that had fallen from his loom he lacerated his hand and was unable to weave. Currer asked him to do some supervision which he did so well that Currer promoted him permanently. Crossley left Luddenden Foot to manage a carpet works in Halifax. When the owner died he took over the business in partnership with two others. In 1802 he took a twenty-year lease on a small three-storey mill at Dean Clough but for some years continued to manage the looms of his old firm and to spin and dye their yarn. He now himself employed 160 weavers.

In 1801 Crossley married. His wife Martha's family were substantial farmer-clothiers in the Shibden valley but had in her lifetime given up the cloth trade to concentrate on farming full time. The marriage may have secured Crossley the Dean Clough mill because the family that granted him the lease were close friends with that of



his wife. But Crossley's engagement did not initially receive the blessing of Martha's family who frowned on the idea of her alliance with a former hand-loom weaver. She left to go into service and to spin. Even after her marriage her frugality, thrift and hard work were renowned. In old age she recalled her early years at Dean Clough:

We carried on the manufacture of shalloons and plainbacks, the whole of which I managed myself, so far as putting out the warps and wefts and taking in from the weavers ... I also made and stitched, with assistance, all the carpets that we sold retail, and by getting up to work by 4 o'clock and being very diligent, I have usually earned two shillings before breakfast, by the time that my neighbours were coming down stairs.

Smiles considered her the foundation of the firm's success and contrasted her with George Currer's wife who "was too fond of show ... the large house in which she was to live proved her husband's ruin". The Crossleys lived in a house adjoining the original mill (Fig. 50). In 1840, after her sons became partners, a new house was built for her adjoining a new mill (Fig. 51). She remained morally and physically attached to Dean Clough and lived there until her death. When she and John Crossley first took the lease she vowed "If the Lord does bless us at this place the poor shall taste of it".

John Crossley purchased the 27-acre estate at Dean Clough in 1822 when the lease expired. His eldest son Robert set up an independent business in Halifax as a worsted spinner and carpet manufacturer. His three younger sons - Joseph, Francis and John - assumed control of the firm on his death in 1837. Then the firm owned one mill and employed three hundred workers. Forty years later the firm employed over six thousand workers in a complex of six mills and twenty-three other factory buildings (Fig. 52). A key to the sons' success was their successful application of power to carpet weaving. They recruited George Collier, a gifted inventor from Barnsley, to produce

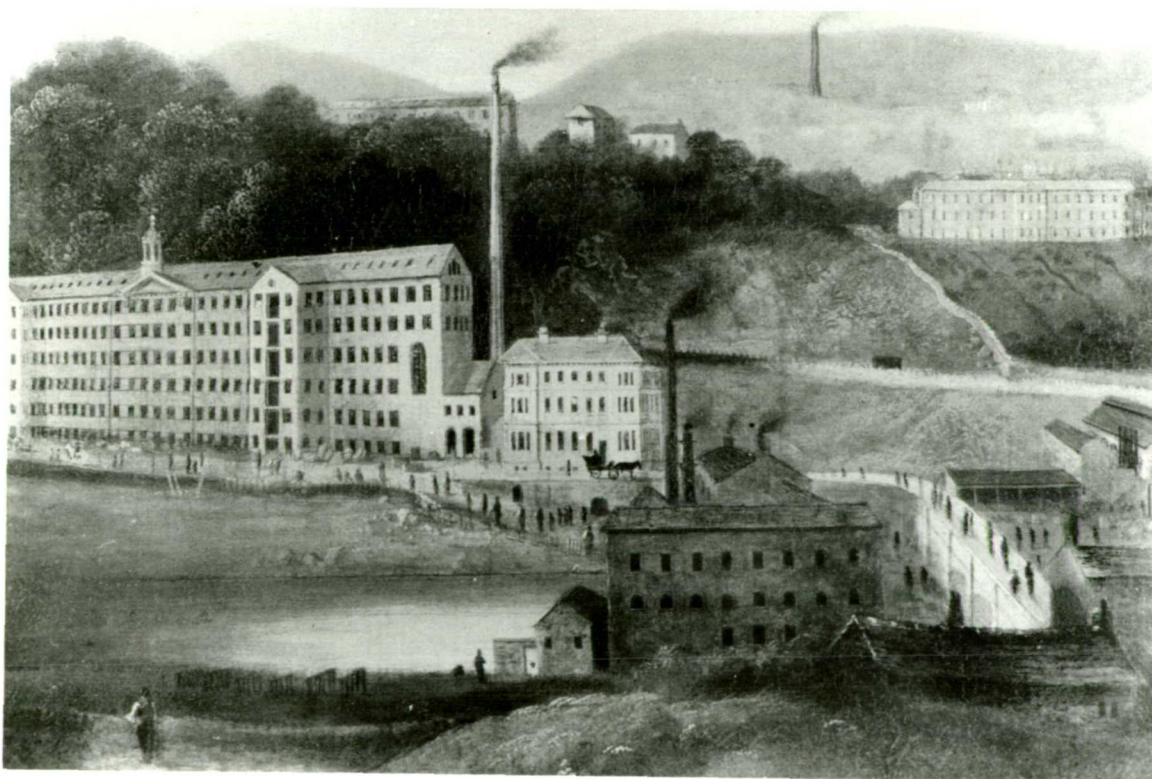
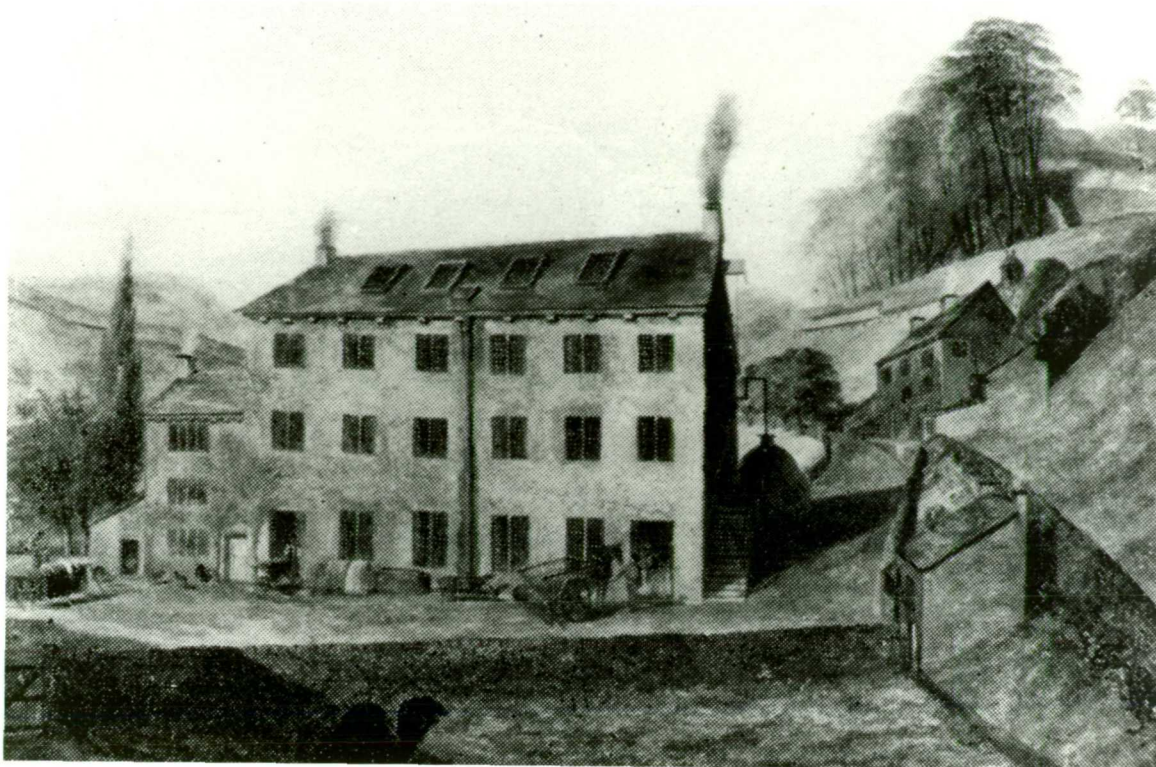


Figure 50 (above) Dean Clough Mill, 1803.

Figure 51 (below) Dean Clough "A" Mill, 1840. The carriage stands outside the Crossley residence. The original mill is visible behind the building in the foreground. Haley Hill weaving shed is directly above "A" Mill, half hidden by the trees.

a power loom. This was patented on 31 December 1851 and strengthened their control on the carpet industry in the country as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

Of the Crossley triumvirate Francis and John were most influential in transforming the landscape of Halifax outside Dean Clough. They became prominent in the public and political life of the town. Joseph, the second son, took the greatest personal responsibility for the running of the firm and also supervised the building at Dean Clough. He contributed to local charities and provided thirty-six almshouses whose inmates in 1851 included old servants and retired carpet workers. The almshouses were designed by the architects of the Crossley mills and grouped around three sides of a garden between the park donated to the town by Francis Crossley and the villa occupied by Robert Crossley. In 1841 Joseph lived next door to Robert, a few minutes' walk from the mills. Following his brother's example he moved out to a villa, Broomfield, designed by Lockwood and Mawson the architects of Saltaire and a two-mile carriage drive from Dean Clough. He occupied Broomfield with his wife, son, five servants and coachman. His son Edward was to take the mantle of his father's generation by becoming managing director of the firm, mayor of the town and its member of parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Francis Crossley, "Mr. Frank" to his employees, was the youngest brother. As a boy he was sent to work on the shopfloor at Dean Clough. He remained in his mother's house next to the mill until his marriage in 1845, at the age of 27, to the daughter of a carpet manufacturer from Kidderminster. They moved to Belle Vue, a villa on the outskirts of the town about half a mile from Dean Clough.

Crossley was a political and religious radical. When a youth he was a member of the radical Debating Club in Halifax. In Belle Vue he hung T. H. Maguire's Cromwell Refusing the Crown of England.

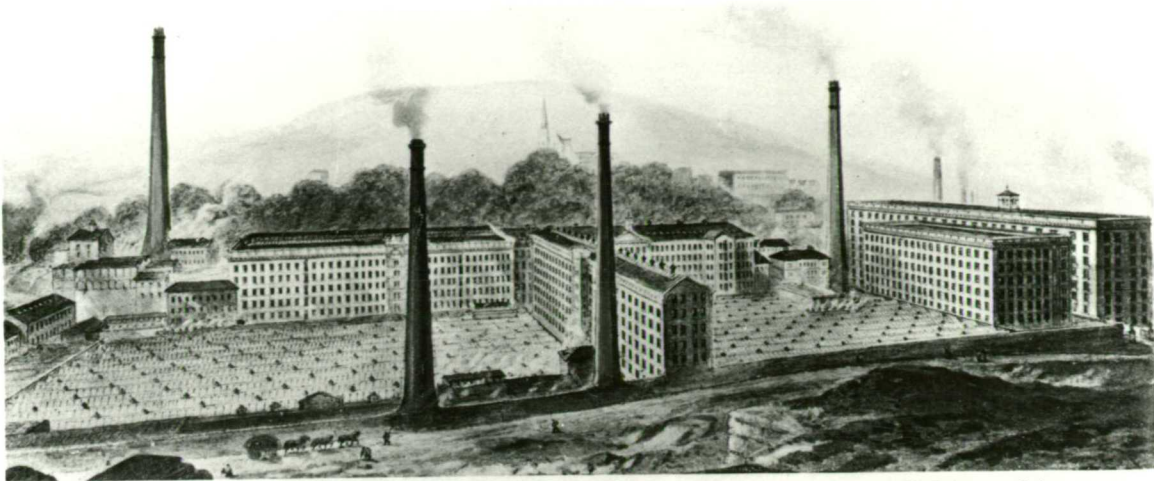
Crossley's political activism began in the Election of 1847 when he spoke for and voted for the Chartist candidate Ernest Jones. Jones stood with the Radical Edward Miall and both were defeated by the Whig Sir Charles Wood (supported by Akroyd) and the Tory Henry Edwards.<sup>3</sup> The Crossleys established a fund of goodwill with working people in the town by taking on those dismissed by other firms in the town for Chartist activity.<sup>4</sup> There was a ten day strike at Dean Clough in 1838 but thirty-six years later John Crossley could announce to the Commons that there had not been any strikes or "any serious misunderstandings since". In 1864 Crossleys became the first large firm in the country to introduce profit sharing. Four fifths of the shares were reserved for the family, a fifth for employees and the public. In 1866 G. J. Holyoake described how Crossleys gave "to every producer an opportunity of exchanging the servile position of hired labourer into that of the dignity of a joint possessor of the mill floor on which he works".<sup>5</sup> In 1880 a workman recalled that people came from all parts of the district to work at Dean Clough: "it was the mill of the day in the district". William Brear lived in a hamlet outside Halifax and worked for Crossleys for forty years. At the centenary celebration of the firm in 1903 he described how "in those early days employment at Dean Clough was considered a very great privilege and a very great honour and also a distinct step in the social advancement of those who were favoured with it". In 1887 an old Chartist remembered Crossleys with affection.<sup>6</sup> His retrospect was mellowed by Gladstonian liberalism which provided common ground for former working class Chartists and middle class Radicals. In the election of 1852 they were divided. Francis Crossley now stood as a Radical candidate with the Whig Sir Charles Wood; they defeated Henry Edwards narrowly

and Ernest Jones comprehensively.<sup>7</sup> Crossley began his political career and embarked on a major scheme of public munificence: Peoples Park.

In 1856 Francis Crossley purchased a twelve and a half acre parcel of land, in six closes from six owners, immediately opposite the grounds of Belle Vue. This was transformed, under the direction of Joseph Paxton, Paxton's son-in-law George Henry Stokes and his pupil Edward Milner into a public pleasure ground - People's Park (Figs. 53 and 54). Work began in 1857. Soil was put down for the lawns and shrubs and piled into mounds over large stone slabs; these mounds were planted with trees and formed the park perimeter. Sinuous paths converged on a central fountain (a characteristic Paxtonian feature) which was fed by a serpentine lake. Stokes designed a raised terrace, lined by statues of Roman deities, with an arcaded pavillion at its centre. In 1860, as a gesture of public appreciation, the Corporation placed a statue of Crossley in the pavillion under the inscription "Blessed be the Lord who daily Loadeth us with Benefits" (Fig. 55).<sup>8</sup>

Peoples Park was opened on 14th August 1857. During the preceding luncheon at the Mechanics Institute Crossley made a speech in which he explained his motives for the financing, planning and design of the park. The idea was inspired by a visit to the White Mountains of New Hampshire in September 1855 during a tour of North America. While "the ladies sat down to a cup of tea" Crossley took a walk alone and gazed in wonder at "the glorious drapery of an American sunset" behind Mount Washington. This was for Crossley both a spiritual and moral revelation. The scene seemed suffused with a Divine presence but his rapture was tempered by remorse that working people in Halifax





*Oil Paint over Print*

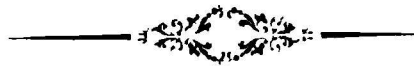


Figure 52 "A", "B", "C", "D", "E" and "F" Mills at Dean Clough, 1865. The spire of All Souls is visible between two chimneys. Figs. 50, 51, 52 from paintings in the Board Room of John Crossley and Sons, Halifax.

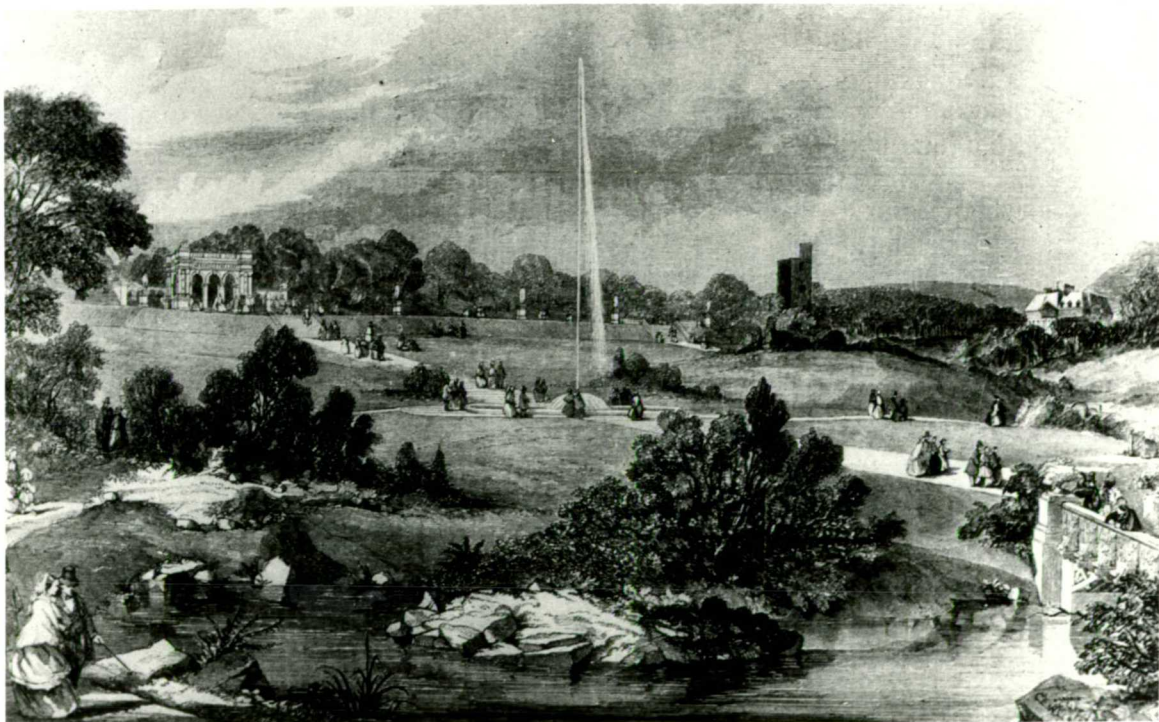


Figure 53. Peoples Park. Belle Vue is on the extreme right of the illustration. From Illustrated London News, 22 August 1857.

### People's Park

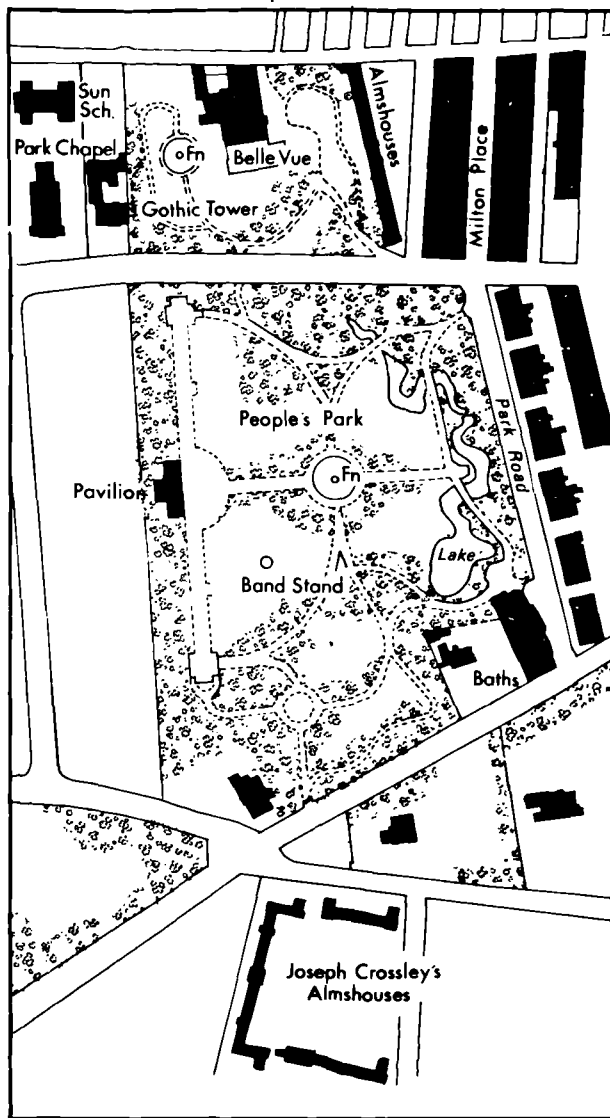


Figure 54

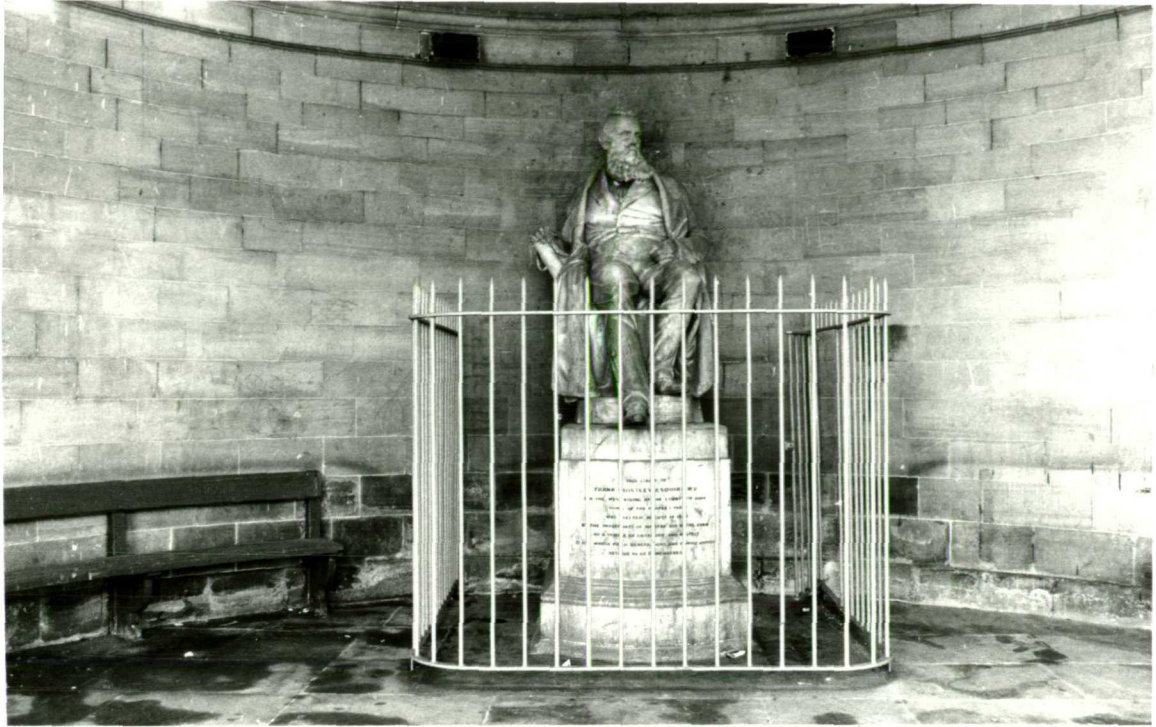


Figure 55 Statue of Francis Crossley in Pavillion of Peoples Park.



Figure 56 Somerleyton Hall



could not share such an experience. It was not just that few of them could afford to travel to such places, but, as he emphasised, few believed in God. His appreciation of landscape was diminished by his moral alienation from workers and theirs, so he thought, by their spiritual alienation from God. There and then Crossley pondered what he could do to redress this. The answer was divinely revealed:

It is true thou canst not bring the many thousands thou has left in thy native country to see this beautiful scenery, but thou canst take this to them. It is possible so to arrange art and nature as to be within the walk of every working man in Halifax; that he shall go, take his stroll there after he has done his hard day's toil, and be able to get home again without being tired.

This is the language of Radical religious Dissent and the local and national luminaries at the luncheon received it well. He emphasised his mother's example:

I recollect that one time on Mr. (Titus) Salt calling to see my mother, she said, "You see my sons have flown off, and have taken fine houses to live in, but it won't do for us all to leave this spot" ... One of the greatest treats she had in her old age was to fix a mirror in her room, so that while laying in bed she could see the happy countenances of those who were coming to work and back again (see Fig. 51).

Francis Crossley inherited her moral outlook and in the role of public servant rather than that of employer broadened it to include the citizens of the town as a whole. In a letter to the Mayor on the tenth anniversary of the opening of the Peoples Park he explained how "it has often been a great source of pleasure to me to see from the windows of Belle Vue so many thousands of my fellow townsmen enjoying themselves in the People's Park".<sup>9</sup>

After the luncheon a procession wound its way from Skircoat Moor headed by a banner made of Crossley carpeting. The procession included hundreds of Crossley employees displaying the firm's insignia and representatives from such institutions as the Oddfellows, the Temperance Society and the Early Closing Association. The crowds

were entertained by 130 singers from local churches led by 'Miss Sunderland, the Yorkshire nightingale'. Verses of dedication were composed and read out by William Heaton, a local poet, author of 'The Flowers of Calderdale', who was given the job of park keeper. Heaton attempted to recapture the spirit of Crossley's inspiration in America.

Here let me stand and gaze enraptured round  
On lovely scenes with matchless beauty crowned  
Methinks new scenes from some far land  
Rise in the distance while on every hand  
Skill, grace and fancy, enterprise and art  
Their liveliest treasures to this spot impart.

Crossley was presented with a 'People's Address' with 8,273 signatures, "chiefly those of working men", which were collected in six days.

Crossley thought it "more precious than fine gold". "As the place of my fathers sepulchres, the place of my birth, the scene of my commercial enterprise and the home of my friends, my right hand must forget her cunning before I can forget Halifax", Crossley declared to a cheering crowd. The benediction was read by the Congregational minister Enoch Mellor. The ceremony concluded with the crowd singing 'The Old Hundreth', which was sung by the Plug Rioters when they marched into Halifax in 1842. It was now a hymn to class cooperation.<sup>10</sup>

The opening ceremony was an enthusiastic but orderly celebration, a fitting overture to the restrained and decorous conduct expected by patrons of the park. The battery of regulations included the proscription of games, open air bathing (the Corporation provided an indoor baths), taking refreshment, preaching, political meetings, and music on Sundays. The Keeper was empowered to refuse admission to "improper characters". Patrons were requested to keep to the paths.<sup>11</sup> Peoples Park was thus designed and organized explicitly in terms of the ethics and etiquette of respectability. The rationale of this became clearer in the light of subsequent developments. Like the

park Paxton designed at Birkenhead, Peoples Park inflated land values and became an integral part of middle class suburbanisation. The park was on the western edge of the town, "within the walk of every working man in Halifax" but a long and stiff walk uphill from most working class residential areas. It was much more convenient for the attorneys, doctors, merchants, their families and servants, who lived in Park Road.<sup>12</sup> This was developed by Francis Crossley on the eastern edge of the park. Crossley promised the residents: "the advantages of a pleasant prospect in an airy situation ... secured in perpetuity; and from the proximity of the site to Peoples Park, houses erected on the spot will enjoy all the advantages of handsome and extensive pleasure grounds".<sup>13</sup> In 1871 they included Joseph Crossley's son Edward. The park was landscaped so that the industrial environment of the Hebble Valley was hidden by the tree lined mounds on the park perimeter. The view east over the valley to Beacon Hill was a prospect of some drama but a poor surrogate for Mount Washington at sunset. Crossley doubtless had no scruples about combining speculation with philanthropy; indeed this was justified in the moral purpose of the park as an arena for class contact. Crossley recalled this biblical quotation in New Hampshire and had it inscribed in the pavillion in the park: "The rich and poor meet together, the Lord is Maker of them all". This sentiment impressed Lord Shaftesbury on the opening day. He hoped the opening of the park "would be the commencement of a new order of things in Halifax".<sup>14</sup>

It is difficult to establish who patronised the Peoples Park. A handbook to the park, published in 1857 reported that the terrace was "a much frequented promenade" and that the walks "though perambulated by immense numbers have never been inconveniently crowded".<sup>15</sup>

But by whom? The picture in The Illustrated London News (Fig. 53) shows expensively dressed family groups perambulating decorously around the paths, all within the sight of Crossley's villa. But as Wolff and Fox show in an article on pictures in Victorian magazines, the figures drawn in the Illustrated London News were rarely accurate depictions of those who took part in the events the magazine reported. Also "until the 1870s, the urban poor themselves are altogether absent from the pages of the Illustrated London News except as smudges in some crowded panorama or as figures safely insulated within some charitable institution".<sup>16</sup> One function of parks was to insulate the poor and the picture may well be an illustration of the conduct and character that reformers hoped such parks would promote, just as the degenerate inhabitants in pictures of slum dwellings in reformist literature are seen to be the end product of their surroundings.<sup>17</sup>

The upland moors surrounding West Riding industrial towns provided some escape from the discipline and foul air of the mills in the valleys. Skircoat Moor two miles to the south of Halifax acquired notoriety as a place where time was passed in activities that seemed to reformers at best vulgar and at worst subversive - gambling, prize-fights, revivalist gatherings, populist political meetings. In May 1863 two petitions from local ratepayers were presented to the House of Lords to incorporate the township of Ovenden and convert most of Skircoat Moor into a public recreation ground. Many of Crossley's employees lived in the area and Francis Crossley supported incorporation because it would bring benefits like adequate lighting for their walks home in winter. He also emphasised the improvement in recreation: "In giving the Peoples Park he had made it a promenade or garden, as the people had Skircoat Moor for games etc.", he testified

to a House of Lords Select Committee "but the moor wanted improving and seats fixing; he had rather the corporation had taken all the moor in ...". It was no coincidence that the Crossley Orphanage was built there eight years previously as had been the villas and grounds of Joseph and John Crossley (Fig. 35). Another supporter was the judge of the County Court, who complained about the gambling and the nuisance "especially to ladies and children" of commonly grazed cattle.<sup>18</sup>

In March 1866 the Lord of the Manor, Henry Savile, transferred all his rights over the Moor, valued at £40,000, to the Corporation for £100. A committee of "freeholders" were strongly opposed to the plans for the Moor but eventually agreed to accept a nominal £201 for rights valued at £12,320 on condition that a clause be inserted in the bill of incorporation that the Moor remain "for ever an open public and unenclosed recreation ground". This was done, but a countervailing clause empowered the Corporation to lay out within it "such lodges, seats, paths and other conveniences and approaches as they think fit". The Act was passed in 1868 and after a protracted and bitter conflict Skircoat Moor was transformed into Savile Park.<sup>19</sup>

Belle Vue, Francis Crossley's villa, was remodelled as a Louis Quinze style mansion in 1865-7, while Peoples Park was being constructed. The architect was G. H. Stokes who designed the park terrace. The fountain and conservatory may well have been designed by Paxton. The house was centrally heated, ventilated and elaborately furnished in walnut and mahogany. The high pitched roof contained servants' bedrooms. In 1851 in the original villa Crossley and his wife employed three maid servants; in 1871 his wife and only son were waited on by a retinue of ten, including a footman. In keeping with

Crossley's public image the main entrance opened to a monumental staircase more appropriate for a town hall than a house. By contrast access for the servants both to the house and within it was discrete. Crossley may, like most middle class Victorians, not have cared to be reminded of his servants but the recipients of his generosity were quite conspicuous not only in the park but also in his garden. This was lined on its eastern margin by a row of 26 gothic almshouses built in 1855. Residents lived rent free and received a modest pension. In 1862 Crossley sold land on the western side to his own denomination, the Congregationalists, for a new chapel, and contributed £1,000 to its erection. The owner of the land between the chapel and Belle Vue refused to be bought out and Crossley built a gothic tower in his garden to hide his house and land. From his window Crossley now enjoyed an uninterrupted view of his munificence - the almshouses, the chapel and the park (Fig. 54).<sup>20</sup>

In 1863 Crossley, now a baronet, purchased a 4,450 acre country estate at Somerleyton in Suffolk. He bought it for £20,000 from the bankrupt railway contractor and fellow Congregationalist Sir Morton Peto and it yielded him an annual rent of £10,600. Peto was responsible for some model dwellings on the estate, picturesquely designed and picturesquely arranged around a village green. These were, according to the Sale Particulars, "of a most Substantial and highly Ornamental character - showing, in the Domestic Arrangement and Sleeping Apartments a singular and rare attention to the comfort and morality of Peasant Families". But they were not visible from the house, an extravagant Italianate mansion which Peto had built around a Tudor-Jacobean shell (Fig. 56). It was situated "in the middle of an uninterrupted domain of nearly 3,000 acres". The most conspicuous

landmark was the spire of Norwich Cathedral visible from the smoking room in the campanile tower.<sup>21</sup>

We would expect a titled Victorian millionaire to purchase a large country estate. Crossley was a less insular Yorkshireman than Titus Salt, a family friend who shared his social, religious and political outlook and who was as uncomfortable in landed as in metropolitan society. But Somerleyton was still distant from and in every respect dissimilar to the place to which Crossley was still economically, politically and morally committed. He continued to give handsomely to worthy institutions in Halifax. The Halifax Courier speculated that one of Crossley's motives in buying Somerleyton was to further his local commitments: to permanently endow the Crossley orphanage and the almshouses next to Belle Vue.<sup>22</sup> Mark Girouard suggests that the main influence on Crossley's decision was his wife who was bought up in Worcestershire and who disliked both Halifax and Yorkshire. The family were at Belle Vue on census night in 1871 and when Francis Crossley died the following year. After her husband's death she shut up the house never to return to Halifax. All the best contents were moved to Somerleyton with the perhaps significant exception of Maguire's painting Cromwell Refusing the Crown of England. Her only son was raised as a country gentleman and elected Tory MP for North Suffolk in 1885.<sup>23</sup>

At the age of twelve John Crossley was put to work in the mills at Dean Clough because he was not making progress at school. This lasted a year and in later life he recalled it as a chastening experience. From six in the morning he was "kept hard at it until eight at night, with the exception of an hour for meals. That was a state of things not at all to be desired". So Crossley informed the

House of Commons, in his only speech there, on the Factory Acts in 1874.<sup>24</sup> In his maturity he had little direct involvement in the running of the firm. While Joseph Crossley looked after the business and Francis Crossley became a prominent parliamentarian John Crossley made his career in local politics. He served twenty years on the town council including two terms as Mayor, 1849-51 and 1861-63.

John Crossley was Mayor at the time of the Ranger Enquiry of 1851. He described his family as local pioneers of improvement:

He had long been conscious of the want of some general move in the right direction, and mainly with a view to show how and at what cost improvements might be carried out, his brothers and himself have purchased three different properties in the very heart of town ... with a view to improving their condition, and that they might in some degree serve as a model, or at least afford some useful practical hints to any owner of property inclined to follow their example.<sup>25</sup>

The town centre was impressed with John Crossley's influence. He purchased an area of the Foulds in the town centre and cleared away workshops, stables and piggeries to make way for two broad thoroughfares - Crossley Street, named in honour of his family and Princes Street, named in honour of the Prince of Wales.<sup>26</sup> Crossley sold some of the cleared land to the Mechanics Institute for a grandiose new building put up in 1857. This was a contentious decision. In a special meeting four years earlier the members agreed on a site near North Parade where land was cheaper, where there was room to expand and which was nearer the mills and "that class of the population for whose benefit such institutions are specifically designed". The Crossleys were large contributors to the Institute's funds and the Directors overrode the decision of the membership and purchased the site John Crossley offered.<sup>27</sup> The Chartists asked Crossley to sell them a site nearby for a lecture hall and meeting place but he refused and instead sold the land for the building of an Italianate style hotel,



completed in 1859 bearing his monogram and coat of arms (which he secured in 1851) "as though it were his own palazzo".<sup>28</sup> At the junction of Crossley Street and Princes Street and closing the vista down Princes Street stands the town hall (Fig. 57). Crossley sold the corporation the site and defrayed the £100,000 outlay for the cost of building. Appropriately the town hall was opened during Crossley's mayoralty in 1863 by the Prince of Wales. The design of the town hall was the subject of some controversy. Crossley wanted an Italianate design which would have harmonised with the other buildings in the redeveloped area which bore his influence. Lockwood and Mawson, the architects of Saltaire, submitted such a design. Akroyd, who predictably wished to have a gothic town hall, objected and commissioned Gilbert Scott to produce a design for another site. This resembled the medieval town hall at Ypres illustrated by Pugin in Contrasts and when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1857 earned Ruskin's approval: "I take leave to wish the good people of Halifax joy of their town hall, that is to be, I hope". It was not to be. The design the Corporation eventually agreed upon was made two years later by Sir Charles Barry and represents a compromise. It is a combination of a Renaissance palace and Medieval cathedral.<sup>29</sup>

When the Prince of Wales visited Halifax to open the town hall Crossley entertained him at his villa Manor Heath. This was built in 1852-53 on a site about a mile to the south of the town centre. Crossley invited six architects to submit designs in an Italianate style and then somewhat perversely commissioned the architect responsible for the one he preferred to design him a house in an extravagant gothic (Fig. 58). Here his wife, daughter and guests were served by a butler and three maids discreetly accommodated at the rear of the

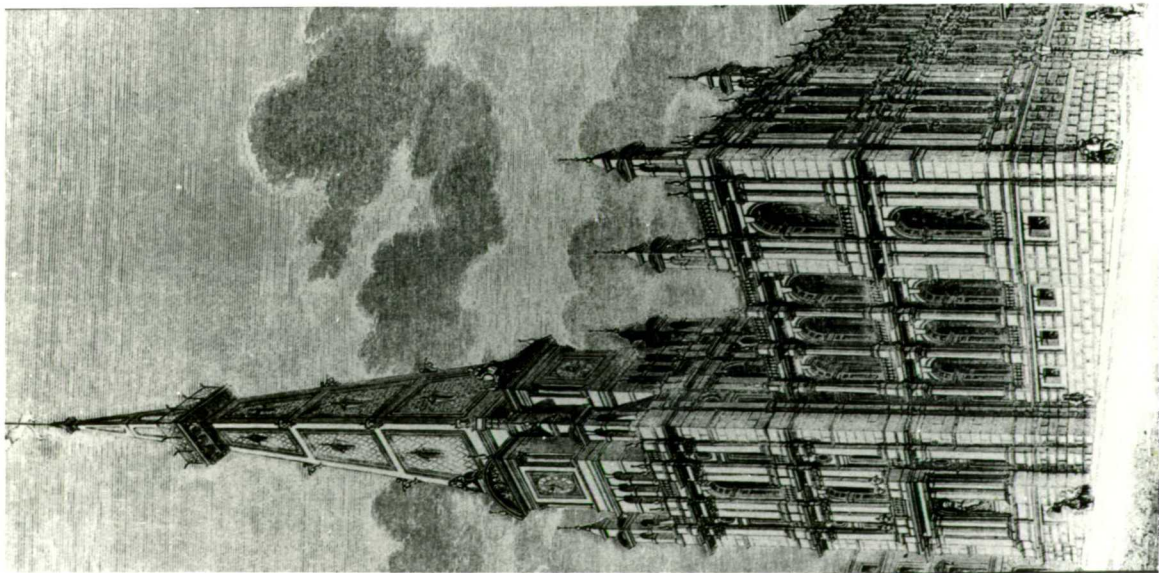
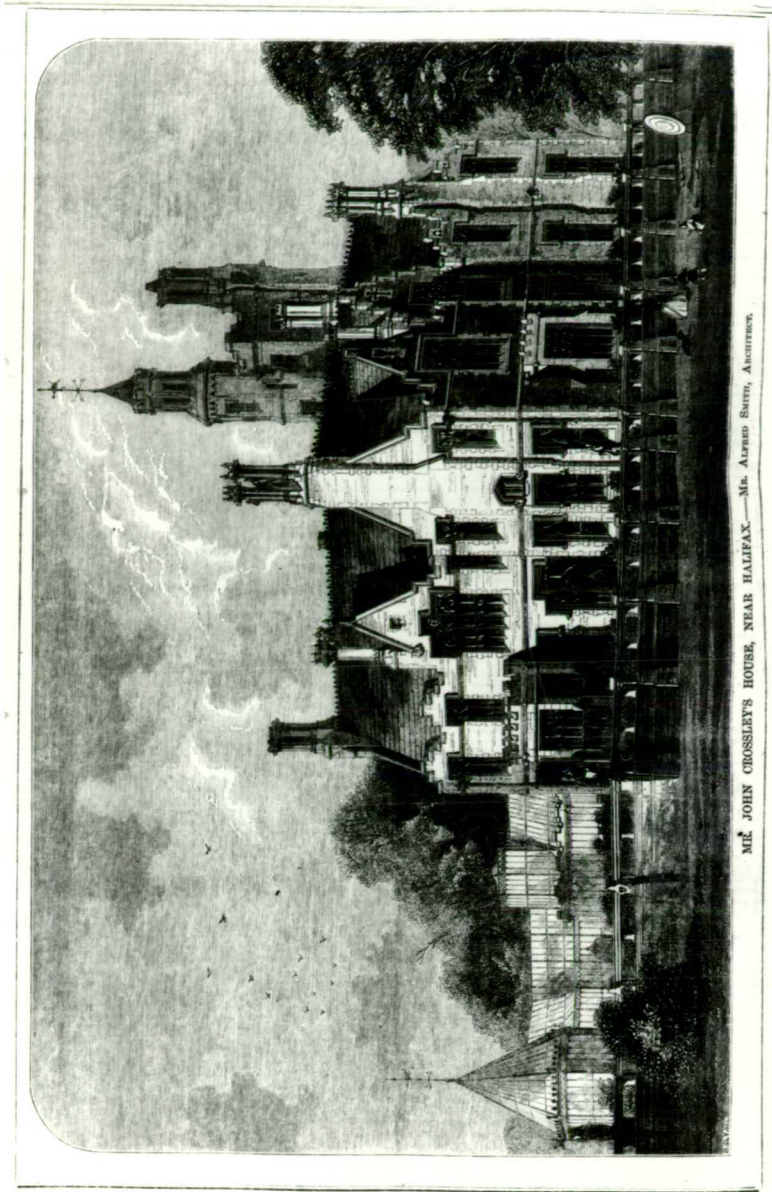


Figure 57 (left) Halifax Town Hall

Figure 58 (above) Manor Heath



MR. JOHN CROSSLEY'S HOUSE, NEAR HALIFAX.—Mr. ALBERT SMITH, ARCHT.

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THE BUILDER.

MARCH 21, 1863.]

house.<sup>30</sup> Like other northern industrialists Crossley owned a house in the Lake District. This was built above Bowness and commanded a fine view up Lake Windermere. The railway reached Windermere in 1847 and it was possible for Crossley to join the millocracy from Manchester at Lancaster on a Friday evening for a weekend away from pollution in Halifax. The train also of course brought plebeian day trippers from the industrial centres but Crossley's house was a carriage ride from the station. He sojourned there mainly during the summer months.<sup>31</sup>

Crossley was involved in four housing developments in Halifax, each of very different character. He converted an Elizabethan Multure Hall in the centre of Halifax into a model lodging house. It accommodated fifty men, but no women, for 3d a night each and was equipped with a washhouse and reading room.<sup>32</sup> To the west of the town centre, on land near Belle Vue, he sponsored three housing developments: one speculative, one a self-help scheme for the middle classes and the other a "model" self-help scheme for artisans. The first was on a site purchased by Crossley in association with two partners from James Stansfeld, a founder member of the Halifax Mechanics Institute, in 1853. This was divided into five streets and the houses sold well particularly after the construction of Peoples Park which became a significant selling point in advertisements. John Crossley was a trustee of the Milton Place Building Society which was responsible for the street of substantial terrace houses immediately to the east of Francis Crossley's almshouses. The site comprised three quarters of the lot that Francis Crossley had purchased from Stansfeld a few years before; Crossley sold the site to the Building Society for about the same price as he had paid for the whole lot. The development was financed by private mortgage. All members of the society were middle class.

The 32 houses cost between £568 and £642 to build. Eighteen members (including John and Robert Crossley) purchased one house, seven purchased two. Neither of the Crossleys ever lived in the houses they owned and in 1861 all but two owners were absentee landlords.<sup>33</sup>

John Crossley's most ambitious housing development was the West Hill Park Estate. The site, a former park to the north of Belle Vue, was bounded to the east by the Albert worsted mills, to the west by the Union workhouse and to the south by the cemetery (Fig. 59). In 1853 West Hill Park was the arena for the last major expression of Chartist strength. Ben Rushton, the Chartist weaver-preacher and fierce opponent of the New Poor Law, was buried in June of that year. In heavy rain hundreds gathered in the cemetery and an estimated 10,000 lined the route of the cortege. Rushton had stipulated that no paid priest should officiate and so Ernest Jones delivered the funeral oration. After the burial the crowd moved into West Hill park to attend a meeting to petition Parliament for the Charter. Francis Crossley was asked to support the motion. But in his speech Ernest Jones singled out his former political ally as an opponent in what he saw as a class struggle. Jones was at this time in close touch with Marx and Engels who regarded him as the outstanding Englishman on their side. Jones used the surrounding landscape as a metaphor of their ideas.

"Why the Charter?" he asked, "Look around this park. Look at its boundaries. There is a panorama of Labour's history. At one end it is bounded by a factory, at the other end by the workhouse, and opposed by Belle Vue, the mansion of a capitalist employer. There you have Labour's history. There, on the left, in that factory, the wealth is created; there opposite to that mansion, all the wealth goes; and there to the workhouse go those who created the wealth".<sup>34</sup>

Since 1848 the class edge to working class radicalism in Halifax had steadily blunted but the degree of class consensus should not be

exaggerated, even though Crossley remained more popular with local working people than he was with Jones, a London barrister. Thomas Latimer, who was invited to Halifax by John Crossley to establish the Liberal Halifax Courier, recalled the atmosphere in 1853-54.

I found the people at that time divided into two classes, and a bitterness of spirit dividing the capitalist and the workman, which was very painful to witness - the separation was so sharply defined. I said I would rather be hanged in Devon than die a natural death up there.<sup>35</sup>

Francis Crossley purchased West Hill Park and sold it to his brother John in 1862 when class relations in Halifax were more cordial. John Crossley intended to transform it into a residential estate. In association with the Halifax Permanent Building Society" the object was to encourage the thrifty people - artisans, clerks and others to obtain freehold dwellings for themselves". Crossley invited architects to submit plans for the layout and designs for the buildings. These were publicly exhibited and, in consultation with an Improvement Committee of the Corporation Crossley awarded the contract to a Manchester firm, Paul and Aycliffe.<sup>36</sup>

Paul and Aycliffe planned a mixed community with houses in short blocks aligned east-west and transverse terraces of varying prices (Fig. 60). On one side of each terrace was a public causeway flanked by rows of gardens; on the other side was a service road which passed rows of backyards containing ashpits and privvies.

Public view of back streets is not desirable, therefore short blocks of houses are placed fronting Gibbet and Hanson Lanes, which render them in this case comparatively private. By this arrangement the occupants of the dwellings have every inducement to keep the fronts of their houses neat and tidy - all unsightly but necessary operations being confined to the back, and shut out from the public eye.

Most houses were plain. "Architectural effect is reserved for the houses facing the main thoroughfares which will be for a superior



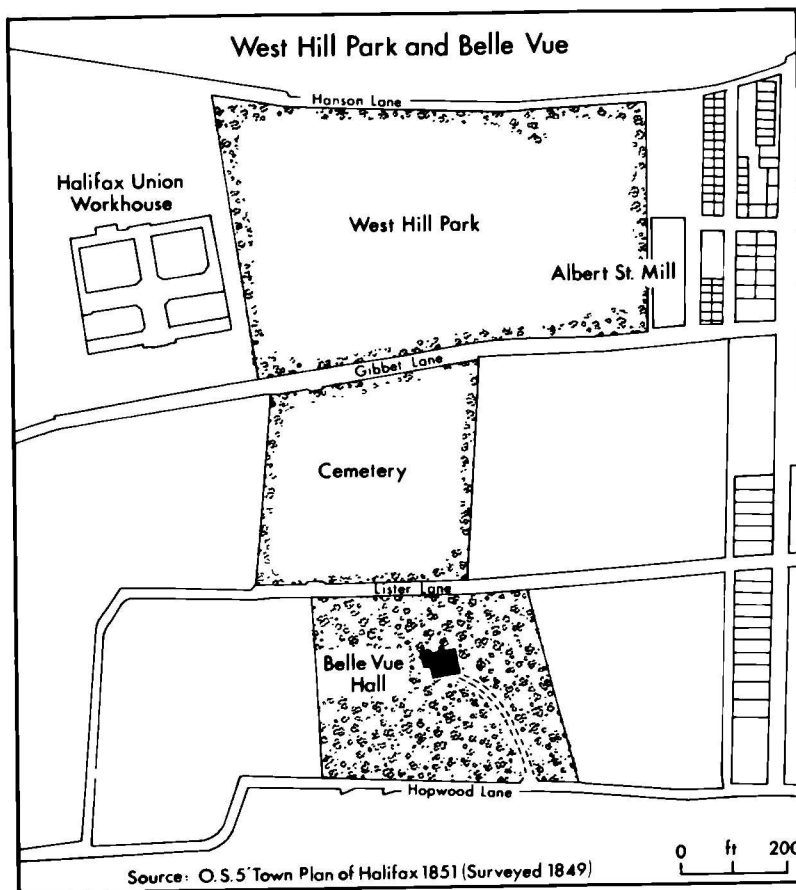
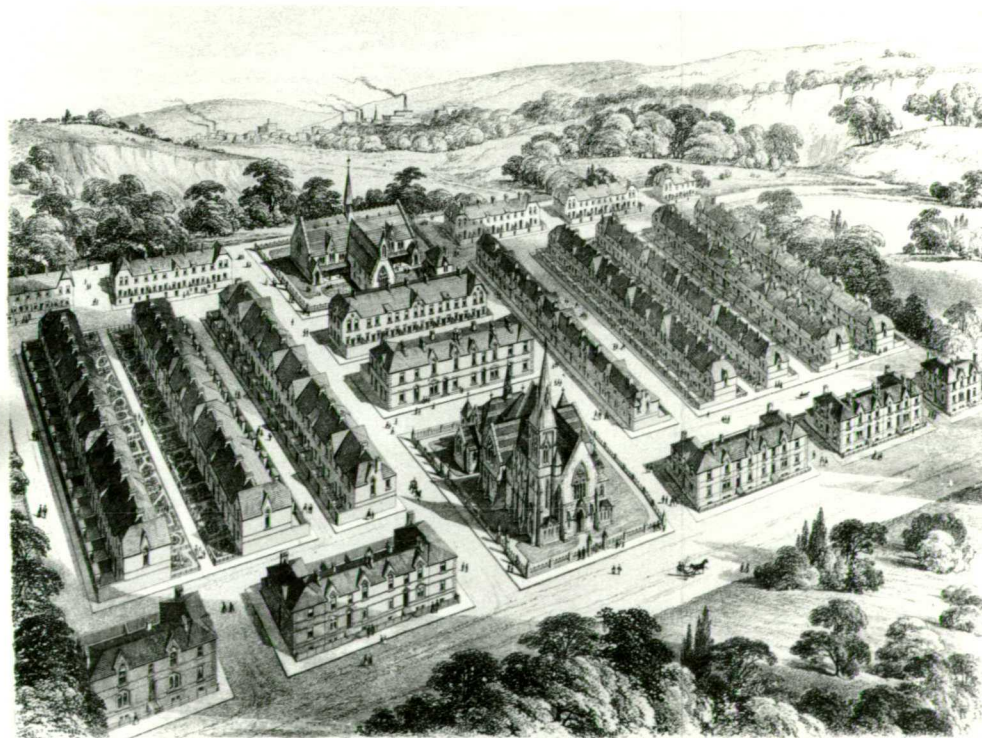


Figure 59



MODEL DWELLINGS FOR ARTIZANS, WEST HILL PARK, HALIFAX.

Figure 60 Paul and Aycliffe's plan for West Hill Park.

class of occupants". The appearance of the estate to the passer-by on the main road to and from the town centre - of blocks of substantial, gothic detailed houses interspersed with neat gardens - was then carefully contrived. The effect was enhanced by the spire of a church at the centre of the estate. In Paul and Aycliffe's aerial view the estate is placed in a parkland setting. Dean Clough mills, the source of its sponsor's wealth and the income of prospective residents, are evident but not obtrusive, rusticated by the effects of the distant scenery. Streets were named after luminaries in the Liberal pantheon: Milton, Cromwell, Gladstone, Cavendish, Grosvenor. In 1866, three years after building commenced James Hole drew attention to Crossley's "practical method" of improving both class relations and the condition of working people by making it easier for them to own their own houses. "How vastly might the relation of employers and employed be improved to the great benefit of both if employers would take (such) an enlightened and humane view of their duties to those dependent on them". Thirteen years after the crowd had gathered there to hear Ernest Jones speech, West Hill Park was being transformed into an enclave of respectability and its landscape re-interpreted as a metaphor of class cooperation.<sup>37</sup>

The estate did not turn out exactly as planned. The first houses to be built (Milton Terrace) were intended to be the cheapest and to cost about £100 each. But, it was found, houses deserving the appellation "model" could not be built for less than £130. With the additional costs of laying sewers and paying lawyers, the prospective buyer had to raise about £160. On this the Halifax Permanent would advance £120 (three quarters of the purchase price). The purchaser downpaid a £40 deposit and paid back his mortgage at five shillings a week for

twelve years. This was about twice as much as the rent for a standard back-to-back in Halifax which already existed next to the Albert Mills on the eastern boundary of the estate and in Crossley Street to the north, but which are conveniently omitted from Paul and Aycliffe's aerial view. The houses in Milton Terrace had three bedrooms, a living room, a scullery and a small cellar. They "seemed to furnish every desirable requisite for an artisan's family" wrote Hole in 1866, "but now that the houses have been taken up and occupied, it is found that the inhabitants are of a higher class, and as a natural result the ground-floor arrangements have proved unsuitable". In the second street, Cromwell Terrace, the houses were larger and more expensive (£270 each) with middle class domestic conventions inscribed in the ground plan. The front door did not open directly into the living room as in Milton Terrace but into a hallway from which doors opened into a living room and into a front parlour; the scullery was relegated to the back yard. "This arrangement gives great satisfaction", reported Hole, "and the houses are readily taken up".<sup>38</sup>

When Hole's book was published in 1866 sixty two houses were completed. In June 1868 an advertisement for the sale of a shop on the estate assured prospective buyers that there would eventually be a thousand residents on the estate.<sup>39</sup> In 1871, on census night, 954 people inhabited 203 houses; the estate was nearly complete.<sup>40</sup> In the early 1870s the more expensive houses were completed and taken up and the target population of a thousand achieved. As a building programme West Hill Park was a notably more successful enterprise than Akroydon (Fig. 61). A quarter more houses (47) were built than appeared on the original plans. This was achieved by reducing the size of houses and building more of them in Gibbett Street (which



remained "class 1") and Grosvenor Terrace (which was downgraded to "class 4). Also the plans for the church schools and two short terraces were abandoned and the space filled with two long terraces of thirty-five houses. This was somewhat disingenuous because the Improvement Committee had approved the original plan as it stood. Paul and Aycliffe's impression of an isolated community, with its educational and spiritual foci, then proved to be even more deceptive. Apart from the corner shops of Heywood Place, West Hill Park was, when complete, a purely residential development - an enclave in an urban landscape of great social, economic and architectural variety.

The enumerators' books of the 1871 census yield the earliest detailed information on the social composition of West Hill Park. This was, as might be expected, very different to that of a mill colony like Copley (Fig. 46). Not only were there proportionally far more skilled heads of household and almost no unskilled but only just over ten per cent of all household heads were employed in the carpet trade. Forty per cent were employed in textiles generally.<sup>41</sup> Most Crossley employees lived nearer their mills, some in three-storey back-to-backs built on steep ground on the Dean Clough estate.

It is instructive to compare the social composition of West Hill Park in 1871 with that of Akroydon (Figs. 46, 47, 48). Nearly a sixth of the heads of household in Akroydon were worsted mill workers (although it is impossible to say how many worked for Akroyd) and about a third were employed in the textile industry generally. The estate Akroyd sponsored was proportionally much more middle-class than the estate John Crossley sponsored. In Akroydon the most representative category was lower middle-class; in West Hill Park it was skilled working class. The principle of mixing house types in blocks was

West Hill Park and Akroydon Building Programme

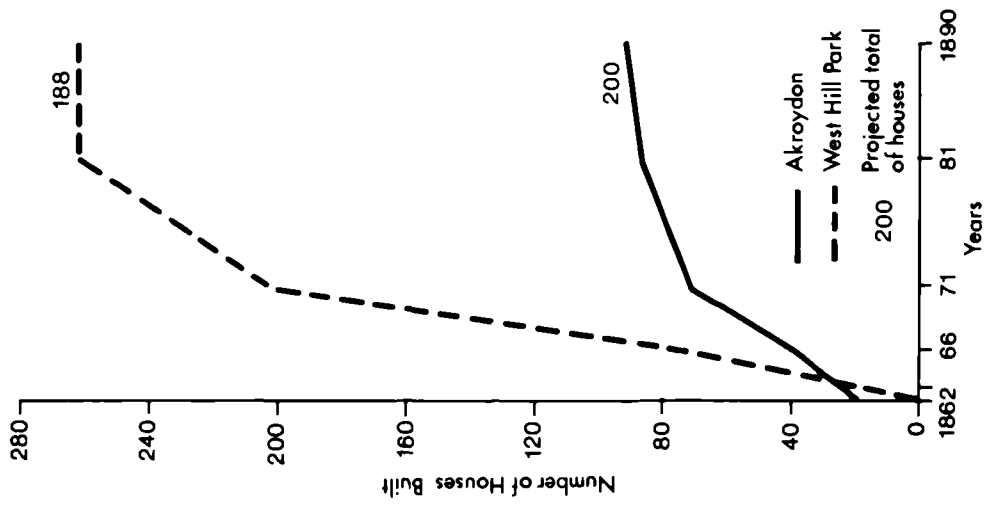
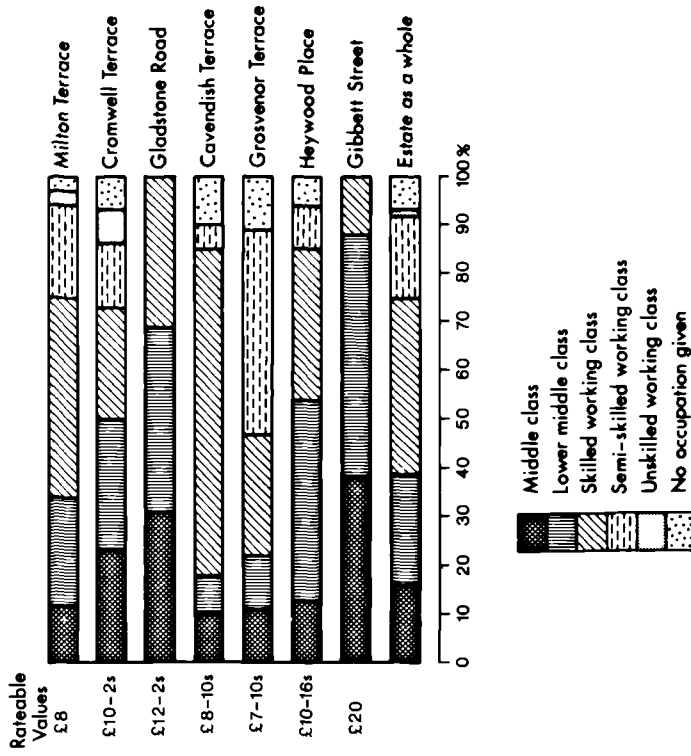


Figure 61

West Hill Park:  
Social Composition by Occupation of Head of Household 1871



Source: Census Enumerators Books 1871

Figure 62 For street layout see Fig. 66.

abandoned in Akroydon, although the uniform York Terrace was socially mixed. In West Hill Park each uniform terrace acquired a distinctive social character (Fig. 62), (Table 2). Milton Terrace, the first to be built, was the most mixed. As Hole described, Cromwell Terrace was favoured by higher status workers. Gladstone Road was mainly middle class, Heywood Place (with its shopkeepers) mainly lower middle class, Cavendish Terrace mainly skilled working class and Grosvenor Terrace, with eleven heads of household weavers and eight of these carpet weavers, mainly semi-skilled working class. Joshua Brier, a carpet weaver of Grosvenor Street, earned a maximum of £1 a week and no doubt paid off his mortgage with the help of his two weaver daughters and wiredrawer son; William Mitchell, a skilled colour mixer at Crossleys earned £3 a week which supported his family of four in a house in Gladstone Road.

Levels of owner-occupation in West Hill Park declined from 60 per cent in 1876 to 43 per cent in 1881 but are still considerably higher than levels in Akroydon for those years, (31 per cent and 26 per cent respectively).<sup>42</sup> In 1881 the rate was appreciably higher than in the more middle class estate that Crossley developed immediately to the south (Fig. 63). Information is fragmentary for the rows of back-to-backs and courts to the north and west but the impression from the rate books is that most dwellings in these areas were rented. The persistence rate for 1871-1881 in West Hill Park (34 per cent) was comparable to that of Akroydon (35 per cent) but again was considerably higher than in surrounding areas (Fig. 64). The streets in West Hill Park with the highest persistence rates are those with the highest levels of owner occupation. The prevailing impression of the estate is one of stability.

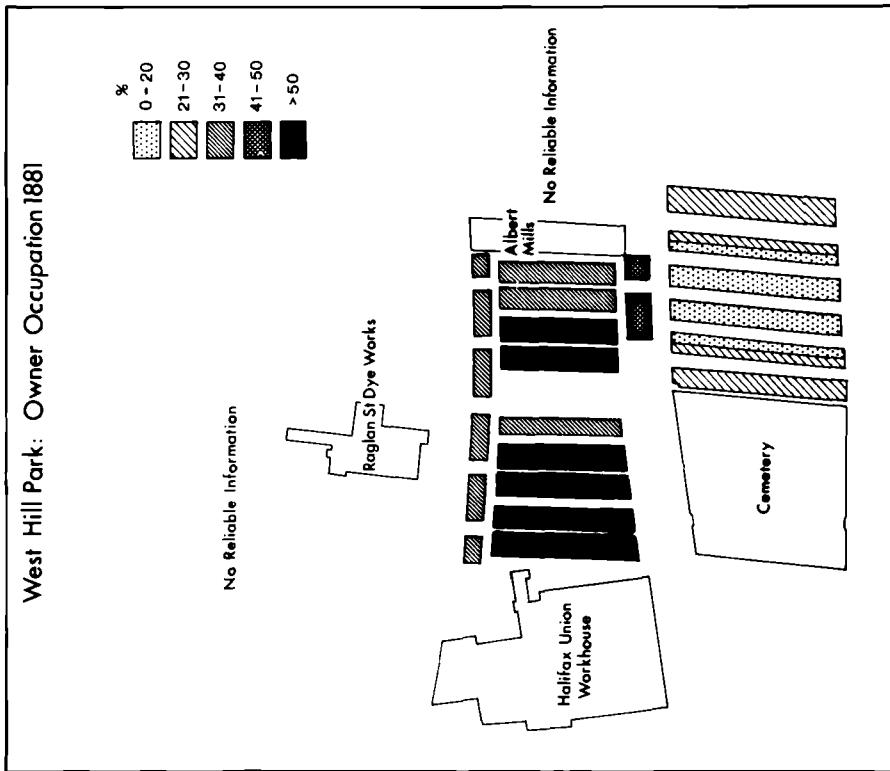
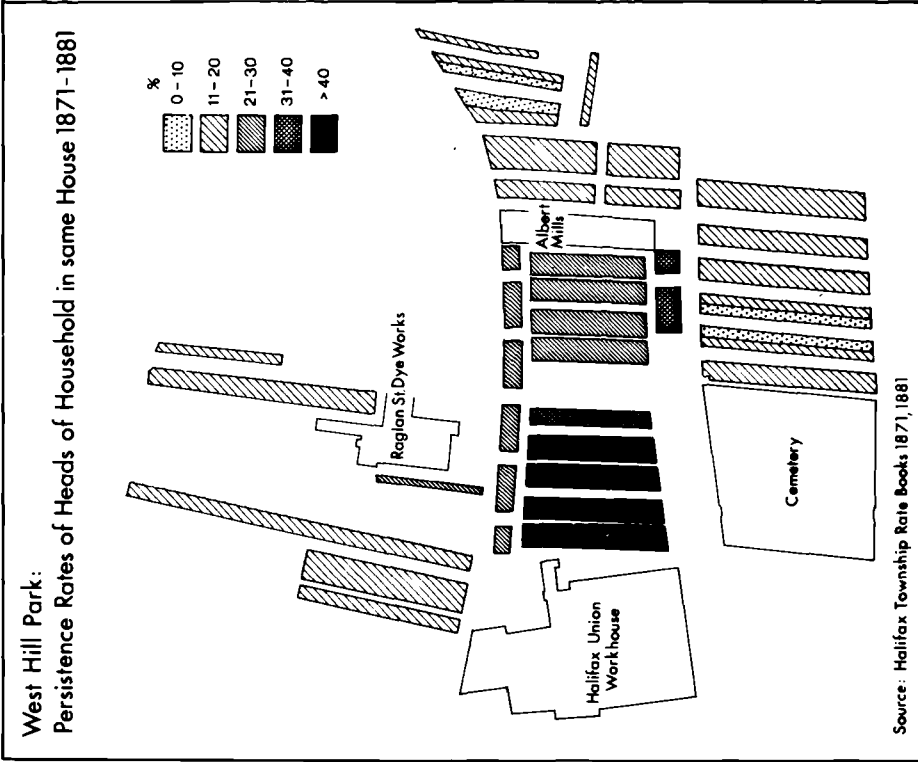
Table Two    West Hill Park: Location Quotients 1871

	M.C.	L.M.C.	S.W.C.	S.S.W.C.
Milton Terrace	.75	1.0	1.1	1.2
Cromwell Terrace	1.4	1.2	.6	.8
Gladstone Road	1.9	1.7	.9	-
Cavendish Terrace	.6	.3	1.9	.3
Grosvenor Terrace	.6	.5	.7	2.4
Heywood Place	.8	1.8	.9	.5
Gibbett Street	2.3	2.2	.34	-

There were only three unskilled working class household heads living on the estate in 1871. Two lived in Cromwell Terrace, the other in Milton Terrace.

- M.C.        - Middle Class
- L.M.C.     - Lower Middle Class
- S.W.C.     - Skilled Working Class
- S.S.W.C.   - Semi-Skilled Working Class

For an explanation of the location quotient formula see Table One.



Figures 63 & 64 Information on the ownership of houses in West Hill Park in 1871 is incomplete. No inference can be made from these maps regarding the relationship between persistence and owner occupation. They do not show whether it was owner occupiers who persisted the most. But they do both reveal significant differences between West Hill Park and the adjacent area.

West Hill Park stands at the junction between the predominantly working class area that rises up from the large mills in the valley and the predominantly middle-class area that stretches southwards up to Savile Park (Fig. 65). With its restrictive clauses against pubs and places of public amusement,<sup>43</sup> its walling out of the mill and workhouse and the intensely private nature of the streets and houses West Hill Park faces south. In the absence of any biographical information on the inhabitants of the estate it is impossible to reconstruct their attitudes with any certainty. For all model estates we have very little idea of the view from within. Information in the manuscript census at least can prevent us from making glib pronouncements about the character of such places. Two next door neighbours in Heywood Place in 1871 defy the most subtle social analysis - a scripture reader from Durham and a comic vocalist from Liverpool.

John Crossley promoted the virtue of thrift among his workers but himself was ruined in 1872 by rashly speculating in coal and iron. He resigned from Parliament, Manor Heath was broken up and he moved to a small house in Putney where he died two years later. His more provident brothers, Joseph and Francis, each left nearly a million pounds. He had a bad head for business but the Congregationalist preacher of Halifax Enoch Mellor, himself a beneficiary of Crossley's largesse, put his ruin down to a soft heart: "possession was taken of the gates of his grounds and the doors of his house ... by importune suitors for his charity".<sup>44</sup> Ben Wilson, the old Chartist, recalled in 1887:

The retirement of Mr. John Crossley, as one of the members for the borough, came upon the town with surprise, and much sympathy was felt for him on account of the cause which had compelled him to take this step. What he, along with his two brothers Mr. Joseph and Sir Francis, has done for the town will long be remembered.<sup>45</sup>

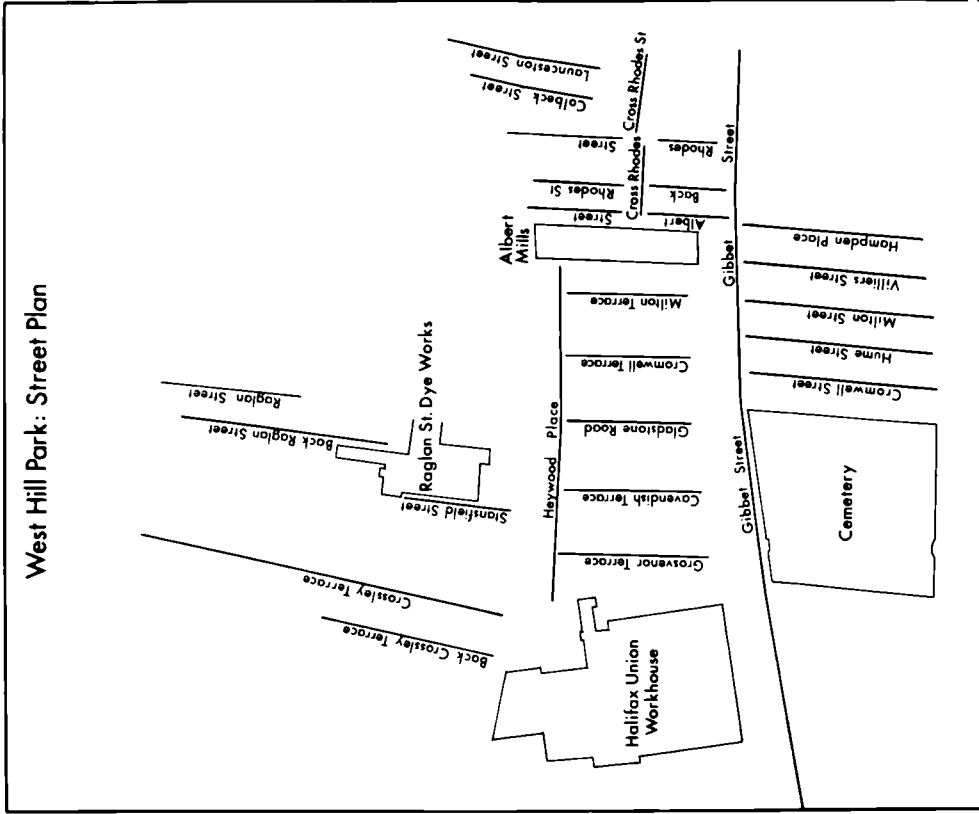


Figure 66

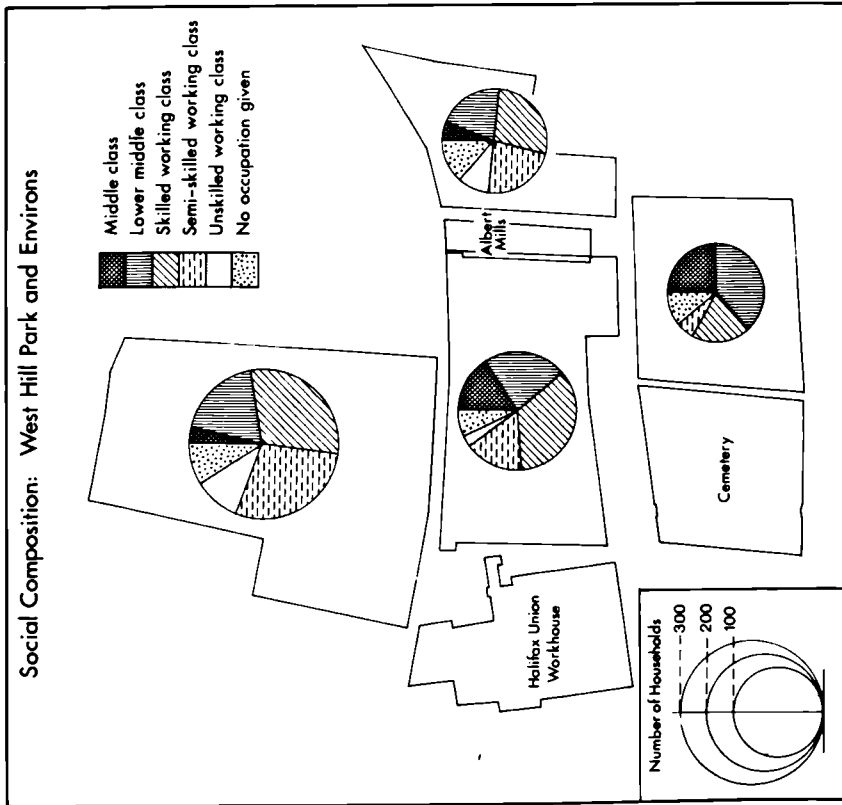


Figure 65 Social Composition: West Hill Park and Environs (1871).

Although they remained at odds on many political and religious questions the mellowing of Akroyd's liberalism and the tempering of the Crossleys' radicalism brought them ideologically closer. There are hints of rivalry between them - both competing for the attention of Halifax citizens from their fiefdoms on either side of the Hebble Valley - but no substantial evidence. Their religious differences perhaps go some way to explain their contrasting attitudes to the Chartists. The religious radicalism of the Chartists - their advocacy of disestablishing the Anglican Church - probably appealed to the Crossleys as much as their political programme. In the 1840s the Crossleys were as popular with working class militants as the Akroyds were reviled. They both spent huge amounts on amenities and charities in the following decade but although Akroyd undoubtedly always commanded the respect of Halifax working people he seems never to have received the affection that the Crossleys did. Halifax was unusual among industrial towns in the degree to which it displayed the influence of individual patronage. But the extent of this patronage should not be exaggerated. The model environment was but a fraction of that of the town as a whole.



Notes: Chapter Eight

1. Much of the information in the above three paragraphs is taken from the typewritten transcripts of John and Martha Crossley's handwritten memoirs (which are now lost) accompanied by some miscellaneous biographical notes and a family tree all deposited in a metal cupboard in the outer office of the publicity department at John Crossley and Sons. Some of this information was used in Chapter Eleven of Thrift (London, 1975) by Samuel Smiles from which the quotation about George Curren's wife is taken. Additional information for my account is taken from the Morning Chronicle Supplement, 22 January 1850; James, History of Worsted Manufacture, p. 620; Baines, Yorkshire Past and Present, p. 405; The obituary of John Crossley Jr. in Halifax Courier, 19 April 1879; Fortunes Made in Business Vol. III (London, 1887); 'Reminiscences of Fifty Years by a Workman' in Halifax Courier, 7 July 1888; R Bretton, "The Crossleys of Dean Clough". Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, (1950), pp. 1-9. J.N. Bartlett, "The Mechanisation of the Kidderminster Carpet Industry", Business History Vol. 9 (1967), pp. 49-69.
2. Census Enumerators' Books, 1841, 1861, 1871: HO 107 1300, RG 9 3285, RG 10 4400.
3. J.W. Davis, "Sir Francis Crossley, Bart", in William Smith (editor), Old Yorkshire (London, 1890), pp. 111-112.
4. Northern Star, 14 August 1847. The pub, whose owner voted for Jones and Miall, was packed every Saturday night with carpet weavers.
5. Hansard, 6 May 1874 Vol. CCXVIII (1874), p. 1175. Holyoake, p. 38. For evidence of friction between management and labour at Crossleys see the Cash and Minute Book of the H Shed Brussel weavers (1873) Halifax District Archives T.V. 35/1.
6. Halifax Courier, 12 June 1880. A Souvenir of the Centenary of Dean Clough Mills, (Halifax, 1903), p. 12. Wilson, The Struggles of An Old Chartist, p. 239.
7. 1852 Result: Charles Wood 596; Francis Crossley 576; Henry Edwards 521; Ernest Jones 38.  
1847 Result: Henry Edwards 511; Charles Wood 507; Edward Miall 349; Ernest Jones 280.
8. The Builder, 22 August 1857, p. 482. The Building News, 4 September 1857. Crossley did not wish to have a statue erected. Its erection was delayed because the quarrymen at Carrara downed tools to join Garibaldi. The park cost Crossley £40,000. In 1867 he relieved the corporation of the cost of maintaining it.
9. All quotations from Thomas Tiffany, The Peoples Park Halifax, Jubilee of Opening (Halifax, n.d. 1907?). See also Francis Crossley, Lecture on Canada and the United States (London and Halifax, 1856). Titus Salt and the Crossleys were close friends. Joseph Crossley's daughter Caroline married Salt's son Titus junior.

10. Illustrated London News, 22 August 1867. Tiffany, The Peoples Park, pp. 16-17.
11. 'Peoples Park Conveyance: Francis Crossley Esq. to the Corporation of Halifax', 14 August 1857, deposited in the Halifax Town Hall Strong Room. 'Halifax Park and Improvement Act', 21 & 22 Vict. Cap. xci.
12. Census Enumerators' Books (1871) P.R.O. RG 10 4393.
13. Deeds HO - 180 Halifax Town Hall Strong Room.
14. Tiffany, p. 17.
15. A Handbook to The People's Park, Halifax (Halifax, 1857), pp. 8-10.
16. Michael Wolff and Celina Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines", in Dyas and Wolff (editors), The Victorian City, pp. 559-582 (568).
17. Evans, "Rookeries and Model Dwellings", pp. 25-26.
18. Halifax Courier, 27 May 1865.
19. Halifax Corporation and Skircoat Freeholders, Correspondence H.D.A. Archives M.A.C. 6/1-25. Christopher T. Rhodes, History of Skircoat Moor and Savile Park (Halifax, 1908).
20. The Building News, 13 November 1857; Linstrum, West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture, p. 114; Census Enumerators Books (1871), P.R.O. RG. 10 4393 16. (The Crossley Household was away on Census night in 1861); Park Congregational Church (Halifax, 1869); Girouard, The Victorian Country House, p. 101.
21. Sale Particulars: Somerleyton, 16 July 1861. Somerleyton: An Illustrated Guide (no place or date of publication).
22. Halifax Courier, 2 August 1862.
23. Girouard, The Victorian Country House, pp. 101-102.
24. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates Vol. CCXVIII (1874), pp. 1774-1777, 6 May 1874.
25. Ranger, Enquiry, p. 30.
26. Halifax Guardian, 1 May 1858; The Builder Vol. 16 (8 May 1858), p. 319.
27. Minutes of Halifax Mechanics Institute, 21 June 1853, Halifax Archives HMI:3. Halifax Guardian, 25 May 1853. Richard A. Davies, 'The origins and development of the Halifax Mechanics Institute' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 1972), pp. 19-20. The Crossleys erected their own works institute near Dean Clough in May 1872. See John Mayall, Annals of Yorkshire Vol III (1878), p. 486.

28. Girouard, The Victorian Country House, p. 100.
29. Building News, 6 February 1857. The Builder, 21 June 1860. John Ruskin, "Notes on some of the Principal Pictures Exhibited at the Royal Academy", (1857) in Works Volume 14 (London, 1909), p. 118. Linstrum, pp. 344-345.
30. The Builder, 21 March 1863, p. 206. Census Enumerators Books P.R.O. RG 10 4400.
31. Oliver M. Westall, "The Retreat to Arcadia: Windermere as a Select Residential Resort in the Late Nineteenth Century" (University of Lancaster Centre for North-West Regional Studies Occasional Paper No. 1, 1976), pp. 39-53 (39-45). Parker, The English House in the Nineteenth Century, p. 19.
32. The Labourer's Friend, January 1852, p. 11. Later he built an Italianate lodging house in Smithy Street.
33. Dingsdale, Yorkshire Mill Town, p. 343; J.L. and B. Hammond James Stansfeld: A Victorian Champion of Sex Equality (London, 1932), pp. 3-4.
34. Peoples Paper, 2 July 1853. Wilson, The Struggles of An Old Chartist, p. 221. Crossley did not own the Albert Street Mill that Jones pointed out. Dean Clough Mills were visible from the West Hill Park but Jones' observations were of course not intended to be entirely literal. On Jones' Marxism see John Savile, Ernest Jones: Chartist (London, 1952), pp. 26-27, 40-42, 231-247.
35. Quoted in F.R. Spark, Memoirs of My Life (London, 1913), pp. 88-89.
36. Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes, p. 75. In November 1863 the Society agreed to lend up to £5,000 at 5 per cent on the joint bond of the committee (John Crossley, J.D. Taylor and Nathan Whitely); in three years it lent £45,000 - £1,500 on the joint bond and the rest advances to purchasers. The Society lent on £15,000 on Akroydon. See A Hundred Years of the Halifax (Halifax, 1953), pp. 34-35.
37. Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes, pp. 76, 77, 78.
38. *Ibid*, 76-77. Approved plans of the houses are deposited in Halifax District Archives HBl:649, 1060, 1083, 592. Some are reproduced in Hole's book.
39. Halifax Guardian, 6 June 1868.
40. Census Enumerators Books (1871) P.R.O. RG 10 4396.
41. In the township of Halifax in 1871 six per cent of males over 20 years worked in the carpet trade and 25 per cent in textiles generally. Census of England and Wales, Population Abstracts Vol. III (1873), p. 485, Table 16.
42. Rating Assessments: Halifax District Archives HX 93/2, 101/2. Information for 1871 is incomplete.

43. Conveyances 1869 H.O. 300, Halifax Town Hall Strong Room.
44. Halifax Courier, 19 April 1879.
45. Wilson, The Struggles of an Old Chartist, p. 239.

CHAPTER NINE

TITUS SALT AND THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT OF BRADFORD

Titus Salt was born in 1803 in the clothier village of Morley, four miles south-west of Leeds. His father Daniel, "a plain blunt Yorkshireman", was trained as an iron-founder in Hunslet and had moved to Morley the previous year to marry and to take over the dry-salting and cloth merchanting business of his father-in-law. Morley was a centre of Non-Conformity - there was no Anglican church there until 1830 - and his mother was a pious Congregationalist. His father taught him the rudiments of "practical mechanics" but it was his mother who wrote in the flyleaf of his pocket bible, which he treasured throughout his life, and who instilled in him some of the moral and religious principles which informed decisions he took in a remarkably successful business career.

In 1813, the Salt family moved to Crofton, about three miles from Wakefield, where Daniel Salt rented a hundred acre arable farm. The nearest Congregationalist chapel was in Wakefield and Salt attended the day school connected with it. Here he received "a plain commercial education". Contemporaries remembered him as a rustic figure, reticent and rather dull. At eighteen he was apprenticed to a Wakefield woolstapler but the local trade was in decline and there seemed little future in it. The difficulties of farming in the post-war period proved too many for his father and in 1822 the family migrated west to Bradford, a booming town of commercial opportunity in the worsted industry. Here Daniel Salt started a woolstapling business. It was intended that Titus become a partner after joining a worsted manufacturer to receive the kind of practical training that was not

available in Wakefield. Here "he resolved to know every process from the fleece to the fabric". In 1825 Titus became nominally the junior partner but actually the driving force of his father's business. He became renowned for his commercial acumen and his personal frugality and thrift.<sup>1</sup>

The growth and industrial development of Bradford in the opening decades of the nineteenth century were prodigious (Figs. 25, 26 and 27). It replaced Halifax as the main centre for the worsted industry. After 1811, the township of Bradford outstripped that of Halifax in both the rate of population growth and the amount of wool consumed for worsted production. By 1822, its Piece Hall, built about the same time (1773, added to in 1780) as that of Halifax attracted five times as many manufacturers. One reason for this change in relative position of the two centres is their respective exploitation of local resources for motive power. Halifax was better endowed with water power. The spinners of Bradford, unable to rely on mill streams, took the initiative in using steam engines, which are of course less susceptible to the vicissitudes of nature than millstreams and set fewer limits to the expansion of plant. Also Bradford was better placed on the West Riding coalfield. Spinning was a factory industry by 1830 and in the next two decades Bradford manufacturers rapidly mechanised weaving and combing.<sup>2</sup> William Scoresby, Vicar of Bradford from 1839-1846, observed:

The mills are well adapted for their object - most of them large, lofty and well built - and thickly set with corresponding tiers of windows which give to the town after the period of lighting up takes place, the effect of an extensive and imposing illumination ... Its forest of chimneys pour out, with rare exceptions, their dark produce of imperfect combustion of inferior coal in unrestrained plenitude. The chemical source of power and prosperity has ample consideration and indulgence to smoke to its utmost! Here is the region of smoke liberty.<sup>3</sup>

Bradford was a raw frontier town of industrial capitalism and its industrial revolution was for many a harsh experience. Pollution, poverty and class hostility were greater in scale and intensity than in any other town in the West Riding. In the 1790s it was "a small rural town, surrounded by green fields and quiet country lanes ... a really pleasant and picturesque spot". In the 1840s it was in the words of the Health of Towns Commission, "the dirtiest and worst regulated town in the United Kingdom". A hostile crowd greeted the first steam mill to be installed in the town in 1798 and from then on working class resistance was bitter and sometimes violent. Twenty-thousand woolcombers and weavers struck for twenty-six weeks in 1826. This was a struggle for union recognition as well as for wages and was defeated. The woolcombers, once the artisan elite of the worsted trade and like the woollen cloth croppers noted for their independence and roisterous conduct, were reduced to impoverished outworkers. The introduction of power looms provoked local weavers into direct action. In May 1826 J. G. Horsfall's mill half a mile from the town centre was attacked by 250 unemployed weavers, and two youths inside were killed.<sup>4</sup> After attempting to remonstrate with the crowd the young Titus Salt rode around Bradford recruiting special constables to help the military disperse them.<sup>5</sup> The last celebration of the septennial festival of Bishops Blaize, patron saint of the woolcombers, was held on the eve of the great strike of 1826. It was a splendid and ebullient pageant to a passing order. Each branch of the woollen trade was represented. The 470 members in the procession wore "full flowing wigs of combed wool" and carried their combs raised on standards decorated "with golden fleeces, ram's gilded horns and other emblems".<sup>6</sup> The "intelligent part of the community" considered it "a demoralising

influence ... a relic of semi-barbarous times, and strangely out of character with the present", a present they had presumed to appropriate. Titus Salt and his fellow Congregationalist and confidante Henry Forbes were influential in putting an end to the festival and planning more sober and rational entertainments. "Before the next Septennial a new order of things was inaugurated. A building was hired, where educational classes, library and reading room were established".<sup>7</sup>

In 1830 Salt was the first of three Bradford woolstaplers who married three daughters of a sheep farmer from near Grimsby. The couple moved into a house a few minutes walk from that of his family. Daniel Salt retired in 1833 and Titus Salt embarked on the manufacturing career destined to make him the richest man in Bradford. He purchased and himself exploited seemingly unpromising fibres like Donskoi wool and alpaca. By 1848 he ran five mills in Bradford and his labour force exceeded two thousand. The mills were "difficult of access and still more difficult of surveillance" but by a combination of early rising and punctuality he was able to manage them personally - "his early presence at "the works" exercised a high moral influence over his workpeople. Well they knew that had not merely to do with delegated authority, but with that which was supreme". In 1844, to accommodate a growing family in pure air and pleasant surroundings, Salt rented Crow Nest, a Georgian villa seven miles west of Bradford. But this for Salt was "little more than a resting place for the night". Salt gave lifts to working people trudging into Bradford "and this was done with a kindness of look and tone that made the recipients of the favour feel that it came from one not above them but on a level with themselves". Through personal acquaintance Salt exercised "great moral power in attaching the work-



people to himself".<sup>8</sup> These claims, it must be emphasised, were made after Salt's death by a Congregationalist minister, Robert Balgarnie, a friend and beneficiary of Salt, in a biography (more nearly a hagiography) written explicitly "to stimulate young men at the outset of their career".<sup>9</sup> What Balgarnie's remarks do reveal is the Congregationalist concern with distance between master and man, whether or not Salt was as successful in reducing it as Balgarnie claimed. During the period Balgarnie here described class conflict was intensifying.

During the depression of the late 1830s hardship among working people was acute and widespread. In 1837 it was estimated that 700 families lived on less than two shillings per head per week. Combers, and Salt employed many, who in 1824 had earned 23s a week were able to earn no more than 6s-8s a week.<sup>10</sup> Sackings and short-time working increased. The ranks of underemployed combers were swelled by Irish immigrants. Many combers lived in appalling conditions and they issued their own report on them. The following are two of 350 cases. Case number 18 in Margerison Row reads: "Family 11; rooms 2; Beds 4; females 7; size 12' 3" x 11' 2". Five persons work and sleep in the back apartment; it is also used as a kitchen for 11 persons. Three feet below the surface; no drainage". Case number 60 in Mill Street reads as tersely: "Upper room two persons work, and seven, including five females, sleep near a charcoal stove. House surrounded by filth - contents of privvy exposed. A disgusting scene". George White, the woolcomber's leader and a Chartist, appealed to the middle classes for "expansive benevolence". "The moral condition of the people cannot be much improved so long as the homes of the working classes are so impure", he declared. He argued that manufacturers

would find it commercially advantageous to have a healthy working population. He was confident that "we are rapidly progressing towards a better feeling and that common good-will and understanding which should exist between employer and employed". He hoped "we may unite in one great effort to work out a practical good".<sup>11</sup> These are precisely the sentiments that middle class reformers wanted to hear from working men. But a report by Marx's friend George Weerth of the meeting that the woolcombers called to discuss the report does not suggest there was much class consensus. The woolcombers sat on one side of the hall and an assortment of millowners, merchants, clergymen and doctors on the other. William Scoresby shared the platform with George White. His speech drew enthusiastic cheers from the middle class section of the hall but the woolcombers received it in silence.<sup>12</sup> Little was done to remedy their living or working conditions or, more fundamentally, to halt the fall in their wages and their increasing unemployment. In November 1845 George White was less than conciliatory. "Is a man made in God's image of less consequence than a piece of stuff?" he demanded, "Then go to the Leeds End Road and see the palaces built to cloth".<sup>13</sup> In the summer of 1848 the woolcombers were the most militant Chartists. For a few weeks they established two no-go areas in Bradford. Bullets were cast, pikes sharpened and weapons were on open sale. The first attack of an insurrection that never came was expected on a factory using combing machinery.<sup>14</sup>

Salt was elected Mayor of Bradford in 1848. In the depression of that turbulent summer, when a tenth of Bradford's population were estimated to be on relief, his sales fell by £10,000 a month. Soup kitchens were opened, test labour begun and a scheme to promote emigration devised. Salt engaged one hundred unemployed combers and layed their

produce by. Between June and October four hundred people in Bradford died of cholera. Salt gave money, visited the afflicted slum districts and organised thanksgiving services when the outbreak was over. At the end of 1848 the commercial depression lifted.<sup>15</sup>

By 1849 militant Chartism was defeated and most of its leaders in prison. Middle class reformers took the opportunity to launch their counter offensive and Salt was in the forefront. He initiated an enquiry into "the moral state of the town". It discovered there were more brothels than churches in Bradford and that most working people were hostile to religion; shops stayed open until midnight and tempted people into the streets. Salt's committee agreed that

any successful effort to raise the moral and intellectual tone of society must be a united one. The more intelligent and wealthy class must contribute not only money, but thought and time, personal influence and kindness, while those below must place a generous confidence in the desire of their superiors to serve them.

It advocated more missionary activity, more efficient policing and the provision of rational instruction and entertainment: "all these agencies must act simultaneously on the community".<sup>16</sup>

The scarcity of recreation space was felt to be a crucial problem. Fairweather Green to the north west of the town was a twenty five acre open space and according to a witness before the 1840 Health of Towns Committee used for games by "the population for five and six miles round, it is the only place for the purpose in the whole neighbourhood". Whilst the Committee was sitting a private Bill to enclose it was passing through Parliament. Fairweather Green was a traditional gathering place for working-class militants. One witness explained: "This ground has been latterly used by the Chartists, and it has got into bad odour, but I do not think that a good reason for enclosing the ground. I am happy to say that Chartism is very

rapidly dying away, but if the lower orders have not places where they can engage in sports, it is the very thing to drive them to Chartism".<sup>17</sup> In 1850 Salt subscribed a thousand pounds and persuaded others to do likewise for a new sixty-one acre park, named after Sir Robert Peel, on the northern edge of Bradford, but thought by many to be too remote from the people it was intended to benefit. In an editorial on Salt's Moral Report the Bradford Observer agreed that "public worship, public amusement, public instruction, public exercise ... at least when under proper management ... are each and all necessary adjuncts to the true and full development of man's highest faculties", but emphasised a fundamental need for domestic and sanitary improvement. Such institutions were attended mostly by already respectable members of the working class:

there will yet be a dense mass, a fearful stratum underlying the very base of society, which neither music hall, park nor library will frequently attract ... what can be done for these? We must begin at their homes, their dark, uncleansed, unwatered, uncomfortable homes (where) the mental and moral faculties are poisoned at their source, and the stream of contamination flows in every direction.<sup>18</sup>

The Report recommended better provision for housing but the nature of the local land market - small, irregularly shaped parcels of freehold with little or no restriction on their use - was not conducive to this.<sup>19</sup>

In the late 1840s Bradford presented seemingly intractable problems to a man who aspired to be both an efficient industrial capitalist and a conscientious social reformer. The transition to mechanised combing could be made more cheaply and management made more effective if industrial plant and labour were concentrated and organized rationally in one place. Local reformers still argued about the implications of factory work for the conduct of workers. In a lecture to the Bradford Church Institution Robert Baker offset the

demoralising effects of abstracting women from the home and "mix(ing) the sexes promiscuously at every age, the old and young, the innocent and vile", against the virtues of a cheap and docile labour force. "To counteract the consequences of congregation" Baker urged moral surveillance during work and the organisation of "sober and rational enjoyments" during leisure time. Baker thought the shocking reputation of mill girls was due more to promiscuous overcrowding in their homes and the "neglect of supervision by the higher classes who dwell amongst them".<sup>20</sup> James Smith observed in 1845 how when woolcombers worked in factories rather than at home "their health has been improved and their habits have become better regulated".<sup>21</sup> Salt decided to move his enterprise to a site away from the squalor, crime and confusion of Bradford and build a model factory as the centrepiece of a model village.

Notes: Chapter Nine

1. Information from the above two paragraphs is taken from Robert Balgarnie, Sir Titus Salt, Baronet: His Life and its Lessons (London, 1887), pp. 1-49.
2. Eric M. Sigsworth, Black Dyke Mills: A History (Liverpool, 1958), pp. 17-43.
3. Reproduced in G. Firth (editor) Poverty and Progress: Social Conditions and Mid-Nineteenth Century Bradford (Bradford, 1979), Item 7.
4. A.J. Peacock, Bradford Chartism 1838-1840 (York, 1969), pp. 1-5, quotations on p. 1.
5. Balgarnie, pp. 42-44.
6. John James, History and Topography of Bradford (London, 1841), p. 167. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, pp. 425-426.
7. Balgarnie, pp. 51-53. Forbes became a prominent Bradford wool merchant.
8. Balgarnie, pp. 176, 55-60, 81, 82, 106-108.
9. Balgarnie, p. 2.
10. Peacock, pp. 3-4.
11. 'Report of the Bradford Sanitary (sic) Committee' (1845), a copy in Bradford Central Library. Extracts from the Report were published in the Bradford Observer, 5 June 1845).
12. Alan Farmer (translator), Selected Extracts from the Writings of Georg Weerth (1977), p. 20. Typescript in Bradford Central Library.
13. Bradford Observer, 6 November 1845.
14. P.R.O. HO 45/2410.
15. William Cudworth, The Condition of the Industrial Classes of Bradford and District (Bradford, 1887), p. 27. Balgarnie, pp. 93-101.
16. Bradford Observer, 7 March 1850. The Meetings took place on 25 June 1849.
17. J.L. and Barbara Hammond, The Age of the Chartists 1832-1854: A Study of Discontent (London, 1930), pp. 125-126.
18. Bradford Observer, 7 March 1850.
19. M.J. Mortimore, "Landownership and urban growth in Bradford and its environs in the West Riding Cenurbaten 1850-1950. "Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 46 (1969), pp. 105-120 (116).

20. Robert Baker, The Present Condition of the Working Classes  
(London, 1851), pp. 6, 7, 51.
21. James Smith, Report on the City of York and Other Towns  
(London, 1845), p. 19.

CHAPTER TEN

TITUS SALT AND SALTAIRE

An apocryphal story has it that Salt chose a site for a new factory in Wakefield but was prevented from developing it by a local pressure group who wished to preserve the town's genteel character.<sup>1</sup> In 1850 Salt selected a site for a new mill colony in the Aire valley about three miles north of Bradford. Salt was attracted by the beauty of the rural scenery but the commercial prospects of a site where a river, canal, and railway converged were no less attractive.<sup>2</sup> The site was far enough from Bradford to escape the environmental blight and social disorders but close enough to be part of the industrial complex (Figs. 67 and 68). Not that local villages had a reputation for decorum and restraint. In Pudsey where the houses "appeared as if they had sprung up from seeds dropped unawares" the inhabitants were renowned for their rough manners, brutal amusements, gambling, irreligion, superstition, drinking, Chartism and hostility to outsiders - a not unconflicting set of characteristics but in the mind of any reformer from Bradford who visited the place, a quite volatile combination. Baildon, a picturesque muddle of a weaving village on the moor above the site Salt chose, had a similar reputation.<sup>3</sup> Saltaire, the village Salt planned, was to be the anti-type of such places. It was to contain not only model houses, arranged in a grid-iron pattern of streets, but also various improving institutions, many with striking architecture. James Hole, the Leeds housing reformer and a champion on Saltaire wrote in 1866

... the sight of noble buildings, public amusements, when they are rational, the collision of mind with mind through meetings, lectures, and other stimulants to intellectual activity offered



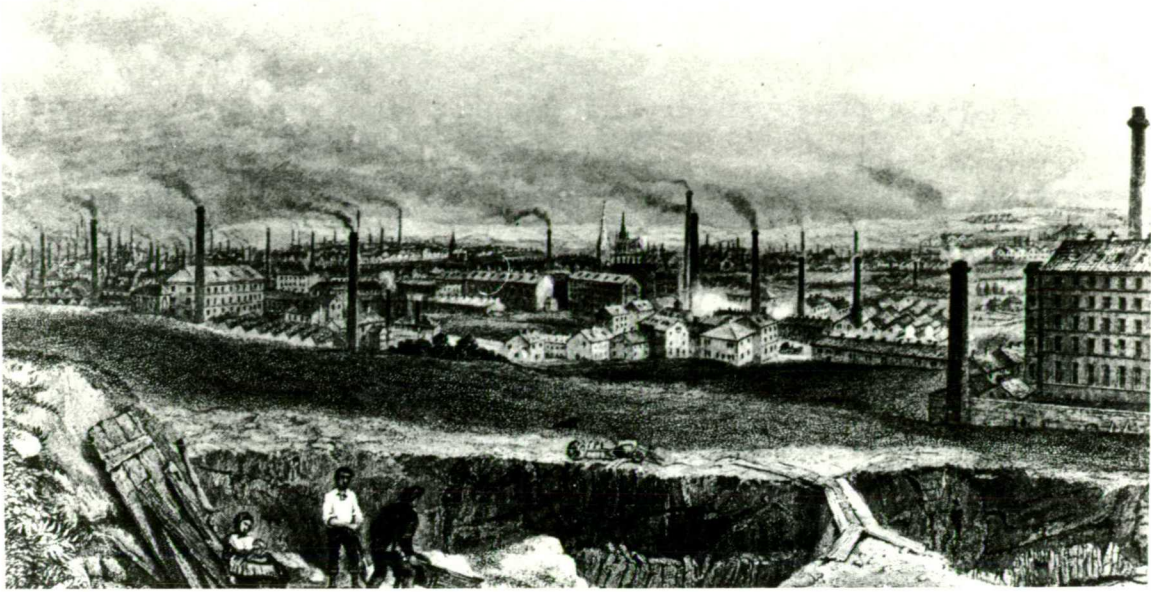


Figure 67 View of Bradford c. 1860. The "region of smoke liberty".

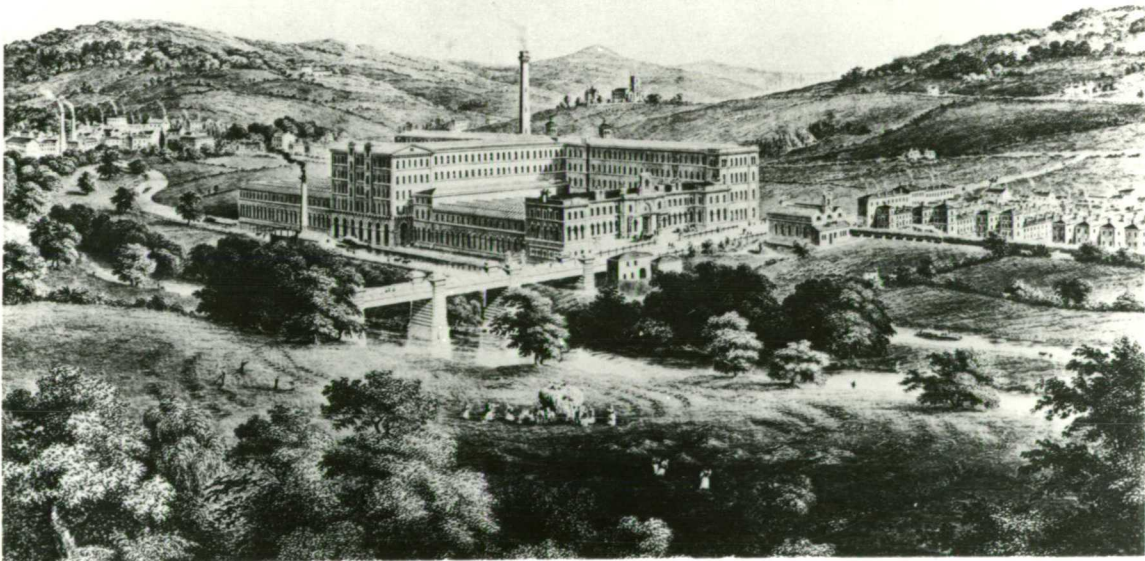


Figure 68 View of Saltaire c. 1860. "Where the quiet labours of the field surround those of the factory". Shipley is the next village downstream. The chimneys of Bradford are just visible over the hill to the right of the church in the distance.

in towns, contrast favourably with the dullness of village life, and especially if the village be not a model village, but simply one of those misshapen collections of houses too common in Lancashire and Yorkshire, combining the worst features of town and village life without their advantages and where ignorance, stupidity and filth reign supreme.<sup>4</sup>

The model village described by Disraeli in Sybil (1845) has certain resemblances to Saltaire and some have conjectured that Salt was influenced by a reading of the novel.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence for this and the suggestion is somewhat fanciful. Salt rarely read literature and if he did read the novel he would perhaps have found the high politics and the Tory and Catholic sentiments uncongenial. If there is a prototype it is more probably a real village a few miles away - Akroyd's Copley. But it is vain to identify a particular settlement when the idea of model factory villages was prevalent among the people Salt knew. William Scoresby reported on Lowell Massachusetts in 1845. He admired the choice of site: "There is no previously existing idle and profligate population to inoculate with its viciousness the incoming country females; nor is there already there any unhappily pauperized population to depress with its burdensomeness the enterprise of the manufacturers"; the rationality of design, "a peculiar unity of construction - each part, like the mass of machinery in a factory, having an essential relation to, or connection with, the whole"; and the efficiency of management: "the moral police of all establishments is vigilant, active and rigid (which) we might with great advantage emulate".<sup>6</sup>

Salt purchased the site for the new mill from W.C. Stansfield for £2,000. In November 1850 he commissioned a Bradford firm of architects, Lockwood and Mawson, to design the building.<sup>7</sup> They were responsible for the fabrication. The layout and engineering are the

work of William Fairbairn, the foremost millwright of the time. Fairbairn had encouraged millowners to unite "the taste of the architect and the stability of the engineer", and believed the employment of architects "produced in the minds of the millowners and the public a higher standard of taste ... the factory buildings in this country are vieing with our institutions and public buildings as works of art, both in the power and harmony of their parts and the tout ensemble of their appearance". So Fairbairn wrote in 1863 accompanying his description with an illustration of the mill at Saltaire, showing alpaca grazing in the foreground.<sup>8</sup>

The building of what was to be the largest factory in Europe began in 1851. Stone was hewn from twenty local quarries and twelve firms employing altogether several hundred men were contracted to construct it. In 1853, although not entirely complete, it was officially opened with a lavish banquet in the combing shed attended by 3,750 guests who included 2,440 workers from Bradford and various dignitaries such as the Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, the Mayor of Bradford and Mrs. Frank Crossley. Afterwards there was a celebration concert in Bradford at St. George's Hall, a music hall also designed by Lockwood and Mawson and built as a counter-attraction to the beerhouses of Bradford.<sup>9</sup>

In 1865-68 a new spinning mill and dyeworks were built on the opposite bank of the river on the site of an old water mill, Dixon's Mill, which had existed in the seventeenth century. Salt's modern structure did not obliterate the archaic attitudes of the older members of the local population who until the end of his life referred to the factory as Dixon's Mill.<sup>10</sup> To complement the Italianate facade of the factory and to not spoil the vista down the main approach across the valley the chimney of the new mill was designed as a campanile bell tower.

The ornamental factory facade evoked the past, but a past exotic to the locality. The factory interior was modern and utilitarian. The Builder described the weaving shed which contained 1,200 power looms on which, at full capacity, workers could produce eighteen miles of cloth a day. "The peculiar features in this department are, that the mill-work and driving gear are all below the floor; and the whole of the immense area is free from the obstruction of straps, wheels, drums and other impediment tending to obstruct the view. The result of this is, that the overlooker has full command of the room at a single glance".<sup>11</sup> The whole factory was planned to divide efficiently, to supervise labour and to ensure efficient circulation between the various processes of manufacture. Samuel Smiles bestowed his moral approval: "Not a minute is lost in pushing the material from one department to another, every moment of time is economised".<sup>12</sup> The factory, with its rational organization of space and time, was the moral template for the village as a whole.

The first institutional building to be completed after the mill was the Congregational church on a site directly opposite the main entrance to the factory. Salt was a staunch but not bigoted Congregationalist. He did not attempt to impose religious orthodoxy or enforce church attendance on his workers. He presented sites in Saltaire to Wesleyan and to Primitive Methodists. The Swendenborgians had a meeting room and a flourishing Sunday School. Salt contributed to Anglican charities but no Anglican church was built in the village.

The Saltaire Congregation was formally constituted in April 1857 and accommodated in a temporary building while the church that Lockwood and Mawson designed was completed. There were twenty-nine members initially and, although the church was designed to seat 600, there were

fewer than 200 on the roll at the end of Salt's life, some of whom lived outside the village.<sup>13</sup> Congregationalism was less plebeian than Methodism; K. S. Inglis refers to a "silent demand" for middle-class dress during worship. In the mid-Victorian period the church was more evangelistic but a sense of social exclusiveness remained. The Congregationalist Year Book for 1877 noted

The one community may show signs of separation into coteries. There may be the gallery and the floor pews; the middle seats and the side aisles; the occupants of which, fellow-worshippers, declared 'members of one body' though they may be almost as far dissociated as if they never saw each other's face.

Despite official censure pew renting persisted. In 1876 an appeal was made to inveterate pew renters to "lay violent hands morally" on working class outcasts and drag them into their seats. Salt adopted the reverse strategy. His family had a spacious pew in the gallery of Saltaire Church but it was never occupied. When he worshipped there he did so among his employees in the main body of the congregation. All pews in the Saltaire Church were free.<sup>14</sup>

With its corinthian columns, tower and dome and cupola the church is the most attractive building in Saltaire (Fig. 69). The splendour and intensity of its architecture radiates to the entrance to the mill offices and along George Street, which contained the earliest of the houses for higher paid workers (Fig. 70). It is perhaps significant that the places of worship for more fundamental Nonconformist sects are contained in the main residential area of the village whereas the Congregationalist church stands in more splendid isolation. It was more than a building for the local congregation; it was a monument to Salt who had a mausoleum for himself and his family built in 1860 on its southern side.

In chronological order of public building cleanliness was next to





Figure 69 Saltaire Congregational Church.



Figure 70 View along George Street of Saltaire Congregational Church.

godliness. The washhouse and public baths were completed in 1863. Salt detested the sight of drying clothes. It was the custom to hang them on lines stretched across the street. A Statistical Report by Leeds Corporation in 1839 stated that nearly half of the streets in the city were "weekly so full of lines and linen as to be impassable for horses and carriages and almost for foot passengers". The streets of Saltaire were planned as thoroughfares - there were no courts where dirt and idlers could gather - and anything that obstructed free circulation Salt found offensive. Salt also objected to washing being done at home. In a medical report on Saltaire compiled in 1867 Samuel Rhind agreed that "indoor washing is most pernicious and a fruitful source of disease especially to the young". When he visited houses before the washhouse was built Salt "had ocular proof of the inconvenience connected with a domestic laundry".<sup>15</sup> He provided six steam washing machines and wringing machines and a room for drying and folding. The village bookseller and newsagent, Abraham Holroyd, applauded Salt's scheme "to keep the streets free and open and the homes of the residents clean and tidy".<sup>16</sup>

The Moral Report on Bradford had identified an intimate connection between pubs and brothels, and returning from an assize in Leeds, Salt pronounced, "drink and lust were at the bottom of it all".<sup>17</sup> There were no pubs in Saltaire. "One or two beerhouses stand temptingly on the borders of this sober region", reported James Burnley in 1875, "and are to a slight extent resorted to by Saltairites, but, for all that, drunkards are excessively rare".<sup>18</sup> It presented a sober contrast to Silsbridge Lane, the Irish quarter of Bradford, where Salt had once run a mill, visited by Burnley one evening in 1870. Burnley was both fascinated and repulsed by the noise and glitter of the dramshops and

dancing saloons, the stench of herrings, onions and open sewers, the vulgar, sensuous, and gregarious crowds. "There is much drunkenness and squalor tonight, much hot temper and joviality"; a block of model dwellings stood "like an oasis in this den of filth and disease".<sup>19</sup> Salt attempted to promote temperance but not abstinence. He himself served wine to his guests and residents were allowed to keep beer in their cellars. Like many reformers, Salt sanctioned drinking if it were done in the privacy of the home. In his medical report Samuel Rhind noted to his satisfaction that there was "every inducement to stay at home"; he was "constantly in the town day and night and can bear testimony to the great absence of drunkenness; whilst in many houses no spirits are kept except on the approach of a confinement".<sup>20</sup> Public drinking, dirt, malodour and untidyness were seen as a syndrome of demoralising influences. "The Power of Soap and Water" and "The Cost and Results of Drunkenness" were two of many such homilies on the Mothers Page of the Saltaire Magazine, published by the Saltaire Institute.

"Oh yes, it is easy to talk", replied Mrs. Lawson pettishly; "you have a husband who always brings home his wages, and children who do what you bid them. If your husband stayed out drinking at the 'Black Lion', and your children were unruly brats like mine, I would like to see what good fresh air and soap and water would do you then". "Even then I think I should be inclined to try them", answered Mrs. Bennett; "they could do no harm if they do no good; and when a man finds he has a clean neat home to come to after his day's work, it's ten chances to one he will not want to stay drinking away his money at a public house ..."<sup>21</sup>

In a printed circular distributed in May 1870 Salt's son Titus explained that the Institute, then being built, was "intended to supply the advantages of a public house without its evils". A small institute was started in 1854 in a house in Albert Terrace and later moved above a shop in Victoria Road. The grandiose new three-storey purpose-built Institute, opened officially in 1872, was intended to be a social club



rather than just an educational institute. It contained a library, lecture theatre and reading room and various classes were run but it also contained a billiard room, concert hall and gymnasium. On his visit in 1875 James Burnley described the Institute as "alive with activity".<sup>22</sup> Recreation was to be "innocent and intelligent ... anything tending to encourage irreligion or immorality shall be rigidly excluded; also discussions on questions connected with controversial theology, or subjects likely to excite angry feelings".<sup>23</sup> Drunks forfeited their membership.<sup>24</sup> Unlike most pubs and unlike most mechanics institutes it was intended to cater also for women and the young. Membership fees were low. The highest subscription of two shillings a quarter (for men over 21) was less than that for the Bradford Mechanics Institute over thirty years before.<sup>25</sup> In 1871 there were 318 members, a quarter under 18, which was seven per cent of the population of Saltaire. In 1876 the membership had increased to 510. Control of the Institute was divided between the firm and the membership who each appointed eight members of the management committee. Some friendly societies were allowed to meet in the Institute.<sup>26</sup>

Salt organised a school for his half-timers in the Dining Shed. Joseph Wright, destined to be a Professor at Oxford, started work at Saltaire in 1862 as a doffer on eighteen pence a week, but the education Salt provided was no foundation for Wright's later eminence:

When I left school I knew little more than when I first went. I knew the alphabet, and I could recite, parrot-like, various Scriptural passages, and a few highly moral bits of verse; that was almost precisely the extent of my educational equipment after three or four years of schooling. Reading and writing, for me, were as remote as any of the sciences.<sup>27</sup>

An elementary school for 700 pupils was built in 1867-68 on a site opposite the Institute. On the passing of the Education Act in 1870 control passed to the local School Board and Salt was elected its first

chairman. Many of Salt's Nonconformist friends were opposed to State regulation of education. Salt welcomed the visits of the inspectors but was unhappy with other provisions of the Education Act which may have influenced his decision to establish a charitable trust for the schools and reclaim their independence. The School was built to a plan that became standard in Victorian Britain. The sexes were strictly segregated, at both work and play, and the spaces they occupied designed to increase the efficacy of their supervision. The teachers were not to "inculcate or controvert the doctrines of any sectarian religious creed", but were to reiterate the litany of reform: "(to) strive to instil into the minds of the scholars such views and principles as will improve their habits, elevate their moral tone and give them a true appreciation of those mutual obligations in all human relations on which the welfare of mankind is based".<sup>28</sup>

There was nothing like a village green in Saltaire, no place where people could gather for some impromptu fun. The streets were straight and led from the residential area to very specialised places - the factory, the church, the baths, the Institute, the schools (Fig. 71). Work and leisure were divided and subdivided into discrete segments of space and time. The park, the last institution that Salt built, was like the first, the factory, a highly defined and highly disciplined environment (Fig. 72). Its fourteen acres were on the north side of the river, five minutes' walk from the houses, and were divided into two areas - an open space for organised games and a pleasure garden for promenading. There was a list of twenty regulations which included the prohibition of gambling, swearing, drinking, drunks, unaccompanied children, and religious or political meetings not approved in writing by the firm. "The regulations are clear and intelligible

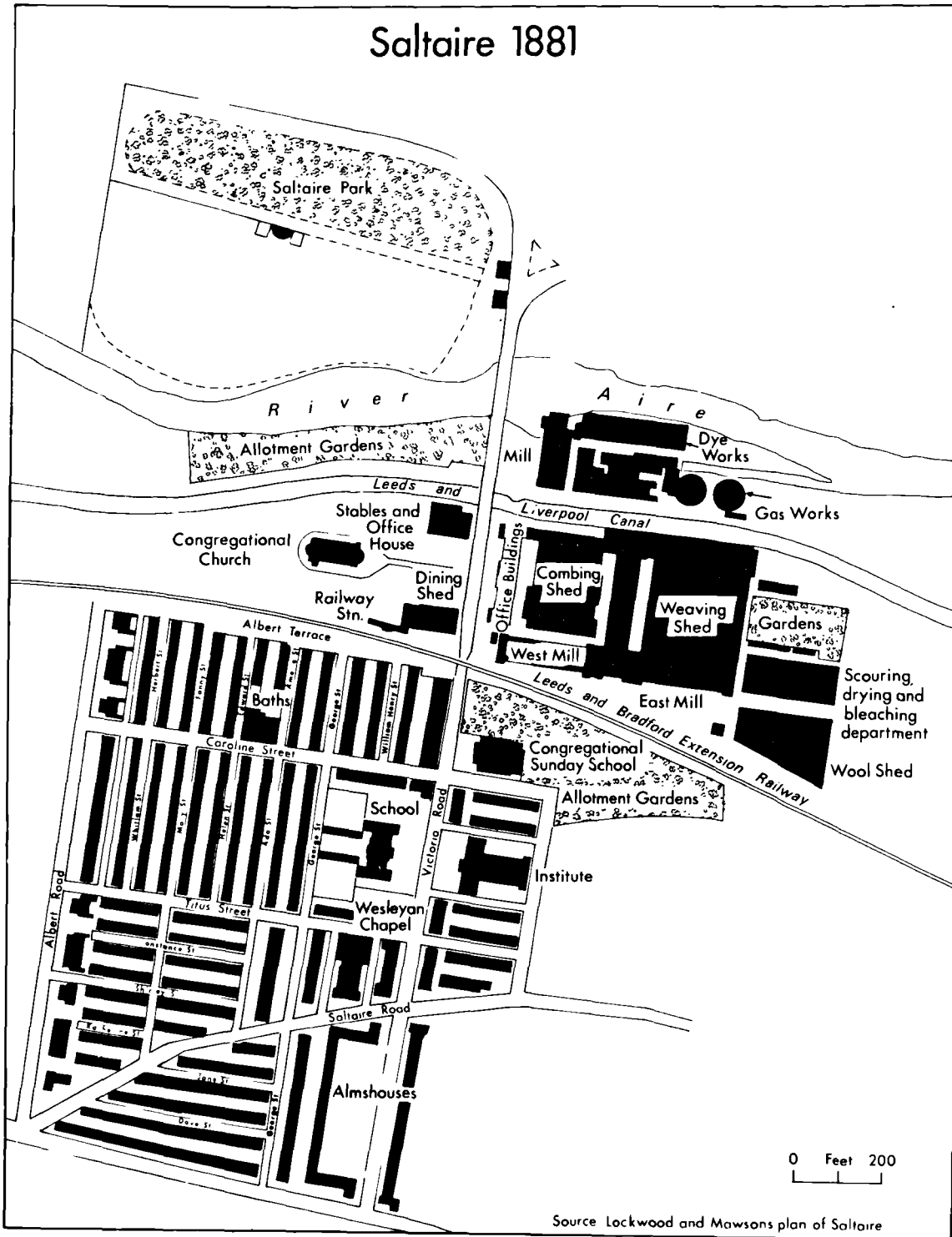


Figure 71

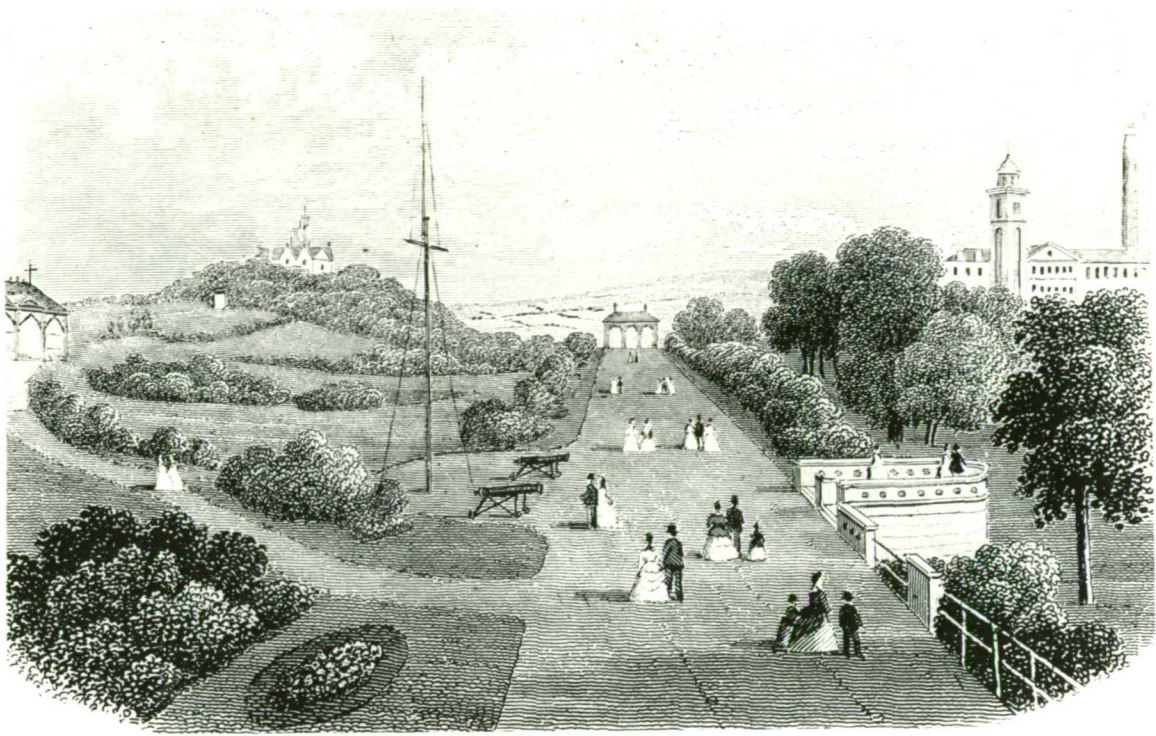


Figure 72 Saltaire Park, one Sunday c. 1870.



Figure 73 2 bedroom houses in Ada Street.

and no irksome restraints are put upon those who desire to use the park for proper purposes". So ran the rather circular official argument. Those who broke the rules would be "treated as TRESPASSERS". Patrons were encouraged to inform the keeper at the entrance lodge of any misbehaviour that he had not observed. At the opening ceremony Edward Salt, speaking on behalf of his father, drew attention to the rules and the Salt family then made the first promenade.<sup>29</sup>

The completed residential area of Saltaire covered twenty-five acres. Housebuilding commenced when the factory was opened at the end of 1853. In a year 164 dwellings, accommodating about a thousand people were built. The census of 1861 recorded 447 dwellings and 2,510 residents. In 1866 James Hole reported that 560 dwellings were built "and plans are laid down for several hundreds more". By census night in 1871 an additional 257 dwellings were built and the resident population reached 4,387. When Balgarnie published his biography of Salt in 1887 the completed village, or "town" as it was sometimes called, contained 895 dwellings. All were built of the same stone as the mill.<sup>30</sup>

The planning and design of the residential areas expressed the cardinal principles of domestic reform; indeed the scale of the housing enterprise made it a showpiece. The streets, most of them named after members of Salt's family, were built according to a grid iron pattern. The irregular configuration of streets, courts and alleys in some industrial town centres, although seldom so labyrinthine on the ground as in the reforming imagination, heightened the impression of slum districts as mysterious and dangerous terrae incognitae.

"No foresight is used to avoid the errors of the past, or secure the well being of the future", complained James Hole, suffering under the burden of history,

The sinuosities of an old footpath, which has become a lane, and then a road, are chaotically transformed into a street; every curve, angle and irregularity is minutely adhered to ... the old evils are being reproduced without the excuse possessed by our ancestors that they knew no better. An arrangement of streets ... should embody the ascertained principles of sanitary science ... crime cannot harbour in wide open streets so readily as in courts or alleys. It withers in the light of day; it dies when exposed to the public gaze.<sup>31</sup>

The streets of Saltaire obliterated the regressive morality of any relic features. They were not so wide as Hole wished but wide enough to conduct bracing draughts of country air. They made Saltaire a more legible community for visitors. James Burnley, the explorer of the Irish district of central Bradford, remarked on the ease with which he could find his way about. Just a few sittings persuaded him that the streets were empty by day, from which he inferred that "there are no drones at Saltaire".<sup>32</sup> It was remarked that among their many other virtues the residents of the village were very law-abiding but no explicit connection was made between the low crime rate and the layout of the streets. One visitor in 1871 ascribed it to gratitude: "so properly do the colonists appreciate their good fortune that the policeman, themselves colonists, are necessarily the least employed portion of the community".<sup>33</sup>

In most model dwelling schemes the principle of supervision was combined with, and sometimes conflicted with, the principle of family privacy. In 1857 The Building News argued that in a model scheme, "each tenant must be independent within his own domain, and there if need be, allowed to make a pig of himself, and for himself and his wife to enjoy the full privilege of the Great Unwashed".<sup>34</sup> If tenants in model dwellings were never entirely free in their homes from the scrutiny of their moral superiors they did enjoy a much higher degree of independence from each other than most working-class households.

In Saltaire there were a few lodging houses but the great majority of dwellings accommodated one conjugal household, usually a nuclear family. In contrast to the more convivial arrangement of courts, each front door was flush with that of next door neighbours, although it must be said this was a common enough arrangement in ordinary terraces and did not mean that doors would invariable be closed. What was unusual was the provision for each house its own front and back entrance, privvy, ashpit and water supply. The stench and indecency of shared privvies were avoided as was the inconvenience and gossip at the standpipe.<sup>35</sup> The washhouse was communal and no doubt was a gregarious place for the women of the village but only because doing laundry at home was seen to threaten the introverted domesticity reformers desired - James Hole thought it "drove the working man from his home to the cozy tap room, or the brilliant singing saloon".<sup>36</sup>

Within each house the arrangement of space conformed with the blueprint of domestic reform, at least in the plans that Salt supplied to Hole for publication (Figures 76 and 77). The "Workmens' cottages" show separate spaces for specified activities. Hole, who was particularly sensitive to the propriety of sleeping arrangements, noted that the dwellings had three bedrooms. A close look reveals that the end of terrace dwelling is divided into two independent units, and the one not shown on the elevation has two bedrooms, one a mere boxroom. In 1861 some, but not all, of these small dwellings were occupied by couples with infants; ten years later many had been combined with the larger dwelling. What neither the plans, nor the author, disclose is that the majority of dwellings in Saltaire then had two bedrooms (Fig. 73). Only after about 1860 did Salt stop building two-bedroom dwellings. The plans of the "workmens' cottages" describe the dwellings in

Saltaire: Social Composition of Dwellings 1861

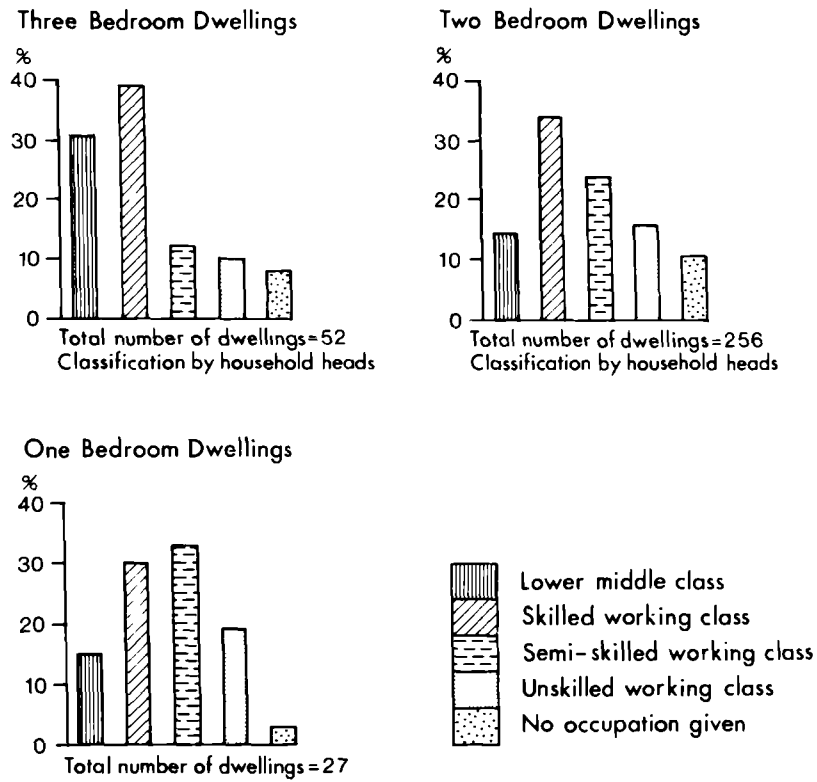


Figure 74

Saltaire: Household Size of Dwelling Types

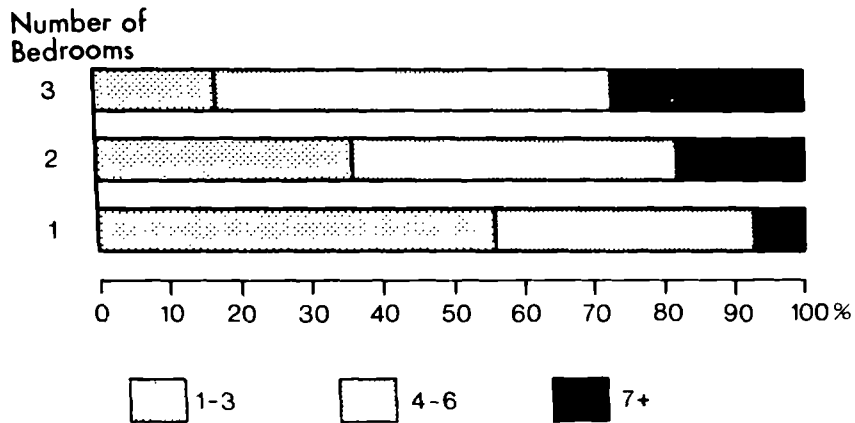


Figure 75 (Information for 1861).



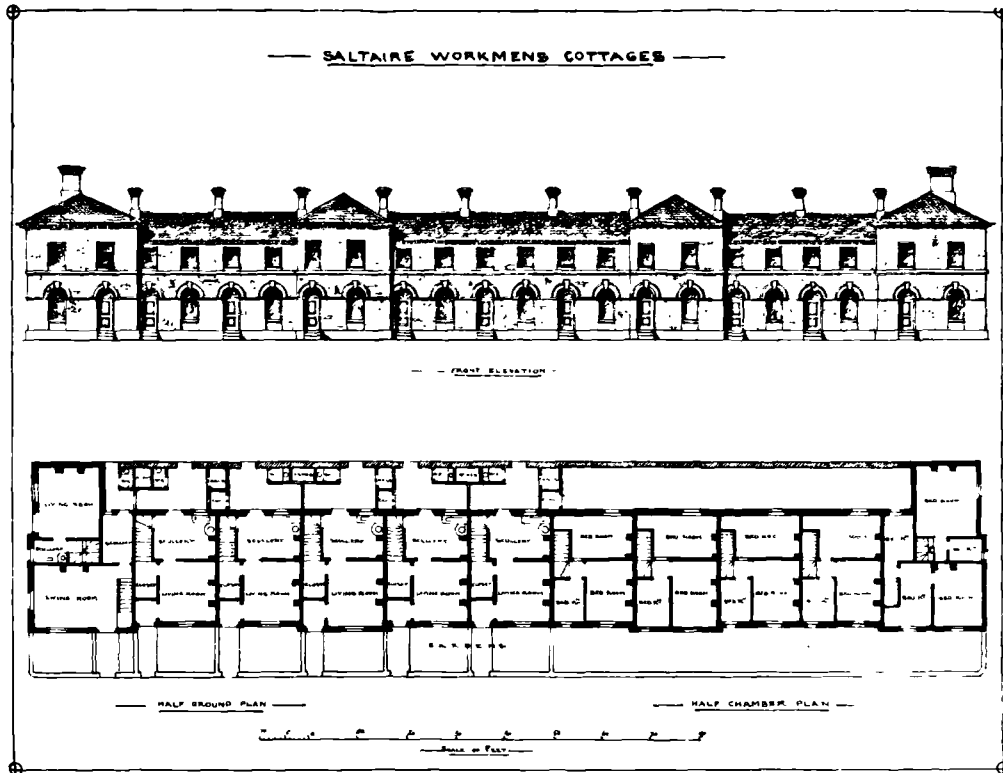


Figure 76

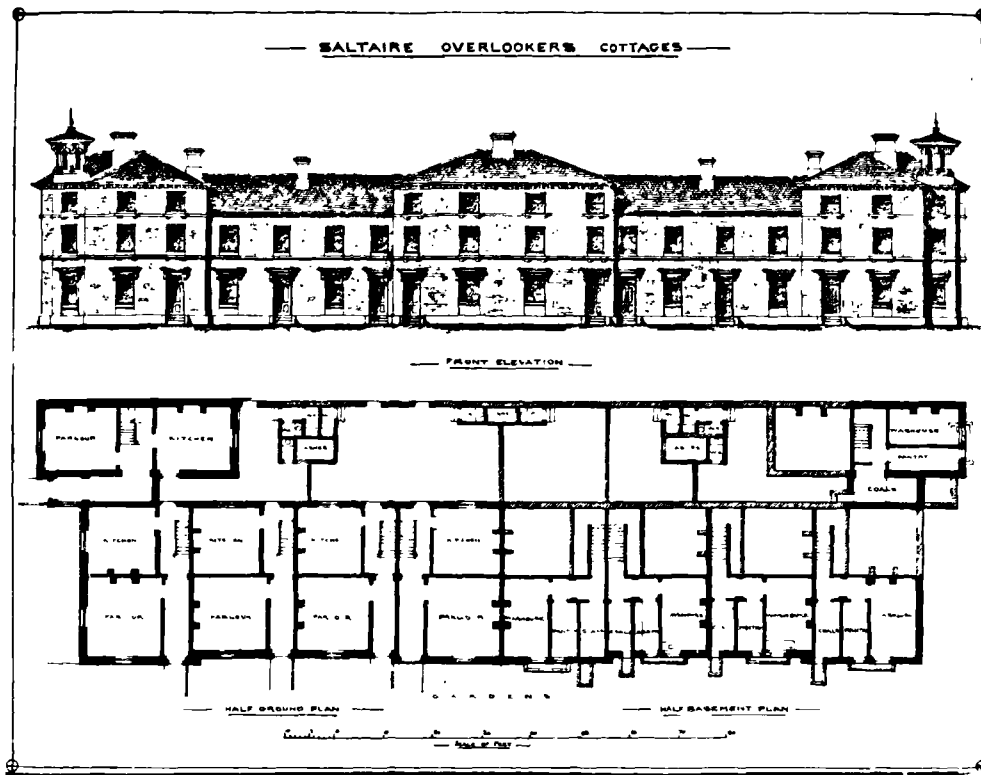


Figure 77 Figures 76 & 77 from James Hole,  
The Houses of the Working Classes (1866).

The great majority of those who lived in Saltaire worked in the factory, but not everyone who worked at the factory lived in Saltaire. In the early years many commuted by train from Bradford where they had been employed in one of Salt's mills; 500-600 of the 3,500 strong labourforce did so in 1857.<sup>38</sup> As more houses were built so many former commuters were accommodated, but many workers walked in from surrounding farms and villages: when Joseph Wright was taken on in 1862, aged seven, he lived with his mother two miles away at Woodend.<sup>39</sup> Some residents such as teachers, laundry workers, and park keepers, supervised the facilities Salt provided. Others including railwaymen, retail shopkeepers, cordwainers and house painters provided essential services. Houses were allocated by a works committee of managers and foremen, probably presided over by Titus Jr. In 1858 Walter White reported that Salt regulated the number of shopkeepers and also forbade anyone to live in Saltaire who was not in some way employed by him.<sup>40</sup> This latter policy was not strictly enforced. On census night in 1861 a great majority of residents worked for Salt but a few were not engaged in the functioning of either the factory or the village. Joseph Sutcliffe of Albert Terrace and Lyam Butterfield of Shirley Street are described in the enumerator's book as farmers. Other members of their families did work for Salt.

Salt claimed to have made an enquiry among his workpeople about the type of accommodation they required and the architects, Lockwood and Mawson, built larger houses to accommodate larger households. Figure 75 confirms that the size of a dwelling was positively related to the size of the household that inhabited it. This should not obscure the fact that the streets of three-bedroom dwellings were in general of a higher social status (Fig. 74). The social composition of particular streets varied considerably. For example, in only one

of the forty plain two-bedroom dwellings in Helen Street was an over-looker the head of household but overlookers accounted for seven of the twenty-eight heads of household in Herbert Street which consisted of dwellings of the same type. A large three-storey dwelling in William Henry Street, a street of mainly three-bedroom dwellings, accommodated two unskilled heads of household and their families. William Briggs and Jacob Earnshaw were both woolcombers and their wages were supplemented by those of their children. Together they could afford an expensive house in one of the most expensive streets. Their presence illustrates a general process with important implications for the social geography of Saltaire. Unskilled families with many gainfully employed that took in a lodger or two could afford the type of accommodation usually inhabited by skilled or overlooker households. Another resident of William Henry Street was a foreman, possibly one of those that Salt took on as a partner in 1857, who was one of only five household heads in Saltaire in 1861 to employ a servant. There is no evidence of any policy of social mixing in the streets of Saltaire - indeed the plan seems to militate against it - but no street was socially exclusive. Some three-storey boarding houses were built on the ends of the terraces in the lower part of the town but by 1861 many had been taken over by families and the 97 lodgers that lived in Saltaire were dispersed in ones and twos in many ordinary houses. They constituted under four per cent of the total population in 1861. Salt attempted to control their number in any one house to prevent overcrowding.

Between 1861 and 1871 the housing stock of Saltaire almost doubled. The newer northern part of the village exhibited more variety, in the size and style of dwellings and the length and direction of streets,

than the area south of Titus Street which looks quite austere in comparison. No two bedroom houses were built, there were more architectural embellishments and some street corner shops. The social status of the area built before 1861 declined markedly in the intercensal period (Fig. 78). The plain two bedroomed houses (Area C) built before 1861 had lost as heads of household many of the skilled and lower middle-class workers who lived there ten years earlier. The areas of housing, most of it three-bedroomed, built around the schools and Institute since 1861 (Area E), contained a very high proportion of these workers, particularly overlookers. This cannot be accounted for by migration within the village. Only thirteen household heads (four overlookers, eight skilled and one semi-skilled) of the 118 in this area lived in Saltaire in 1861. In 1871 the "Overlookers' Cottages" scarcely merited their name. All but one were occupied by different tenants than in 1861. Only one overlooker remained and he was unemployed. Nine houses were rented by skilled heads of household. One house was shared by a glass dealer and weaving family. The most expensive houses were now in Albert Road on the western margin of the estate. These were semi-detached and housed many professional workers not connected with the running of Saltaire. Appropriately these houses faced away from the village and their residents enjoyed a bucolic prospect of the Aire valley. But these houses were not socially exclusive. Three doors away from a stone merchant and his wife and niece lived a stone labourer, the head of a household of ten which included five weaver daughters.

Overlooker households were more likely than skilled or unskilled households to move into superior accommodation. In 1861 Thomas Alison and his family, for whom he was the only breadwinner, lived in a two-bedroom terrace dwelling in Helen Street. In 1871 he had one

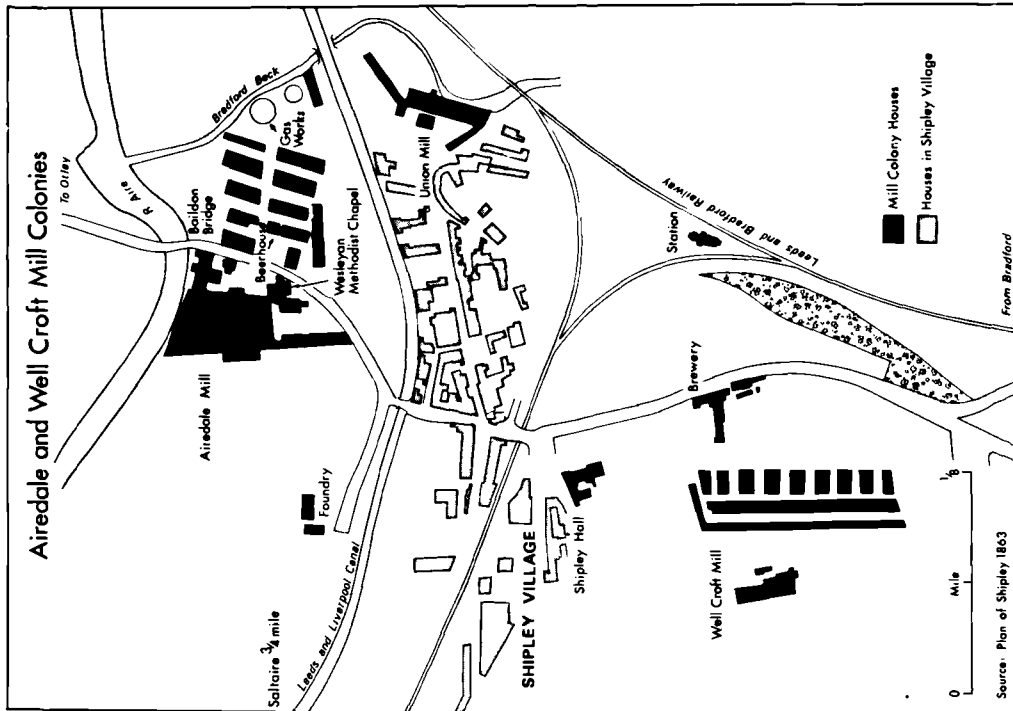


Figure 79

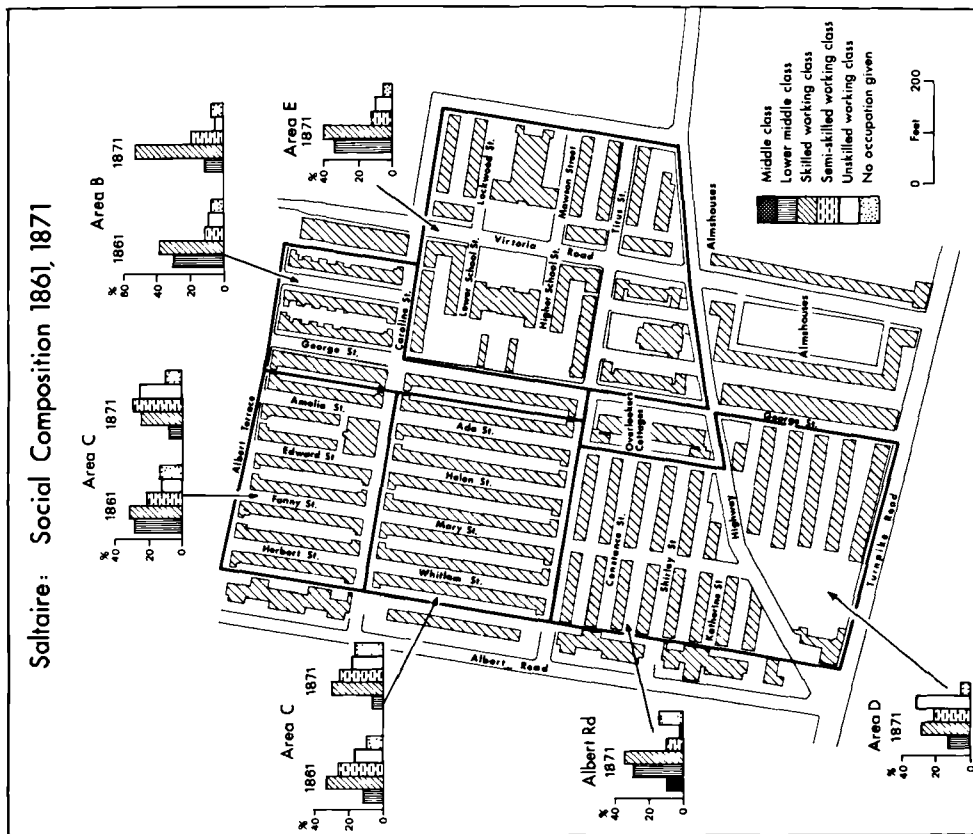


Figure 78

extra mouth to feed but three children in employment and lived in one of the most expensive houses in Albert Road. But two out of the eleven overlooker families who moved remained in ordinary terrace dwellings. Both remained in Herbert Street; the Joseph Greenwood family moved over the road and the Thomas Sutcliffe family moved next door. The most intriguing move of all is that of the Joseph Dawson family. They ascended socially in terms of residence but descended in terms of occupation. In 1861 he is described as a foreman and his teenage sons as clerks and they lived in one of the overlooker's cottages at the top end of George Street. In 1871 they occupied one of the manager's houses in Albert Road but he was then described as an unemployed woollorter and his sons as unemployed clerks. There were very few cases of occupational change among persisting household heads. One is that of James Armitage who rose from mill hand to independent tradesman. In 1861 he worked as a warppresser and lived in a terrace house in Helen Street; in 1871 he lived above his own bootmaking shop on a corner of Titus Street and employed an assistant from outside the family. Joseph Dunford changed his occupation from blacksmith to yeast dealer and moved from a two-bedroom terrace house to a semi-detached house in Albert Road.

In March 1870 only nine people in Saltaire received parish relief.<sup>41</sup> Employment generally was high in the area but this low figure may also be connected with a recent housing development. Between 1868 and 1871 forty-five small almshouses with elaborate gothic decoration and accommodating one to two inmates, were built around a garden square. They were provided free, with furniture and utilities, to those of "good moral character" who because of age or infirmity were unable to work, on condition that the houses were kept clean and tidy and no

intoxicating drink was kept in them.<sup>42</sup> Preference was given to those who had worked for Salt: eight of the inmates in 1871 had been heads of household in rented dwellings in Saltaire in 1861. Single inmates received a pension of 7s 6d and couples 10s which was more than in Asquith's national old age pension scheme over forty years later.<sup>43</sup> The almshouses are strategically placed at the main entrance to the village, a conspicuous reminder of the deserving poor and of Salt's munificence on which they depended.

With the exception of the almshouses all dwellings at Saltaire were rented. Salt made a very modest return of four per cent on his outlay. "Profitable investment in the ordinary sense has been left out of view", wrote James Hole in 1866 when Salt had spent over £100,000 on housing, "but the result, a contented workpeople, is an ample compensation; and there is no doubt that, even in a pecuniary point of view, if all the saving effected by having steady, well-disposed and well-behaved workpeople could be accurately measured, Mr. Salt is a great gainer".<sup>44</sup>

In 1857 Samuel Kydd reported that the rent of a house in Saltaire was proportional to its size.<sup>45</sup> Nine years later James Hole reported that rents at Saltaire ranged from 2s 4d to 7s 6d.<sup>46</sup> The lowest figure is presumably for the one-bedroom - one-boxroom dwellings, the highest for the three-storey, six-bedroom overlookers' houses or possibly the semi-detached houses, if they were then built. Plain two-bedroom dwellings rented in 1858 for 3s 1d. Rents in Bradford were generally cheaper - in 1868 sixty per cent were between 1s 6d and 2s 9d a week - but the dwellings in Saltaire were a great improvement on anything available to working people for rent in Bradford, where in 1857 handcombers were paying between 2s and 2s 6d for a one or two

roomed slum dwelling.<sup>47</sup> When we consider the high standard of materials and construction rents in Saltaire do not seem excessive. In 1865 a new back-to-back in Leeds could not be rented for under 3s 9d a week.<sup>48</sup> But those who lived and worked outside the main towns and cities may have expected to pay less. The superior back-to-backs at Copley cost the same to build (£120) as the three bedroom dwellings in Saltaire but in 1866 rented for under two shillings a week. Rents in the neighbouring village of Shipley, which contained three large worsted mills, also seem to have been cheaper than in Saltaire. In 1858 Walter White spoke to a baker who declined to live in Saltaire: "'Twas too dear. He lived in Shipla (Shipley), and paid but four pounds a year (1s 6d a week) for a house with a cellar under it, and a garden behind; and there he kept a pig which was not permitted at Saltaire".<sup>49</sup> Neither were hens, pigeons or rabbits permitted on the premises. The provision of cheap gas and running water and even allotments to rent, separated of course from the residential area, may not have been sufficiently counter-attractive to local residents not used to the strict divisions of labour written into the design and organization of Saltaire. There were other conditions in the leases but not all were strictly adhered to. In his medical report of 1867 Samuel Rhind reported that some residents were not emptying dust and ashes into their privies to dampen the smell, some had been obstructing the ventilation of houses (presumably to keep warm) and some were overcrowding their houses with too many lodgers.<sup>50</sup> What is not known, but which is perhaps the most intriguing question, is whether tenancies were used as instruments of labour discipline - withheld from those who were not reliable and respectable, offered to those who were but with the threat of eviction to backsliders. In 1876 William Cudworth



anxious to dispel any suspicion that the residents of Saltaire were demoralised by patronage, described the provision of houses as "a simple commercial transaction ... the utmost freedom and liberty of action is secured to all who reside in ... the place".<sup>51</sup> The inhabitants of Shipley were not convinced. They described Saltaire as "Treachletown", a place of spoonfed luxury. This did not however dissuade some from moving there - Shipley was second only to Bradford as a source of immigrants.<sup>52</sup> Balgarnie reported that rents in Saltaire were "modest" and the houses "much in demand".<sup>53</sup> In 1871 only six of the 817 houses were unoccupied.

To assess the significance of rents and the role of housing in Saltaire we need to know something about wages, conditions of work and patterns of consumption. In 1867 Samuel Rhind pronounced:

High class work and good wages have brought together a large number of first-class workpeople and mechanics, whilst the comfortable houses and homes provided for them have awakened, in the minds of the people, that home feeling which has led them to tastefully and neatly decorate their dwellings - a sure sign of social happiness.<sup>54</sup>

This is fairly typical of the eulogies to Saltaire but it is probably the most uncritical evaluation of the relationship between conditions of home and work. A year earlier James Hole had reported that wages in Saltaire "are not high" but attributed the scarcity of rent arrears (as well as the low rate of infant mortality and rarity of illegitimate births) to the exclusion of pubs and pawnshops and the provision of improving institutions. Hole had discovered many well paid Yorkshire workmen living "in some of the lowest and filthiest neighbourhoods" squandering their wages on drink and gambling and pawning their possessions. He argued that higher rents for decent accommodation could be afforded by all but a minority if greater attention was paid to domestic economy. "It is better to raise the man to the house", he

asserted, "than to lower the house to the man".<sup>55</sup> In his celebration of Saltaire and its Founder, published in 1871, the village bookseller and newsagent Abraham Holroyd admitted that "there are certainly some improvident families who never better their condition because they never attempt it, but there are such in every place". Others had been so assiduously provident that they had become middle-class not just in aspiration but in fact: "Those who are industrious and economical have their reward in well furnished and well appointed homes; and I know several who with their weekly earnings have bought or built cottage property and regularly collect their rent in adjacent places".<sup>56</sup>

In 1875, during the boom period of the local worsted trade and a year before Salt's death, Samuel Smiles reported that while rents were still at 1866 levels a single workman earned twenty-four to thirty-five shillings a week and that a family and six children could earn £4 4 shillings a week. The minimum wage of twenty-four shillings is two to four shillings a week more than the rate then paid to many semi-skilled and unskilled workmen in the worsted factories of Bradford, but Smiles is not always a reliable source.<sup>57</sup> The only detailed wage statistics for Saltaire were collected in November 1857 by Samuel Kydd and published in Reynolds News. Kydd was a Chartist and secretary to Richard Oastler. After witnessing scenes of intense privation in the slums of Bradford, he was impressed by the prevailing prosperity in Saltaire "where the quiet labours of the field surround those of the factory" and remarked

A better looking body of factory "hands" than those at Saltaire I have not seen. They are far above the average of the class in Lancashire and considerably above the majority in Yorkshire ... all have a superior appearance in comparison with those usually engaged in factory labour.

There was at the time of Kydd's visit a depression in the local worsted

trade and many mills had stopped production. In neighbouring Bingley weavers in full employment were paid between 5s 6d to 7s 6d a week but at Salt's factory they could earn double that. In Bradford, weekly wages were eight to ten shillings but still below those paid by Salt. But Kydd emphasised that "only first class 'hands' are retained at Saltaire: inferior 'hands' are, after trial, discharged. In the words of a power loom weaver 'they must be fearful good weavers to weave at Saltaire - they must that'. A very high order of working ability is an absolute condition in the productive industry of Mr. Salt's works".<sup>58</sup> "Fearful" is perhaps an appropriate adjective. The following month, in a thinly disguised lampoon, The Voice of the People alleged that Titus Salt ('Tim Pepper') offered high wages and social benefits to attract workers to Saltaire ('Peppertaan') and then took every opportunity to recoup the cost of his liberality.

Na then Tim thout 'twar time to gat back t'brass he ligg'd aat e plessur trips and sturs, so he began dockin t'wage, an pokin (sacking) t'high wage chaps to make low wage uns tak their places; an for flaid "t'hands" sud'nt du wark eniff, he got pieces o'wood made, and gev em to't ovverlookers, and nobuddy cud go to't privvy withaat assin t'ovverlooker fur a pass, as he mud know ha long they'd bin; so if a boddy wur poorly, an stopp't oer long, they wur e danger o' getting t'sack ... If onny on em gets a pint of two o' ale at neet after wark, they got poaked. A chap wur poaked a fortnit sin fur that crime. Another chap has flitted there wi' his wauf and two lasses, and gat fifty shillin i't week atween them, dus'nt get thirty na, nor near it, for all fower on them, an three-an-sixpence i't week aat o' that for rent; an they ar'nt alla'ad to sell ought (anything) if they live in a cottage haase; they mun tak a shop at e he (high) rent to do that.<sup>59</sup>

In March 1868 there was a serious rupture of industrial and social relations at Saltaire. An upswing in the local worsted trade had not been accompanied by a rise in wages. Salt's weavers demanded a rise. The two loom weavers claimed they were being paid two to three shillings less than the sixteen to seventeen shillings a week that Salt claimed he paid them. Salt was "greatly incensed at what he regarded as an

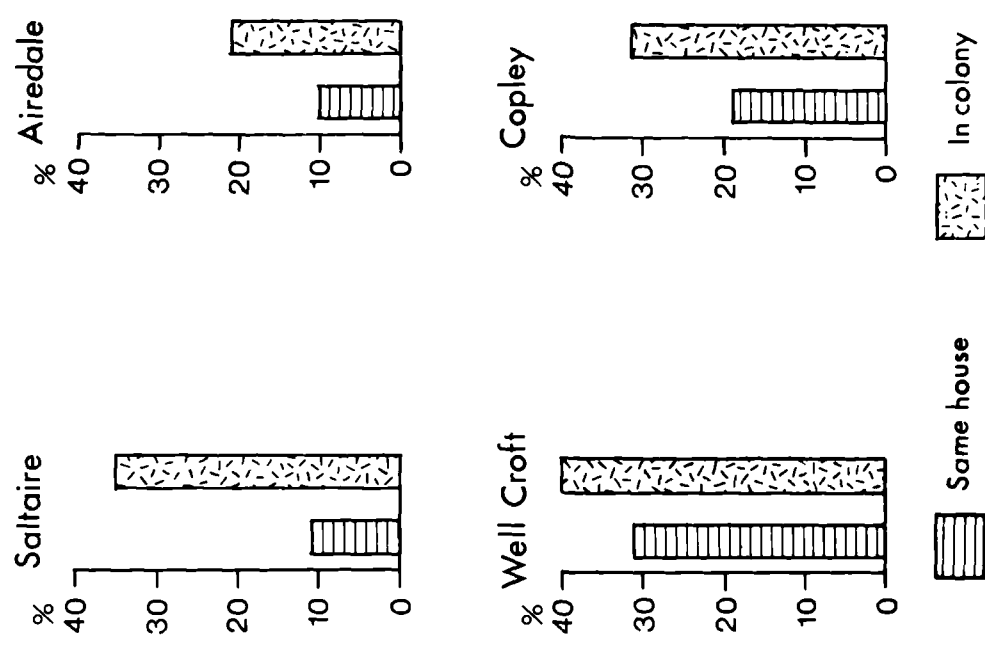
unreasonable application". The spinners had already considered striking and on the 20th March the weavers came out. Salt responded by locking out the whole three-thousand-strong workforce until such time as they "should assume a more sober and reasonable demeanour". When some partners of the firm reached Saltaire railway station to travel to Bradford "they were hooted at by a dense crowd of idle youths". There was "no immediate prospect of the breach being healed". These events were not peculiar to Saltaire. At Baildon, William Denby locked out his employees. Salt received a weavers' deputation "with courtesy and kindness" and agreed to raise wages if he found he was paying less than local employers but only on condition that the weavers return immediately to work. This they did on the 22nd March and Salt did raise wages in some departments.<sup>60</sup> In some respects the strike and lock out, brief though they were, represent a major failure of the social purpose of Saltaire. They were sufficiently remarkable for The Times to publish daily bulletins. They force us to be sceptical of descriptions which emphasize the complicity of the workforce in this social purpose. They reveal something also of the character of Salt. Although he held fairly radical political views on suffrage, when his immediate economic and social power was directly threatened he could be as ruthless as those employers who were renowned only for their commercial enterprise.

It is instructive to compare the social structure of Saltaire with two mill colonies in Shipley (Fig. 79). Joseph Hargreaves, a Methodist "honoured alike for his strict business probity and consistent piety", owned Airedale Mills, about half a mile downstream from the mills at Saltaire. Here he employed 1,400 hands, less than half the number that Salt employed at Saltaire.<sup>61</sup> To the east of the mill

on land he owned were built 150 houses, most in short back-to-back terraces. On adjacent land was a gas works and iron foundry. Although the houses were separated from Shipley and Baildon by the river, canal and beck there were other employment opportunities only a few minutes walk away in the two villages, many in other mills. In 1861 and 1871 one third of the household heads did not work in the textile industry, a proportion three times as large as that in 1861 and twice as large as that in 1871 for Saltaire, where, I presume, most household heads employed in textiles worked for Salt. The proportion of unskilled household heads is also much larger than in Saltaire (Fig. 80).

When Walter White visited Saltaire and Shipley in 1858 he described the women of Shipley as "positively ugly, and numbers of them remarkable for that protruding lower jaw which so characterises the Irish peasantry".<sup>62</sup> The most striking difference between the Saltaire and Airedale colonies is in the respective proportions of Irish born. In 1861 twenty-two (fifteen per cent) of the 147 household heads in Airedale were born in Ireland compared with only three (less than one per cent) of the 459 household heads in Saltaire. Within the Airedale colony the Irish were appreciably segregated. Seventeen were next door neighbours and all but three of the thirty-one Irish lodgers in the colony resided with Irish household heads. Six of the seven houses at the end of one street (Albert Street) had Irish heads (the other head was married to an Irish wife) and the end of terrace dwelling was a beerhouse run by an Irish labourer. In his analysis of the residential clustering of the Irish in Liverpool Colin Pooley suggests that their "cultural coherence was centred around informal associations - perhaps based on the corner pub".<sup>63</sup> Bradford had the highest proportion of Irish born

# Persistence Rates



# Social Composition of Four Mill Colonies 1871

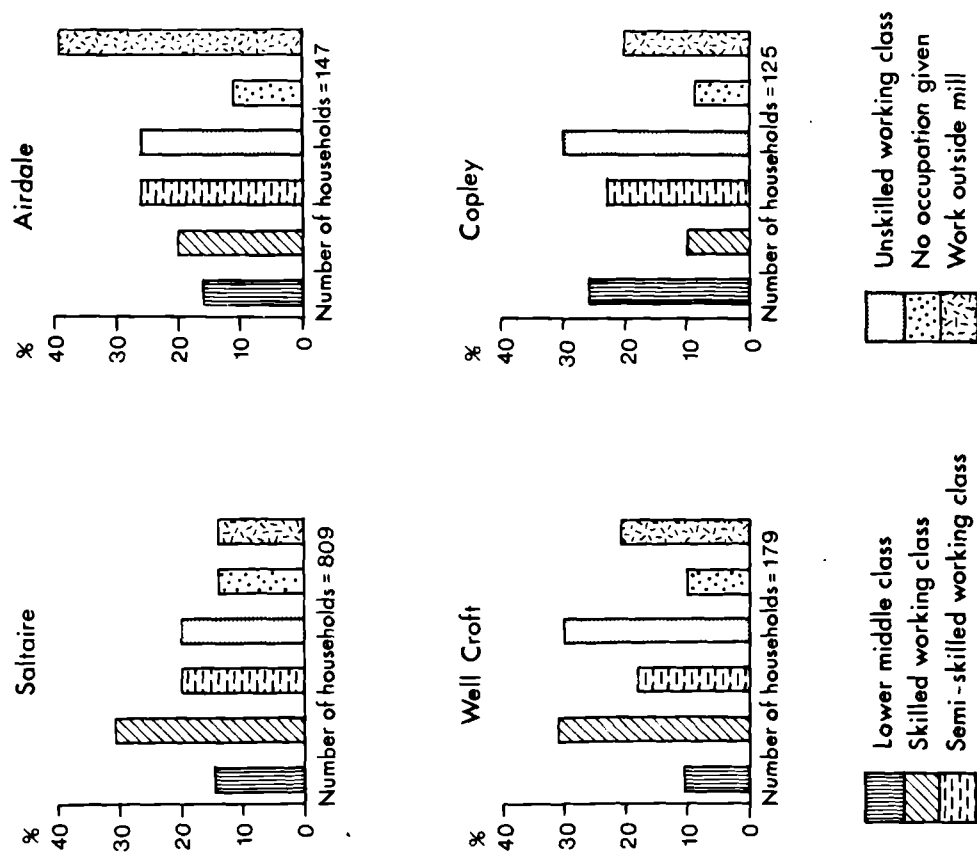


Figure 80

Figure 81 Information for 1861-1871.

of any large town in the West Riding (in 1861 five per cent of those over twenty years of age in the borough were Irish born) and most lived in a few streets in the central townships, many in lodging houses and multi-occupied dwellings. These were the districts with a high incidence of drunkenness and assault, particularly on the police. They were also the districts where dwellings were most severely overcrowded. Although many Irish people came from textile districts like Queens County few were skilled factory operatives. Many handcombers were Irish and they formed a high proportion of the city's casual labour force.<sup>64</sup> In the Airedale colony half the Irish household heads were labourers and only four were worsted mill workers, none of them skilled. In Saltaire two of the Irish household heads were widows and the other was a machine comber. The employment structure of Saltaire was not conducive to Irish settlement there and many would not have relished the prospect of living among hundreds of temperate chapel-going Yorkshiremen. The moral purpose of Saltaire was to reform precisely the kind of lifestyle for which the Irish were notorious. There was no pub around which to form a cultural enclave. In 1871 the number of Irish born household heads in Saltaire had increased to thirteen and they did include a foreman; but they were dispersed within the village and represented just two per cent of the 809 total.

The residents of the houses next to Airedale mills were in terms of occupation quite heterogeneous and it is debatable whether the term "mill colony" is applicable to this district. The use of this term is justified in describing the housing next to the Well Croft Mill on the southern edge of Shipley. The mill was built in 1845 by William Denby, who like Joseph Hargreaves, came from a local clothier family.

Denby died in 1861 and the business was carried on by his three sons. They owned the land on which the mill was built but the land for the houses was owned by Hargreaves who lived in Shipley Hall nearby. By 1861 ninety-six dwellings in three terraces (one back-to-back) owned and rented out by one Henry Burney were built. In the next two years another seventy-five houses, owned and rented out by one James Wooler, were built in seven blocks of ten houses (all back-to-backs) and one terrace of five. The first set of houses were in 1864 rated slightly higher, and the second set slightly lower, than the plain two-bedroom dwellings in Saltaire.<sup>65</sup> But from map evidence they seem to be inferior dwellings and probably rented for less. The dwellings in the Airedale colony were more varied and included terraces of much higher rated dwellings on the edge of the estate which was occupied by shopkeepers and wholesale dealers.

In 1861 and 1871 the proportion of those household heads in the Wellcroft colony who worked outside the worsted industry was about twenty per cent (Fig. 80). It was then in terms of occupation less heterogeneous than the Airedale colony, but as we might expect in a case where the millowner had no apparent control over the housing, it was occupationally not as specialised a colony as Saltaire. Although there were proportionally more unskilled household heads than in Saltaire only two (two per cent) in 1861 and three (two per cent) in 1871 were born in Ireland. We might then suggest that in Saltaire the nature of the labour market was as great or a greater barrier to Irish people than the explicit moral policy.

The Wellcroft colony is not renowned for being in any sense "model". Indeed it is not described or even mentioned in any contemporary accounts, or any written subsequently. Yet, in view of the sense of



employee loyalty that was often claimed for model colonies, it is worth comparing some persistence rates, crude and indirect indices of loyalty as no doubt these are. Figure 81 shows that the figures for the Wellcroft colony are not only, as we might expect, greater than those for Airedale, but are also greater than those for both Copley and Saltaire. And it should be emphasised that the Saltaire colony is considerably larger than the Wellcroft colony.

Titus Salt never lived in Saltaire. Opposite the factory an office house with servants existed to cater for him when on business and for his family on the rare and heralded occasions when they visited. The Salt family rarely attended the Congregational Church. Salt had chosen a site for his house on the valley side commanding a view of the works and the village but the house eventually built there was not for Salt but for Charles Stead, a senior partner in the firm. The question of residence was a serious one for Salt, so closely was it connected with broader moral issues of work, religion, and industrial relations. At the opening of the Saltaire mill in 1853 Lord Harewood, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, asked him why he did not retire to the country to enjoy his wealth. "I had made up my mind to do this very thing", Salt replied,

but on reflection I determined otherwise. In the first place I thought that by the concentration of my works in one locality I might provide occupation for my sons. Moreover, as a landed proprietor I felt I should be out of my element. You are a nobleman with all the influence that rank and large estates can bring. Consequently you have power and influence in the country. But outside of my business I am nothing. In it, I have considerable influence.

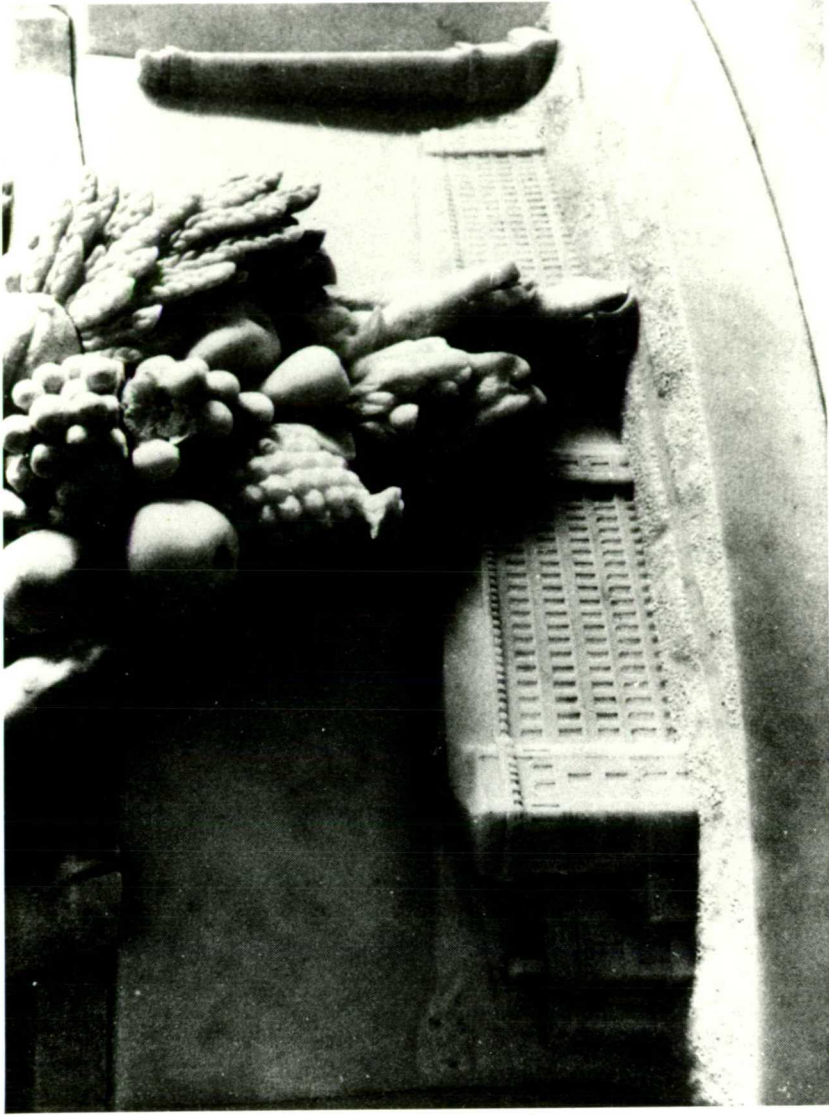
Salt did live in the country but had very little to do with landed society. Ever mindful of the implications of living apart from his employees he organised excursions to his houses and grounds for them. The first of these was in August 1849 following the defeat of Chartism

and a strategic time for conciliatory tactics. Two thousand employees were taken by train to Salt's summer residence at Craven. In September 1856, the third anniversary of the opening of the mill and Salt's birthday provided an opportunity for another jamboree of class cooperation. Three thousand employees were taken to Crow Nest by special trains. In the morning the spinners, weavers, combers and warehousemen passed through Bradford behind two silk banners bearing Salt's coat of arms. It was a sober and respectable version of the Blaize festivals that Salt had helped put to an end. An eyewitness reported: "In that moving mass of humanity - honest and industrious men and women - we beheld a sight which could not fail to awaken the best emotions of the human heart, and to inspire the philanthropist with joy and gladness". On reaching Crow Nest they passed a herd of alpacas, proceeded through the conservatories, greenhouses and garden to the park.

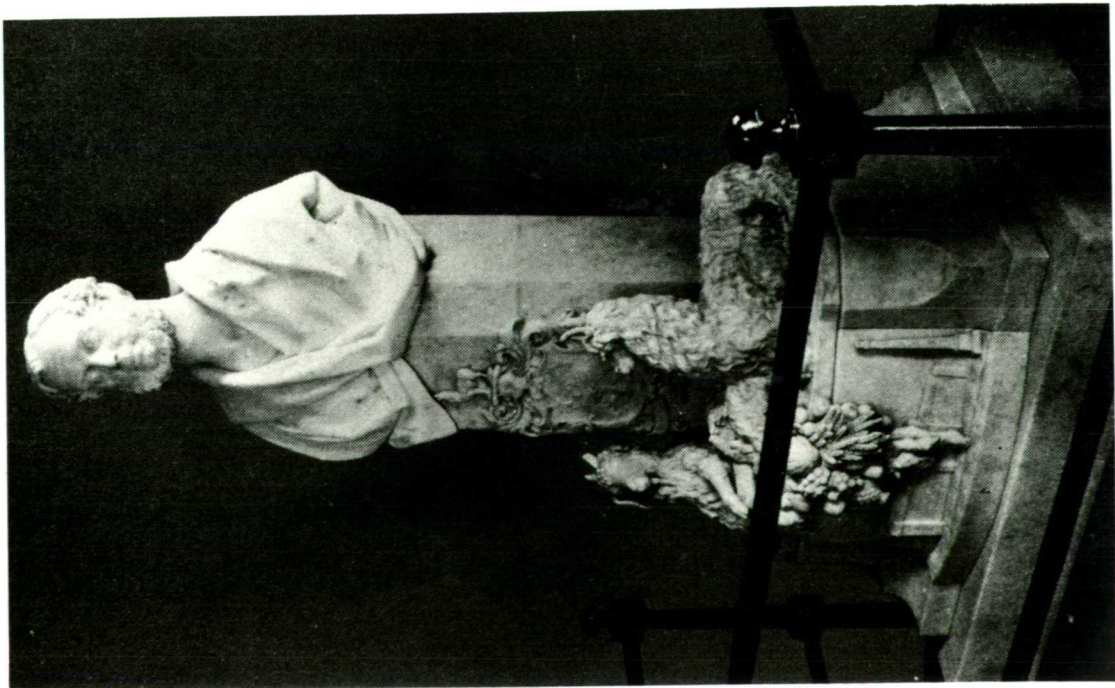
And now the sports of the day began which consisted of various innocent amusements, such as running, leaping, climbing, dancing. No intoxicating liquor was needed to exhilarate them; nor was any provided. The fresh air and scenery around were sufficient ...

Salt was glad "he could be the means of sending new life into every fibre of their physical being". In the evening, at St. Georges Hall, Bradford, the employees presented Salt with "a colossal bust of himself ... a splendid example of the hearty sympathy subsisting between master and workpeople".<sup>66</sup> An impression of the Saltaire mill was carved into the pedestal (Figs 82 and 83). Over two thousand people subscribed to the cost of the bust. The Voice of the People commented

So th'ovverlookers got agate, an "collected" brass through t'miln - some poor lassies volluntary (?) givin a week's wage, for to pay an artis for a marrable likeness o' their liberal meastur ... an t'Busk o'Tim wur exhibited e San George's Hall, for wot reason nobbudy cud tell, as they cud see Tim hisseln anny day.<sup>67</sup>



Figures 82 and 83 Bust of Titus Salt (1856).



Salt's workers also presented him with an address professing their "love" and "affection", thanking him for not reducing their wages or putting them on short time during slack trade. In his reply Salt emphasised the social nature of the enterprise: "I remind you that you must be co-workers with me". At Saltaire he looked forward to being "surrounded by an industrious, a happy and a moral people ... I did feel proud of my workmen today when assembled in the park".<sup>68</sup>

In 1858 the owner of Crow Nest reclaimed the house and Salt moved to Methley Hall, the seat of the Earls of Mexborough. This was twenty miles from Saltaire, between Leeds and Wakefield. The mansion had been empty for years and the deer park was overgrown and vandalised. Salt leased the estate at a nominal rent. He employed one of the architects of Saltaire to add conservatories and a hot house. These, rather than the park or the estate were the focus of interest. He took little personal interest in agriculture or in vigorous rural pursuits. He had a mid-Victorian taste for horticulture, particularly the cultivation of bananas. Doubtless the social circle of the Earl of Mexborough, residing on another part of the estate, found this rather amusing. Certainly Salt felt uncomfortable in their company. One evening when the conversation turned to art and literature he was asked what books he had been reading lately. "Alpaca", Salt replied, "If you had four or five thousand people to provide for every day you would not have much time for reading". Salt occasionally attended the parish church at Methley. Robert Balgarnie, himself a Congregationalist minister, was at pains to emphasise that, unlike many other successful Nonconformist entrepreneurs, Salt did not conform to the easier-going religion of English gentlemen: "his principles were too deeply rooted to wither in the sunshine of worldly prosperity".<sup>69</sup>

Salt's parliamentary career was brief. He stood as a Liberal candidate for Bradford in the Election of 1859 and was elected despite insistent claims that he moved his works to Saltaire to avoid the heavy taxation for which he was liable after incorporation and so was unworthy to represent the Borough. He voted but never once spoke in the House. He never took a London residence but stayed in a hotel. He never adjusted to a routine of metropolitan political life, so erratic compared with his regimen of early rising and regular hours: "He had so long accustomed himself to the rattle of looms, the whirr of spindles, the surroundings of toiling men and women, and the sight of vast expanses of machinery, that he found it difficult to fit in with this totally different mode of life". He suffered "broken sleep, shattered nerves and gouty twinges", and retired in 1861. One of his few consolations in London was meeting with fellow Congregationalists like Francis Crossley and Samuel Morley in Westminster Chapel.<sup>70</sup>

In December 1867 Salt moved back to Crow Nest, this time as owner. At Methley Salt had felt isolated both from Saltaire and Bradford, and as his children now had houses of their own the mansion seemed much too large. The new Earl of Mexborough had the wherewithal to occupy the seat of his ancestors and was well satisfied with the improvements Salt had made to a once derelict estate. Methley Hall commanded its domain but Crow Nest, built in a hollow, was a more modest house in a more secluded landscape - a rural villa rather than a country house. In 1861 the place was made more private when a public road was diverted from the north front. A lake was built after Salt's return but the dominant features were a line of large conservatories on the south side. In this private landscape Salt did not forswear his public obligations to local people, to his employees and to deserving causes

generally. He despatched generous donations to many institutions from orphanages to mechanics institutes. He was the organizer of and chief contributor to a new local Congregational church, the gothic spire of which was a conspicuous feature in the view from the windows at Crow Nest. He kept up a custom of noblesse oblige in his paternal style was very businesslike. On 21 December each year he personally dispensed St. Thomas' gifts to local children: Salt separated them by sex into two yards, counted them, channelled them through a narrow doorway to collect their gift and detained them for two hours while they were counted again to make sure no child had claimed more than once.<sup>71</sup> The bust donated to him by his employees stood in the entrance hall of the house. On 20 September 1873 three trains took 4,200 Saltaire employees to Crow Nest for a fete to celebrate Salt's seventieth birthday. In the grounds of Crow Nest the gradations of occupational status were blurred: "There were present, managers, clerks, woolsorters, spinners engine tenters and messengers; but they all had such a respectable appearance, that it was impossible to say to what occupation anyone belonged". "I wish you may be long spared to live amongst us" announced an employee in the address of thanks. Balgarnie quotes an eyewitness who saw more "downright heartiness" that afternoon than was expressed "when Royalty and loyalty occasionally meet together in the streets of large cities".<sup>72</sup>

During the whole of 1876 Salt was an invalid and he died on 29 December. A week later the cortege set out from Crow Nest for Saltaire and as it passed through Bradford the funeral became a public demonstration. With the notable exception of trades councils the procession was joined by representatives from almost every institution. A crowd, estimated at 100,000 lined the route. Salt was buried in

his family mausoleum in the Congregational chapel at Saltaire.<sup>73</sup> In his funeral address the minister of the chapel was at pains to emphasise that Salt was never detached from the village.

One who has not had his equal in our community ... whose life was not hid from us in the mist of distance either of time or place ... his life, his influence, his acts of patriotism and benevolence, stretched far and wide; but they never enfeebled in the least, his attachment to this homestead of his fortunes ... he did not retire, he never lived apart.<sup>74</sup>

After Salt's death, all his surviving family became shareholders in the company. Two of his sons, Titus and Edward, became directors when the firm was registered as a joint stock company in 1881.

Thirteen years before when the Crossleys had taken their pioneering step in profit-sharing, Salt had seriously considered converting the firm into a Joint Stock Company - "a scheme ... likely to promote sympathy and goodwill between master and workmen" - but the other members of the firm, Charles and William Stead, had rejected it.<sup>75</sup>

In 1881, Charles Stead became mill manager. Titus junior became company secretary and carried on the more philanthropic aspects of management at Saltaire. His house at Milner Field stood "like a giant's castle keeping guard over the industrial settlement".<sup>76</sup>

In 1885 the company began to manufacture mohair plushes. The great incentive to do this was the expanding American market but the McKinley Tariff of 1890 crippled this outlet. Other markets collapsed at the same time. Salts had grossly overproduced and in 1892 trade liabilities were at £200,000. The firm's crisis was precipitated by changes in the market but ever since Titus Salt's death its reserves of fluid capital had been steadily drained by the handsome pensions provided for his numerous progeny and their families. On them the lessons of thrift and prudent management were apparently lost. The company was wound up in September 1892 and with its assets purchased nine months later by four Bradford businessmen.<sup>77</sup>

Notes: Chapter Ten

1. Newspaper Cuttings Wakefield Reference Library Vol. 88, P. 131, Vol. 91, pp. 50-51. Henry Clarkson, Memories of Merry Wakefield (Wakefield 1887), pp. 30-31. Clarkson, a former schoolfellow of Salt, claimed that Salt was interested in developing a site to the south east of the town but gave up the idea because it was not large enough. The site was occupied by a dyeworks occupied by Richard Mellin who went bankrupt in 1839. It was taken over on lease for an ironworks sometime in the mid-1840s. Clarkson reported his version of the story from local hearsay.
2. Salt's speech at the opening of Saltaire Mills, Bradford Observer, 22 October 1853.
3. Joseph Lawton, Progress in Pudsey (Stanningley, 1887), pp. 2, 56-64. William Cudworth, Round About Bradford (Bradford, 1876), pp. 474-475, 320.
4. Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes, p. 64.
5. For example Robert K. Dewhirst "Saltaire" Town Planning Review, July 1960, pp. 135-144 (136-137).
6. William Scoresby, American Factories and their Female Operatives (London, 1845), pp. 93, 87.
7. Balgarnie, p. 117.
8. William Fairbairn, Treatise on Mills and Millwork (London, 1863) Part II, pp. 114-115.
9. Balgarnie pp. 121-131. Bradford Observer, 22 September 1853.
10. Cudworth, Round About Bradford, p. 279.
11. The Builder, Vol. XII No. 602 (19 August 1854), p. 437.
12. Samuel Smiles, Thrift (London, 1875), p. 195.
13. Souvenir, Saltaire Congregational Sunday School (Saltaire, 1926). Saltaire Congregational Yearbook (1888-1889).
14. K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London, 1863), pp. 100-101, 104, 107. Balgarnie, pp. 141-142.
15. Creese, p. 35. Balgarnie, pp. 144, 224.
16. Abraham Holroyd, Saltaire and its Founder (Saltaire, 1871), p. 18.
17. Balgarnie, p. 227.
18. James Burnley, West Riding Sketches (London, 1875), p. 216.
19. James Burnley, Phases of Bradford Life (1871), quoted on pp. 24, 31.
20. Balgarnie, p. 224.



21. Saltaire Magazine Vol. 6, No. 2 (June, 1871), p. 66.  
SPL Collection, 942. 744 SAL.
22. Burnley, West Riding Sketches, pp. 227-228 SPL Collection.
23. Rules of Saltaire Club and Institute (1870), SPL Collection.
24. Letter witnessed by Titus Salt Jnr., 25 October 1871.  
Documents relating to Saltaire Institute (Uncatalogued), Saltaire Public Library.
25. A Catalogue of the Library of Bradford Mechanics Institute with Rules (Bradford, 1836).
26. Saltaire Club and Institute Committee Report March 31 1871.  
SPL Collection. Balgarnie, p. 231.
27. Elizabeth Mary Wright, The Story of Joseph Wright (London, 1934), p. 15. Wright was taken on as a half-timer doffer (doffers removed full bobbins from the spondle frame and replaced them with empty ones) in 1862, aged 7. This was under the legal minimum age but he had convinced the foreman by his looks that he was older. He left in 1868 to work in Stephen Wildman's mill in Baildon Bridge as a woolsorter. He virtually taught himself to read and write with the aid of copies of the Bible and Pilgrims Progress. He continued his education at Bradford Mechanics and Yorkshire College in Leeds. At Oxford he taught and researched local dialect and compiled a Dialect Dictionary.
28. Index of Plans to Salts Schools and Institute S.P.L. Collection L.C. 729.2. Jack Reynolds, Saltaire (Bradford, 1976), p. 26. Deeds of Endowment and Certificate of Incorporation for Salts Schools (1877). SPL Collection.
29. Saltaire Magazine Vol. 2, No. 8., August 1871, pp. 95-96.  
Holroyd, Saltaire and its Founder, p. 68. Balgarnie, 254-255.  
Reynolds, p. 28. The park was designed by William Gay, a Bradford Surveyor.
30. PRO RG 9, 3340-3341; RG 10, 4499-4500. Hole, p. 67.  
Balgarnie, p. 135. Unlike Edward Akroyd or John Crossley Salt did not sponsor a large estate for owner occupation by working people. But he was the first president of the Bradford Freehold Land Society which was formed in 1849. This built three estates in Manningham on the edge of Bradford. Salt also contributed 2,000 guineas to and laid the foundation stone for an estate of thirty houses in Manningham which were let rent, rate and tax free to pensioners of the Tradesmens Benevolent Society. This cost £15,272 and was occupied early in 1870. See William Cudworth, Manningham, Heaton and Allerton (Bradford, 1896), pp. 84, 114.
31. Hole, p. 33.
32. Burnley, West Riding Sketches, p. 215.

33. All the Year Round, 21 January 1871, quoted approvingly in the Saltaire Monthly Magazine Vol. 2, No. 8 (August 1871), p. 187. See also Fortunes Made in Business Vol. 1 (London, 1884), p. 320 which asserts that "the criminal statistics (of Salthaire) are a blank page".
34. Quoted in Donald J. Olsen, The Growth of Victorian London (London, 1976), p. 281. See also pp. 279-280 on surveillance in model dwellings.
35. On these particular evils see Hole, pp. 15-18 and "On Water Supply", Metropolitan Working Classes Association for Improving the Public Health, (London, 1848), p. 4. My thanks to Barbara Chu for this last reference.
36. Hole, p. 15.
37. 'The Yorkshire Wollen Industry', Open University television film (1979).
38. Reynolds News, 22 November 1857.
39. Wright, p. 13.
40. Walter White, A Month in Yorkshire (London, 1858), p. 338.
41. Edward Baines, Account of the Woollen Manufacture of England (1875), introduced by K. G. Ponting (Newton Abbot, 1870), p. 131.
42. Balgarnie, pp. 145-146.
43. Reynolds, p. 24.
44. Hole, p. 68.
45. Reynolds News, 22 November 1857.
46. Hole, p. 68.
47. Reynolds News, 22 November 1857.
48. Gauldie, p. 161.
49. White, p. 339.
50. Balgarnie, pp. 136, 225. The medical report of 1867 recommended "an absolute restriction to prevent overcrowding in any one house". A Surviving letting agreement dated 1883 for a two bedroom dwelling stipulated, none too precisely, that the lessee should not "overcrowd the house by taking in too many lodgers". SPL Collection.
51. Cudworth, Round About Bradford, p. 309.

52. In 1861 only six of the household heads in Saltaire (one per cent) were born in Shipley, compared to the sixty-eight (fifteen per cent) who were born in Bradford. But a more reliable guide to recent migration is the birthplace of the youngest child, born outside Saltaire. Thirty-eight per cent were born in Bradford which contemporaries described as the main source of both workers and residents. Shipley was the second ranked place, accounting for fourteen per cent, five per cent more than Bingley, a village two and a half miles up valley from Saltaire.
53. Balgarnie, p. 136.
54. Quoted Ibid, p. 223.
55. Hole, p. 40.
56. Holroyd, Saltaire and its Founder, p. 16.
57. Smiles, Thrift, p. 195. A.L. Bowley, "Wages of the Worsted and woollen Manufactures of the West Riding of Yorkshire". Part IX of "Statistics of wages in the UK during the last 100 years", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol. LXI, part 4, (1906).
58. Reynolds News, 25 November 1857. The rates at Saltaire were as follows:
- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| Mechanics, blacksmiths, joiners and 'ecklers' | 26-28s per week |
| Takers and designers                          | 28s             |
| Twisters                                      | 15s             |
| Warehousemen (from)                           | 14-16s          |
| Washers (from)                                | 14-16s          |
| Woolsorters ('day-men')                       | 28s             |
| Woolsorters (not being 'day-men')             | 20s             |
| Two loom weavers                              | 15s             |
| One loom weavers                              | 9s              |
| Comb machine tenters (from                    | 8- 9s           |
- These are rates for men and women in full employment. The wages of any individual might vary according to such circumstances as age, piece work, overtime, sickness and indiscipline.
59. The Voice of the People and The Labour Advocate, 12 December 1857. This short lived newspaper was published in Bradford.
60. The Times, 20, 21, 23 March 1868. Balgarnie, p. 44.
61. Cudworth, Round About Bradford, p. 294. Census data for the Airedale Colony is PRO 9 3340 1, RG 10 4497 1.
62. White, p. 336.

63. Colin Pooley, "The residential segregation of migrant communities in mid-Victorian Liverpool", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series Vol. 2 (1977), pp. 364-382 (378).
64. C. Richardson, "Irish Settlement in Mid-Nineteenth Century Bradford", Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research Vol. 20 (1969), pp. 40-57.
65. Cudworth, Round About Bradford, pp. 292-293. Census Data for the Wellcroft colony, PRO RG 9 3340 5, RG 10 4498 8. Rating Assessments. Local Board of Health, General District Rate: Shipley (1864) SPL Collection.
66. Balgarnie, pp. 122, 102-103, 159-164.
67. The Voice of the People and The Labour Advocate, 12 December 1887.
68. Balgarnie, pp. 164-167.
69. Ibid pp. 214, 203-204.
70. Fortunes Made in Business Vol I (London, 1884), p. 324. Balgarnie, pp. 172-180, 189-191, 200-201. See also Salt's letter to Gladstone, dated 13 September 1869, accepting his baronetcy and explaining his resignation from Parliament. B.M. Add Mss. 44422 f 26.
71. J. Horsfall Turner, Historical Notices of Shipley (Idle, 1890), p. 4.
72. Balgarnie, pp. 272, 274. Crow Nest was built in 1778. It was designed by Thomas Bradley as a replica of Pye Nest (c. 1775) designed by John Carr for the Halifax Merchant John Edwards. See Linstrum, West Yorkshire Architects, p. 80.
73. Bradford Observer 7, 13 January 1877. Stuart Rawnsley and Jack Reynolds, "Undercliffe Cemetery, Bradford", History Workshop (Autumn 1977), p. 215.
74. Bradford Observer, 6 January 1877. Balgarnie, p. 310.
75. Balgarnie, p. 219.
76. Burnley, West Riding Sketches, p. 207.
77. John Roberts, "The Development of the Industry", and Donald Hanson, "The Growth of the Company", in Roger W. Suddards (editor), Titus of Salts (Bradford, 1976), pp. 34-35, 39-40.

CONCLUSION

I have examined the moral implications of the transition from the domestic to the factory system of woollen cloth manufacture in West Yorkshire from varying sometimes conflicting contemporary points of view. Some contemporaries like merchants, manufacturers and cloth workers were more deeply and directly involved than others like landscape gardeners, novelists and newspaper reporters. The evidence for their attitudes and experiences is eclectic and includes buildings, landscapes, living patterns, riots, religious texts and political speeches. I have examined this evidence to recover how contemporaries invested the industrial environment with moral value, whether in images that materialized in iron and brick, men and machinery, or in images that remained literary constructions. Like Leo Marx in his study of American technology and culture I have considered the industrial environment as both "Object" and "Metaphor", as an arrangement of both facts and values. <sup>1.</sup> In this conclusion I will summarise the main themes of the thesis and examine them from a theoretical perspective.

The central theme is that of work. Different conceptions of and attitudes to work informed many interrelated issues: the lifestyles of merchants and manufacturers, the treatment of industrial employees, the debates on the factory question, the perception and design of industrial plant and the landscapes in which it was sited. Different conceptions of work imply different conceptions of leisure. The relationship between work and leisure was seen and experienced very differently through time and between social classes. Leisure becomes a major focus of study in the thesis when there is a concerted campaign to confine it within a moral environment, for example in the form of model dwellings and public parks, that was separate from but complementary to that reserved for work.

A work ethic was manifest less in the character and conduct of the merchants than the manufacturers. The gentlemen merchants of Leeds and Wakefield were

renowned for their easy going lifestyle and it was precisely the time and trouble of organizing manufacture that dissuaded most from becoming manufacturers. Benjamin Gott pioneered factory development but delegated the direct responsibility of organizing cloth production and retained the professional role, social attitudes and personal temperament of a gentleman merchant. Some manufacturers experienced what Marx called "a Faustian conflict between the passion for accumulation and the desire for enjoyment"<sup>2</sup> The tension between these impulses may not usually have been as dramatic as Marx's metaphor suggests but most manufacturers identified the contrast between a lifestyle devoted to work and production and that devoted to leisure and consumption as being morally problematic. Nonconformist millowners in modest houses next to their mills recognised the lure of a country estate. The contrast between production and consumption was a central issue in the aesthetics of landscaped parks. Humphry Repton grappled with it in his commission for Benjamin Gott who seems not to have experienced the landscape gardener's scruples at combining scenes of beauty and use. When, fifty years later. Francis Crossley commissioned Joseph Paxton to design Peoples Park, the effective domain of his villa, attitudes had changes appreciably. Paxton, an engineer as well as a landscape gardener, promoted the virtues of 'rational recreation', the useful employment of leisure that was upheld as an ideal for all classes and a means of promoting class harmony. Peoples Park was public and designed to reproduce the spirit of fellowship at Dean Clough Mills symbolised by the adjacency to them of the Crossley family house from which Francis Crossley had, somewhat guiltily, moved. The question of residence was an important one for Crossley's family friend and fellow Congregationalist Titus Salt. While Crossley managed to extend his moral obligation to all the citizens of Halifax, Salt confined his more to his employees. He had little taste for politics and although he never lived in Saltaire he resisted the idle pleasures of landed society and the less demanding religion of English gentlemen. The association of Primitive Methodism with Chartism hastened Edward Akroyd's conformity to the Anglican church but a spirit of evangelism influenced the design and siting of All Souls Church, built next to his house and above his mills.

It was wage earners rather than capitalists who were intended to be abstinent and work hard. During the eighteenth century there was a rapid advance in free mobile wage labour. E.P. Thompson comments: "A substantial proportion of the labour force actually became more free from discipline in their daily work, more free to choose between employers and between work and leisure, less situated in a position of dependence in their whole way of life, than they had been before or than they were to be in the first decades of the discipline of the factory and the clock."<sup>3</sup>

Complaints about their 'idleness' and 'insubordination' were legion. It was the industrious appearance of the Calder Valley, with its clothier homesteads, that Defoe so admired. His insistence on the virtues of hard work and subordination was all the stronger because he thought there was a loosening of these moral restraints. In one of his homilies a J.P. summons a cloth worker upon a complaint from his employer that he was neglecting his work:

Justice. Come in Edmund, I have talk'd with your Master

Edmund. Not my Master, and't please your Worship, I hope I am my own Master

Justice. Well your Employer, Mr. E---, the Clothier: will the word Employer do?

Edmund. Yes, yes and't please your Worship, any thing, but Master.<sup>4</sup>

It must be remembered that many of the clothiers in the Leeds area who petitioned against the factory system complained not only of the immorality of economic laissez faire but also of the immorality of congregating large anonymous, promiscuous crowds of factory workers. The fear of the disorderly consequences of congregating workers influenced the imposition of strict disciplinary regimes in factories. Increased mechanization helped regulate conduct in factories more efficiently. An easy going personal outlook might be extended to a permissive attitude to employees. For example Jeremiah Naylor was harder working than most gentlemen merchants, supervising his own finishing shop; yet he let his croppers drink at work, tolerated strikes which he called 'holidays' and was unwilling to mechanise his finishing. At a time when the croppers' union was strong there was of course an element of calculation to this but the point is that he did not regard his employees as pieces of raw material which had to be processed and moulded into shape.

The Restoration in England witnessed the resurgence of a robust popular culture free from the supervision of the Puritan Church.

"Help Lord!" exclaimed the Rev. Oliver Heywood, the ejected minister, when recounting the cockfighting, horse racing and stool ball epidemic in Halifax district in the 1680s: .... "There never was such work in Halifax above fifty years past. Hell is broke loose."<sup>5</sup>

In her biography of Charlotte Brontë Mrs Gaskell described the drunken wakes and violent football games in the Haworth district in the eighteenth century. Such rough pastimes persisted in some rural areas of the West Riding into the Victorian period. It was these 'brutal amusements' that reformers attempted to root out in the name of 'rational recreation'. Not all Victorian mill owners were as conscientious as Titus Salt or Francis Crossley in promoting rational recreation but attitudes had changed sufficiently by 1857, when Mrs Gaskell's biography of Charlotte Brontë was published, for her to recall in horror those Georgian millowners who stopped their mills during local bull baitings "to increase the amount of water as well as to give their workpeople the opportunity of savage delight".<sup>6</sup> Public parks, educational institutes and model dwellings were testimony to the responsibility of millowners and the respectability of their employees. These moral environments reaffirmed what seventeenth century puritans called 'discipline'. There is nothing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man than is discipline", wrote Milton in 1641.

Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above discipline: but she is that which with her musical chords preserves all the parts thereof together ... Discipline is not only the removal of disorder, but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of virtue.<sup>7</sup>

The life and works of Titus Salt perhaps most nearly attained "the very visible shape and image of virtue".

In mid-Victorian England there was less emphasis on day-to-day personal contact as a strategy for disciplining the lower classes and more on the building and staffing of an institutional environment. Supervision was delegated



to paid agents like policemen, parkeepers and teachers. Those members of the middle classes anxious to improve the habits of the lower class could yet maintain a respectable distance from them. They operated, as it were, by remote control. Salt, Crossley and Akroyd adopted the environmentalist strategy and yet felt compelled also to maintain something of the more traditional strategy of personal influence. By the 1880s the morality of personal influence was brought into question. "Impersonality, equated with impartiality, became a virtue", notes A.P. Donajrodski, " 'influence', the distinction between its legitimate and illegitimate forms forgotten, came to be regarded as a sort of corruption".<sup>8</sup> In the Victorian period there was an increasing amount of state investigation and intervention on the questions of housing, education, health, recreation and working conditions. I have emphasised the pioneering initiative of men like Salt, Akroyd and the Crossleys on these questions but they did not act in isolation. As mayors and members of parliament they influenced and implemented state policies. Yet in the West Riding many reformers agreed with Samuel Smiles that the evils of laissez faire should be met not by State interference but by private initiative and voluntary cooperation.

In recent years historians have shown an increasing interest in attempts to organize and control working class attitudes and conduct and some appreciation of the conceptual and theoretical problems of describing and explaining this. Michel Foucault identifies the permeation of 'surveillance' (which he translates as 'discipline' rather than 'surveillance') into many aspects of mainly French but by implication European life since the seventeenth century: education, punishment, military organization, the treatment of disease and poverty. Foucault establishes connections between knowledge and power and assesses the consequences of 'surveillance' for the organization of space and time. Foucault's method is synthetic and conceptual. There is no developed theoretical analysis but Foucault makes a suggestive gloss on Marx's discussion of machinery and large scale industry in Volume One of Capital. He notes the "ensemble of close relations"

between the technology of production, the division of labour and disciplinary techniques and describes discipline as "a decisive economic operator".<sup>9</sup> He does not situate discipline in a cultural realm which is separate from and theoretically subordinate to an economic realm. This theoretical position is made explicit by E.P. Thompson who has studied the role of discipline in the Industrial Revolution: "there is no way I find it possible to describe the Puritan or Methodist work discipline as an element of the "superstructure" and then put work itself in a "basis" somewhere else."<sup>10</sup> This reluctance does not entail abandoning materialist history just rejecting a disabling metaphor. The work of Foucault and Thompson suggests that the concept of the 'mode of production' can be usefully expanded to include the making of values and images as well as more palpable economic commodities like cloth and steel.

Thompson provides evidence of resistance to discipline. Foucault gives the impression of society inexorably subordinated to discipline. He seems to endorse the vision of those disciplinarians whose writings he studies and the result is often a grotesque caricature of actual history. Not all those who were the object of discipline submitted meekly like the obedient figures in the landscapes of these imaginations. It is difficult, sometimes impossible, to recover how disciplinary environments were actually used or misused. But, as Gareth Stedman Jones emphasises, we should beware of "the temptation to translate archival silence into historical passivity." Stedman Jones sees the tendency to a one sided historical interpretation "as if the rural and urban masses, like the newborn child in Locke's psychology, were simply a blank page upon which each stage of capitalism has successfully imposed its imprint", as resulting not simply from the scarcity of sources: "the problem is primarily a conceptual one". He is deeply suspicious of the concept 'social control' which has entered the vocabulary of radical social historians. They have used the concept in a casual common sense way with the result that almost any institution or ideology can be seen as an example of social control. Stedman Jones is more concerned when the concept is used more systematically for it is then informed

by what he sees as an unacceptable theory: functionalism. The historian may scarcely be conscious of it but 'social control' implies a static model of equilibrium which might be disturbed and then reasserted on a new basis. It suggests therefore a prior functioning, a period of breakdown, and a renewed state of functioning." Terms like 'incorporation', 'bourgeoisification', and 'bourgeois hegemony' "may register some moral distance from the apologetic complacency of functionalist theory (but) they in no way break free from its theoretical linkages".<sup>11</sup> 'Moral order' is a concept that was closely related to 'social control' in early functionalist theory but I am not convinced that the historical use of either commits the user to a conservative social theory or indeed any social theory. Like Thompson I do not see that borrowing concepts from other disciplines betrays "empiricist opportunism or merely amateurism" but it is a way of "locating new problems and seeing old problems in a new ways".<sup>12</sup> The greatest danger seems to me to use the idea of social control in a reductionist way, to assert that this is the only meaning of such varied institutions as parks and prisons, factories and churches. This effectively reduces the complexity and ambiguity of middle class attitudes and actions to cynicism and hypocrisy.

The Gramscian concept of hegemony seems a more useful concept for historical study and I am surprised that Stedman Jones sees it as bonded theoretically to functionalism. Hegemony describes a class dominance that is diffused throughout the whole of lived experience: work and leisure, thought and action, private and public life, formal and informal relationships.<sup>13</sup> It refers to a dialectical process which is both ideal and material.

It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own. We have then to add to the concept of hegemony the concepts of counter hegemony and alternative hegemony, which are real and persistent elements of practice.<sup>14</sup>

Gramsci emphasised that class dominance is not so much a matter of imposition and coercion than of negotiation and consent. Some Victorian local histories give the impression that until the arrival of enlightened employers, sewers, paved streets and mechanics institutes some West Yorkshire textile communities were in a state

of moral anarchy. But many changes had taken place independently of middle class influence. Many Chartists disapproved of drinking bouts, superstitious customs, brutal amusements and overcrowded houses. They combined militant politics with an improvement ethic. With the erosion of working class militancy in the 1850s the morality of improvement provided a basis for the middle class to negotiate their hegemony. In some negotiations the parties are more equal than in others. For example Akroyd regarded both Copley and Akroydon as cooperative enterprises between himself and the residents. He was able to exert much more control over his millworkers who rented houses in Copley than over the owner occupiers in the purely residential estate of Akroydon. One reason for the comparative failure of Akroydon was Akroyd's adoption of a too patronizing attitude to the development. It is not unusual for areas of independent working class culture to exist within an overall bourgeois hegemony. Stedman Jones emphasises that the attempt to reorganize working class life by providing and controlling an institutional environment proved to be largely a failure. By the end of the nineteenth century the pattern of English working class culture had changed considerably but not according to a reformist blueprint. Cruel animal sports had virtually died out, drinking hours in pubs had been restricted, and four regular bank holidays introduced. Yet the dominant institutions of urban working people "were not the school, the evening class, the library, the friendly society", but instead "the pub, the sporting paper, the racecourse and the music hall". Many working people strove to demonstrate 'respectability' but this "did not mean church attendance, teetotalism or the possession of a post-office savings account. It meant the possession of a Sunday suit and the ability to be seen wearing it". The 'respectability' of late nineteenth century working people was a different kind of morality to that of the 1840s. Although working class culture proved impermeable to many middle class influences it presented no challenge to middle class values. Stedman Jones comments:

What above all differentiated the Chartist period from the post-1870 period was the general belief that the economic and political order brought into being by the industrial revolution was a temporary aberration, soon to be brought to an end ... Once the defeat of Chartism was finally accepted, this conviction disappeared. Working people ceased to believe that they could shape society in their own image ... Working class activity now...

was concentrated into trade unions, co-ops, friendly societies all indication a de facto recognition of the existing social order as the inevitable framework of action. <sup>15</sup> The same could be said of Music Hall. It was a culture of consolation.

Notes: Conclusion

1. Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (Oxford, 1967), especially pp. 145-226.
2. Karl Marx, Capital (London, 1972), p. 653.
3. E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture", Journal of Social History 7 (1974), pp. 382-405 (384).
4. quoted in Thompson ibid, p. 384.
5. quoted in Thompson, ibid, p. 393-394.
6. Elizabeth Gaskell, The Life of Charlotte Brontë, pp. 68-69.
7. quoted in Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1969), p. 218.
8. A.P. Donajgrodski, 'Introduction' to Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, 1977), p. 23.
9. Foucault, Discipline and Punish 221, 175.
10. E.P. Thompson, "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History", Indian Historical Review 3 (1978), pp. 247-266 (262).
11. Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression versus Social Control?: A critique of recent trends in the social history of leisure", History Workshop 4 (1977), pp. 162-170 (163).
12. Thompson, "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History", p.4.
13. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (New York, 1971), pp. 12-13, 55-60. See also Thomas R. Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony", Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. 36 (1975), pp. 351-366. I have found the following discussions of 'hegemony' by two nineteenth century historians very useful: Trygve R. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976), pp. 197-242. Robert Gray, "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain", in Jon Bloomfield (editor), Class, Hegemony and Party (London, 1977), pp. 73-93.
14. Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (Oxford, 1977), pp.112-113.
15. Gareth Stedman Jones, "Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class", Journal of Social History 7 (1974), pp. 460-508 (499).

APPENDIX

The problems of social classification are manifold. In the analyses of manuscript census information I use the term "class" in a more categorical way than in the analyses of more literary evidence. The use of terms like "class consciousness", "class conflict" and "class cooperation" implies an understanding of how people think, feel and act. Letters, pamphlets, newspapers and novels may reveal the development of social attitudes and the fluency of social relationships. The manuscript censuses are static, standardised descriptions. One evening, every ten years, the attempt was made to accurately and objectively record certain attributes of every individual in the population. As social description the enumerators' books are as ideological as moral tracts - they are a part of a widespread statistical mode of investigation and are as much a "way of seeing" as instances of more literary conventions. They do not reveal how the people they describe think and feel about each other. But it is possible to use the information they contain in conjunction with more literary evidence to reconstruct something of the quality of social relationships.

In my statistical analyses the occupation of the head of household is taken as an index of his or her social class and by extension that of their household. Those household heads who are not listed as gainfully employed - often widows and widowers - are included in a residual category. Occupation is an indication of economic status - the ability to command a place to live in, food to eat, clothes to wear and the degree to which this ability is possessed. For many mid-nineteenth century families the purchasing power of the whole household was more critical than just that of the household head. I emphasise this in particular examples but it is extremely difficult to assess

total family income or to classify households on this basis. The employment of members of the household does of course have important social implications. The ability to keep a wife at home and children in school were signs of respectability. Occupation is a guide to social status. Skilled workers commanded both higher wages and higher social esteem. Some lower professional workers like clerks commanded esteem even if their wages were often lower and hours longer than many skilled workers. There remain many difficulties of interpretation. There is seldom any indication in the census of the extent to which an occupation is followed and little evaluation one with another of individuals following the same occupation unless they were employers of labour. For example many "merchants" were not men of substantial capital though it is sometimes possible to identify those who were by other means such as the employment of servants. Social esteem of course rested on other attributes - the length of residence, birthplace, education, the size and style of house and the part of which street it was situated, the condition of gardens, doorsteps, curtains and furnishings, the sobriety of fathers and reputation of daughters. Where possible I have taken account of these finer, more moral distinctions and attempted to relate them to other indices of status. But it is impossible to glean evidence for many of them from surviving source material.

In the analysis of Copley and in all subsequent analyses of manuscript census information I use a five-fold classification: Middle class; Lower Middle class; Skilled Working class; Semi-Skilled Working class; Unskilled Working class. This is based on W. A. Armstrong's scheme of social classification for the early census returns.<sup>1</sup> This is itself a modification of the following classifi-



cation of occupations, published by the General Register Office in 1951.

Class I	Capitalists, manufacturers, professional etc.
Class II	Intermediate occupations (lower professional and farmers)
Class III	Skilled labour
Class IV	Partly skilled occupations
Class V	Unskilled occupations

The broad modifications Armstrong suggests are:

1. All 'dealers' or 'merchants' are best placed in Class III, not Class II.
2. All those in retail shopkeeping should initially be placed in Class III.
3. Virtually all commercial occupations should be placed in Class III, including innkeepers, restaurant keepers, etc., except agents, factors or brokers who should be included in Class II and street-sellers, costermongers etc., who should be placed in Class V.

And then on the consideration of individual cases:

4. Employers of 25 or more persons (excluding domestics) should be placed in Class I.
5. Employers of between 1 and 25 persons (excluding those in their immediate family) should be placed in Class II.
6. Drivers of horse drawn passenger conveyances should be placed in Class III, but carriers and carters are left in Class IV.

Armstrong's Class III (Skilled Workers) is too inclusive for my purposes. It does not discriminate adequately between status distinctions that were critical in the textile industry. Weavers for example are "skilled" in Armstrong's classification but "semi-skilled" in mine. Also I have

classed many more commercial occupations, including shopkeepers, as "lower middle class". The following is a classification of the occupations most frequently encountered in this study. I am grateful to Jack Reynolds of the Department of History at Bradford University for helping me classify textile occupations.

Middle Class Occupations:

Architect; attorney; minister; solicitor; surgeon or physician; stuff manufacturer; vicar; woolstapler; wire manufacturer.

Lower Middle Class Occupations:

Accountant; baker; bookkeeper; butcher; clerk; coal agent; commercial traveller; curate; foreman; manager; overlooker; police inspector; schoolmaster; waste dealer; wool buyer.

Skilled Working Class Occupations:

Blacksmith; cabinet maker; carpenter; colour mixer; comb maker; compositor; cotton spinner; engineer; engine renter; fitter; ironfounder; joiner; mechanic; pattern maker; printer; stonemason; turner; warpdresser; wiredrawer; woolsorter.

Semi-Skilled Working Class Occupations:

Carter; dyer; engine feeder; gardener; machine minder; packer; preparer; store delver; stoker; waggoner; warehouseman; weaver; woolwasher.

Unskilled Working Class Occupations:

Carder; cleaner; drainer; hawker; labourer; nightwatchman; nuisance remover; porter; reeler; rover; woolcomber.

Note: Appendix

1. W.A. Armstrong, "Social Structure from the Early Census Returns: An Analysis of Enumerators Books for Censuses after 1841", in E.A. Wrigley (editor) An Introduction to English Historical Demography (London, 1966), pp. 209-237, see Appendix D.  
"The Use of Information About Occupation", in E.A. Wrigley (editor), Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 191-310, (198-223).

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