

THE EXPERIENCE OF POVERTY
PEOPLE, POLICY, AND AGENCY IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY
LEEDS AND ITS ENVIRONS

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The methodology of narrative biographical reconstitution can give voice to the poor of past societies, allowing them to answer the questions we ask of them. This thesis examines the experiences of the northern urban labouring poor, in a period of industrialisation and unprecedented urban population growth and consolidation, from their own perspective, identifying and evaluating their constraints and agencies. Rapid urban growth was marked by particular age-group and gender demographics: migration was female led, girls and women sought work in textile mills. Women and their children's cheap compliant labour in an unregulated political economy drove industrialisation. Despite low wages, mill work permitted young women a limited independence from the male breadwinner model. But that model was merely aspirational, and families depended on children's incomes. Poverty was always near. One alleviation agency was application to township welfare mechanisms, both cash payments and other forms, notably medical relief. Because of large, sprawling incorporations of townships established under Gilbert's Act, local implementation of the New Poor Law was delayed into the 1860s. Consequently, relief was administered in the tradition of the Old Poor Law, with an emphasis on outdoor relief, and managed with greater autonomy by select vestry, rather than less-local boards of guardians. Politicised working men were elected to these bodies, and Chartist administrations managed poor relief in Holbeck, Leeds. The reconstitution of the life-cycles of two generations of seven neighbouring households in Holbeck is central to this investigation, and allows a rich and fine-grained analysis, synthesis and evaluation of their experiences. This argues that the paucity of wages and poor relief foregrounds other strategies, and identifies the critical balancing of family economies to make ends meet. Spatial proximity, family limitation, household re-alignments, and kinship and community support networks were also crucial factors, while collective self-help strategies like friendly societies flourished.

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Abbreviations

CAMPOP	Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure
GRO	General Register Office
HCL	Harrogate Central Library, local collections
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
ICeM	Integrated Census Microdata
JISC	Joint Information Systems Committee
LLIS	Leeds Library and Information Services
LLSL	Leeds Local Studies Library
PP	Parliamentary Paper
TNA	The National Archives
UOLSC	University of Leeds Special Collections
WRPLA	West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Services (Wakefield)
WYASL	West Yorkshire Archive Services, Leeds
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society

Chapter 1

Introduction

Sarah Jubb was a Holbeck lass. Born in 1794, the daughter of a clothier, she married flax dresser James Alderson in 1816. Banns had been read for the couple two years earlier, but they waited to wed until Sarah attained her majority. James signed his marriage lines in the parish record book, Sarah marked hers. Unlike many of her peers, she was not a pregnant bride. She had eight children between 1817 and 1831, at regular two-yearly intervals: lactation was the couple's only mode of family limitation. Like their mother, all eight were baptised at St Matthew's, Holbeck township's chapel of ease of the Anglican parish of Leeds St Peter. Hannah Alderson died when a toddler in 1821, but six of Sarah's first seven children survived to be included in the family's poor relief assessment in 1830. At this time only 13 year-old James was bringing any money in; two years later 11 year-old Moses contributed to the family economy. Supplemented by parish relief, the family had a total income of 16s. 9d., for, by this time, a family of nine: considerably below any contemporary estimates of minimum living costs. Three year-old Mary died during this impoverished time, and her father joined her in the graveyard of St Matthew's shortly after. Although at the height of that summer's cholera epidemic, neither burial was annotated with a 'c' to indicate death from that disease, as many others were. Widowed Sarah received a regular 1s. 6d. per week in 1839. This was a standardised 'child allowance' type payment for her youngest, William, aged 8. The older children would have been expected to be in employment from the age of 10, and in 1841 all but the youngest of the five who remained at home in Isle Lane were working; the boys in the woollen cloth industry, while one girl was a flax spinner.

Sarah and her children's stories after this time, alongside those of members of six neighbouring households, are related in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis. In its purest distillation history is about people. It is about their experiences, and the restrictions and opportunities, the choices and agencies which inform them.¹ The examination of

¹ John Brewer, 'Microhistories and the Histories of Everyday Life', *Cultural and Social History*, 7:1 (2010), 87-109: a 'commitment to a humanist agenda which places agency and historical meaning in the realm of day-to-day transactions', p. 87.

people's experiences within their communities, the 'detailed analysis at the parochial, familial and individual level' is, as Samantha Williams has emphasised, an essential 'testing ground' for the evaluation of broader questions.²

Sarah left no words of her own to posterity, yet still she speaks to us. In employing the methodology of 'narrative biographical reconstitution', across the life-cycle of generations, we can deduce the constraints upon, and strategies of the poor, who it has often been considered leave but a very faint historical footprint. This methodology is supplemented wherever possible by evidence of the poor, or those who had direct experience of poverty, in their own words. As John Burnett has noted, 'it has too readily been assumed that working people of the nineteenth century left too few accounts for any meaningful picture to be drawn'.³ This quiet voice of the poor has been, in terms of published working-class autobiographies, catalogued.⁴ Volumes of pauper letters of strategy, mostly seeking non-resident poor relief, have been analysed and edited.⁵ However, the substantial corpus of words of the poor from other sources has received less attention. Minutes of evidence before parliamentary select committees and commissions, and from communications with the Poor Law Commission particularly, for example, afford a wealth of such words. There are many such voices from Leeds from the period under investigation, and evidence given before parliamentary committees and commissions, primarily about working conditions, can additionally provide a great deal of historical evidence about social conditions and experiences, evidence which is more incidentally given, and consequently less informed by the agendas of the enquiries.⁶ These have been digitised, but the Poor Law Commission's correspondence, which contains rich evidence in the form of petitions, applications,

2 Samantha Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law 1760-1834*, (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 1.

3 John Burnett, *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s*, (1974), 1984 edition (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 9.

4 John Burnett, David Vincent, and David Mayall, (eds.), *The Autobiography of the working class: an annotated critical biography* (Brighton, 1984-1989).

5 Thomas Sokoll (ed.), *Essex Pauper Letters, 1731-1837* (Oxford, 2001); James Stephen Taylor, 'Voices in the Crowd: The Kirkby Lonsdale Township Letters, 1809-36', in *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*, ed. by Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 109-126; and see the comprehensive multi-volume collection, Alysa Levene, et al (eds.), *Narratives of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century England* (Abingdon, 2006).

6 The major enquiries from which this type of evidence is used in this thesis are: *PP 1831-32 (706), Report from the committee on 'the bill to regulate the labour of children in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom'* (The Sadler Committee); *PP 1833 (450), Factories Inquiry Commission. First Report; PP 1840 (43-II), Hand-loom weavers ... Reports from Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners. Report, by H.S. Chapman, Esq., on the West Riding of Yorkshire ... Part III.*

inquiries and examinations, have, as yet, not. This thesis takes advantage of these records, along with locally published transcriptions.⁷

In its genesis this project sought to address the following fundamental research questions, and these questions have remained substantively unchanged. In a period of industrialisation, expansion and consolidation, and of critical new legislation, what were the comparative contexts and experiences of the poor in Leeds and its environs? What were the coping strategies of the poor: the extent of parish (that is, township) relief and its correlation with employment; subsidiary work like child labour; realignment of family economies and other makeshift agencies? Thirdly, who were the poor? Might reconstituting families and re-populating poverty's demographics assess how the poor fitted into communities: would reconstructing life-cycles evaluate the scale and effects of poverty and coping strategies?

In so doing it looked to address a significant geographic historiographical imbalance. Twenty years ago, Steven King highlighted the limited literature on 'the poor, their life-cycles, their coping strategies and the local mechanics of the Poor Law'. And he emphasised what work there was 'concentrates disproportionately upon the experience of poor people in a narrow range of southern and eastern counties'.⁸ Despite this groundbreaking paper on the poor in Calverley (a township just to the west of Leeds), in the long eighteenth century, the geographical element of his call, has found little answer. While much fine, and fine-grained, locally-focused work has since been accomplished, that focus, the historical 'testing ground', has remained in the south of the country.⁹

7 TNA, MH12/15224, Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and Other Local Authorities, Leeds, 573, 1834-1839; MH12/15225, 1840-42; MH12/15226, 1843-Apr 1845; MH12/15227, 1 May 1845-31 Dec 1846; MH12/15228, 1847; Leeds Workhouse Committee, *Examinations taken in the case of Maria Sleddin* (Leeds, 1823).

8 Steve King, 'Reconstructing Lives: the Poor, the Poor Law, and Welfare in Calverley, 1650-1820', *Social History*, 22 (1997), 318-38 (pp. 318-319). Such work includes, for Devon, Jean Robin, 'The Relief of Poverty in Mid Nineteenth-Century Colyton', *Rural History* 1:2 (1990), 193-218; and, for Hampshire, Barry Stapleton, 'Inherited poverty and life-cycle poverty: Odiham, Hampshire, 1650-1850', *Social History*, 18:3 (1993), 339-355.

9 For Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, John Broad, 'Parish Economies of Welfare, 1650-1834', *Historical Journal*, 42:4, (1999), 985-1006; Steven King and Gillian Gear (eds.), *A Caring County?: Social Welfare in Hertfordshire from 1600* (Hatfield, 2013); Nigel Goose, 'Poverty, old age and gender in nineteenth-century England: the case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change* 20:3 (2005), 351-384; for Bedfordshire, Samantha Williams, 'Poor relief, labourers' households and living standards in rural England c.1770-1834', *Economic History Review*, 58:3 (2005), 485-519; Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*; and Gordon Shepherd, 'Income, domestic economy and the distribution of poverty amongst labouring families in the parish of Cardington, Bedfordshire, in the 1780s and 1850s', *Family & Community History* 13:2, 2010; for Dorset, Samantha A. Shave, 'The dependent poor? (Re)constructing the lives of individuals "on the parish" in rural Dorset, 1800-1832', *Rural*

King cites Michael Rose as one whose work has had a northern focus; yet this work concentrated on organisation and administration of poor relief in northern industrialised settings, as did that of contributors to a volume edited by Rose.¹⁰ R.P. Hastings examined poor relief in the rural North Riding in the years leading up to the Poor Law Amendment Act, concluding optimistically, in concurrence with studies from other areas, that relief administration was humane, and that individual and local knowledge helped 'provide an effective social service'.¹¹ In so doing he agreed with Mark Blaug's reassessment of the Old Poor Law, that its local mechanisms were 'a welfare state in miniature'.¹² This thesis investigates the range and impact of such mechanisms. Since King's article, there have been few attempts to rectify the predominantly southern focus, although Sam Barrett's work on kinship networks and the alleviation of poverty in the Leeds out-township of Bramley in the eighteenth century is a welcome exception.¹³ Other than Barrett and King none have examined the alleviation of poverty from the perspective of the northern poor themselves, and these two investigations were for the earlier era, prior to the poor relief crisis's culmination in the reforming pressure leading up to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, though for the rural working poor of the West Riding township of Rigton the current author has attempted to address this notable lacuna.¹⁴

As Richard Dyson highlights in his study of poor relief in Oxford, the emphasis of most of the literature has been on rural settings, to the neglect of the 'situation in larger towns

History, 20:1 (2009), 67-97; for Oxford, Richard Dyson, 'Welfare provision in Oxford during the latter stages of the Old Poor Law, 1800-1834', *Historical Journal*, 52:4 (2009), 943-62; and for Essex, Henry French 'Living in Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Terling', in *Remaking English Society: social relations and social change in early modern England* ed. by Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, and John Walter (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 281-315; and Henry French, 'An irrevocable shift: detailing the dynamics of rural poverty in southern England, 1762-1834: a case study', *Economic History Review*, 68:3 (2015), 769-805.

10 Michael E. Rose (ed.), *The Poor and the City: The English Poor Law in its Urban Context, 1834-1914* (Leicester, 1985). Contributors whose work has a northern focus include Peter Wood, 'Finance and the urban poor: Sunderland Union, 1836-1914', pp. 19-56; and David Ashforth, 'Settlement and removal in urban areas: Bradford, 1834-71', pp. 57-92. And, for rural settings see R.P. Hastings, 'Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire c.1780-1837', *Borthwick Papers*, No. 61 (1982), 1-41.

11 Hastings, 'Poverty and the Poor Law', p. 32.

12 Mark Blaug, 'The Poor Law Reexamined', *Journal of Economic History*, 24:2 (1964), 229-245 (p. 229).

13 Sam Barrett, 'Kinship, poor relief and the welfare process in early modern England', in *The Poor in England, 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts*, ed. by Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (Manchester, 2003), pp. 199-227.

14 Graham Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies of the Northern Rural Poor: the Mitigation of Poverty in a West Riding Township in the Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, 28:1 (2017), 69-92.

and cities'.¹⁵ The emphasis is understandable. The likelihood of the survival of poor relief records for urban and industrialised settings is smaller than for the rural: such records tend to be weeded out because of municipal growth and changes in municipal administration, and those that do survive are fragmentary. Rural records, like the rural built environment, are more likely to have been preserved.

What then, might be done to investigate the experience of the poor in urban industrialised communities? As highlighted above, microhistorical and reconstitution methods which take advantage of all available records (some types increasingly digitised and searchable) and link them can go a very long way to assessing the condition and experiences of the poor, their interactions with poor relief mechanisms, and other poverty alleviating strategies.

The methodology employed for much of this thesis is similar to that employed in a study of Rigton, a rural township which has a comprehensive corpus of extant poor relief records. This methodology and its development have been outlined in that study.¹⁶ It is founded in a microhistorical approach, one of 'total history', an 'intensive study of documentary material', often encompassing 'every discoverable record relating to a particular locality'.¹⁷ Microhistory, and the history of everyday life, are evolving sub-disciplines with origins in northern Italy, with exponents like Carlo Ginsburg and Carlo Pontì, and theorising about its use and value abounds.¹⁸ In practice, an early, and seminal, exposition of a microhistory was Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's reconstruction of peasant life in a small medieval French parish, based on Inquisition case-notes.¹⁹ In this country Barry Reay developed Pamela Sharpe's vision of 'total reconstitution', linking family reconstitution data collated by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP) with a large variety of other sources in a

15 Dyson, 'Welfare provision in Oxford', p. 943.

16 Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 71.

17 'Total history' coinage, Keith Wrightson, 'Villages, Villagers and Village Studies', *Historical Journal*, 18:3 (1975), 632-639 (p.633); Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 93-113 (p. 95); Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 259.

18 Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, 1991), pp. vii-ix. And see for example, Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives*, ed. by Burke, pp. 93-113; Alf Lüdtke (ed.), *The History of Everyday Life: reconstructing historical experiences and ways of life* (Princeton, 1995); Jill Lepore, 'Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography', *Journal of American History*, 88:1 (2001), 129-144; Brewer, 'Microhistories'.

19 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, English translation (London, 1978).

study of the Blean area of Kent.²⁰

Building on this, work has been accomplished on the reconstruction of pauper's life-cycle experiences in their interactions with the Old Poor Law.²¹ Such work has been developed by the assemblage of 'pauper biographies',²² a call made by Katrina Honeyman to evaluate the fortunes of parish apprentices.²³ Samantha Williams focused on the nominal linkage of all poor law records for Campton and Shefford with CAMPOP family reconstitution data.²⁴ Samantha Shave constructed biographies and relief time-charts for individuals without CAMPOP data, for Motcombe, based on the linkage of 'relief histories to demographic data', while Jeremy Boulton and the *Pauper Biographies Project* combine the rich records of the large Metropolitan parish, St Martin-in-the-Fields to 'reconstruct the lives of the poor' during the long eighteenth century.²⁵

Neither Holbeck nor Rigton, nor indeed any of the communities examined in this thesis belong to parishes reconstituted by CAMPOP. And while Rigton's poor relief is particularly well documented, Holbeck's is not: its surviving records are fragmentary, and extant township poor relief records and the construction of datasets and indexes of the poor are discussed in Chapter 4. Nonetheless, despite the limited survival, this thesis will argue that these records, in conjunction with linkage to an array of other readily available records and the methodology of narrative biographical reconstitution, are sufficient to construct a rigorous, robust and contextualised evaluation of the experiences, constraints and agencies of the urban industrialised poor.

The biographical reconstitution of seven neighbouring (at the time of the 1841 census)

20 Reay, *Microhistories*; Pamela Sharpe 'The total reconstitution method: a tool for class specific study', *Local Population Studies*, 44 (1990), 41-51.

21 For example, Susannah Ottaway and Samantha Williams, 'Reconstructing the life-cycle experience of poverty in the time of the Old Poor Law', *Archives*, 23 (1998), 19-29.

22 French, 'An irrevocable shift', p. 770.

23 Katrina Honeyman, 'The Poor Law, the Parish Apprentice, and the Textile Industries in the North of England, 1780-1830', *Northern History*, 44:2 (2007), 115-40 (p.129).

24 Wrigley, E.A., Davies, R.S., Oeppen, J.E., and Schofield, R.S., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997); Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-cycle*, pp. 30-34.

25 Shave, 'The Dependent Poor?', pp. 75-77; Jeremy Boulton, 'Indoors or Outdoors? Welfare Priorities and Pauper Choices in the Metropolis under the Old Poor Law, 1718-1824', in *Population, Welfare and Economic Change in Britain 1290-1834*, ed. by Chris Briggs, P.M. Kitson, and S.J. Thompson (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 153-187; and see <<https://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>> [accessed January 2016].

households, in a yard off Isle Lane in Holbeck, is central to uncovering the constraints upon, and poverty-alleviating strategies of, the urban working poor in this thesis. Whilst reconstitution in other chapters has its roots in poor relief data, and focuses on those who had a known relationship with poor relief mechanisms, in Chapters 6 and 7 there are extensive investigations of a group of households whose selection criteria were not founded in a known relationship with poor relief, but in spatial habitation, that is their immediate neighbourhood.

Isle Lane was central to industrialised Holbeck, with textile mills at its northern end, but also close to religious institutions of the non-conformist middling-sort, Isle Lane Chapel, and a Wesleyan school.²⁶ The winding street had several yards off it, including one in which the seven adjacent households resided. Such yards (sometimes called 'folds' or 'courts') were typical of the continuation of Leeds' initial urbanising policy of maximising occupancy by infilling medieval burghage plots with a 'higgledy-piggledy assortment of cottages, cellars, shops and workshops' resulting in a 'maze of courts, each with a single entrance'.²⁷ Representative habitation is the key selection criterion.

The application of reconstitution, as employed in this thesis, is founded in the linkage of all known records which provide evidence of an individual and their family's existence.²⁸ It takes advantage of the increasing availability of digitised collections of records hosted online, access to which can, as Tim Hitchcock has argued, inform a 'new history from below'.²⁹ Every historical actor leaves some slight footprint in records of birth and baptism, marriage, and death and burial, alongside, from 1841, disaggregated census returns. The digitisation and uploading online of parish, and other local records, has been prioritised by West Yorkshire Archive Services, and these are curated by a commercial organisation for the family history market.³⁰

Baptismal records tell us not only the name, parentage (and parents' marital status), and often age at baptism of a child, but also parents' township of residence, and the

²⁶ See map in Chapter 6, Figure 6.1.

²⁷ W.G. Rimmer, 'Working Men's Cottages in Leeds, 1770-1840', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Vol. XLVI (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1960), 165-199, (p. 180).

²⁸ All records employed in reconstitutions are listed in the bibliography.

²⁹ Tim Hitchcock, 'A New History from Below', *History Workshop Journal*, 57:1 (2004), 294-298; and 'Historyonics', <<http://historyonics.blogspot.co.uk/2010/04/new-history-from-below.html>> [accessed September 2017].

³⁰ 'Ancestry', <<https://www.ancestry.co.uk/>>.

occupation of the father. Compound baptismal records can inform us of the number and frequency of births, the siblings of a child, and of changing occupation and residency of parents over time. Burial records detail age at death and can outline infant mortality within families, and sometimes, as was the case with Holbeck's cholera epidemic in 1832, cause of death, and often whether the funeral was a pauper burial, paid for by the township. Marriage records show the occupation of the father of both bride and groom, in addition to that of the groom (and occasionally the bride), alongside their residence at the time of marriage. They also reveal the literacy of both parties, and those of their witnesses. While the 1841 census was a somewhat transitional enumeration, from the aggregated censuses of 1801-1831 towards the more comprehensive censuses of 1851 onwards, it nonetheless named and delineated household groupings, placed them in their communities, and gave evidence of age (approximated to within five years for adults), gender and occupation. The later censuses built on this and additionally provided details of full age, township of birth, marital condition, and relationship to the head of household, as well as highlighting disabled individuals' deaf-muteness and blindness (and from 1871 mental impairment).³¹ Other digitised records, including criminal, military, medical, journalistic, and for the enfranchised, voting inclinations, are included in biographical reconstitutions, alongside records, mostly of poor relief, sourced from conventional archives.

Timelines of incidence of occurrence in records are then constructed for the members of each of the households, initially working back from the 1841 census. Thus, for example, the baptismal records of Sarah Alderson's children are compiled, and their father's name and occupation noted. Sarah and her husband James's marriage record can then be ascertained, revealing Sarah's maiden name. Likewise, James's burial record can be sought, alongside those of children who died in infancy. The indexing of extant poor relief records allows these to be placed into the timelines; thus, it is established that the Alderson family were in receipt of relief in 1830, 1832, and 1839. Individuals' timelines can then be brought forward using later census records alongside parish and other records to establish how those family members fared, and consequently investigate the changing constraints upon them and the agencies they employed in alleviating poverty, as is discussed in Chapter 7. It is the narrative exposition of these biographical

³¹ See Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales 1801-1901; a Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London, 2005), pp. 11-14.

reconstitutions, as presented in Chapter 6, which draws out these constraints and agencies.

In tracing individuals, it has been established with complete confidence that there is no ambiguity of identity, by cross-referencing occurrences in records. In many cases (and this was particularly the case with the Hodgson and Dunderdale families) it has been necessary to trace families who had similar names to the historical actors in this investigation, to ensure that their biographical data were not erroneously included in the timelines. Some individuals cannot be traced with complete confidence, and where this is the case it is stated in the narratives.

The brief introduction to Sarah Alderson's reconstitution at the head of this chapter illustrates how the experiences of the poor might be robustly investigated by biographical reconstitution. From it we can assess her and her spouse's marriage ages, number and intervals of children, and their survival rates. We can establish occupations, and proximity to poverty of families, especially those with many children. We can evaluate incomes and amounts of parish relief, and the necessity for and nature of child working in contributing to these precarious family economies. Reconstitution beyond this brief timescale can further evaluate the experience of poverty and its mitigation, while the reconstitution and comparison of the experiences of other members of a community, in the contexts of the restrictions and resources of that community, permits a contextualised synthesis of these experiences, and can evaluate the changing constraints upon the working poor, and the strategies they adopted to alleviate poverty.

The tripartite structure of the thesis addresses first the context of the experience of poverty (Chapters 2 and 3); secondly the nature of poor relief (Chapters 4 and 5); and finally investigates the choices and constraints of the working poor by the narrative biographical reconstitution of seven neighbouring households in the Leeds township of Holbeck (Chapters 6 and 7).

Chapter 2 establishes the demographic context of Holbeck, in comparison with Rigton, and particularly with two other neighbouring, but significantly different communities, Wortley and Rothwell. It examines population change, and gender and age-group variations, the consequences of migration and industrialisation, and relates these

differences to the occupational profiles of the townships, constructing a framework for the contexts of poverty and its mitigation. In so doing it identifies the levels and nature of child labour and gendered working. The necessity of the former, in contributing to family economies, is analysed later in the thesis, whilst the impact of a culture of female factory employment, in terms of some nascent, albeit limited, independence is also evaluated.

Poor relief was a significant plank in the poor's raft of poverty alleviating strategies.³² The changing policies of both the Old Poor Law, and those implemented after its amendment in 1834 have been discussed in great detail by many.³³ While the chronology of this investigation encompasses the early years of the New Poor Law, this thesis argues that its implementation did not take place in many townships in and around Leeds because of the existence of populous and sprawling Gilbert incorporations until, in some cases as late as 1869, and the repeal of Gilbert's Act.³⁴ One such incorporation, central to this project, had as members seven of Leeds' ten out-townships. Some studies have noted the role of these incorporations in obstructing the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, but that role has remained without thorough investigation.³⁵ Others have followed the Webbs' foregrounding of their supposed southern predominance and entirely rural nature.³⁶

Because the existence of the Gilbert incorporations obstructed the formation of logistically coherent New Poor Law unions, poor relief could continue ostensibly in the tradition of the Old Poor Law, and be administered locally by select vestry rather than boards of guardians under the centralised auspices of the Poor Law Commission at

32 Investigations into the makeshift economies of the poor has rightly gained prominence in recent years, for example: King and Tomkins (eds.), *The Poor in England*; Samantha Williams, 'Earnings, poor relief and the economy of makeshifts: Bedfordshire in the early years of the New Poor Law', *Rural History*, 16:1 (2005), 21-52.

33 The most recent and comprehensive, albeit southern focused, exposition of which is found in Samantha A. Shave, *Pauper Policies* (Manchester, 2017).

34 22 Geo. III, c. 83, *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor* (1782). For the Act's role in the south of the country see Shave, *Pauper Policies*, pp. 56-110.

35 Michael Rose, 'The anti-Poor Law movement in the north of England', *Northern History*, 1:1 (1966), 70-91 (pp. 89-90); David Ashforth, 'The Urban Poor Law', in *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Derek Fraser (Basingstoke, 1976), pp. 149-170 (p. 128); Roger Wells, 'The Poor Law Commission and publicly-owned housing in the English countryside, 1834-47', *Agricultural History Review*, 55:2 (2007), 181-204 (p. 193).

36 S. Webb and B. Webb, *English Local Government Vol 7: English Poor Law History, Part 1*, (London, 1927), pp. 272-276; for example, Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws 1700-1930* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 21; Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 5.

Somerset House.³⁷ As a consequence, working-class politicisation of the 1840s, in its Chartist form, might find municipal voice in the administration of poor relief. Chapter 3 of this thesis examines poor relief policies, and their effect, at both a national and local level, emphasising the role of the Gilbert incorporations, and the politicised nature of local relief administration, and their responses to poverty and economic fluctuations. Collating local poor relief sources with records of the Poor Law Commission, and evidence in Parliamentary Papers, it analyses the administration of relief, and evaluates the impact of differences in relief policy.

Poverty for the labouring poor was endemic, its proximity always, at best, just around the corner. Welfare mechanisms were a flimsy safety net, but a crucial one. Not least because of the area's non-adoption of the New Poor Law, outdoor relief was townships' primary welfare provision, and cash relief its most valuable form. Chapter 4 identifies and quantifies cash relief mechanisms in an urban township, delineating the types of relief available to the poor, namely, regular weekly pensions and casual relief, establishing that, in urban industrialised settings, cyclical un- and under-employment were critical factors in levels of casual relief, and consequent relief expenditure. Identifying who might be entitled to relief, and why, it analyses the circumstances of the necessity of relief, and township mechanisms' responses to that necessity. In so doing it establishes the existence of a standardised payment system, particularly for 'pension' and 'child allowance' types of payments, but one also tailored to individual families' numbers and incomes, especially with regard to casual relief due to sickness, and un- or under-employment. It discusses out-relief, both for migrants to, and from, the relieving township, and examines the threat and implementation of removal orders.

Whilst cash relief was the most valuable form of relief for the working poor, and the most significant expenditure for their townships' vestries, many other relief mechanisms were paid for out of the poor rate, and a range of additional services and facilities, some institutional, are identifiable. Chapter 5 analyses these. In its first part it examines welfare institutions, focusing particularly on the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum near Wakefield, to which townships sent their mentally ill poor. The case-notes and

³⁷ There are excellent overviews of the remit and workings of the Poor Laws including: Oxley, G.W., *Poor Relief in England and Wales 1601-1834* (London, 1974); Slack, P., *The English Poor Law 1531-1782* (Cambridge, 1990); Lees, L.H., *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998); Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*.

admission notes of this establishment, collated with local vestry minutes, are a particularly rich source for analysing the concerns and experiences of the poor in their communities. The second part of this chapter identifies and evaluates other forms of local welfare, highlighting small business start-up funding, emigration assistance, township medical relief systems (including smallpox inoculation), funeral provision, and the apprenticing of poor children.

Yet, application to community welfare provision was but one of the strategies available to the poor, given prominence perhaps because it leaves records. It is more problematic to measure other strategies, but the paucity of poor relief payments foregrounds their importance. By reconstitution methodology, the final two core chapters of this thesis attempt to do this. Chapter 6 consists of the narrative biographical reconstitution, across two generations, of a group of seven neighbouring households living in a yard, off Isle Lane in Holbeck, Leeds, in 1841. Chapter 7 is the synthesis of the findings of these reconstitutions, and highlights and discusses the experiences of, the constraints upon, and agencies of the working poor in that urban, industrialised setting during the nineteenth century. It argues that the investigation of the minutiae of people's lives, and their restrictions and choices and interaction within a community, can delineate the experiences of the urban poor. Declining occupations, and necessary change to other employment, children's and women's roles in contributing income to often fragile family economies are examined. Collective self-help strategies, most notably the role of friendly societies, are evaluated, whilst household and kinship support strategies, household realignments, the taking in of, or becoming, lodgers, family networks and spatial proximity, and family limitation are all identified and discussed in detail.

At all times this thesis has tried to describe and evaluate the impact of industrialisation on the working poor themselves, and tell the story of their experiences and agencies from individuals' and families' own perspectives. These people are its core.

Chapter 2

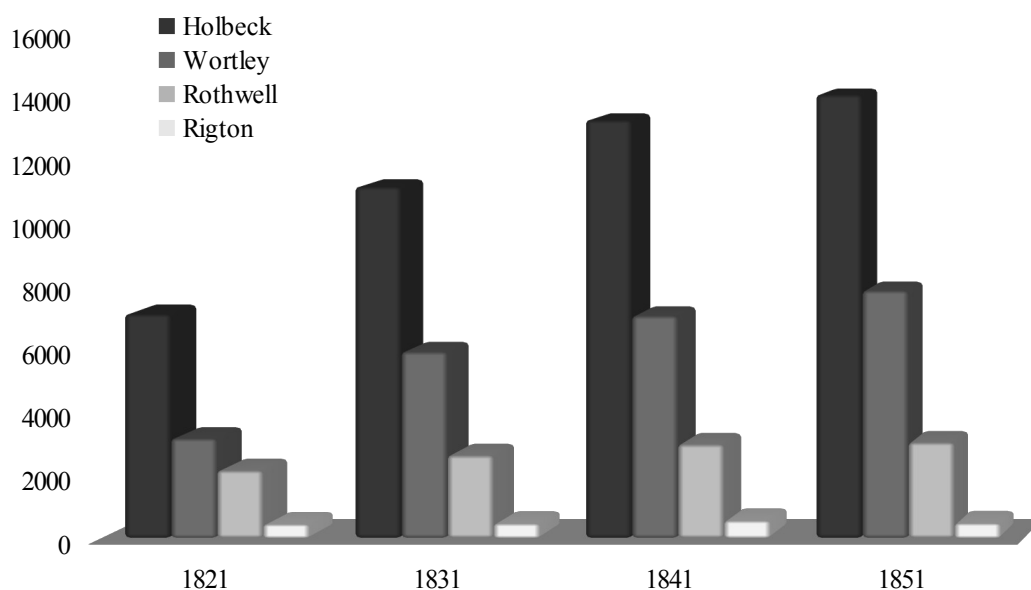
Comparative demographics

This, the first of two chapters establishing a contextual framework, examines the demographics which informed the experiences and alleviation of poverty. In comparing four core townships, Holbeck, Wortley, Rothwell and Rigton, it evaluates the differing rates of population change, by gender and age-group, and investigates the varying occupational profiles of the communities.

Population and change

The underlying demographic context of most of Leeds borough townships was industrialisation and population growth: that of the disparate Carlton Incorporation townships, including Rigton and Rothwell, as well as Wortley, was more varied. The population change in the four comparative townships are shown below, Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Population in 1821-1851, Holbeck, Wortley, Rothwell, and Rigton



Source: Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Population tables, I. Number of the inhabitants in 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841 and 1851*, Vol. II (London, 1852)

If population levels varied significantly, differences in population density were yet more pronounced. The most populous township, Holbeck, was also the smallest, comprising 760 acres, compared with Wortley's 940, Rigton's 3,120, and Rothwell's 3,170. In 1831 Holbeck had 14.75 persons per acre, Wortley 6.32, Rothwell 0.83, and Rigton 0.14.¹ Population and population change between 1821 and 1851, the broad focus of this thesis, for each decade, are tabulated below, Table 2.1. An extended tabulation, which includes the population change of each township within the Carlton Incorporation is presented in the Appendix, Table A.1.

Table 2.1 Population and population change: the Leeds townships, including Holbeck and Wortley; Rothwell; Rigton and the Carlton Incorporation townships combined, 1821-1851

Township	Parish of	Population				Population change %			
		1821	1831	1841	1851	1821-31	1831-41	1841-51	1821-1851
England and Wales		12.173m	14.052m	16.035m	18.054m	+15.4	+14.1	+12.4	+48.3
West Riding		816,444	993,869	1.177m	1.340m	+21.7	+18.4	+13.9	+64.1
Leeds [in-township]	Leeds	48,603	71,602	88,741	101,343	+47.3	+23.9	+14.2	+108.5
Hunslet	Leeds	8,171	12,074	15,852	19,466	+47.8	+31.3	+22.8	+138.2
Holbeck	Leeds	7,151	11,210	13,346	14,152	+56.8	+19.1	+6.0	+97.9
Bramley	Leeds	4,921	7,039	8,875	8,949	+43.0	+26.1	+0.8	+81.9
Armley	Leeds	4,273	5,159	5,676	6,190	+20.7	+10.0	+9.1	+44.9
Beeston	Leeds	1,670	2,128	2,175	1,973	+27.4	+2.2	-9.3	+18.1
Chapel Allerton	Leeds	1,678	1,934	2,580	2,842	+15.3	+33.4	+10.2	+69.4
Farnley	Leeds	1,332	1,591	1,530	1,722	+19.4	-3.9	+12.5	+29.3
Headingley-cum-Burley	Leeds	2,154	3,849	4,768	6,105	+78.7	+23.9	+28.0	+183.4
Potternewton	Leeds	664	863	1,241	1,385	+30.0	+43.8	+11.6	+108.6
Wortley	Leeds	3,179	5,944	7,090	7,896	+87.0	+19.3	+11.4	+148.4
Borough total/average		83,796	123,393	152,054	172,270	+47.3	+23.2	+13.3	+105.6
Rothwell	Rothwell	2155	2638	2988	3052	+22.4	+13.3	+2.1	+41.6
Rigton	Kirkby Overblow	429	451	542	463	+5.1	+20.2	-14.6	+7.9
[Carlton Inc. total]			54,310	61,766	67,340				
[Leeds townships in Carlton Inc.]			21,468 =39.5%	25,060 >40.6%	28,113 >41.7%				

Source: as Figure 2.1. See notes to Table A.1, Appendix, for minor population discrepancies

¹ PP 1833 (149), *Abstract of Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831*, pp. 792, 800, and 824.

There were considerable differences between townships, and between the townships and national and county aggregated rates of growth. All but two in Leeds borough, Armley and Farnley, exceeded both the growth for England and Wales, 48.3%, and that of the West Riding, 64.1%, over the thirty-year period. The core of this growth was the decade ending in 1831, when Holbeck's population grew by 57%, and neighbouring Wortley's by 87%. The demographic context of poor relief as ascertained from the surviving records in the 1830s, and the experiences of poverty and its alleviation detailed in following chapters, is then one of continuing population growth and consolidation following exponential growth.

Whilst the in-township's population, and that of the borough total, more than doubled over thirty years, some townships, like Headingley-cum-Burley at 183.4% and Wortley at 148.4%, had yet more precipitous population growth. These two also had the largest growth within the Carlton Incorporation, where growth or stagnation might be very localised and dependent on socio-economic factors, namely variants of occupational composition.

The last non-disaggregated census in 1831 classified occupations in each township. Two criteria of measurement used in this census were by family, ('families chiefly employed in agriculture'; 'families ... in trade, manufacture and handicrafts'; and 'all other families'), and by adult males.² The 20+ male criterion excluded child and women workers, and appears more problematic, more ambiguous, in its classifying. Consequently, the simpler familial occupational groupings have been chosen as the primary indicators of occupation, with the 20+ male figures additionally presented as a check for the percentage of agricultural employment, which, as in the census, is used as a benchmark. The categories have been simplified into 'chiefly agriculture', 'chiefly trade and manufacture' and 'chiefly other', and are presented, along with gender balance, for the same townships in Table 2.1 (which details population change), in Table 2.2. As for the previous tabulation, an extended version which includes data for each Carlton Incorporation township is presented in the Appendix, Table A.2.

² For further clarification of these occupational, and other, classifications in the 1831 census see Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, pp. 28-29.

Table 2.2 Population by gender, and occupational composition by family: the Leeds townships, including Holbeck and Wortley; Rothwell, and Rigton, 1831

Township	Population 1831					Chiefly agriculture			Chiefly trade, manufacture		Chiefly other	
	total	male	fem	% fem	famil-ies	fams	%	20+ male %	fams	%	fams	%
Leeds	71602	34672	36930	51.6	15556	15	1.1	[1.4]	9790	62.9	5589	35.9
Hunslet	12074	5956	6118	50.7	2610	107	4.1	[4.0]	2143	82.1	360	13.8
Holbeck	11210	5552	5658	50.5	2408	24	1.0	[1.0]	1855	77.0	529	22.0
Bramley	7039	3516	3523	50.0	1405	23	1.6	[3.8]	1004	71.5	378	26.9
Armley	5159	2611	2548	49.4	1064	15	1.4	[2.1]	858	80.6	191	18.0
Beeston	2128	1142	986	45.5	419	104	24.8	[24.1]	216	51.6	99	23.6
Chapel Allerton	1934	952	982	50.8	426	108	25.4	[30.0]	160	37.6	158	37.1
Farnley	1591	793	798	50.2	308	45	14.6	[12.4]	183	59.4	80	26.0
Headingley-cum-Burley	3849	1880	1969	51.2	702	44	6.3	[8.3]	550	78.3	108	15.4
Potternewton	863	393	470	54.5	178	53	29.8	[30.0]	74	41.6	51	28.7
Wortley	5944	3006	2938	49.4	1196	49	4.1	[4.6]	1049	87.7	98	8.2
Borough total/average	123393	60473	62920	51.0	26272	749	2.9	[3.3]	17882	68.1	7641	29.1
Rothwell	2638	1336	1302	49.4	546	87	15.9	[16.1]	131	24.0	328	60.1
Rigton	451	236	215	47.7	90	65	72.2	[84.0]	9	10.0	16	17.8
[Carlton Inc. total]	54,310				10789	2018	18.7		6073	56.3	2698	25.0

Source: *PP* 1833 (149), pp. 792-831

Collating the occupational composition of townships with population growth shows, unsurprisingly, that townships with families working in manufacture had the greatest levels of growth. The two manufacturing townships central to this thesis are indicative of that, and that growth is substantiated by comparison with other Leeds manufacturing townships in Table 2.2. The agricultural township of Rigton's population stagnated over the thirty-year period. However, as Rigton is the only agricultural township included in this investigation, comparison with others might corroborate this demographic stagnation. Including Rigton, twelve 'chiefly' agricultural townships (that is, having at least 60% engaged predominantly in agriculture), belonged to the Carlton Incorporation: their population changes are shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Population by gender in 1831 and population change, 1821-1851: the twelve predominantly agricultural townships in the Carlton Incorporation

<i>Township</i>	<i>% chiefly agriculture</i>	<i>Total pop. 1831</i>	<i>Female pop. 1831</i>	<i>Female % of pop. 1831</i>	<i>Pop. change 1821-51</i>
Arthington	77.8	360	169	46.9	+11.9
Beamsley	64.0	279	135	48.4	- 23.4
Bramhope	64.0	359	167	46.5	+6.8
Carlton	87.5	181	88	48.6	+17.1
Collingham	76.1	414	187	45.2	+2.4
Denton	74.2	179	85	47.5	- 3.1
Dunkeswick	60.0	261	122	46.7	- 3.1
Leathley	60.3	295	149	50.5	- 20.8
Middleton	92.5	166	90	54.2	- 21.0
Nesfield-cum-Langbar	73.8	206	100	48.5	+9.0
Rigton	72.2	451	215	47.7	+7.9
Weeton	72.7	322	166	51.6	- 3.2
Overall	60 - 92.5	3473	1673	48.2	-1.5%

Source: *PP* 1833 (149)

The twelve predominantly agricultural townships had a combined population of 3,449 in 1821, falling by 1.5% to 3,397 in 1851. Only one in the Carlton Incorporation might be categorised as 'chiefly' other, the coal mining township of Rothwell. Its population growth, 41.6%, was nearer the national average, but well below both the regional growth and that of manufacturing townships.

Gendered demography and local migration

An overview of demographic change in the area suggests that the hinterland townships' populations were being sucked into manufacturing townships, like those of Leeds Borough. Pat Hudson argues that 'migration patterns ... thrown up by sex-specific movement are fundamental to our understanding of demography and labour supply in the industrial revolution'.³ Localised migration was female led, with girls and young women finding work in service and, notably, in the textile mills. The flax and worsted sectors had a particularly high ratio of female workers in comparison with the locally traditional woollen sector, which retained a male-orientated apprenticeship structure

3 Pat Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (London, 1992), p. 159.

from its domestic culture.⁴ Mill-owners perhaps preferred country girls to town girls; the sanitation reformer and factories inspector Robert Baker moralised:

... the mill girl from the country, within three or four miles of Leeds, is seemly in her person, and generally decorous in her deportment ... on the other hand, a mill girl from the town ... [tends to] become independent and ungovernable ... avoided by ... overlookers who have the sense to notice this difference.⁵

Giving evidence before the Sadler Committee in 1832, and the Factories Commission the following year, 17 year-old Eliza Marshall recalled her widowed mother had brought herself and two sisters to Leeds from Doncaster to find her work when she was 9. Eliza and her sisters (one a 'wild girl', the other a 'good girl') all worked in non-woollen textile mills.⁶ Similarly John Simpson of Rigton moved his family to Saltaire where his four daughters later formed an all-female sibling economy, all working in the worsted or alpaca mills.⁷

Female migration was predominantly fuelled by working opportunities in the textile mills: in terms of very local migration, within Leeds Borough, the young women of Beeston, which had a mixed occupational demographic, migrated to the adjacent manufacturing townships of Hunslet, Holbeck, and Leeds in-township (Table 2.2). However, the pronounced female majority (54.5%) in the mixed occupational township of Potternewton, in Leeds, Figure 2.2, is explained by a different demographic profile. In 1841 girls, and young women of marital age, those in the 10-19, and 20-34 age-groups, were in the considerable gender majority: 59.5% of the former age-group, and 62.2% of the latter were female. Potternewton had become a middle-class suburb: as Poor Law Commissioner Charles Clements noted in 1843, the 'principal manufacturers connected with' Leeds had 'their country houses' in Leeds Borough townships north of the river.⁸

4 Calculations based on manufacturers' returns to the Factories Commission in 1834 suggest that between 60% and 70% of children working in Leeds non-woollen textile mills were girls: see Graham Rawson, 'Parish Apprentices and Free Child-workers of Leeds and its Out-townships, 1819-1836: a comparative approach to their contexts, experiences and fortunes' (Unpublished MA dissertation, Open University, 2012), p. 16.

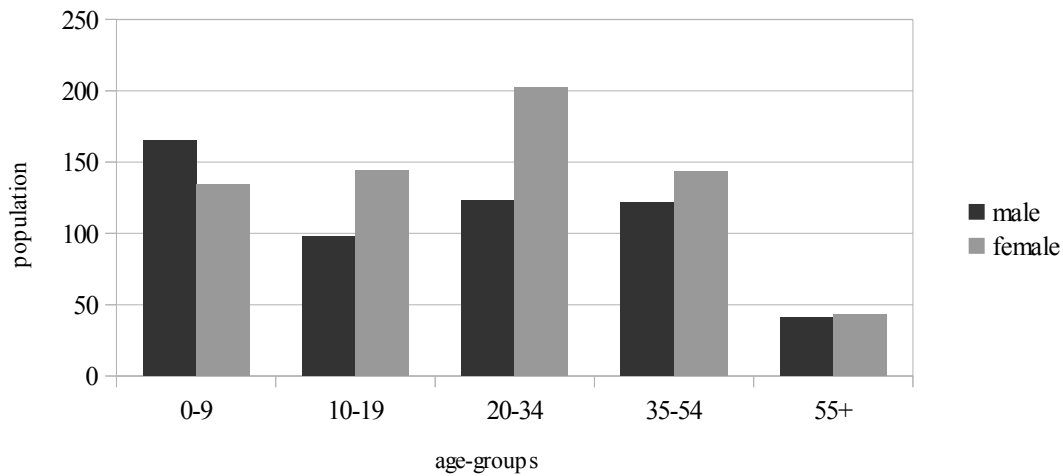
5 Statistical Committee of the Town Council, 'Report upon the Condition of the Town of Leeds and of its Inhabitants', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (Jan 1840), 397-424 (p.413). And see Chapter 7 for a discussion of nascent female independence.

6 *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 148; *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., pp. 72-74.

7 Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 85.

8 TNA, MH12/15226, 4 Nov 1843.

Figure 2.2 Population by age-group and gender, Potternewton, 1841



Source: TNA, HO 107/1348/7

These wealthy households had live-in female servants: at the 1841 census there were thirty-eight named as such in the 10-19 age-group, and fifty-eight in the 20-34 (plus a further twelve in the 35-54 group); several other young women were governesses and teachers. Girls and young women, and their migration patterns, led the changing demographics during the industrial revolution and urbanisation, in the suburbs as well as the manufacturing townships. But it was in the latter where their numbers, and the consequent gender balances, were more significant.

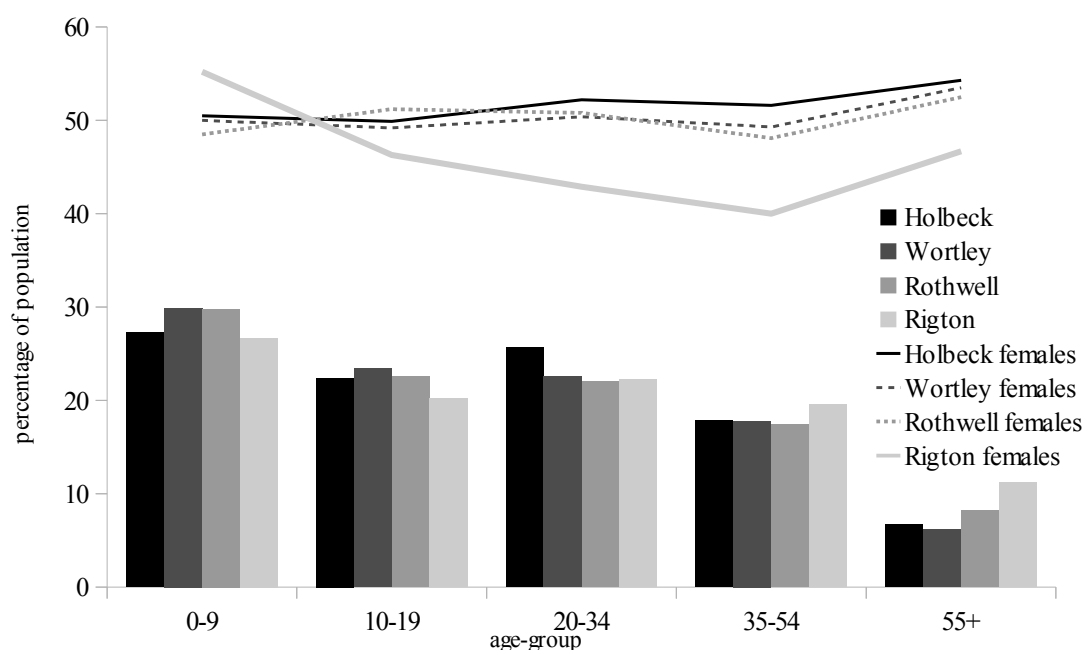
Comparative gender and age-group demographics

As discussed elsewhere, the leaching of young female populations to manufacturing areas resulted in both age-group and gender imbalances.⁹ These differed across the four compared townships, Figure 2.3. By 1831 manufacturing townships contained more females than agricultural ones, and by 1841 the proportion had grown, at the further expense of agricultural townships; the female proportion of Holbeck, particularly, continued to grow to 1851, Table 2.4. Significantly, the gender imbalance between manufacturing and agricultural communities was most pronounced, by 1841, in the two age-groups of marital fecundity, Figure 2.3: Holbeck's population was 52.2% female in

⁹ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 72-73.

the 20-34 age group, while Rigton's was 42.9%; the 35-54 age-group had a similar imbalance, Holbeck, 51.6% to Rigton's 40.0%.

Figure 2.3 Gender balance by age-group, and age groups as a proportion of the population: Holbeck, Wortley, Rothwell, and Rigton, 1841



Source: TNA, HO 107/1344/7-14; HO 107/1350/1-4; HO 107/1269/15-16; HO 107/1287/24

Women who had migrated to manufacturing areas to seek work as children, or young unmarried women, particularly in the decade of precipitous population growth, 1821-1831, had now aged ten to twenty years, leaving a dearth of women in their most fertile years in agricultural areas, and a concomitant number of unmarried men in those areas. By 1841, there was a significant age-group imbalance between Holbeck and Rigton (Figure 2.3), most notably in the 55+ age-group. This impacted on poor relief: with a greater number of pensioners on regular 'Town's pay', Rigton levied a poor rate of almost 6s. 5d. per capita, 25% higher than Holbeck's that year, at 4s. 9d. per head.¹⁰ While Rigton and Holbeck's age-group and gender profiles were polarised, Wortley and Rothwell's were similar, and between the two others. The occupational demographics of the four townships varied significantly, and clearly informed the age and gender balance of the varying communities.

¹⁰ See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 73.

Table 2.4 Population ratio by gender, 1831 and 1841, Leeds Borough, Holbeck, Wortley, Rothwell, Rigton, and the twelve predominantly agricultural townships in the Carlton Incorporation

	<i>female % 1831</i>	<i>female % 1841</i>	<i>female % 1851</i>
England [and Wales]	50.7 [inc Wales]	51.1 [England only]	-
Leeds Borough	51.0	51.5	-
Holbeck	50.5	51.3	52.5
Wortley	49.4	50.0	50.8
Rothwell	49.4	49.9	50.1
Rigton	47.7	46.7	47.2
Carlton Inc. twelve agricultural townships	48.2	47.8	-

Source: Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Population tables, I. ...*, Vol. II (London, HMSO, 1852)

Occupational demography

Rigton's occupational profile in 1831 was predominantly agricultural, and so it remained. At the township valuation in 1838 Rigton presented a relatively diverse agricultural profile.¹¹ Of its 2990 acres 1173 were pasture, 225 were high, mostly open, moorland, 1209 acres were arable, whilst 303 were in meadow. Although parts of two farms, including the largest in acreage, had almost hill farming characteristics, most of the township's land usage suggests a fertile mixed agricultural economy. At 40% arable and 49% pasture or meadow, and less woodland and moorland, Rigton's profile compared favourably with a group of twelve neighbouring townships (29% arable and 45% pasture or meadow) and the West Riding generally (30% arable and 47% pasture or meadow).¹² On his agricultural tour of England in 1850-51 James Caird recalled '[p]roceeding down Wharfedale by Burley, Otley, and Arthington, to Harewood', (townships close to Rigton), 'a rich country is passed through'. He noted all the larger farms had 'dairies, the produce ... made into butter, and sold in the manufacturing towns'.¹³ In 1831 sixty-five of its ninety families, 72%, were 'chiefly employed' in agriculture: 84% of 106 males aged 20 or over pursued that occupation; of these, sixty-four were described as labourers.¹⁴ However, this number included farmers' sons and

11 Harrogate Central Library, Local Collections, 'Pannal and Rigton' [Hereafter, HCL], Rigton Measurement and Valuation, 1838.

12 Based on Marion Sharples, *The Fawkes Family and their Estates in Wharfedale, 1819-1936*, (Leeds, 1997), p. 87.

13 James Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852), pp. 290-91.

14 *PP* 1833 (149), pp. 800-801.

other relations. Labourers without such connections were most vulnerable to poverty, yet to distinguish them at a quantitative level is problematic. ICeM data analysis of the 1851 census reveals that of 201 persons engaged in agriculture forty-eight were farmers, seventy-seven were farmers' relatives 'assisting in the work of the farm' and seventy-six were agricultural labourers or farm servants 'not otherwise distinguished'.¹⁵ Analysis at a very local level, detailing families and individuals, can more accurately assess labour demographics. In 1841 labourers (including girls or women designated 'female servant'), and labourers' families, comprised 53% of Rigton's population aged 10 or over.¹⁶

A fine-grained analysis of Rigton's labouring poor has been established elsewhere.¹⁷ That of Holbeck's forms the focus of the later part of this thesis. To provide a contextual framework for this qualitative analysis, Holbeck's occupational demographics, in comparison with those of Wortley and Rothwell, are presented below, in a series of figures based on manually collected data from the 1841 census.¹⁸ The data upon which these figures are based are presented, in the form of compound tabulations for each of the townships, in the Appendix, Tables A.3, A.4, and A.5. Across the three townships, five significant occupational sectors have been identified: flax; wool; mining; metals (including engineering); and agriculture. Whilst mining and agriculture were less significant sectors in the two Leeds townships, they have been included for comparison, as has wool and flax for Rothwell. Remaining occupations have been conglomerated into 'other' occupations. Some of these, however were substantial sectors. In Wortley 4.3% of the male workforce were engaged in brickmaking, another 4% in construction trades, while 5.1% of the female workforce were employed in clothing manufacture (dressmaking and millinery mostly) and another 5.7% of females worked in other textile sectors, notably worsted. A further 2.1% of the male workforce worked in textile support or dyeing. In Holbeck, while only 0.5% were brickmakers, 5.8% worked in construction trades, and 1.4% in textile support and dyeing. Of the female workforce, 8.2% were in the clothing sector (as were 4.9% of males) but only 1% in other textile manufacture. In Rothwell an oil mill additionally provided 1.3% of the male workforce with employment, and twine and rope making employed a further 1.9%. Figure 2.4a shows these comparisons across the major sectors.

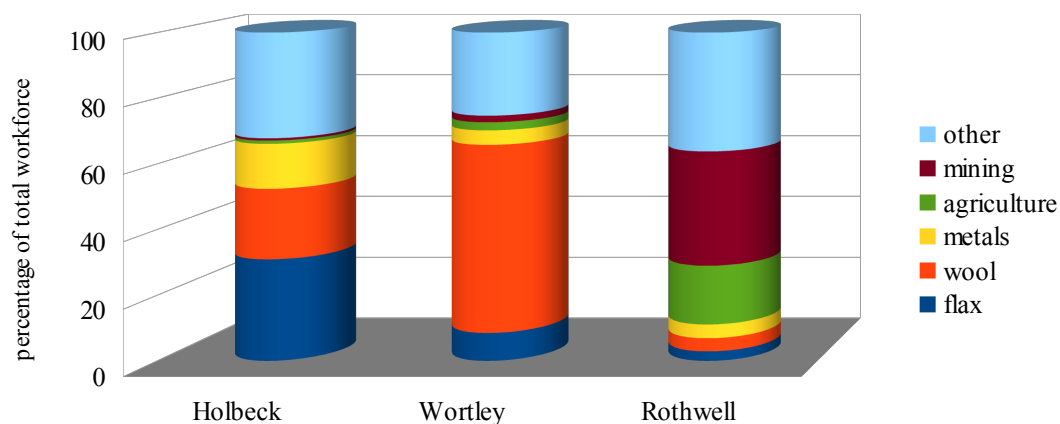
¹⁵ University of Essex, 'Integrated Census Microdata Project', <icem.data-archive.ac.uk> [accessed September 2014].

¹⁶ TNA, HO107/1287/24.

¹⁷ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies'.

¹⁸ TNA, HO 107/1344/7-14; HO 107/1350/1-4; HO 107/1269/15-16.

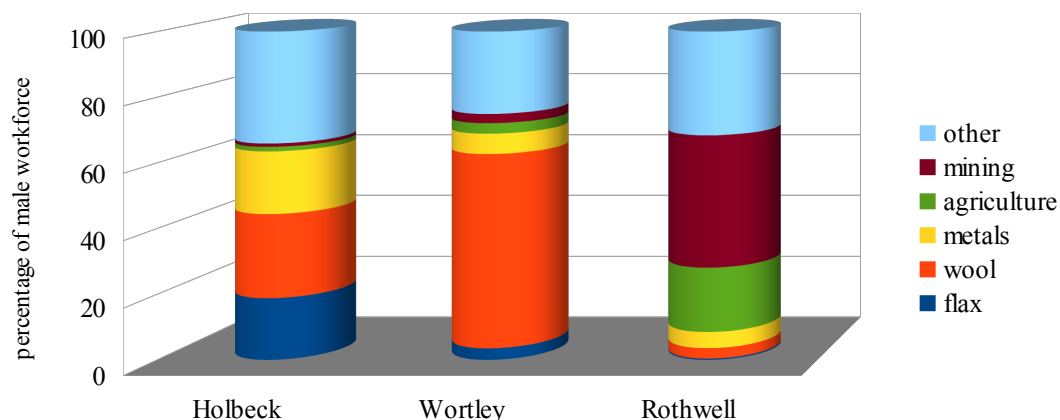
Figure 2.4a Proportion of total workforce employed in townships' major sectors, 1841: Holbeck, Wortley, and Rothwell



Holbeck presented, by 1841, a much more varied occupational profile particularly when compared with Wortley, which remained solidly a woollen weaving township. This is yet more pronounced in terms of solely male occupations, Figure 2.4b.

Male employment

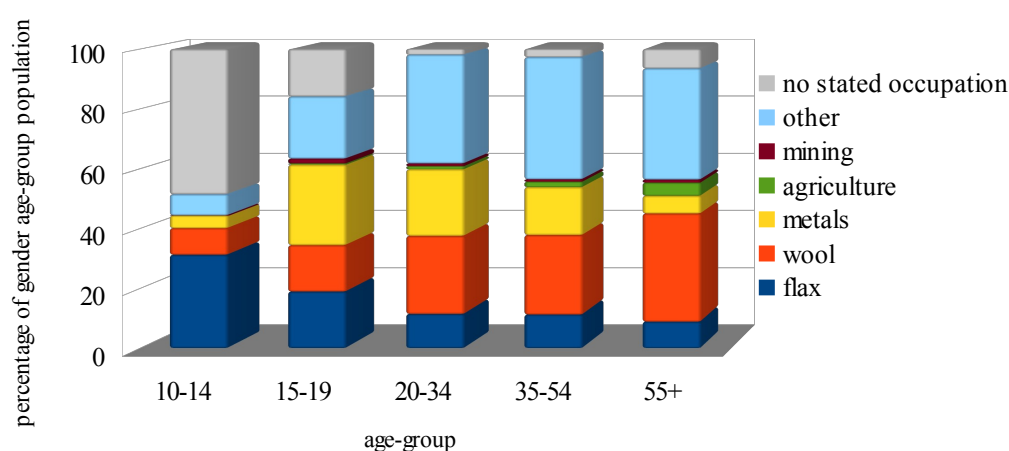
Figure 2.4b Proportion of male workforce employed in townships' major sectors, 1841: Holbeck, Wortley, and Rothwell



Woollen cloth manufacture, at 26%, was the single biggest sectoral employee for Holbeck's males, but it was becoming challenged by metals and flax, each employing 19% of the male workforce. Woollen cloth manufacture in Holbeck, especially, was undertaken by an older demographic (Figure 2.5a). As discussed in later chapters,

woollen cloth weaving was in terminal decline, and men sought alternative employment. In 1834 there were (including Thomas and Nathaniel Dunderdale, discussed in Chapter 6) thirty-five independent clothiers in Holbeck still taking their cloth to the Mixed Cloth Hall; in Wortley there were seventy-three from a population almost half that of Holbeck.¹⁹ However, as discussed later, it would be journeymen hand-loom weavers and cloth-dressers working in the mechanised sector who formed the great majority of male woollen cloth workers.

Figure 2.5a Male occupational profile by sector and age-group, Holbeck, 1841



There is a clear correlation between a younger male population working in the burgeoning metalworking and engineering sector, and an older one in traditional woollen manufacture. Flax working, for males, tailed off after child-working ages.

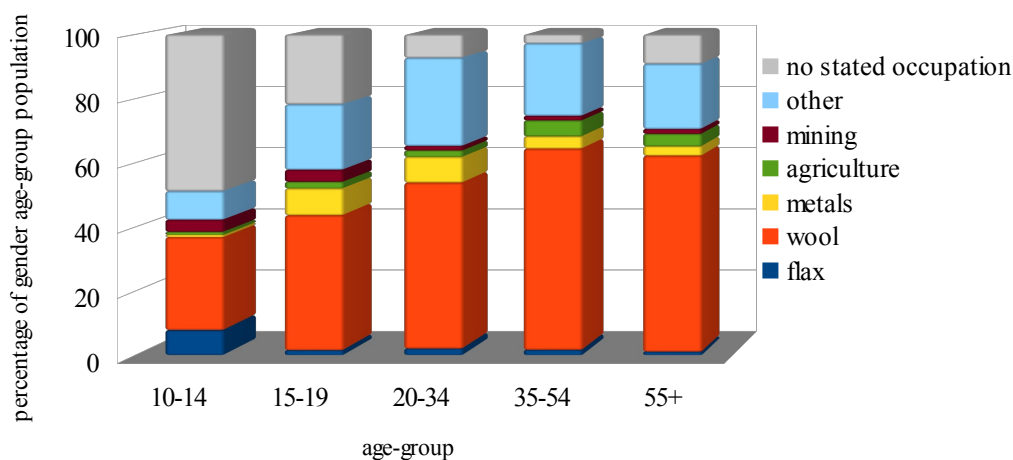
Baines noted in 1822 that Wortley was 'chiefly inhabited by clothiers'.²⁰ In 1841 woollen cloth manufacture, mostly hand-loom weaving, remained by far its dominant industry, accounting for 59% of the male workforce: 631 males were identified as woollen cloth weavers or clothiers/cloth makers; a further sixty-five females were also woollen weavers (plus five specifically designated power-loom weavers). These figures correlate with the 764 hand-loom looms in Wortley calculated by the Hand-loom Inquiry published the previous year.²¹ This, as in Holbeck, was most significantly undertaken by the older demographic.

¹⁹ *General and Commercial Directory of the Borough of Leeds* (Leeds, 1834), pp. 330 and 334.

²⁰ *History, Directory & Gazetteer of the County of York: Vol. I - West Riding* (Leeds, 1822), p. 639.

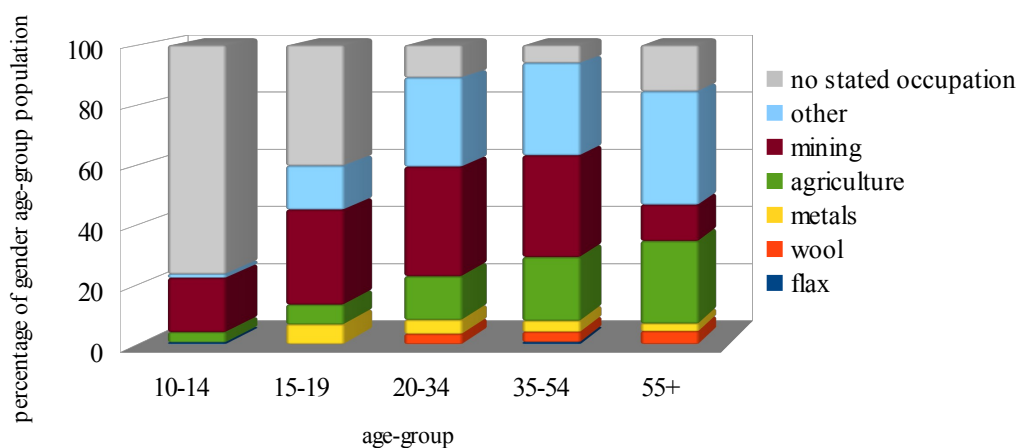
²¹ *PP 1840 (43-II), Hand-loom weavers ... Reports from Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners. Report, by H.S. Chapman, Esq., on the West Riding of Yorkshire ... Part III*, p. 529.

Figure 2.5b Male occupational profile by sector and age-group, Wortley, 1841



Baines also noted 'a vein of clay ... used ... for the coarser kind of earthenware, and also for the making of tobacco pipes', in the township'.²² This, along with ancillary coal-mining provided alternative work, mostly for boys. Over 40% of Rothwell's males were employed in coalmining, and Baines also highlighted that township's major resource: 'its principal value is below the soil, and its coal mines ... are of great value.'²³

Figure 2.5c Male occupational profile by sector and age-group, Rothwell, 1841



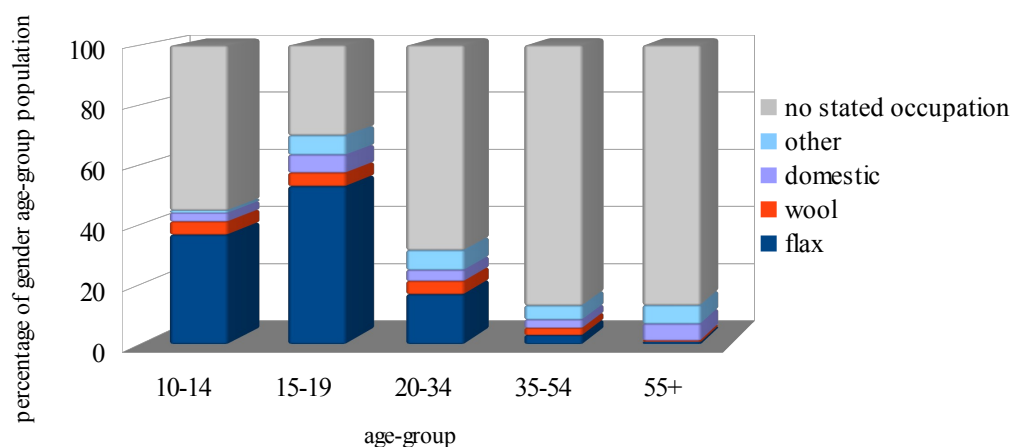
Female employment

There were considerable differences in sectoral opportunities and levels of employment for girls and women. As noted, Holbeck's flax industry encouraged female in-migration. There was also significant female employment in the woollen sector in Wortley. The following figures show employment sectors for females across the three townships.

²² *History, Directory & Gazetteer, Vol. I, 1822, p. 639.*

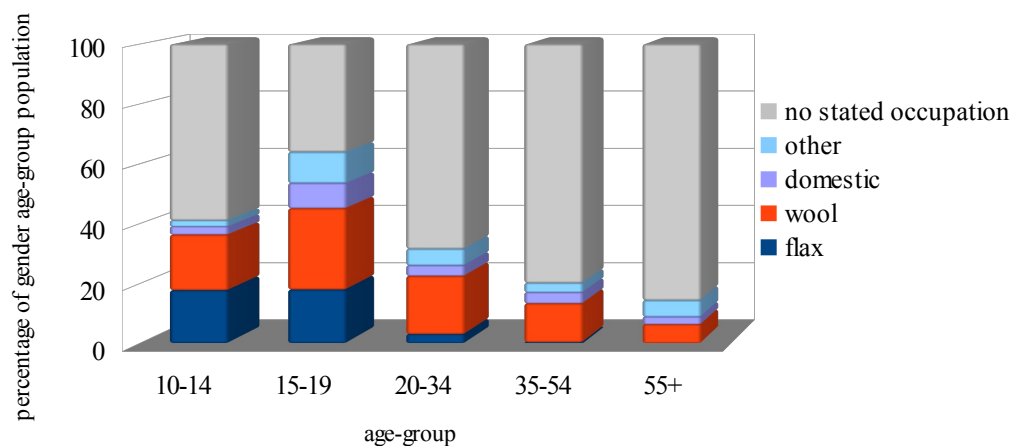
²³ *Ibid, p. 584.*

Figure 2.6a Female occupational profile by sector and age-group, Holbeck, 1841



Simply put, in Holbeck girls worked (mostly in the flax mills), until they wed and had children. In Wortley there were fewer opportunities in flax mills: girls' employment was 4% lower in the 10-14 age-group, and 6% lower in the 15-19 age-group. Women, however, were more likely to be employed in the woollen sector, mostly as burlers, and in the 35-54 age-group were almost twice as likely to be in stated employment as their Holbeck peers. As noted above, several women were weavers (while others were described as 'woollen warpers'). Albeit very rarely, female clothiers of the traditional domestic manufacturing sort can be identified: Mary Vickers of Holbeck was listed as attending the Mixed Cloth Hall in 1834,²⁴ while in Wortley, in 1841, 65 year-old Sarah Rodshaw was a 'woollen manufacturer' while her 25 year-old son was simply a weaver.

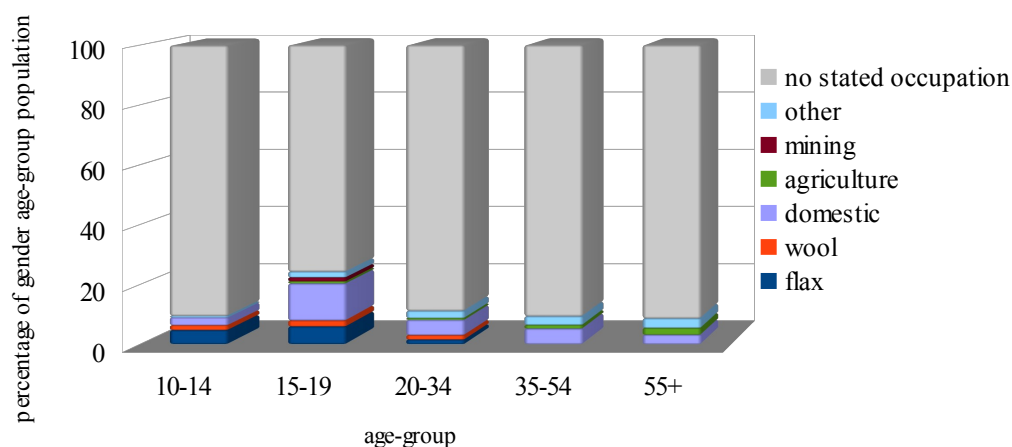
Figure 2.6b Female occupational profile by sector and age-group, Wortley, 1841



²⁴ *General and Commercial Directory*, 1834, p. 330.

While around 40% of girls in the 10-14 age-group in both Holbeck and Wortley, and over 60% (almost 70% in Holbeck) in the 15-19 group were in stated employment, in stark comparison, opportunities for female working in Rothwell were much slimmer, Figure 2.6c

Figure 2.6c Female occupational profile by sector and age-group, Rothwell, 1841



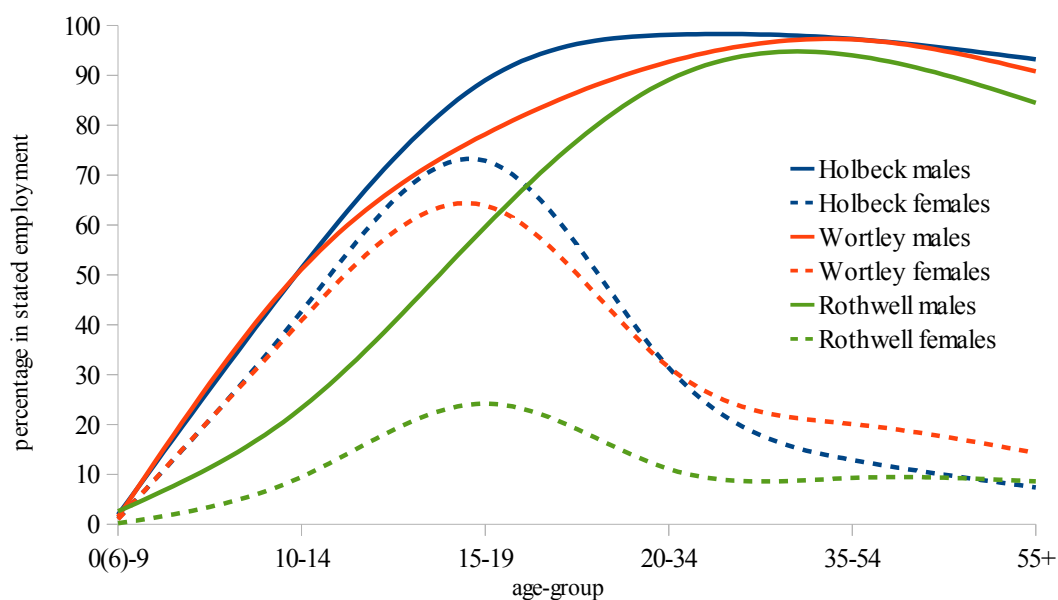
Far fewer females were in stated employment in Rothwell in 1841, across all age-groups. And while Rothwell had a small flax mill which employed some, there were fewer opportunities for girls. Two girls however worked in the coal mines: 15-19 year-old Mary Adamson of Town Street worked with her brothers, as did 19 year-old Mary Ward of the small settlement of Ingram Place. (In Wortley, 25 year-old Mary Hollingsworth worked as a coalminer alongside her husband). The following year the Mines Act excluded females from working underground, and was founded in moral repugnance at female working in the pits depicted (including pictorially) in the widely circulated report of the same year.²⁵

Older women in Rothwell, like Elizabeth Langfield in her late fifties, had stated work as agricultural labourers. Older women with stated occupations in both Holbeck and Wortley were usually burlers: there was greater opportunity for such women to find some limited economic independence from this work. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, several Holbeck women pursued burling in and into their later years, while a yet greater number of older women in Wortley were stated as so employed. Levels of stated

²⁵ Commissioners for inquiring into the employment and condition of children in mines and manufactories, *The Condition and Treatment of the Children Employed in the Mines and Collieries of the United Kingdom* (London, 1842).

employment varied by gender and age-group, and differed between the townships. Figure 2.7 shows that variety.

Figure 2.7 Stated employment, all age-groups, Holbeck, Wortley, and Rothwell, 1841



Levels of employment were highest in all age-groups and both genders in the most industrialised setting, Holbeck, with the exception of older women, who were more likely to be in stated employment in Wortley, within its retained domestic woollen cloth manufacturing economy. Younger women were more likely to find employment in Holbeck, with its preponderance of large flax mills which had a significant majority of female workers, as investigated in Chapter 7.

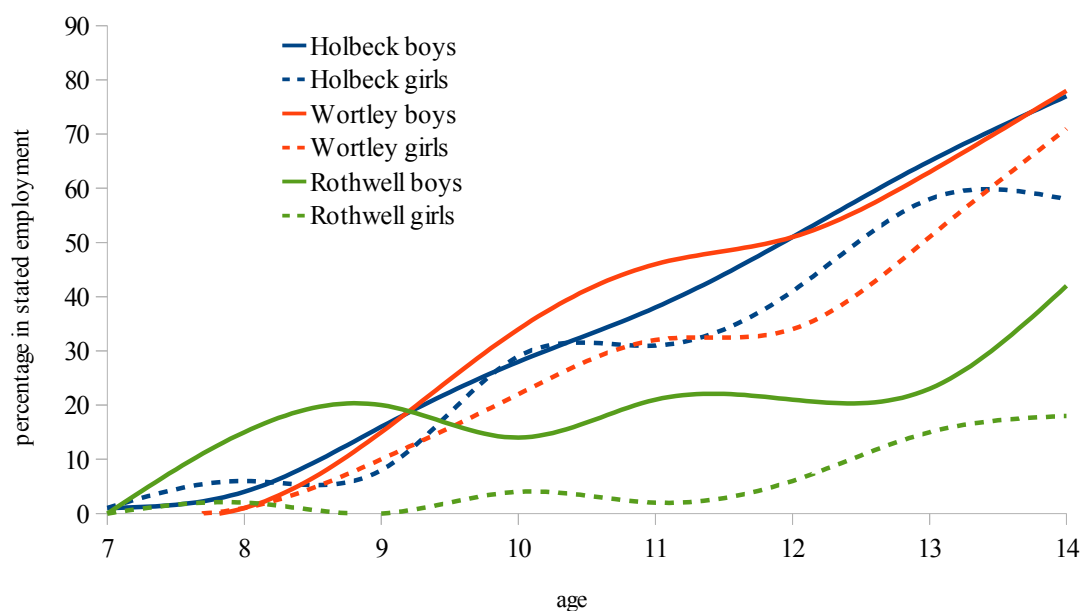
Children's employment

As discussed in a later chapter, after the factories agitation of the early 1830s, 10 became the age when children were expected to work and became ineligible for the 'child allowance' element of poor relief in Leeds: previously it had been 9.²⁶ Analysis of employment levels for year groups up to the age of 14 identifies patterns of age and

²⁶ See Chapter 7. The Sadler Committee of 1832 was Leeds-centric. Its chair was Leeds-based, while almost half of the operatives who gave evidence had worked in Leeds mills, which speaks of the organisational influence of the Leeds Short-time Committee, under the chairmanship of John Hannam: *PP* 1831-32 (706). The furore which instigated the factories agitation was initiated by Sadler's friend and fellow Tory radical, Richard Oastler in his letter 'Slavery in Yorkshire' which was published in the *Leeds Mercury* on 16 Oct 1830.

gender working, comparatively across the townships (Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8 Child-workers: percentage of children aged between 7 and 14 in stated employment by age and gender, 1841, Holbeck, Wortley, and Rothwell



Employment levels of 50% were attained for both Wortley and Holbeck boys at age 12, while Rothwell's boys were only 20% likely to be in employment. Indeed, in that township 40% employment was only reached by the time boys were 14, by which age almost 80% of Holbeck and Wortley boys were in employment. By age 11 over 30% of both Wortley and Holbeck girls were in stated employment; the number of Rothwell girls working was negligible. By age 14 still fewer than 20% were in named work, whilst at that age 70% of Wortley's girls, and 60% of Holbeck's were working. As noted earlier, and can be seen from Figure 2.7, Holbeck's working opportunities increased for older girls, while in comparison, Wortley's increased less sharply.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to establish a framework - the demographic contexts which informed the experiences and alleviation of poverty. The urban, manufacturing Leeds townships of Holbeck and Wortley experienced precipitous population growth, far in excess of national and regional averages, and this growth was most pronounced in the earliest decade of this investigation, 1821-1831: consequently, the subsequent policies,

and the experiences and agencies of the poor, of these townships, were informed by this very recent growth. This was in sharp contrast to the population stagnation in rural townships like Rigton. The contrast was marked by gender and age-group imbalances: in Holbeck there were, by 1841, far more females in the age-groups of marital fecundity than there were in depleted Rigton, for urban growth (and rural stagnation) had been led by female migration, and the employment opportunities for girls in the textile mills, most particularly in non-woollen textiles, notably, in Holbeck, flax.

Whilst focusing on Holbeck, a comparative analysis of, particularly, the adjacent township of Wortley, and of Rothwell, some four miles to the south-east, establishes that demographic contexts were very different. Holbeck had a more mixed occupational profile, for males at least: whilst woollen cloth manufacture was still the leading employer, flax working and the burgeoning engineering and metalworking industries were significant seconds. This employment had an age dynamic: cloth manufacture was undertaken by an older demographic, engineering attracted younger men, while flax-working for males tailed off after child and youth working (as it did for females). Wortley retained a pronounced clothier profile, with almost 60% of its male workforce so employed; while 40% of Rothwell's males worked in coal mines. Although there were significantly greater opportunities in Holbeck's flax mills for girls and young women, older women might find employment in the clothmaking industry, particularly its retained domestic manifestation, which was more pronounced in Wortley.

Child working in the two industrialised townships was prevalent: in both Holbeck and Wortley by the age of 14, 60-70% of girls and 80% of boys were in stated employment, while by the age of 11, a third of all children in these townships were in known work: this was not the case in Rothwell, where fewer than 20% of children 14 or younger were in work. Employment opportunities for children (and indeed poor relief policies which were informed by these opportunities) impacted upon families' economies. The finer-grained analysis of later chapters adds flesh to these demographic bones.

Chapter 3

Poor relief policy and impact

While economic factors, notably laissez-faire industrialisation and the exploitation of the cheap labour of women and children, determined the demography of communities during the chronology of this thesis, poor relief policy formed a secondary broad context of the experiences of poverty. Leeds and its environs were far less affected by the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 than other parts of the country, and indeed, of the West Riding. In Part I, this chapter highlights the existence of large Gilbert incorporations, and their significance in delaying the full introduction of the New Poor Law, and the consequent impact on both local policy, and the experiences of the poor. Part II examines relief policies in a Leeds township during the 1840s emphasising that, because of non-implementation of the 1834 Act, local select vestries might still administer relief ostensibly in the tradition of the Old Poor Law. Focusing on the policies of Chartist elected select vestries in Holbeck, it considers the effect of those policies, and responses to economic depression.

Part I The significance of the Gilbert incorporations, and impact of non-alignment with the New Poor Law

Obduracy in resisting the New Poor Law, and tardiness in its implementation in the industrialising north cuts a familiar historiographical figure.¹ Yet the literature is less specific regarding the chronology and particular geography of this obstinate late adoption. Leeds Borough contained, and was on most sides surrounded by, townships in Gilbert incorporations (Figure 3.1). This 'protected' them from the formation of New Poor Law unions and the full implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act. Gilbert's Act of 1782 permitted townships to combine to share a workhouse, not more

¹ For example, Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*, p. 149; Rose (ed.), *The Poor and the City*, p. 7; Steven King, *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850: A regional perspective* (Manchester, 2000), p. 228.

than ten miles from each member township:² the incorporations were named for the central township which contained the workhouse. As David Ashforth has highlighted, the introduction of the New Poor Law had little provision for those townships 'operating either under local acts, or under Gilbert's Act', and the impact upon such townships was that they 'remained in existence, immune, in varying degrees, from the central authority's control'.³ The four Gilbert incorporations close to Leeds were the Carlton, Barwick, Great Preston, and Great Ouseburn. Each had forty members. Townships were not combined to administer relief by a centralised board of guardians, as in New Poor Law unions, as Poor Law Commissioner Alfred Power clarified: 'the guardians do not as a body undertake the relief of the poor in the several townships; they merely have the occupation of a common workhouse'.⁴ The West Riding Gilbert incorporations formed a phalanx of 160 townships, serving a total population of more than 97,000, over half the total population (182,475) in all Gilbert incorporations in the country, still operating under the act in 1842.⁵ These were intermingled with non-incorporated townships, preventing the formation of geographically coherent New Poor Law unions. In 1847 there remained, in addition to the Gilbert townships, another 156 independent townships or 'single parishes', neither affiliated with New Poor Law unions, nor members of pre-existing Gilbert incorporations in the West Riding: in the rest of the country there were only fifty-two such units (twenty-three of them in the North and East Ridings).⁶

The significance of the Carlton Incorporation (by far the largest Gilbert incorporation in the country, and with almost three times the population of the next largest, neighbouring Great Preston) in deflecting the introduction of New Poor Law unions was accentuated by it including populous Leeds townships, as the Poor Law Commissioners highlighted:

The most striking part, perhaps, ... is the circumstance that seven townships situate within the borough of Leeds, containing altogether a population of 22,063, have a common interest with thirty-three other townships, making a total population of 54,411, in a small workhouse capable of holding at most 100 inmates, situate seven miles from Leeds.⁷

2 22 Geo. III, c. 83, *An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor* (1782).

3 David Ashforth, 'The Urban Poor Law', in *The New Poor Law*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 128-148 (p. 128).

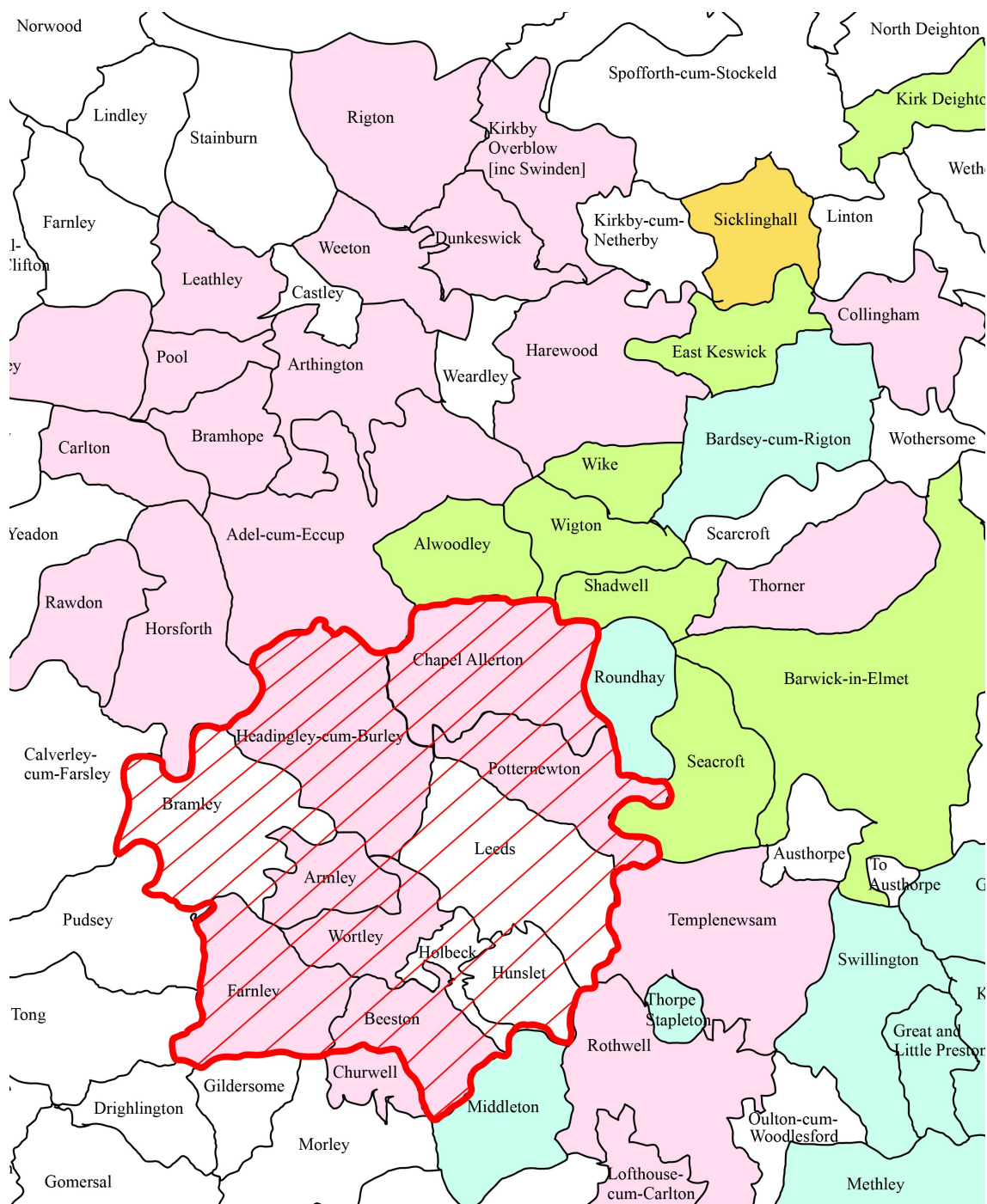
4 *PP* 1837-38 (191)(192), *Eleventh report from the Select Committee on the Poor Law Amendment Act*, p. 3.

5 *PP* 1842 (156), *Poor Law (Gilbert's unions, & c.) Return of each parish and township in England and Wales in which the poor are managed under the act commonly called Gilbert's Act*, pp. 2-4.

6 *PP* 1847-48 (642), *Poor Laws. Returns of the numbers of families relieved ... for the week ending 20 Feb 1846, and 20 Feb 1847*.

7 *PP* 1837 (546-I)(546-II), *Third Annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, p. 15.

Figure 3.1 Townships around Leeds and their Gilbert incorporations, 1842



key:

pink - Carlton Incorporation townships

orange - Great Ouseburn Incorporation township

green - Barwick Incorporation townships

blue - Great Preston Incorporation townships

white - non-incorporated townships [see note below on those included in New Poor Law unions]

red hatching - Leeds Borough townships

Source: *PP* 1842 (156)

The Carlton Incorporation was established 1818-1819; prior to this 'most of the townships [in the incorporation] had been joined with Idle workhouse, but were discharged, and begun this'.⁸ Others joined in the 1820s, including, in January 1826, alongside Horsforth, and Silsden, the township of Rigton.⁹ One indication of the Carlton Incorporation's significance is that in the week of the 1846 poor relief census, discussed later, its member townships relieved more paupers (2310) than three English counties, Westmorland (2125), Rutland (927), and Huntingdonshire (2270).¹⁰

'Vulnerable' townships, to the west of Leeds, neither in Gilbert incorporations, nor surrounded by ones that were (see Figure 3.1), Calverley-cum-Farsley, Pudsey, Tong, and Drighlington, became absorbed into the second district of the Bradford New Poor Law Union, while Gomersal and Morley became part of the Dewsbury Union, by 1837.¹¹ The chronology of construction of the Bradford and New Bierley New Poor Law Unions has been discussed by David Ashforth: all Bradford's townships, and those of its hinterland became part of one of those unions by 1848, with the exception of Eccleshill, which was not absorbed until 1869.¹² Ashforth does not discuss the role of the Gilbert incorporations, but this was because Eccleshill was a member of the Carlton Incorporation, which was not dissolved until the repeal of Gilbert's Act in 1869.

Likewise, the seven Leeds townships remained within the Carlton Incorporation until 1869, thirty-five years after the Poor Law Amendment Act, and continued to provide relief within the same framework of Old Poor Law administration, and an attendant emphasis on outdoor relief. The small Carlton workhouse (a converted farmhouse) housed one hundred inmates, and served, by 1851, a population of 67,000, 42% living in Leeds townships. Whilst the Carlton Incorporation contained great swathes of agricultural land, the majority of its population were, by the criteria of the 1831 census engaged 'chiefly in' manufacture or trade (Figure 3.2).

8 Commissioner John Tweedy in *PP* 1834 (44), *Report from His Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws*, Appendix A, p. 797.

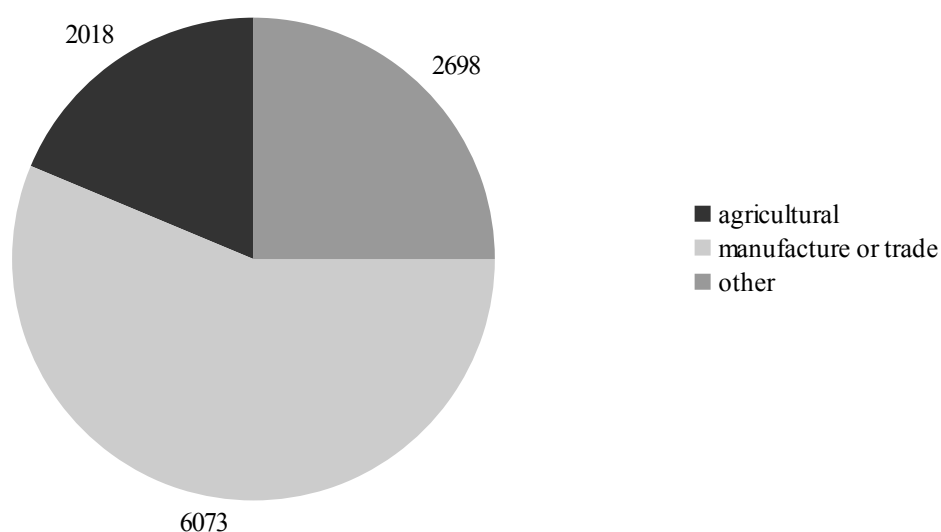
9 HCL, Copies of Carlton Union incorporation agreements, 1857.

10 *PP* 1847-48 (642).

11 *PP* 1837-38 (147), *Fourth Annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, pp. 117-118; and *PP* 1837 (546-I)(546-II), p. 177.

12 David Ashforth, 'Settlement and removal', in *The Poor and the City*, ed. by Rose, pp. 57-92, (p. 64).

Figure 3.2 Occupational composition of the Carlton Incorporation, by families, 1831



Source: *PP* 1833 (149)

Non-alignment with the New Poor Law

Leeds in-township became a single-township union under the New Poor Law in December 1844. The logistical desirability of combining it with others north of the River Aire was highlighted by Poor Law Commissioner Charles Clements a year earlier:

The only arrangement which appears practicable is to unite Leeds with the other Townships of the Borough on the north side of the river, leaving those on the south side to form another Union. I do not think it would be practicable to unite the Townships beyond Leeds to the north with those on the other side of the river to the south, and I cannot ascertain that they could with propriety be joined to any other except Leeds. By themselves they would be too insignificant, and there would be no place of general resort for Guardians to meet at. It would not answer to unite them with Townships in the direction of Otley or Harewood, because all their public business being transacted in Leeds the going in any other direction would be attended with the greatest inconvenience. Besides this they appear to be naturally connected with Leeds in other respects. The principal manufacturers connected with the Town have their country houses in these Townships, and it is possible that they might be induced, if united with Leeds, to take part in the management of the Union, being of course heavy Rate Payers in both places.

Clements emphasised the obstructive nature of the Gilbert incorporated townships to the formation of logistically coherent unions:

Unfortunately the three Townships alluded to [Headingley-cum-Burley, Potternewton, and Chapel Allerton] are in a Gilbert's incorporation, so that till power is given to dissolve these incorporations the only arrangement which appears desirable cannot be carried out. As however there is a prospect of obtaining the necessary powers during the ensuing session, I should recommend that the matter be postponed.¹³

Clements' hopes did not come to fruition: despite several attempts, Gilbert's Act was not repealed for another quarter of a century. In 1837 Commissioners had noted that townships in the area were intermixed with others of differing Gilbert incorporations, while some had no affiliation at all (see Figure 3.1) and consequently the 'entire tract therefore comprises about 300 townships'.¹⁴ While three of these, investigated in this thesis, Rigton, Wortley, and Rothwell, belonged to the Carlton Incorporation, Holbeck did not: but as Clements noted, its position, nestled amongst Gilbert townships, prevented it becoming absorbed into a projected south-of-the-river Union. He stated the 'administration of Relief in Holbeck is under the old system of management, that Township not having been brought into Union', and emphasised why: 'in consequence of the impediment caused by the neighbouring Gilbert's Incorporation of Carlton'.¹⁵

Northern industrialising areas adopted the Sturges Bourne reforms of 1818 and 1819 with some enthusiasm.¹⁶ However, Holbeck did not appoint a select vestry until June 1839, when the township's ratepayers voted that 'the affairs of this Township, so far as related to the Management of the Poor should be placed under the direction and control of a select vestry'. Subsequently, 'twelve Rated Inhabitants and substantial Householders of the Township' were appointed.¹⁷ Whilst, as discussed later in this chapter, this first select vestry was comprised of enfranchised elites, the administration of relief by locally elected select vestry, rather than more centralised boards of guardians overseen by Somerset House, gave the opportunity for potentially radical local governance. Three times during the 1840s Chartist select vestries were elected.¹⁸ Holbeck's second Chartist select vestry recognised this opportunity, and that the existence of Gilbert incorporations prevented the imposition of the New Poor Law, and facilitated the continuation of such elected local bodies. In late 1844 Leeds township became a New Poor Law Union: fearing it might be drawn into this union, Holbeck's select vestry convened a 'meeting of

13 TNA, MH12/15226, 4 Nov 1843.

14 *PP* 1837 (546-I)(546-II), p. 15.

15 TNA, MH12/15226, 18 Jan 1843.

16 Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, p. 51; King, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 26.

17 WYASL, LO/HO/1, Holbeck Township vestry minutes, 1830-63, 6 and 7 Jun 1839.

18 See Table 3.2.

the inhabitants and ratepayers of this township', to oppose

the introduction of the New Poor Law into the Township and to determine if thought proper upon a requisition to the mayor of this Borough for to request him to call a meeting of the whole ... Borough or to decide upon any other legal means which may be adopted to prevent this Township from being placed under the control of the Poor Law Commission.¹⁹

Clements' hopes that the Act's repeal was imminent may have been heightened when a Select Committee concluded in 1845 it was 'not expedient that the Gilbert Unions ... be maintained', highlighting 'the 32d section, relating to the able-bodied poor, has been entirely disregarded'.²⁰ The section in question concluded that, in a form of labour test, in cases where the able-bodied poor refused or ran away from provided work:

Complaint shall be made thereof by the Guardian, to some Justice or Justices of the Peace in or near the said Parish, Township or Place; who shall enquire into the same upon Oath, and on Conviction punish such Offender or Offenders, by committing him, her, or them to the House of Correction, there to be kept to hard Labour for any Time not exceeding Three Calendar Months, nor less than One Calendar Month.²¹

The New Poor Law's major premise, eradicating relief to the able-bodied, enforced by a labour test, was not carried out, despite provision to do so. However, within its conclusion the report acknowledged that Gilbert's Act and its administration 'appears popular in the districts where parishes are incorporated' and administrators were

actuated by kindly feelings towards the poor under their charge, and by a desire to do justice to their ratepayers and their several incorporations; and only a few cases of special inattention to the necessities of the poor have been brought before the Committee.²²

Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, the 'persuasive model of a what a Chartist MP might be',²³ who had supported the petition for pardoning Chartist insurgents, and who presented the Commons with the second national petition for the Charter in 1842, sat on the Select Committee.²⁴ In late 1844 the second Chartist Holbeck select vestry, recognising that,

19 WYASL, LC/TC, Leeds City Council, Department of Administration, committee clerks' papers [includes] Holbeck vestry and overseers' minutes 1839-1925: 'Holbeck Select Vestry Minute Book', 1839-1853, 23 Nov 1844.

20 *PP 1845 (409) Report from the Select Committee on Gilbert Unions; together with the minutes of evidence*, p. vi.

21 22 Geo. III, (27 Nov 1781 - 11 Jul 1782), *A Bill [as amended in the committee] for the better relief and employment of the Poor*, p. 19.

22 *PP 1845 (409)*, p. vi.

23 Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: a new history* (Manchester, 2007), p. 179.

24 Matthew Lee, 'Duncombe, Thomas Slingsby (1796-1861)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edn, May 2005 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8239>>, [accessed 8 Feb 2017]; and see Ann Pflaum, 'The parliamentary career of Thomas S. Duncombe', (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Minnesota, 1975).

although Holbeck itself did not belong to a Gilbert incorporation, repeal of Gilbert's Act would jeopardise the township and its administration retaining autonomy from the New Poor Law, resolved to approach Duncombe to petition Parliament regarding its supposed intention of repealing Gilbert's Act and 'the breaking up of the Gilbert Unions'.²⁵ The Leeds-based Chartist *Northern Star* had reported that Duncombe and Captain [Samuel] Pechell had spoken in Parliament in opposition to the breaking up of the Gilbert incorporations: Pechell and Duncombe hoped they 'would not be interfered with, for they were believed to be more humane in their operation, and more satisfactory to the rate-payers than the general [New] Poor Law'.²⁶ Both men served on the Committee, and it would be Pechell who was more vociferous in defence of the Gilberts. Member for Brighton, he was feted at a dinner provided by the guardians of a Sussex Gilbert incorporation, 'as an acknowledgement for his exertions in opposition to the extension of the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners over the Gilbert Unions', and the *Northern Star* was pleased to report it. Pechell spoke of the desire for local autonomy, and of the malign workhouse culture of the New Poor Law:

the poor were grievously oppressed ..., and the public became dissatisfied with the denial of relief except in those dwellings [workhouses] which, although fair to the eye, were within abodes of discontent and misery. He asked, then, those who loved to administer their own money in their own way, and among their own people, to do honour to him ...²⁷

Such opposition dashed Clements' hopes of imminent repeal, and the dissolution of the Gilbert incorporations was not ratified until twenty-four years later.

Rothwell remained in its Gilbert incorporation until the repeal, when the township was absorbed into the new Hunslet Union.²⁸ In the same year Wortley joined the Bramley Union. The Holbeck Union was formed in 1863: in 1869 Beeston, and Churwell of the Carlton Incorporation joined it, and clerk to the Guardians, Charles Cluderay, stalwart of each of the Chartist Holbeck select vestries,

accompanied by the master of the Holbeck Workhouse, took the practical step of bringing from the Carlton workhouse the paupers [belonging to Beeston and Churwell] who will henceforth be chargeable to the enlarged Union'.²⁹

²⁵ WYASL, LC/TC, 23 Nov 1844.

²⁶ *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser* [Hereafter, *Northern Star*], 17 Feb 1844.

²⁷ *Northern Star*, 7 Nov 1846.

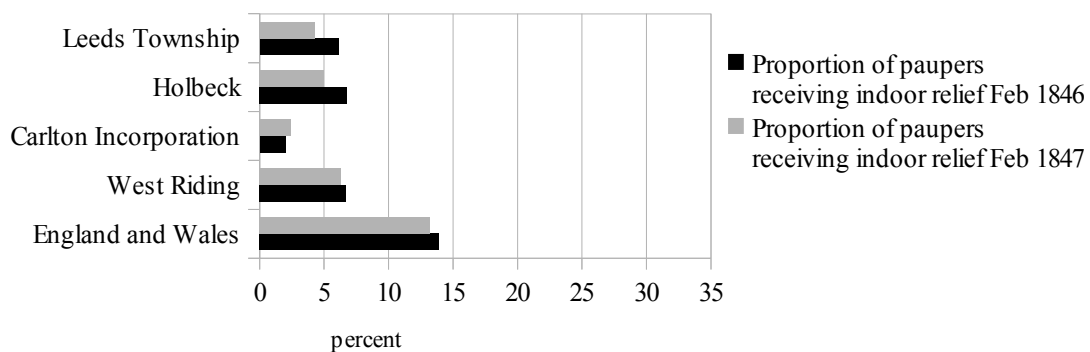
²⁸ *Leeds Times*, 5 Jun 1869.

²⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 22 Jun 1869.

The policies of non-aligned townships

The administration of poor relief within the townships under consideration and the time-frame of this thesis, was ostensibly in the tradition of the Old Poor Law. The poor in Wortley, Rigton, and Rothwell were far less likely to be admitted to the workhouse than those elsewhere (Figure 3.3). Holbeck had its own workhouse (see Chapter 4). The Carlton workhouse, which could accommodate one hundred, in 1841 housed eighty-nine inmates, while in 1851 there were seventy-seven.³⁰ Holbeck's workhouse had forty-three inmates in 1841 and fifty-two in 1851.³¹ At the time of the poor relief 'censuses' of 1846 and 1847, Holbeck's ratio of indoor relief was well below the national average, on par with that of Leeds Township, and the West Riding, while the Carlton Incorporation's ratio was minimal, Figure 3.3. In 1851, none of Carlton workhouse's inmates was born in Rothwell and Wortley, and only one, Eden Patrick, was from Rigton.

Figure 3.3 Comparative proportion of indoor relief, Feb 1846, and Feb 1847, England and Wales, the West Riding, Carlton Incorporation, Holbeck, and Leeds Township



Source: *PP* 1847-48 (642)

The national average (for England and Wales), of individuals receiving indoor relief in the census week in February 1846 was 13.9%, dropping to 13.2% in the corresponding week in 1847. The proportions by county differ widely. The substantively metropolitan counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and neighbouring Kent, had the largest workhouse populations, 29.7%, falling to 25.4%; 26.6%, falling to 20.1%; and 22.3%, rising to 26.2% respectively, Appendix, Figure A.1. The West Riding had one of the lowest proportions of indoor relief, 6.7% falling to 6.3%. The continuation of outdoor relief in the West Riding was far more evident than nationally, fewer than half the national

³⁰ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 84.

³¹ TNA, HO107/1344/14 and HO107/2317.

average of paupers was relieved in West Riding workhouses, while for the poor in the Carlton Incorporation, the unlikelihood of indoor relief was yet more pronounced.

Poor relief expenditure fluctuated due to economic conditions; expenditure in Holbeck rose steeply during the deep depression of 1842 (see Chapter 4). Differences between industrialised and agricultural areas are also apparent. The group of twelve agricultural townships (including Rigton) highlighted in Chapter 2, had, in 1831, a much higher level of poor relief per capita than manufacturing townships. This group, combined population 3,473, had a combined relief bill of £1,366, that is 7s. 10d. per head. The eight primarily manufacturing townships in the incorporation, combined population 25,106, had a combined relief bill of £4,447, averaging 3s. 7d. per head (Appendix, Table A.6). All groups' expenditure fell between 1821 and 1831, indicative of national trends, and influenced by the Sturges Bourne administrative reforms.³² Locally, respondents to the Poor Law Commissioners' query 'Have you a Select Vestry and Assistant Overseer, and what has been the effect?' considered the reforms of benefit. Carlton Incorporation township Horsforth replied they had 'Both. The effect is decidedly beneficial. It gives steadiness and uniformity to the decisions, and distributes relief in a more judicious and useful manner'.³³ As can be seen from Figure A.8, Horsforth's expenditure per head fell by 13.4% from 6s. 10d. per head in 1821 to 5s. 11d. in 1831. Similarly, Rothwell, whose fall in expenditure was precipitous, replied 'We have a Select Vestry and Assistant Overseer, which we consider of great advantage'.³⁴

If indoor relief was less of a likelihood, were levels of outdoor relief generous? The censuses of 1846 and 1847 can identify local and regional comparisons of average amounts of poor relief paid (Appendix, Figure A.7), and suggest not. The West Riding's average weekly relief per capita, 1s. 6d., was below the national average, 1s. 7d. The apparently most generous counties Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Rutland, and Northamptonshire approached and occasionally exceeded 2s. per head. Paupers in the most parsimonious (and, incidentally, most populous) counties, Lancashire and Middlesex, were fortunate to receive a shilling apiece: Lancashire, at the forefront of

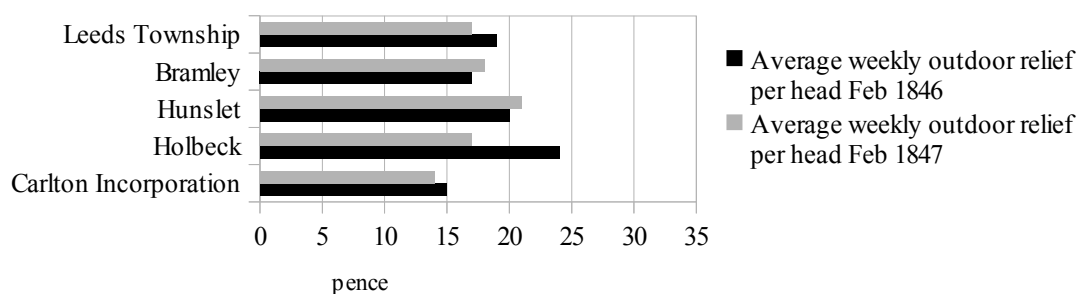
32 King, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 81; Samantha Shave, 'The impact of Sturges Bourne's Poor Law reforms in rural England', *Historical Journal*, 56:2 (2013), 399-429 (p. 401); Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, pp. 51-2; Malcolm Chase, 'The "local state" in Regency Britain', *Local Historian*, 43:4 (2013), 266-278 (p.274).

33 *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix B, Part III, p.1c, and p. 617c.

34 *Ibid*, Appendix B, Part III, p. 626c.

receiving refugees from the Irish potato famine, averaged for both years 11d., metropolitan Middlesex's was 1s. 2d. in 1846, dropping to 1s. 0d. in 1847. Locally, as Figure 3.4 portrays, Hunslet was consistently the most generous, with weekly payments of 1s. 10d. and 1s. 11d., for whilst Holbeck's relief in 1846 was 2s. per head, this dropped to 1s. 5d. in 1847. Bramley and Leeds Township paid around the West Riding average, 1s. 5d. to 1s. 6d., and 1s. 7d. to 1s. 5d. respectively. However, in the Carlton Incorporation, which included the other seven of the Leeds out-townships, payments averaged only 1s. 3d. in 1846, falling to 1s. 2d. in 1847.

Figure 3.4 Comparative outdoor relief payments, 1846 and 1847: non-incorporated Leeds Townships and the Carlton Incorporation



Source: *PP* 1847-48 (642)

Rothwell's overseer who responded to the the Poor Law commission's queries, stated that relief for its pensioners was levelled at '1s. 6d. to 2s. ... in cases of the aged and infirm ...', which he admitted with stark honesty 'I regret to say just enables them to exist'.³⁵ Horsforth's overseer replied that the the rates of relief were, for 'aged and infirm, single 2s. to 2s. 6d.; Man and Wife, 4s.; Children, 1s. 6d. each per week'. An approximation of the amounts for Horsforth appears to be borne out in the fine-grained analysis in Chapter 4 for Holbeck, as it does for Rigton.³⁶ Similar pension amounts in other, less industrialised regions have been calculated: in Bedfordshire aged single paupers received weekly pensions averaging '2.7s in the 1820s, and 2.3s in the 1830s'.³⁷

Casual payments though were more tailored to perceived need in individual cases, and families on such relief would lower the average. As discussed in Chapter 4, in Holbeck

³⁵ *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix B, p. 626b.

³⁶ See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 83.

³⁷ Samantha Williams, 'Poor relief, labourers' households and living standards in rural England c.1770-1834', *Economic History Review*, 58:3 (2005), 485-519 (p. 511).

in the 1830s, a family of eight might receive relief of 5s. per week, one of nine, 7s. Families in very industrialised Holbeck, though impoverished and receiving relief, might have children in work, contributing to the family economy, and consequently lessening that family's total amount of relief. In the rural areas where relief averages were higher, there were fewer opportunities for such significant children's contributions; as Nicola Verdon has concluded from analysis of the *Rural Queries* of 1834, the more lucrative employment for children was in non-agricultural work.³⁸ Local economic factors contributed more to levels of outdoor relief than did policy. There is a lacuna of fine-grained local studies of outdoor relief under New Poor Law administration.³⁹ However, aggregated amounts of relief from 1846 and 1847 suggest some similarity with levels of payment per head between areas and localities still operating ostensibly under the Old Poor Law, because of the protection of Gilbert's Act, and those administered under the New Poor Law. Consequently, the legislature might be less concerned about the immediacy of the repeal of Gilbert's Act, for as had been noted at the dinner given for Captain Pechell in 1846, the administration of relief in these non-New Poor Law townships represented, for the ratepayer at least, comparative value for money.⁴⁰

Poor Law migration policy

Despite Leeds townships' non-alignment, they were, albeit to a small extent, affected by one early Poor Law Commission innovation. Removal, as discussed later in this chapter, was a recurrent policy, reaching its apogee during times of economic crisis in industrialising areas. However, migration to those areas was encouraged during the first years of the New Poor Law, and Leeds-based Robert Baker acted as a Migration Agent for the West Riding from the policy's instigation in 1835.⁴¹ Baker oversaw the encouraged migration of poor families from rural southern and eastern counties to industrialised Yorkshire, and Leeds was a recipient of such families. The experiment was short-lived, not least due to its implications for settlement and removal, and

38 Nicola Verdon, 'The rural labour market in the early nineteenth century: women's and children's employment, family income, and the 1834 Poor Law Report, *Economic History Review*, 55:2 (2002), 299-323 (p. 319); and *PP* 1834 (44).

39 King, *Poverty and Welfare*, pp. 232-233.

40 *Northern Star*, 7 Nov 1846.

41 See W.R. Lee, 'Robert Baker: The First Doctor in the Factory Department. Part I. 1803-1858', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine*, 21 (1964), 85-93.

collapsed during the 1837 depression.⁴²

But in 1836, ninety-two families, comprising 814 persons, had migrated (or were on their way) to the West Riding from Norfolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, and Wiltshire: a further forty families, comprising 344 individuals, had migration offers made, but refused them.⁴³ By 1837 Baker claimed 1,030 individuals had migrated to the West Riding, while 618 had refused offers. In 1836 there were four families from Bedfordshire, five from Cambridgeshire, and one from each of Essex and Norfolk settled in Leeds; with others 'for whom offers have been obtained' on their way.⁴⁴ Baker reported how West Riding migrants were doing in 1837. Some he noted had returned to their home parishes, a few of which he supplied a supposed reason for: Six Norfolk men were found work near Halifax, they 'were all put to woolcombing, but being too idle to work left almost immediately'.⁴⁵ Some Leeds in-migrants penned, or dictated, notes regarding their circumstances. Baker inserted the letters into his report, as being 'interesting and gratifying'. Whilst caveats must be applied to the veracity of this evidence (one can almost see Baker looking over their shoulders while they give their accounts), and all six letters depict migrants' prosperity and satisfaction, reconstitution sheds more light on the success of the migration policy in Leeds.⁴⁶ Indications, based on the reconstitution of families who migrated to work at the paternalist Thomas Wolrich Stansfeld's worsted enterprise at Burley Mills, are that some migrants remained in Leeds and their children raised families there.⁴⁷ Stansfeld provided a 'statement of questions' asked of 'the three families sent here', and these portray a more muted satisfaction (notably in terms of wages and employment levels) of the migrants new lot (Table 3.1). Reconstitution reveals that the Easey and Gardner families, at least, remained in Leeds, and lived in housing housing built by T.W. Stansfeld for his workforce (Figure 3.5).

42 See Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850*, Second edition, (Manchester, 1964), pp. 105-107; and Michael E. Rose, 'Settlement, Removal and the New Poor Law', in *The New Poor Law*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 25-44, (pp. 31-32).

43 PP 1836 (595), *Second annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, Appendix B, p. 437.

44 TNA, MH12/15224, Records of the Poor Law Commission, Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and Other Local Authorities, Leeds, 573, 1834-1839, 1836.

45 Ibid.

46 Sources used in biographical reconstitutions have not been cited in the text, to do so would be cumbersome such are their number and variety: they have, however, been listed in the bibliography of sources at the end of this thesis.

47 It is not without some irony that Burley Mills today houses the region's Home Office 'immigration compliance and enforcement' offices.

Table 3.1 Statement of wages and condition of families migrated to Burley Mills, Leeds, 1836

<i>Name</i>	<i>Are you as well situated here as you were previous to your removal?</i>	<i>Do you find Provisions dear or cheap?</i>	<i>Are you comfortable and happy?</i>	<i>Average Amount of Children's Weekly Earnings.</i>	<i>House Rent</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
John Easey	Had it not been for the sickness we should have been better.	Dear	We are	David, 12 - 4/6 Mary, 15 - 5/ Fanny, 19 - 4/9 Betty, 23 - 5/ John, when regularly employed - 14/	3s. per week	The father and five of the children had the small-pox
Christopher Lyon	We are	Dear	We are	James, 15 - 4/ Mary, 19 - 4/9 Christopher, when ... employed - 14/	3s.	
James Gardner	When I have constant employment, we are better situated.	Dear	We are	Charles, 11 - 3/ John, 13 - 2/ Henry, 15 - 3/4 James Gardner when employed, 14/	2s. 6d.	
N.B. - The three families have suffered generally, owing to the fathers not having had regular employment. While here their general conduct has been good, and their habits confirmed to industry.						

Source: *PP* 1836 (595), Appendix B, pp. 437-438

Figure 3.5 Undated photograph of Stansfield Row, Kirkstall Road, Leeds



Source: WYAS Stansfield Row, Stansfield View, Box 251, no. 3; <www.leodis.net> subject ID 20031211_59492129 [accessed May 2017]

Social housing

If a few workers, like those above, benefited from good quality housing endowed by paternalistic employers like Stansfeld, one significant benefit for the poor, of remaining unaligned with the New Poor Law, was the availability of social housing under local management. Roger Wells highlighted the selling off of parish-owned and maintained housing by the Poor Law Commission.⁴⁸ Until 1863 Rigton's stock, 'Town's houses', remained under local administration, free to their tenants, except for an annual peppercorn rent of between 1s. and 2s. 6d. from 1849.⁴⁹ They were sold by the Wetherby Union, shortly after Rigton left the Carlton Incorporation, when its membership was negated. These were 'Four cottages situated in ... Rigton ... & ... the Wetherby Union, now and of late in the occupation of William Bailey, Joseph Hardcastle, Ann Mountain, & Lydia Simpson as tenants'.⁵⁰ Tithe maps of Carlton Incorporation township, Rothwell, linked with census returns, identify its retained social housing. Township 'overseers of the poor' owned 'four cottages, lock up, house, woodyard etc.' in the centre of the village.⁵¹ These were in a yard called Woggon in the Marsh Side area, Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6 Two photographs of Woggon Yard, Rothwell, prior to demolition in 1935



48 Wells, 'The Poor Law Commission and publicly-owned housing', p. 204.

49 See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 81.

50 HCL, Rigton Vestry Minutes, 1863.

51 WYAS, RD_RT210, Rothwell cum Royds township tithe map, 1844, Plot 132, <<http://locateit.leeds.gov.uk/tithemaps>> [accessed May 2017].



Source: Leeds Library & Information Services [hereafter, LLIS], RO1379, and RO1380; <www.leodis.net> subject ID 2002211_28800601, and 2002212_11780947 [accessed May 2017]

In 1841 four of the five dwellings (the 'four cottages' in the tithe schedule) were occupied by elderly pensioners: widows Ester Ainsworth, aged 65-69, Mary Westmorland, aged 70-74, and, as noted in the schedule, Rose Warwick, aged 80-84; and a couple, William Taylor and his wife Mary, both aged 65-69. The fifth (the 'house' in the schedule) was occupied thus: Christopher Field, 50, labourer (none of the other occupants had a stated occupation); Hannah Field, 55; Betty Field, 11; Mary Fox, 25; Harriet Fox, 4 months; Rachel Illingworth, 16; William Illingworth, 13; John Field, 5.⁵² As in Rigton, the overseers had maximised occupancy.⁵³ Rose Warwick and Mary Westmorland were, in 1841, pensioners in receipt of a regular 5s. and 4s. 6d. per fortnight respectively, Ester Ainsworth had 2s. per fortnight, supplemented by regular casual relief.⁵⁴

⁵² TNA, HO 107/1269/15.

⁵³ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 81.

⁵⁴ WYASL, LC/RO/Acc. 4155, Rothwell Parish and Township Records, Rothwell Township Overseers Accounts, 1755-1869, 1841. Further investigation of these recently uncovered records, alongside biographical reconstitution, as accomplished for Rigton and in Holbeck, would go a long way towards understanding the contexts of poverty and welfare in this township, and comparatively, relief patterns in the West Riding more generally.

In 1851, Ester Ainsworth, and William and Mary Taylor were still in their town's cottages. Ester received 3s. per fortnight pension, while William and his wife had 8s. per fortnight. Mary Westmorland had been replaced by 82 year-old widow Jane Craven, who had 4s. per fortnight, temporarily rising to 5s., while 78 year-old widow Fanny Longbottom had moved into the remaining cottage, Rose Warwick having died in January 1846, aged 88.⁵⁵ Fanny, who received 4s. per fortnight, had lodging with her 54 year-old spinster Elizabeth Robinson, who, like all the heads of household in the town's cottages, was designated as a pauper at this census, and also had 4s. a fortnight from the town. The town's house in this year was occupied by a young widow, also categorised as a pauper, 33 year-old Susannah Willgoose and her four children, the eldest two of whom were employed: 12 year-old John was a miner, and 11 year-old James a twine-spinner.⁵⁶ These children of poverty had been found work in occupations available to them, most notably, coalmining, in order to support their precarious family economies; a recurring theme of this thesis, one which was introduced in the preceding chapter, and is developed in later ones.

Terminology regarding township accommodation was interchangeable. 'Poor House' was a term often used for the institutional parish, or incorporation workhouse: for example, Elizabeth Bentley uses the term, 'in the poorhouse' (at Hunslet), in that context to describe her situation to the Sadler Committee.⁵⁷ However in 1840, in neighbouring Oulton, an independent township, two town's cottages were described as 'poor houses' owned by the 'Township of Oulton'. These were occupied by 'Thomas Smith and another'.⁵⁸ Thomas Smith, and his wife Hannah, both aged 76, lived there with their 7 year-old grandson (or great grandson) in 1841, and the 'another' was neighbour 68 year-old Martha Metcalf.⁵⁹ Ten years later 72 year-old widow Mary Lumbert, and 55 year-old widow Ann Hutchinson were the 'pauper' heads of household in the two cottages: Mary lived alone; Ann had her unmarried son and daughter, Emma, and 2 year-old grandson living with her. In 1861 Ann and Emma were still there, with three of Ann's grandchildren.⁶⁰

55 WYASL, RDP91/4/2, Rothwell Holy Trinity burial registers, 1538-1934, 1846.

56 TNA, HO 107/2316, and WYASL, LC/RO/Acc. 4155, 1851.

57 *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 199.

58 WYAS, RDP91_87, Oulton-cum-Woodlesford Township tithe map, 1840, Plot 369a; <<http://locateit.leeds.gov.uk/tithemaps>> [accessed May 2017].

59 TNA, HO 107/ 1269/14.

60 TNA, HO 107/2328; and RG 9/3430.

In townships of Leeds Borough, and others of the Carlton Incorporation, other examples of stocks of social housing are evident from tithe map apportionments. Chapel Allerton, Farnley, Headingley-cum-Burley, and Horsforth all had 'poor houses' owned by the township. Lofthouse, adjacent to Rothwell, had township-owned housing known as 'Workhouse' at the 1841 census: the tithe apportionment of the same year noted they were five premises, 'cottages' with 'sundry occupiers'.⁶¹ These had been established as 'a Workhouse for poor people belonging to the Township' and continued to be used as such until Lofthouse joined the Carlton Incorporation in 1822. From this time 'the Overseers ... had no further use for the Buildings beforementioned as a workhouse and the then Overseers divided the Workhouse in question into 5 Cottages'. But rather than use these as homes specifically for the township's poor, the overseers let them out 'to different tenants' (in 1841 two miners and their families, a tailor, a blacksmith's labourer and his family, and a widow and her children): the rent accruing was 'applied by [the overseers] in aid of the poor rates'.⁶²

Wortley's tithe apportionment details are not extant: however, the township did not own social housing, but rented it instead: rents of five guineas were paid by the overseer in 1833 for 'Town's houses'.⁶³ Holbeck had a workhouse, as did neighbouring Leeds and Hunslet. In these townships social housing was not, or was less, evident than in townships with no institutional accommodation of their own. Rigton's housing policy was particularly prominent in that township's panoply of welfare provision prior to absorption into the Wetherby Union. Rigton's town's houses, glazed early in the century, were regularly re-thatched and whitewashed. The cottage which was taken out of social housing stock in the 1840s had a garden of twenty-three perches.⁶⁴ Two of the remaining cottages had gardens of two perches, one of three, and two (the end cottages in a terraced row) of thirteen and nine perches respectively. The larger gardened cottages would provide space for raising a pig, fowl, or vegetable cultivation.

61 TNA, HO 107/1269/12; WYAS, RDP91_88, Lofthouse Township tithe map, 1841, Plot 215; <<http://locateit.leeds.gov.uk/tithemaps>> [accessed May 2017].

62 TNA, MH12/15286, Records of the Poor Law Commission, Correspondence with Poor Law Unions, Carlton Union, 574A, 1835-1856, 1843.

63 Leeds Local Studies Library [LLSL], QLW899, Wortley Township, Casual payments for the relief of the poor, 1833.

64 For comparison, a modern allotment has an 'accepted size' of 10 perches, The National Allotment Society <www.nsalg.org.uk> [accessed November 2014].

The four Rigton tenants noted at the time of the sale of their homes from under them in 1863 headed households in 1861, of, in total, twelve individuals: William Bailey, an agricultural labourer, his wife Isabella and their three young daughters, and William's aged widowed mother Frances; Joseph Hardcastle, a 71 year-old 'roadman', and his 65 year-old wife Mary;⁶⁵ Ann Mountain, a 54 year-old charwoman, and her unemployed daughter ('serv[ant] out of service'), 22 year-old Sarah Clarkson; and 77 year-old widow Lydia Simpson and her unmarried son James, an agricultural labourer. By this time in Rigton occupancy of social housing was already in decline. In 1841, there were six township cottages, housing thirty-one individuals, comprising five of pensionable age (two couples and a widow), four able-bodied couples, eight able-bodied unmarried young men and women (mostly children of the heads of household) and ten children aged 12 and under. By 1851 town's cottages housed twenty-four individuals. Reconstitution reveals that the Bailey, Mountain, Clarkson and Simpson families were significant beneficiaries of Rigton's housing policy across two and three generations.

The eradication of social housing was a tenet of the Poor Law Commission, and was encouraged in correspondence with townships not under its direct control. The Carlton township of Churwell lost its housing stock while still a member of the Gilbert incorporation. In 1855 the Poor Law Commission noted Churwell's 'dwelling houses for the poor in Little Lane' had become decayed, and only one part of them was occupied by one pauper.⁶⁶ Social housing, in the form of town's cottages, was replaced by institutionalised workhouses, a process accelerated by the introduction of the New Poor Law. Smaller townships, without their own workhouse, might retain social housing stocks until they were finally absorbed into the new unions. The laggardly adoption of the New Poor Law around Leeds, because of the Gilbert incorporations, meant housing stocks were retained longer than in other areas, although their use was in decline from the 1840s. It was in the retention of social housing, the less likelihood of being sent to an institutionalised workhouse, and the concomitant continued prevalence of outdoor relief (though not the level of that relief) whereby the poor of townships protected by Gilbert incorporations benefited from non-absorption into New Poor Law unions.

⁶⁵ TNA, RG 9/3208. 'Roadman' suggests that Joseph was paid by the town's surveyor, out of the rates, for maintaining Rigton's highways, as Thomas Simpson was; see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 82-83.

⁶⁶ TNA, MH12/15286, 1855.

Part II Local policy and administration: Holbeck in the 1840s

The 'impediment caused by the neighbouring Gilbert's Incorporation' of Clements' complaint allowed Holbeck to administer relief with autonomy. The select vestries elected to do this were politicised. While datasets of poor relief for named individuals can only be constructed from intermittent records, the names of the elected officers, select vestry members, who determined relief policy, can be ascertained on an annual basis from 1839 and the establishment of a select vestry. Collating these with other records, including newspaper reports, and poll books showing parliamentary enfranchisement (and its absence) and voting patterns, we can determine the political composition of each select vestry, and investigate any politicised differences in poor relief policy. Table 3.2 shows the political composition of elected select vestries and highways boards by poll returns, and where unenfranchised, by newspaper reports and local records.

The election of officials to Holbeck's various bodies was often full of splendid controversy.⁶⁷ As Derek Fraser has noted, Leeds, in the 1830s particularly, was an exemplar of 'fierce local party battle[s] politicising poor relief', and he cites Poor Law Commissioner Charles Mott's remarks that 'political party feeling prevails to a mischievous extent in Leeds'.⁶⁸ Township factionalism in party politics was also in evidence, as Robin Pearson identifies: in the 1850s Wortley Liberals allied themselves with Wortley Chartists, rather than with Holbeck Liberals in council elections.⁶⁹ The Tory *Leeds Intelligencer* crowed that Holbeck first elected a select vestry in response to Whiggish abuse of the tradition of electing overseers, thus

in consequence of the Whigs introducing the system of self-election in the choice of Overseers at Holbeck, the rate-payers who were thus robbed of their ancient right in June last, took the matter into their own hands, and established a select vestry (or representative system) to administer the affairs of the poor; and ... returned twelve Conservatives.⁷⁰

As can be seen from Table 3.2, the political shade of this new body varied year on year.

⁶⁷ It is beyond the scope of this thesis, but there is significant potential from the correlation of records used in this discussion for an investigation of Chartist tactics, interventions and political manoeuvring, and those of their opposition, in township elections and administration.

⁶⁸ Derek Fraser, 'The Poor Law as a Political Institution', in *The New Poor Law*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 111-127 (p. 112).

⁶⁹ Robin Pearson, 'Knowing One's Place: Perceptions of Community in the Industrial Suburbs of Leeds, 1790-1890' *Journal of Social History*, 27:2 (1993), 221-44 (p. 232).

⁷⁰ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 7 Dec 1839.

Table 3.2 Composition of highways boards and select vestries, Holbeck, 1838-1848

<i>Body (number of members)</i>	<i>Tory voter</i>	<i>Whig voter</i>	<i>Whig/Radical voter</i>	<i>Radical voter</i>	<i>Neutral⁷¹</i>	<i>Known Chartist non-voter</i>	<i>Non-voter</i>
1838 Highways Board (12)	4		6	1	1		
1839 Highways Board (7)	2		1	1	2		1
1839 Select Vestry (12)	11				1		
1840 Highways Board (7)	1		3		2		1
1840 Select Vestry		2	8	2			
1841 Highways Board (12)	1	1	5	3	1		1
1841 Select Vestry (12)	1	3	5	3			
1842 Highways Board (7)	6		1				
1842 Select Vestry (13)		2			1	4	6
1843 Highways Board (7)	4		2	1			
1843 Select Vestry (14)	7	1	1	1	1		3
1844 Highways Board (7)	2	1	2	1	1		
1844 Select Vestry (14)	3	2	1	3	4		1
1845 Highways Board (7)	2	1	2	1	1		
1845 Select Vestry (14)		2		2		6	4
1846 Highways Board (7)		1		1	1	2	2
1846 Select Vestry (14)				2	1	4	7
1847 Highways Board (7)				2	2	2	1
1847 Select Vestry (12)	2	1	1	2	4		2
1848 Highways Board (7)				2	1	2	2
1848 Disputed election; Norton list Select Vestry (12)	3		1	1	4		3
1848 Disputed election; Sykes list Select Vestry (16)				2		7	7

orange: predominantly Whig or Whig/Radical elected body

blue: predominantly Tory

red: predominantly Chartist

black: Coalition elected body

Sources: WYASL, LO/HO/1, and LC/TC; *Leeds Times*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Northern Star*, 1838-1848; *The Poll Book of the Leeds Borough Election, July 1837* (Leeds, 1837); *The Poll Book of the Leeds Borough Election, July 1841* (Leeds, 1841); *West-Riding Election. The Poll for Two Knights of the Shire* (Wakefield, 1841); *The Poll Book of the Leeds Borough Election, July 1847* (Leeds, 1847)

71 That is, no apparent political alignment.

Between 1839 and 1847 two Tory (1839-40 and 1843-44), two Whig/Radical (1840-41 and 1841-42), two Coalition (1844-45 and 1847-48), and three Chartist (1842-43, 1845-46 and 1846-47) select vestries were returned. The Holbeck Highways Board was similarly partisan; Chartist boards were elected in consecutive years from 1846. Chartist representation on highways boards has been discussed with regard to the Potteries.⁷² Robert Fyson highlights attempts to elect Chartist sympathisers, lower middling-sorts like publicans and shopkeepers, to boards of New Poor Law guardians in Staffordshire, noting that financial qualification for eligibility 'prevented working men from becoming Poor Law Guardians themselves'.⁷³ One of Holbeck Union's first New Poor Law guardians in 1863, discussed in Chapter 6, was the enfranchised merchant John Dunderdale. However, because in the 1840s Holbeck was not affiliated to the New Poor Law it could elect poor relief officials, in the form of a select vestry, who were simply ratepayers and not subject to the restrictions imposed by Somerset House. Indeed, ten or eleven of the thirteen or fourteen members of the three Chartist select vestries were unenfranchised men (Table 3.2). Representation on highways boards is an important indication of potential working-class local governance, but is not central to this thesis: indeed 'poor relief was of greater concern to the working classes than highway maintenance'.⁷⁴ Consequently this thesis concentrates on the Holbeck select vestry, and its policies, and particularly those of the first Chartist select vestry elected in April 1842.

The Chartist select vestry of 1842

Election

In April 1842 Holbeck ratepayers elected a Chartist select vestry to manage poor relief. The meeting which elected its members adjourned to 'the open air' of Holbeck Moor.⁷⁵ Katrina Navickas opened her exposition of the strategic importance of spaces in protest and political gatherings by citing Holbeck councillor Joshua Hobson's assertion, in 1844, of the democratic rights of meeting and speaking in an adequate space open to the public, after mayoral prohibition of the use of the Free Market in Leeds.⁷⁶ In Holbeck itself, such gatherings took place on the central public space of Holbeck Moor. The

⁷² Robert Charles Madocks Fyson, 'Chartism in North Staffordshire' (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1996), pp. 318-322.

⁷³ Fyson, 'Chartism in North Staffordshire', p. 325.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Apr 1842.

⁷⁶ Katrina Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester, 2016), p. 1.

meeting was scheduled for 'seven o'clock in the evening',⁷⁷ when mill workers would finish their regular shift, or as the *Northern Star* commented 'to give the "lads" of Holbeck an opportunity of being present'; the *Star* continued 'the list proposed by the Chartists was finally carried almost unanimously', and the select vestry was elected with 'no poll being demanded'.⁷⁸ The *Leeds Mercury* reported 'the proceedings were of a very uproarious and lengthened character, being continued till after dark, and that all the persons elected, with the exception of two, were Chartists'.⁷⁹ The new select vestry consisted of thirteen members, one more than in the three previous years,⁸⁰ viz:

Joseph Richardson, overlooker; James Stead, clothier; Francis Sutcliff, painter; William Barlow, brush maker; Samuel Exley, machine maker; John Davies, brush maker; Charles Cluderay, brush maker; William Ellis, merchant; George Chambers, wheelwright; John Stead, book keeper; William Kidson, brush maker; William Nichols Jnr, machine maker; John Eddison, manufacturer.⁸¹

Reports of the election were rather muted in both the Chartist *Star* and the Whig *Mercury*, while neither the Tory *Leeds Intelligencer* nor the Radical *Leeds Times* reported it at all,⁸² perhaps suggesting such an event was barely newsworthy by this time. The reporting of much local Chartist activity focused on the Leeds Improvement Commission, which saw the election of the full Chartist list of candidates in January 1842, whilst the Chartist list for churchwardens at Leeds Parish Church was carried, like that of the Holbeck select vestry, in the April.⁸³ Leeds produced the early success story of Municipal Chartism:⁸⁴ as the Leeds-based *Northern Star* extolled, referring to the election of Improvement Commissioners and churchwardens, '*Local Power* is the key to general power ... In this gathering together of power ... Leeds has taken the lead'.⁸⁵ By this time local representation with Chartist majorities was perhaps less a revolutionary controversy, and more a democratic commonplace in the borough. Chartist representation in local government for Holbeck was pronounced, and not solely by the

77 WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Apr 1842.

78 *Northern Star*, 23 Apr 1842.

79 *Leeds Mercury*, 23 Apr 1842.

80 WYASL, LC/TC, 25 May 1839, 20 Apr 1840, and 15 Apr 1841.

81 WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Apr 1842.

82 The Chartists had defeated the previous two select vestries' Whig/Radical list, and *Leeds Times*' editor Smiles' alliance with James Garth Marshall in the Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association (or the 'Fox and Goose Club' as the *Northern Star* parodied it) perhaps dampened his enthusiasm for reporting the event. See Ella Starbuck, 'The History and Development of the Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association, 1840-42', (Unpublished BA dissertation, University of Leeds, 2017).

83 Harrison, J.F.C., 'Chartism in Leeds', in *Chartist Studies*, ed. by Asa Briggs (London, 1959), pp. 65-98 (pp. 86-87).

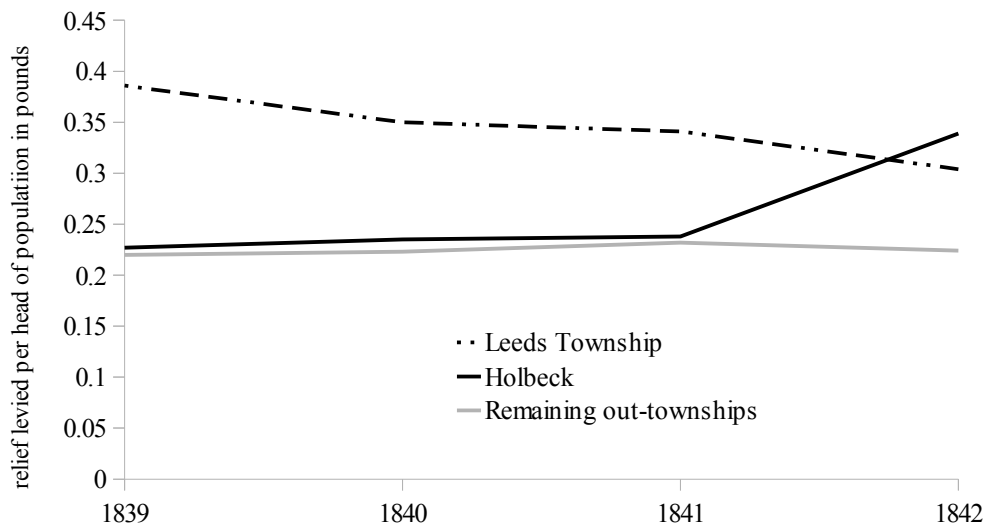
84 Chase, *Chartism*, p. 343.

85 *Northern Star*, 29 Oct 1842.

election of Joshua Hobson as councillor for the ward on the Leeds Town Council and of corn miller John Jackson from 1842.⁸⁶ As noted above, in 1845 and 1846 Chartist dominated select vestries were also returned; the Highways Board was also Chartist for three years 1846 to 1848. The *Star* celebrated Holbeck's radicalism, Holbeck 'was decidedly in the advance of all other wards in the Borough, in political feeling ... that feeling was essentially Radical'.⁸⁷ A few weeks before the election of the first Chartist select vestry, on Easter Tuesday, 'the long contemplated Chartist Festival, at Holbeck' took place. The temperance advocate T.B. Smith spoke, and prospective select vestryman James Stead responded.⁸⁸ The festival 'came off in excellent style' and 'the demon of mischief, strong drink was not suffered to intrude'. The *Star* concluded 'Chartism at Holbeck wears a most charming aspect'.⁸⁹

Holbeck's select vestry of 1841-42 oversaw a sharp rise in relief spending, and the rate levied to pay for that spending. The 'total amount of money levied for poor rates' had risen from £3170 in the year ending Lady Day 1841 to £4557 in 1842, Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7 Relief levied per capita, Leeds Township, Holbeck, and the remaining nine out-townships combined [that is, excluding Holbeck], comparatively, 1839-42



Source: *PP 1844* (63), *Poor rates. Return ... with the amount of money levied for poor rates, for the years ending Lady-Day 1839 to 1842, on each parish in England and Wales*, p. 216

⁸⁶ Harrison, p. 90. Jackson was a Holbeck overseer in 1839: his voting preferences were Whig/Radical.

⁸⁷ *Northern Star*, 29 Oct 1842.

⁸⁸ For T.B. Smith see Rachael Smith, 'The Charter "don't lie at the bottom of a glass of water": an analysis of the relationship between temperance and Chartism' (Unpublished BA dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014).

⁸⁹ *Northern Star*, 2 Apr 1842.

Lady Day was in March, prior to the election of a new select vestry, and the newly levied higher rate would have been a prominent factor in ratepayers' choices. The election of a Chartist select vestry owed as much to economic self-interest as political ideals. The deepening economic crisis of 1842 would also have contributed to a mindset of increased radicalism, and disenchantment with a self-serving Liberal, manufacturing elite, culminating in the Plug Riots of that year, as discussed below.

The curate, the vaccinator, and the Poor Law Commission

One of the first Chartist select vestry's initial acts was to appoint the Town's surgeon, Thomas Dobson.⁹⁰ The appointment was noted by St Matthew's curate Thomas Roper in a whistle-blowing letter to the Poor Law Commission wherein he reiterated 'Chartist' in describing the select vestry: Dobson, he wrote, was 'a young man who has lately commenced business here as an apothecary' who 'has been considered and spoken of as a Chartist'. While Roper's concern was that Dobson alone would struggle to fulfil the role of vaccinator alongside his other duties in such a populous township, his mischief-making language tried to provoke an anticipated anti-Chartist feeling among the Poor Law authorities.⁹¹ That Dobson was first elected as Town's surgeon the previous year, by a non-Chartist select vestry, supports Roper's apparently antagonistic stance.⁹² The Commission made little of Roper's antagonism, replying 'the peculiar political opinions expressed by the party appointed do not operate as a disqualification for the office of vaccinator'.⁹³ In further correspondence, Roper, who seemed genuinely concerned about the level of vaccination and the risk of the prevalent smallpox in Holbeck, made no further reference to the political character of the vestry or its vaccinator: indeed he back-pedalled, underlining in his final letter that he 'never for one instant desired or wished Mr Dobson to be removed from his situation'.⁹⁴ Roper cited a particular case (see Chapter 5) and employed exaggeration to insinuate neglect in Holbeck's vaccination programme. Holbeck overseers wrote to the Poor Law Commission in response, stating they were happy to have their 'proceedings fully and freely canvassed', warning they

90 WYASL, LC/TC, 27 Apr 1842.

91 TNA, MH12/15225, Records of the Poor Law Commission, Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and Other Local Authorities, Leeds 573, 1840-1842, 29 Jul 1842.

92 WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Apr 1841.

93 TNA, MH12/15225, 12 Aug 1842.

94 TNA, MH12/15225, 13 Aug 1842.

were 'not surprised that such statements are sent to the commissioners, but they would request they be received with caution as proceeding from prejudiced sources'.⁹⁵

Dobson continued in his role as Town's surgeon and vaccinator, appointed by vestries of differing political colour throughout the 1840s.⁹⁶ Indeed in April 1844 the non-Chartist select vestry, paying Dobson his salary, vaccination and midwifery bills, proposed a vote of thanks for 'his unremitting attention to the comfort and welfare of the poor'.⁹⁷ In response to Roper's concern, the Poor Law Commission wrote to the select vestry to ask 'whether the provisions for medical relief in the township of Holbeck is sufficient' to which minutes record the order to 'Answer Yes'.⁹⁸ However, it is clear that as far as the Poor Law Commission was concerned, Chartist sympathies did not preclude service in local office, nor was that central authority overly concerned about them.⁹⁹

Relief in groceries

The new regime in Holbeck in 1842 was marked by a pro-active approach to poor relief management. Innovations included the allocation of paupers to grocers, and relief in foodstuffs. A ticketing system was in place in Leeds Township in 1840. Fifteen year-old Catharine Berry, eldest child of Mary Berry who died from want, described in evidence to the Poor Law Commission how, shortly before her mother's death, (unsolicited) relief had been provided: 'the relieving Officer came to visit us - he gave me tickets for 12lb of Bread - Tea & Sugar - and told me where to go for it'.¹⁰⁰ The ticketing system was outlined in the *Leeds Times*: 'The rule agreed by the [Leeds] committee was, that not more than one-fourth of the relief awarded should be given in money, the rest to be given in provisions'. Amounts of relief were entered 'into a book, printed in the form of tickets, there being two tickets and a margin in the breadth of each page'.¹⁰¹

Amounts in Holbeck varied from the single shilling John Ward, Judy Cayill, David

95 TNA, MH12/15225, p. 599, 26 Aug 1842.

96 The policy and practise of smallpox vaccination in Holbeck are discussed in Chapter 5.

97 WYASL, LC/TC, 24 Apr 1844.

98 WYASL, LC/TC, 7 Sep 1842.

99 The Commission, in its responses to the economic recession in the early 1840s in Durham (operating under the New Poor Law), has been considered an 'agency of restraint and enlightenment'; Peter Dunkley, 'The "Hungry Forties" and the New Poor Law: a Case Study', *Historical Journal*, 17:2 (1974), 329-346 (p. 346).

100 TNA, MH12/15225, 16 Sep 1840.

101 *Leeds Times*, 30 Apr 1842.

Kidson, and Christiana Horsfall each might redeem in foodstuffs at Mrs Carr, Charles Hobson, Mrs Robinson, and George Dovener's shops, to the ten shillings William Batty and John Whitehead could spend at William Tomlinson and James Rhodes' emporiums. The total bill put £34 17s. a week into the cash drawers of Holbeck's rate-paying grocers, although it is not known if this was a one-off experiment. Whilst the poor would have been able to procure provisions cheaper by crossing into Leeds, particularly in its markets, Holbeck ratepayers would not benefit. Ensuring poor relief payments returned to the ratepayer was a distinct element of Chartist local protectionist policy.

Employment schemes and other policies

The first Chartist administration attempted to establish employment in spade husbandry for paupers on land belonging to the workhouse, seeking to 'enclose the waste land' adjoining it.¹⁰² Able-bodied men who were 'recipients of relief' were employed in 'draining and cultivating the field belonging to the Township situate on the North side of the Workhouse'; tiles were purchased to facilitate the drainage.¹⁰³ Shortly before the end of their tenure they purchased two pigs, and three 'sacks of the best Oats' for sowing on the newly cultivated land.¹⁰⁴ They sent a deputation 'to wait on Mssrs. Marshall with regard to the employing of Paupers' on land which Marshalls' owned.¹⁰⁵ The Chartist body was happy to make application to Whigs like Marshall, and equally with the Tories of the Highways Board, to 'suggest to them the advantages of employing the able bodied men receiving relief'.¹⁰⁶ The provision of start-up funding and loans, though a policy of the Chartist administration, was common to those of other political shades. A similar commonplace was the raising of funds by the threatened placement of parish apprentices: vestry sought ten pound fines (though accepting payment in kind) in late summer, 1842: but this was as much a response to severe economic depression and the need to raise funds. This economic context is highlighted below. Indeed, the background of this deep economic crisis obfuscates attempts to identify distinct Chartist policy.

102 WYASL, LC/TC, 30 Jun 1842 and 28 Dec 1842.

103 WYASL, LC/TC, 17 and 24 Jan 1843.

104 WYASL, LC/TC, 10 and 17 Apr 1843.

105 WYASL, LC/TC, 22 Jun 1842.

106 WYASL, LC/TC, 14 Sep 1842.

The 1842 depression

The poverty of this particularly desperate year was marked by desperate benevolence and equally desperate antagonism: soup kitchens were established, and workers combined to disrupt production in local mills.

Charity's role

The Benevolent Society gave relief in times of cyclical underemployment: in 1829-30 it relieved 5,181 Leeds families, and during winter 1831-32 assisted 5,784 families, of which 1,043 were weavers. Between 1s. 6d. and 6s. 0d. per family, was 'given in flour and clothing' and raised by 'ordinary funds by subscription, and the extraordinary funds by extra contributions and collections'.¹⁰⁷ Widow Mary Gamble gave evidence of more occasional society relief at an inquiry into the death from want of her neighbour Mary Kitchin in Leeds in 1841: 'she was relieved by the Benevolent Society ... the Town Missionary visited and relieved her with about ten shillings during her last illness'.¹⁰⁸ Other charity might take seasonal form, Holbeck had a 'Christmas dole' for which the Chartist select vestry bought '18 pieces of calico' in 1842.¹⁰⁹ That impoverished year a soup kitchen was set up. The *Leeds Times* reported:

At the present period of extreme distress, it may be advisable to draw the attention of the necessitous poor to the soup kitchen ... established by public subscription, in York Street. This establishment ... has been pronounced ... to be one of the most complete of its kind out of London. 1,200 quarts are daily retailed to the poor ... at one penny each, and if necessary that quantity could be ... increased to 4,000 quarts per day.¹¹⁰

Throughout winter demand increased: 'upwards of 1200 gallons per day' were distributed in one February week. The 'committee of the Soup Kitchen' increased the number of tickets 'allowed to the Benevolent Society, and the Church Visiting Society, for distribution from £25 to £35 each weekly'.¹¹¹ York Street was barely a mile from Holbeck, and the Chartist select vestry purchased 'a book of soup tickets' in the January for the use of Holbeck's poor.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, pp. 536-537.

¹⁰⁸ TNA, MH12/5225, 1 Mar 1841.

¹⁰⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Dec 1842.

¹¹⁰ *Leeds Times*, 12 Nov 1842.

¹¹¹ *Leeds Times*, 18 Feb 1843.

¹¹² WYASL, LC/TC, 18 Jan 1843.

The Plug Riots

Benevolence and relief did not address the underlying economic conditions which permitted such cyclical poverty. 1842, was marked by 'turn-outs', strikes and protests across the industrialised north during summer that year.¹¹³ Its local manifestation was recounted by James Garth Marshall of Marshalls of Holbeck in a series of letters:

Our mills are now the centre of operations the mob dispersed by the troops have joined another from another side of town and stopped the mills around us ... They have broke into our new mill yard however heaving the gates bodily in, and striking pretty hard with sticks pelting with stones ... The military charged the mob and pricked them with their lances but did not fire and took fifteen or twenty prisoners.¹¹⁴

Turn-outs and disturbances were not restricted to millworkers, and were widely supported; nor were they instigated by non-local agitators:

The colliers in the neighbourhood are turning out and some of the mills standing already on that account ... All this shows the widespread disaffection for the colliers admit their wages are good ... There is a wide spread wild enthusiastic feeling in their [Chartists'] favour lurking in all the working classes - everywhere most of the prisoners taken yesterday belonged to this neighbourhood and were not strangers.¹¹⁵

James Dean notes the mass strike of 1842 'involved workers largely within the textiles and mining industries'.¹¹⁶ Yet support was more widespread. Occupations of Holbeck men sent for trial show significant diversity, and speak of solidarity across Holbeck's sectors: a shuttle maker, a collier, a cloth dresser, an iron moulder, a road maker, and a labourer were committed.¹¹⁷ Marshall noted protesters 'would be puzzled to find the plugs of our boilers': so it proved; Marshalls' machinery was not stopped.¹¹⁸ However, other Holbeck concerns, Titley, Tatham and Walker's; Benyon's; and Maclea and March all had their engines stopped by 'the mob'.¹¹⁹ Of twenty-seven local men committed to trial at York Assizes, six were from Holbeck. The *Leeds Times* noted, in accordance with Marshall's account, all prisoners, 'with the exception of two from Rothwell' were Leeds men, highlighting the solidarity of Holbeck's workpeople: 'The masses who were of our

¹¹³ See James Anthony Dean, 'Ten Days of Tumult: The Mass Strike of 1842 in the West Riding of Yorkshire' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014); also G. Kitson Clark, 'Hunger and Politics in 1842', *Journal of Modern History*, 25:4 (1953), 355-374.

¹¹⁴ University of Leeds Special Collections [hereafter UOLSC], MS 739/3, James Garth Marshall, letter to Thomas Spring-Rice (Lord Monteagle), 3.30 pm, 17 Aug 1842,

¹¹⁵ UOLSC, MS 739/5, James Garth Marshall, letter to Thomas Spring-Rice (Lord Monteagle), 1.30 pm, 18 Aug 1842.

¹¹⁶ Dean, 'Ten Days of Tumult', p. 69.

¹¹⁷ *Leeds Times*, 20 Aug 1842.

¹¹⁸ UOLSC, MS 739/4, James Garth Marshall, letter to Sir Henry Taylor, 17 Aug 1842.

¹¹⁹ *Leeds Times*, 20 Aug 1842.

own population, expressed freely, openly, and loudly, their sympathy with the rioters'.¹²⁰

Yet the twenty-seven committed from Leeds represented a small proportion of the 190 prosecutions at York Assizes connected with the disturbances (181 of these 'seditious conspiracy and riot'). Of 189 with no exacerbating felony (one included robbery with violence) thirty-two were found not guilty, a further seven had 'no bill' or 'no prosecution', while twenty were found guilty but discharged on sureties. Sentences seem surprisingly lenient, the authorities perhaps wary of fomenting further insurrection by imposing Draconian sentences. One was for eighteen months, three for twelve months and two for eight, but the remainder, over 95% of custodial sentences, were of between three weeks and six months. Of the six Holbeck men five were convicted. The two youngest, William Perigo aged 19 and James Speight, 16, each received sentences of three weeks. Three older men, Thomas Render, William Howard, and George Oates, received three, four, and five months respectively, while there was 'no prosecution' in Joseph Smith's case.¹²¹ None were known Chartists.

Removal policy

Desperation during economic downturn was reflected in the removal of families who had migrated to the township for work, and finding themselves out of work, having to apply for relief. This became a core policy of the first Chartist select vestry during the depression of 1842. While vestry minutes detail fifteen families removed in 1840-41, there were forty-two in 1842-43, falling to twenty-four the following year and single figures after 1845. However, returns presented to a parliamentary report indicate a greater number.¹²²

Removals from manufacturing areas during the depressed early 1840s was investigated and recorded by the Poor Law Commission, the returns published in 1846.¹²³ Removals escalated during 1842 and into 1843: this was particularly the case in the Borough of

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ TNA, HO 27/68, Criminal Registers, England and Wales, York, County Assizes, 13 Aug 1842.

¹²² See Chapter 4: not all removal orders were put before the select vestry, and entered into their minutes, until a resolution to that effect in June 1844, WYASL, LC/TC, 26 Jun and 10 Jul 1844.

¹²³ PP 1846 (209)(209 II), *Returns of Numbers of Families and Persons removed by Local Order to their Place of Settlement from Manufacturing Towns, 1841-43*. Leeds out-township returns are in Paper 209; those of the in-township, 209 II.

Leeds (none of whose townships were under the New Poor Law), Table 3.3. In those parts of Cheshire, Lancashire and the West Riding asked to submit returns, in 1840-41 (returns were mostly for year-ending Lady Day, 25 March) 916 families (2886 individuals) were removed. During 1841-42 this rose to 1802 families (5277 individuals) and again in 1842-43 to 2356 families (7200 individuals).

Table 3.3 Removals in each year between 1840 and 1843: northern manufacturing townships, Leeds Borough, and Holbeck

	<i>1840-41</i>		<i>1841-42</i>		<i>1842-43</i>	
	<i>Families</i>	<i>Individuals</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Individuals</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Individuals</i>
All manufacturing townships	916	2886	1802	5277	2356	7200
Leeds Borough	140	434	219	782	448	1556
Holbeck	39	141	48	171	67	251

Source: *PP* 1846 (209)(209 II)

Of thirty-nine Holbeck families removed in 1840-41, eight were removed within the Leeds borough, in 1841-42 nine of forty-eight were, while in 1842-43, eight of sixty-seven were. Of the whole 154 families, only seventeen were removed outside Yorkshire. Many families had been resident for several years: over the three-year period eighteen families had been resident in Holbeck over ten years, five of these over twenty. Indications are that Holbeck overseers were increasingly prepared to remove long-term residents: the mean residency of removees in 1840-41 was 4.5 years, in 1841-42 it was 4.8, increasing to 5.5 in 1842-43. The status and occupation of those removed was also detailed. The vast majority were male-headed families: only ten widow-headed families were removed across the three years and 154 removals. A further eleven spinsters and a soldier's wife were removed. By far the most common occupation of those removed was 'labourer' - sixty-eight of the 154. However, while this unskilled class accounted for more than 50% of removals in 1840-41, this fell to 43% by 1842-43, and there are indications that overseers were increasingly prepared to remove skilled men, including those occupied in the textile mills. No clothdressers were removed in 1840-41, and only one the following year; but in 1842-43 six were removed. Likewise, millwrights, machine makers and mechanics are more prevalent in the later removals. Weavers (mostly cloth, but some canvas) were just as likely to be removed in each of the years,

and formed the second largest vulnerable occupational group: five being removed in 1840-41, and seven in each of the later years. The first Chartist administration, particularly, went to great expense in enquiring into settlement and effecting removals. As noted in the following chapter select vestryman George Chambers received over £40 in expenses in one case. Chambers' day job was a wheelwright, and such substantial reimbursements has echoes of one of the six points of the People's Charter, that MPs should be paid, so to allow working men to become members of parliament.

The Chartist select vestry outlined its removal policy in July 1842:

[T]he distress in this township arising from want of employment would be materially lessened by the removal to their own settlement of all paupers with their families belonging to other parishes & especially to the agricultural Districts who are in receipt from this board and resolves to carry out this resolution without delay as far as is practicable.¹²⁴

The policy speaks of Chartist protectionism; but it was also in accord with increased incidences of removal from manufacturing townships across the north, during the acute depression of 1842, those governed by vestries of varying political shades locally, and in most non-Leeds manufacturing areas areas by boards of guardians under the New Poor Law. Removal policy was consequential to economic depression and desperation. Nonetheless Holbeck's Chartist policy and statement of intent was applauded, as was the protectionist resolution of the same day that two select vestrymen

be appointed to wait on the manufacturers of Holbeck & the neighbourhood to request their co-operation in the foregoing resolution [above], by giving employment by preference to persons belonging to this Parish.¹²⁵

The policy reached the ears of the Radical *Leicestershire Mercury*, who, basing their report on that in Samuel Smiles' similarly Radical *Leeds Times*, reported:

PUTTING THE WEIGHT ON THE RIGHT SHOULDERS. - We are glad to hear from the *Leeds Times* that 'The Holbeck select vestry have come to a determination to remove all paupers belonging to the agricultural districts to their own parishes, and thus let the landed aristocracy support their own poor. They have also waited upon the manufacturers in Holbeck, to request them in employing workmen, to give the preference to men belonging to manufacturing districts, with which request the manufacturers have intimated their willingness to comply.' This is the proper course, and had it been generally taken long ago, the great cause of repeal would have made much more progress.¹²⁶

124 WYASL, LC/TC, 1 Jul 1842.

125 Ibid.

126 *Leicestershire Mercury*, 6 Aug 1842. For the *Leicestershire Mercury* and its political allegiance see Derek Fraser, 'The Press in Leicester c. 1700-1850, *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, XLII (1966-67), 53-75 (p. 64).

Smiles had Holbeck connections. He was there during the first Chartist select vestry, and advertised his medical services from a Holbeck address, in both the *Leeds Times* and *Mercury*: 'Dr. S. Smiles Surgeon, & c., Springfield Place, Mann's Field, Holbeck'.¹²⁷

Correlation between the Corn Laws, migration to manufacturing areas, and removal had been made earlier, and the Anti-Corn Law League sought 'to link settlement reform with that of Corn Law repeal'. League activist J.B. Smith, in the widely-held belief that the manufacturing areas were subsidising the agricultural landed interest, expressed in 1839, in the context of the New Poor Law administration in Manchester, that

[t]here are thousands in this district who do not belong to our parishes and who dare not apply for relief lest the overseer should pass them to their own settlements in the agricultural parts of the country. These people cannot hold out much longer and if they be obliged to yield at last they must be sent in flocks for the landlords to support - it will then be seen of what benefit the *new* Poor Law is without a repeal of the Corn Laws.¹²⁸

In the acute depression of 1842, they were removed 'in flocks', as Table 3.3 illustrates, and in Holbeck some who had previously been allowed relief were removed. Richard Wilkinson's family had received casual relief of 5s. on an almost weekly basis throughout June and July 1839. The first instance of relief was annotated 'said to belong to Haxby' (near York), and Holbeck select vestry wrote to the Haxby overseer about his settlement. The following month a removal order was sought, but a week later further casual relief was given, and the order was not carried out. There are no further instances of relief, and Richard Wilkinson was, in 1841, a weaver living in Holbeck. His wife, despite having a one year-old daughter, was working in a flax mill: her income probably keeping them off poor relief. However, in the crash of 1842 a resolution was passed in the September that he, his 'wife & two children' be removed to Haxby.¹²⁹

Likewise Esther Leonard, intermittently estranged from her husband Charles, had received casual relief in her own name in January 1840, when heavily pregnant. In 1841 she was living with her millwright husband in Holbeck, but in December 1842, two months after the baptism of their second child (and the same-day burial of their first), vestry ordered she 'be sent to Gloster to her husband'. However, perhaps because baby

¹²⁷ *Leeds Times*, and *Leeds Mercury*, 25 Mar 1843.

¹²⁸ J.B. Smith to C.P. Villiers (25 Jul 1839), in Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law*, p. 3.

¹²⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 14 Sep 1842.

Miles was in arms,¹³⁰ they were not removed to Uley until April 1843. Esther soon moved back however, though to Leeds not Holbeck. She took to stealing footwear from stalls in Briggate, and lived in Newtown, Leeds in 1849. The Quarter Session of December that year referred to her as a 'singlewoman', however the following November they designated her 'the wife of Charles Leonard'. On this second occasion she was imprisoned, and the census of 1851 found her in Leeds Borough Gaol. Her husband was still lodging in Uley, while her son stayed with relatives in Leeds. Another example was Mary Johnson, in receipt of a weekly allowance in 1839, commuted to intermittent casual payments into 1840. In September 1842 however, an order was made to remove her '& family to South Stainby' (Lincolnshire).¹³¹ Thomas Cotton, a boiler maker when in employment, with a wife and young family of four, including a nursing infant, was in receipt of 3s. a week in groceries in May 1842. The following month he was 'allowed' 30s. 'to remove his wife & family & himself to Warrington'. Whilst this case suggests assisted removal, rather than enforced, John Longbottom, in receipt of 7s. a week in groceries for his large family, was the following week subject to an order to remove him 'his wife & family from Holbeck to Meltham' (south of Huddersfield). The majority of removal cases however, were of those who were not known to have had previous relief - although Holbeck's itemised casual relief payments are not extant after early 1840.

Effects of removals

Removal 'was costly in terms of human suffering'.¹³² Removal policies did little to alleviate poverty: indeed, they might lead to starvation, as in the following case, amongst those which reached the attention of the Poor Law Commission because registrars had attributed deaths, variously, to want or starvation.¹³³ Mary Kitchin and her

130 The Simpson family's removal from Beamsley to Rigton in 1818 was delayed by Lydia Simpson's confinement: Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 80.

131 WYASL, LC/TC, 28 Sep 1842.

132 Ashforth, 'Settlement and removal', in *The Poor and the City*, ed. by Rose, p. 65.

133 There are several variants of starvation terminology on copies of death certificates in the Poor Law Commission correspondence, for example: James Toulson, 42, clothier of Kirkstall in Leeds - 'starvation and diseased lungs'; widow Elizabeth Stewart, 42, of Yeadon - 'rheumatism and want of the necessities of life'; Mary Kitchin[g] of Leeds, 'apparently between 60 and 70 years' of age - 'old age and want of nutritious food'; iron moulder John Hutchinson, 55, of Leeds - 'diarrhoea and insufficiency of food'; while the Wortley registrar was less prevaricating and simply certified the cause of 75 year-old Mary Stephenson's death as 'starvation', as was the Leeds registrar who certified 24 year-old cloth dresser Henry Halstead's death as caused by 'want and starvation', TNA MH12/15225, 10 Jul 1840; 7 Jan 1841; 6 Feb 1841; 10 Nov 1841; 8 Jun 1841; 17 Nov 1842.

grown-up son and daughter (one a 'cripple', the other 'weak in her intellect') lived in Dunn's Yard off Marsh Lane in Leeds. Mary would not apply to the Town's doctor, nor for relief. She feared her son and daughter, whose settlements were Tadcaster, and who had run away from there to be with their mother, would be removed back to that township and its workhouse, where they had been inmates. Her next-door neighbour Sarah Brearley told the Commission

I have heard her say often, when she was told to apply to the Overseers, that she would not, because if she did the Overseers would remove her son and daughter to Tadcaster where they belonged - and I believe that was the reason she would not apply herself or let any one else do so for her.¹³⁴

Neither did policy ostensibly under the New Poor Law in Leeds in-township improve the poor's vulnerability to removal. The following case shows the inconsistencies of relief, and almost ad hoc application of removal policy. George Ramsden's daughter-in-law Mary Ann, whose husband had been transported, was shifted from pillar to post, and George appealed to the Poor Law Commission about her case. Some time prior to her husband's conviction the family had been removed from Leeds to Lockwood, near Huddersfield, and after her husband was sentenced pregnant Mary Ann and her child were, in August 1846, in her father-in-law's words

...[R]emoved again to the Town of Lockwood went into the union House and remained there 10 days and Agreeable to the wish of the Overseers returned to Leeds to receive 1/- per week for one child ... [S]he received the same sum untill the month of October when she was refused any further relief [A]pplication was again made on the 13 day of Nov [-] received nothing untill after the 17 when she was confined [A]pplication was again [made] and [she] received 4/- per week for 4 months for her self and her 2 children [T]he Overseers of Leeds then gave her 3/- per week for a short time after then 2/- per week [-] after which removed to the Town of Lockwood on the 16 day of June 1847 [A]gain went into the Union House and was there 16 days. Returned again to Leeds according to there wish to receive 2/- per week by Order. [W]hen application was again made to Leeds they refuse having anything to do with the case so that Leeds and Lockwood Overseers both refuse her after allowing her 12/- for 6 weeks pay making personal application and going a distance of 16 miles a second time [T]hey then give me to understand no further application need be made for they would relieve her no more that Leeds had Aright to do so [O]ne of the Relieving Officers Mr. Moor instead of Relieving her threatens her with 3 months to Wakefield House of Correction if ever she went there again.¹³⁵

Mary Ann, 'an honest industrious person' found work in a mill, but from her 6s. wages (a standard amount for women)¹³⁶ 'to support herself and 2 children' she had to pay '2/6

¹³⁴ Sarah Brearley, TNA, MH12/15225, 1 Mar 1841.

¹³⁵ TNA, MH12/15228, Records of the Poor Law Commission, Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and Other Local Authorities, Leeds, 573, 1847, 27 Aug 1847.

¹³⁶ See Chapter 7.

per week for the youngest child nursing'.¹³⁷ Lamentably, the infant became 'in such a state of health no person will take the child to nurse for it is a mere skeleton'. George wrote again thanking the Commission, noting 'In answer to your enquiry I have to inform you that the son of James Ramsden convict was interred on the 28 day Sep'.¹³⁸

That case took place after Leeds in-township had come under the New Poor Law, but the policy of removal, attendant controversies, and their tragic consequences were not new. Like Mary Ann Ramsden, Maria Sleddin was pregnant, but with an illegitimate child, when she was removed in 1823: overseers did not want the financial responsibility, the 1s. 6d. standard weekly payment, for a bastard child.¹³⁹ As Poor Law Commissioner for the West Riding, John Tweedy noted in 1834:

If a single woman is known to be pregnant who is likely to be chargeable, the first inquiry is to what township she belongs; if to other townships, the officers endeavour to get her out of town.¹⁴⁰

Examinations of Maria's friends and neighbours give us another opportunity to uncover the experiences of the poor in their own words. Sixteen year-old Maria was moved to and fro between Leeds and Burnley. Maria, according to neighbour Maria Butterfield, was 'a silly inoffensive girl', who 'a single word would repulse'.¹⁴¹ A Leeds assistant overseer refused her relief without a Burnley magistrate's order, and Maria returned to Burnley to seek one: 'they [the Burnley officers] ... turned her out again' and she returned to Leeds; again, Joseph Littlewood, a Leeds assistant overseer, refused her relief without an order and 'she again went back to Burnley'. This time she was returned to Leeds by a Burnley overseer's son: Maria told a neighbour that 'upon her journey they had tied her in the gig with a cord, and that the harder she cried out, the harder he [the Burnley parish officer] drove'. Like Mary Ann Ramsden, Maria was threatened with the House of Correction: 'if she sat there [at the overseer's house] grinning and pulling wry faces, she would be sent to Wakefield'. The threat was also made to a witness, Mary Conner, 'a married woman' who 'does not live with her husband', who 'durst not take' Maria in, because Littlewood 'had threatened to send her [the witness] for twelve months in Wakefield'. Neither did widow Hannah Cryer feel able to accommodate her,

¹³⁷ TNA, MH12/15228, 27 Aug 1847.

¹³⁸ TNA, MH12/15228, 26 Oct 1847.

¹³⁹ See Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰ *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix A., p. 755.

¹⁴¹ Leeds Workhouse Committee, *Examinations taken in the case of Maria Sleddin* (Leeds, 1823).

as she was in receipt of relief: she recounted 'thou knows Maria, I dare not take thee in: I have town's pay, and thou art with child'.¹⁴² Nonetheless, neighbours' accounts reveal some solidarity and collective self-help, and Sarah Scott's account epitomises that. Sarah and her husband took Maria in, in Paley's Galleries. Maurice Beresford described this housing as 'the vertical stacking of back-to-backs ... of which the most notorious were Paley's Galleries'. These were demolished prior to photography, however, photographs of galleried housing in nearby Line Fold are extant, Figure 3.8. Beresford notes 'boxes of single-roomed houses and cellar dwellings stacked three rows deep'.¹⁴³

Figure 3.8 Galleried housing in Line Fold, Leeds, photographed in 1901



Source: LLIS, *Unhealthy Areas*, Volume 4, page 28 (LQ 331.833 L517); <www.leodis.net> subject ID 2002109_16711062 [accessed May 2017]

Straw, and later a bed, were procured for her; and the town's surgeon, Mr. Garlick,¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Maurice Beresford, *East End, West End: the face of Leeds during urbanisation, 1684-1842* (Leeds, 1988), pp. 431-432.

¹⁴⁴ For Joseph Prince Garlick, see Stephen T. Anning, *The History of Medicine in Leeds* (Leeds, 1980), pp. 181-185.

attended: Maria was delivered of a still-born child, and died two days later. Her case, resulted in the censure (but not dismissal) of the assistant overseer, as Workhouse Committee minutes record:

[I]t does not appear to the Committee that there is sufficient grounds to involve Mr. Littlewood in a criminal charge in relation to the case of Maria Sledding, whose death appears to have been the result of a previous organic disease in her chest occasioned by inflammation. But it is the opinion of this committee that Mr. Littlewood's conduct in not seeing that a suitable lodging and necessaries were provided ... on her arrival at Leeds under a regular Order of Removal, is highly reprehensible.

It was later resolved 'Mr. Littlewood be reprimanded and an admonition and an order given to to him, to treat the Poor on all occasions with the greatest Humanity and Kindness'.¹⁴⁵

The case was, perhaps, unusual in its extremity, but emphasises, in correlation with cases highlighted earlier, how for the poor (and the more vulnerable particularly) removal, and townships' removal policies, might end tragically: yet only those which ended in death tended to come to the attention of various authorities, and come to us via the records they kept. While it is possible to occasionally hear the voices of those witnessing such events, the effects of removal more generally might be established by the large-scale reconstitution of those removed, a task beyond the remit of this thesis, but one which the methodology employed in, particularly, Chapters 6 and 7, that of narrative biographical reconstitution, might provide some indicators of such an investigation's validity and feasibility.

Policies of other Holbeck Select Vestries

Although removal policies were adopted with enthusiasm by the first Holbeck Chartist select vestry during the crash of 1842, later Chartist administrations in 1845-46 and 1846-47 did not pursue it as vigorously: named removal orders were just 20% of the level in the first, in 1842. Removal was not a policy of municipal Chartism per se, but a response to economic depression and distress. Indeed, the Tory select vestry of 1843-44 had a ratio of over 50% the level of the apogee of removals the previous year, while Whig and Coalition administrations in 1840-41, and 1844-45, were at 33%.

¹⁴⁵ WYASL, LO/M/6, Leeds Township, Workhouse Committee, vestry minute and order book, 1818-1824, 11 and 16 Apr 1823.

Innovations in relief provision in Holbeck are discussed in Chapter 5. In some cases the policies pursued might be related to the varying political positions of administrations. For example, the experimental subscription to the convalescent home at Ilkley was a policy of the Tory select vestry in 1839, while that to the York Blind School in 1847 was of a Coalition administration. The second Chartist select vestry in 1845 highlighted medical relief. Emphasising environmental health, it required the town's surgeon to visit the poor of the township in their homes, and report on 'the condition of their Dwellings & Neighbourhood as regards their health and state such remedies as he thinks applicable'.¹⁴⁶ And it was during the tenure of the first Chartist select vestry that smallpox inoculation was adopted.¹⁴⁷ Its medical relief policy, however, speaks of protectionism: although later rescinded, it was resolved that the surgeon 'shall not be compelled to attend any cases requiring medical attendance who don't belong to this township except in cases of emergency'.¹⁴⁸

But in most cases, types of relief were not informed by politicised administrations, with the exception of the heightened local protectionism of the Chartist vestries. However, the tone of relief may have been more respectful of the poor: records from 1842 designate some women as to their marital status, thus 'Mrs. Ball' and 'Mrs. Turnbull' had removal orders applied, while 'Mrs. Kidson' had her case handed to the town's solicitor.¹⁴⁹ Other than those policies outlined earlier, it is problematic to attach political ideology to policy. For example, whilst assisted emigration policies were instigated by the first Chartist select vestry, they were continued by Tory, Coalition, and other Chartist administrations. Similarly, the raising of fines for refusing to take a parish apprentice was also a commonplace of all administrations: however, it was during the tenure of a Coalition select vestry in 1844 that a serious commitment to apprenticing poor children to a trade was made.¹⁵⁰

What is clear though, is that Chartist administration was competent. The reforming high-churchman Walter Farquhar Hook, vicar of Leeds from 1837 to 1859, worked well with Chartist churchwardens, who held office in Leeds in the 1840s, regarding them

¹⁴⁶ WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Jun 1845; see Chapter 5.

¹⁴⁷ WYASL, LC/TC, 20 Jul 1842.

¹⁴⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 13 May 1845.

¹⁴⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 15 and 22 Jun 1842.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 5; WYASL, LC/TC, 26 Jun 1844.

'honourable, straightforward, and gentlemanly', and considering they 'ascertained and fulfilled their legal obligations' in the role, unlike their obstructive Liberal predecessors.¹⁵¹ Similarly so across the river in Holbeck: the Chartist select vestry administered poor relief competently and effectively, and protected its ratepayers and the jobs of its settled inhabitants in so doing. That a Chartist select vestry was elected three times in the 1840s (more often than distinctly Tory or Whig administrations), and indeed that three Chartist Highways Boards were also elected to serve the township, is testimony to their efficiency in the administrative roles of local municipal governance.

Conclusion

The obstructive role of the sprawling and populous Gilbert incorporations in delaying, for up to thirty-five years, the full implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act cannot be over-emphasised. Their membership included 160 townships close to Leeds, and their existence meant many other local non-incorporated townships (like Holbeck) interspersed between these might also continue to administer poor relief predominantly in the tradition of the Old Poor Law. The largest of these local incorporations, the Carlton, had seven of the ten Leeds out-townships as members, including Wortley. Rothwell and Rigton also belonged to it. Although outdoor relief was no more generous than elsewhere, it remained a priority, and the poor belonging to these townships were far less likely to be relieved in the workhouse, while social housing, rather than institutionalised accommodation, was also retained.

As a consequence of the retention of Old Poor Law mechanisms, townships could administer relief with greater autonomy, and by select vestry rather than less locally representative boards of guardians. Election to these local bodies did not necessitate the more stringent property qualifications required by the boards, and thus working men might be elected, as was the case in Holbeck, where on three occasions in the 1840s, Chartist administrations were returned. Whilst the identification of distinct Chartist policy is obfuscated by their need to respond to the bleak economic depression of 1842, a degree of protectionism is apparent. The first Chartist select vestry protected Holbeck's rate-paying shopkeepers, and settled workers, at the expense of non-settled

¹⁵¹ Harry W. Dalton, *Anglican Resurgence under W.F. Hook in Early Victorian Leeds: Church Life in a Nonconformist Town, 1836-1851* (Leeds, 2002), p. 136.

economic migrants, who were returned to their townships of belonging. Removal policies might have distressing effects on those removed, or those who tried to remain without claiming relief. There are indications that later Chartist innovations included prioritising environmental health, but the most significant factor of poor relief administration by Chartist working men was that it was undertaken with competence and efficiency, and such administrations (as indeed was the case for Highways Boards) were elected by Holbeck's ratepayers on three occasions during the 1840s.

Chapter 4

Cash relief in an urban industrialised township

This and the following chapter evaluate relief mechanisms in Holbeck during the 1830s and 1840s. Cash relief in the form of regular weekly pensions or casual payments was the major township expenditure. This chapter quantifies different types of cash relief, identifies who was in receipt of it, and investigates their circumstances of necessity.

In his seminal study of the working poor's conditions in York at the end of the nineteenth century, Seebohm Rowntree found '20,302 persons, or 27.84 per cent of the total population, were ... living in poverty'.¹ Over the full life-cycle, 68% of all Rigton's labouring households were at some point in receipt of poor relief (82% when solely medical relief is included).² This thesis will later reconstitute seven neighbouring households in Holbeck, and find that six of these had some form of parish relief from even the fragmentary extant records. Henry Samuel Chapman illustrated the proximity to poverty of the working poor when describing Holbeck weavers' conditions in his report to the hand-loom enquiry in 1840. The following is his depiction of Benjamin Kirk's circumstances:

I visited his house, among many others, at Holbeck, where I found his aged mother lying on a bed of sickness; he himself was a widower; all his children were grown up, and were doing for themselves; and even if he were fortunate enough to get full employment, his earnings would not exceed 10s or 11s to support two persons, with all the expenses of sickness. At the time I visited him he was out of work ...³

As discussed in Chapter 7, Benjamin Kirk was a recipient of casual relief in most available datasets, during 1832, 1840, and 1842. Poverty in working-class communities was endemic: its proximity that of an unshakeable shadow. Township relief was a significant plank in the poor's raft of poverty alleviating strategies.

1 B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (New Edition, 1922) reprinted (New York, 1971), p. 353.

2 Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 74.

3 *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 541.

Poor relief sources for Holbeck

As highlighted in the introductory chapter to this thesis, survival rates of poor relief records for urban and industrialised settings are less than for rural communities: urban records tend to be weeded out during municipal growth, and changes in municipal administration: those that survive are fragmentary. Consequently, studies have tended to focus on rural areas. By the employment and linkage of all available records, and the methodology of biographical reconstitution, this thesis attempts to go some way towards addressing that historiographical imbalance.

The earliest dataset of named relief recipients in Holbeck is from 1829, accompanying 'a document dated 18th April 1833, ... a description ... of fifty-two families to whom relief was afforded at this time'. These were supplied to Factories Commissioner Alfred Power by John Elliott, Holbeck's long-standing 'master of the workhouse, and perpetual overseer of the poor'.⁴ Elliott stated township expenditure, year-ending March 1832 was £2,782. Of that, £1,546 was 'by out-door poor', which, because of 'fluctuation of employment', varied 'between 50/ [£50] and 80/ [£80] for the fortnight'.⁵ Of fifty-four families listed, forty-four had relief amounts noted: this totals just £8 4s. 4d. weekly expenditure: the list is clearly a selective one, representing a quarter of Holbeck's poor.

The next extant records from which datasets might be constructed are from within the 'Holbeck Select Vestry Minute Book', 1839-1853.⁶ This includes recipients of casual relief, on a weekly basis, from June 1839 to May 1840; a list of weekly pensioners in 1839; and one of those who received relief redeemable at Holbeck grocers in 1842. These datasets are linked with named occurrences also in the select vestry minutes, for example resolutions regarding individuals, settlement enquiries and removal, bastardy claims and warrants, warrants for neglect of family, emigration assistance etc.

Additionally, the less detailed and complete entries in another township minute book, and in chapelry records (which include only intermittent entries from 1804 to 1881),⁷

4 *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 47; the documents themselves are appended to *PP* 1834 (167), *Factories Inquiry Commission, Supplementary Report*, C.2. pp. 108-111. The list itself is, however, dated 18 April 1832, with additions in 1833.

5 *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 47.

6 WYASL, LC/TC.

7 WYASL, LO/HO/1; RDP42/89, Holbeck St Matthew, parish records (Township and vestry records, 1749-1921).

are collated with the major datasets. Similarly, occurrences in parish and census records which note pauperism, for example workhouse inmates, and pauper burials, are added in the construction of an index of individuals and their families known to have some interface with poor relief in Holbeck between 1829 and 1851. This index contains almost 1200 individuals who can be cross referenced with the relief datasets. While these datasets are essential in the reconstitutions of the Isle Lane families in Chapters 6 and 7, they also help determine who needed relief, and the type of relief they might receive. Data from Holbeck sources are compared with that for a period in 1833 for the adjacent township Wortley, from the extant overseer's accounts for that year.⁸

Types of cash relief: regular weekly pensions

The relief of the most vulnerable, the elderly, widows, and children underpinned policy. Cash payments to the elderly and widows with children took the form of regular weekly pensions, which came into effect upon recognition of the decreased ability to work due to age, or on the death of a husband. These life-cycle incidences can be determined or illuminated by reconstitution methodology: the following are examples of this. At the most basic level, linkage with burial and census records highlight why payments might be made: thus, the select vestry on 10 July 1839 consolidated a widow's pension and 'ordered that Sarah (Widow) Flockton have 3/- per week'; Sarah's husband William was buried on 26 June, leaving Sarah, in her mid-40s, with nine children - three of these under seven years of age: the amount of relief was determined by Sarah having older, indeed some grown-up, children at home and in work.⁹

Further linkage can illuminate more specific contexts of relief, as in the following. Reasons for eligibility for pensions are occasionally stated in orders, for example. 'Widow Ann Leaf (whose husband lately was killed) & who is left with 8 children have 7s per week ...'. Ann's husband Abraham was buried on 6 November at Holbeck St Matthew, aged 38: the order for her pension was made the following week.¹⁰ The *Leeds Mercury* and *Leeds Times* both reported the circumstances of his death:

⁸ Leeds Local Studies Library [hereafter LLSL], Wortley Township, casual payments for the relief of the poor, 1833, QLW899.

⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 10 Jul 1839; RDP42/12, Holbeck St Matthew burial registers; TNA HO107/1344/10.

¹⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 13 Nov 1839; RDP42/12.

Last week, an accident, which has unfortunately proved fatal, occurred to Abraham Leaf, an industrious man, employed at the Old Mills. The men were shifting an engine, and whilst raising the fly wheel, the tackling, by some means, gave way, and the wheel fell upon Leaf's leg, which it crushed in a dreadful manner. He was removed to the Infirmary, where amputation of the limb was performed; his constitution was not equal to the shock it thus sustained, and he expired on Tuesday. An inquest was held on Wednesday morning.¹¹

Abraham had received 7s. weekly casual relief for his family in October. He possibly had recently returned to work after ill-health. However, reconstitution suggests he may have been out of work, and recently employed in an unfamiliar job. At his marriage and baptisms of his first children, Abraham was a linen weaver; by 1832 he learned cloth dressing and worked in the woollen mills, and was employed thus at his last child's baptism in 1838: yet work described at the Old Mills, a corn mill, suggests labouring. Ann Leaf would probably have received a sympathetic hearing for her claim, and in 1842 was still in receipt of 5s. a week in groceries. In 1841 all four of her children old enough to be working were doing so, one boy a cloth dresser, three girls flax spinners.¹²

Holbeck residents receiving regular pensions were listed alphabetically by the new select vestry in July 1839. The weekly bill for these pensioners was £13 13s. 9d. and they can be categorised thus. There were 111 named recipients of pensions (or pension type payments): eleven of these were stipulated as being a child or (in one case) children. Of the remaining one hundred, twenty-six were male and seventy-four female; of these seventy-four, sixty-two were stipulated as being widows.¹³ Again, source linkage can determine the condition of those without designation.

In adjacent Wortley in 1833 there were eighty-one recipients of regular relief plus a further thirty bastardy cases. Both these categories included Wortley resident and out-relief: the overseer annotated accounts with the 'abode' of the recipient, and whilst these are a little ambiguous, between twenty-three and thirty cases of pension-type payments were non-resident relief (between five and eight of these paid to Holbeck residents with Wortley settlements). Of the bastardy payments between ten and thirteen of the thirty cases were non-resident. Of eighty-one recipients named on the 'fortnight bill' twenty-three were male, at 28% a somewhat higher proportion than Holbeck's male-female

¹¹ *Leeds Times*, 9 Nov 1839.

¹² WYASL, LC/TC, 2, 7, and 16 Oct 1839, and 18-20 May 1842. As noted in the previous chapter, reconstitution sources, in this instance, registers of marriage and baptism, and census returns, are listed in the bibliography.

¹³ WYASL, LC/TC, 17 Jul 1839.

ratio (24%). However, as the bastardy cases, (obviously all paid to women), were listed separately, the figures are skewed: if Wortley's bastardy cases were included, then only 21% of Wortley's regular relief recipients were male. Of Wortley's fifty-eight female non-bastardy recipients, forty-nine were designated 'widow'.¹⁴

Children's regular relief

In Holbeck, Joshua Barrass' children received relief because they were recently orphaned. Joshua and Sarah Barrass had eight children in seventeen years. Joshua died in December 1837, followed by his widow six months later. The two youngest children, William and Mary, were aged 7 and 4 respectively at this time, and relief would have been paid for them: they do not seem to have been boarded out, however, but lived in a sibling household in Sodom with their older brothers and sisters, who in 1841 were all working.¹⁵ The family received 3s., the standard 1s. 6d. per child allowance, for the two. John Elliott, Holbeck's 'perpetual overseer', highlighted that the township's 'allowance for a child is 1s. 6d.; whereas they can usually get in the mills 2s. 6d. or 3s.'. ¹⁶ Likewise Mary and Henry Hainsworth went to live with their maternal grandparents in Isle Lane on their widowed mother's death in 1832: the 1s. 6d. weekly for Mary was still being paid in 1839.¹⁷ The nine remaining children on the 1839 list are more problematic to reconstitute with complete confidence, in most cases only their family surname is given.

Most allowances are the 1s. 6d. per child, although three are of 2s. each. This probably denotes they were still infants: the master of Leeds workhouse told the Factories Commission '... we allow 1s. 6d. a head [per week] for children. While in arms we allow 2s. until about two years of age'.¹⁸ This standardised payment is corroborated in the relief lists Holbeck presented to the Commission. George Bradshaw's widow had five children, three were 12 or over and all working, the others aged 3 and 6: their mother received 3s. relief 'From Town' for them. Likewise, a further eight widows or single women each with two children under 10 received 3s.; one with one child had 1s. 6d., and four with three had 4s. 6d. However, if a child was working, the relief might be deducted: Betty Knott had two children under 10, but 8 year-old Benjamin was earning

¹⁴ LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

¹⁵ For sibling economies see Chapter 7.

¹⁶ *PP* 1833 (450), C2., p. 47.

¹⁷ See Isle Lane reconstitutions, Chapters 6 and 7.

¹⁸ *PP* 1833 (450), C2., p. 56.

a shilling per week, and the relief was reduced accordingly, and Betty received just 2s. 'child allowance'. Conversely relief might be tailored slightly upwards from this standard amount. Sarah Kendill received 7s. with four children under 10, and two older ones working; similarly, Widow Foster had 5s. in total for two children, though she, unlike Sarah was not earning anything herself. Widow Bateman had 3s. with just one qualifying child: in her case eldest son John, aged 21, was out of work.¹⁹ Holbeck's Hannah Brooksbank gave evidence of the amount of child allowance in 1843: 'I had relief from Leeds for the little girl I had by my former husband - I got it when my husband went away'. Hannah's first husband died and after re-marriage she recalled:

I threw off the eighteen pence I got for my child, because I thought then it [the child] belonged to him [her new husband] - I have heard many a one say that when they got married they married the children, if they are able to keep them.²⁰

Orphans might also be paid more. Simon, Mary and Sarah Sinclair, whose mother died in 1828, and father in 1831, received 8s. from the town in 1832, even though 10 year-old Simon was earning 3s. a week.²¹ In 1841 the three children were boarded with 'pauper' Mary Harrison: it is probable the increased amount was paid to her, or whoever they were boarded-out with in 1832.

This flexibility in boarding-out payments has been noted in rural Rigton: here such payments might be negotiable. The out-relief of Holbeck resident Eliza Wilkinson by Rigton's overseer illustrates non-resident payments, widow's pensions and children's relief. Rigton labourer Matthew Wilkinson and wife Eliza moved to Leeds for work: first to Kirkstall by 1845, then on to Holbeck. In 1849, aged 32, he died and was buried at St Matthew's. Eliza, with three small children, either managed without relief for a year, or Holbeck overseers paid it without seeking recompense from Matthew's township of belonging. However, in November 1850 Rigton's overseer visited Eliza in Holbeck and agreed to pay Holbeck overseers backdated relief, and, in the future, a pension of 5s. a week - raised to 5s. 6d. in early 1851. Eliza lived in Fox and Goose Yard, Holbeck: despite three young children, aged 7, 5 and 2, she had designated employment as a domestic servant. She continued to receive a pension of 5s. 6d. until March 1853 when it dropped to 4s. 6d., before rising again to 5s. a week. In June 1854

¹⁹ *PP* 1834 (167), C.2., pp. 108-111.

²⁰ TNA, MH12/15226, 18 Jan 1843.

²¹ *PP* 1834 (167), C.2., pp. 108-111.

a letter was ... written to the Assistant Overseer of Holbeck, informing him (in answer to a letter from him) that Widow Wilkinson received 5s a week (paid every fortnight) from this Township and requesting him to visit her, and act in her case as he would to their own poor, and any additional expense would be remitted when and how he might think proper.²²

It would be speculative to suggest poverty contributed to ill-health, and Eliza prioritised her children's nutrition over her own, but, despite additional payments in the summer, Eliza died in September 1854. Her funeral costs of the standard Rigton amount, 40s., were paid. The following month Eliza's orphaned children were the subject of 'a special general meeting of the rate payers' of Rigton 'to take into consideration the destitute condition of the 3 orphans left to the late Eliza Wilkinson'. They were boarded-out in an adjacent township to Rigton with their uncle, who was 'allowed five shillings a week with the three'. He negotiated extra payment to board them:

Mr John Lister of Follyfoot attended to solicit extra relief for Wilkinson's orphans. It was agreed that sooner than have the trouble of sending them to the Union [workhouse], a shilling a week with the three [in addition to existing 5s allowance] should be allowed until further orders.²³

Orphans, or children of parents who could not find them work, might, even in these later years, be put out as a parish apprentice, and Holbeck's apprenticing is discussed in the following chapter. There is also an indication that officials sought to prosecute child neglect: albeit couched in the terms 'so that the child is chargeable to the town', the select vestry sought 'a warrant ... against the wife of John Wrigglesworth for leaving her child without protection'.²⁴

Pensioned women and bastardy payments

Relief to women, particularly widows and the elderly was the most prevalent form, and the condition and pre-eminence of these more readily identifiable groups has received considerable attention.²⁵ In Holbeck the majority of women in receipt of regular weekly

²² HCL, Rigton Vestry Minutes, 5 Jun 1854.

²³ Ibid, 9 Oct 1854 and 5 Mar 1855.

²⁴ WYASL, LC/TC, 8 May 1844.

²⁵ For example see, Goose, 'Poverty, old age and gender'; Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*; Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000); David Thomson, 'The decline of social welfare: falling state support for the elderly since early Victorian times', *Ageing and Society*, 4:34 (1984), 451-482; and Mary Barker-Read, 'The treatment of the aged poor in five selected West Kent parishes from settlement to Speenhamland (1662-1797)', (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Open University, 1988).

pensions were widows and their families. As Samantha Williams has highlighted, widows were seen as amongst the most deserving poor as 'they were not the architects of their own situation'.²⁶ Sixty-two of 111, 56%, on the weekly list were stipulated as widows, while some of the twelve not given the appellation were nonetheless widows (determined by reconstitution); the others were probably in receipt of bastardy payments for their children: several had payments of 2s. a week, suggesting relief for a nursing infant, while one, Elizabeth Hargreave, had that amount reduced to 1s. 6d., implying her child had reached the age of two.

As noted above there were thirty recipients of bastardy payments in Wortley in 1833, 27% of the total of regular relief cases. The median weekly payment was the standard payment 2s. for an infant in arms: whilst this was the most common payment, there was a significant minority of payments of 1s. 6d. (the standard for older children) and the mean payment was 1s. 10d. These appear to be at national mean levels. Thomas Nutt, from analysis of the Poor Law Commission Queries of 1834, highlights the broad range of payments unmarried mothers might receive for their children, concluding that these might be anywhere between 1s. and 2s. 6d.²⁷ Margaret Lyle narrows this down, finding, from the same source, that by far the most common payments were 1s. 6d., followed by 2s.²⁸ These findings are consolidated by the two-tier payment system noted for Holbeck and Wortley.

Three of the Holbeck women had two illegitimate children. Policy in Leeds, although applied flexibly, ('more frequently ... used as a threat') was that women 'who have had three bastards' be 'sent to Wakefield house of correction'.²⁹ However, the threat was sometimes carried out: in 1823 Leeds Workhouse Board ordered 'Mary Lofthouse be sent to the House of Correction, she having had 3 Bastard Children'.³⁰ It is not known how long she was incarcerated, but Leeds St Peter burial records reveal that within six months or so, her two youngest children, both resident at the workhouse, had died;

²⁶ Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 111.

²⁷ Thomas Nutt, 'Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Economic History Review*, 63:2 (2010), 335-362 (p. 337).

²⁸ Margaret A. Lyle, 'Regionality in the Late Old Poor Law: The Treatment of Chargeable Bastards from Rural Queries', *Agricultural History Review*, 53:2 (2005), 141-157 (p. 146). And see Samantha Williams, 'The maintenance of bastard children in London, 1790-1834', *Economic History Review*, 69:3 (2016), 945-971.

²⁹ *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix A., p. 783.

³⁰ WYASL, LO/M/6, 30 Jul 1823.

'Elizabeth daughter of Mary Lofthouse' was buried on 27 October 1823, aged 2; while 'Ann, daughter of Mary Lofthouse', the child which triggered her mother's sentence, was buried on 10 February 1824, aged 7 months.³¹ The morally repugnant policy of imprisoning a young mother, thus leaving her children without their mother's attention, and crucially, in the youngest one's case at least, her milk, to die in the workhouse, might, cynically seen perhaps, have seemed economically beneficial, as it released two from the need of township welfare.

In Wortley Sarah Firth, elder of Elizabeth Firth's two illegitimate children, was put out as a parish apprentice, aged 10. Here, in spring 1833, bastardy payments accounted for over 16% of the total relief bill.³² Whenever possible maintenance payments from putative fathers were sought, following the placing of an affiliation order, and the 'usual order ... from 1s 6d to 2s' recouped.³³ Such an order, as noted later, 'for Shiers' daughter' was placed on Jabez Bentley in Holbeck in 1840. Men might pay at differing intervals. Robert Gill paid his 1s. 6d. per week fortnightly or monthly in early 1840, while John Hollingsworth paid his quarterly: during the second half of 1839 and into 1840 he paid two tranches of 20s., the first in arrears, and then three instalments of 15s. The amounts work out at around 1s. 6½d. a week falling to less than 1s. 2d.: the reduction probably due to the child no longer being a nursing infant, and not accruing the enhanced payment, while bastardy payments from fathers might be, as Tweedy noted, tailored 'according to the circumstances of the man'.³⁴

The sixty-two women called widows in the Holbeck list of 1839 accounted for 57% of the weekly in-relief pension bill. The mean, median, and mode of their payments was the standardised 2s. 6d. In a controversial article, David Thomson, in making a case for the decline of pension payments as a proportion of waged income, calculated '[e]lderly dependants from the 1830s to the 1870s received from their communities in Bedfordshire cash allowances with values equivalent to two-thirds or more of the

31 WYASL, RDP68/3B/4, Leeds St Peter burial registers.

32 'The Ballance sheet of Mr. Wm. Duce Acct. at Committee Room', LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

33 *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix A., p. 783. For a discussion of the legislation regarding affiliation and paternity, and its application, see Thomas Nutt, 'The Paradox and Problems of Illegitimate Paternity in Old Poor Law Essex', in *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700-1920* ed. by Alys Levene, Thomas Nutt and Samantha Williams (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 102-121.

34 WYASL, LC/TC, 20 May 1840; 1 Jan, 8 Jan, 22 Jan and 19 Feb 1840; 3 Jul, 7 Aug, 6 Nov 1839, 22 Jan 1840, and 22 Apr 1840; *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix A., p. 783.

incomes of non-aged working class adults'.³⁵ However, such halfcrowns were around the minimum wage a 9 year-old child might expect when first starting work, and, as discussed in Chapter 7, while impoverished adult weavers and labourers might only earn 10s. a week, 2s. 6d. represents a far smaller proportion of even this waged income than Thomson's conclusion. Indeed, Rothwell's overseer lamented with stark honesty in 1834, payments to their elderly poor (albeit at the reduced level of 2s. per week) 'I regret to say just enables them to exist'.³⁶

Not all widows were, of course, elderly. Holbeck widows' average weekly payments were from within a range of a minimum of 1s., to a maximum of 9s. 6d., paid to Widow Harrison: Ann Harrison had seven children when her husband died in 1837, five were aged under 10, and she was pregnant with her eighth. As in the cases of Sarah Flockton and Ann Leaf and others, discussed above, widows' relief was tailored to the number of children they had to provide for. In Wortley, in 1833, pensions paid to designated widows suggest a somewhat more parsimonious relief system: here the median payment was just 2s. (the mean just over this amount), whilst the most common payment was 1s. 6d. This may relate to the comparative gendered occupational demographic discussed in Chapter 2: in Wortley's pronounced clothier occupational profile, there were more (and relatively flexible) employment opportunities for older women as burlers, and pension payments may have been adjusted to allow for burling income.

Pensioned men

Men were much less likely to receive relief. Of twenty-six male recipients of regular weekly payments in Holbeck, twenty-four can be reconstituted with confidence, and reconstitution method can determine why these less readily identifiable groups needed and received regular relief. They show a variety of reasons for pension-type payments. Most were paid to elderly men: six received single (usually widower) pensions of the standard weekly 2s. 6d. and one received 5s. for a couple. Six others received subsidies

35 David Thomson, 'The decline of social welfare: falling state support for the elderly since early Victorian times', *Ageing and Society*, 4:34 (1984), 451-482 (p. 453). Thomson's conclusions are also discussed in a cross-discipline collaboration which tested his thesis for single parent groups, K.D.M. Snell and J. Millar, 'Lone-parent families and the Welfare State: past and present', *Continuity and Change*, 2:3 (1987), 387-422.

36 *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix B, p. 626b.

due to ageing:³⁷ weavers would be able to continue to earn something, however meagre an amount, into old age, being paid per piece, rather than employed on a weekly rate, and having the hardware (loom etc), skills, and often familial assistance to hand.³⁸ Thus, while Joshua Hargreave, in his late seventies, had his supplement of 2s. per week raised to the full pension of 2s. 6d., Joseph Mann remained on the supplement-level payment for himself and his wife, as did William Orrill and his wife, tailored to the small amounts they might earn at the loom, receiving 4s. and 3s. 6d. respectively, rather than the full 5s. couples' pension. All three were clothiers/weavers, and both Orrill and Hargreave, alive at the 1841 census, were given that employment designation, despite being in receipt of relief. In a similar category were three men, who, though younger than those above (sixties to eighties), might be identified as having terminal infirmities. George Dunderdale received 3s. 6d. per week in 1839, and died aged 59 in January 1841, while James Dunderdale had a standard 2s. 6d. before he died aged 31 in October 1840: both men's burial records were annotated pauper funerals, paid by the township. Similarly, Robert Gawthorp received a pension-type payment of 3s. a week for himself and his wife from August 1839, though he was only 55: his was a non-resident payment, paid via Horton overseers, and he died two years after its allowance, in 1841.

Others might be identified as otherwise infirm, or vulnerable. Two were blind, and both had their income as street musicians supplemented: 'Blind musician' Joseph Storey, aged 50, had 2s. a week for himself and his wife, with two older children contributing to the family economy, while John Barrass, a 50 year-old 'blind fiddler' in 1841, with a wife and one grown-up child at home and working, had 4s. 6d. a week relief.

Two others had mental incapacity or illness. John Storey received the standard 2s. 6d. per week as a 30 year-old: John lived with his parents, and in 1851 the enumerator noted he was 'insane' and in receipt of 'parish relief'; his widowed mother also received relief at this time. John was not admitted to the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, though Thomas Annikin would be. Married with three children, whitesmith Thomas's family received 3s. per week in 1839 when he and his wife were estranged and Thomas was living in Wakefield. His family also received casual payments in 1840, and 5s. weekly groceries allowance in 1842. They later joined Thomas in Wakefield, but he was

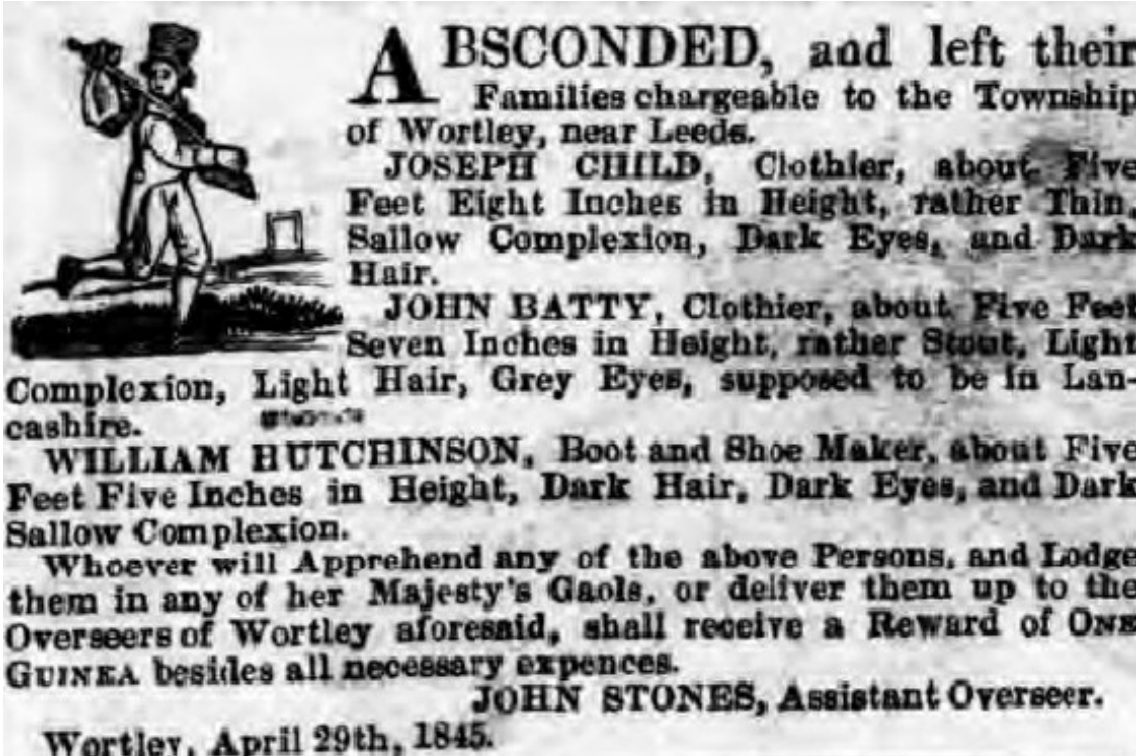
37 Pre-pension payments to aged men listed against the casual bill are discussed later in this chapter.

38 As discussed in Chapter 7.

admitted to the asylum in May 1848, and died there, aged 44, the following November. The role of the asylum, and its correlation with Holbeck's poor, and Holbeck's relief policy, is discussed in the following chapter. A further two might be described as vulnerable adults. Jeremiah Rhodes, a 35 year-old wool-sorter, received 2s. weekly plus occasional casual relief. He lived with grown-up siblings, and his widowed mother Mary, who also had regular relief. When Mary was taken into the workhouse, Jeremiah, aged 47, went with her, and in 1851 they were living there together, although Jeremiah was still designated a wool-sorter. William Sinclair, another single man, though aged only 40 in 1839, received the standard 2s. 6d. per week pension: by 1851 he was, like Jeremiah, in the workhouse, but in his case designated only 'pauper'.

Two other payments were made in the name of the male head of household, but paid to their families (as was the likelihood in Thomas Annikin's case, albeit his was informed by mental illness). These were more distinctly cases of neglect of family.

Figure 4.1 Newspaper advertisement offering reward for apprehending men who had deserted their families: Wortley, 1845



A **BSCOND**ED, and left their Families chargeable to the Township of Wortley, near Leeds.

JOSEPH CHILD, Clothier, about Five Feet Eight Inches in Height, rather Thin, Sallow Complexion, Dark Eyes, and Dark Hair.

JOHN BATTY, Clothier, about Five Feet Seven Inches in Height, rather Stout, Light Complexion, Light Hair, Grey Eyes, supposed to be in Lancashire.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, Boot and Shoe Maker, about Five Feet Five Inches in Height, Dark Hair, Dark Eyes, and Dark Sallow Complexion.

Whoever will Apprehend any of the above Persons, and Lodge them in any of her Majesty's Gaols, or deliver them up to the Overseers of Wortley aforesaid, shall receive a Reward of ONE GUINEA besides all necessary expences.

JOHN STONES, Assistant Overseer.

Wortley, April 29th, 1845.

Source: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 3 May 1845

George Fawcett's wife was paid 2s. weekly in June 1839. In August that year Fawcett was served with a warrant for neglect of family, and agreed to repay the amount paid to his wife by the township, who recovered the 2s. per week from him, usually in monthly amounts of 8s. Likewise Edward Stones' wife Rachel was paid 5s. weekly for her family, which in 1839 included three children under 10. In June that year Stones was apprehended by warrant for neglect of family, and some of the money paid to his wife recovered from him. However, the family were not reconciled (indeed reconstitution suggests Edward Stones took to petty crime and was sentenced to the hulks) and in 1841 Rachel was designated a pauper: she received 3s. in groceries in 1842; 1s. 6d. for each of her two children yet to be working.³⁹ Townships might advertise reward for apprehension of men who deserted their families and left them in need of poor relief, as Figure 4.1, from Wortley, illustrates.

Re-assessments of pensions

Periodic reappraisals of weekly pension entitlement might be addressed systematically, as this resolution shows:

Ordered that all poor persons receiving weekly relief from this township be this day examined and their cases fully enquired into, and if it be deemed necessary to make any alterations either in the advance of their pay or otherwise - the same to be noted opposite their respective names in the minutes of the meeting of the vestry held June 19th 1839.⁴⁰

Although most of the 120 pensioners re-examined in 1839 had their pensions remain the same, several had increases. Five widows had raises (mostly of 6d.) to the standard 2s. 6d., and two others had sixpenny raises to 2s., while two widows with large families had raises from 6s. to 7s. and 8s. to 9s. 6d. respectively. John Mimmick had an extra shilling on his ageing couple's subsidy, from 3s. to 4s. Only one was re-assessed downwards: Widow Mellin, from 4s. 6d. to 3s., although two had their pensions discontinued. Reconstitution can assess why. Mary Mellin's 5 year-old daughter Mary had very recently died, and was buried at Holbeck St Matthew on 25 June 1839, leaving Mary with just two surviving children under 10: as standard child allowance was 1s. 6d. per child, the payment was reduced accordingly. Widow Mary Mann's pension of 3s. was

³⁹ For a discussion of family desertion in an urban setting see David. A Kent, "'Gone for a Soldier': Family Breakdown and the Demography of Desertion in a London Parish, 1750-91', *Local Population Studies*, 45 (1990), 27-42.

⁴⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 19 Jun 1839.

discontinued because her children were old enough to be working: indeed in 1841, Rachel and Mary Ann were both flax spinners: however, Mary continued to receive payments of between 1s. and 5s. on a regular, albeit casual, basis throughout 1839 and 1840. The census of 1841 describes her as a burler, but by 1851 she was again in receipt of 'parish relief'. In January 1840 vestry minutes record that 'it be determined whether widows above 60 years of age be advanced in their pay or not': it is assumed not, as there are no orders to carry out an increase.⁴¹

Out-township payments, and removals

Out-migrants

As payments to Robert Gawthorp, noted earlier, indicate, relief to non-resident Holbeck poor (those with a Holbeck settlement, but resident elsewhere), was a relatively substantial constituent of poor relief in the township. Ten recipients of such relief were appended to the list of June 1839, all except one had Yorkshire addresses: the following month there were two additions to the out-poor list. Individual cases were often recorded in vestry minutes, and arrangements made for their relief. In December 1842 it was ordered that the Pearson family 'be acknowledged & the overseers of Dodsworth relieve them as their own Poor'. Payments to other townships' overseers were made in tranches, and arrangements had some flexibility. Robert Gawthorp's was paid quarterly in arrears: 'pay to Horton overseers for relief paid by them to Robert Gawthorp & wife from 25 Dec to 25 Mar 1840' the sum of £1 19s. for thirteen weeks relief at 3s. a week. The arrangement was one of convenience: on the same day they paid 'to Horton overseers for relief paid by them to Samuel Smithies & family' for the same period, thirteen weeks at 2s. per week. However, William White's relief was sent in £2 tranches: '40s for 16 weeks pay' was 'sent to Macclesfield' in March, August and November 1840.⁴²

In-migrants

However, as Holbeck, with its rapid population growth, mills and work opportunities was a centre of in-migration, there were far more whose settlement was not Holbeck,

41 WYASL, LC/TC, 8 Jan 1840.

42 WYASL, LC/TC, 7 Dec 1842; 6 May 1840; 18 Mar, 12 Aug, 4 Nov 1840.

but who sought relief, and recovery from their township of settlement of payments was a commonplace of vestry business. J.S. Taylor argues rural parishes were content to pay non-resident relief for those who had migrated to industrial areas for work, when the need arose, it being the 'least troublesome and least expensive approach', particularly in times of cyclical un- or under-employment, rather than have them returned to their home parish and a likelihood of 'long-term unemployment and dependency'.⁴³ Arthur Redford had made the point earlier: 'many of the country parishes preferred to give temporary relief to their absent poor in the town', rural vestries determining that revivals in trade would mean relief's necessity would be short-lived.⁴⁴ A Holbeck example of this is from an order of 1842: 'William Prince be relieved 5s. per week to be paid by the Overseers of Midgley till he obtains employment.'⁴⁵ Taylor cites the Kirkby Lonsdale letters from the early nineteenth century to argue for the existence of a tolerant attitude towards provision of non-resident relief for those migrated to the industrialised areas of Lancashire and the West Riding.⁴⁶ It is unsurprising then that Rigton overseers were prepared to pay extended and substantial relief to Robert Rhodes, who had migrated to Bradford. Robert began receiving relief in 1832, and throughout the 1830s received an average of 25s. a year: although paid no relief between 1835 and 1837, he received 70s. in 1833-34. During the following decade his payments increased. While he got by with just 10s. relief in 1841-42, he received an average £6 annual relief for the remaining years up to 1847. Often during this time payments were annotated 'in sickness', and he was visited in Bradford by the Rigton overseer at least annually.⁴⁷

Once flourishing textile areas might provide expanding industrial areas with migrant labour. Defoe found Braintree and its adjacent neighbour (now its suburb) Bocking in Essex 'large rich and populous' in the 1720s.⁴⁸ But the area's woollen industry was in steep decline at the expense of Yorkshire's rise by the end of that century. One Bocking woolstapler, Josias Nottage considered that the region's woollen manufacturers 'have

43 James Stephen Taylor, 'A Different Kind of Speenhamland: Nonresident Relief in the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of British Studies*, 30:2, (1991), 183-208, p. 188.

44 Redford, *Labour Migration*, p. 91.

45 WYASL, LC/TC, 14 Dec 1842.

46 Taylor, 'A Different Kind of Speenhamland', pp. 194-199; and see James Stephen Taylor, 'Voices in the Crowd: The Kirkby Lonsdale Township Letters, 1809-36', in *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*, ed. by Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 109-126.

47 HCL, Rigton township records: Rigton Book, overseers' accounts and surveyors' accounts 1826-1861.

48 Daniel Defoe, *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, first published 1724-26, (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 109.

been declining some years' and cited a reason as 'rivalship in the north', particularly Yorkshire's advantages of increased mechanisation, with the consequence that Bocking's poor rates 'increased enormously', from 'eight shillings in the pound [to] twenty-four shillings and sixpence'.⁴⁹ One pauper letter from a Braintree migrant to Leeds suggests relief from home parishes in times of want was not a given, and the poor needed to be pro-active seeking it. Nonetheless they had agency in so doing, and were aware of and defended their rights, employing strategic variety in language in negotiating relief, as Pamela Sharpe has shown.⁵⁰ The following case, and letter from Edward Orwell/Horel to the Braintree vestry illustrates this:⁵¹

1832 Wheat Sheet No 23 york Road Leeds

Gentlemen it is with the greatest sorrow that I write to you, to inform you that I have been now for a Long time out of imploy, and have not been able to support my Family, and also my children have had No work for more than ten weeks, for that all Kinds of work has been very dead ever since the Chorlera commenced in Leeds, and we have had a great deal of Sickness in our Familey, I myself have been for the last month so Ill and still am very Ill, that if I had work to go to I am not able to go to work, Gentlemen, the money that you gave me when I was over I have paid where I owed it, and I am now six months bad in my Rent and my Family is very poorly off for clothing and we have no means to get any, Gentlemen I have not appled to any wheare for relief, but according to your derections I thought it most proper to state to you our rent want and I hope you will send Me somthing to Releve me at this time,

your humble needful

Edward Horel

Thomas Sokoll notes that although in 1831 the applicant had received a visit from Braintree's overseer, (who made a specific 'journey to inquire into the condition of the Braintree paupers living in Yorkshire'), and agreed to pay Leeds overseers £2 for Edward's family's relief, Edward, still needed to write to his home parish himself. Indeed in 1833, severely under-employed, he felt obliged to make the long journey to Essex and 'applied in person ... for some further assistance'. He was given £5 relief by Braintree's vestry, but it came with the proviso 'he would not apply again unless he should be in very great distress'.⁵²

In Holbeck payments from other townships for the upkeep of those townships' poor were often large amounts received in sums, rather than with regularity, suggesting they

49 John Maitland (ed.), *An account of the proceedings of the merchants, manufacturers, and others, concerned in the wool and woollen trade of Great Britain, in their application to Parliament ...* (London, 1800), p. 143.

50 Pamela Sharpe, "'The Bowels of Compatation": a Labouring Family and the Law, c. 1790-1834', in *Chronicling Poverty*, ed. by Hitchcock, King and Sharpe, pp. 87-108.

51 From Thomas Sokoll (ed.), *Essex Pauper Letters, 1731-1837* (Oxford, 2001), p. 136.

52 Ibid.

were paid on invoice or request. Thus Holbeck received from Scampston overseers £3 6s. 0d. in March 1840 in repayment of Thomas Oliver's 6s. a fortnight, while in February that year Pudsey paid £6 4s. 0d. in recompense for 3s. weekly relief for Amelia Crowther. The 'overseers of Crowland' paid for 'relief given to Widow Popple' the sum of £5 9s. 0d., entered in vestry minutes of 11 March 1840, however there may have been a shortfall, for just two weeks later they received a further payment of £1 12s. 6d. Such accounts had eventual finality and a settling-up: in July 1839 Holbeck received £1 4s. 6d. for Joseph Shaw's relief from Meltham overseers. The next tranche, £5 0s. 6d., was in February 1840, and included payment for Joseph's coffin.⁵³

Accounts for the second and third quarters of 1840 were itemised and in the second quarter £31 16s. 6d. was received from other townships, while £431 18s. 6d. was paid in cash outdoor relief. However, in the third quarter £64 10s. 6d. was received from 'other towns' overseers'. That quarter £507 18s. 8d. was expended in outdoor relief.⁵⁴ Thus it might be calculated that between 7 and 13% of the cash relief bill was paid to those without a Holbeck settlement.

Removal orders

If a township of settlement refused to repay relief, Holbeck overseers might take the case to the magistrate. The potential for disputes between townships was pronounced, as has been highlighted from the correspondence of Lancashire administrations.⁵⁵ An example from May 1839 illustrates the sometimes problematic interactions between administrations operating under the Old Poor Law, with those under the New. A summons was issued by Holbeck against Sheffield guardians 'to compel the payment of £15 6s. 3d. expended on a pauper family whose settlement is in Sheffield'. They had refused to pay more than £10, alleging around £5 for medical attendance would 'not be allowed by the Poor Law Commissioners, Sheffield being ... under their direction'.⁵⁶

Common policy was to apply to magistrates for a removal order (to ostensibly remove the pauper family to their township of settlement), as a statement of intent, to encourage

⁵³ WYASL, LC/TC, 25 Mar 1840; 12 Feb 1840; 11 Mar and 25 Mar 1840; 24 Jul 1839 and 5 Feb 1840.

⁵⁴ WYASL, LC/TC, 29 Oct 1840.

⁵⁵ Steve King, "'It is impossible for our Vestry to judge his case into perfection from here": Managing the Distance Dimensions of Poor Relief, 1800-40', *Rural History*, 16:2 (2005), 161-189 (p. 183).

⁵⁶ *Leeds Times*, 11 May 1839.

the overseers of the relief applicant's supposed place of belonging to agree to reimburse any relief given them, as was the case in the preceding example. Poor Law Commissioner Charles Clements outlined the policy, in discussing interactions between Holbeck and Headingley-cum-Burley overseers in 1843: 'They [Holbeck overseers] would not give relief till they had secured its repayment by taking out an Order of Removal'.⁵⁷ It is probable that not all removal orders were, at least until June 1844, entered into Holbeck vestry minutes, as until that time overseers had some autonomy in 'going out with removal orders': from then vestry resolved 'that all cases shall be laid before the Select Vestry and the Board weekly meetings'. Further to this resolution vestry ordered that 'all removal orders shall in future be put to the vote of the Select Vestry at their weekly meetings'.⁵⁸

The overseer's shilling

Application for a removal order sometimes followed the relief payment of a single shilling. If the taking of the 'king's shilling' was 'the symbolic moment that a potential recruit became a soldier',⁵⁹ so, perhaps, was the acceptance of a shilling relief the moment an impoverished applicant became a pauper. In the above case, Jonathan Brooksbank's family 'were relieved with one shilling, and an arrangement was made for taking the Examinations respecting their settlement on the following Friday'.⁶⁰ Such minimal payments proved the pauper had applied for, and nominally received, relief. This policy, payment and acceptance of the 'overseer's shilling' was common in other local townships. In Rigton in spring 1823 George Braithwaite and James Wilkinson had the shilling the same day as their removal orders were sought. In 1838, Isabella Pearson, from the township of Arkendale, received a shilling from Rigton's overseer, prior to attending Knaresborough Sessions with him, while in December 1842 Martha Mawson had a shilling the week before the township's solicitor undertook an examination of her settlement.⁶¹ In Holbeck, in September 1839 John Wigglesworth was relieved with a shilling the same day as a removal order to Wortley was sought: in his case Wortley

⁵⁷ TNA, MH12/15226, 18 Jan 1843.

⁵⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 26 Jun and 10 Jul 1844.

⁵⁹ Kevin Barry Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: recruitment, society and tradition, 1807-1815* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 84.

⁶⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 26 Jun and 10 Jul 1844. This case caused something of a local stir. Jonathan

⁶¹ HCL, Rigton Town's Book, overseers' accounts and surveyors accounts, 1770-1825; Rigton Book, 1826-1861.

overseers paid up and he was not removed. In April 1840, the same day he was relieved with a shilling, vestry ordered that a removal order 'for John Wright & family, who belong Seacroft be immediately procured'. Likewise, Joseph Hargreave had the shilling and vestry immediately ordered that 'a removal order for Joseph Hargreave & family who belong Wortley be procured'. The policy might also have been used respecting neglect and affiliation orders: one shilling was paid to Peter Staniforth on the same day, 23 October 1839, as a warrant for neglect of family was sought, as it had been William Mawson, earlier that month, while 1s. was paid to Ameley Shires prior to 'serving an affiliation on Jabez Bentley for Shire's daughter'.⁶²

Removals: enquiry, litigation and expenses

As discussed in the preceding chapter, at times, particularly those of deep economic distress, rather than pay relief and apply for reimbursement, poor relief claimants would be actually removed to their township of settlement. Removals, and prior to removal, settlement enquiries in particular, might be expensive. In Rigton, in 1830, journeys about, and expenses regarding Jonathon Chapman's settlement came to £3 19s. 6d.⁶³ But this was relatively trifling compared with the expensive lengths Holbeck select vestry was prepared to go to. In early 1843 the Chartist administration ordered John England Smart's settlement to be enquired into, and initial enquiries cost just over £5. Further investigations entailed a journey to Deptford, and this cost an additional £5 16s. 0d.⁶⁴ John England Smart was not removed. However, the most extreme manifestation of costs for settlement enquiries occurred on 4 Jan 1843. Select vestryman George Chambers was paid £5 8s. 1d. for 'expenses to Knutsford' and an additional £36 7s. 2d. (to contextualise this, equalling more than a year's wages for most Holbeck working men) for 'expenses in proving Broadhurst's settlement'. The previous November had seen the commencement of enquiries and resolution that 'Mr. Geo Chambers be appointed to go into Cheshire to obtain evidence in the case of Broadhurst's settlement'.⁶⁵ This was another enquiry which did not result in removal. The 1851 census noted Joseph Broadhurst's birthplace, Knutsford in Cheshire, and he and his family were still living in Holbeck; indeed, they were there in December 1844, when

62 WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Sep 1839, 23 Oct 1839, 8 Apr 1840, and 20 May 1840.

63 HCL, Rigton Book, 1830.

64 WYASL, LC/TC, 18 Jan, 1 Feb, 8 Feb, and 15 Feb 1843.

65 WYASL, LC/TC, 4 Jan 1843; 23 Nov 1842.

they had two sons baptised at Holbeck St Matthew.

Removal orders were often contentious. Settlement enquiries might be protracted and expensive as noted above, and often formalised. The Carlton Incorporation township of Lofthouse-with-Carlton, in the parish of Rothwell, had proforma pages in its Township Examination Book. Relief applicants whose settlement was being established recounted theirs and their father's demographic histories before two magistrates. Thus, in 1832 band spinner George Copley testified to several of the ways he might not have obtained a settlement.⁶⁶

I am near forty six years old and was born at Stanley cum Wrenthorpe in the said Riding but my Fathers Settlement was at Leeds as I have been informed and believe I never was an Apprentice nor ever a hired servant for a year I never paid more than four Pounds a Year Rent ... and have done no other Act (to my knowledge) whereby to gain a Legal Settlement.⁶⁷

The 'year's service' clause was attempted to be employed for an industrialised setting in something of a local test case in 1843; one which could have had significant implications: the case queried

whether the pauper had gained a settlement in Holbeck by service under a contract to serve a person [a millowner] in Holbeck for two years from six o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening [the regular working day in the mills].

However, the attempt to reinterpret the clause failed: 'the Recorder was of opinion that the hiring stated ... was not a yearly hiring, and would not confer a settlement'.⁶⁸

In July 1842, when Holbeck's Chartist select vestry had announced its removal policy, four townships, Keighley, Gomersal, Bridlington, and Huddersfield, had appeals against Holbeck removal orders 'respited'; a further two appellants had appeals 'discharged' (Islington) or 'compromised' (Pudsey). Of twenty-four appeals heard, against Leeds Borough respondents, the six against Holbeck were the highest number from the out-townships: fourteen were against the in-township, two Hunslet and two Bramley.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ For a succinct overview of the settlement laws see K.D.M Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 85-6.

⁶⁷ WYASL, LC/RO, Acc. 4155, Lofthouse-cum-Carlton township records 1789-1903, Township Examination Book, 1829-1839.

⁶⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15 Jul 1843.

⁶⁹ *Leeds Times*, 9 Jul 1842.

One township which appealed against a Holbeck removal order was Oulton. In November 1842 Robert Abbey accompanied a select vestryman to Oulton regarding enquiries about his settlement; in early December it was resolved that he and his wife be removed there, and the following week expenses were paid for their removal. However, Oulton, or Abbey, appealed, and vestry resolved 'Robert Abbey's case of appeal be referred to C Naylor' (Holbeck's solicitor).⁷⁰ Robert had a large grown-up family in Holbeck, but there is no indication they should be removed with their parents. The appeal would appear to have been successful: Robert died in March 1844, and although he was buried at his home parish church, Rothwell Holy Trinity, his residence was given as Holbeck. All his family, including his widow, were living in Holbeck in 1851.

While the crisis of 1842 increased the number of removals sought, and therefore the number appealed against, they were contested on a regular basis. One controversial case from 1838 involving a Holbeck removal came to the attention of the Poor Law Commission: 'a Pauper named Thomas Walsh or Welsh [was] removed with his wife and 3 children from Holbeck ... to ... Jersey'.⁷¹ Commissioners considered the removal 'improper', that Holbeck's overseers were 'liable to have the money expended by them ... disallowed in their accounts', and that they 'have also subjected themselves ... to a conviction for a misdemeanour'.⁷² Thomas Walsh was soon back in Holbeck: he, his wife and three sons were there in 1841, while and in spring 1840 he had received casual relief of up to 4s. per week. Removal, from industrial townships at least, was less than effectual; those removed often soon returned. Nominal linkage suggests half of those removed in 1839 and 1840 were living in Holbeck in 1841. The case of the Oates family illustrates this. Speaking to Holbeck's registrar, J.K. Heaps, who was in correspondence with the Poor Law Commission, the mother of Jane Oates, a child whose death was exacerbated by want, said the family 'belong to Bramham', had occasional relief from their home parish, and 'were once removed to our parish, about a year'.⁷³ Removals might be very temporary, and correlated with fluctuations in trade.

While there were some cases of removals of those who had previously had relief in less

⁷⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 9 Nov, 30 Nov, 7 Dec, and 14 Dec 1842.

⁷¹ TNA, HO73/54/42, Correspondence between the Home Office and the Poor Law Commission, 1835-1840: ff. 154-155, Covering letter from George Coode, Assistant Secretary, Poor Law Commission, 4 Aug 1838.

⁷² TNA, HO73/54/50, George Coode, 28 Aug 1838.

⁷³ TNA, MH12/15225, 23 Aug 1842.

testing economic times, (as shown in Chapter 3), in Holbeck the majority had no known relationship with relief mechanisms until just prior to a removal order being sought. Mostly these were triggered by applications for casual relief, as noted above: those entitled to regular pension relief (widows and orphans) comprised only a small proportion of those removed. It was the fluctuations of casual relief payments which were of most concern to poor law authorities, vestries and ratepayers.

Casual relief

Cyclical fluctuation

Holbeck's mean pension bill remained relatively constant, but its mean casual bill fluctuated greatly, Figure 4.2. Casual payments might vary due to the prevalence of illness: for example, in summer 1839, a time of higher employment levels, of those whose need of relief was stated, only one had relief because of 'no work', others were 'sick', 'ill', 'lame', 'lame and sick', while one family was neglected by its breadwinner.⁷⁴ However, cyclical un- or under-employment was the main cause for the need for casual relief. Particularly significant downturns in trade, especially affecting the Yorkshire woollen industry occurred in 1839, 1841-42, and 1847-48.⁷⁵ The vicissitudes of trade and economic conditions in an unregulated market economy resulted in increased poverty for the working class, and the need for relief, and an increased poor relief bill for their townships, as the following report recognised:

The Select Vestry in presenting the Report of their proceedings for the six months ending Sept. 30th 1840 to the rate payers in Vestry assembled have to regret that the distress continues very little if at all abated ensuing from the want of employment, so that the expenditure in payments to the poor has been necessarily large ... The Select Vestry conclude in hopes that the ensuing half year may be more prosperous for the labouring classes, that they will be able to obtain employment & remuneration for their work, so as to be ... relieved from the unpleasant necessity of applying to the parish funds for relief for themselves & families.⁷⁶

It has been calculated from analysis of Poor Law Commission returns, that between early 1839 and early 1843, the number of able-bodied adults in receipt of relief due to 'want of work' or 'insufficient earnings' in the West Riding increased by 1187%, by

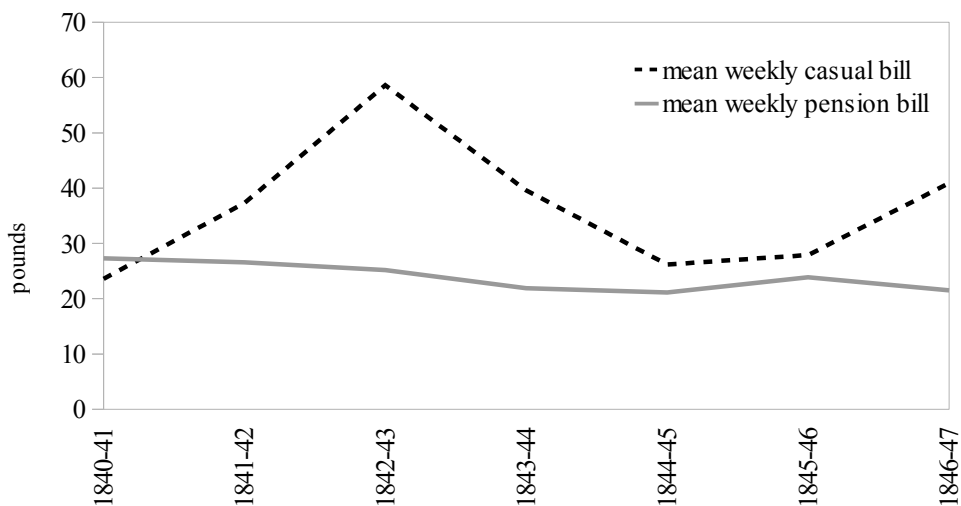
⁷⁴ WYASL, LC/TC, Jun to Jul 1839.

⁷⁵ George R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 234.

⁷⁶ WYASL, LC/TC, 29 Oct 1840.

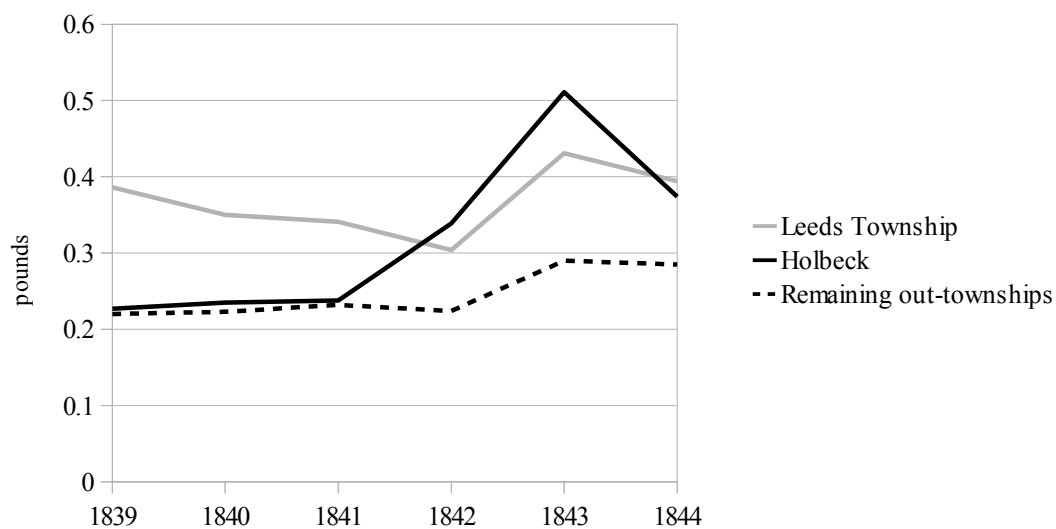
comparison, in Lancashire such relief rose by 482%.⁷⁷

Figure 4.2 Mean weekly relief expenditure, Holbeck, 1840 to 1847



Source: WYASL, LC/TC

Figure 4.3 Relief levied per capita annually, Leeds Township, Holbeck, and the remaining nine out-townships combined, 1839-44



Sources: *PP 1844* (63), p. 216; *PP 1844* (589), *Appendices A to C to the Tenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, p. 392; *PP 1845* (660), *Appendices to the Eleventh Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, p. 188

⁷⁷ Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law*, p. 236.

In the deep depression of 1842, discussed in Chapter 3, distress was most pronounced: the casual relief bill was more than double that of the time from which the above report speaks. This was reflected in increased relief levied from townships' ratepayers. In Holbeck that relief expenditure per head rose sharply in 1843, to fund the extra casual relief paid in the economic slump of the previous year, Figure 4.3. Highly industrialised, densely populated and predominantly working class Holbeck saw the greatest rise in poor relief expenditure following the economic crash of 1842. Leeds in-township, also heavily industrialised, had its expenditure rise steeply too, whilst the remaining townships of the borough, more economically and demographically varied, were less affected.

The Hungry Forties saw a steep rise in casual relief payments: in Holbeck the casual bill first overtook the pension bill in 1840. As noted earlier, in the years leading up to 1833 payments to the 'out-door poor' varied between £50 and £80 per fortnight.⁷⁸ At an average of around £33 per week, this is considerably less than the total mean weekly bills at any time during the 1840s (Figure 4.2). In times of greater employment the pension bill was far larger than the casual: in neighbouring Wortley in 1833, during eight weeks in April and May, the 'month bill' and 'fortnight bill' - that is those in receipt of regular relief paid monthly or fortnightly - came to almost £82, whilst the 'day bill' - that is casual relief - was just short of £18. Indeed, the bastardy bill came to more than that for casual relief at almost £20. In 1833, in Wortley, the casual relief bill was just 15% of the township's total relief bill.⁷⁹

Casual payments

Unlike pension payments, which were relatively standardised (2s. 6d. for the elderly, and 1s. 6d. each for children aged under ten and not at work), casual payments were more tailored to perceived need. In 1832-33 the list of families receiving relief included the number and age of members of the family, their earnings, and the amount 'from Town' they received in relief, per week. While some were pension-type payments, paid to widows, and based on the standard 1s. 6d. per week per child under ten, others were

⁷⁸ *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 47.

⁷⁹ 'The Ballance sheet of Mr. Wm. Duce Acct. at Committee Room', LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

paid as casual relief to families where the male head was sick, out of work, or under-employed.

Benjamin Calvert, himself earning 7s. per week, and his wife nothing, but with three children bringing in 13s. 6d. between them, and three others under 10 and not working, had 2s. 6d. from the town. William Binns, earning 10s., with four children, but only one old enough to work, had 4s. from the town. However, amounts of relief in casual payments, and their correlation with family income is problematic to systematise. For example, James Alderson, earning 7s. a week, supplemented by one child earning 2s. 9d., had just 7s. per week relief for his family, consisting of himself, his wife, and seven children aged from 0 to 15. Likewise Edward Stones, himself earning nothing, and with just one child bringing in 4s. a week, had 5s. relief for himself, his wife and six children aged 0 to 12, a total weekly income of 9s.⁸⁰ It is probable that casual relief was based on how long a man had been out of work, what resources he had, and if they were in receipt of friendly society sick payments, as discussed in Chapter 7. Biographical reconstitution might more rigorously assess the circumstances of relief, and, again in Chapter 7, the relief patterns of reconstituted Isle Lane neighbours are discussed.

Categories of casual relief recipients

The limited nature of the extant records detailing casual relief precludes systematic analysis of extended relief; however, 227 named recipients of casual relief were recorded between June 1839 and May 1840. These 227 might be broken down into the following four categories, two minor and two major.

Of the minor categories, four cases can be identified as casual relief in lieu of a recently discontinued pension. Mary Mann's case, discussed earlier, and widow Mary Johnson's case illustrate this: until June 1839 Mary Johnson was in receipt of 2s. per week pension, 'to be discontinued' from the 19th of that month. Throughout the rest of that year, and into the following one, Mary received several casual payments of between 1s. and 2s. Secondly, a further twelve were in receipt of casual payments which topped-up their pensions. Widow Elizabeth Outhwaite was in receipt of 2s. 6d. per week pension

⁸⁰ *PP* 1834 (167), C.2. pp. 108-111. For a comparative assessment of income and budgetary needs, see Chapter 7.

in June 1839, and in September that year had an additional casual payment: Elizabeth had her pension increased to 3s. in July 1840. Lucy Naylor, had her pension of 3s. 6d. weekly topped-up by a casual payment of 2s. in September 1839, while Mary Rhodes and her (vulnerable) son Jeremiah, both had casual payments on top of pensions, Mary's extra payment was annotated 'ill'. However, the majority of recipients of casual relief fall into two major categories - those receiving relatively regular relief across the period, and those in receipt of more sporadic relief.

Relatively regular casual relief

Twenty-five of the poor fell firmly into the first category, while a further sixty had longer-term casual relief of over a month. Together these eighty-five constituted 37% of all cases. Many might indicate pre-pension type casual payments, prior to consolidation, as highlighted in rural Rigton.⁸¹ Several are the standardised 2s. 6d. per elderly person, or 5s. for a couple. Linkage with the 1841 census identifies those in receipt of pre-pension relief: weaver Benjamin Kirk (a description of whose conditions opens this chapter) aged 60 in 1840 had his relief regularised to a pension in spring that year. Widower George Graham, a cloth dresser in his late sixties, began to receive a consolidated 2s. 6d. per week in spring 1840, and Richard Storey, of a similar age, began to have 5s. weekly regularly for himself and his wife. Likewise Andrew Tempest and Andrew Mann, married clothiers in their early seventies and sixties respectively in 1841, received a consolidated payment of 5s. each in 1840. As Samantha Williams has found in regard to Bedfordshire, under the Old Poor Law, men increasingly began to qualify 'for regular assistance before they were completely worn out'.⁸²

All of these payments were set against the casual bill. Some reasons are annotated. Martha Kirk was ill for the whole of the period and received 6s. weekly in summer 1839. She recovered somewhat, and her relief, after a break of six weeks, resumed at 2s. 6d. on an almost weekly basis during autumn that year, falling to 2s. throughout the winter and into the following spring. Widow Martha, in 1841, aged 44, was keeping a shop in Sodom, Holbeck, and this kept her from the necessity of relief, despite having a 5 year-old to keep; but by 1851, even with three children at home and working, she was

⁸¹ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 83.

⁸² Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 163.

again 'in receipt of parish relief'. Similarly, Samuel Wood received 5s. weekly when 'sick' or 'lame' during summer 1839. He needed relief again, of the same amount, in February 1840, and of amounts varying between 2s. and 5s. on an almost weekly basis throughout spring 1840. Samuel was a smith, but aged 67 in 1841, would find the health and strength needed to continue to work and provide for himself and his wife increasingly difficult. Widow Mary Naylor, who, vestry noted, was 'ill', had occasional relief across the timescale: in summer 1839 she had a couple of payments of 2s. 6d., and 10s. for a pair of shoes for her son Frederick, and in September 10s. 'extra to Ilkley' - a recipient of the township's subscription to a convalescent establishment in that healthy spa town.⁸³ Through the winter she had an occasional shilling or two, but in spring 1840 this was consolidated into a regular 2s. 6d. weekly. Linkage reveals that Mary was widowed in 1834, aged 30, and consequently had been in receipt of a temporary widow's pension. In 1841 she and her three children lived in Sodom, next door neighbours of Martha Kirk, and Mary had work as a burler, while her eldest child worked in the flax mills. This seems to have been sufficient to keep her from the overseer, as she did not appear on the grocers' list of 1842. In 1846 she remarried, to a widowed shoemaker.

Woollen Spinner John Hustler had received relief for his large family of young children in 1832, when aged 36, even though he was earning 10s. a week. John began to receive weekly payments of 2s. 6d. or 3s. in autumn 1839 when he had 'no work'. In the November his wife Mary died, leaving John with six children, four of them under 9 years old. John immediately received an increase to 7s. per week casual relief, later dropping to 5s. An order of 4 December allowed him '3s per week to maintain his infant', while he continued to receive regular additional casual payments of between 2s. and 6s. Clearly these amounts were tailored to supplement whatever John could earn spinning. In 1841 three of John's children were employed (three were still too young) and he had taken in a lodger. This kept him from relief, as he was not on the grocers' list of 1842. He remarried, a widow, in 1845, and like Mary Naylor, above, the new household included children from both parents. Remarriage was a strategy for the alleviation of poverty of not just widows, but widowers and their children too, and such strategies are discussed in Chapter 7.

⁸³ As discussed in Chapter 5.

There are, however, few examples of extended, or even very temporary relief given to younger able-bodied men in times of sickness. As discussed later, there was significant (if not quite universal, as in rural Rigton)⁸⁴ younger male membership of friendly societies, sick clubs, and 'free gifts', which provided an allowance in times of sickness. However, of the 227 named individuals in receipt of casual relief, 166 (that is 73%) were male: heads of household were the nominal recipients of relief, although the male head might be cited as recipient even if he had absconded and (or was otherwise) in neglect of his family: there were nine cases of casual relief followed by neglect proceedings. Most casual relief was given to able-bodied men in times of under- or unemployment, as discussed in an aggregated manner above.⁸⁵ As Henry French has concluded for the rural community of Terling in Essex, in the late eighteenth century, temporary 'bridging' relief payments were far more common than longer term 'subsidies'; the same was true of a northern industrialised community in the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Unemployment, and under-employment were not insured against by friendly society membership, which helped in times of sickness, or provided funeral costs. Occasionally reasons for casual relief were briefly stated: seven of the male casual cases had 'no work', while ten were annotated 'sick', 'lame', or 'ill'. Basic reconstitution shows that of the nine of these ten whose ages can be evaluated, five were aged over 58, and may have been too old to subscribe to a friendly society when those societies were becoming increasingly popular during the second quarter of the century.⁸⁷

Sporadic casual relief

The majority of casual relief cases, 126 (that is 56%), were those where recipients had sporadic relief, or just one or two incidences over the year, or relief lasting less than a month. Again, in these cases, the reason is stated, or can be deduced by reconstitution. Anthony Hall had 5s. per week for four weeks in June 1839, when 'lame and sick'. William Dobson had 5s. a week, reducing to 3s., in June 1839, when he had 'no work'. Clothier/weaver William and his large family had also needed relief in 1832 when he was out of work. William's family's need may have been exacerbated by his wife

⁸⁴ See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 76.

⁸⁵ Or, as in John Hustler's case, discussed above, domestic necessity, like childcare, which might preclude full employment.

⁸⁶ French, 'Living in Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Terling', p. 313.

⁸⁷ For example, the Rigton Friendly Society refused membership to those aged over 35 at its inception in 1827, Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 76.

Martha's mental health: in 1854 she was admitted to the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, as she had become suicidal, and was 'incapable of attending to her household duties'. She was discharged, 'recovered' over a year later.⁸⁸

Charlotte Galloway received 4s. casual relief in October 1839. Charlotte gave evidence to the Factories Commission in 1833, and her words highlight the arduous poverty of linen weavers.⁸⁹ In 1839 Charlotte was 22, and the single mother of an illegitimate daughter. Despite the brutal treatment at the hands of her father and brothers (see Chapter 7) she retained close family links, and in 1841 with her daughter Mary at home, still worked as a winder, and probably still, as in 1833, for her linen and canvas weaver father and brothers who lived next door. There is no record of a second illegitimate birth, or indeed the local baptism of a Sarah Galloway: however, 14 month-old Sarah was buried at Holbeck St Matthew in December 1840, and this date corresponds exactly with Charlotte's need for relief fourteen months earlier. Mary Galloway died aged 9, shortly after Charlotte married canvas weaver Levi Wales. Charlotte had no further children, and was widowed in 1854. Thereafter she made a living as, variously, a nurse and a charwoman, and took in family members as lodgers to supplement her income.

Reconstitution might uncover the needs of individual relief, and the life experiences of those who received it: in this thesis this is most thoroughly undertaken in the reconstitution of seven neighbouring Holbeck families in Chapters 6 and 7.

Conclusion

Although the survival rate of records in urban environments is small, it is still possible, by the assemblage and linkage of all available records, to assess the levels and types of cash relief in such industrialised settings. Cash relief policy was two-pronged: the relief of the most vulnerable members of society, young children, the aged and widows; and cyclical casual relief in times of un- or under-employment. Regular relief payments, in the form of 'pensions' to widows and their families was the most common form of regular relief. Whilst such payments might be tailored to circumstances, a scale can be

⁸⁸ WYAS, Stanley Royd Hospital, Wakefield (Formerly the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum), medical case book records, C85/3/6/13, p. 299. The role of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum as a provider of care for Holbeck's poor, and the Stanley Royd case-notes as a source to uncover the lives of the poor, are discussed in the following chapter.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 7, and *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 100.

identified. Two shillings and sixpence was the standard weekly payment for an adult in receipt of a pension, whilst children's relief was set at 1s. 6d. per week, or 2s. if the child was being nursed. The latter amounts were also those paid to mothers of illegitimate children. Children however were expected to be found work at least by the age of 10, from which age any relief for that child would discontinue. Elderly, or particularly infirm, men might also receive pensions, and these were mostly of the same amount, a halfcrown per week.

Holbeck paid other townships for residents with Holbeck settlements, but it was far more common that out-relief was paid to those who had migrated to Holbeck for work, but had a settlement elsewhere. These payments were made in tranches, and amounted to up to 13% of Holbeck's cash relief bill. To prompt townships of belonging to pay relief for their migrants, removal orders were sought: often a single small payment, 'the overseer's shilling' was paid to a non-settled applicant to instigate proceedings. Settlement enquiries and litigation could be expensive and contentious.

Whilst regular relief payments in the form of pensions remained relatively stable during the 1840s, casual payments fluctuated, and in this hungry decade exceeded the pension bill in every year except the first, peaking at between twice and three times the pension bill in the depression of 1842, in which year industrialised communities were most effected. Casual payments were tailored more to perceived need, and less standardised, although there was often a fragile dynamic between casual and pension relief: casual payments might become more regular before becoming standardised into pensions due to age and infirmity. However, as exemplified in the crash of 1842, most casual payments were of a sporadic and temporary nature, and the proximity to poverty of working families meant that very many had some life-cycle relationship with poor relief mechanisms, and reconstitution methodologies can ascertain the occasions of the necessity of such relief.

Chapter 5

Institutional care and extra-ordinary welfare

Although pension payments and casual relief were the two major forms of welfare, Holbeck provided a varied package of both institutional care and of extra-ordinary welfare. This chapter unwraps and examines the contents of this package. While identifying other elements of institutional care, the first part focuses on the correlation between township provision for the mentally ill and the regional pauper lunatic asylum, whose case notes provide a rich source for analysing the concerns and experiences of the poor in their communities prior to admission. The second part examines other forms of local welfare, notably employment funding, emigration assistance, funeral provision, community medical relief, and apprenticing.

Part I Institutional care

Leeds General Infirmary and Leeds House of Recovery

Holbeck had its own salaried surgeon, discussed later, and in addition subscribed to Leeds Infirmary, paying a yearly subscription of six guineas in 1839. As a general (rather than parochial) infirmary, Leeds was open to subscribers from outside the parish/borough: in the 1830s both Wakefield and Ossett townships subscribed to the institution, Ossett paying the same amount as Holbeck, six guineas.¹ Wortley subscribed three guineas a year, paying £12 12s. for its 'Infirmary Account' for four years in May 1833.² At its inception the Infirmary's Rules and Orders outlined how many of each type of patient subscribers might recommend for their subscription:

[A] Subscriber of One Guinea annually shall have a Right to recommend one Out-Patient at a Time; and a Subscriber of Two Guineas one In-Patient, or two Out-patients at a Time, and for every larger Sum subscribed in the same Proportion.³

1 Hilary Marland, *Medicine and society in Wakefield and Huddersfield 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 63; and see Joan Lane, *A social history of medicine: health, healing and disease in England, 1750-1950* (London, 2001), pp. 86-87.

2 LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

3 General Infirmary at Leeds, *Rules and Orders of the General Infirmary at Leeds* (Leeds, 1771), p. 11.

However, the admissions policy had an important caveat: the subscriber recommendation clause was qualified '... except in Cases that will not admit of Delay'.⁴ Several Leeds mill-workers gave evidence of the infirmary's role before the Sadler Committee of 1832, and the Factories Commission the following year: for example 17 year-old Holbeck flax worker Sarah Price told the Factories Commission how, when she was 14, 'a wheel took my finger off' at Benyon's mill and she was taken to the infirmary and 'attended there for nothing. They take all accidents there directly'.⁵ Surgical case notes from ten years earlier graphically describe injuries received by mill-workers, particularly children, and the treatment they received at the infirmary. Their prevalence and regularity is notable, and the following extracts illustrate the nature of the injuries:

[S. M. male aged 13] ... left Hand intangled in Machinery by which the three middle Fingers were severely fractured and contused that it was deemed necessary to remove them by the Carpal Bones – care being taken to preserve as much as possible of Integument to cover the Wound. ... With this Patient the parts returned so much to their natural Size and Appearance that he could make the little Finger and Thumb meet so as to take hold of little matters. This will certainly be considerable advantage and I think very strongly points out the great propriety of preserving as much as possible of the fractured and contused Fingers.

[J. B. V. female aged 9] ... This Case like the preceeding [sic] one happened in consequence of Machinery, - all the Fingers except the little one which had suffered Comp. Fracture were so much fractured lacerated so as to require removal by the Carpal Bone – Care being taken as before to preserve as much as possible of Integument ... it was necessary to secure several Arteries which were done with some degree of trouble and difficulty ... The little Finger, the only one left seemed as if it would grow very useful in lifting etc.

[J. D. male aged 11] ... under Mr. Smith got his left Arm entangled in Machinery by which the flexor Muscles situated nr. about the Ulna a little below the Elbow-Joint were a good deal lacerated. - the Ulna broke and an extremity to be felt in the Wound ...- the Integument was also torn down the Arm so that the Radial was discovered quite exposed ...

[H.P. Female aged 11] ... Compd. Fracture of Tibia and Fibula of left leg with simple Fracture of right Leg. Accident happened by the Girl's legs being caught in a revolving part of Machinery ... Mother obstinately refused Amputation ... proposed to her as the only means of saving the Child's life.⁶

H.P.'s mother gave her permission the following day, but the girl developed gangrene and died two weeks later. While the working poor benefited from the immediate treatment they received at the infirmary when mangled in the mills, so did the mill-owners who paid nothing to have their workers pieced together after becoming maimed from unprotected machinery and tiredness due to the excessive hours they worked. As Hilary Marland discusses, with regard to two neighbouring infirmaries, Wakefield and

4 Ibid, p. 12.

5 *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 99.

6 In Anning, *The History of Medicine in Leeds*, pp. 100-132 (pp. 103-104, 121-122, and 115).

Huddersfield, committees of both institutions appealed for financial support from 'those who reaped most benefit ... factory owners, and railway and mining companies'.⁷ Local townships all used the infirmary for the treatment of their poor. While there are no correlations between poor relief and infirmary use in Holbeck vestry minutes, in the Rigton accounts there is. Jonathan Wilson, an agricultural labourer in his early thirties, was in receipt of relief when ill sporadically throughout 1843 and 1844. In April that year he was admitted to the infirmary, and visited there by the Rigton overseer, who purchased and took him cutlery and a towel for his use whilst a patient there.⁸

Infirmaries would not take cases of infectious disease (or 'fevers'), however, and Houses of Recovery, charitable institutions to cater for poor patients with such diseases began to be established in large and increasingly congested urban areas during the Industrial Revolution.⁹ Leeds House of Recovery opened in 1804.¹⁰ Rather than by subscription, Holbeck initially paid by account: an order of September 1839 stated 'that the amount from the House of Recovery at Leeds, [£]41. 17. 0 be discharged'.¹¹ This indicates a high level of township usage. In February 1843 they paid £21 13s., while in March 1846 they paid 'Ten pounds seventeen shillings ... for ten Fever Patients for 217 days in the House of Recovery': the cost to keep a patient in the institution was one shilling per day. Whether it was a change of policy by the institution, or the vestry, minutes of 1848 note the resolution that Holbeck 'subscribe Yearly to the House of Recovery'.¹²

The Ilkley Charity, and the York Blind School

The Ilkley Charity Hospital, or 'Ilkley Bath Charitable Institution' was established in 1829.¹³ It was 'an institution formed for the relief of the poorer class of society in the manufacturing districts'.¹⁴ In 1864 a one guinea subscription allowed the subscriber 'the privilege of sending one patient for three weeks', while each patient could stay longer, for an additional 7s. per week.¹⁵ The cost therefore was the same shilling per day as

7 Marland, *Medicine and society in Wakefield and Huddersfield*, p. 133.

8 HCL, Rigton Book, 1844.

9 Lane, *A Social history of medicine*, p. 145

10 Anning, *The History of Medicine in Leeds*, pp. 62-65.

11 WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Sep 1839.

12 WYASL, LC/TC, 1 Feb 1843; 25 Mar 1846; 9 Feb 1848.

13 John Shuttleworth, *Guide Book to Ilkley and Vicinity*, Second Edition (Ilkley, 1864), p. 65.

14 *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales* (London, 1848), p. 473.

15 Shuttleworth, *Guide Book to Ilkley*, p. 65.

Leeds House of Recovery. Patients might benefit from the baths, convalescence and clean country air, while a physician was in attendance. In 1839 Holbeck subscribed two guineas and could therefore send two patients annually. Young widow Mary Naylor, 'ill' and in receipt of casual relief was sent there in late summer 1839, and had an extra 10s. payment to go with, while Mary Foster was sent there earlier that summer and had 20s. extra while there, after receiving casual relief due to stated illness.¹⁶ It would seem subscription was something of an experiment, and since neither Marys were bathed and convalesced to the full health which would preclude further casual relief (both received continued relief after their visit, and for the duration of the dataset) there are no further records of subscription to the Ilkley Charity. However, convalescence there was not confined to Holbeck's poor in 1839: in 1833 Wortley overseers sent George Mawson and William Foster to Ilkley at the cost of 10s. and 14s. respectively.¹⁷ Leeds township subscribed £5 annually to a similar charity at Harrogate, the Harrogate Bath Hospital.¹⁸

Holbeck, from 1847 at least, sent children to the York Blind School. In April 1847 Joseph Byron 'made application to have his son sent to the Blind Asylum at York', and in June that year vestry ordered he be sent to 'the school at York for the instruction of the blind - overseers to pay the expenses'. Those expenses, 'board and instruction' were, for twenty-six, weeks, £4 11s. 0d., paid for Stephen Scholey a pupil at 'York Blind School' in 1848, a figure which equates to 3s. 6d. per week. It has been highlighted that after the Poor Law Amendment Act 'increasing numbers of blind and deaf children were gradually removed into the care of the voluntary institutions':¹⁹ Holbeck would seem to have followed that trend. Reconstitution reveals that Joseph Byron was an enfranchised (Tory voting) woolsorter, who served on Holbeck's highways board in 1840. Widowed by 1851, his wife Ann perhaps struggled, despite her more elevated social status, to raise her children: that year, two of her daughters were working in the mills, while 12 year-old James was a pupil ('a scholar and basketmaker') at the School for the Blind in Manor Yard, York. His peer Stephen Scholey, also a 12 year-old scholar and basketmaker in 1851, whose education and accommodation was also paid out of the

16 WYASL, LC/TC, 18 Sep 1839; 3 Jul 1839.

17 LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

18 TNA, MH12/15227, Records of the Poor Law Commission, Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and Other Local Authorities, Leeds 573, 1 May 1845 to 31 Dec 1846.

19 Amanda Nichola Bergen, 'The Blind, the Deaf and the Halt: Physical Disability, the Poor Law and Charity c.1830-1890, with particular reference to the County of Yorkshire' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 2004), p. 3. Bergen dedicates a full chapter to the Wilberforce School for the Blind in York, pp. 247-312.

poor rates, was the son of a butcher - again, an occupation which seldom figures in the relief lists of townships' overseers. Although undoubtedly needy, the blind children sent to York, were not of the usual impoverished class: the possible appropriation by the better-off of facilities and monies intended and raised for the poor is discussed later in this chapter. The censuses of 1871 and 1861 reveal that Stephen was blinded 'by accident' as a 6 year-old. Like the street musicians in receipt of township pensions, discussed earlier, Stephen became a musician (indeed, he became organist at St John's church, Leeds),²⁰ an occupation which in 1871 he augmented by dealing in boots.

Holbeck 'Town's School'

Like Rigton, whose school and teacher were partially funded from the rates,²¹ Holbeck had a community-based school. In 1823 vestry resolved that the 'Town's School' should be re-opened and funded by 'private subscription'.²² In 1834 proposals were made for the 'erection of a school for the education of children of all denominations' funded from the sale of 'the Old Chapel'.²³ However, the proposal did not come to early fruition, as repair of the existing structure was a recurrent theme of vestry business: in 1842, concurrent with agreeing to appoint a new schoolmaster, 'ratepayers assembled' at a vestry meeting resolved to 'request the Overseers of the Poor to repair the shutters and windows of the Towns School as far as may appear to them necessary for the preservation of the building'.²⁴ The following year a committee was formed to 'examine the Towns School and report as to the probable expense of altering or rebuilding the said School'.²⁵

The West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum

Care of the mentally ill in the community

Care of the mentally ill poor was traditionally undertaken within the township, either in the workhouse or in the community, and this type of care continued throughout the period of investigation. At a national level, in 1844, of 17,355 pauper lunatics in England and Wales 27% were in workhouses, 29% 'were "with friends" - that is, in

²⁰ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 22 Mar 1856.

²¹ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 76.

²² WYASL, RDP42/89, 5 Jun 1823.

²³ WYASL, LO/HO/1, 17 Jan 1834.

²⁴ WYASL, LC/TC, 2 Feb 1842.

²⁵ WYASL, LC/TC, 24 May 1843.

receipt of outdoor relief', 24% in pauper lunatic county asylums, and 17% in 'private madhouses'.²⁶ In 1846 Holbeck workhouse received a visit from the Commissioners in Lunacy.²⁷ They made this entry in the vestry minute book:

we have this day officially visited the Holbeck Workhouse and have seen five of the inmates who are idiotic or weakminded, all of whom, at the time of our visit were tranquil & comfortable & apparently harmless. The house, as far as we had occasion to observe it, is clean.²⁸

As discussed earlier, notably in the case of John Storey, those with mental illness might receive regular relief and remain within the community, in John's case, living with his parents. Erratic behaviour and mental ill-health were accommodated, not without some sympathy within the community: tailor James Appleyard spoiled a 'suit of cloaths' when 'suffering under temporary derangement', and Appleyard's customer had the suit refitted by another Holbeck tailor, at the cost of the ratepayer. A few weeks later, in March 1844, however, vestry resolved 'that James Appleyard be sent to the asylum at Wakefield in order to try the system used to restore him from the insane state of mind under which he is now labouring'.²⁹

Dangerousness, as a reason for removal from workhouses was a premise of the Poor Law Amendment Act.³⁰ Leonard Smith concludes that whether a mentally ill inmate of a workhouse was liable to harm themselves or others, or became otherwise too disruptive, was the major criteria, 'rather than diagnosis', in deciding to apply to the asylum.³¹ The disruptive actions of James Appleyard appear to reinforce this, yet the resolution's wording regarding his application, and the following analysis of admission and discharge notes, suggest a more nuanced interpretation. Many case notes did stipulate that the patient was suicidal or violent, but others, like Asenath Wilkinson in 1847 were not. Asenath, 'cleanly' and 'not destructive', with 'no prejudice' was depressed, but 'not suicidal nor dangerous'.³² There are some indications that other, more caring perhaps,

²⁶ Edward Royle, *Modern Britain, a social history 1750-1997*, second edition (London, 1997), pp. 229-230.

²⁷ For the outcome of their visit to Carlton workhouse see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 76 and 84.

²⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 25 Sep 1846.

²⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 14 Feb and 27 Mar 1844.

³⁰ Leonard Smith, *Cure, Comfort and Safe Custody: Public Lunatic Asylums in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1999), p. 7.

³¹ Leonard Smith, "'A Sad Spectacle of Hopeless Mental Degradation': The Management of the Insane in West Midlands Workhouses, 1815-60", in *Medicine and the Workhouse*, ed. by Jonathan Reinartz and Leonard Schwarz (Rochester, 2013), pp. 103-122 (p. 115).

³² WYASL, C85/3/6/9, p. 292/1.

criteria were also important in the dynamics between community care of the mentally ill and transfer to asylums.

James Appleyard's fees at the asylum were noted in vestry minutes, but he did not live long and was returned to Holbeck to be buried at St Matthew's in September 1844. His widow's circumstances speak of the proximity to poverty of working families: seeking solace, or remarriage, Sarah Appleyard gave birth to an illegitimate son in 1850, and they, along with James's 12 year-old son, a woollen mill worker, were inmates of Holbeck Workhouse in 1851.

Care in the asylum

The existence of extensive admission notes and case notes from the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (hereafter WRPLA), correlated with local poor relief records, allows an investigation into the relationship between township relief mechanisms and the institutional care of the mentally ill poor. Significantly, the rich case notes reveal the experiences and concerns of the poor in their communities, prior to their admission.

Figure 5.1 'A perspective view of the pauper lunatic asylum ... Erected at Wakefield in 1816', by John Landseer, 1819



Alongside community-based care, the WRPLA was used extensively by Holbeck township, almost from its inauguration in 1818. John Binks, a 26 year-old Holbeck tailor was admitted for treatment in September 1820, and the following year 'violent' and 'maniacal' Ellen Sykes was admitted. Ellen had been 'confined for 3 years in the Asylum at York' twelve years previously: she may have been privately recommended to the Quaker institute at York, there are no records that detail Holbeck's subscription to it.³³ Although 'weakminded' Eden Patrick had several extended spells in Carlton workhouse,³⁴ none of Rigton's poor were admitted to the WRPLA. Rothwell, Wortley and Holbeck all used the facility however, and admittance to the institution was roughly in proportion with their populations.

Townships paid 6s. per week for each patient they sent, as the director of the institute, Dr. C.C. Corsellis described in 1838. In his report of that year he detailed patients' accommodation:

The patients are all paupers, their respective parishes paying for each 6s. per week. This sum defrays every expense. They are fed, lodged, and clad alike, wearing a dress of grey woollen cloth, which is woven and made up by themselves; they rise at six A.M. in the summer, and seven in the winter, and all who are in a fit state (of whom there are a great number) attend with such servants as can be spared at morning prayers precisely at eight o'clock. They breakfast on milk pottage and bread at half-past eight. At nine o'clock the gardener, farmer, laundry women, &c., select those patients, who by previous arrangement with the Director have been fixed on, for their several occupations, and commence work.³⁵

The weekly charge was raised to 7s. per week in the director's report at the end of 1840: it was hoped this was a 'temporary advance', and so it proved.³⁶ Payment to the WRPLA was settled by account, and depended on the number of patients at the asylum, and the length of their stay. Jane Gothard was Holbeck's most long-term patient, and payments for her care were made throughout most of this investigation. Jane was admitted in April 1830, aged 40, having been ill for three months, and attempting to 'drown and strangle' herself on the Saturday prior to admission. Her condition varied from 'a very distressing

33 WYAS, C85/3/6/2, p. 279; and for this earlier institution see Anne Digby, *Madness, Morality, and Medicine: a Study of the York Retreat, 1796-1914* (Cambridge, 1985).

34 Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies' p. 76.

35 WYAS, C85/108, The Twentieth Report of the Director of the West-Riding of York Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1839, in Marjorie Levine-Clark, 'Dysfunctional Domesticity: female insanity and family relationships among the West Riding poor in the mid-nineteenth century', *Journal of Family History*, 25:3 (2000), 341-361 (p. 344).

36 *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 Feb 1841.

state of restless anxiety' and 'always screaming as if in great pain', in 1830, although she refused to speak. Throughout the 1830s there was 'no alteration in mind ... no improvement'. In 1845, although her 'general health' was good, her mind was 'an extreme piece of delusion; her recollections ... of her youth only'. Although in her mid-fifties, she looked 'extremely aged' and by 1849 it was noted 'she lies in bed, silent & scarcely animated, and has done so for some years'.³⁷ Jane died in November 1849, and like most of the WRPLA inmates who died there, was buried at Stanley St Peter.

While Jane was an ever-present the number of Holbeck paupers at the WRPLA fluctuated, but does not seem to have exceeded four at any one time. Places may have been at a premium. At its inception in 1818 it was designed to house 150 patients: by 1866 it was accommodating 1,128.³⁸ In Holbeck, in 1845, Samuel Stephenson was to be admitted to the institution 'as soon as there is a vacancy'.³⁹ By 1847 the original 6s. weekly charge that Dr. Corsellis had stated in 1838 resumed: that year the township paid £25 19s. for 'maintenance of Jane Gothard, 26 wk 2 days, Ephraim Atha, 26 wks 2 days, Samuel Stephenson, 26 wks 2 days & Martha Holmes, 7 wks 3 days'.⁴⁰ Wortley paid an 'asylum note' of £29 7s. in October 1833:⁴¹ this was probably an annual payment, given the fewer admissions from the township.

Holbeck's Vestry sought to defray the cost by application to the patient's family to fund some or all the expense. In 1831 John Braithwaite paid half the cost of his wife's care, '3/- per week towards her maintenance so long as she may remain a patient in the asylum'.⁴² Jane Gothard's husband paid £16 14s. for April 1831 to April 1832.⁴³ However, after initial applications to family members, further receipts were not noted in the records, so it is not known, for example, if John Gothard defrayed the whole cost of his wife's extended care until his own death in 1848. However, John lived in lodgings in Holbeck in 1841: the cost would have taken a substantial part of his wages as an iron moulder.

37 WYAS, C85/3/6/4/pp. 487-488/1 and /2; and C85/3/6/5/pp. 138-139/1 and /2.

38 Levine-Clark, 'Dysfunctional Domesticity', p. 343.

39 WYASL, LC/TC, 29 Jan 1845.

40 WYASL, LC/TC, 24 Feb 1847.

41 LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

42 WYASL, LO/HO/1, 7 Jul 1831.

43 WYASL, LO/HO/1, 9 May 1832.

It should be emphasised that as many poor men as women were admitted to the WRPLA: of 377 patients at the 1841 census, 200 were male; of 604 in 1851, 285 were male; of 958 in 1861, 456 were male.⁴⁴ Admission to the asylum during the period under investigation was not quantitatively gendered. This thesis has focused on case notes of women because these have been digitised and can be searched by name, date and township of belonging.⁴⁵

Admission policy, length of stay, and discharge

Referral by overseers, and resolution by vestry (as in Samuel Stephenson's and James Appleyard's cases), were the usual form of admission. From around 1845 case notes began with contextual admission notes from the township's overseer and surgeon, with the names of both cited. Thus, on Elizabeth Chadwick's admission in May 1849, her admission notes were provided by John Leathley, overseer, and Thomas Booth, surgeon; when re-admitted in June 1852, the notes were from Samuel Exley, overseer, and R.J. Horton, surgeon. Prior to this, although contextual notes, a patient's 'particulars', began the case notes, they were unattributed. However, if the patient had received treatment outside of the WRPLA, this might be stated: thus in 1831 Hannah Hodgson had 'been under the care of Dr. Hunter and Mr. Teal of Leeds', and sometime prior to 1840 Martha Richardson had been treated at the infirmary. Likewise, Hannah Barras in 1836 had 'been under the care of Mr. Horton, surgeon, and ... taken aperients'; and in 1841 Elizabeth Oddy had been attended by 'Mr. Teale, surgeon', though it was 'not stated what remedies' were used. Elizabeth Mann however, received significant medication from the town's surgeon, Horton, before admittance in January 1841, viz 'counter irritants, purgatives, morphine with tartar emetic in large doses'.⁴⁶ Treatment within the asylum, certainly in the earlier years, was also predominantly humoral, with much emphasis on the nature, consistency and regularity of bowel movements. While referral and application were the common method of admission, there is evidence of some personal agency: remarkably, Martha Holmes (nee Richardson) admitted herself. Twice admitted and discharged as a single woman in the early 1840s, Martha married and gave birth in

⁴⁴ TNA, HO107/1271/10; HO107/2326; and RG9/3421.

⁴⁵ *History to Herstory* project, 'celebrating the lives of women in Yorkshire', a collaboration between the University of Huddersfield, WYAS, JISC, and others, <<http://historytoherstory.hud.ac.uk/>> [accessed April 2015 to January 2017].

⁴⁶ WYAS, C85/3/6/10, pp. 178-179/1 and /2; C85/3/6/5, p. 207/1; C85/3/6/7, pp. 351-352/2; C85/3/6/6, p. 300/1; C85/3/6/7, pp. 101-102/1; C85/3/6/4, pp. 461-462/1.

October 1845. After her confinement she took to wandering 'backwards and forwards from Headingley, where she was confined [at her parents' house], to her husband's house at Holbeck'. The following month admission notes tell she

Returned to the Asylum voluntarily on the afternoon of Thursday 6 Nov., having left her parents' house at Headingley early that morning. She was many hours in reaching the Asylum, having said she lost her way. ... She [had] heard those near her say something about taking her to the Asylum, when she thought she would come by herself and save them the trouble.⁴⁷

Assessors of patients tried to establish reasons for their conditions, and some of these, pertaining to Holbeck and Wortley women are discussed below. A table taken from the 'Twenty-fourth Report of the Directors' of the WRPLA, published in the *Leeds Mercury* shows the variety of supposed causes of affliction of the 171 patients (seventy-nine males and ninety-two females) admitted during 1842, Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Supposed cause of affliction of patients admitted to the WRPLA in 1842

<i>Attributed to</i>	<i>No. of patients</i>	<i>Attributed to</i>	<i>No. of patients</i>
Unknown	44	Jealousy	4
Intemperance	22	Supposed catamenia [menstruation]	3
Epilepsy	18	Injury to the head	3
Poverty	16	Excitement from disturbed state of the country	2
Grief	16	Fright	1
Domestic difficulties	15	Suppressed perspiration	1
Hereditary tendency	14	Scrofula	1
Fever	10	Syphilis	1

Source: *Leeds Mercury*, 11 Feb 1843

Re-admittance was relatively common. Of thirty-four cases of Holbeck women between 1821 and 1855, seven had more than one spell at the asylum: of fifteen Wortley women during the same period, five were re-admitted, including Sarah Best who had six spells.⁴⁸ Re-admission might be after a period of a few months, as in Annis Atkinson's case: 21-year-old Annis, admitted from Rothwell, was sent back to the asylum after being out just three months, in 1823. Conversely, it might be after an extended period of

⁴⁷ WYAS, C85/3/6/7, pp. 351-352/1 and 2.

⁴⁸ WYAS, C85/3/6/11, p. 566, C85/3/6/13, p. 341, C85/3/6/15, pp. 91-92.

being returned to the community: Holbeck's Jane Peacock's two spells in the WRPLA were thirty years apart, and Grace Sykes, of Wortley was discharged 'cured' in 1824, to be readmitted in December 1842, shortly before her death.⁴⁹

Discharge, 'cured' or 'recovered' was a far more common outcome than long-term incarceration. While twelve of the Holbeck women died at the WRPLA, half this number were within a year of admittance, while two, Harriet Cope and Harriet Brown died within days, suggesting extremely acute conditions. Jane Gothard had the longest stay at the WRPLA of the Holbeck women, nineteen years, while Hannah Catherall had fourteen years there in total, and Hannah Rimmington and Eliza Hudson had six years each. The remaining twenty-two were discharged, two, as noted, because they were not paupers or chargeable to townships of the West Riding, while Elizabeth Leadley was discharged 'at the request of friends', again implying agency of the poor and their connections.⁵⁰ The median stay at the asylum, excluding those terminated by death, was four months, the most common, three months. The shortest stay was Martha Holmes' self-admission, one month (though she was back a few months later), while Hannah Catherall had an extended stay of twenty-seven months, and Elizabeth Burne was there for forty-five months before discharge. At a median of five months, the lengths of stay were similar for patients from neighbouring Wortley.

Usage of, and admission to the WRPLA may have been determined by local policy, informed by changing cultural mores, as much as perceived need. Whilst rapid population growth in these urban areas must be taken into consideration (see Chapter 2), Holbeck admitted a similar number of women per decade (eight, nine, and nine respectively) for the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. But they admitted a further eight women in six years between 1850 and the end of 1855. This increase is yet more pronounced in Wortley where nine women were first admitted between 1823 and 1848, yet there were six new admissions between 1850 and 1855, suggestive of an increased willingness to institutionalise the mentally ill: this is borne out by the 750% increase in accommodation at the WRPLA between 1818 and 1866, noted above; furthermore, it was during the later period that its population began to spike, Figure 5.2. Legislation in

49 WYAS, C85/3/6/2, p. 358, pp. 377-379, and C85/3/6/3, p. 21; C85/3/6/12, p. 322 and C85/3/6/44, pp. 133-136; C85/3/6/2, p. 175, C85/3/6/3, p. 111 and C85/3/6/8, p. 172.

50 WYAS, C85/3/6/11, p. 250.

1845 compelled counties to establish asylums,⁵¹ and resulted in a 'great flood of pauper lunatics into the new asylums'.⁵² This increase is also evident in the West Riding asylum, established much earlier.

Figure 5.2 Number of patients at the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1818 to 1866



Source: TNA HO107/1271/10, HO107/2326, RG9/3421; and Levine-Clark, p. 343

Ages at first admission from Holbeck varied from 16 year-old Hannah Barras to 70 year-old Mary Webster: the median age was 35. In Wortley, the median age of the fifteen women was 40. Again the youngest admission was 16, or so admission notes stated: reconstitution suggests Eleanor Walker, whose supposed cause of illness was 'puberty', and who expressed her insanity by 'tearing her clothes undressing herself in the house, escaping by the windows and running away', was only 12 or 13 when admitted.⁵³

Case notes as evidence of working-class experience: religion

WRPLA case notes provide insights into the beliefs, practices and experiences of Holbeck's poor. Sarah Braithwaite was admitted in July 1831. Aged 32, she had 'occasional attacks for 6 or 7 years' lasting up to six weeks. The notes suggest reasons for her illness, and the community presence of alternative therapies, in the guise of a 'wise man' and his prescriptions:

⁵¹ Smith, 'The Management of the Insane', pp. 112-113.

⁵² Bill Forsythe, Joseph Melling, and Richard Adair, 'The New Poor Law and the County Pauper Lunatic Asylum: The Devon Experience 1834-1884', *Social History of Medicine*, 9:3 (1996), 335-355 (p. 335).

⁵³ WYAS, C85/3/6/13, p. 155.

[her] first cause is assigned to her supposing herself bewitched; this occurred immediately after the confinement of her 2nd child, the impression has never been removed from her mind. She has applied to a 'wise man' to relieve her from her distress, she has used remedies ordered by the Wise Man ... She has lately joined the Southcoaites [sic] & to strengthen her own views of the religion, has studied the scriptures with intense anxiety & great perseverance, which has caused ... consequent derangement. Youngest child six months old. She has been violent & dangerous since Monday last.⁵⁴

Sarah belonged to a local branch of the Southcottians; a 'deluded follower of Joanna Southcott', the millenarian mystic, of E.P. Thompson's famous phrase.⁵⁵ Thompson followed directory compiler William White, who described Coalpit-Lane Chapel in Sheffield, 'a gloomy place of worship', which had been 'occupied by various sects, amongst which was a body of the deluded followers of Johanna Southcott, the Exeter Prophetess'.⁵⁶ The sect flourished in Yorkshire: surviving 'Southcottian scrolls' indicate the county had the second largest number of 'believers' to London. Of Yorkshire towns, Sheffield had the largest number, followed by Leeds.⁵⁷ Leeds, as discussed in Chapter 7, 'had a tradition of female preaching'.⁵⁸ Sarah Braithwaite had her head shaved and 'kept cold with wet cloths'. She refused food, and was violent and noisy, to the point she was gagged. On admission it was noted she had a 'glandular swelling in the neck'. It is uncertain if this was symptomatic of what killed her, but she died in November 1831.⁵⁹

John Braithwaite and other husbands were expected to contribute towards 'the support of their respective wives in Wakefield Asylum'.⁶⁰ Olive Dixon was 'sent to the asylum' in October 1844, the 'expenses of her maintenance ... defrayed by Nathan Dixon, her husband'.⁶¹ Olive was 49 on admission, had had eight children, and had been suicidal. Like Sarah Braithwaite (and several others) she was of religious bent, 'her illusions ... chiefly in connection with scripture', Olive considered 'herself an hypocrite'. She was not in the asylum long: no matter the severity of her condition, she was discharged as it

54 WYAS, C85/3/6/5, pp. 237-238/1.

55 Thompson highlighted the Southcottians as one of those groups he sought to rescue 'from the enormous condescension of posterity': E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963), 1980 edition (Harmondsworth, 1980), p. 12.

56 William White, *History, and General Directory, of the Borough of Sheffield ...* (Sheffield, 1833), p. 94.

57 James K. Hopkins, *A Woman to Deliver Her People: Joanna Southcott and English Millenarianism in an Era of Revolution* (Austin, 1982), pp. 225 and 223.

58 Jennifer Lloyd, *Women and the Shaping of British Methodism: persistent preachers, 1807-1907* (Manchester, 2009), p. 102.

59 WYAS, C85/3/6/5, pp. 237-238 and 240i/1.

60 WYASL, LC/TC, 23 Nov 1842.

61 WYASL, LC/TC, 2 Oct 1844.

was discovered she was 'not a pauper'.⁶² Indeed, Nathan Dixon was a bookkeeper when he married Olive, and both were literate: he was an overlooker in a woollen factory in 1851. The WRPLA case notes mention Olive's Methodism, and she was buried at (the higher social status) Holbeck Wesleyan-Methodist chapel in 1850. Treatment in such institutions was ostensibly for the poor, and as was the case with infirmaries, those who could afford private treatment were expected to pay for it in the private medical sector.

The case notes cite several examples of religion being a core cause of mental ill health. While expressions might now be thought symptomatic, rather than causal, of thirty-four Holbeck women admitted between 1821 and 1855 at least nine were deemed to be so afflicted, while one, Jane Flemming, admitted to the WRPLA in 1848, was, conversely 'very much prejudiced against all religion'. Like Olive Dixon and Sarah Braithwaite, above, 32 year-old Mary Mann's illness was supposed caused by 'religious impression'; 34 year-old Hannah Hodgson's was partly attributed to 'religious impressions'; 40 year-old Elizabeth Williams was 'a Ranter' (that is a Primitive Methodist) who became very upset when 'the nurse would not permit her to make "baby clothes for 2 chdn with wh. she was pregnant to Jesus Christ"'; 18 year-old Elizabeth Chadwick raved 'chiefly on religious matters, touching on the Burial service'; 32-year-old Harriet Cope, also raved 'principally on religious subjects', but additionally, the doctor (or his clerk) noted, 'believes she is Jesus Christ'; while conversely, 26 year-old Asenath Wilkinson thought 'that she was the Devil'.⁶³ Similarly in Rothwell, Methodist Sarah Holt, admitted in 1850 raved 'in religion only', going 'into the fields to pray': Sarah worried that 'the Lord will save neither herself or her family'.⁶⁴ From Wortley, Ann Buckley was considered to have 'religious mania'; Mary Barraclough 'manifested much religious fanaticism'; Wesleyan Methodist Sarah Best peppered incoherent speech with 'quotations from the Bible'; Elizabeth Burnley, a member of the established church, raved 'on religious subjects', while from the earlier period, in 1823, Mary Mortimer, having recently buried both her mother and father, had 'great concern for the salvation of the soul'.⁶⁵

62 WYAS, C85/3/6/8/p. 446i/1.

63 WYAS, C85/3/6/9/p. 402; C85/3/6/4/p. 259i/1; C85/3/6/5/p. 207/1; C85/3/6/p. 384/1; C85/3/6/10/pp. 178-179/1 and /2; C85/3/6/10/p. 428/1; C85/3/6/9/p. 292/1.

64 WYAS, C85/3/6/11, pp. 38-39.

65 WYAS, C85/3/6/10, p. 408; C85/3/6/7, pp. 213-214/1; C85/3/6/11, p. 566/1; C85/3/6/12, p. 450/1; C85/3/6/2, pp. 253-254/1.

Case notes as evidence of working-class experience: family

Some of the women speak of marital relationships as contributory to their illness. Levine-Clark discusses these factors at length.⁶⁶ She draws attention to the trope of 'the "madwoman" in nineteenth-century England', both in studies of its literature and history, and highlights that the focus of these have been women of the middle class.⁶⁷ However, there are fewer attributions in the Holbeck women's cases to marital relationships being deemed a significant cause of illness and admission. Jane Denison's illness in 1838 was supposed caused by anticipation of her impending re-marriage: a 35 year-old widow with three children, Jane's 'banns of marriage had been published ... and she was to be married to a chimney sweeper in a few days'.⁶⁸ Reconstitution might illuminate some of these cases, and whilst it cannot locate any such banns, in June 1839, eight months after her discharge, Jane married widower Christopher Campbell, like her first husband, a shoemaker. Frederick Denison (or 'Dinnison') had died during the cholera epidemic in 1832: it is likely her perceived need of re-marriage to alleviate hers and her children's poverty was behind her breakdown, rather than the prospect of marriage per se. However, in 1851, 35 year-old spinster Elizabeth Leadley was also considered ill from 'anxiety attendant on her expected marriage': Elizabeth was discharged after six months, 'at the request of friends'.⁶⁹ She married a bookkeeper two years later. Two women, Elizabeth Mann and Felice Coxon are known to have been visited by their husbands in the WRPLA: the husbands' remarks, while visiting, were recorded in the case notes.⁷⁰ Unlike in Levine-Clark's narrative, there are few examples of domestic abuse by husbands or fathers. However, 58 year-old Hannah Walker, admitted in 1826, had endured 'ill treatment ... from some of her relations during her distress', and Jane Flemming 'frequently or continually' complained that 'her husband or mother have treated her ill'.⁷¹

Hannah Simpson/Catherall's case speaks of the social potential for marital infidelity and alternative relationship structures. First admitted in 1846, aged 33, Hannah Simpson, 'silly and foolish', had 'lived 2 years with her husband, and the 8 years with another man'; in 1847 it was noted she 'talks of the latter and wants to go to him'. Hannah was

66 Levine-Clark, 'Dysfunctional Domesticity', *passim*.

67 *Ibid*, p. 342.

68 WYAS, C85/3/6/7, p. 77.

69 WYAS, C85/3/6/11, p. 250.

70 WYAS, C85/3/6/7, pp. 461-462/1; C85/3/6/4, pp. 401-402/1.

71 WYAS, C85/3/6/3, p. 59; C85/3/6/9, p. 402/1.

discharged in September 1849, 'one month on trial'. Reconstitution confirms she had been living with Thomas Catherall in 1841, and on discharge from the WRPLA lost little time in marrying him - they wed in November 1849 (it is uncertain if this was a legitimate or bigamous marriage, her last admission in 1859 names her 'Hannah Simpson, alias Catherall Hannah'). The literacy referred to in the case notes is confirmed by Hannah signing her lines. However, she was not long out of the asylum, and was readmitted when pregnant in August 1850. She had a 9 year-old son, and suffered 'hallucinations regarding her husband and child', the notes state Hannah 'fancies that other men come and personate her husband, that her son is some other child imposed upon her'. Hannah was 'discharged cured' in November 1850, six weeks after giving birth to 'a large fine female child'. It was during this stay that her violence towards her child and husband were first noted: 'she often uses the child ill and threatens violence towards him and her husband'. Hannah lived in the community until readmitted in March 1859, when it was again noted from the overseer's report that 'she has often-times threatened to do some bodily harm to her husband, who states that she has repeatedly taken up a knife and threatened to cut his head off'. Hannah remained in the WRPLA for the rest of her life, dying there in February 1870.⁷²

Supposed ill-treatment of children and husbands by women is a relatively common theme. In 1826 Elizabeth Bateson displayed 'great severity' towards her 12 year-old child, while in 1821 Ellen Sykes was parted from her husband 'in consequence of her violent temper'.⁷³ It would be speculative to suggest that violence or threats of it were women's retaliation for domestic abuse from men, but Jane Flemming, who said she had been badly treated by her husband, 'threatened to destroy' said husband, along with her child.⁷⁴

Grief at the loss of family members often triggered ill-health. The loss of Holbeck's Mary Webster's only sister was partially attributed as cause, as it was for Wortley's Elizabeth Burnley. Unsurprisingly, the death of children was also noted as instigating insanity: in 1836 the supposed cause of Martha Mathers' attack was 'being bereaved of several of her children'.⁷⁵ But the most poignant manifestation is the case of 27 year-old

⁷² WYAS, C85/3/6/9, pp. 136-137; C85/3/6/15, pp. 187-188.

⁷³ WYAS, C85/3/6/3, p. 139/1; C85/3/6/2, pp. 279-280/1.

⁷⁴ WYAS, C85/3/6/9, p. 402/1.

⁷⁵ WYAS, C85/3/6/10, p. 74; C85/3/6/12, p. 450/1; C85/3/6/6, p. 310/1.

Tabitha Hargreave of Wortley. Tabitha was admitted on 13 December 1828, 'the death of her child' the 'cause assigned'. She had threatened to cut her throat before admission, and it was noted she 'seems very unhappy'. The notes then describe Tabitha's attempts to kill herself, and the WRPLA's provision to prevent this:

16 Dec says she got up several times in the night to try to hang herself but could not accomplish it she then broke the chamber pot with intention of cutting her throat with the broken pieces she has scratched herself in several places; 22 Dec 'Was very anxious this morning to be permitted to sleep without sleeves as she was determined to do what was right, to get home. Strict orders were however given to the nurse to put them on as usual and never to leave her during the day unless fastened. She continued at work assisting the nurse in cleaning the ward and was rather more cheerful at tea time when she was sat with the nurse and two convalescent patients, she [the nurse] having to go to a closet within six yards of the table they were at for some more [tea] she in a moment sized the knife they had to cut some bread with and plunged it into her throat having divided some of the large blood vessels, the wound was fatal.

Tabitha's case notes end as abruptly as her life.⁷⁶ It is unknown if the case was hushed up, but there are no accounts of the event in the newspapers, nor any record of her burial. The burial of suicides at crossroads (often with a stake through the heart) was prohibited in 1823. Suicides had a right to be buried in consecrated ground, but not to the 'Burial Office of the Church, with its consoling assurances of salvation'.⁷⁷ Tabitha's burial would probably have been a silent and unrecorded one.

Case notes as evidence of working-class experience: poverty

If marital relations were less prominent as given causes of mental ill-health, the fear of poverty, within domestic settings, was at least equally cited. Alongside ill-treatment from her relatives, poverty was recorded as the grounds for Hannah Walker's illness in 1826; likewise Mary Webster, 'once in affluent circumstances', had poverty cited as a cause; while 35 year-old labourer's wife Jane Peacock's stated reason was 'anxiety of mind in consequence of her husband being out of work'.⁷⁸ Reconstitution correlates this anxiety with life-cycle experiences of poverty. Hand-loom weaver's wife Martha Dobson, admitted in 1854, had recourse to township relief in 1832 at least.⁷⁹ Rebecca Hustler was haunted by a re-visitation of her husband's earlier poverty in her later life. Cloth dresser John Hustler's (not the woollen spinner of the same name whose relief

⁷⁶ WYAS, C85/3/6/4, p. 333/1.

⁷⁷ Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford, 1987), p. 270.

⁷⁸ WYAS, C85/3/6/3, p. 59; C85/3/6/10, p. 74; C85/3/6/12, p. 322/1.

⁷⁹ *PP* 1834 (167), C.2. pp. 108-111; and WYAS, C85/3/6/13, p. 299/1.

patterns were discussed earlier) family was in receipt of relief in both 1829 and 1832. When her husband 'broke his thigh bone and had to give up work' in 1875 Rebecca became depressed 'fretting about her husband' and was admitted to the WRPLA the following year. Rebecca, who had suicidal tendencies, died six months after being 'discharged recovered'.⁸⁰ Her fears about her husband's pauperisation were well-founded: five years later John Hustler was an inmate in Holbeck workhouse. From Wortley, in 1842, Grace Sykes, raved 'on poverty', while in 1847 Hannah Rider's cause was assigned as 'want of work, and a son enlisting for a soldier': Hannah, aged 56, had a 'foreboding of poverty ... thinking it impossible not to be turned into the street', while in 1829, 26 year-old Esther Wood was admitted 'in the last degree of exhaustion from starvation. Esther died six weeks after admission.'⁸¹

Appropriation by the better-off?

There are several examples of the non-poor using the asylum: the facility, intended exclusively for the poor, was increasingly appropriated by the better off. Just as infirmaries and other medical facilities, whose expertise was founded on the treatment, experimentation and dissection of the bodies of the poor, would later be appropriated by those who could afford private medical care, but sought the more centralised expertise, facilities, efficacy (and cheapness) of the developing institutions, so they did with the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum.

As noted earlier, some of the Holbeck patients' families were successfully billed by vestry for the full cost of their stays. Yet others were discharged for not being paupers. However, overlooker's wife Olive Dixon was treated for two months in 1844 before discharge for not being poor. Likewise, in 1836, Martha Mathers of Wortley was discharged 'at the request of her friends' and 'not being a pauper' after five months of treatment.⁸² Whilst the later notes, for these townships, tend not to stipulate discharge because of lack of poverty (and the broadening of the social net may in part account for the increase in admissions in these later years, Figure 5.2), reconstitution can identify the socio-economic standing of the patients. Thus, Eleanor Walker of Wortley, admitted in 1855 aged 12 or 13 (though her notes state the semi-adult qualification, 16) was the

⁸⁰ *PP* 1834 (167), pp. 108-111; and WYAS, C85/3/6/33, p. 445-446.

⁸¹ WYAS, C85/3/6/8, p. 172/1; C85/3/6/9, pp. 174-175; C85/3/6/4, p. 441i.

⁸² WYAS, C85/3/6/8, p. 446i/1; C85/3/6/6, p. 310/1.

daughter of a listing manufacturer, who in 1861, along with the then 19 year-old Eleanor, had a female servant in attendance on the family. Likewise, Asenath Wilkinson of Holbeck had in 1851 moved to Liverpool with her husband where they ran a confectionery. Furthermore, there are tentative indications of a higher incidence of both literacy and Wesleyan non-conformity amongst the urban patients, although this would need quantitative analysis across larger datasets to verify. As noted earlier, Holbeck children in the late 1840s sent to the York Blind School were admitted out of funds intended for the poor, yet were closer to the middling sort than the poor. By mid-century there appears to be a noticeable move for the middling sort to appropriate facilities (if not funds) established for the poor. Julian Le Grand and others' work has highlighted the enhanced benefits of the welfare state to the middle classes during the consolidation of middle-class mores, and the liberal market economy in the 1980s, concluding that 'the non-poor benefit extensively from the welfare state'. But they found that advantage stems not only from the establishment of 'universalist' benefits,⁸³ but 'because they have infiltrated programmes originally designed for the benefit of the poor'.⁸⁴ Likewise there are indications from this investigation that the middling sorts benefited from mechanisms and institutions established for the poor during the consolidation of the bourgeois hegemony in the middle years of the nineteenth century.

Nonetheless, the WRPLA existed in ethos and primarily for the benefit of the mentally ill poor, and township poor relief administrations took advantage of the facility. Case notes from the institution suggest treatment there was not without care, respect and comfort: more importantly for the social historian, they reveal the experiences of the working poor, and the conditions and concerns which might drive them to ill health.

Holbeck Workhouse

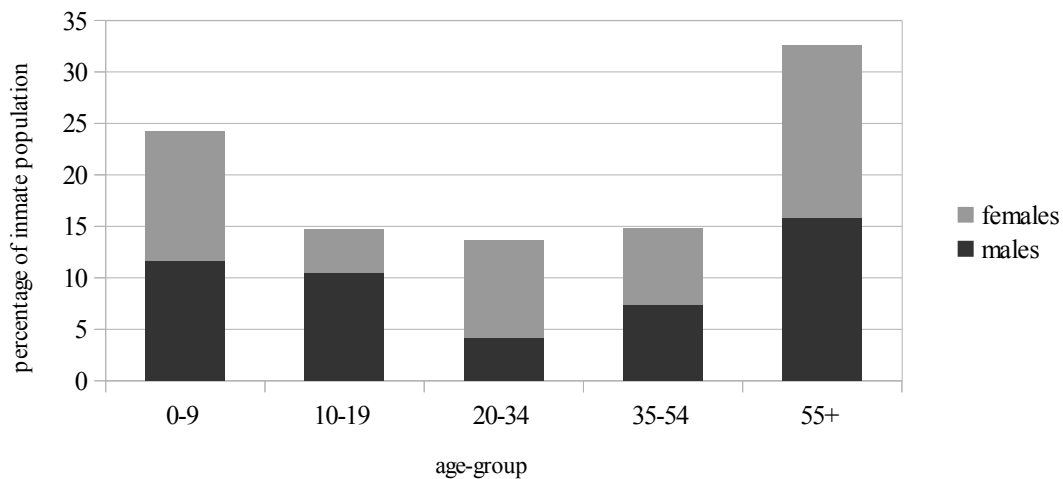
Holbeck's major instrument of institutional care was its workhouse. While Rigton, Rothwell, and Wortley, as members of the Carlton Gilbert Incorporation, shared, with thirty-seven other townships, a workhouse at Carlton, Holbeck had its own. Workhouses are traditionally and historiographically emblematic of poverty and the treatment of the

⁸³ The Coalition government's provision (of Liberal instigation), of free school meals for all pupils in their first three years at school, in 2014, is perhaps a recent manifestation of this.

⁸⁴ Robert E. Goodin and Julian Le Grand et al, *Not Only the Poor: The Middle Classes and the Welfare State* (London, 1987), p. 204.

poor: this thesis does not intend to add to the considerable corpus of literature which has focused on these institutions, beyond examples of Holbeck's poor's interactions with its workhouse.⁸⁵ Like Carlton workhouse at the same times, Holbeck's workhouse inmates consisted of mostly older people, beyond work, young children, and single mothers. There were only five men aged between 20 and 54 in 1841, six in 1851. The inmate population of Holbeck workhouse might be expressed in terms of age-group and gender, and compared with that of Carlton workhouse, Figures 5.3 and 5.4.

Figure 5.3 Holbeck workhouse population by age-group and gender, 1841 and 1851

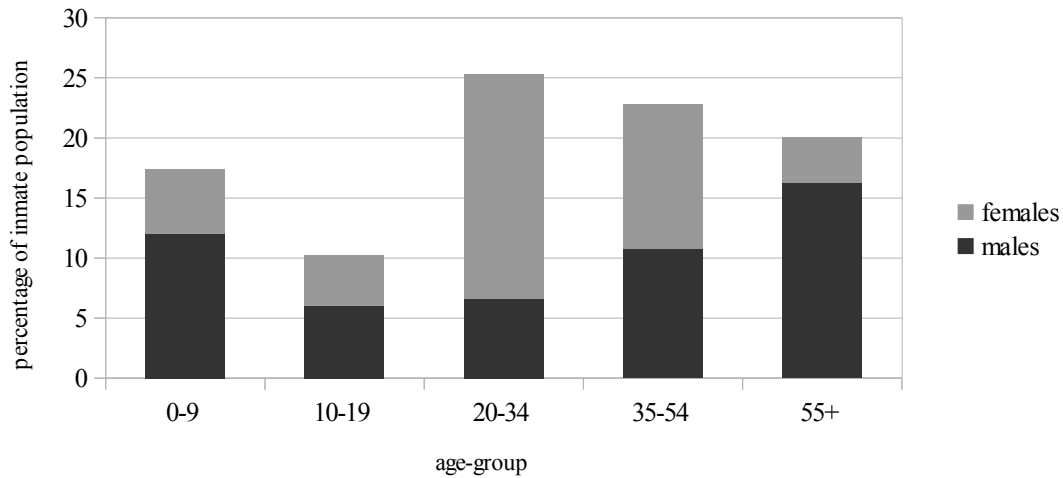


Sources: TNA, HO107/1344/14, and HO107/2317

Holbeck's workhouse inmates were more likely to be aged or very young than those at Carlton. The working-age groups are far less represented in Holbeck than Carlton, while the most notable difference is the prevalence of younger women (many single mothers) in Carlton, a demographic much less pronounced in Holbeck. This suggests young women particularly, and the able-bodied more generally, in the very industrialised urban township of Holbeck were more likely to have other poverty alleviating strategies available to them, and these are discussed in Chapter 7.

⁸⁵ Local studies include, Philip Anderson, 'The Leeds Workhouse under the Old Poor Law: 1726-1834', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Vol. LVI, Part 2 (Leeds, 1979), 75-113; Pamela M. Pennock, 'The Evolution of St James's, 1845-94: Leeds Moral and Industrial Training School, Leeds Workhouse and Leeds Union Infirmary', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Vol. LIX, Part 2 (Leeds, 1984), 1-22; Charlotte Jane Newman, 'The Place of the Pauper: a Historical Archaeology of West Yorkshire Workhouses 1834-1930' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2010).

Figure 5.4 Carlton workhouse population by age-group and gender, 1841 and 1851



Sources: TNA, HO 107/1313/1, and HO 107/2285

Holbeck workhouse inmates, although accommodated therein, might nonetheless be in employment outside of the house, and this was particularly the case regarding children. In 1851 11 year-old William Meek, eldest of a sibling group of orphans (or possibly deserted children) living in the house worked 'in a flax mill', as did 12 year-old Charles Bannister, 9 year-old George Webster and 10 year-old James Brown; while 12 year-old John Appleyard, eldest son of widow Sarah (whose circumstances were discussed earlier in this chapter), worked 'in a woollen mill'. The workhouse's proximity to the mills provided opportunities for children's employment, unlike at the rural, and somewhat isolated Carlton workhouse where at the same time none of its children were designated employment, other than 'scholar pauper'. Adults too might be employed at their own work, while living at the workhouse, although it is evidence of work enforcement which implies this. In May 1844 Thomas Smith and his family were to be admitted to the workhouse, with the proviso that the master of the house ensured that Smith (who reconstitution reveals was a widowed journeyman joiner with four children at home in 1841) was 'fully employed either at his own work or otherwise at the stone heaps the whole six days of the week'. Thomas was only an inmate for three months, and in August was 'dismissed from the workhouse', and had 'his tools' returned to him, so to 'be at liberty to obtain work wherever he can'.⁸⁶ If work at the stone heaps was the price for bed and board for men at the workhouse, women might also be found work: in

⁸⁶ WYASL, LC/TC, 8 May, 14 Aug, 21 Aug 1844.

1843 vestry ordered the purchase of worsted so that 'able bodied females be employed in knitting stockings for the use of paupers in receipt of relief'.⁸⁷ As discussed in Chapter 3, the Chartist select vestry of 1842 attempted to establish employment in spade husbandry for inmates (and outdoor paupers) on land adjoining the workhouse.

At one level the workhouse existed as temporary, emergency accommodation, a hostel perhaps, as in Thomas Smith's case. Such inmates might be assisted in moving out of the house and provided with start-up funding for employment. In 1839 it was resolved 'Dorothy Speight and her daughter leave the house and her daughter be provided with forms, books &c. for the purpose of keeping a school'.⁸⁸ Those moving into the workhouse, for elderly care, might be required to bring their own furniture, to be shared communally or sold as a contribution towards upkeep: in 1844 Willowby Oscliff was to 'be admitted an inmate' on the understanding he bring with him (in what is a useful itemisation of the belongings of working families) his furniture consisting of 'two bedsteads with beds & bedding, three chairs, one arm chair, one table, one box with cloaths, boys new boots, fender & fire irons'.⁸⁹ A journeyman smith aged 64, Willoughby Ostcliffe (which was how he signed his marriage lines) had been widowed in January that year. The workhouse existed, at another level, as a care home, a refuge for those who could no longer care for themselves, and some were not entirely impoverished. In Leeds in 1823 two inmates robbed 'Thomas Owen, a fellow inmate of the Leeds Workhouse, of ... upwards of seven pounds, the accumulation of fifteen years savings'.⁹⁰ Likewise, an inquiry into the death of an inmate of Carlton workhouse, from Chapel Allerton township in Leeds, in 1863, revealed that elderly widower James Suttle had asked 'to be allowed' to go into the workhouse, although his daughter, with whose family he was living 'wished him to remain at home'. James, who reconstitution reveals was a former carrier, 'put a pair of black kid gloves on' before getting in the cab which took him to Carlton, to which he had re-applied ('at his own urgent request') after his daughter had persuaded him to stay on the earlier occasion.⁹¹

87 WYASL, LC/TC, 18 Oct 1843.

88 WYASL, LC/TC, 31 Jul 1839.

89 WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Aug 1844. For an appraisal of the belongings of the labouring poor in Essex see Peter King, 'Pauper Inventories and the Material Lives of the Poor in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in *Chronicling Poverty*, ed. by Hitchcock, King and Sharpe, pp. 155-191.

90 *Leeds Mercury*, 26 Apr 1823.

91 *Leeds Mercury*, 23 Jan and 24 Jan 1863.

Part II Extra-ordinary welfare and other relief mechanisms

Start-up funding, loans, and employment

As Dolly Speight's daughter was provided with materials to establish a school so, in September 1842, 30s. was 'given to James Robinson to enable him to buy a horse'.⁹² James had received regular 5s. weekly casual relief from September 1839, and had also been employed by the township, receiving an additional 5s. 'for work done' in April 1840. Reconstitution shows he was, at the time of his relief, a 40 year-old labourer with five children at home, including mason's apprentice George, who had probably been apprenticed by the town. In December 1841 James's wife died, and had a pauper's burial (the record is annotated 'P'). James was left with the five children, the youngest aged 3. The loan for a horse was successful: in 1851 he, with his youngest three children still at home (the eldest of these, Ann, acting as housekeeper) was a coal dealer/leader and ten years later a carter of spa water. Similarly, in 1844, 12s. was 'advanced to Benjamin Naylor for the purpose of enabling him to commence business', while the following month £3 6s. was paid for an 'ass, Cart & geers for John Mann to enable him to gain a livelihood without being chargeable to the town'.⁹³ In October that year £3 11s. 3d. was paid with a similar object, 'horse, cart and geers' for William Naylor.⁹⁴ However, start-up finance might have less success than experienced by James Robinson, and the following case curtailed the policy of start-up provision for the poor of Holbeck. On 1 May 1844 vestry resolved 'a Horse & Geers for the use of George Sowden' be bought: it was stipulated Sowden 'shall not have power either to Sell or exchange the Horse without leave of the Overseers and Select Vestry'. But a week after being presented with the horse and its driving accoutrements George reneged on the agreement, and it was resolved that:

[I]n consequence of the Overseers & Select Vestry having purchased a Horse and Geers for George Sowden on the 8th day of May for the purpose of Enabling him to gain a respectable Livelihood - And in consequence of his disgraceful Conduct in attempting to defraud the Township by attempting to Sell the Horse & Geers and that the present Board are desirous to remind future Overseers that ... all future grants for similar purposes will be fruitless.⁹⁵

92 WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Sep 1842.

93 WYASL, LC/TC, 15 May and 26 Jun 1844.

94 WYASL, LC/TC, 16 Oct 1844.

95 WYASL, LC/TC, 1 May and 15 May 1844.

Nonetheless, other grants were made that year, as noted above, but there are no recorded cases in following years. While grants for start-up funding were, however limitedly, available, they might also be to establish a home. John Dewhirst had been in receipt of quite substantial casual payments, of between 6s. and 12s. in spring 1840, and had 4s. worth of groceries per week in May 1842. In November 1842 the Chartist select vestry provided 'thirty shillings to buy furniture with in order to put John Dewhirst into house to himself and such furniture to be considered the Town's property'.⁹⁶ Some payments were of a compassionate nature: in September 1839 Mary Mann was made a 10s. allowance to visit Scotland, her birthplace; similarly, in 1844 it was ordered

Caroline Burgess be allowed railway fare and the sum of ten shillings be also allowed in order to go to her husband who belongs to the 53 Regiment who are going to India.⁹⁷

It was also possible to secure township loans. In November 1839 regular casual relief recipient William Fletcher was loaned 20s., while in 1842 the Chartist select vestry loaned John Atha a sum on the following conditions, inserted on a sheet of notepaper into the vestry minute book:

I the undersigned John Atha do agree to pay to the Overseers of Holbeck (in consideration of their advancing to me the sum of £3 8s. 0d) six shillings weekly till such time as the said sum of £3 8s. 0d be repaid the first payment to commence from the date of my son getting into work. And for the due performance of the above agreement on my part I assign over to the said overseers all my furniture consisting of beds, clock, drawers, tables, chairs & c.

The note was not written by John, but he put his own signature to it.⁹⁸

Conversely, paupers might be put to work, stonebreaking and other work on the township's highways and footpaths.⁹⁹ Policies regarding township work schemes were discussed in Chapter 3, most notably the Chartist select vestry's plans for the enclosure, drainage and cultivation of land next to the workhouse, and other vestries' development of these.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ WYASL, LC/TC, 14 Sep 1842.

⁹⁷ WYASL, LC/TC, 24 Jul 1844.

⁹⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 6 Nov 1839, and 3 Nov 1842.

⁹⁹ Such schemes might be paid out of the poor rate or the highways maintenance rate, and supervised by township surveyors. See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 82-83, and Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 9 Jun 1841; 22 and 30 Jun 1842; 14 Sep 1842; 28 Dec 1842; 8 Nov 1843; 17 Jan 1844; and 10 Apr 1844.

Clothing and rent

The extant Holbeck records are select vestry minutes, not overseers' accounts which might itemise every shirt, shift, and piece of calico provided to a township's poor: aggregated expenditure, and that which needed discussion and ratification by select vestry was the records' concern. Relief in clothing and footwear was occasionally specified (shoes for Mark Schofield, Mary Naylor's son Frederick, Joseph Bentley, Widow Appleyard and others; while Mary Ann Brook had 'apparel' to the value of 4s. 9d.), but such incidences were atypical of vestry business.¹⁰¹

Even rental payments, so prominent in Rigton, where 20% of overseer's distributions were towards rent, and where social housing was also provided, only occasionally occur in the minutes: it was generally the overseer's jurisdiction, thus in 1842 'the case of John Bentley's rent be left under [overseer] John Leathley's care'.¹⁰² However it was noted in minutes that 33s. 4d. for Anthony Hall's half-yearly rent was paid in September 1844 and a further 34s. in March 1845, while the large sum of £5 13s. 5d. paid to Widow [Ann] Leaf's landlord for rental arrears needed ratification by vestry.¹⁰³ Rental payments might be declined, however, and in 1846 vestry 'resolved unanimously that the rents due to [landlord] John Tempest from Maria Fieldhouse [£8 17s. 6d.] and Maria Kitchen [£4 8s. 6d.] shall not be paid'.¹⁰⁴ The extant overseer's accounts from Wortley detail rental payments made by the township. Alongside a five guinea payment to landlord J. Brooke for the 'Town's Houses' were five payments, one of 10s., one of 15s., two of one pound each, and one of a guinea. The latter was a double payment (the total paid was two guineas) suggesting the amounts were half-yearly rental payments: 'Widow Teal rent for two half years, one being omitted in [overseer] Dunderdale's time'.¹⁰⁵

101 Significant contributions on the subject of clothing and poor relief include Peter Jones, 'Clothing the Poor in Early-Nineteenth-Century England', *Textile History*, 37:1 (2006), 17-37; Peter D. Jones, "'I cannot keep my place without being deascent': Pauper Letters, Parish Clothing and Pragmatism in the South of England, 1750-1830', *Rural History*, 20:1 (2009), 31-49; Steven King, 'Reclothing the English Poor, 1750-1840', *Textile History*, 33:1 (2002), 37-47; Vivienne Richmond, *Clothing the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2013).

102 WYASL, LC/TC, 14 Dec 1842; for Rigton rental payments see Rawson 'Economies and Strategies', p. 80. As in Rigton, rental payments formed substantial proportions of poor relief expenditure in several North Riding townships, see Hastings, pp. 12-13.

103 WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Sep 1844, 5 Mar 1845, 8 Apr 1846; the circumstances of Ann Leaf's need of relief are discussed earlier in this chapter.

104 WYASL, LC/TC, 9 Dec 1846. The decision may have had politicised undercurrents: the select vestry at the time was Chartist; drysalter John Tempest was a Tory nominee, and sometime township official. 105 LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

Emigration assistance

One major outlay which required discussion and verification by the select vestry was emigration assistance, and after 1842 several Holbeck families were helped in their passage to the New World. If local assistance was available from this time, national funding was harder to come by, certainly in 1840, when two men from the adjacent township of Hunslet, migrants from rural areas, petitioned the Poor Law Commission:

Sirs, ... we are wishful to go to America as a place where we may strive to get an honest living as machinery is taking away our labour, we have only 3 alternatives left either to emigrate or to become chargeable to our parish and a burden to ourselves and society, but understanding that you have the power of assisting persons that are in need, we hope that you will favour us with your assistance, we are wishfull to go to Central America. Our names are Thomas Armstrong and John Jackson. I belong to the parish of Haversham near Kendal in Westmorland and that of my friend is Easinwold in Yorkshire if you would be so kind as to answer this letter by return of post you would much oblige us for we are both in distress and it would much oblige us by your sending us all the information respecting our emigration ... Thomas Armstrong, flax dresser, No 9, Wainwright's Buildings, Hunslet Moor End, near Leeds.

The Poor Law Commission replied that the proper authority to deal with such a request was the Colonial Land Commission, and forwarded the men's letter to that body, who replied '... there are at present no funds at the disposal of Government for assisting emigration to the North American Colonies'.¹⁰⁶

Consequently, the onus was on local poor relief administrations to fund emigration from the poor rate, with the belief that savings from potential relief payments might outweigh the cost. Assisted emigration was a distinct policy of the hungry 1840s, though it had been discussed at a special meeting of Leeds Workhouse Board in 1820: they came to the conclusion that 'it is inexpedient at present to grant relief to any person for the purpose of emigration'.¹⁰⁷ Of Holbeck's emigrants, or potential emigrants, several were families who, although headed by able-bodied men, had been at some time in receipt of relief. The cost of assisting a passage could be considerable. John Orrell, who headed one such family, was offered and received 'twelve pounds ... to enable him to take himself and family to America' in 1844.¹⁰⁸ Reconstitution suggests John, a 36 year-old

¹⁰⁶ TNA, MH12/5225, 11 Apr to 16 Apr 1840. The words of labourers, successful in emigrating earlier, under the Petworth scheme, and writing home, can be heard in Wendy Cameron et al (eds.), *English Immigrant Voices: Labourers' letters from Upper Canada in the 1830s* (Montreal, 2000).

¹⁰⁷ WYASL, LO/M/6, 26 Apr 1820.

¹⁰⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 17 Jun 1844.

cloth dresser, and his wife Nancy had three young children when they emigrated, a fourth, toddler Frances, having been buried as a pauper in January 1842. In 1845 Ann Knapton received 'seven pounds and the expenses ... to Liverpool ... in order to enable her and her children to go to her husband in America.'¹⁰⁹ Ann and her husband William, also a cloth dresser, were only married on Christmas Day 1841, and had two very young children: William would have had gone on ahead to seek work, and sent for his family when he was settled - a commonplace of economic migration. Likewise Mark Foster, who served for nine years in the 68th Foot and was discharged with a Chelsea Pension in July 1840. Mark lost little time returning home to Holbeck and marrying Ellen Myers (and taking on her illegitimate daughter 2 year-old Ann). Like John Orrell, Mark's family was in receipt of grocery relief in 1842, and he sought work in America, leaving Ellen and Ann impoverished and, in March 1844, 'taken into the workhouse until arrangements can be made for them to emigrate to America'.¹¹⁰ Hannah Brooksbank explained her own impoverishment, and hers and her first husband's migration plan in her own words: as noted earlier, Hannah received 1s. 6d. weekly relief for her child when her 'husband went away', she continued 'he died in America - I should have gone to him if he had lived'.¹¹¹ Others from Holbeck who went on ahead to seek work and a new life in America were Benjamin Parker and James Mann: James's wife showed personal agency in declining to cross the Atlantic in winter:

Thos Pearson having waited upon James Mann's wife and family to know if she would go out to America her reply was that at the present inclement season of the year she could not like to embark but would go next spring if the overseers would assist her.¹¹²

Some were expected to contribute to the cost of their passage. Benjamin Parker's wife was only allowed one pound towards the expense, while in 1843 Widow Hullah was promised 'the sum of four pounds provided she can raise a like sum, to convey herself & child to America'. The following year the vestry increased the offer: 'seven pounds be allowed to Widow Hullah to bear her expenses to America'.¹¹³ Unlike the New Poor Law union in Devon which refused assisted passage to the family of emigrated ex-parishioner, George Fewins, in 1851, and who received a splendidly vitriolic response

¹⁰⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 23 Jul 1845.

¹¹⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 20 Mar 1844.

¹¹¹ TNA, MH12/15226, 18 Jan 1843.

¹¹² WYASL, LC/TC, 8 Nov 1843.

¹¹³ WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Sep 1844; 19 Jul 1843 and 29 May 1844.

from George for their refusal, Holbeck was prepared to assist, at varying levels, women and their children in joining their husbands in the New World.¹¹⁴

The expense the vestry was willing to bear varied widely. In 1847 Denis Gawthorpe and family were to be 'sent out to America' at the cost of 'twenty pounds ... but no greater ... on any account whatever'. But two months later the order was rescinded and replaced by a resolution that passage be secured 'as economical as possible' and that

a person be deputed to go to Liverpool in order to make the best possible arrangement and agreement with the captain of a trading vessel, for the passage to New York or any other port that may be thought best and afterwards that the family be sent to Liverpool forthwith.¹¹⁵

However, later that year it was resolved that 'Joseph Drabble and family be taken out to America as soon as convenient', and the following March 'thirty three pounds eighteen shillings and three pence' was paid 'for removing Joseph Drabble and family consisting of seven persons to Liverpool in order that they might embark'.¹¹⁶

By 1851 80% of all British emigrants went to the USA.¹¹⁷ All the later known Holbeck assisted passages during the 1840s were to America. But the first, initially mooted in late 1842, and coming to fruition a year later, was William Heaton and family's passage to Australia. A select vestryman was detailed to see them 'safely on board' the 'Elizabeth ... and pay all expenses attendant thereon'. Food and lodging during three days at Liverpool before boarding were paid for; likewise, necessary items 'required by the Captain of the ship according to custom of emigrants who go to South Australia'. Consequently a bill of £24 7s. 3½d. was paid 'for fitting out William Heaton & family with the requisite apparel & c. & previous to going out to settle in Australia'.¹¹⁸ William and his family had been in receipt of grocery relief during 1842, and the Chartist select vestry deemed the expense of freeing ratepayers from continued claims on poor relief resources (and giving a family the chance of a better livelihood abroad) worth the cost of kitting a family out for, and paying their passage to, a new life in a new land.

114 For George Fewins' letter see Alexander Murdoch, *British Emigration 1603-1914* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 107.

115 WYASL, LC/TC, 19 May and 15 Jul 1847.

116 WYASL, LC/TC, 24 Nov 1847 and 15 Mar 1848.

117 Murdoch, *British Emigration*, p. 107.

118 WYASL, LC/TC, 2 Nov 1842; 20 Sep, 4 Oct 1843 and 24 Jan 1844.

Emigration was popularised in mass circulation newspapers like the Leeds-based *Northern Star*, wherein advertisements for publications promoting emigration were placed. One issue in 1843 carried an advertisement for 'The Colonization Circular', issued 'by Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners' and had 'information on emigration, sale of waste lands, rates of wages, prices of clothing, provisions & c., population of North America and Australia, emigration returns & c.' The same page advertised Grimshaw of Liverpool's shipping company to whom 'persons about to emigrate' might write 'a letter, which will be immediately answered, the exact day of sailing and the amount of passage money told them'; and promoted a publication entitled '*An Address to the Labouring Classes on their present and future Prospects* by O.W. Brownson of America', price 2d.¹¹⁹

Pauper funerals

Between 1839 and 1841 burials at Holbeck St Matthew's paid for by the township were annotated to the effect, by 'town funeral', 'pauper', or simply 'P'.¹²⁰ During January to July 1839 and throughout 1840, between 6 and 7% of burials were paid for by the town, rising to 12% in 1841, when thirty-nine of 322 were pauper funerals.¹²¹ A not dissimilar proportion is evident in Holbeck's adjacent industrialised township, Hunslet, in the 1820s: in 1825 the proportion of pauper burials was 6%, rising to 10% in 1826, peaking at 17% in 1827 before falling to 13% in 1828 and 12% in 1829, when twenty-six of 226 burials were paid for by the town.¹²² Urban growth meant Holbeck's burial ground was regularly enlarged. Leeds' parish burial grounds were notoriously overcrowded, resulting in two of the country's first municipal burial grounds, one on Beckett Street in the outskirts of Leeds Township which opened in 1845, and one in Hunslet.¹²³ Holbeck extended its burial ground at St Matthew's in 1809 and 1819, and laid out an additional ground, with a connecting 'causeway' in 1832.¹²⁴ In 1854 a vestry meeting ratified the 'closing of the Churchyard for Interments on & after the 1st July 1855' (although burials

¹¹⁹ *Northern Star*, 20 May 1843.

¹²⁰ This last annotation redolent of the badges paupers were required to wear in some areas up to the end of the eighteenth century: S. Webb and B. Webb, *English Local Government*, p. 151; Steve Hindle, *On the Parish?: the micro-politics of poor relief in rural England* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 433-445.

¹²¹ Based on WYASL, RDP42/12. Records for the latter part of 1839 were less than rigorously kept.

¹²² Based on WYASL, RDP44/1-2, Hunslet St Mary burial register.

¹²³ For a graphic account of the macabre state of Leeds parish churchyard burial ground in the 1840s see Robert Baker's evidence before the Burial Grounds Committee, in Sylvia M. Barnard, *To Prove I'm not Forgotten: living and dying in a Victorian city*, Revised Edition (Stroud, 2009), pp. 16-17.

¹²⁴ WYASL, RDP42/89, 7 Dec 1809, 17 Dec 1818, and 13 Jan 1832.

continued in the additional ground) and met to establish 'the best means of procuring a New Burial Ground for the use of the Township'. In 1857 a cemetery away from the church began to be laid out 'on Beeston Hill within this Township'.¹²⁵

The recording of pauper burials at St Matthew's between 1839 and 1841 approximates to the detailing of relief payments in the select vestry minute book, June 1839 to May 1840, and 1842, and while several pauper burials might be collated with families who had near-concurrent relief, many might not. This suggests that, although day-to-day existence might be just about accomplished without recourse to the overseer, the extra, substantial, cost of a funeral, for those who did not belong to a friendly society or burial club, might not.¹²⁶

The cost of a pauper funeral varied, not least by size of coffin: in 1844 the township paid 18s. for a coffin to be made for 40 year-old Mary Summersgill, as they had for Robert West five years earlier; for toddlers Emma Sowden and James Henry Lowe the cost was just 5s. each.¹²⁷ In 1840 Holbeck clamped down, insisting

that in future all the townships for which the overseers of Holbeck pay the poor shall pay for the coffins in case of death - if objected to by the townships they the overseers of Holbeck will make no more advances for such townships.¹²⁸

Burial dues had to be paid to the church: the amount was stipulated in an order of March 1843, 'two shillings and 7d be paid for funeral expenses, for every pauper interred in the burial ground at Saint Matthews church, the said dues to include grave & c.'. ¹²⁹ In the new municipal Burial Grounds the fees were rather higher: for the township of Leeds 'Single Interments in Open Graves, for Adults and Children interred at the expense of the Township in ground No. 5' cost 6s. Here the pauper burials were segregated, the next least expensive section of the burial ground, 'open graves in ground No. 4', cost 8s. per burial.¹³⁰ The cost of officiating at a poor funeral might be ascertained by a curate's

¹²⁵ WYASL, RDP42/89, 2 Sep 1854, 30 Nov 1854, and 31 Jan 1857.

¹²⁶ Burial clubs provided insurance for this major expense, for those who could not afford full friendly society membership: see Simon Cordery, *British Friendly Societies, 1750-1914* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 82-83. By the late nineteenth century (and the consolidation of the New Poor Law) 'investment in burial insurance' was widespread, Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 138.

¹²⁷ WYASL, LC/TC, 25 Sep 1844, and 5 Feb 1840.

¹²⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 19 Aug 1840.

¹²⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 23 Feb 1842.

¹³⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 7 Sep 1844.

remarks in Armley (another Leeds Borough township south of the river) in the 1820s: 'received of Jas. Ellis [Armley overseer] £1 0.7. being my own dues and the Vicar's for poor funerals up to the 6th July 1825, from my coming to Armley ... C. Clapham [Curate].' Clapham came to Armley in January 1822, and during that time eleven burials were annotated 'Poor' or 'P', at least nine of which were officiated at by Clapham.¹³¹ A curate's fee was probably less than the vicar's, so the charge to the overseer might be calculated between 1s. 8½d. and 2s. 3½d. per burial. After the Registration Act of 1836 a further cost to townships accrued, as the following payment in Holbeck in 1844 illustrates: 'the sum of eleven pounds two shillings be paid to John Knowles Heaps (for registering 144 births and 78 deaths ... at 1/- each)'.¹³² Shrouds were also provided: in 1844 weaver James Berry was paid £1 18s. 10d. in June, and £1 18s. 2d. in September, although it is not known how many shrouds he made.¹³³

In Wortley, the township between Armley and Holbeck, in 1833, 20s. was paid for Widow Sutcliff's funeral in Swillington, to the east of Leeds, and 15s. for John Jackson's in Holbeck. However, in rural Rigton Thomas Simpson's funeral cost 45s., in this township the minimum cost for an adult's funeral was 40s.,¹³⁴ however, the parish church at Kirkby Overblow was almost five miles from Rigton village by road, and lengthy transport of the body, a cortège of some description, would need to be additionally paid for. Other payments might be made too, by generous overseers, in more generous times perhaps: Rigton's Martha Bradley's funeral in 1825 was a relatively lavish affair, and paid out of the poor rate, the overseer expending 30s. for a coffin, along with 5s. 6d. burial fees, 8s. 10d. (combined) for a shroud and for cheese, £1 9s. 5½d. in other groceries and 7s. for 4 gallons of ale; the overseer also paid himself 3s. for attending the funeral, at a total cost of over £4.¹³⁵ The following year long-term Rigton township pensioner William Webster's wife Mary died, and her funeral was also paid for by the town: Mary's coffin cost 23s. 6d., church fees were 5s., her 'shroud & c.' came to 7s. 4d., while groceries for the funeral meal amounted to 15s. 8d., with an additional 7s. 7d. for butter and ale. Again the overseer paid himself for attending, and that along with the toll bar cost added another 3s. 8d. to the total bill to the ratepayer of

131 WYASL, RDP4/36, Armley St Bartholomew burial register.

132 WYASL, LC/TC, 24 Apr 1844.

133 WYASL, LC/TC, 26 Jun 1844 and 25 Sep 1844.

134 See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 76 and 83.

135 HCL, Rigton Town's Book, 1825.

£3 2s. 9d.¹³⁶ But these examples are exceptional, even by Rigton's more generous standards of funeral provision for its poor.¹³⁷ Such standards imply that closer-knit communities might be prepared to spend more on funerals than more anonymous urban communities - though they spent no more on their poor when they were alive.

While Holbeck's poor may not have had the funerals that some in a small rural community like Rigton enjoyed, there is little evidence to suggest they were the wretched and feared 'pauper funerals' of literature - at least no more so than any of the labouring poor, in that they went to meet their maker enclosed in shrouds and coffins, interred in the consecrated ground of their community chapel (often the same ground their loved ones and ancestors were interred in), and attended by the comforting words of the burial service.

Elizabeth Hurren and Steve King have drawn attention to the resounding trope of the fear and degradation of a pauper funeral, the emphasis, in its historiography, upon 'dread and deprivation', but highlight that 'seldom in the current literature do we hear [the poor's] voices or feel the immediacy of their experiences'.¹³⁸ They suggest the poor's experience might, certainly at the time of the chronology of this thesis, be other than the condemning negative pictures drawn without recourse to the poor's experiential 'immediacy' and cite a case of a member of the Leeds out-poor as an example. Jane Higginson, in her eighties and living in Leeds in the late 1830s, was in receipt of relief from her settled township, Hulme in Lancashire. In negotiation with Leeds vicar William Hudswell, Hulme's overseer agreed to pay for Jane's funeral costs: Hudswell assured the overseer she would be 'buried proper and well in our churchyard' and he would send the overseer the bill: that bill came to £3 17s. and included 'a shroud, coffin with brass fittings and entertainment for the neighbours'.¹³⁹ This amount is redolent of Martha Bradley and Mary Webster's funerals in Rigton a decade or so earlier. However, William Hudswell ministered at George Street Chapel, an Independent (Congregationalist) establishment,¹⁴⁰ and as such was interceding on behalf of a

136 Yorkshire Archaeological Society [hereafter YAS], MS1010/6, Disbursement Book of Thomas Kent, Rigton Overseer, [1825-]1826.

137 The average cost of a burial in both Campton and Shefford during the 1820s was £1 7s. 3d., Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 41.

138 Elizabeth Hurren and Steve King, "'Begging for a burial': form, function and conflict in nineteenth-century pauper burial", *Social History*, 3:30 (2005), 321-341 (p. 323).

139 Hurren and King, p. 328.

140 Parsons, 1834, Vol. II, p. 28.

congregation member of a more elite non-conformist sect, with a small and exclusive burial ground, in comparison with those of the established church. In this case it was Jane's status as a Congregationalist, rather than a pauper, which determined the quality of her funeral.¹⁴¹

Nonetheless, there is little evidence from research into this thesis that pauper funerals were significantly different from those of non township-funded funerals of the labouring poor, nor any to suggest the supposed fear and degradation which cuts such a familiar literary figure. However, at various times, different categories of the poor might have been treated differently: in 1821 the Leeds Board resolved that overseers should 'invariably refuse application for coffins for bastard children'.¹⁴²

Medical relief

Community medical relief (in addition to the institutional care discussed earlier) was available. It was common in Leeds for surgeons to begin their careers as township surgeons administering to the poor. One such was eminent Leeds Infirmary surgeon Samuel Smith, who, giving evidence before the Sadler Committee, stated he was appointed 'parish surgeon of Leeds, the duties of which situation I filled for some time'.¹⁴³ Other celebrated Leeds Infirmary surgeons Joseph Prince Garlick and pioneer of occupational health Charles Turner Thackrah, were also elected and performed the role of parish surgeons.¹⁴⁴ In Leeds in the early 1830s there were:

Two surgeons appointed ... at a salary of fifty guineas each, besides 5s for each labour ... They have each ten guineas for attending Irish and Scotch paupers, and those whose settlements are not known.¹⁴⁵

The system applied in Holbeck too: a surgeon was appointed annually 'at a salary of forty two pounds per annum'. Forty guineas a year, the standard payment until 1847, represented a small proportion of relief spending: cash relief payments could be considerably more than this amount each week. Hilary Marland has concluded that

¹⁴¹ For other examples of Hudswell's interventions on Jane Higginson's behalf see King, 'Managing the Distance Dimensions of Poor Relief'.

¹⁴² WYASL, LO/M/6, 21 Feb 1821.

¹⁴³ *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 496.

¹⁴⁴ WYASL, LO/M/6, Jan 1819, Jan 1820, and Jan 1823. Smith and Thackrah were joint Leeds Township surgeons in 1819.

¹⁴⁵ *PP* 1834 (44), Appendix A, p. 782.

community medical relief spending under both the Old and New Poor Laws in Huddersfield and Wakefield was low, but also, however, that under the Old Poor Law medical relief was not without humanity and an awareness of the poor's needs.¹⁴⁶ Both might be said for Holbeck in the 1840s. As noted in Tweedy's report, surgeons were paid additional fees for midwifery, 'the sum of seven shillings and sixpence be allowed for every case of midwifery performed to the recipients of Holbeck', and a similar amount 'to attend the poor belonging to the out townships on the condition as before acted upon that is at 7/6d each case'.¹⁴⁷ The dynamics between surgeons' contracts and payment per item of service has been explored by Samantha Williams, who highlights a growing emphasis on contractual stipends during the first part of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁸ There may have been an urbanising context to differences, as well as a temporal one. While urban Leeds and Holbeck, with larger populations to serve, paid its surgeons a contracted salary, small rural Rigton still paid its surgeons by bill.¹⁴⁹

In Rigton in the 1820s and 1830s, women in potentially complicated childbirth might be assisted by midwife or wise-woman Ann Wilkinson, at the town's expense.¹⁵⁰ A decade or two later, women in Holbeck took up the opportunity of medical attention at their confinements: in the last quarter of 1846 the surgeon was paid for attending eleven cases of midwifery, and in the following quarter a further eight.¹⁵¹ Holbeck managed with just one nominated surgeon until 1847; however the workload was such that he might delegate cases to 'a proper person who shall be duly qualified to attend on all such occasions'.¹⁵² Earlier in the century Leeds vestry resolved that poor women who desired the medical attention of the town's surgeon had options if he was not available:

whenever the town's surgeon cannot personally attend when called for by any pauper woman in labour belonging to this township, such woman shall have the power forthwith to decide whether she will have for her attendant in childbirth the surgeon's assistant or a midwife chosen by herself. The usual allowance of 5/- to be equally divided between the midwife and the surgeon, the latter of whom must visit and if necessary, supply the patient with medicine in the same way as if he had delivered her himself.¹⁵³

146 Marland, *Medicine and society in Wakefield and Huddersfield*, pp. 88-89.

147 WYASL, LC/TC, 12 Jun 1839, 30 Apr 1845, and 18 Feb 1846.

148 Samantha Williams, 'Practitioners' Income and Provision for the Poor: Parish Doctors in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Social History of Medicine*, 18:2 (2005), 159-186.

149 HCL, Rigton Book, 1826-1861.

150 Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 81.

151 WYASL, LC/TC, 30 Dec 1846 and 21 Apr 1847.

152 WYASL, LC/TC, 30 Apr 1845.

153 WYASL, LO/M/6, 15 Dec 1819.

Richard Oastler's father Robert, a trustee of the Leeds Board, brought charges of midwifery incompetence against Thackrah's assistants, and proposed that 'women be sent at the town's expense to Edinburgh to learn midwifery'. The Board rejected the expense however, it being 'foreign to the purpose for which the poor rate is levied'.¹⁵⁴

The surgeon 'or his deputy' was required to attend Holbeck's weekly 'Board' (select vestry) meetings.¹⁵⁵ In 1847 it was resolved that for the purpose of medical relief Holbeck 'be divided into two districts' and joint surgeons appointed. Salaries had been increased to sixty guineas per annum, but this was now an inclusive payment, surgeons' 'duties to be performed will be to attend upon all recipients in the Township, and all cases of midwifery, all cases resident in the Town who belong to Out Townships'. The change in payment and division of roles caused controversy, and long-standing surgeon Thomas Dobson resigned: his replacement Thomas Booth, and co-surgeon William Scott also then 'refused to fill the duties of surgeons to the overseers of the poor'. A settlement was reached when surgeons' salaries were increased to seventy guineas in April 1848.¹⁵⁶

Much treatment was still humoral. As noted earlier, Holbeck town's surgeons reported on patients before admission to the WRPLA, and mental illness was treated humorally: in 1844 Olive Dixon was treated by 'blisters & c.' prior to admission, while in 1849 Thomas Dobson had placed Elizabeth Chadwick on 'the purgative plan'.¹⁵⁷ Self-medication by local families also took the form of purging. Leeds woollen weaver Joshua Drake had a daughter working at Benyon's flax mill in Holbeck: flax mills were notorious for their dusty conditions, as he told the Sadler Committee, the 'dust choked her', and she came out of the mill 'covered with dust and flyings of tow'. On the 'advice of the people that had children working at the flax-mills' he gave his daughter a weekly 'vomit', and when asked if this was 'by the advice of any medical man' he replied:

No; but it is a practice that is continued now. I have a brother-in-law now that has a child working at it, ... they give her a sort of vomit of salts once a week, to relieve the stomach.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ WYASL, LO/M/6, 17 Nov 1819.

¹⁵⁵ WYASL, LC/TC, 22 Apr 1846 and 30 Apr 1845.

¹⁵⁶ WYASL, LC/TC, 21 Apr 1847, 16 Jun 1847, and 19 Apr 1848.

¹⁵⁷ WYAS, C85/3/6/8/p.446 and C85/3/6/10/p.178.

¹⁵⁸ *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 42.

Bleeding was also still a prominent form of treatment, and leeches were extensively used. In 1842 four suppliers submitted tenders for providing the township's leeches, and payment for their use was a recurring theme: in 1847 surgeon R.G. Horton was paid £3 15s. 6d. 'for 151 leeches at 6d each' used in one quarter, and in July 1845 seven recipients of the treatment were named, 'one pound and seven shillings' was paid 'for 47 leeches for Hall, Peel, Speight, Healy, Whatmore, Longfellow & Watson'.¹⁵⁹ Six or seven leeches per patient then, it seems, would do the trick.

On the plus side, wine might also be given patients as vestry noted in 1839 '½ pint of sherry wine to be given as occasion may require to sick paupers under the direction of the Town's surgeon'; in 1844 'the sum of four pounds four shillings' was paid 'to Wm Harrison & Sons for wine to be used for the sick poor belonging to the township', while an order the following year stipulated 'one dozen Old Red Port Wine for the use of the sick poor' be bought. One beneficiary in 1839 was Calbeck Atha's wife, who when ill, alongside cash relief, received a 'half pint sherry wine' in consecutive weeks.¹⁶⁰

If an emphasis on humoral treatment was retained, there was also a burgeoning acknowledgement of environmental cause of illness apparent in Holbeck. The following resolution of the Chartist select vestry of 1845 was proposed and seconded:

the surgeon to this township be requested to visit the residences of all the Poor residing in Holbeck who receive Pay from this Board & report the condition of their Dwellings & Neighbourhood as regards their health and state such remedies as he thinks applicable to the case & that the overseers furnish him with a list of the recipients and their addresses.¹⁶¹

The labouring poor might have medical relief without receiving other forms of welfare; for example, the Wade family of Rigton: here the proportion of labourers in receipt of cash relief was 68%, but this figure rose to 82% if medical relief was included.¹⁶² Likewise in Holbeck Hannah Brooksbank explained 'I never got relief since I married Brooksbank except the Town's Doctor when little girl had inflammation. It was the Holbeck Doctor I got then'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 20 May 1842, 30 Dec 1846, and 9 Jul 1845.

¹⁶⁰ WYASL, LC/TC 7 Aug 1844, 22 Oct 1845, and 11 and 18 Sep 1839.

¹⁶¹ WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Jun 1845.

¹⁶² Rawson 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 74 and 86.

¹⁶³ TNA, MH12/15226, 18 Jan 1843.

Smallpox vaccination

The Vaccination Act of 1840, which facilitated the optional inoculation of children against smallpox, was adopted in Holbeck, and in July 1842 the Chartist select vestry appointed surgeon Thomas Dobson 'to fill the office of vaccinator for the township of Holbeck at one shilling per head for each successful case'. It was in this year, and at the same charge, the inoculation programme began in Rigton, and thirty-six children were vaccinated.¹⁶⁴ Poor children had benefited from very local smallpox immunisation earlier: in 1823 the Leeds Board ordered 'children in the [work]house be inoculated'.¹⁶⁵ In Holbeck sixty-seven successful cases were vaccinated by Dobson by May 1843, followed by a further 117 by January 1844, and another 124 before April that year. By early 1845 the vestry deemed it 'expedient to appoint an additional vaccinator which would be a great benefit to the poor of this township and that Mr R.G. Horton surgeon be recommended'. Consequently by 1846 both Dobson and Horton were vaccinating children. Dobson did the majority: in late 1846 he was paid for 115 vaccinations, to Horton's forty-three, and in the following April for 117 to Horton's thirty-eight.¹⁶⁶

As discussed in Chapter 3, the appointment of Dobson as vaccinator was met with disquiet by Holbeck curate Thomas Roper, who wrote to the Poor Law Commissioners. The correspondence reveals concerns about the local prevalence of smallpox, and the problems of inoculation against it. Roper thought a single vaccinator inadequate for inoculating 'a populous township containing 16,000 inhabitants' and sought to add 'the names of the other two resident medical men ... on the list of vaccinators to Holbeck'.¹⁶⁷ In reply the Commissioners recognised 'the large mortality from Small Pox which has occurred in Leeds and the surrounding Townships during the last year', and specifically that the disease was 'very recently prevalent in Holbeck'.¹⁶⁸ The township's registrar (Radical voter, and later select vestry nominee), John Knowles Heaps, recalling a conversation with Dobson, cited cases of smallpox in Holbeck, 'that have proved fatal from want of food', as well as parents being unable to 'afford to pay for a surgeon'. This correspondence took place in the depth of the economic depression, in August 1842, with a backdrop of civil unrest.¹⁶⁹ Dobson, via the medium of Heaps' letter, believed

¹⁶⁴ WYASL, LC/TC, 20 Jul 1842, and Rawson 'Economies and Strategies', p. 81.

¹⁶⁵ WYASL, LO/M/6, 26 Feb 1823.

¹⁶⁶ WYASL, LC/TC, 17 May 1843, 31 Jan 1844, and 24 Apr 1844; 30 Dec 1846.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, MH12/15225, 29 Jul 1842.

¹⁶⁸ TNA, MH12/15225, 12 Aug 1842.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, MH12/15225, 25 Aug 1842, and see Chapter 3.

'these causes have operated to facilitate death' from smallpox and measles, but added that some cases, 'particularly of measles, were fatal in some instances, last winter, from the want of sufficient clothing and fire, and especially bedding'. Indeed, Heaps recalled:

Mr Dobson also stated that the cholera was very prevalent just now, and that in many instances it was produced by the watery and insubstantial food the poor were compelled to subsist upon at the present time.¹⁷⁰

In further correspondence Roper cited cases illustrating the supposed inadequacy of Holbeck's inoculation programme, particularly in regard to the child of 'a poor woman named Whatmore'. Recently widowed Mary Whatmore was left 'with 2 infant children' and was 'at the very point of being confined of the third'. Roper reported a conversation he had with the woman, recounting that she stated:

[T]hat on the Thursday week, she had taken her little boy to Mr Dobson's house to have him vaccinated: that she found eleven other women who had also brought their children for the same purpose: that after vaccinating 2 out of the 12 children Mr Dobson's wife [said] that 'he could do no more of them until the following Thursday'. Ten of the women then withdrew with their children, and amongst them was this woman Whatmore:- but before the next Thursday her little boy had taken the Small Pox (which is now rather prevalent here) and is laid dangerously ill.¹⁷¹

The overseers for the Chartist select vestry also corresponded with the Poor Law Commission, noting that from the appointment of the vaccinator on 20 July 'during the first few weeks an extraordinary number of cases were presented for vaccination' while by the time of their writing (24 August) 'the number of applications has materially diminished': they considered 'that the duties of vaccinator are as efficiently performed by our medical officer as would be the case were an additional appointment made'. They gave an account of the process of vaccination in the township, stating that Dobson

affords every facility to those desirous of availing themselves of his services, by visiting them at their own homes, explaining the advantages of vaccination & otherwise giving it every possible publicity.

Highlighting that 'great distress at present prevails' and that the consequent poverty was 'beyond our power to relieve' they reassured the Commission 'we afford suitable relief as far as we can judge, in all cases'. They then gave their own version, and Dobson's explanation, in the Whatmore case. This affords an insight into early mass inoculation practice:

¹⁷⁰ TNA, MH12/15225, 25 Aug 1842.

¹⁷¹ TNA, MH12/15225, 20 Aug 1842.

Widow Whatmore being invited by our vaccinator with a few other women to attend ... at his surgery, at the time mentioned by you, for the purpose of having her child vaccinated, along with the others (he expecting two children to be there from whom he should procure sufficient vaccine matter to operate upon the whole) he found that the heads of the pox had been accidentally knocked off, which thus deprived him the opportunity of operating upon them then, he therefore requested their attendance the following week; when he should be provided with a sufficient quantity of the matter, at which time they all attended, & were successfully treated, with the exception of Whatmore's child, who in the meantime had taken a mild form of small pox, during which our vaccinator was in attendance upon Widow Whatmore during confinement, & her child's case of small pox was so mild as not to require medical care.¹⁷²

Unlike Roper, but like Dobson, Registrar Heaps accentuated poverty, rather than understaffing of the inoculation programme, as increasing susceptibility to smallpox: he recounted 'particulars ... furnished by the mother' of a child who died from the disease. This account speaks of the proximity to poverty and the living conditions of the working poor of Holbeck, especially that of migrants to the township:

My daughter Jane Oates was 5 years old when she died - had no doctor, dare not fetch one as I did not know how to pay him. She was ill about 17 days. Used to make her porridge [from] flour & water, or oatmeal & water; think it goes further than bread or any thing of that kind: sometimes made her tea, or gave her a little milk; shambles [butcher's] meat if I could have got it for her don't know she could have eaten. My husband has only had about 5 days work during the last month, the week my daughter died he had only about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a day, before this time he earned 10/- or 12/- per week, he is now from home seeking employment. We belong to Bramham, had parish relief when my daughter died, my husband when she was dead applied and got 10/-. I went last week and obtained 5/-. We were once removed to our parish about a year. We are six of family, myself, husband, and 4 children, the oldest is 13 years of age, the youngest is 10 months, two of the children work and earn together 4/5½ pr week, they were earning this amnt. when my daughter died.¹⁷³

Reconstitution develops this experiential account. Jane was baptised at her parish church in Spofforth in 1837; the family had migrated to Holbeck by 1841, and Arthur, Jane's father, worked as a labourer. Jane was buried at Holbeck St Matthew in July 1842; the account Heaps gave to the Poor Law Commission was a very recent one. The two children Margaret described as working (and bringing in the most regular earnings) were girls, Mary and Harriet. Both girls married young, in 1849 aged 17 (although Mary was probably a year or two older). Early marriage of young women in poverty was a common alleviation strategy for themselves and their parents.¹⁷⁴ Close family connection between the sisters is highlighted by newly-married Mary and her husband witnessing Harriet's marriage. In 1848 Margaret Oates had another daughter, who she

¹⁷² TNA, MH12/15225, 26 Aug 1842.

¹⁷³ TNA, MH12/15225, 25 Aug 1842.

¹⁷⁴ For children's contributions to Holbeck family economies, and marriage strategies, see Chapter 7.

also called Jane.

Whilst just too late to save Jane Oates, the inoculation programme initiated in the 1840s, and made compulsory in 1853, saved countless lives: the last serious smallpox epidemic in Britain was in 1871-82, and the disease was eradicated worldwide in 1979.¹⁷⁵ The inoculation of children against the disease was administered at a local level, by township surgeons, appointed by the vestry and paid out of the township poor rate. The beginnings of systematised smallpox eradication had a context of local-level poor relief.

Parish apprenticing

The apprenticing of orphans, or children whose parents could not afford apprenticeship fees, was a central motif of the Old Poor Law. The Webbs succinctly categorised the system during 'the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries':

Parish apprenticeship ... may be roughly divided into three kinds: the binding of an individual child to a master who, in consideration of a money premium, voluntarily undertook its maintenance and education; the ceding of children in batches to manufacturers requiring child-labour in the new factories; and the allotment of the parish children among the ratepayers of the parish, who were compelled either to accept them as employees or pay a fine'.¹⁷⁶

Several urban parishes, particularly metropolitan ones, offloaded pauper children into textile mills (notably in the cotton sector). Leeds townships did not place their pauper children en masse in the mills, nor did their millowners employ parish apprentices from other areas.¹⁷⁷ Katrina Honeyman assessed Leeds overseers as amongst the 'least negligent' and 'most protective' in their treatment of town's apprentices.¹⁷⁸ Citing Philip Anderson, she argued the 'diverse and dynamic structure of the Leeds economy' allowed Leeds to apprentice its poor children, not into the mills, but 'to "respectable" trades'.¹⁷⁹

Such optimism is moot. While Bramley Township did, with some success, place its

¹⁷⁵ Juliet Gardiner and Neil Wenborn (eds.), *The History Today Companion to British History* (London, 1995), p. 774.

¹⁷⁶ S. Webb and B. Webb, *English Local Government*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁷⁷ See Rawson, 'Parish Apprentices'.

¹⁷⁸ Katrina Honeyman, *Child Workers in England, 1780-1820: Parish Apprentices and the Making of the Early Industrial Labour Force* (Farnham, 2007), p. 222.

¹⁷⁹ Katrina Honeyman, 'The Poor Law, the Parish Apprentice, and the Textile Industries in the North of England, 1780-1830', *Northern History*, 44:2 (2007), 115-40 (p. 122); and see Anderson, 'The Leeds Workhouse'.

pauper children into trades (especially successful were those placed in Bramley's burgeoning stone-working industry), children placed by Leeds overseers were of the Webbs' third kind. They became serial 'apprentices', passed around ratepayers, or procuring fines of £10 per refusal for the parish coffers. Indeed, in an oft-quoted statement, Poor Law Commissioner John Tweedy argued '[t]he power of binding parish apprentices, upon an unwilling rate-payer, is very capriciously exercised' and to bolster his argument noted in 'Leeds, one thousand pounds has been raised' by fines from ratepayers declining to host a parish apprentice 'within the year'.¹⁸⁰ Tweedy was a little anachronistic in his enthusiasm to denigrate the workings of the Old Poor Law: the year he cited was 1821, the peak of such fines; revenue from this source had halved to £530 in the year 1831-32. Reconstitution reveals that, unlike the limited success enjoyed by Bramley's pauper children, Leeds township apprentices of the 1820s rarely succeeded, and very few indeed continued in their placed trades: many entered into crime, suffered early death, or returned to the workhouse.

Both boys and girls might be placed as parish apprentices, although the majority were boys: in Leeds township between 1819 and 1824, 72% were male, and in Bramley between 1819 and 1832, 75% were. The median age for placement in both townships was 11, although girls tended to be placed slightly younger than boys.¹⁸¹ In Wortley, in 1833, four children were put out 'to be apprentice', three boys and one girl: two of them, including the girl, were aged 10, one aged 12, the other 13.¹⁸²

Holbeck's parish apprentices were like Leeds', of the Webbs' third category. The allocation of apprentices to ratepayers was undertaken (or recorded in the vestry minute book) with varying fervour during the early 1840s. The apprenticeship system had been in decline from at least the beginnings of industrialisation; the predominance of the political economy of laissez-faire and the growth of industrial capital heralded the repeal of Statute of Artificers in 1814 which ratified increasing non-observance of the requisites of formal apprenticeship.¹⁸³ The apprenticing of pauper children into trades

¹⁸⁰ *PP* 1834 (44), p.720A; and quoted, for example, in Hugh Cunningham, 'The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England, c. 1680-1851', *Past and Present*, 126 (1990), 115-50 (p. 132); and Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London, 1996), p. 86.

¹⁸¹ Rawson, 'Parish Apprentices', pp. 22, 45, and 14.

¹⁸² LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

¹⁸³ *PP* 1813-14 (187) *Bill to repeal part of Act containing Orders for Artificers, Labourers, Servants of Husbandry, and Apprentices*. And see Lane, *Apprenticeship*, pp. 245-247; and Olive Jocelyn Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: a history* (New York, 1912), pp. 240-247.

was already an anachronism, and the parish apprenticeship system was in decline in parallel with that of parental apprenticing. In Leeds Township, although many of their parish apprentices were from the workhouse, the training and accommodation of pauper children became more systematically institutionalised upon the opening of the purpose-built Moral and Industrial Training School on Beckett Street in 1848.¹⁸⁴

But there were exceptions. Only three of the children to be apprenticed are named in Holbeck vestry minutes, and unlike in Bramley, no apprenticeship register survives. Two very late examples, however, suggest that the rump of an apprenticeship system might still show some success. In 1844 vestry noted that:

Joseph Speight be put apprentice to George Booth cordwainer and that the sum of one pound be given also one suit of cloaths with [illegible] and a parish indenture ... [T]hat Peter Robinson be put apprentice to David Hartley tailor and that cloth be found for one suit of cloaths at present also a parish indenture and that cloth shall also be found for a second suit of cloaths at some future period.¹⁸⁵

The provision of clothes to go with the placement is indicative of a serious commitment to successfully place these two boys, and is redolent of the boarding out of poor children into service in rural areas.¹⁸⁶ Reconstitution reveals both Joseph and Peter continued in adulthood in the trades they were placed in. In 1851 Peter was a 22 year-old married tailor living in Holbeck, while Joseph was a 24 year-old married cordwainer living in Leeds. Both had married young (18 and 19 respectively) and their brides were unusually youthful (both 16). The two boys, perhaps having grown up in poverty together, may have remained close: Joseph witnessed Peter's marriage in 1847. Their ages at the census indicate they were 15 and 17 when apprenticed (well above the average ages indicated earlier) and married prior to completion of any formal seven-year service, and before becoming 21, in fact just two and a half years after their placements. Although they learned a trade, their 'apprenticeships' were more akin to short training courses. Similarly, in Leeds in 1824, workhouse inmate John Dawson was, aged 18, 'hired to a master to be taught tailoring' for four years, at the paltry wages of '2s per week first year, 3s, 4s, and 5s last year'.¹⁸⁷ Nonetheless, reconstitution confirms that John made a living, with the help of his wife and daughter as 'assistant

¹⁸⁴ Still extant and part of St James's Hospital: built opposite the new municipal burial ground, on land that would later also contain the new Leeds Workhouse. See Pennock, 'The Evolution of St James's'.

¹⁸⁵ WYASL, LC/TC, 26 Jun 1844.

¹⁸⁶ See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 82; and Jones, 'Pauper Letters, Parish clothing and Pragmatism'.

¹⁸⁷ WYASL, LO/M/6, 1824.

tailors'.¹⁸⁸

Because of the local paucity of records detailing parish apprenticeship, it is problematic to assess, at a disaggregated level, circumstances which led to apprenticeship. However, one enumerator at the 1841 census recorded William Bateman as a 'parish ap', living with nail maker John Litherland and his family. Reconstitution reveals that William died unmarried aged 23 in 1846, so, unlike Joseph Speight and Peter Robinson, it cannot be known if he continued in that trade. However, it can be ascertained that he was apprenticed as an orphan; his widowed mother was in receipt of relief in both 1829 and 1832, and herself died in 1833, leaving four children, 15 year-old James, 12 year-old Jane, 6 year-old John, and 9 year-old William. The eldest two children were already earning in 1832, and James married young, aged 19, in 1837, and took his sister Jane, like himself a flax worker, to live with him. Like William, John was also apprenticed, almost certainly by the town, and in 1841 was recorded as a joiner's apprentice. At his marriage and subsequent censuses John was recorded as a journeyman joiner. There is then some suggestion, albeit from very meagre records, that in Holbeck parish apprentices might be placed in trades, and able to earn a livelihood in those trades in later years. Yet apprenticing, as it appears in the Holbeck vestry minutes, had an emphasis at least as much on collecting fines, rather than on the suitable placing of a child into a trade.

Raising fines (or, optimistically, placing apprentices) occurred in waves. Spring 1840 saw a great deal of vestry activity regarding the finding of ratepayers to take a parish apprentice, and in March that year it was ordered that

the names of 26 in[di]viduals/ratepayers/ handed over to Mr Leathley be noticed to attend upon the vestry as likely persons to take parish apprentices ... [A] special meeting be held next Friday for the purpose of having any objections against taking such apprentices - & that the names be taken in regular succession as they stand in the list by six in a batch.¹⁸⁹

Several ratepayers were excused from taking an apprentice. George Hartley was 'for the present' excused because 'he has 7 children under 15 years of age, one of which is a cripple, & that he keeps no servant'; likewise John Wheatley, on account of 'having 6 children under 13 years of age & keeping no servant'; a similar number of children (and

¹⁸⁸ Rawson, 'Parish Apprentices', p. 40.

¹⁸⁹ WYASL, LC/TC, 6 Mar 1840.

servants) excused Abraham France. John Tuer was excused because he was 'very ill', while John Ellison, appearing 'before the vestry ... proved that he is not the occupier of any property in this township - & therefore not liable to a parish apprentice'.¹⁹⁰

Others stumped up, though payment was often accepted in full or part in kind, thus:

Mr Thos Dobson [not the surgeon of the same name] in lieu of taking a parish apprentice be required (which he agrees to) to pay £5 in money ... & to bring coals to the workhouse to the amount of £5 more.

Those who agreed to pay the fine before a magistrate's indenture was sought received a five percent discount:

Mr John Exley be required to supply the workhouse ... with groceries to the amount of £9 10s. 0d. in lieu of taking a parish apprentice. The ten shillings less than the regular fine is in consideration of the township not being put to the expense of procuring indentures, the same will also bear upon the case of Mr Thos Dobson abovementioned.

Similarly, Benjamin Tempest was 'required to supply the house with malt to the amount of £9 10. 0. in lieu of taking a parish apprentice - nb less by 10/- than usual fine - see above'.¹⁹¹ In Wortley, like other Leeds townships, the fine was also £10; the receipt of that amount from 'John Atkinson in lieu of an apprentice' was recorded in July 1833.¹⁹²

Only two of this tranche of twenty-six were recorded as having indentures sought: 'application be made to the magistrates for indentures to bind out parish apprentices to Mr John Hepworth, Holbeck, & Mr Thos Lee, Golden Lion, Leeds'. The threat of seeking indentures concentrated the minds of recalcitrant ratepayers: John Hepworth 'appeared before the vestry & agreed to pay the fine on or before the 25th March Inst.' consequently 'no indenture' was 'applied for on his account'. However, Hepworth's appearance and promises were stalling tactics, and minutes record that

as Mr John Hepworth of Green Mount Terrace on the 13th of March last agreed to pay the fine by the 25th of the same month & has neglected to do so - that an indenture to bind out a parish apprentice to him be immediately applied for, say Monday the 6th Inst.¹⁹³

It was a cajoling system: excuses were allowed on appeal, discounts offered, and fines

¹⁹⁰ WYASL, LC/TC, 13, 20, and 27 Mar 1840.

¹⁹¹ WYASL, LC/TC, 27 Mar 1840.

¹⁹² LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

¹⁹³ WYASL, LC/TC, 13 Mar and 3 Apr 1840.

accepted in kind - in the commodity a ratepayer traded in. Steps were however taken to recover the fine, by threatening with a magistrate's indenture - and with the potential imposition of a child.

In late summer and early autumn 1842, the Chartist select vestry, attempting to raise additional revenue to fund the significantly increased relief costs due to the dire economic depression, also sought fines from ratepayers in lieu of taking a parish apprentice. Again, ratepayers were offered an option to pay in kind, thus 'Mr Joseph Robinson currier Holbeck be allowed to pay his fine £10.0.0 for not taking an apprentice in leather'. Arrears payments, again often in kind, were sought: 'Mr John Croisdale Jnr pay up his arrears for not taking an apprentice in cloth immediately', similarly 'Mr Wm Naylor pay up his arrears ... in cloth'. At this time of economic crisis ratepayers were granted deferred payment: Joseph Robinson's payment in leather, requested in the August was to 'commence on the first day of November 1842'; Jonathan Catherall could 'pay the arrears of penalty for refusing to take an apprentice before the 1st January 1843'. The decision whether to take an apprentice or pay the fine might also be deferred, thus: John Morton's 'case for taking an apprentice be taken into consideration this day three months', while George Hartley (who had been excused in 1840) was summoned to 'take an apprentice in four months from this date or pay the usual fine'. As in 1840, several, like James Hirst, Joseph Alderson, and William Ellis, had their names 'struck off the list of persons to take a parish apprentice', although reasons were not given. The Chartist select vestry appears to have particularly targeted publicans like George Hartley: in addition to him 'John Wm Hirst innkeeper', 'Wm Nelson beerhouse keeper' and 'Thos Banks, innkeeper' were all required to 'take an apprentice'. It is uncertain why this trade might be particularly targeted, and there are no records of fine payments in beer, or conviviality, being made.¹⁹⁴ If there was a focus upon raising revenue from speculative apprenticing during the deep recession of 1842, it was continued, to a lesser extent the following year. William Kemp was threatened with an apprentice or 'pay the penalty of ten pounds ... forthwith'. Even Thomas Dobson, the town's surgeon was required to 'pay the penalty of ten pounds for refusing to take a parish apprentice ... forthwith'.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ WYASL, LC/TC, 31 Aug, 7 Sep, and 28 Sep 1842.

¹⁹⁵ WYASL, LC/TC, 11 Oct 1843.

The requirement of doctors to take parish apprentices was not without controversy. One anonymous West Riding reader of the forerunner to the *British Medical Journal*, the *Provincial Medical Journal and Retrospect of the Medical Sciences*, wrote of 'the practice of assigning both to physicians and surgeons the alternative either of taking a parish apprentice, or of occurring a penalty of £10'. Overlooking that apothecaries and surgeons had until recent times been trained by apprenticeship, he asked

How can a physician, or barrister, or divine, take an apprentice (above all from the parish) when the law requires, not a learned profession, but a trade to be taught? And even if the learned professions were liable to this annoyance, still it would be an absurdity, unless it were the case (which it never is), that the candidates for the apprenticeship were previously prepared by a classical education.

The writer noted that the law's original intention, to raise pauper children in a useful trade, had become 'perverted from its purpose', but acknowledged that many professionals 'are amenable to this annoyance', that is the process of placing children with professionals, ratified by magistrates, to raise a £10 fine, in the full knowledge that 'none of these parties will receive an apprentice'. However, he believed doctors' services to the poor should disqualify them from what was ostensibly an additional local tax, as they 'often for the greater part of their lives ... dedicate their time and their talents gratuitously to the almost daily service of the sick poor'. As noted earlier, township surgeons were paid a salary and more, and had private practices in addition to their commitments to the poor. The letter speaks of the increasing elitist professionalisation of medicine and surgery, and the 'degradation of being treated as a tradesman by having an apprentice assigned to him'.¹⁹⁶ That the medical man learned his trade by attending to the sick poor, and was remunerated out of the rates for doing so, was overlooked; and that it was written at the depth of the depression, when many of the working poor were starving and in need of parish relief, might be seen as, at best, insensitive.

There is then some suggestion, albeit from meagre records, that in Holbeck poor unsupported children might be placed in trades, and be able to earn a livelihood in those trades in later years. Yet apprenticing, as it appears in the Holbeck vestry minutes, had an emphasis on collecting fines, more than on the suitable placing of a child into a trade. The placing of parish apprentices had as much of a role in supplementing the poor rates by targeting, by rota, ratepayers who might afford to pay this extra local tax, rather than

¹⁹⁶ Anonymous, 'Medical Men and Parish Apprentices', *Provincial Medical Journal and Retrospect of the Medical Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 21 (27 Aug 1842), 423-424.

undertake the traditional communal obligation of taking a poor child to learn a trade. However, the rump of this traditional system might still, in some cases, be effective, and some pauper children earned livings in trades so taught. Non-alignment with the New Poor Law may have allowed this system to continue longer, without recourse to the growing emphasis on more institutionalised provision.

Conclusion

Considerable amounts of time, deliberation and funds were committed by Holbeck township to welfare beyond the cash provisions of casual relief and pensions. Holbeck's major institution was its workhouse, and this existed as (undoubtedly, a last-option) refuge for a variety of vulnerable groups: care home for the elderly and infirm, and temporary accommodation for the younger - who were expected to work. Medical institutions were subscribed to, or patronised by account, and the poor of the township made significant use of these facilities, notably the Leeds General Infirmary, Leeds House of Recovery, and the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum. Other institutions, like the York Blind School, and the Ilkley (convalescent) Charity were patronised by the township in a more experimental manner. Admission notes from the WRPLA, correlated with local records and biographical reconstitution, provide us with an experiential account of the economic, domestic and familial, and religious preoccupations of the poor of the township.

Other local welfare structures were also in place. Parish apprenticing, though primarily a revenue-raising mechanism, might still function to provide young people with a trade. Community medical assistance, and a substantial smallpox vaccination programme existed, whilst funerals were paid for. Funding for small business start-ups, and for emigration, mostly to America, was also apparent. But if this, coupled with the cash relief detailed in the preceding chapter, seems a benevolent portfolio of provision, parish relief mechanisms were in the main a flimsy safety-net, and application for township welfare was only one of the strategies adopted by the working poor. The following chapters, through the narrative biographical reconstitution of neighbouring households and families in the Isle Lane area of Holbeck, identify and discuss the constraints upon, and the agencies employed by, the poor in alleviating poverty.

Chapter 6

Isle Lane, Holbeck: a narrative biographical reconstitution

Edward Parsons, writing in the early 1830s described Holbeck as

one of the most crowded, one of the most filthy, ... most unpleasant, and ... most unhealthy villages in the county of York. Numerous lanes and streets swarming with a vast population now unite it to Leeds, the trees have been cut down, the meadows have disappeared, and the air is loaded with the black vapours which issue from its immense manufactories.¹

That crowded township had Isle Lane at its industrialised centre: the seven households who form the focus of this microhistory lived in a yard off it, Figure 6.1. In 1851 the enumerator designated the area as being at the end of 'Austin & Whalley's Yard'; by 1861 this had been formalised into Isle (or Isles) Place, separated from Isle Lane itself by Isle Terrace. It was enclosed to the north by the perimeter wall of Low Hall Mill. Very little remains of the yard, or indeed Isle Lane today: a railway viaduct bisected Isle Lane in the 1880s, Figure 6.2, while much of the housing was demolished in the early 1900s, (see Figure 6.9, Czar Street and Figure 6.4, Chancery Court) and in the 1930s (Figure 6.3, Kirk's Yard). Low Hall Mill, is however, still extant. There are no known photographs of the yard, but it would perhaps have been similar to two nearby yards, Figures 6.3 and 6.4.² At the first disaggregated census in 1841 the seven household were configured as per the transcription, Table 6.1.

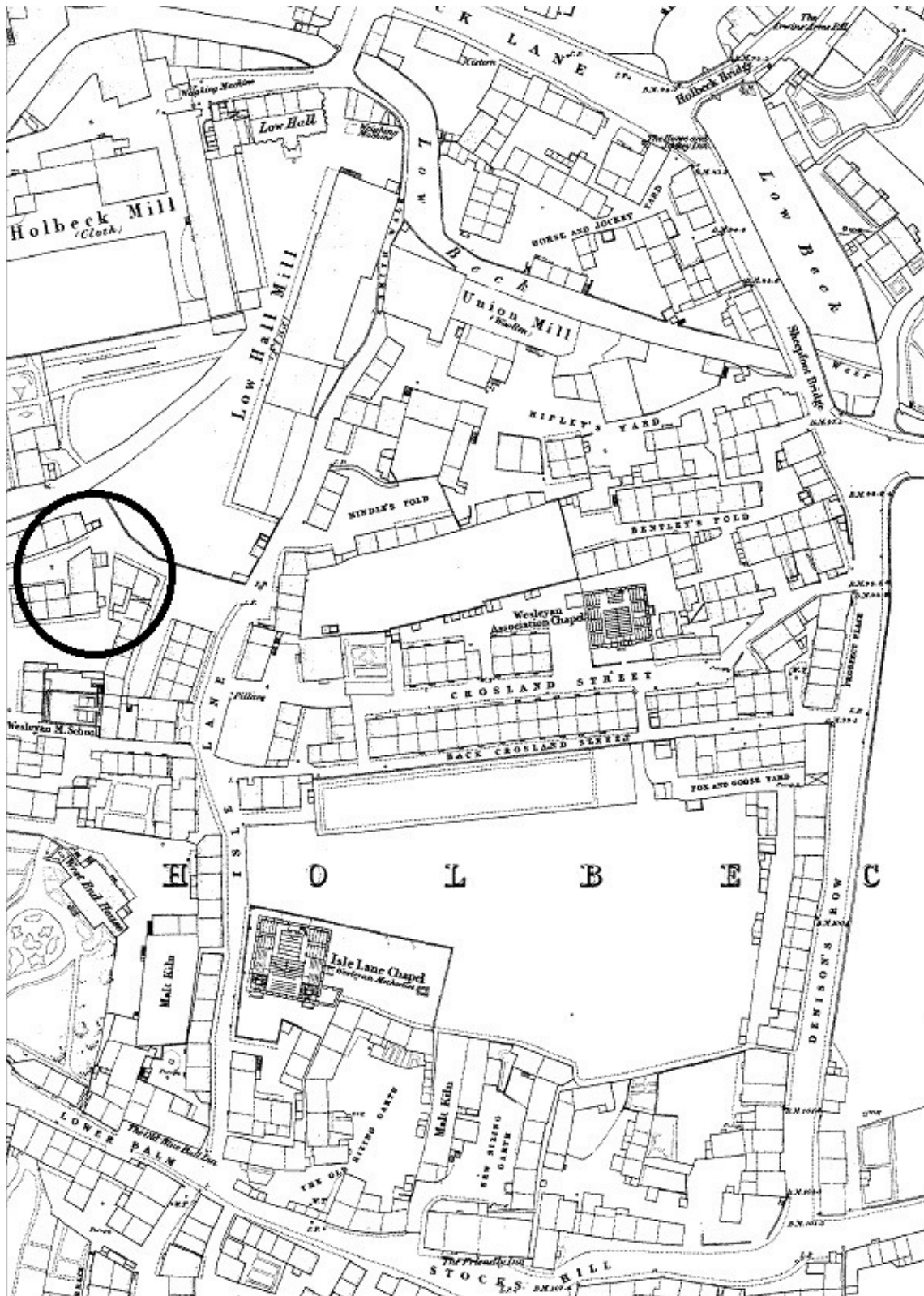
All except one of the seven households were involved in woollen cloth production. Some, if not all, in its domestic manifestation, with looms in their cottages. Their days, when there was work, would have been accompanied by the ubiquitous, metronomic 'click of the shuttle, and the regular and steady stroke of the weaver's beam'; the 'music of the swinging-rods'.³

1 Parsons, *The ... History of Leeds ... and the Manufacturing District of Yorkshire*. Vol. I, 1834, p. 179.

2 For a discussion of the yards and working-class housing in Leeds see Rimmer, 'Working Men's Cottages in Leeds'; and Beresford, *East End, West End*.

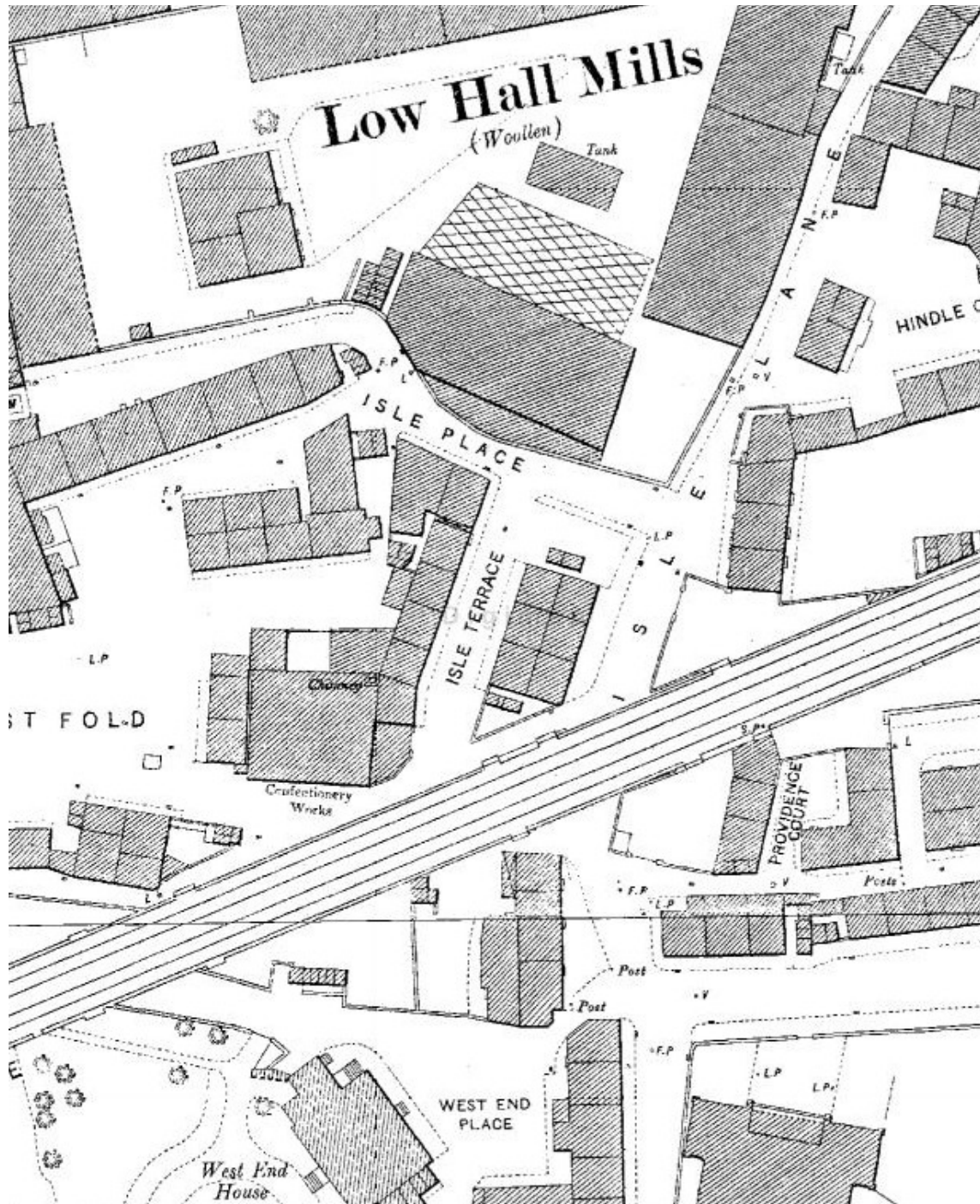
3 Joseph Barker describing his youth in another clothmaking Leeds out-township, Bramley, in the early nineteenth century: Joseph Barker, *The Life of Joseph Barker* (London, 1880), p. 32; and William Smith describing the decline of hand-loom weaving in nearby Morley, William Smith Jun., *Rambles about Morley, with descriptive and historic sketches; also an account of the rise and progress of the woollen industry in this place* (London, 1866).

Figure 6.1 The Isle Lane area in 1850: the circled area denotes the specific locality of the seven households⁴



Source: Ordnance Survey, Town Plans 1:1056 1st Edition (1848-1878), Leeds, 1850

4 For the wider area in 1846, see Holbeck tithe map, Appendix, Figure A.3.

Figure 6.2 The Isle Lane area in 1890⁵

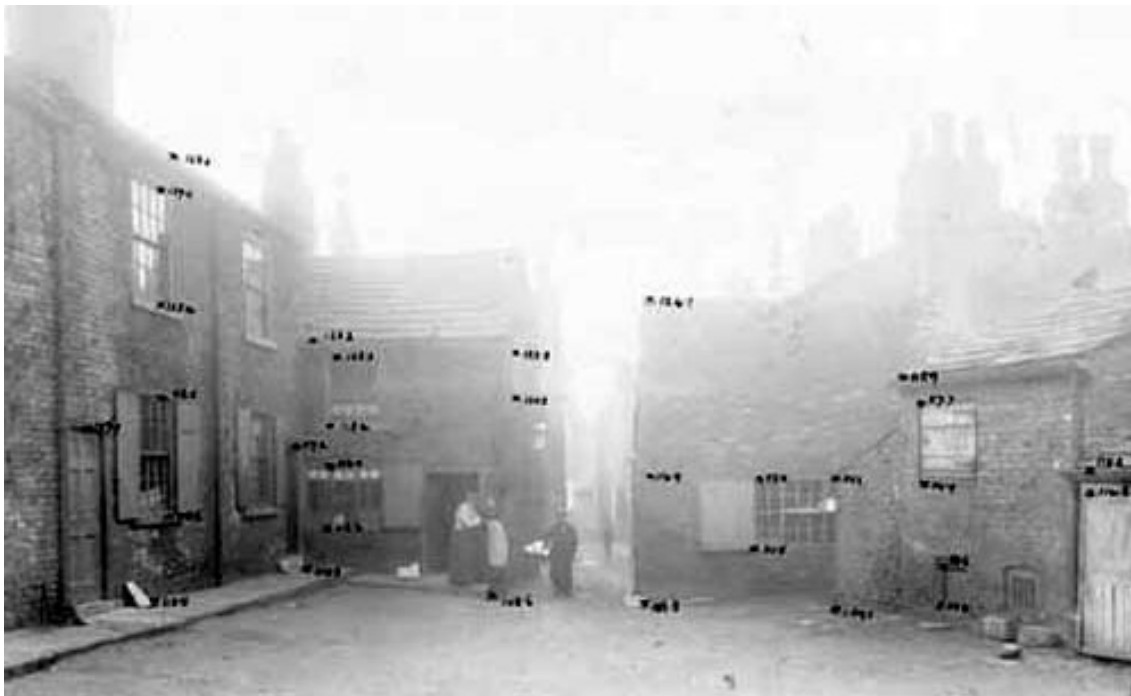
Source: Ordnance Survey, Town Plans 1:500 1st Edition, Leeds, 1890

⁵ And see the panorama of part of Holbeck, Figure 7.3.

Figure 6.3 Kirk's Yard, Holbeck, photographed in 1935



Figure 6.4 Chancery Court, Holbeck, photographed in 1903⁶



Source: LLIS, C LIC Wilson (4), subject ID 200257_36970156; and C LIC Towngate (7), subject ID 2002530-19607180 <www.leodis.net> [accessed July 2016]

⁶ The marks on this photograph are surveyors' elevation marks.

Table 6.1 The seven Isle Lane households in 1841⁷

PLACE	HOUSES		NAMES of each Person who abode therein the preceding Night	AGE and SEX		PROFESSION, TRADE, EMPLOYMENT, or of INDEPENDENT MEANS	Where Born	
	#1	#2		Males	Fe- males		#3	#4
Isle Lane		1	Joshua Carr	40		clothier j [ourneyman]	y	
			Mary Carr		35	[no stated occupation]	y	
			Joseph Carr	15		clothier j	y	
			Ann Carr		11	[works in a] flax mill j	y	
//		1	George Hodgson	55		clothier j	y	
			John Hodgson	25		lab [ourer]	y	
			George Hodgson	20		clothier j	y	
			Thomas Hodgson	11		[no stated occupation]	y	
			William Hodgson	15		clothier j	y	
//		1	Hannah Best		60	[no stated occupation]	y	
			Sarah Best [sic]		35	m [oiter] (woollen) j	y	
			Hannah Best		20	spinner flax j	y	
			Edward Best	15		clothier j	y	
			Edward Williamson	15		clothier [j]	y	
//		1	Rachel Walmsley		20	[no stated occupation]	y	
			Joseph Walmsley	2			y	
//		1	Sarah Alderson		45	[no stated occupation]	y	
			Moses Alderson	20		clothier j	y	
			Frederick Alderson	15		clothier j	y	
			James Alderson	15		clothier j	y	
			Elizabeth Alderson		14	flax spinner j	y	
			William Alderson	10		[no stated occupation]	y	
//		1	Edward Chew	30		woollen list maker j	y	
			Jane Chew		30	[no stated occupation]	y	
			Mary Chew		11	flax spin [ner]	y	
			Maria Chew		8	[no stated occupation]	y	
			Jane Chew		4		y	
			William Chew	1			y	
//		1	Nathaniel Dunderdale	65		ind [ependent]	y	
			Thomas Dunderdale	40		clothier j	y	
			Nathaniel Dunderdale	35		clothier [j]	y	
			Charles Dunderdale	20		[works in a] flax mill j	y	
			Henry Hainsworth	15		clothier j	y	
			Mary Hainsworth		10	[no stated occupation]	y	
			John Crosland	20		stuff dyer j	y	
			John Russel	15		clothier j	y	

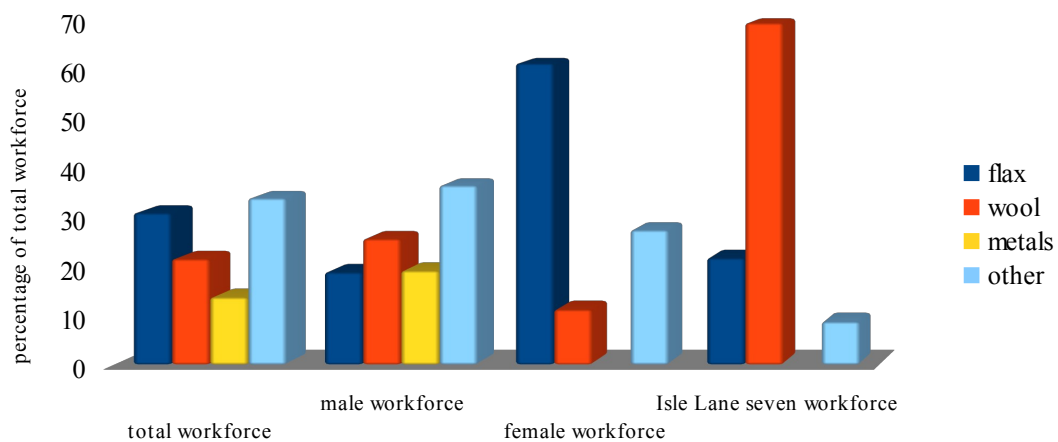
⁷ TNA, HO107/1344/11. #1 Uninhabited or Building; #2 Inhabited; #3 Whether Born in same County; #4 Whether Born in Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign Parts. Note that ages from 15 were rounded down by enumerators in 1841: thus '15' might be 15-19, and '20' might be 20-24, etc. See the citation of the instructions given to enumerators in Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, p. 83.

Domestic cloth manufacture had been in decline for several years, as one by one its several processes became mechanised, and production centralised in factories, like the 'immense pile of buildings' comprising Gott's Park Mill, a few hundred yards away, across the River Aire at Bean Ing.⁸ A clothier in the domestic system was becoming merely a weaver, completing at his loom orders from factory-based manufacturers. Power-looms were introduced but slowly into the woollen industry. Herbert Heaton explained: the 'feebleness of the [woollen] yarn' disallowed 'any great speed in the passage of the shuttle', and better-quality broadcloths, particularly (the staple of the Leeds industry) could be produced as quickly on the hand-loom. The power-loom

was scarcely known in the woollen industry until about 1832, and made very little progress during the next twenty years. In the 'fifties we still find the cottage weaver clinging with marvellous tenacity to the homestead and hand-loom.⁹

As predominantly woollen cloth weavers the inhabitants of the seven households were, by this time, less representative of Holbeck as a whole, which had a relatively mixed occupational demography (Figure 6.5). They had had more similarities with occupants of the adjacent township, Wortley, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, had 57% of its total working population employed in the woollen industry in 1841, compared to Holbeck's 22%. This is suggestive of very local occupational clustering.

Figure 6.5 Occupational proportions by sector, in total and by gender, Holbeck 1841, and in comparison with the seven Isle Lane households

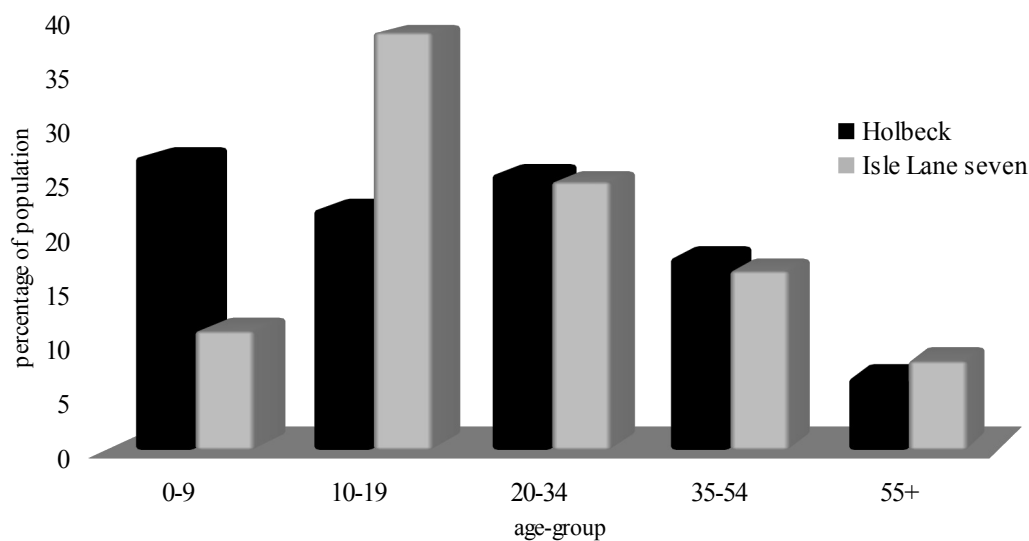


8 'A Day at a Leeds Woollen-Factory', *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, Volume 12, 1843, supplement, 457-464 (London, Nov. 1843), p. 459. Gott's Park Mill was the largest woollen mill in Yorkshire in the 1800s, Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 28.

9 Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 357-8.

Nor were the Isle Lane group representative of the gender profile of Holbeck. There were twenty-two males to fourteen females, while the township in 1841 was 51.3% female. However, its ungendered age-group profile compared more closely, although in Isle Lane, in very close proximity to textile mills (and also perhaps to poverty), there was a greater number of children in the working age-group than in the youngest group, Figure 6.6; again, perhaps indicative of occupational clustering.

Figure 6.6 Holbeck age-groups in 1841, in comparison with the Isle Lane seven households



Weaving was becoming synonymous with poverty: Isle Lane resident Joseph Best told the 1838 Hand-loom Inquiry, the weaver 'had become a bye-word and a mock in this country'.¹⁰ It is unsurprising that several members of this group of neighbours had need of poor relief. Of the seven households, five had some known relationship with Holbeck township poor relief from the far from comprehensive extant records.¹¹ The following are narrative expositions of the reconstitutions of the families comprising all seven households. Sources employed in the construction of these reconstitutions are listed in the bibliography. The methodology of 'narrative biographical reconstitution', reiterated in the introduction to this thesis, has been outlined elsewhere.¹² The very many rich and varied themes and experiences revealed by this methodology are discussed in a commentary on the synthesis of these reconstitutions in the following chapter.

¹⁰ *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

¹¹ These records are detailed at the start of Chapter 4.

¹² Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 71-72.

The Households

Carr

In May 1832 Joshua Carr, a 32 year-old woollen cloth weaver, his 26 year-old wife Mary, and three small children, Joseph, 8, Ann, 2, and one month-old John, were in receipt of poor relief from the Holbeck overseer. The amount of relief was unstated, but Joshua's, indeed the family's total earned income was just 1s. 3d. per week. With his wife recently confined, and less able to assist in the domestic weaving process, Joshua's earning power would have been especially limited at this time.

Mary was born in Barnsley, and although Joshua was a Holbeck man, he married 18 year-old Mary Watson at Barnsley St Mary in March 1824. Consistent later census returns record that Joseph was born in Barnsley that year, and before the census date of late March, implying that he was probably illegitimate. Indeed, baptismal records for St Mary's church detail the baptism of a boy to a spinster Mary Watson. This child was baptised William; however, all five boys baptised on the day, 15 February 1824, by the same minister, were recorded as 'William'. It is likely that this William was (or became) Joseph, and Joshua married Mary as he was the putative father of her illegitimate child. There were strong trade links between Holbeck and its flax industry, and Barnsley, a centre of linen weaving: as Rimmer notes 'the growth of [flax] spinning in Leeds and [linen] weaving at Barnsley were intimately connected'.¹³ Mary and/or her family may, at least temporarily, have moved to Holbeck for work, where she formed her own intimate connection, returning to her township of settlement to give birth to, and have familial, and indeed parochial support for herself and her illegitimate child.

Joshua returned to Holbeck with his wife, with no further surviving children baptised until Ann, born in March 1830, and baptised at Leeds St Peter in the September. Joshua was described as a clothier of Holbeck, as he would be at the baptism of John, at Holbeck St Matthew, in April 1832. It was shortly after this event when the family were in receipt of poor relief. Baby John did not live long within his impoverished family: although he survived the cholera epidemic of that summer, he died in the autumn and was buried at Holbeck St Matthew on 11 November, aged 7 months. His burial was not

¹³ W.G. Rimmer, *Marshalls of Leeds Flax-Spinners 1788-1886* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 127.

annotated with 'c' for cholera, as were so many that year.¹⁴ Joshua and Mary had no further children, or at least none who survived to be baptised. If limitation of family size was a conscious poverty alleviation strategy, it may have succeeded, for they had no further known recourse to poor relief, and did not figure in the more comprehensive records extant for 1839-43.

In 1841 the family consisted of Joshua, described as a clothier, Mary, whose occupation was not noted, but would undoubtedly have been a burler (in 1861 she would be described as such) for Joshua and son Joseph, who was also designated as a clothier. Ann, now aged 11 was working in a flax mill. All members of the family would be contributing to its economy. Joshua and Mary stayed in the same area of Isle Lane, probably the same cottage: in 1851 they were recorded at 42 Austin & Whalley's Yard; in 1861, 42 Isles Place. By 1851, with 21 year-old Ann still at home, and still working in the flax industry as a hemp winder, Joshua [Josiah] had lost the nomenclature 'clothier' and was solely a woollen cloth weaver. Mary's occupation was again unstated, but in 1861 her occupation was recognised, she was a 'woollen cloth burler' for Josiah [Joshua],¹⁵ a 'woollen cloth handloom weaver' in the rump of the retained domestic clothmaking industry. Mary died in 1866 and Joshua moved in with married daughter Ann and her husband William Holgate and their family, but still in Isles Place. At the 1871 census he was described as an unemployed clothier, but he died a few weeks later, aged 70.

Son Joseph married in September 1847, aged 23. His bride, Jane Parker, although stating she was of 'full age' (that is, over 21), was only 18 or 19 at her marriage, the daughter of a Leeds weaver. Jane's father had died, leaving a large family, and her youthfulness at marriage reflects an economic strategy on the part of poor women. Jane was not pregnant on her wedding day, and although she marked her marriage lines, Joseph, and his sister Ann, who witnessed, signed. Neither of Joseph's parents, Joshua and Mary were literate at the time of their own wedding. Although it was in terminal decline, Joseph continued his father's domestic clothier tradition, and initially remained in the same yard as his parents. In 1851 he was living in Austin & Whalley's Yard, a 'woollen cloth weaver' with his wife Jane his 'woollen cloth burler'.

¹⁴ See discussion later in this chapter.

¹⁵ Pater Carr's Christian name alternates in the records between Joshua and Josiah.

He would still be a weaver on the birth of daughter Jane (who died in infancy) in 1856, but by 1861 had finally given up the loom, and indeed, moved out of Holbeck; albeit only a few hundred yards across the river into Leeds, to Skinner Street, in the Bean Ing area, near Gott's Park Mill.

Figure 6.7 Skinner Street, Leeds, photographed in 1931



Source: LLIS, C LIC Skin (1); <www.leodis.net> subject ID 200244_31655520 [accessed July 2016]

Here he was described as a chemical labourer. However, Jane was still employed in the woollen industry, although probably in the factory context, she was a 'cloth knoter'. Likewise, 12 year-old son John was a woollen mill hand. Daughter Mary was a scholar, while the household was completed by Jane's unmarried 69 year-old aunt Ann Parker, 'formerly a cloth burler'. Ann would have been able to contribute to the family economy undertaking domestic duties while Jane was at work. Joseph remained a chemicals labourer throughout most of the remainder of his working life, before becoming a timekeeper when beyond labouring in his mid-sixties. His youngest daughter, Emma,

however continued the woollen cloth tradition and as an 18 year-old was a cloth weaver in 1881. The family moved further west out of the centre of Leeds, following new housing developments, suggestive of some social mobility. In 1871 and 1881, they lived in one of the houses photographed below, on Clifford Street, Figure 6.8.

In these years they had familial lodgers in the form of a 2 year-old granddaughter in 1871, and Jane's widowed sister Sarah in 1881. They then moved a little further out, to Burley, themselves now lodgers with daughter Mary and her husband in 1891, and finally to Wortley by 1901, where Joseph was noted as living on his own means: married daughter Emma was staying with her parents at this time, employed as a Christian Science Healing Society's visitor. The couple died within a year or so of one another in 1904 and 1905.

Figure 6.8 The odd-numbered side of Clifford Street, Leeds, photographed in the late 1950s



Source: WYAS, Kirkstall Road East, box no. 60/1, no. 33; <www.leodis.net> subject ID 2003417_99302310 [accessed July 2016]

Joseph's sister Ann married aged 22 in May 1851. Like her brother's wife Jane, Ann was not pregnant (or at least not pregnant with a child who was live-born). However, while Joseph's family was limited to four confinements, and three surviving children, the regularity of Ann's confinements, every two years throughout the 1850s at least, and seven confinements in total, suggests they did not practise family limitation, and is indicative of lactational infecundity patterns.¹⁶ Ann had an advantage of literacy over her labourer husband William, who marked his marriage lines. Close familial connections are again revealed. As Ann witnessed Joseph's wedding, so Joseph witnessed hers. And in 1861 she and her husband, a flax mill jobber, and two surviving children, were living in Isle Place, in very close proximity to Ann's parents. As noted above, the family were still in Isle Place in 1871, Ann's father lodging with them. William had at this time become, like his brother-in-law, a chemicals labourer; it is possible that Joseph found him, or at least recommended him, the job.

Ann, aged 41, was also working at this time, and it was traditional woollen weaving which occupied her, as it did her 17 year-old daughter Mary. Since they were still in Isle Place, and Joshua was lodging with them, Ann and Mary were probably working at the looms Joshua and Joseph used in earlier days. Their son, 12 year-old Josiah Carr Holgate, very clearly named for his grandfather, was also employed in the woollen industry, although in its factory manifestation, a cloth dresser, as youngest son Arthur would be in 1881. That year Ann's occupation was unstated, but William was still labouring, but now in the burgeoning metals industries; first in a foundry, and then a mechanic's labourer. By 1881 the family had moved to the one-up-one down 2 Porritt Terrace, Holbeck, and would remain there for the rest of their lives, remaining in Holbeck, and in poorer quality accommodation than Ann's brother. Josiah Carr Holgate died young, as did his widow, and Ann and William raised their orphaned grandson. William continued working into his 70s, and in 1901 was a bricklayer's labourer. Ann died aged 81 in 1912.

¹⁶ Bracher's model of lactational infecundity concluded that a median birth interval of 22.2 months was provided by lactation alone, without resort to abstinence or contraception. Bracher, M., 'Breastfeeding, lactational infecundity, contraception and the spacing of births: implications of the Bellagio consensus statement', *Health Transition Review*, 2 (1992), 19-47 (p. 26), in *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837* ed. by E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, and R.S. Schofield, pp. 493-94.

Hodgson

The Carrs' next door neighbours in 1841 were the Hodgsons. Like the Carrs they were still living in Austin & Whalley's Yard in 1851. In 1841, widower George Hodgson, a clothier, headed an all-male household of four sons: George and William, also journeymen clothiers; the eldest John, a labourer; and 11 year-old Thomas, who had no stated occupation.

In 1807 George Hodgson, clothier of Wortley, married his pregnant bride Sarah Jackson at Leeds St Peter. Both parties were illiterate. Between 1808 and 1824 Sarah had eight children at intervals which suggests only lactational infecundity limited family size. A ninth child, Thomas, was born five years later, when Sarah was 46. The first seven children were baptised at the couple's Anglican chapelry, Armley St Bartholomew, but eighth child William was baptised as a non-conformist, at Quarry Hill Primitive Methodist Chapel in Leeds, in 1825.

Sarah died three years after the birth of her ninth child, in January 1833, leaving George with the following children: Ann, 25 and not married until 1835; Sarah, 23; Hannah, 18, (Sarah and Hannah cannot be reconstituted with confidence); John, 21; George, 16; Mary, 14, married in 1839; Elizabeth, 12, married in 1844, but lodging out in 1841; William, 9; and Thomas, 3. The size and age profiles of the family suggest there were sufficient resources for housekeeping, and childminding for, at least, 3 year-old Thomas.¹⁷ Indeed all but Thomas, and perhaps William, were of an age to contribute earnings to the family economy; consequently it is less likely they would have needed poor relief. However, a George Hodgson had some relationship with Wortley overseers. The baptismal record of George and Sarah's first child, Ann, states their residence as Wortley, and it is possible this is where George's settlement was. In April 1833, shortly after Sarah's death, the Wortley overseer paid a George Hodgson's 'Society' payment of 12s.¹⁸ In this township at least, as discussed in the following chapter, it was common for the overseer to pay un- or under-employed men their friendly society subscriptions so they might continue to be eligible for society benefits, and not have to fall back on township poor relief.

¹⁷ For the experience of widow-headed households in Lancashire see Michael Anderson, *Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 144-147.

¹⁸ LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

Although it is unknown what became of two of them, Sarah and Hannah, the other three daughters had moved out of the family home by 1841: two, Ann and Mary, marrying, and the other, the youngest, Elizabeth, lodging nearby. This left an all-male household, one that remained all-male in 1851. The daughters whose lives can be reconstituted with confidence did not move far. Eldest Ann married journeyman maltster Jonas Dobson in 1835: she was heavily pregnant. The couple and three small children were on Stocks Hill, two or three hundred yards from Ann's father and brothers, and close to substantial malt kilns. Two of Ann's four children died in infancy, and were buried nearby at St Matthew's. Ann herself died in 1847, aged 42 and joined her children in the chapelry burial ground. Eldest surviving child Thomas lived with his father in 1851, and worked as a cloth dresser. However, 10 year-old Margaret was boarded out, a few doors down from her father, with widowed pauper and laundress Alice Burrow (the enumerator that year noted that she 'keeps a mangle'), and her family. Alice's late husband had been on the grocers list in 1842, receiving food tickets for 5s. per week. The placement of pauper children within pauper households was a commonplace and maximised household resources whilst minimising poor relief payments.¹⁹ Margaret was working as a screw in a flax mill. As was common with young women of poverty, Margaret married young, just turned 19, and remained, with her iron moulder husband, in the same area of Holbeck, in Front Walk.

Ann's sister Mary married in 1839. She and her husband chose to marry in the adjacent parish of Rothwell, and had their banns read there. At 20 Mary was underage; it is possible that her father, or perhaps her husband's parents did not approve of the match. Unusually, the bride's occupation is stipulated, and Mary was recorded as a burler. This suggests that until her marriage she was probably working alongside her father and brothers in their domestic clothier setting. This loss of a burler may have contributed to potential familial animosity over her marriage. Both parties marked their marriage lines. Mary was not pregnant at her wedding, having her first child late the following year. He was baptised at Holbeck St Matthew and the small family lived close to Isle Lane in Sheep Bridge Road. The household was completed by a lodger, cloth burler Ann Hodgson (possibly a cousin). Mary's husband, Thomas Murgatroyd, was a cloth dresser, and she had two further sons to him, but died young, aged 28, and was buried at St Matthew's. Her widowed husband and sons moved in with his father, 80 year-old

¹⁹ As has been found for rural Bedfordshire: Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 104.

clothier William Murgatroyd, near the Sheep Bridge. All the family were involved in woollen cloth production: some, like Thomas and his eldest son, dressers in the mills, others in its domestic setting; including Thomas's unmarried 40 year-old sister Hannah, a burler for her aged father; she would have undertaken domestic duties, including childcare of her 4 and 6 year-old nephews.

Youngest Hodgson daughter Elizabeth moved out of the family home before marriage, albeit only a few doors away in Isle Lane, and lodged with widowed burler Elizabeth Child and her family, including daughter Ann, a similar age to Elizabeth, and like her a flax spreader. The household was completed by another young lodger, a (male) iron foundry worker. Elizabeth married at 23, suggesting she gained some independence from her flax mill work - although wages for women were prohibitive of sustained independence. She and her labourer husband moved to Hunslet. The couple were childless. Despite working in the flax industry, Elizabeth learned the skill of burling with her father and brothers, for in 1861 she was described as a cloth burler, and as such embodied the two major employment options for women in Holbeck. On her husband's death Elizabeth returned to the Isle Lane area, to Czar Street (see Figure 6.9). In 1871 she headed a household which included her widowed brother George and unmarried brother Thomas: her independent nature is perhaps highlighted by her describing herself as 'formerly a flax yarn reeler', whilst the 'formerly' implies that now she was primarily undertaking domestic duties for her employed brothers.

The Hodgson sons remained with their father in the house in Isle Lane. The circumstances of the girls moving out are unknown, but may have been due to the nature of the cottage's accommodation and the maintenance of gender propriety.²⁰ Eldest son John was a labourer in 184. He died young and unmarried, aged 39, in 1851. George was a clothier like his father and brother William in 1841, but by 1851 he and William had moved into the mechanised branch, cloth dressers both, and both unmarried. George senior, now aged 68, had also given up domestic cloth production and was a 'coal dealer' (or perhaps coal leader, as he was described at his son George's marriage in 1856); youngest son Thomas was a cart driver - perhaps delivering coal with his father. George senior died in November 1856, aged 75. George junior had finally married that year, aged 45. He and his bride, 45 year-old widow Sarah Ann Bywater both marked their

²⁰ This neighbourly gendered accommodation sharing was in evidence in the township of Rigton, albeit in terms of social housing: see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 81.

lines. George had now given up the woollen textile industry entirely and was a labourer at his wedding, and in 1861 when he and his wife and her four children (all working except the youngest, Sarah J. aged 8) were living in Isle Terrace. After his wife's death in 1865 he moved in with his recently widowed sister Elizabeth in nearby Czar Street, a street which adjoined Isle Lane. At this point he was described as a licensed hawker.

Figure 6.9 Housing in Czar Street, Holbeck, photographed just prior to demolition in 1915



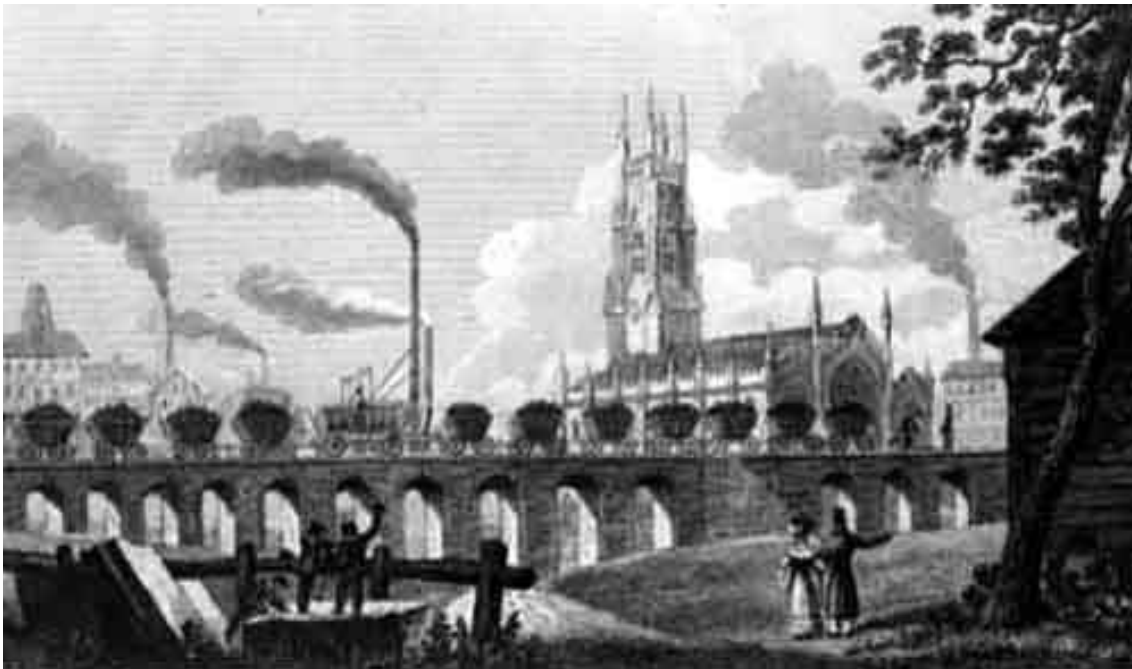
Source: LLIS, C LIC Czar (2); <www.leodis.net> subject ID 2002515_66459292 [accessed July 2016]

Brother Thomas had continued his earlier occupation and was a cartman coal leader in 1861. He was boarding with widowed Mary Littlewood, again very locally in Czar Street. She was housekeeper for her grown up family which included a son who, like Thomas, was a carter (coal leader), and included another boarding coal leader, Christopher Wrigglesworth. These new occupations were probably more secure than their old. On his tour of the manufacturing regions in the mid-1830s, George Head opined that in industrial and domestic usage:

There is no manufacturing town in England, I should imagine, wherein more coal is consumed, in proportion to its extent, than Leeds: situated in the heart of a coal-field, and fed by an abundant daily supply, a single glance, whether by night or by day, is sufficient to verify the above conclusion.²¹

Yorkshire production of coal doubled between 1830 and 1850: 'by 1877 the Leeds area contained 102 collieries together producing 2½ million tons of coal' annually.²² The Corporation had secured a contract with Middleton collieries to supply cheap coal, and the staith just to the south of Leeds Bridge, Figure 6.10, fed by the mechanised waggonway direct from Middleton, was in convenient access of Holbeck.²³

Figure 6.10 Blenkinsop locomotive with coal wagons on the Middleton Colliery Railway close to the coal staith. Steel engraving by T. Owen from a drawing by N. Whittock, 1829



Source: LLIS, LIJ Christchurch (2) (browsing neg no. 154) <www.leodis.net> subject ID 8348 [accessed August 2017]

Mary Littlewood's son probably arranged for the other workers to board with his mother, whose other children's occupations epitomised the three major sectors of employment in Holbeck highlighted in Chapter 2: Jane was a flax mill worker; Mary a

21 Sir George Head, *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England, in the Summer of 1835* (New York, 1836), p. 145.

22 E.J. Connell and M. Ward, 'Industrial development, 1780-1914', in *A History of Modern Leeds*, ed. by Derek Fraser (Manchester, 1980), pp. 142-176 (p. 144). For estimates of production by region see Roy Church, *The History of the British Coal Industry, Volume 3, 1830-1913: Victorian Pre-eminence* (Oxford, 1986), p. 3.

23 R.W. Unwin, 'Leeds becomes a transport centre', in *Modern Leeds*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 113-141 (p. 130).

woollen mill worker; and James a machine smith. Just as his brothers and father needed to change from the traditional skilled, but terminally declining, domestic clothier industry, so had William. Although his life experiences are problematic to trace with confidence, towards the end of it he, living alone and single on Stocks Hill, was a general dealer in 1891 and an unemployed labourer in 1901.

Best

After her husband's death in 1824 Hannah Best moved her family the four or so miles from the clothier township of Gildersome, adjacent to Leeds Borough, to Holbeck, where she could find work for her children, particularly her daughters, in the flax mills. Eldest son Joseph married in 1823, and moved to the township too: indeed Hannah, and Joseph's younger siblings may have moved to join him. In 1841 both families, Hannah's and Joseph's, lived on Isle Lane. In 1839 Hannah, aged 62, was in receipt of poor relief, a widow's pension of 2s. 6d. weekly. At the 1841 census her status was not recorded, but in 1851 the enumerator noted her means of income as 'parish relief'. At this later date she was still living off Isle Lane, and her household consisted of herself, 28 year-old unmarried son Edward, an iron grinder, and her 48 year-old married daughter, Sarah Calvert, a wool moiter.²⁴ Sarah, aged 35 and still a spinster, had married widower Joseph Calvert in 1838, but the couple quickly became estranged, and by 1841 Sarah was back with her mother and younger siblings, doubtless a domestic, as well as economic help to the ageing Hannah. At this time Sarah's husband was living with his three children, aged between 13 and their early 20s, in Hunslet.

Hannah's other two children at home in 1841 were Hannah, in her early 20s, a flax spinner; and Edward, at this time still working as a domestic clothmaker, following his father and elder brother's traditional occupation: his change of work, in his case to the more menial 'iron grinder/polisher' was symptomatic of the decline of domestic cloth making. Accounts of that decline were given by his brother Joseph to the Hand-loom Weavers Inquiry of 1838. Edward married late, aged 42, and late or non-marriage was not atypical amongst clothier-weavers and ex-clothiers during this decline. Like his parents and elder sister, he was illiterate, marking his marriage lines. The Isle Lane

²⁴ A moiter, or moter, was a worker akin to a burler, who removed impurities (motes) from woollen cloth.

household in 1841 was completed by another young cloth maker, Edward Williamson: Hannah would have the added income from this lodger, and possibly from letting out a spare loom: such letting of looms was described by her son Joseph, and might bring in between 9d. and 1s. per week.²⁵ Hannah died aged 76 in 1853.

Joseph Best lived in Isle Lane too. Like his mother he took in a lodger, Joseph Speight, and probably let out a loom: he told the Hand-loom Inquiry he rented a larger house, with an annual outlay in rent plus taxes of £6 15s., as he had two looms: during 1837 he had no work in the second loom, and this may have been the case again in 1841, and he let the loom to Speight. The ninepence a week he said he would charge would go towards the higher house rental. In 1838 his family consisted of himself, his wife and three children. His two sons both 'worked in the same trade as himself', and indeed both late-teenagers Benjamin and John would, in 1841, be termed clothiers. In 1838 'one son earned 5s, the other 8s per week when fully employed'.²⁶ Joseph himself might expect a weekly gross of 14s. (12s. 6d. net) when in full employment: however actual average earnings of Holbeck weavers were half this, as noted by commissioner Chapman, based on evidence collected by Joseph Best: he found

the total net earnings of 174 men [weavers] to have been £3,130, which will make an average of just 7s per week. This would make it appear that in 1837 the weavers of that township were not above half employed.²⁷

Joseph's daughter was 'a young woman, ... employed at a flax mill, and earned her own livelihood'. Even with an illegitimate baby in 1841, she continued that independence, earning that livelihood as a flax reeler, lodging with a family nearby in Bentley Fold, where the woman of the house was a dress maker, and working from home, would have been able to watch the child while Mary Best was at the factory.

Joseph Best was a Chartist, and stood for, but did not gain, local office in elections for the Holbeck select vestry in 1843 and 1844, and additionally the highways board in 1843.²⁸ He was also on the list of 'nominations for the [Chartist] General Council' for Holbeck in 1842, and proposed successful candidate William Brook as councillor for

²⁵ *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 535.

²⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 17 and 23 Apr 1843, 18 Apr 1844; and *Leeds Times*, 20 Apr 1844, and 26 Apr 1845.

the Holbeck Ward on Leeds Town Council in 1844.²⁹ Best remained unenfranchised during the period under investigation, and does not appear on the poll books between 1837 and 1852. Despite renting larger premises to accommodate an extra loom, his rental was less than the £10 qualification. He spoke publicly in Holbeck 'on the rationality of Chartism', delivering a lecture with fellow Chartist, and select vestry nominee (and member of the highways board in 1846), machine maker James Whiteley, 'both working men' of Holbeck.³⁰ Joseph's evidence before the Hand-loom Inquiry was complemented and supported by that of fellow Holbeck Chartist James Stead. If Stead and Best were put forward to give evidence by Chartist interests it was an early manifestation of Leeds and Holbeck's role in the movement.

Joseph was involved in criminal cases in 1845, as both victim and accused. In January, returning home from visiting relatives in Leeds, he was mugged by a teenage gang, and robbed of his watch.³¹ However, in November that year he was convicted of embezzling a 'small quantity of bobbins, which had been given him to weave, by Mssrs Renshaw, cloth manufacturers'. The 'case was involved in very considerable doubt'. Joseph was fined 20s., rather than the maximum £10, as the bobbins 'not being delivered up might be attributed to negligence, rather than an intention to defraud'.³² It would be speculative to suggest this was a politically-motivate trumped-up charge, but Joseph did not stand (or was not put forward) for office in any capacity after this date.

Joseph was widowed in the 1840s, and remarried in 1848. His bride, 42 year-old widow Mary Hodgson was six months pregnant, and Joseph may have been surprised to find himself a father again aged 51. They named their son Benjamin Ramskill Best, the second of Joseph's sons to be named Benjamin; the first, mentioned at the Hand-loom Inquiry, having died in his early twenties. Ramskill was Mary's maiden name. Both parties signed their lines, and Joseph had signed his at his first wedding in 1821. Unlike his parents and younger siblings, eldest son Joseph was literate. A high level of literacy is evident in his collation of evidence of weavers' wages in 1838, and in 1851 he put his abilities to further use, and his occupation was given as an accountant. However, his white-collar work was short-lived, and in later years he returned to his loom, a cloth

²⁹ *Northern Star*, 31 Dec 1842; and 19 Oct 1844. For Brook's career as a leading light of Leeds municipal Chartism see Harrison, 'Chartism in Leeds', in *Chartist Studies*, ed. by Briggs, pp. 86-95.

³⁰ *Northern Star*, 6 May 1843.

³¹ *Leeds Times*, 1 Feb 1845.

³² *Leeds Times*, 22 Nov 1845.

weaver still in 1861 and 1871. Mary had young children to find for when she married Joseph. Her husband died while she was pregnant in 1840, and she and her four children moved in with her widowed father in a yard off Duke Street, Leeds. In 1851 12 year-old Elizabeth, and 10 year-old William Hodgson were present at the census; neither worked in the mills, both were scholars. The family was completed by their half-brother, toddler Benjamin. Although still resident in Holbeck at the time of his marriage, Joseph moved across to Leeds, to Reuben Street, Little London, and the family remained there until Joseph's death aged 79 in 1876. In 1861 the family had Joseph's unmarried youngest brother Edward lodging with them. Joseph had told the Hand-loom Inquiry that 'none of them [weavers] brought their children to it if they could get them into any other trade'.³³ His two sons from his first marriage were weavers: as he explained 'we are compelled to bring up our children to our own trade ... we have no resource but our own trade'.³⁴ However, his son by his second marriage was placed in another trade: in 1871, 22 year-old Benjamin was a joiner. Joseph's sister Sarah died in the early 1850s, and Hannah's life cannot with confidence be reconstituted. Edward, as noted above, married late, and had no children with his widowed bride - herself childless from her previous marriage. He and his wife remained in Holbeck, at Mann's Court in 1871, and Stead Street in 1881, he an iron grinder/polisher, they sole occupants at both addresses.

Walmsley

This small household had no known relationship with the Poor Law, although Rachel and her children must have known hardship, if not poverty. Rachel and her sisters were baptised at Isle Lane Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel. Her father Thomas was a whitesmith. Rachel had an illegitimate daughter, Sarah, in 1838: Sarah's baptism was not at the Isle Lane chapel, but at Holbeck St Matthew. Wesleyan-Methodists were perhaps less likely to perform baptisms on illegitimate children, or unmarried women were less willing to have their children baptised in their chapels. Of 225 baptisms which took place in Isle Lane chapel between November 1837 and the end of 1853, only one was of an illegitimate child. However, Primitive Methodists were perhaps more amenable to such baptisms: although the following are figures for a wider area, Leeds and its immediate environs, there were nine baptisms of illegitimate children performed by their ministers,

³³ *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

³⁴ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 582.

of a total of 276 between February 1843 and the end of 1853. This proportion is higher than for the established church, locally: at Holbeck St Matthew in the four years between 1838 and the end of 1841 there were (including Sarah, Rachel Clark's daughter) ten illegitimate children baptised, out of 654.

The child's father was Thomas Roberts Walmsley, a clothier of Wortley, at the time of their marriage later that year. The wedding took place at Leeds St Peter, and both signed their lines. At the baptism of their first legitimate child, Joseph Clark Walmsley in 1839, Thomas was a time-keeper; his illegitimate daughter Sarah would, at her own marriage, describe him as a book-keeper. Their literacy, Thomas' occupation, and the Wesleyan-Methodist connection suggest a somewhat higher status than Rachel's neighbours in 1841. But prior to the census of this year Thomas went for a soldier, leaving pregnant Rachel with toddler Joseph in Isle Lane. Joseph died shortly after, and was buried, just short of his second birthday. Six weeks later Rachel gave birth to Thomas. Thomas, however, was not baptised until September 1846, possibly when his father was home on leave. Unusually for the area it was a private baptism, again perhaps indicative of higher status (or its pretence), and the elder Thomas was described as a soldier. Again, it took place at St Matthew's. As has been noted with regard to an eighteenth century Metropolitan parish, not all husbands and fathers who had 'gone for a soldier' were deserting their families, and Rachel had no known relationship with poor relief.³⁵

Thomas, or at least his body, had returned to Holbeck in 1851. He was buried, aged 33 at Holbeck St Matthew on 1 April that year. The night before his burial (census night) Rachel stayed with her sister Hannah and her brother-in-law in Ripley's Yard off Isle Lane, along with 13 year-old Sarah and 9 year-old Thomas. She was described as a soldier's widow. There is no indication that she received a pension for Thomas, but she never remarried, and in 1861, still living in the area, at the junction of Front Walk and Czar Street, was housekeeper for 19 year-old Thomas, a '3rd class sorter' at the Post Office. In 1871 she had moved out of Holbeck, but only into south-east Leeds, to live with widowed weaver John Lupton, in Hill's Yard, describing herself as a general servant. The arrangement did not persist, for although Lupton was living alone in Hill's Yard in 1881, Rachel had moved in with married daughter Sarah's family in newly built Hayes Street in Little London, Leeds. She had no stated occupation, but would have

³⁵ Kent, "'Gone for a soldier": Family Breakdown', p. 28.

been able to assist with domestic duties. Rachel died in 1886, aged 68.

Sarah's inauspicious illegitimate arrival did not preclude small social rise. She had gone to stay with her aunt and uncle at the time of the 1841 census. Rachel's sister Hannah and her woollen slubber (and later woollen mill overlooker) husband Joseph Gaines were childless, and took Sarah in. It is probable they, not Rachel, raised her, for at each of the 1841-61 censuses she was staying, or living with them, near to Isle Lane. In 1861 they additionally had Joseph's brother's daughter, 17 year-old woollen reeler Elizabeth Gaines with them. Childless couples were often a resource for families. As a 13 year-old Sarah worked as a brush-maker, rather than in the mills, and this is the only reference to her having or needing employment. In 1860 she married a leather currier. She and her husband both signed their lines, and Sarah was not a pregnant bride. The couple moved to Huddersfield and then to Upper Wortley before settling in Hayes Street.

Figure 6.11 Higher status gardened back-to-backs in Hayes Street, Little London, Leeds, photographed in 1958



Source: WYAS, Little London (Camp Road), Box 67/1, no. 153; <www.leodis.net> subject ID 200364_56547183 [accessed July 2016]

Sarah and Benjamin Lightfoot's eldest child Annie was a woollen weaver, but 16 year-old Joseph was apprenticed to a printer. By 1881 the family had moved to Wiltshire where Benjamin was a foreman currier (his brother Joseph, who had witnessed his marriage, had earlier moved to London to pursue the same occupation). Neither Sarah nor 21 year-old daughter Jane Ellen were designated an occupation, and the household was attended by a 13 year-old girl, a general servant. Youngest son Thomas, also kept out of the mills by Sarah, was still a letter carrier at his marriage in 1864. The Wesleyan-Methodist connection was, if it had been strained, reinstated, as he married at Isle Lane chapel. Furthermore, at least one of Sarah's children was baptised into that non-conformist denomination.

Alderson

Sarah Alderson's narrative was introduced at the start of this thesis. She married flax dresser James Alderson in 1816, and had eight children at intervals which are an exemplar of lactational infecundity models. The family had its first known receipt of poor relief in 1830. At this time the family consisted of James, aged 40, and Sarah, 37, and six surviving children, John, 13; Moses, 9; Frederick, 7; James, 5; Elizabeth, 3; and Mary, 1. It is uncertain if James was ill or just out of work, but only John, who would later be a cloth dresser (so probably working in the woollen industry at this time, unlike his father), was bringing in any money, earning four shillings a week. The amount of relief was unstated: however, when the family's next relief was recorded, in April 1832, they (with an addition in 7 month-old William) had a combined weekly income of 9s. 9d., comprising 7s. earned by father James, and 2s. 9d. by 11 year-old Moses (who, like his brother would become a cloth dresser); at this time John was out of work or ill. This was supplemented by 7s. weekly relief, providing total income of 16s. 9d. It cannot be assessed if this level of poverty and consequent inadequate diet were contributory to their deaths, but 3 year-old Mary died shortly after, in July 1832, and her father the following month, aged 43. Although at the height of the summer epidemic, neither Mary nor her father's burials were annotated with a 'c' to indicate death from cholera. One hundred and sixteen were so annotated: the first on 30 June, the last on 3 November. It would seem however that cholera was often finishing off the already very ill, and possibly dying, and being accredited for those deaths, for in 1831 there were 299 burials

at St Matthew's, and in 1833, 276. The total for the cholera year 1832 was 326, only between twenty-seven and fifty more than the 'normal' adjacent years, far fewer than indicated by the annotations.

Widowed Sarah was in receipt of 1s. 6d. weekly 'pay' from the overseer when records are next extant, June 1839, and appears on the list of Holbeck poor receiving regular, pension type weekly relief. This would have been a 'child allowance' type payment for youngest child William, aged 8. The older children expected by the overseer to be in employment from the age of 10 would receive nothing. Indeed, in 1841 four of the five children who were still at home in Isle Lane, Moses, Frederick, James, and Elizabeth were working, the boys designated as 'clothiers', Elizabeth a flax spinner. Only William, now turned 10, and with his mother were not designated an employment status. However, Sarah would no longer be entitled to relief, and her name does not appear on the grocers list of 1842. By 1846 the family had moved across the river to Henry Street (Figure 6.12), in the West End area of Leeds, close to where Joseph and Jane Carr would later move.

Figure 6.12 Henry Street, Leeds, photographed in 1931



John had married in 1838, and while living in Henry Street Moses also married. It was near this address in 1846 that 15 year-old William was killed 'riding a horse up Marlborough Street' on a summer Sunday: the *Leeds Intelligencer* reported that the horse started trotting and William 'being unaccustomed to riding and having no halter or bridle to check it with, ... fell with his head upon the ground fractured his skull and died almost immediately'.³⁶ He was buried at Holbeck St Matthew.

Sarah moved back to Holbeck, to the Elland Road area. In May 1849, aged 56, she married widower Benjamin Russell, a cloth weaver, but also Chelsea Pensioner, who had served with distinction at Vittoria and in the Pyrenean conflict in the French Wars. This pension might have provided Sarah with added financial security. James Goddard, who also served in the French wars and was hospitalised at Vittoria, had 3s. 6d. a week, and he told migration officer Robert Baker 'the parish I came from received my pension',³⁷ while in 1833 Wortley overseers received poor relief recipient Samuel Riley's pension, amounting to 4s. 9d. per week.³⁸ Nonetheless, in 1851 Sarah was contributing to the household economy by weaving canvas, whilst her unmarried daughter Elizabeth, a flax spinner, lodged with the couple, as she did in 1861, when Sarah's employment went unrecorded. Benjamin died in 1870, and in 1871 she headed the household of two; her daughter remained unmarried, but was now a seamstress, while Sarah described herself as 'formerly a harding [canvas] weaver'. Elizabeth died in 1873, aged 46: Sarah followed her the next year, aged 80.

Sarah's eldest son, cloth dresser John, married in August 1838. Like his father he was literate and signed his lines, and like his mother, his bride Ann was not, and marked hers. Ann was almost six months pregnant when they wed, and gave birth to daughter Hannah in November 1838. Ann had seven children in sixteen years, suggesting lactational infecundity was the only factor in family limitation. In 1841 the young family were living in newly developed Hogg's Field just to the west of Isle Lane. By 1851, with a growing family, now of six children, they had moved to Oliver Street. John was described as a grinder of cloth, and would be termed a 'grinder' at the baptism of his last child in 1855: the two eldest children were working in flax mills; Hannah aged 12,

³⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 Jun 1846.

³⁷ TNA, MH12/15224, 1836.

³⁸ LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

and Sarah aged 10, who was a 'half-timer', a beneficiary of the educational clauses in the Factories Acts of 1833, 1844 and 1847.

Tragedy struck the family in the following years. The two youngest died in infancy, William in 1854 aged 3 and John in 1856 aged 13 months. Eldest child Hannah also died that year, aged 18, while 12 year-old Sarah died in 1853. Ann herself died in January 1857, aged 41. Two years later, and still with three surviving children aged between 10 and 15, John remarried, wedding 39 year-old spinster Priscilla Richardson. Like his first wife, Priscilla was illiterate. Unusually, John had developed his occupation to the extent that he was designated a mechanic and would be described as a machine smith two years later, when the couple and John's children were living in Town Gate in Holbeck. Son Henry, 15, was also working in engineering, as a tool smith, while eldest daughter Mary, 18, was a woollen mule piecer; Elizabeth, aged 12, was a scholar. Priscilla had brought relatives to lodge with the family, her unmarried brother, an engine smith, and her uncle, 73 year-old bachelor and woollen weaver John Foster. John Alderson died in 1868, aged 51, and in 1871 Priscilla headed a household which included John's youngest surviving child, woollen weaver Elizabeth. Again, Priscilla had familial lodgers, her sister and husband and young niece.

In 1841 Moses was classified a 'clothier'. However, like his brothers, he was designated a cloth dresser, without the connotations of domestic industry, at his marriage in 1846. Again, like his brothers and father Moses was literate, and like his mother and sisters-in-law, his bride, Mary Flockton, was not. She was also pregnant and gave birth to the couple's only child later that year. Like his brother John, Moses was called a 'grinder' at the occasion of his son's birth, who had been named William for Mary's father, who had died in 1839. Mary's father's death, aged 50, had engendered poor relief payments for her mother, Sarah. After an immediate payment of 3s. in the week of William's death, an order two weeks later established Sarah's pension-type payment of that amount weekly, and like Sarah Alderson, she appears on the list of those in receipt of weekly relief in late July 1839. Sarah Flockton had been left with nine children aged between 2 and 23. In 1841 the four older sons were all working, but eldest daughter, 18 year-old Mary, was not designated an occupation, doubtlessly helping her mother with domestic duties and childcare. Sarah Flockton died in 1842, aged 47, and Mary was left to raise her younger siblings. Indeed in 1851 (in Mann's Field), all four of Mary's younger siblings lived with

her and Moses and son William. And all were working: the three girls in flax mills, the boy as a mechanic. At this time Moses, like brother John, was known as a 'grinder', and in 1861 a 'machine grinder', taking the same route from the declining cloth manufacturing industry to the rising engineering sector. By 1861, her siblings raised and independent, Mary and Moses had moved to Hunslet. Their only child, 14 year-old William, was a mechanic. However, the family took in a nurse child, 4 year-old Thomas Ballard from London. Moses died aged 46 in 1867, and Mary remarried in 1872. It would seem she raised her nurse child long-term, for in 1871 Thomas, aged 14 and a cloth finisher, was still boarding with the widowed Mary.

As highlighted earlier, Elizabeth Alderson remained single and lived with her widowed mother Sarah until her death aged 46, working mostly in the flax mills, but later as a seamstress. William had died in an accident aged 15, and Mary as an infant in 1832. Frederick and James also died young, aged 26 and 18 respectively, in the 1840s. Sarah Alderson outlived two husbands and all eight of her children.

Chew

Edward Chew married Jane Keighley at their parish church, Leeds St Peter, in June 1829. Both marked their lines, and Jane was just a few weeks pregnant at her wedding: in this case at least, pre-marital intercourse, and consequent pregnancy, was perhaps more an expectation of betrothal, than cause of marriage. She gave birth in January 1830, and on the occasion of the child's baptism, and at marriage, her husband was designated a clothier. By the time of the birth of their third child in 1837 he would be called a 'listing maker', as he would be at the 1841 census. Woollen listing was a kind of padding, and might require less skill in its manufacture than woollen cloth.³⁹

In late December 1839, with children aged 9, 7, and 2, and Jane heavily pregnant with their fourth child, Edward began to receive poor relief. He had an initial casual payment of 3s., but the majority of relief came after Jane's confinement. Edward would have been needed for domestic and childcare duties, and less likely to be able to work. The family's first payment of 8s. was made in the week of son William's birth, February

³⁹ Referring to the inferior quality of English wool, Andrew Ure noted that even 'the best wool to be found in Sussex ... was so coarse that we could use it only in the edging of cloths or listing': Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (London, 1835), p. 206.

1840, and continued at this weekly rate for three weeks, before dropping to 6s. for a week. Although not made weekly, several more payments were made throughout that spring, averaging around 5s., while the last payment recorded, was 1s. 6d. on 20 May. However, that was not the end of the family's interaction with the overseer: in May 1842 Edward Chew's name was on the grocers list, and the family might weekly redeem five shillings' worth of goods at Miss Bashforth's shop on Stocks Hill.

In Isle Lane in 1841 the family consisted of Edward and Jane and four children, aged between 1 and 11. Their eldest girl Mary was a flax spinner. Toddler William died in May 1842, and the couple's next child, James, born later that year only live six months. Jane gave birth to one more child, named for her husband, in 1845, but she herself died in January 1848, aged 39. All of her children's baptisms, and hers and her infant children's burials took place at Holbeck St Matthew. Edward did not remarry, and raised his children alone. By 1851 they had moved away from Isle Lane, a little to the south, near the church. With him were his two youngest surviving children, Jane, aged 13, a doffer in a flax mill, and 6 year-old Edward, who was at school. Eldest daughter Mary, however, was an inmate of Holbeck workhouse. It is possible she was mentally ill, although she was not admitted to the Pauper Lunatic Asylum; she died in 1854 in her early twenties. Staying near the church, in Town Gate, and now demoted to a listing maker labourer, in 1861 Edward lived with 15 year-old Edward junior, a butcher's boy. He died the following year, aged 55: someone, probably one of his married daughters, Maria or Jane, paid for a simple obituary notice in the *Leeds Mercury*.⁴⁰

Maria Chew moved out of the parental home and found lodgings near Marshalls mill. In 1851, aged 18, she was a flax spinner, and she and another worker lodged with two older unmarried women, in an all-female household, all of them working in the flax industry. In 1854 Maria, aged 22, married forgerman Samuel Othick. Like her mother she was just a few weeks pregnant: she and her groom were literate. The couple moved to Samuel's home township, Hunslet. By 1861 they and their three young children were living in Union Terrace, and Samuel was a puddler. The family moved to the next street, Derby Crescent (Figure 6.13) where in 1871 eldest daughter Mary Jane was a flax spinner and eldest son Robert a grocer's errand boy. Maria had seven children between 1855 and 1872, childbirth intervals which suggest lactational infecundity was the major

⁴⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 15 Nov 1862.

form of family limitation. By 1881 two of her sons were employed in white-collar occupations: one an assistant school master, another a general clerk. Maria died aged 68 in 1901.

Figure 6.13 Derby Crescent, Hunslet, photographed in 1964



Source: WYAS, (Hunslet Hall Road), box no. 52/1, no. 116; <www.leodis.net> subject ID 2003430_7362002 [accessed July 2016]

In 1859 Jane Chew, aged 23, married mechanic Thomas Clarke. Unlike her sister she was not pregnant at her wedding. But like her sister she signed her lines: although illiterate themselves her parents may have encouraged their daughters' education. All their children were baptised as non-conformists, at Meadow Lane Wesleyan-Methodist chapel. Jane, brought up in Isle Lane, near to the large Isle Lane chapel, and even closer to its school, may have learned both her letters and her faith in this denomination. In 1861 she lived with her husband, named specifically as a 'flyer maker', and young daughter in Kingston Place, off Ingram Street, Holbeck, some distance to the east of Isle

Lane and adjacent to Sweet Street Wesleyan Sunday School. Jane's children might also have benefited from a non-conformist education. The family moved to the Beeston Hill area in the late 1860s, to 26 Algeria Street. Figure 6.14 shows that number photographed one hundred years later: the houses, like most working-class housing in Leeds in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, are back-to-backs, and the one on the left is the 1960s' number 26. It is noticeably larger than its neighbours, and might more easily have accommodated the growing family. First child Jane Ellen cannot be traced, and is not present at the 1871 census, but the family at this time consisted of four sisters, aged 1 to 8. Jane's confinements, are indicative of lactational infecundity intervals. By the late 1870s the family had moved back to Kingston Place, where, in 1881, Thomas had a lower status job, a labourer in a flax mill: two daughters were flax reelers, but the eldest surviving girl, Elizabeth, had like her cousins, a white-collar job, she was a printer's office girl.

Figure 6.14 26 Algeria Street, Beeston Hill, Holbeck, photographed in 1964



The remaining Chew child, butcher's boy Edward, left orphaned aged 16 in 1862, went off the rails somewhat, without parental guidance. In 1869, still working as a butcher's messenger, he was sentenced to three months imprisonment for 'embezzlement of money paid to him by one of his master's customers'.⁴¹ It is unclear where he was living in 1871, certainly his sisters had not taken him in, but he died aged 30 in 1874.

Dunderdale-Hainsworth

Nathaniel Dunderdale senior was a domestic clothier, who held property and the vote. Perhaps one of Thompson's '*kulaks* of the industrial revolution'.⁴² However, while the better-off, landowning, hiring-and-firing Russian peasants of Thompson's analogy were liquidated by collectivisation and Stalinist purge, master clothiers were diminished and disenfranchised by the capitalisation and industrialisation of woollen manufacture. Dunderdale was literate, a non-conformist of the lower middling-sort, and consistent supporter of the Whigs. Yet he lived in the same yard in Isle Lane as his oft-impoorished neighbours. His was a spatial proximity to poverty: his house perhaps more akin to the large three-storey property in nearby Kirk's Yard (Figure 6.3). And as a member of the domestic clothier class, in terminal decline, members of his family would know an economic proximity too, although others would adapt and regain status. Indeed, his daughter and her children, who came to live with their grandfather, supported by the township's poor relief system, knew poverty well. Because of the Dunderdales' more elevated, and enfranchised social class, they have left more of a footprint than their poorer neighbours, including, trades, electoral, and journalistic records.

Nathaniel Dunderdale married Elizabeth Crossland at his parish church, St Peter. Although non-conformist chapels were not registered for marriages until 1837, after the passing of the Marriage Act the previous year, they were for baptisms, and all the Dunderdale children, except the first, were baptised at Wesleyan-Methodist chapels, either on the Leeds East Circuit, or at Holbeck Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel. Both he and his bride, who was not pregnant, were literate. Elizabeth had five confinements in

⁴¹ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 11 Jan 1869.

⁴² Thompson, *The Making*, p. 303.

the first ten years of marriage, suggestive of lactational infecundity patterns, but had a gap of over seven years before her sixth child was born in 1812, followed by her last in 1815.

In 1814, at least, Nathaniel held the office of overseer for the township, as a newspaper notice asking for the reward-able apprehension of a man who had 'absconded and left his family chargeable to the Township of Holbeck' testifies.⁴³ Pigot's Directory of 1818 lists him as a merchant woollen cloth manufacturer.⁴⁴ However, the vicissitudes of trade hit in 1821 and he had a 'commission of bankrupt issued against him'. Nathaniel refused to 'give satisfactory answers' regarding his financial affairs and was sent to the House of Correction at Wakefield.⁴⁵ It is not known how long he was incarcerated, but the following year he was entered as one of the 'country manufacturers attending' the coloured cloth hall in Leeds in Pigot's Directory.⁴⁶

Nathaniel qualified for the franchise before the Reform Act, at least in 1807, when he voted for William Wilberforce and Lord Milton in the county election of that year; perhaps one of the 'hundreds of yeomen clothiers ... who rode to York to vote for Wilberforce in 1807'.⁴⁷ In the first post-reform election, qualified by 'house and shop', he voted for local flax manufacturer John Marshall, and for Thomas Macaulay. He consistently voted Whig, and for the Radical John Molesworth, along with Edward Baines, rather than the Tory Beckett, at the 1837 election. In 1834 his qualification was questioned by the revising barrister. However, the objection was based on a rating anomaly, and his vote was allowed. Nathaniel gave evidence of his property and living arrangements, he told the barrister

he occupied a house and shop which was formerly let ... for £18 a year. He and his sons lived there like hen and chickens together. His sons were the landlords: there was a mortgage upon the property, the interest of which he paid as rent. ... His sons names, T. and N. Dunderdale were above the door; they lived with him while they got wed, and then they went elsewhere. He (the voter) was not a partner with his sons; they carried on their business upon the same premises; they had a room to themselves and slept in the chambers; the interest paid upon the mortgage was £13 10s per annum.⁴⁸

43 *Leeds Mercury*, 2 Apr 1814. See Chapter 4 for a similar, later advertisement from Wortley.

44 *Pigot and Co.'s London & Provincial New Commercial Directory, For 1822-23* (Manchester, 1822), pp. 654-55.

45 *Leeds Intelligencer*, 31 Dec 1821.

46 *The Commercial Directory, for 1818, 19, & 20* (Manchester, 1818), p. 205.

47 Thompson, *The Making*, p. 302.

48 *Leeds Times*, 11 Oct 1834.

That year Thomas and Nathaniel Dunderdale were still amongst the thirty-five remaining Holbeck clothiers listed as 'country manufacturers' attending Leeds Cloth Halls: like the others they attended the Mixed Cloth Hall.⁴⁹

Although the 1841 census states that Nathaniel was of 'independent' means, his sons Thomas and Nathaniel were still noted as being clothiers: however, by this time father and sons had sought to supplement the diminishing income from domestic cloth manufacture by other means, by establishing retail premises. White's Directory of 1837 lists Nathaniel as keeping a beer house, and Thomas and Nathaniel (junior) as shopkeepers.⁵⁰ It is uncertain whether the senior or junior Nathaniel kept the beer house, but in 1838 it attracted the attention of the press:

Caution to Beer-House Keepers. - On Wednesday last, a complaint was laid against a person named Nathaniel Dunderdale, who keeps the Hatters' Arms, Holbeck, for having suffered persons to be drinking at two o'clock on the morning of the same day. The case being proved he was fined 40s. and costs.⁵¹

The yard in Isle Lane might have been a raucous place to live.

In 1841 the Dunderdale family, consisting of Nathaniel and his unmarried sons, all clothiers, 40 year-old Thomas, 38 year-old Nathaniel, and 26 year-old Charles, had their household income supplemented by taking in lodgers: 24 year-old stuff dyer John Crosland (possibly a nephew on Elizabeth's side), and 19 year-old 'clothier' John Russel. In addition, the household accommodated Nathaniel's orphaned grandchildren Henry, working with his uncles as a clothier, and Mary Hainsworth, aged 16 and 12 respectively. Mary's occupation is unstated, but she would probably be burling, or learning to burl, for her brother and uncles. In 1839 Nathaniel was still being paid 1s. 6d. weekly relief for the support of Mary, who would then have been aged 10. This boarding-out payment was the standard amount of child allowance.

Henry and Mary Hainsworth were no strangers to poverty. Hannah Dunderdale, aged 20 and pregnant to full term with, or perhaps having already given birth to, Henry, married 28 year-old schoolmaster John Hainsworth at her parish church on 8 June 1825. Henry

⁴⁹ *General and Commercial Directory*, 1834, p. 330.

⁵⁰ William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory, of the West-Riding of Yorkshire* (Sheffield, 1837), p. 557.

⁵¹ *Northern Star*, 21 Jul 1838.

was baptised there sixteen days later. They were married in great haste, and rather than wait for banns to be read, married by license. Both parties were literate, and the signing of their lines was witnessed by two members of the groom's family. At 20, Hannah was not of age, and her marriage would have required parental approval. Married life did not last long, for John died three years later, leaving Hannah with Henry and newborn Mary. The widowed mother needed township relief, and in 1832 records detail the weekly amount she received, the standard 1s. 6d. for each child. That, added to Hannah's earnings of 1s. 6d., gave the family a weekly income of 4s. 6d. It is speculative to suggest Hannah had become estranged from her father, perhaps because of the nature of her marriage and prenuptial pregnancy, but despite his relative prosperity, Hannah still needed to claim township poor relief, and try to exist on a pittance. Probably undernourished, she (but not her children) succumbed at the height of the cholera epidemic, and in August 1832, aged 27, she was buried at Holbeck St Matthew. Her burial record is annotated 'C'.

It was probably on the death of their mother that the children went to live with their grandfather. In 1841 Henry was given the designation 'clothier' like his uncles. Between this time and his marriage (aged just 18, though he stated he was of 'full age') he changed his name to that of his maternal grandfather, Dunderdale, and his occupation to cloth dresser. Henry's wife Martha was not pregnant at the time of their marriage and they had just three children, all at regular intervals between 1844 and 1850, but then no further children, suggesting some form of birth control. In 1851 Henry and his family lived in Isle Terrace, and had living with them Martha's 74 year-old mother, Grace Wilkinson, who was in receipt of parish relief. Just as his grandfather was in receipt of relief for him and Mary as children, so his family economy would include township relief for his elderly mother-in-law. Henry's sister Mary (whose surname remained Hainsworth) was also lodging with the family in 1851: she worked as a line spreader in a flax mill. The family remained in Isle Lane in 1861: indeed, Henry and Martha only moved across the way to Czar Street (Figure 6.9) before 1871, remaining there for the rest of their lives. Eldest child Thomas died aged 16 in February 1861, but 13 year-old son John Hainsworth Dunderdale, named for Henry's father, was a machine smith in Holbeck's burgeoning engineering sector, while 11 year-old daughter Hannah, was at school. In 1871 the family network remained close, and Henry and Martha had married John, now a fitter in an iron works, and Hannah and her husband, also a fitter, living

with them. At the same address in 1881, Henry's son-in-law James Brown headed the household, where Henry, still a cloth dresser (and now referring to himself as Henry H. Dunderdale) and Martha lodged. Martha died in 1890, and Henry pre-deceased her by three years. At his death his name was registered as 'John Henry H. Dunderdale'.

Mary Hainsworth married spinner Matthew Pearson of Armley in 1855, aged 26. Although the groom signed, Mary marked her lines (as did her brother Henry earlier), education perhaps not being a priority for their grandfather, after their mother's premarital relationship with a schoolmaster. Mary's marriage lasted the same length of time as her mother's, three years, and her husband died in 1858. Unlike her mother, however, Mary was left childless, and in 1861 was living with her husband's younger siblings and their mother and stepfather in Armley. Mary probably remarried, but her remaining life cannot be reconstituted with confidence.

Nathaniel Dunderdale senior died of a stroke (or 'apoplexy') in October 1843, aged 71. He was buried at Holbeck St Matthew: although burials at Holbeck Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel had taken place since 1817 at least, most Methodists may still have chosen to be buried in the local chapelry of their parish church, with their family members and ancestors.⁵² His obituary appeared in three Leeds newspapers, the Whig *Mercury*, the Radical *Times* and the Tory *Intelligencer*, and in each he was described as 'formerly cloth manufacturer'.⁵³ The death of his daughter Hannah meant that of the five children who survived infancy, all were boys, and they had mixed fortunes. Economic diversity was a necessity for ex-clothiers, and Nathaniel's sons met with varying success.

Youngest Charles was the first to marry, aged 20. He married Priscilla Stead in her mother's hometown, Wakefield on Christmas Day 1835. Both he and his wife marked their lines. Priscilla was not pregnant. Charles moved across the Holbeck township boundary into Wortley where son Charles was born on New Year's Day 1837. Baby Charles died a few weeks later and, although baptised at the Anglican parish church, unlike his grandfather a few years later, was buried at Holbeck Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel. Daughter Priscilla was born early in 1839, but Charles and his wife appear to

⁵² As suggested by Edward Royle, 'When did Methodists stop attending their parish churches?: some suggestions from mid-nineteenth century Yorkshire', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. 56 (2008), 275-296 (p. 282).

⁵³ *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Times*, and *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 Oct 1843.

have become estranged: Charles was back living with father and brothers in Isle Lane in 1841, while Priscilla and her daughter remained in Wortley, with her parents and younger siblings. Nor did the couple have further children. The younger Priscilla was still living with her grandparents and two maiden aunts in Wortley in 1851, though the whereabouts of her mother are uncertain. The 13 year-old girl was working as a doffer in a flax mill. Aged 20 and pregnant, in 1860 she married, and gave her father's occupation as an overlooker. Like both her parents she was illiterate.

After his father's death Charles moved in with bachelor brother Thomas in Union Street, a couple of hundred yards east of Isle Lane. Thomas's designation, as so often in the declining domestic woollen cloth industry, had changed from clothier to hand-loom weaver. Charles meanwhile had completely changed textile sector: a clothier at the birth of his son in 1837, he was working in a flax mill by 1841, and more specifically, in the card room in 1851. There is no further indication that Thomas, or his brother Nathaniel (for whom there is no clear record after 1842) kept a shop or beerhouse after their father's death; indeed the property seems to have gone to John Dunderdale (see below). By 1861 Charles headed the household and Thomas, still unmarried, and still a hand-loom weaver, lived with him. Charles, now a flax dresser, was reunited with his wife. Family networks are epitomised in this household, back on Isle Lane, in Isle Terrace, Charles and his wife headed the household, and had their daughter, her husband and 4 month-old child living with them. Son-in-law Alfred was a cloth finisher (by this time a mechanised occupation), and daughter Priscilla a woollen cloth burler, possibly for her uncle Thomas, who, as noted above, was a domestic weaver. The household was completed by Charles' wife's unmarried sister Mary Ann Stead, also a burler. Charles died aged 50 in 1865, and his widow lived alone in Holbeck, in 1871 making a living as a dressmaker. She died the following year, aged 56.

Whilst his brothers appear to have lost the social status of their father, John retained it. A witness at Charles' wedding in 1835, John, unlike the groom, signed the register. He married the literate widow of a hatter, Martha Bailey, in 1838, who had only been first-married a few months when her husband died. She had no children to either husband. Martha herself may have been of higher status, or have financially benefited on the death of her first husband, who had a trade: in 1851 she was described as having a 'partnership draper shop' (with her husband). Notice of John and Martha's marriage

appeared in both the *Intelligencer* and *Mercury*. However, at the start of their marriage, the couple lived in Isle Lane, near to John's father and brothers, and John was an overlooker in a flax mill, as he was at his wedding. It seems Nathaniel senior may have left his property to John, or John bought out his brothers' shares, for in 1844, the year after his father's death, John becomes enfranchised, his qualification 'mortgage, in possession of freehold houses in Isle Lane'. After 1846 the poll books note that these were occupied by 'Joseph Armitage and other tenants', and from 1850 stipulate that these were 'cottage houses'. The 1851 census has the named tenant, shopkeeper Joseph Armitage, living at 15 Isle Lane, while two doors down, two properties between Austin and Whalley's Yard and Isle Lane were named as belonging to 'Dunderdale Yard'.

As John gained property and the vote, so his brothers Thomas and Nathaniel, voters up to 1842, lost it. Like his father and brothers earlier, John voted Whig/Liberal. By 1849 he and his wife had set up a drapers' business on Sweet Street in Holbeck, as an account of a theft from the premises establishes.⁵⁴ Initially (in 1851) John continued to work as a 'manager' in a flax mill, with his wife overseeing the drapery business, assisted by her widowed sister and 16 year-old niece, who both lived in the household; the latter described as a servant. No Dunderdales served on either the select vestry, or the highways board during the period of relatively comprehensive records, 1838-1848, however, like his father in the earlier years of the century, by 1854 John began to undertake service as an official for the township. Journalistic sources establish that he was one of seven surveyors on the highways board in that year, and one of the four overseers of the poor in 1856 and 1857.⁵⁵ In that year he showed his whiggish affiliation for the cause of wholesome entertainment and education of working men by subscribing £5 to the newly established Holbeck Mechanics' Institute.⁵⁶ His involvement in local politics included membership of the central committee of Holbeck Ward for 'promoting the return of Edward Baines esq., and Viscount Amberley' at the Leeds Borough Election of 1867. He was elected to the Holbeck Board of Guardians in 1863, and as a member of that board had his name inscribed on a commemorative brass plaque at the opening of the new Holbeck workhouse the following year.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 Apr 1849.

⁵⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 8, 15, and 22 Jul 1854; *Leeds Times*, 5 Apr 1856; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4 Apr 1857.

⁵⁶ *Leeds Times*, 28 Nov 1857.

⁵⁷ *Leeds Times*, 18 Apr 1863; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 27 Aug 1864.

In 1861 he had moved his household and business out to Lodge Lane in the Beeston Hill area of Holbeck. By now he was a full-time draper, and he and his wife were assisted by a live-in 24 year-old male draper's assistant, and a 16 year-old female house servant. John retained his property in Isle Lane until his death, when it passed to his widow. He died in 1868, aged 56, and despite his Liberal affiliation, it was in the Radical *Leeds Times* where his obituary notice was placed.⁵⁸

Although John Dunderdale's reconstitution speaks of the experience of Holbeck's middling sort, the great majority of the inhabitants of the Isle Lane yard were of the working poor, and had some life-cycle relationship with poverty. The following chapter presents a contextualised synthesis of their experiences, and evaluates the changing constraints upon them, and the strategies they adopted to alleviate poverty.

⁵⁸ *Leeds Times*, 5 Sep 1868.

Chapter 7

Identifying coping strategies

Building on the exposition of narrative biographical reconstitutions of neighbours in Holbeck in the preceding one, this chapter discusses the many significant themes and experiences which the methodology of reconstitution of members of a community reveals. From this it assesses the conditions of the urban working poor in an industrialised township during the nineteenth century, and the agency they had in mitigating against poverty.

Although reconstitution methodologies within microhistories like these focus on a qualitative interpretation of the lives of their historical actors, some more quantitative analysis can also be made from within the small dataset. Literacy levels of the Isle Lane neighbours and their families have been determined from marriage records: eleven of the twenty-one grooms, and nine of the brides signed their marriage lines, the remainder marked. In Rigton the level was considerably lower (albeit for a dataset focused five to ten years earlier): 26% of men and 32% of women could (or chose to) sign their names, rather than mark. Aggregates of figures for the years 1842-1846, from analysis of marriage lines in Leeds and Hunslet, suggest a literacy rate of 56.3% overall for this period, but a gendered split of 71.5% for men and only 41.0% for women. However, reading and writing were different skills, and the ability to sign one's name may not reliably indicate literacy levels. Signing indicated 'a very basic skill': furthermore, rather than prioritising writing, there was a 'greater emphasis on reading in schools'.¹ Poor writing skills was but one reason the poor, proportionately, only rarely left records of their experiences in their own words. Narrative biographical reconstitution can, however give a far greater proportion of the poor some voice, and reconstruct those experiences. Quantitative analysis however, might form a statistical check on the comparative representativeness of the sample of the community reconstituted, and the opening section of this chapter evaluates rates of premarital pregnancy.

¹ W.B. Stephens, 'Elementary education and literacy, 1770-1870' in *Modern Leeds*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 223-249 (pp. 242-244).

Prenuptial pregnancy and illegitimacy

There were twenty-one fecund first-marriages of the major historical actors of this reconstitution, spanning eight decades from the 1790s to the 1860s: seventeen of these took place in the temporal focus of this thesis, the 1820s to 1850s. With a range between 18 and 30, male age at marriage had a median of 23 (and mean of 23.2). The most common age at marriage was 22. The women's range was between 18 and 26, with a median of 22 (mean of 21.9); again the modal age was 22, just a little lower than CAMPOP's calculation for the most comparable period, 1825-37, which suggest a national median of 23.9 for men, and 22.4 for women.²

Bastardy payments were discussed in Chapter 4, and as suggested in the previous chapter, in discussing Rachel Clark (Walmsley) and her daughter Sarah, the rate of illegitimate births (or at least the rate of baptisms of illegitimate children) in Holbeck was low. This low rate in textile manufacturing areas was acknowledged in the Factories Inquiries: Michael Sadler, questioning Holbeck cloth dresser (and Primitive Methodist preacher), Benjamin Bradshaw, attempted to establish that 'the circumstance of there being fewer illegitimate children' was due to the 'disgusting fact' of the dissemination, in factories, of 'certain books', which described contraceptive methods.³ He was referring to Richard Carlile's *Every Woman's Book*, which highlighted Francis Place's handbills which were circulated in their 'thousands ... throughout the populous districts of the North'.⁴ In comparison with the rural township of Rigton, ten or twelve miles north of Holbeck, illegitimacy does appear to have a much lower incidence. Ten illegitimate children, of a total 654, were baptised at Holbeck St Matthew (between 1838 and 1841); but there were twenty-three such baptisms of Rigton children out of a total 225 between 1829 and 1853, at their parish church.⁵ This rural ratio, 10%, is on par with a sample from Lancashire for the same period.⁶ Emma Griffin has suggested there was a *higher* rate of illegitimacy in industrialised settings, and, basing an argument primarily on

2 Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, pp. 146-47.

3 *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 132.

4 Richard Carlile, *Every Woman's Book* (London, 1828), p. 25. Copies of Place's handbills in Norman E. Himes, *Medical History of Contraception* (New York, 1963), pp. 214-17. For an overview of the birth control literature see Angus McLaren, *Birth Control in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York, 1978), especially 'The Beginning of the Birth Control Debate' and 'Contraception and Working-Class Movements', pp. 43-77.

5 WYASL, RDP42/4; RDP49, Kirkby Overblow All Saints, baptism register.

6 Steven King, 'The Bastardy Prone Sub-society Again: Bastards and Their Fathers and Mothers in Lancashire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, 1800-1840', in *Illegitimacy in Britain*, ed. by Levene et al, p. 73.

analysis of autobiographical accounts, concludes that this evinced an increased 'opportunity for working men and women to enjoy new levels of freedom and autonomy'.⁷ This argument cannot be made from the considerably lower rate of illegitimacy in heavily industrialised Holbeck.

If illegitimacy was relatively scarce, prenuptial pregnancy was not. Nine of the twenty-one brides in the Isle Lane reconstitutions were pregnant upon marriage (that is, carrying a child who survived to be, and was, baptised), or married as a result of an illegitimate birth in Rachel Clark's and Mary Watson's (Carr) cases. Five were heavily, (or unmistakably) pregnant, between four months and full-term; pregnancy perhaps the cause of the marriage. The other two however, Jane Chew and her daughter Maria, were just a few weeks pregnant; in their cases, at least, it might be argued that prenuptial intercourse was more an expectation of the marriage bond.⁸ The 43% rate of prenuptial pregnancies is somewhat lower than in a rural setting, for a similar sized dataset, across a similar chronology, and a demographic with a comparable level of poverty. However, as John Gillis suggests, 'rural betrothal customs' continued in urban settings, with couples "'proving" fertility in the same way as country folk'.⁹

In Rigton the dataset was twenty fecund marriages between the 1790s and 1850s, eight of these in the 1820s. The grooms' age range was 20 to 30, (median of 24), and the most common marriage ages were 24 and 25; a year or two higher in this rural township (with, as noted in Chapter 2, a nubile-female-depleted population), than in the urban. The brides' range was between 17 and 28, (median of 22), and a modal age of 22, very similar to the Holbeck women. In Rigton 60% of brides were pregnant at their wedding. Neither samples quite support the southern rural magistrate Henry Drummond's statement of 1824, that he 'never knew an instance of a girl being married till she was with child'.¹⁰ But both suggest acceptance of premarital intercourse, and pregnancy 'as ordinary facts of neighbourhood life', and both were higher, but comparable with, the 37% in the far larger dataset from the well-documented Devon community of Colyton

7 Emma Griffin, 'Sex, illegitimacy and social change in industrializing Britain', *Social History*, 38:2 (2013), 139-161 (p. 161).

8 There is a discussion of types of prenuptial pregnancies in Peter Laslett (ed.), *Bastardy and its Comparative History* (London, 1980), p. 8.

9 John R. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages 1600 to the Present* (Oxford, 1985), p. 180.

10 *PP 1824 (392) Report from the Select Committee on Labourers' Wages*, p. 47; and see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 85.

in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹

Indications from these small samples are that prenuptial pregnancy, like illegitimacy, was more common in the rural setting than in the urban, whilst literacy levels were relatively ungendered, similar for men and women in both groups, but significantly lower overall in the rural group. Qualitatively based analysis, founded in reconstitution methodology, from larger, less specific, datasets, might enhance our understanding of comparative rates and trends in both prenuptial pregnancy and the understanding of the marriage bond, and indeed literacy levels, amongst the urban and rural working poor. Biographical reconstitutions and their narrative exposition reveal a qualitative richness that cannot be uncovered without manual record linkage. In positing his compelling argument for a paucity in increases in living standards during the industrial revolution, Charles Feinstein highlighted that 'qualitative evidence may help corroborate or discredit a specific statistical result'.¹² Quantitative analysis cannot present and compare the myriad different individual life events, experiences and choices made by individuals and families. The following is a contextualised synthesis of the very many themes and experiences arising from the reconstruction of the small Isle Lane community.

Occupation

Domestic woollen cloth making: clothier becomes weaver

Although fourteen of the Isle Lane group were described as clothiers in 1841, none were masters, all were journeymen. Nathaniel Dunderdale senior had been of that class of master clothiers, but by 1841 was living by independent means, his sons journeymen, augmenting their income by shopkeeping. By this time the term had become a loose one, and the men were predominately weavers; as Joseph Best described, outworking for manufacturers. Moreover, Best regarded that the inferior (lower paid) work had become their staple: 'the worst is put out to hand-loom weavers'.¹³ Richard Oastler, with vociferous animosity towards the factory system, and harking back to a rather rose-

11 Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1995), p. 166; and Jean Robin, 'Prenuptial pregnancy in a rural area of Devonshire in the mid-nineteenth century: Colyton, 1851-1881', *Continuity and Change* 1 (1), 1986, 113-124 (p. 113).

12 Charles H. Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated: Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 58:3 (1998), 625-58 (pp. 650-651).

13 *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

tinted vision of the domestic clothier system of his youth, told the Sadler Committee 'respectable little clothiers' had 'been almost completely destroyed; there are scarcely any of the old-fashioned domestic manufacturers left'.¹⁴ The several preparatory process had been taken into joint stock mills for hire by the end of the previous century; however the industry still depended 'on skilled hand-loom weavers, either scattered ... or gathered together in weaving sheds attached to the mills'.¹⁵

The nomenclature 'clothier' with its connotations of independence and status is a misnomer, and that traditional, by this time historic, term was becoming interchangeable with 'weaver': although the enumerator chose 'clothier' for all woollen cloth makers in 1841, this is shown in the occupational descriptions in other records left by the older historical actors in this microhistory. Joshua Carr, clothier at the baptism of his children in 1830 and 1832, but a weaver in the poor relief records of that year, was a 'woollen c[loth] weaver' in 1851, and, very specifically, a 'woollen cloth hand loom weaver' in 1861: while his son gave him the status of clothier at his marriage in 1847, his daughter called him a weaver at hers four years later. Hannah Best's eldest son Joseph, a hand-loom weaver at the inquiry in 1838, was given the status clothier when nominated for Chartist and select vestry office in the 1840s, but was a weaver in two newspaper reports in 1845, at his second marriage in 1848, and in later censuses. One-time master clothier's son Thomas Dunderdale, an enfranchised clothier himself in the late 1830s and early 1840s, was a hand-loom weaver in later censuses.

A retained domestic tradition

Several manufactories had built sheds for hand-loom weaving. Hudson notes, generally, and with particular regard to the Leeds woollen industry, 'centralisation and labour discipline' were at least as much prime movers of industrialisation as mechanisation.¹⁶ Indeed Benjamin Gott's vast Park Mill, just across the river from Holbeck, in 1830 housed 238 hand-looms and weavers in its shed.¹⁷ Yet there were significant manifestations of a retained domestic clothmaking tradition. At the Hand-loom Inquiry, according to Chapman there were 285 looms in Holbeck (there were 764 in Wortley, in

¹⁴ *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 455.

¹⁵ Derek Gregory, *Regional Transformation and Industrial Revolution: A Geography of the Yorkshire Woollen Industry* (Basingstoke, 1982), p. 59.

¹⁶ Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution*, p. 28.

¹⁷ W.B. Crump, *The Leeds Woollen Industry 1780-1820* (Leeds, 1931), p. 58.

a population half that of Holbeck's), of a total 4,238 in the Leeds Borough, and 10,029 in the wider Leeds district.¹⁸ As noted earlier, the power-loom was slow to supersede the hand-loom in the weaving of woollen cloth, and in 1835 there were only 213 in Leeds: indeed by 1856, 'in the *district* of Leeds, comprising most of the towns and villages between the Aire and the Calder' there were still 'only 2,344 cloth power looms'.¹⁹ While some of the Isle Lane weavers may have been employed in sheds like (or indeed at) Gotts, others like Joseph Best were working at home: he told Chapman he had two looms, and was prepared to let one out; this seems to have occurred, as he had 'clothier' Joseph Speight lodging with him in 1841. This retained domestic manufacture, hand-loom weaving undertaken in cottages in Holbeck's yards, is illustrated in a newspaper account of a coroner's inquest after an explosion in a yard close to the Isle Lane yard, off Holbeck Lane, in 1835. James Walker, gave evidence and described himself as a clothier, and how he and journeyman weaver William Windsor were at work 'weaving in a chamber' upstairs in Walker's cottage in Maud's Fold. They were to some extent protected from the explosion by their looms.²⁰

Family involvement in clothmaking persisted, although not, by the 1830s, to the extent Armley clothier James Ellis described in 1806; in answer to the question 'a man who has a wife may have her assistance to spin?' he replied 'yes, and some of them warp the web, and the children fetch the bobbins and so on; there are a great many things a family may assist in'.²¹ Nonetheless, several of the Isle Lane women were at various times given the occupational designation 'burler', though some may, like their weaver menfolk, have worked in sheds attached to mills: 227 women were employed at Gotts as 'burlers and fine drawers', an additional thirty-six, like Sarah Calvert, 'wool-moters' (or moiters).²² Joseph Lawson described burling, in its domestic and centralised, settings in Pudsey:

Scores of women and young girls might be seen going to and fro fetching ends on their shoulders to burl, or taking them back when done. Many manufacturers had burling houses or sheds, with several boards or tables to work on; others put their burling out. Some burlers hired burling sheds, and got work where they could; while many burlled in their own houses.²³

18 *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 529.

19 Clare E. Collet, 'Women's Work in Leeds', *Economic Journal*, 1:3 (1891), 460-73 (p. 461).

20 *Leeds Mercury*, 31 Oct 1835.

21 *PP* 1806 (268a), *Minutes of evidence taken before the committee appointed to consider of the state of the woollen manufacture of England*, p.6.

22 Crump, *The Leeds Woollen Industry*, p. 58.

23 Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the young on progress in Pudsey during the last sixty years* (Stanningley, 1887), p. 53.

Mary Carr, her daughter-in-law Jane, Mary and Elizabeth Hodgson, and Priscilla Dunderdale were all described as burlers, though many other women and girls burling in the domestic setting probably eluded definition by the enumerator. Several commentators have discussed the unreliability of the recording of women's work in the censuses, especially if that work was undertaken in the home.²⁴ Nonetheless, as noted in Chapter 2, many women, older women especially, were described as burlers in 1841; particularly in Wortley with its heightened retained cloth manufacturing demographic.

Weavers' earnings; unemployment and under-employment

An anthology of 'poetical contributions to the Bramley Almanac', between 1871 and 1891, from a traditional clothier Leeds township, included this nostalgic comic lament:

I'm nobbut a a weyver, my name is Joe Blobb,
 A 'poverty knocker', and aht ov a job,
 I weyved a hand-leum when business wor throng,
 And click-a-clack thump! I went all day long.
 ...
 But times they are changed, and weyving, I wot,
 Has altered its tune, or clean gone ta pot;
 The click of the shuttle, the stroke of the beam,
 Click-a-clack, thump! ye will ne'er hear agean.²⁵

The thrust of the dialect doggerel was well-founded. By the 1838 Inquiry weavers' wages had become squeezed: almost half Leeds' hand-loomers were employed by 'the dozen largest millowners'; weavers had become 'sweated out-workers'.²⁶ Among better paying manufacturers were Hirst and Bramley, and Ripley and Ogle (better than Gott).²⁷ Chapman judged Leeds was where 'the best cloths are made' and reasoned for this 'best work the best wages are, of course, given'.²⁸ Weavers at Hirst's netted 18s. 9d. per week; Ripley's best workers averaged 17s. 8d.; but out-worker Joseph Best grossed just 14s. (12s. 6d. net), his sons 5s. and 8s. each. He recalled 'twenty-two years ago, I could earn

24 Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, pp. 101-3; Michael Anderson, 'What can the mid-Victorian censuses tell us about variations in married women's employment?', *Local Population Studies* (1999), 9-30; Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family, 1790-1865', *Economic History Review*, 48 (1995), 89-117.

25 J.T. Barker, 'The Song of the Weyver' in John Dawson (ed.), *Gems from 'Our Village'* (Bramley, 1891), p. 59.

26 Pearson, 'Knowing One's Place', p. 230.

27 *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 552.

28 *Ibid*, p. 530.

more in three days than I can now in six'.²⁹ Yet it was irregularity of employment, being 'aht ov a job', that heightened weavers' impoverishment. Chapman noted from figures Best collated, that in Holbeck in 1837 'the weavers ... were not above half employed' as 'the total net earnings of 174 men' was '£3,130 ... an average of just 7s. per week'.³⁰

The role of friendly societies

In calculating the 'least possible sum per week' a family of five might live on (discussed later in this chapter), Humphrey Boyle appended that such a budget should additionally include 'the sum required for the fund which it is agreed every workman [ought] to lay in store for sickness and old age'.³¹ Like Joseph Best, 'the weavers in his neighbourhood were, generally speaking, all members of sick clubs [friendly societies]'.³² 'Queries addressed by the Commissioners for the North-eastern District' of the Factories Commission 'to Mill-owners' included [Q. 16.], 'Is any time allowed to the hands during sickness, or absence from the mill arising from accidents? Explain your practice in this respect'.³³ Some mill-owners who replied gave evidence for substantial subscription to friendly societies. Marshalls' spokesman replied 'nearly all the men in our mill join in subscribing to a sick club, from which they receive during sickness 8s per week to the extent of twelve weeks'. Similarly, a spokesman for a large woollen mill in Hunslet, Pim, Nevins and Son, which employed 552 (297 men over 21) in 1833, stated 'nearly all our people belong to sick clubs or benefit societies, and receive allowances when sick'. James Binns and sons, Leeds cloth dressers, supported this widespread subscription in the textile mills, 'to men we do not pay, they being generally in sick societies'.³⁴ Friendly Societies, argues Martin Gorsky, were a phenomenon of industrialisation, and had the roots of their far-reaching expansion in the late eighteenth and first decade and a half of the nineteenth century.³⁵

It is problematic to ascertain which societies were the most prevalent in Holbeck, such

²⁹ Ibid, p. 533; *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

³⁰ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 535.

³¹ Leeds merchant 'Humphrey Boyle's estimate of living costs in 1832'. From the family records of Boyle & Son, Leeds; in W.G. Rimmer, 'Working Men's Cottages', p. 199.

³² *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

³³ *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 69.

³⁴ Ibid., C.1., pp. 171, 203, and 234.

³⁵ Martin Gorsky, 'The growth and distribution of English friendly societies in the early nineteenth century', *Economic History Review*, 51:3 (1998), 489-511 (p. 507).

was their variety. However, in 1828 the Clothiers' Union of Holbeck had 794 members, and was the largest represented at a meeting of society representatives in Leeds that year.³⁶ One member was James Wright, and select vestry minutes suggest the Clothiers' Union paid members pension type payments; it is unspecified if James was in receipt of indoor or outdoor relief, but in January 1840 it was resolved that he 'give up to the Select Vestry 2/- per week from his pension from the Clothiers Union Society'.³⁷ In rural Rigton there was almost universal male subscription to its village society.³⁸ Similarly, in the clothier township Birstall, some six or so miles south-west of Holbeck, hand-loom weaver William Kershawe, an officer of friendly societies, highlighted that

the people of the whole township, both male and female, are particularly desirous of subscribing both to sick clubs and burial societies. Even if they have only 7s or 8s a week they contrive to spare enough for this.

Kershawe believed there were twenty or thirty societies, or orders of societies, in Birstall, and that working men, if able 'will belong to two or more'. He considered the prevalence of membership kept people from the Poor Law:

The benefit clubs, secret orders and free gifts, provide against sickness, and some of them give travelling cards, to enable those out of employment to seek it; and this prevents applications to the parish, and preserves independence.³⁹

Samuel Day, a superintendent at Gotts, told the Factories Commission that workers there tended to be in the large affiliated societies. He stated, 'Our men are not so much in sick societies, as they are in Druids and Oddfellows, and Foresters and Gardeners', what Day called 'secret orders'.⁴⁰ Leeds woollen mill worker William Cooper was such a member, and received 9s. a week when sick, and attendance from 'the doctor of the Odd Fellows'. He paid '8d a fortnight' subscription, plus 'so much entrance. A guinea for the young men, and above thirty-five it was more'.⁴¹ Similarly, Joseph Best paid 'about £1 a year' for his subscription to a 'fellowship or benefit society'.⁴² These were somewhat higher than subscriptions to rural, community-based societies. Members of Askrigg

³⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 Apr 1828.

³⁷ WYASL, LC/TC, 15 Jan 1840.

³⁸ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 76.

³⁹ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 539.

⁴⁰ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 105. Such societies had their more ritualistic and fraternal elements founded in freemasonry: Cordery, *British Friendly Societies*, p. 18. As the Oddfellows was in origin Manchester-based, so the Foresters was founded in Leeds around 1830: Eric Hopkins, *Working-class self-help in nineteenth-century England* (London, 1995), p. 28.

⁴¹ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 66.

⁴² *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

(Wensleydale) Society paid just 2s. 6d. per quarter: however such societies may have been subsidised by the inclusion of middling-sorts and elites who also contributed or donated.⁴³ In Rigton farmers as well as their labourers were members.⁴⁴ Particularly with regard to the smaller rural societies, research is required on the correlation of working-class subscription (and 'self-help') and the amounts contributed by ratepaying middling-sorts, and additionally the social, communal aspect of societies, to which middling-sorts might subscribe, without needing the relief such societies also provided.

Subscriptions in times of un- or under-employment could be hard to find, resulting in members being 'thrown out' of their society. William Cooper could not continue to raise his contributions when out of work, while in Holbeck weaver Benjamin Kirk, told the Hand-loom Inquiry, he had been a 'benefit society' member for twenty years, 'but being out of work, I was obliged to discontinue the payment, and I am beyond the age to get in again'. He observed that 'a very great many' had been similarly expelled.⁴⁵ Kirk, aged 51 and a widower in 1832, was in receipt of township relief: he received 2s. per week that year when out of work (despite his daughter and son earning 12s. 6d. between them). In 1840 he was again in need of relief: between January and May he received 4s. or 5s. casual relief, on an almost weekly basis, whilst in 1842 he had 2s. per week worth of groceries.

To allay dismissal from societies Holbeck overseers might pay unemployed members' subscriptions. Similarly, Leeds overseer Lewis Morgan told a meeting of representatives of local friendly societies in 1828 that on occasions, rather than

a man through want of work or heavy affliction ... should be deprived of the benefit of his sick-club, through his inability to pay his quarterage, the Parish Board had even consented to pay his contribution for him.⁴⁶

In April 1842 Thomas Orrill 'applied to the [Holbeck] overseers ... for the payment of his subscription due to his society ... for half a year'. If subscriptions were kept up, a member would not need parish relief, but neither would they be eligible for it: Orrill had

43 Christine Hallas, *In Sickness and in Health: Askrigg Equitable, Benevolent, and Friendly Society 1809-2000* (York, 2000), p. 31.

44 HCL, Rigton Friendly Society, minutes, 1863-92.

45 *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 66; *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, pp. 539-540.

46 *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 Apr 1828. Payment of subscriptions by parochial authorities has also been noted for rural Bedfordshire; Williams, *Poverty, Gender and the Life-Cycle*, p. 155.

continued to draw parish relief 'of 2/6 p week ... during the last five weeks, although during the whole of this period he was receiving 7/- p week from his Sick Society'. The select vestry resolved 'in consequence of this disgraceful fraud, his Parish relief be discontinued'.⁴⁷ Likewise, also in 1842, Colbeck Atha was prosecuted by Holbeck vestry for claiming relief on 'false pretences', having been in receipt of money from the 'Holbeck Society' and the 'Free Gift'.⁴⁸ Thomas Brown, superintendent at Greenwood and Whitaker's of Otley described the 'free gift' system in place at that mill:

We have no sick society with a fund, but what they call a free gift. When any hand belonging it is ill, 10s. a week is collected from the rest. There are sixty members on the men's list; each contributes 2d. The women have one also; I think they only allow 5s.⁴⁹

In Wortley, as highlighted in the preceding chapter, in 1833, payment of potential paupers' friendly society subscriptions was more pronounced, and six men had their subscriptions paid for at least part of that year. At the start of the financial year (and that of the extant six-month records) John Greenwood received his quarterly subscription (and possible arrears) of 3s. 9d., this was followed by payment for the following quarter, 3s. 6d. on 3 July. John Lambert and George Hodgson had probably a full year's subscription of 12s. each paid on that date. Three others had quarterly amounts paid later in the year: Thomas Wood, 3s. 9d., and William Holdsworth, 3s. 6d., on 1 May, and Samuel Kirk, 3s. 6d. on 5 June.⁵⁰ All were recorded as part of the 'Day Bill', that is, casual payments. Conversely, recipients of poor relief might forfeit payments from societies, to contribute towards their relief, as noted above, in the case of James Wright.

There is a lacuna regarding the precise correlation between parish poor relief and friendly societies. Investigations at a microhistorical level, which employ reconstitution methodology in closer communities which, like Rigton, might have almost universal (or at least universal male) subscription to a single society, and where both poor relief and local friendly society records are extant, might address this gap in the historiography of poverty alleviation.⁵¹

⁴⁷ WYASL, LC/TC, 6 Apr 1842.

⁴⁸ WYASL, LC/TC, 1 Jun 1842.

⁴⁹ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 111.

⁵⁰ LLSL, QLW899, 1833.

⁵¹ See Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies': however, friendly society records for Rigton do not correlate precisely with the extensive poor relief records.

Linen weavers

The necessity of poor relief for woollen cloth weavers was pronounced. While Joseph Best is not known to have had recourse to township relief, Isle Lane neighbour Joshua Carr was earning just 1s. 3d. when he received relief in 1832, while Edward Chew received substantial, and for some periods, weekly casual relief. But it was not solely woollen cloth weavers who might be impoverished. The Hand-loom Inquiry examined the condition of linen weavers too. It estimated there were between 600 and 700 hand-loom linen weavers in Leeds, although 'not long ago [there] were about 900'. Their average weekly wages, the report calculated, were 8s. 4d. net 'when in full work, which is seldom the case'. It highlighted that '[f]or many months the trade has not afforded labour for one half of the hand-loom linen weavers' and they were 'reduced to great distress'.⁵² Elizabeth Best's daughter Mary was, aged 30, a linen weaver in 1851. Sarah Alderson of Isle Lane would later refer to herself as 'formerly a harding [canvas] weaver'; this type of lower quality linen weaving, 'towelling, canvas, bagging, & c.' employed around three-quarters of Leeds weavers, who earned 'considerably' less than the quarter 'employed on the better sort of weaving, drills, ducks, &c'.⁵³ Sarah's first husband James was an impoverished flax dresser known to have received relief in 1830 and 1832, while widowed Sarah received 1s. 6d. weekly when records are next extant in 1839. Charlotte Galloway, a recipient of Holbeck casual relief in 1839, gave evidence to the Factories Commission, and described the brutal, arduous and impoverished condition of Holbeck linen weavers, and the familial nature of working, at Benyon's flax mill, in 'the Hand Weavers' Shops attached to the Factory':

I get 2s. I am paid by those I wind for. We start half an hour before the factory. The first bell rang today at a quarter before five. I came when the second bell rang at a quarter past five. I shall give over at seven [p.m.]. I am going sixteen. Winding is middling hard work. I wind for three. I've some to do to keep them agait. They have a stick that they beat me with sometimes. My father used to have a rope. It is my father and my brothers that I wind for. It's more than a month since my father paid me last: my brothers pay me too. One is going fourteen: the other is bigger.

Charlotte also spoke for 8 year-old William Hudson:

He winds for his grandfather and his uncle. He has wound here about a year. He gets about 1s. It's very hard work for him. He often gets paid with t'rope.⁵⁴

⁵² *PP* 1840 (43-1), *Hand-loom weavers ... Reports from Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners. Reports, by S. Keyser, Esq., on the West Riding of Yorkshire, ... Part II*, p. 475.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 475.

⁵⁴ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 100; for Charlotte Galloway's poor relief experiences see Chapter 4.

Woollen cloth manufacture's apprenticeship culture

As noted in Chapter 5, in discussing parish apprenticing, the traditional apprenticeship system was in decline. However, there was local resistance to its demise in the woollen industry, and the culture of male apprenticeship endured. Into the 1830s it was systematised into factories. Gotts had a 'great many apprentices', and of twelve Leeds textile manufacturers who replied to the Factories Commission query 'do you employ apprentices?', three of the four woollen manufacturers said that they did - the other eight (three flax, three worsted, and two mixed cotton) said they did not.⁵⁵ In its domestic setting Heaton highlighted the common practise of a clothier teaching his son: this was an informal apprenticeship, 'an unwritten arrangement between father and son'.⁵⁶ This arrangement is evinced by the historical actors in Isle Lane: clothiers Joshua Carr's son Joseph; George Hodgson's sons George and William; Nathaniel Dunderdale's sons Thomas and Nathaniel (and grandson Henry); and clothier's widow Hannah Best's sons, Joseph, and Edward were all, like their fathers, called 'clothier' in 1841. As highlighted earlier, Joseph Best told the Hand-loom Inquiry 'we are compelled to bring up our children to our trade, because we cannot afford the premiums demanded in other trades ... we have no resource but our own trade'.⁵⁷ Retention in the occupation, however, perpetuated poverty, and men, the younger generation especially, had to climb off the loom and change their jobs. However, the work they might find, because they had, by necessity, been brought up to clothmaking alone, without training in other trades, tended to be of the more menial, lower paid labouring kind.

Changing occupation

Of those above-named 'clothiers' in 1841, only the older generation remained hand-loom weavers: Joseph Best was a weaver into his, and the century's, seventies, Joshua Carr was a weaver in 1861 and an unemployed clothier ten years later, while Thomas Dunderdale remained a hand-loom weaver until his death in the 1860s. George Hodgson senior, however, changed occupation in his later years, becoming a coal leader/dealer in his sixties, an occupation he was assisted in by his youngest son.

None of the younger generation clung long to the loom. William and George Hodgson,

⁵⁵ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 71; *PP* 1834 (167), Appendix A.1., p. 1, and Appendix C.1., pp. 37-76.

⁵⁶ Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, p. 301.

⁵⁷ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 582.

taught hand-loom weaving by their father, along with Moses Alderson and Henry Hainsworth, also 'clothiers' in 1841, entered the mechanised branch and became cloth dressers during that decade. However, with the exception of one, they did not stay long at the gigging machines, because to work effectively in the mills as adult workers it was necessary to have worked there as children, and become proletarianised and inured to factory discipline. As Katrina Honeyman highlighted, growing up in the factory system and the consequent 'adaptation to factory discipline' was important, and resistance to it was 'more likely when entry took place after childhood'.⁵⁸ The Hodgson brothers both became labourers. Joseph Carr became a labourer in the developing chemicals industry, while Edward Chew, already demoted from weaver to listing-maker, was a listing-maker labourer by 1861. Henry Hainsworth however, unlike George Hodgson and Moses Alderson who did not switch to cloth-dressing until their twenties, made the change in his teens, and remained in that mechanised trade. Moses Alderson became a machine grinder by mid-century. Edward Best also took this route, becoming an iron grinder/polisher. Indeed, several of the Isle Lane neighbours took advantage of Holbeck's rising metalworking and engineering sector. Ann Carr's husband William Holgate, later in the century, became a foundry or mechanic's labourer, while sisters Maria and Jane Chew married a forgerman and mechanic respectively. John Alderson changed from being a cloth dresser to a grinder in a cloth mill, before progressing to become a mechanic/machine smith: John's son Henry trained as a tool smith; similarly, his brother Moses's son William learned a mechanic's trade, as did Henry Hainsworth Dunderdale's son John - training as a machine smith, and later working as a fitter in an iron works. Adult male mechanics and foundry workers at Maclea and March of Holbeck, 'iron and brass founders, and manufacturers of flax and tow machinery', earned on average 23s. 4d. weekly in 1833, a great improvement on weavers' wages. And this was for a considerably shorter working week of 59½ hours: significantly, they were unionised, and the firm's spokesman noted that, in answer to the Commission's question about the desirability of legislation to restrict working hours:

we think that, from the description of our hands, no legislative enactment is required to regulate hours; most of them are men, and sufficiently powerful by their combined unions to regulate their own.⁵⁹

Joseph Best noted that hand-loom weavers' unions had been broken by the employers:

⁵⁸ Honeyman, 'The Poor Law, the Parish Apprentice', pp. 128-129.

⁵⁹ *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 251.

the masters have broken up the unions, and the men are now adrift; we have now nothing to protect us; the masters stood out against us, and were too strong, and the men had to submit for the want of something to eat.⁶⁰

Hand-loom weaving became non-viable for men with families - or hopes of families - during the 1840s. Those who stuck to the loom might not find a wife: John Hodgson died unmarried aged 39, his brother George, having changed occupation to labourer, married aged 45; Edward Best married aged 42, having changed occupation to iron grinder; Thomas Dunderdale remained a weaver and died unmarried aged 67, while his brother Nathaniel, in his late thirties, was an unmarried 'clothier' in 1841. Of all members of the seven Isle Lane families designated 'clothier' in 1841 first-marrying after that date, only Joseph Carr was called a clothier or weaver at his wedding. And as noted in the preceding chapter, Joseph's under-age bride, Jane Parker, was from a large impoverished family headed by a weaver's widow. Marrying a weaver was not a sensible economic strategy (unless the existing poverty was worse), and, as discussed below, Holbeck's young women might be protected from having to marry into poverty by the limited independence offered by working in the mills. Comparatively few men changed textiles sector and worked in flax mills. But it was not an impossibility for former domestic clothiers to do so. John Dunderdale became a flax mill overlooker, and it was possible that he found his younger brother Charles, a clothier in 1837, work: Charles worked variously in the card room, and as a flax dresser.

A culture of women and children's work

Women and girls in flax mills

Unlike the woollen mills, which had a majority male workforce (Pim, Nevins, as noted earlier had a majority of male adult workers, and an overall female ratio of only 27%),⁶¹ the flax mills, other than in the role of overlooker,⁶² and as mechanics, had a preponderance of female and child labour. Labour that was 'cheap, flexible, compliant

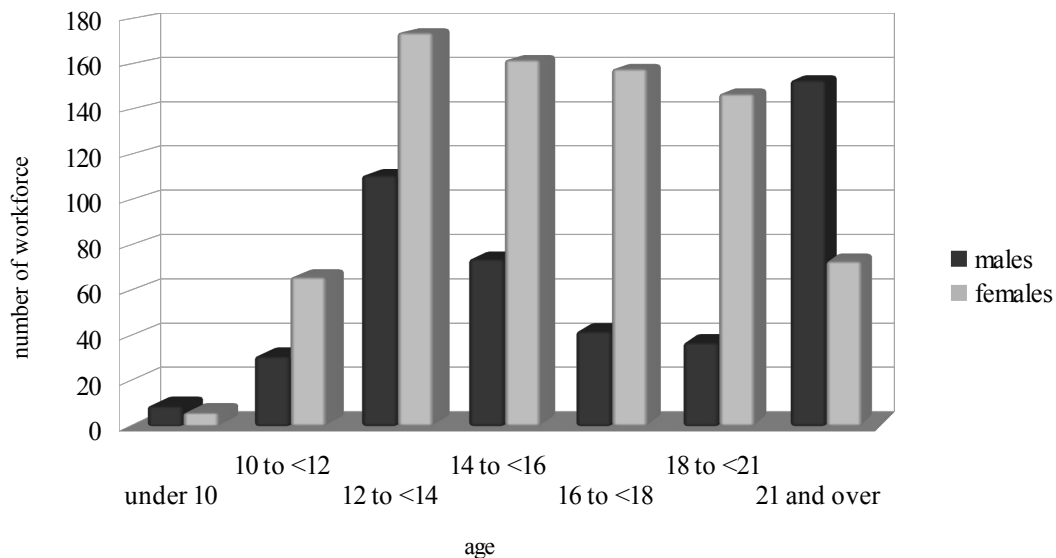
⁶⁰ *PP* 1840 (43-II), Part III, p. 582.

⁶¹ *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 232, and C.1., p. 203.

⁶² It was not, however, unknown for a woman to become an overlooker in the industry in Leeds: Charles Binns, giving evidence to the Factory Commission, highlighted when he worked at Moses Atkinson's flax mill 'it was a young woman who was overlooker over the doffers', while Mark Best noted Hammonds 'has got a young woman there now for overlooker', *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., pp. 77 and 74.

and willing to work long hours for little reward'.⁶³ In 1834 Benyon's flax mill in Holbeck employed 481, of whom 280 (58%) were female: Marshalls in Holbeck employed 1,243, of these 82% were aged under 21 - and of these younger workers 70% were female, Figure 7.1. One of the 'largest factories in the empire',⁶⁴ by 1847 it employed 1,878, 1,420 (76%) of whom were female.⁶⁵

Figure 7.1 Age and gender profile of workforce at Marshalls Flax Mill, Holbeck, 1833



Source: *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 170

Children's work

Children, both boys and girls, were expected to contribute to the family economy from the age of ten (prior to the factories agitation and the Sadler Committee of 1832, it had been nine). E.P. Thompson's claim that industrialisation had been founded on 'the exploitation of little children' has been borne out by data analysis;⁶⁶ it is bolstered by evidence from this project. If children were not in work they would not qualify for poor

63 Katrina Honeyman, *Women, Gender and Industrialisation in England, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 71.

64 *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 'A Day at a Leeds Flax-Mill', Volume 12, 1843, supplement, 501-508 (London: Charles Knight, Dec. 1843), p. 502.

65 Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p. 316.

66 Thompson, *The Making*, p. 384; Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'The Exploitation of little Children': Child Labor and the Family Economy in the Industrial Revolution', *Explorations in Economic History*, 32:4 (1995), 485-516.

relief. As discussed in Chapter 4, this policy was apparent in Holbeck, as it was throughout Leeds. John Rawlings, master of Leeds Workhouse, told the Factories Commission:

[A]s the children reach ... ten, we knock them off ... the [relief] list of that family, expecting they should get employment at that age. Up to that we allow 1s 6d a head for children.⁶⁷

It was reiterated by Hunslet overseer John Yewdale, who highlighted changes due to the factories agitation.

With regard to the age at which we expect the children to be employed, our rule has been, until lately, that at nine years of age we would give no relief in respect of that child, and accordingly take off 1s. 6d. for every such child. That practice continued up to within a year of this time, when we changed the age to ten, in consequences of the masters not choosing to employ them before. I believe they have to thank Mr. Sadler for that ...⁶⁸

In the seven Isle Lane families in 1841 there were fourteen aged between 10 and 19. All but three, 11 year-old Thomas Hodgson, 10 year-old William Alderson, and 10 year-old Mary Hainsworth, had stated occupations. Of these eleven, all eight boys were working in the woollen cloth industry, designated 'clothier', and all three girls were working in the flax industry: 11 year-old Ann Carr's job was unspecified, it was simply noted she worked in a flax mill, whereas 14 year-old Elizabeth Alderson and 11 year-old Mary Chew were flax spinners. The later records, those of descendants of the seven families, are peppered with girls working in the flax mills. In 1851 alone: Ann Hodgson's daughter 10 year-old Margaret worked as a screwer in a flax mill; 12 year-old Hannah Alderson and her 10 year-old sister Sarah both worked in flax mills (Sarah was a half-timer); their cousins Hannah and Eliza Fockton, aged 16 and 14, were a thread reeler and flax spreader respectively; 13 year-old Jane Chew was a doffer in a flax mill, as was Priscilla Dunderdale at the same age.

Some parents may have sought to keep their children out of the mills. Leeds Infirmary surgeon, Sam Smith, giving evidence before the Sadler Committee, told that on several occasions he besought parents to take their children from the mills for the good of their health.⁶⁹ The pioneer of occupational medicine, Leeds-based Charles Turner Thackrah

⁶⁷ *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 56.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, C.2., p. 59.

⁶⁹ *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 498.

thought 'that young children ought not work at all' but compromised his views to suggest six hours a day should be the maximum for children, speaking 'as a medical man and a friend of humanity'.⁷⁰ Some who heeded medical advice, given by the 'visiting surgeon' (recently installed during the factories agitation) working for Marshalls, William Price, were 14 year-old Sarah Tannett's parents. Sarah had worked in the mill for five years when she was advised to leave on health grounds, but it was her parents' less than straightened circumstances which permitted this; '[h]er parents being well off', (her father was a joiner), 'I recommended them to get her another employment. She is now quite well; they have found her employment as a dressmaker'.⁷¹ Few of the Isle Lane seven were in such a fortunate position. However, soldier's widow Rachel Walmsley, a whitesmith's daughter and sister-in-law of an overlooker, and with Wesleyan Methodist connections, despite widowhood, found her children non-mill (if hardly elevated) work; her daughter worked as a brush maker, her son as a Post Office sorter. Rachel herself worked in domestic service, rather than the mills.

Social rise, like that of Rachel's daughter, Sarah Clark, uncommon enough across generations, was less so within a single generation, but it was not unknown. Reconstitution uncovers that the fortunate Sarah Tannett married a machine maker who became an engineer, then a foreman engineer, before establishing his own engine and machinery manufacturing concern. Their family remained in Holbeck into the 1860s, but by 1871 had moved out to leafy Potternewton (and later to Chapel Allerton), where they were attended on by servants. Likewise Joshua Broadbent, whose experiences were expressed in his own words in his (unsuccessful) application for the 'post of Registrar of Births and Deaths for Holbeck District' in 1840. Joshua had worked at Marshalls from the age of 8. Aged 14 he was apprenticed to a Holbeck clothier, and worked as a journeyman for five years. On becoming widowed his mother started a small shop which he assisted in. He remained single until after his mother's death, and had only one child once married: his account speaks of the strategies of frugality and familial restraint, but also of his business acumen in building up the business into a large drapery enterprise, of his autodidactism, and propensity to public service.⁷²

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 515.

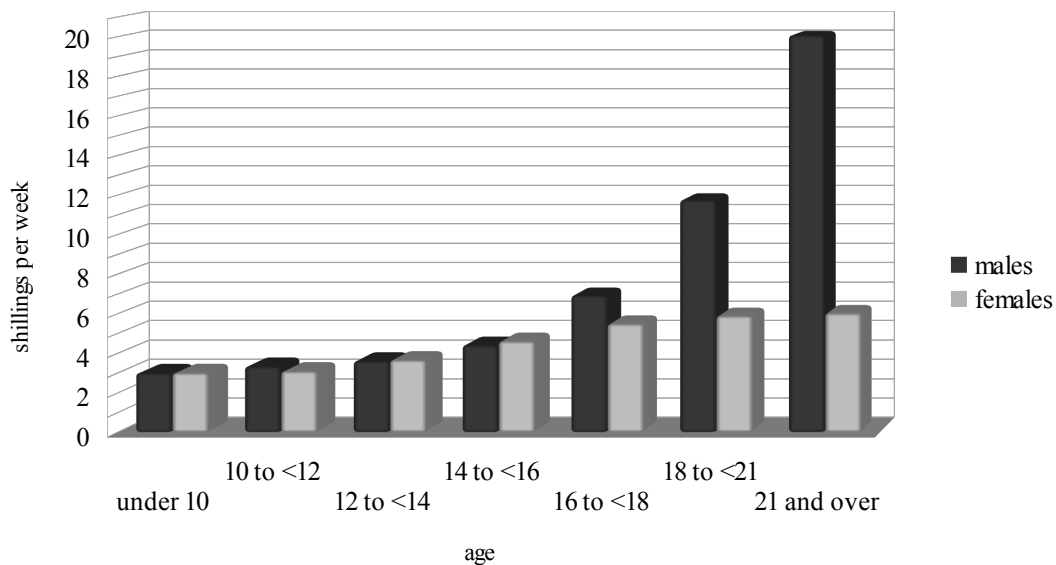
⁷¹ *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., pp. 51-53.

⁷² TNA, MH12/5225, 22 Sep 1840. Joshua Broadbent, linen draper, was on the Holbeck Highways Board in 1838, an overseer in 1841, and unsuccessful candidate for the select vestry in 1843, 1844 and 1845: his voting patterns suggest he was a Radical/Whig.

Wages in flax mills, by age and gender

For children, like Sarah Tannett and Joshua Broadbent, wages in the flax mills had gender parity until about 16 (girls might even earn twopence more than boys aged around 14-15), when male workers' wages began to rise far sharper than those of females. Most men aged over 21, other than clerks and white-collar occupations would be, in descending order of pay grouping: 'overlookers; mechanics and [machine] cleaners; packers and warehousemen; labourers, jobbers, storemen'.⁷³ The women remained, like Hannah Best, Elizabeth Hodgson, Ann Carr, Mary Best, Elizabeth Alderson and Maria Chew, flax spinners, reelers, spreaders and winders. The pay of these (unmarried) women was far lower than the same age group of men, Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2 Weekly pay by age group and gender at Marshalls Flax Mill, Holbeck, 1833



Source: *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 171

Women in the textile workforce

Women's wages in the flax mills were even lower than those of impoverished male woollen cloth weavers. Marshalls paid women maximum 'standing weekly wages' of 6s. 0¼d. for a 69-hour week, though this might rise to 7s. 7d. for girls and women, if they were 'paid by piece-work', while Benyons of Holbeck paid 6s. per week.⁷⁴ Men's wages

⁷³ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p. 318.

⁷⁴ *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., pp. 171 and 232.

at Marshalls in 1833 averaged a little over 20s. a week. In 1851 overlookers might expect 22s. 4d. a week, labourers 16s. 4d.⁷⁵ The male-female wage ratio is consistent with that for broader Yorkshire textile production at this time, with women's wages at between 25% and 40% those of men's.⁷⁶ Adult women workers' numbers declined as they married and had children. While, in 1841, Holbeck had 667 female flax industry workers in the 10-19 age-group, this fell to 299 in the 20-34 range, and forty-one in the 35 and over age-group (Appendix, Table A.3). The ratio of females to males in Leeds' flax industry was rising from 1841: that year it was 65.1%, by 1851 it was 71.4%, and this was consolidated in 1861 at 71.5%. By the time of the industry's decline in the 1880s (in 1851 there was a total 8,614 flax and linen workers, in 1881 this had fallen to 3,501) the ratio had risen to 77.4% female, Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Workers in 'flax linen manufacture in Leeds', by gender, 1841-1881

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Females under 20</i>	<i>Females above 20</i>	<i>Males under 20</i>	<i>Males above 20</i>	<i>Total females</i>	<i>Total males</i>	<i>Total workers</i>	<i>% female</i>
1841	2035	1052	1003	653	3087	1656	4743	65.1
1851	3671	2479	1166	1298	6150	2464	8614	71.4
1861	3368	2530	826	1525	5898	2351	8249	71.5
1871	-	1722	-	1262	-	-	-	
1881	-	-	-	-	2709	792	3501	77.4

Source: Collet, 'Women's Work in Leeds', p. 463

Table 7.2 Workers in 'woollen manufacture in Leeds', by gender, 1841-1881

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Females under 20</i>	<i>Females above 20</i>	<i>Males under 20</i>	<i>Males above 20</i>	<i>Total females</i>	<i>Total males</i>	<i>Total workers</i>	<i>% female</i>
1841	957	1606	2015	7341	2563	9356	11919	21.5
1851	1710	2624	2920	7640	4334	10560	14894	29.1
1861	1776	3147	2543	7494	4923	10037	14960	32.9
1871	-	4298	-	6183	-	-	-	
1881	-	-	-	-	6782	5457	12239	55.4

Source: Collet, 'Women's Work in Leeds', p. 463

⁷⁵ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p. 318.

⁷⁶ Paul Minoletti, 'The importance of ideology: the shift to factory production and its effect on women's employment opportunities in the English textile industries, 1760-1850', *Continuity and Change*, 28:1 (2013), 121-146 (p. 122).

Female participation in the woollen cloth industry was also increasing across the same period. From 21.5% in 1841, it rose steadily to 29.1% in 1851 and 32.4% in 1861. By 1881 the female woollen cloth workforce in Leeds had overtaken the male; female participation was 55.4%, Table 7.2.

Female independence, and contributions to household economies

Robert Baker observed 'independent and ungovernable' Leeds mill girls.⁷⁷ Although the low wages they were paid precluded real financial independence, work in the flax mills might nonetheless provide a young single woman with some, albeit perhaps temporary, independence from the male breadwinner, (and burgeoning male breadwinner culture),⁷⁸ be it father or husband. This was usually, however, what might be termed a 'lodging independence', and female lodging-out was common. John Yewdale, overseer of the adjacent township of Hunslet summarised the desire for independence:

We often make enquiries into arrangements between parents and children ... they say, we only get 4s or 4s 6d, the child keeping the rest for clothes. This is very frequent in our township, particularly among the girls. ... They are anxious to do it as soon as they can, and become their own mistresses. Many times they leave, if the parents refuse this arrangement, and go into lodgings. It would be a trifle more they would have to pay for board, lodging, and washing elsewhere.⁷⁹

In Holbeck, while 23 year-old Mary Hainsworth, working as a line spreader in a flax mill, lodged with her brother's family in 1851, Maria Chew, aged 18, rather than remain with her widowed father and younger siblings, found lodgings in Marshall Street, and worked as a flax spinner. Margaret Layton, aged 23 in 1833, and who worked at Marshalls, recalled she left her 'father's house at the age of nineteen' and moved into lodgings, where, out of her 6s. wages she managed 'to live pretty well', paying '1s a week for washing and lodging' and providing her 'own food and clothes'.⁸⁰ Elizabeth Hodgson worked as a flax spreader and lodged in Isle Lane with a widow and her family, nearby her father and brothers, until she married aged 22 in 1844. Elizabeth described herself, with some self-esteem at her independence, as 'formerly flax yarn reeler' in 1871, when she headed a household consisting of herself and two brothers. Next door to the Dunderdales, Mary Broadbent, in her early twenties, worked as a flax

⁷⁷ Statistical Committee of the Town Council, p. 413; see Chapter 2.

⁷⁸ Horrell and Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation', 89–117.

⁷⁹ *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 59.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, C.2., p. 51.

spinner, lodging with clothier George Calvert and his wife. Joseph Best's daughter Mary was 'employed at a flax mill, and earned her own livelihood'.⁸¹ A flax reeler in 1841, she lodged nearby with a dressmaker, who might mind Mary's illegitimate baby while Mary was at work - Mary might return to feed her infant during breaks. Likewise, further along Isle Lane, 27 year-old, recently widowed Harriet Atha and her 2 year-old daughter lodged with widow Sarah Sugden's family. Harriet worked in a flax mill, and her child might be minded by Sarah or her daughters. Illegitimacy was discussed earlier in this chapter, and bastardy in the context of poor relief in Chapter 4. Yet single motherhood did not always necessitate parish relief (that is bastardy or widow's payments - and the consequent naming of the putative father in bastardy cases), nor family support networks, if the mother could, like Mary Best and Harriet Atha, find lodgings and continue working. Lodging payments would also help the impoverished widows and families women boarded with, and provide a mutual (and non-familial) support system.

A woman might stay single, but remain in the parental home, contributing to the family economy and working in the flax mills. Elizabeth Alderson did not marry, remaining with her mother and step-father, working in flax mills until at least 1861, and, after the decline of the Leeds flax industry in the 1860s,⁸² made her living as a seamstress. Furthermore, they provided opportunities for female sibling groups to remain together after parents had died. In Isle Lane in 1841, 19 year-old Elizabeth Settle headed a household of three sisters, the others aged 17 and 15, all working in a flax mill: together they would have had a combined income of around 16s 7d.⁸³ All-female sibling groups could be found throughout the West Riding textile region.⁸⁴ Eighteen year-old Ann Moss told the Factories Commission her parents had died four years previously, and 'I look after my two sisters' (who were 15 and 12 years old), and all worked at Benyons in Holbeck; their combined income was 14s. 9d; similarly Eliza Marshall related:

I have no mother. I live with my little sisters. The youngest is going fifteen, and the other is sixteen. I am turned eighteen. My sisters work [in textile mills]. I have 2s. 6d. a week from the town.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

⁸² See Rimmer, *Marshalls*, p. 229.

⁸³ Based on *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 171.

⁸⁴ As noted in Chapter 2, Susannah Simpson headed a family of four sisters, all working in the mills in Saltaire in 1861; see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 85.

⁸⁵ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., pp. 98-99; and p. 72.

Some middle-class or artisan occupations also allowed female economic independence in Holbeck. Ann Bashforth and her sister kept a grocery shop together on Stocks Hill, this would supply the outdoor poor with supplies via the township's ticketing system in 1842. At the foot of Isle Lane, on Low Balm, 24 year-old schoolmistress Mary Ramsbottom headed a household consisting of herself and her younger sister, while further along Isle Lane widowed Elizabeth Stott was designated an upholsterer and headed a household which included her son, an upholsterer's apprentice. Whilst there was some opportunity of independence for working-class women in the flax mills, it was often constrained by necessity (widowhood, being orphaned, having an illegitimate child) rather than choice. However, there are examples of female agency not driven by such necessity, such as the younger women highlighted earlier. Furthermore, there are occasional examples of older independent women, like Mary Annikin, aged 40, with whom Maria Chew lodged in 1851: she headed a household of four unmarried, unrelated women, all of whom worked in the flax mills.

The case of Holbeck Southcottian Sarah Braithwaite was discussed in Chapter 4, wherein Leeds' culture of female preachers was noted. Another female-headed religious sect also existed in Holbeck: in 1826 a chapel of Ann Carr's Female Revivalists, in Brewery Field was established in the township. Edward Parsons noted that Ann Carr, 'the principal speaker', was 'assisted by both male and female local preachers'.⁸⁶ Arguably, the (albeit limited) female independence afforded by women's employment opportunities promoted engagement with female-orientated religious movements. Indeed Carr 'rejected the deference and dependence expected of women', while the Female Revivalists established educational provisions and relief for the poor in working-class areas of Leeds, including 'a Sunday School and a Sick Society'.⁸⁷

The more traditional female occupations (as noted above, schoolmistress, seamstress) might provide some necessary livelihood, but also be an agency of independence when a relationship had broken down; the woman might not then have to remain in the relationship and be dependent on the male breadwinner. Priscilla Dunderdale, estranged from her husband Charles, moved back in with her family, and in 1841 worked as a

⁸⁶ Edward Parsons, *The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial, and Miscellaneous History of Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Otley, and the Manufacturing District of Yorkshire*, Volume II (Leeds and London, 1834), p. 76.

⁸⁷ Jennifer Lloyd, *Women and the Shaping of British Methodism*, pp. 102-103.

dressmaker to support herself and 2 year-old daughter. Likewise, factory employment might also enable this relative independence. Hannah Best's daughter Sarah had, aged 35, married widowed cloth dresser Joseph Calvert in 1838. In 1841, estranged from her husband, she was back living with her mother in Isle Lane, and remained with Hannah in 1851, on both occasions a wool moiter. In 1851 no members of the household were weavers, so Sarah was probably employed at a woollen mill, as highlighted earlier.

The woollen industry, although more usually from training in its domestic manifestation, rather than the factory, also enabled women some limited independence. Among the seven Isle Lane household women and girls, only John Alderson's daughters Mary, who, aged 18 in 1861, was a woollen mule piecer, and Elizabeth T., who, aged 22 in 1871, was a woollen power-loom weaver, worked in a mechanised occupation in the mills. However, several would work in its non-mechanised (not necessarily non-factory) settings. Most worked in conjunction with husbands, fathers or sons who were hand-loom weavers. Mary Carr was a burler in 1861, when her husband was a hand-loom weaver; their son Joseph's wife Jane was a burler when he was still weaving in 1851; and Jane's ageing relative Ann Parker, and lodger in 1861 (when Jane was a 'cloth knotter') gave her occupation as 'formerly cloth burler'. Mary Hodgson's occupation, 'burler', was, unusually, stated on her marriage record in 1839, and her sister Elizabeth lodged with widow, and burler, Elizabeth Child in Isle Lane. Widow Mary Alderson, in 1871, was a burler in a cloth mill, while in 1861 Charles Dunderdale's married daughter Priscilla was a burler in a household containing Charles' weaver brother Thomas, and sister-in-law, Mary Ann Stead, who, remaining unmarried and lodging with her in-laws, contributed to this extended family economy in Isles Terrace also by burling.

Some women might also weave. In Isles Place in 1871 41 year-old Ann Holgate (née Carr) and her 17 year-old daughter Mary were both woollen weavers. Ann's husband was a labourer, but the household included Ann's father, unemployed clothier, Joshua Carr. Joshua was still a hand-loom weaver, in Isles Place, in 1861, and Ann and Mary were probably weaving on his loom[s].⁸⁸ The retention of clothier hardware, and passed-down skills would mean that, even if hand-loom weaving was no longer viable as a sole occupation to sustain a household, it might still contribute to that family's economy: the

⁸⁸ The survival of hand-loom weaving, often undertaken by women and children, in the cotton sector in mid-nineteenth century Lancashire has been highlighted in Geoffrey Timmins, *The Last Shift: the Decline of Handloom Weaving in Nineteenth-century Lancashire* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 107-127.

structures (skills and hardware) were in place for it to be a useful contributory factor, and work women might undertake at home. Ann had two young children, including an 11 month-old at home, and weaving might be incorporated with childcare. However, burling woollen cloth, either in the domestic or factory setting was the major occupation for older women, while working in the flax mills was the main employment for younger women and girls. Yet some might, like Ann Carr, do both. As well as Ann, weaver/clothier's daughter Elizabeth Hodgson, a flax mill worker in her youth, worked as a cloth burler as a (childless) married woman, while neighbour Ann Thomas, a flax worker aged 15 in 1841, was a (better paid) woollen power-loom weaver ten years later.

All women worked, in addition to their household duties and childrearing. Indeed, they might combine an occupation with domestic work, and, as highlighted above, woollen cloth manufacture in its traditional guise provided such a setting. In 1851, in the Isle Lane yard, Jane Carr (née Parker), a weaver's daughter, was employed as a burler with her weaver husband, despite having a 2 year-old son: she would still be employed, as a 'cloth knotter', ten years later. Mary Murgatroyd, Mary Hodgson's unmarried sister-in-law, was, in 1851, the only woman in a household of four working males plus her nephews, aged 6 and 4. Her widowed brother, unmarried brother, and eldest nephew had occupations in the woollen mills, and her widowed father was 80. It cannot really be doubted that Mary, aged 40, was the housekeeper for the family, and minder of the younger children in such a domestic arrangement; nonetheless, she was still additionally occupied as a burler for her aged weaver ('clothier') father. Widowed Elizabeth Child, with whom Elizabeth Hodgson lodged in 1841, had two children and two lodgers to maintain house for, and one of the children was only 6: Elizabeth still worked as a burler though. Whether married, unmarried or widowed, Holbeck women combined unpaid domestic and caring work with paid work. Of the thirteen Isle Lane females in 1841, ten had some known life-cycle industrial occupation. Only Jane Chew, who died aged 39 in 1848 and 64 year-old Hannah Best had no given occupation (their likely 'occupied' years pre-dating the disaggregated censuses), while Rachel Walmsley, became a housekeeper and general servant in later life. All the others at some stage of their lives are known to have worked in either (and some cases both) the woollen cloth industry or the flax/linen industry. Seven are known to have worked in the flax mills, one was a canvas weaver, and three worked in the woollen industry.

Ivy Pinchbeck, as Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries have highlighted, 'recognized the gains in employment for women in the burgeoning textile industries'.⁸⁹ Horrell and Humphries have concluded that a 'period of increased financial independence for women', in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, 'was short-lived', and that 'participation rates and relative earnings declined after mid century'. However, they also note '[w]ithin the main narrative of women's increasing economic dependence on men, there is room to find pockets of improvement and independence clearly associated with industrial opportunities'.⁹⁰ Whilst it may be problematic to appreciate how working long hours in unhealthy and dangerous conditions for a pittance was beneficial to women (or anyone), the 'opportunities' in Leeds' textile mills, particularly the non-woollen sectors, did allow a limited independence from the male breadwinner model. However, in most cases evidence from Isle Lane suggests that women's and girls' earnings were necessary contributors to a family economy, particularly when the male breadwinner was a weaver, and earning but little bread. These independent opportunities established a nascent culture of female textile working in Leeds, and this cultural continuity would endure, despite any movement towards a male breadwinner model.

Women and the power-loom

Women in Leeds benefited from the introduction of power-loom weaving (as their menfolk lost out, and had to change occupations). As Joseph Best highlighted: 'One man will tune or keep in order from 20 to 30 of these [power-looms], and women or girls will manage them'.⁹¹ One such, 'a woollen c[loth] power loom weaver' was his neighbour Ann Thomas, aged 25 in 1851, and living in Isle Terrace. Women's pay as power-loom weavers was much better than for their other textile factory occupations, and, certainly in the second half of the century, was almost exclusively a female occupation, as Collet noted: '[i]n Leeds ... only women work at the [power] looms'.⁹²

Leeds had a quarter of all linen power-looms in the UK by 1856. Marshalls introduced power-loom linen weaving in the 1840s. In 1847 they had only twenty-six power-looms in their new weaving section, but by 1884 this had risen to 241; their all-women

⁸⁹ Horrell and Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation', p. 89; Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850* (London, 1930).

⁹⁰ Horrell and Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation', p. 113.

⁹¹ *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

⁹² Collet, 'Women's Work in Leeds', p. 462.

weavers were paid 10s. 5d. per week in 1851, almost twice the wage of yarn spinners and thread twisters.⁹³ This was more than many male woollen hand-loom weavers were paid. As early as 1835, when Gotts had installed some of the early, less efficient woollen cloth power-looms, they paid their women operatives 9s. per week.⁹⁴ Similarly, worsted power-loom weaving was a more lucrative occupation for women. In 1833 Thomas Wolrich Stansfeld had a workforce of 610 at Burley Mills, 'weaving worsted goods by machinery' (on the Dobby looms), across the river, a mile or so upstream of Holbeck. Of these 71% were female: seventy-eight girls aged 16 earned more than women at Marshalls, an average of over 6s. 6d. a week. At 18, ninety-five girls earned 7s. 7d., while aged 21 and over, eighty-seven women's average was 8s. 10½d. for a 67¾ hour week, a 47% increase on Marshalls wages, for a slightly shorter week.⁹⁵ The dynamics between a father's earnings and a daughter's were becoming similar to those in the worsted industry in neighbouring Bradford where, the hand-loom inquiry noted:

machinery is confirming the transfer of the business of weaving from the father to his children. Considering the constancy of employment, and the freedom from all deductions, the young women and girls employed upon the power-loom - the better tool - are actually earning more, in some cases considerably more, than the father employed on the hand-loom, the inferior tool.⁹⁶

Of the descendant daughters of the Isle Lane occupants, several moved into this better paid work. By 1871 John Alderson's 22 year-old daughter Elizabeth was a woollen power-loom, as in 1881 was Joseph Carr's daughter Emma and Annie Clark Lightfoot (Sarah Walmsley's daughter), 18 and 19 respectively, while Maria Chew's daughter, Mary Jane Othick, aged 25, worked on a linen power-loom. Two of these were, by the 1880s, in higher status/earning sibling groups: Annie Lightfoot's younger brother was an apprentice printer, while her father, a leather currier, would move away from Leeds, to Wiltshire for a better position as a foreman currier. Mary Jane Othick's brothers were an assistant schoolmaster and a general clerk. Power-loom weaving, for young women, was a good, relatively well-paid job. All of these young women had mothers and sisters who as girls and young women themselves, worked in the mills. There was a familial as well as a cultural continuity of women working in the Leeds textile industries, and the exploitation of their cheaper labour. It was a culture which would be taken into the

⁹³ Rimmer, *Marshalls*, pp. 230, 255 and 318.

⁹⁴ Collet, 'Women's Work in Leeds', p. 460.

⁹⁵ *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 129.

⁹⁶ *PP* 1840 (43-II), p. 566.

tailoring, particularly ready-made clothing, industry whose 'rise and rapid increase' from the 1880s overtook both the woollen cloth and flax industries and employed mostly women; in Collet's estimation, by 1891 'about ten thousand' women and girls.⁹⁷

Family economies

Children's contributions

Although sometimes bringing limited independence from the male breadwinner model, women's and girls' work, and their wages, were more often necessary contributions to precarious family economies. James Stead of Holbeck, who, like Joseph Best, gave evidence at the Hand-loom Inquiry, related his family's earnings. In full employment he earned 11s. 6d. as a weaver, his working-age children, he stated

all work at Mr. Marshall's factory: I have a girl of 17, who earns 5s 6d.; the second is a boy of 15, who earns 4s 6d.; and the third is a girl of 13½, who earns 4s.

The commissioner summarised, 'Thus making the [maximum] income of the family, consisting of himself, his wife, and three children, 26s. [sic] per week'.⁹⁸ Even allowing for the commissioner's poor arithmetic, or generous rounding up, when James Stead was in full work, his children contributed at least 54% to the family economy (the two girls 37% alone). And this level of contribution is supported by the reconstitution and likely wages of the Isle Lane families, and some of their neighbours.

A tabulation of ten Isle Lane family economies is presented in the Appendix, Table A.7. Given that Joseph Best's and Chapman's calculations for average earnings of weavers over a year, taking account of periods of un- and under-employment, was 7s. per week, an average, as well as a maximum calculation has been made. Factory employment though has been calculated as fixed, and paid weekly - indeed children's earnings might be the most regular income of these families. For the flax mill workers, and woollen mill workers, other than weavers, wages have been based on a conflation of Marshalls' evidence to the Factories Commission, and Mitchell's tabulations of average wages in Leeds in the various sectors, also submitted to the Factories Commission.⁹⁹ In five of the

⁹⁷ Collet, 'Women's Work in Leeds', pp. 462 and 468. And see Katrina Honeyman, 'Gender Divisions and the Industrial Divide: The Case of the Leeds Clothing Trade, 1850-1970', *Textile History*, 28:1 (1997), 47-66.

⁹⁸ *PP* 1840 (43-II), p. 541.

⁹⁹ *PP* 1834 (167), p. 171, p. 23, and p. 26.

six households headed by married men, the children contributed over 50% of average family income, and in the Lax, Thomas, and Stead families they contributed around two thirds to the family economy. As Peter Kirby has succinctly articulated, 'the very coherence of family life often depended on the economic contributions of children'.¹⁰⁰ Only in relief recipient Edward Chew's family was the contributive proportion lower; only one of his four children was of working age. Girls' contributions were significant: in eight households they contributed between 24% and 42% of the total income; of the other two households, the Best family's grown-up daughters provided 70% of the income; while the Settle family was a sisterly sibling group, and consequently the female contribution was 100%. Indications from broader data analysis of family incomes suggest that after the slump of the 1840s, women's and children's contributions to family economies 'never regained its former importance' and that their earnings and levels of employment were hardest hit by the crisis.¹⁰¹ However, in this place, at this time, children's, and particularly girls', incomes were essential to working-class families' subsistence, as is discussed below.

Living costs

Incomes might usefully be compared with two local family budgets, from 1832, and 1838. These have been tabulated comparatively, Table 7.3. One was compiled by Leeds flax spinner and merchant, one-time acolyte of Richard Carlile, Humphrey Boyle; the other by Solomon Keyser in his report on West Riding linen weavers for the Hand-loom Inquiry. The two budgets have considerable similarities. Including clothing costs at the rate Boyle calculated in Keyser's budget would add 3s. 10d., taking the larger family's weekly costs to £1 4s. 10d. The calculations of minimum requirements find resonance in later studies. Rowntree summarised that, for a family similar to Boyle's, two adults and three children, 'the minimum weekly expenditure upon which physical efficiency can be maintained in York' was 21s. 8d.¹⁰² Likewise, the title of Maud Pember Reeves's findings based on her study of working-class necessity in pre World War I Lambeth, succinctly quantifies such minimum requirements, 'round about a pound a week'.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Peter Kirby, *Child Labour in Britain, 1750-1870* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'Old Questions, New Data, and Alternative Perspectives: Families' Living Standards in the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 52:4 (1992), 849-80 (p. 873).

¹⁰² 12s. 9d. in food, 4s. in rent, and 4s. 11d. in 'clothing, light, fuel, etc.', Rowntree, *Poverty*, p. 351.

¹⁰³ Maud Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (London, 1913).

Table 7.3 Estimate of living costs in Leeds in 1832; and Barnsley c. 1838 (the 'least possible sum per week for which a man, his wife, and three children can obtain a sufficiency of food, clothing & other necessaries - Feby. 12th, 1832.'; and 'evidence as the expenses of a family, consisting of eight persons; a man, his wife, and six children, per week')

<i>Leeds, Boyle, 1832</i>	£	s	d	<i>Barnsley, Keyser, 1838</i>	£	s	d
Rent 2/-,		2	0	House-rent		3	0
				Taxes			3
fuel 9d.			9				
candle 3d			3	Candles			9
Soap 3d.,			3	Soap			7½
soda 1d			1				
blue and starch 1½d.			1½				
Sand, black lead, bees wax & c.			2				
Whitewashing a cottage twice a year			½				
1½ st flour for bread [at] 2/6d [per st]	3		9	Three stone of flour	6		6
¼ st flour for puddings [at] 2/8d [per] st			8				
Eggs 2d.,			2				
yeast 1½d.			1½				
1½ pints milk per day at 1¼d [per pint]	1		1	Milk	1		2
				Lard			4
¼ stone oatmeal [at] 2/2d [per st]			6½	Oatmeal			6
1 lb. treacle 3½d,			3½				
1½ lb. sugar at 7d [per] lb.			10½	Sugar	1		0
1½ oz. tea at 5d [per oz],			7½	Tea & c.			6
2 oz. coffee [at] 1½d [per oz]			3				
5 lb. meat [at] 6d. [per lb]	2		6	Meat	3		0
				Potatoes			9
				Butter			7½
Vegetables 1d. per day			7				
Salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar			2				
7 pts. beer [at] 1½d [per pint]			10½				
Water			1				
Schooling for 2 children			6				
Reading			2				
Wear & tear in beds, bedding, brushes, pots, pans, & other household furniture			6				
Clothing: husband 1/2d.,	1		2				
[clothing] wife 8d			8				
[Clothing] each child 4d.	1		0				
				Sundries	1		0
[Total]	1	0	3		1	1	0

Boyle added these notes to his budget:

Beside the sum required for the fund which it is agreed every workman [ought] to lay in store for sickness and old age, I have set nothing down for butter, not being certain whether it is essential to health, although it is to be found in almost every cottage where the weekly income is not more than half the amount I have stated as necessary for the proper support of a family: tobacco, although it is in very general use, I have omitted for the same reason; neither have I reckoned anything for religious instruction, which is thought by great numbers of the people as necessary to their own happiness as is their daily bread: something, therefore, ought to be allowed for it.

The above is not made out from my own knowledge of housekeeping only; I have elicited from the most intelligent & economical of my acquaintances their opinion upon the most weighty items of expenditure, which, if correct, would have made the amount rather more than is here set down. If, upon the most strict enquiry, no material alteration can be made in the detailed estimate of the necessary weekly expenditure of five persons, I conceive that a case will be made out that the average earnings of workmen are not sufficient for the proper support of their families; and will prove at the same time that if greater economy was practised, if less was spent at the public house, there would be a much greater degree of comfort in the workman's cottage than is to be met with at present.¹⁰⁴

Keyser added these to his estimate:

Provisions are at a moderate price in Barnsley. Fuel from the collieries in the immediate neighbourhood may be obtained at a very cheap rate. The following [tabulation] is given in evidence as the expenses of a family, consisting of eight persons; a man, his wife, and six children, per week ... besides clothing, bedding, & c. The witness ... having a loom, his own property, considers the ... advantage gained by that sufficient to clothe himself.¹⁰⁵

Family income versus the breadwinner model: necessity of children's contribution

None of the Isle Lane families would have been able to achieve these basic weekly budgets from the male breadwinner alone, even were he in full employment. As Jane Humphries has highlighted, in challenging optimistic appraisals of the standard of living during industrialisation, a male breadwinner's earnings could rarely 'cover the calorific needs of dependent women and children'.¹⁰⁶

Children's wages were essential for mere subsistence, even when a male head was alive and in employment. In these male breadwinner-headed families children's contributions

¹⁰⁴ Rimmer, 'Working Men's Cottages', p. 199.

¹⁰⁵ *PP* 1840 (43-I), p. 483.

¹⁰⁶ Jane Humphries, 'The lure of aggregates and the pitfalls of the patriarchal perspective: a critique of the high wage economy interpretation of the British industrial revolution', *Economic History Review*, 66:3 (2013), 693-714 (p. 708).

were substantial. The two Carr children contributed over 50% of average earnings, 47% even if Joshua Carr had full employment. Samuel and Ann Lax had seven children, and while the total average income was almost £2 a week, 65% of this was from the six children, aged between 9 and 17 who were working. Likewise, Richard and Mary Thomas had seven children, but with only four working (and two of these, like their father, weavers), the family income was an impoverished 21s. 7d. on average, but 33s. 7d. if Richard and the boys had sufficient work in their looms: 68% of this family's average income, 64% of its maximum, was from its children. William and Hannah Othick had three children, two at work, and the family's average income was 16s. 2d., 22s. 2d. if William had full employment. The two children in work contributed 57% to an average income, 44% to its maximum, while Joseph Stead's three children brought home 69% of the family purse, at Joseph's average earnings, 55% if he had full employment.

Children's contributions to the family economy were crucial, and industrialisation was founded on their employment in the mills. And much of this was in the form of the regular contributions of girls working in Leeds flax mills. As noted below, 11 year-old Mary Chew contributed up to 31%, likewise, 11 year-old Ann Carr contributed up to 24%; Samuel Lax's daughters 36%, Ann and Sarah Thomas, 38%, Sarah Othick, up to 31%, Harriett and Mary Stead 42% of their male breadwinner headed families' incomes.

The Poor Law Commission's migration policy of 1836, 'encouraging' poor families to migrate from impoverished agricultural areas in the south and east to the industrialised regions of the north, resulted in several families moving to and settling in Leeds, where their children worked in the non-woollen textile mills. These families' wages were highlighted. Some worked at Stansfeld's Burley Mills, as noted earlier (see Chapter 3, Table 3.1). John and Fanny Easey and their eight children moved there from Cambridgeshire. Although John might earn 14s. a week 'when regularly employed' as an agricultural labourer, the four older children earned a regular combined 19s. 3d.; three of these were girls who earned 14s. 9d.¹⁰⁷ The children of this family, notably John's daughters, were the breadwinners. Most in-migration was far more local however. In Isle Lane Hannah Best, after her husband's death, brought her family, all of whom born

¹⁰⁷ From 'Table of Persons located in Yorkshire, from the Agricultural Districts of the South, during the year 1836', TNA, MH12/15224.

in Gildersome, four or so miles south but outside of the Borough of Leeds, to Holbeck, to find her children (including three daughters) work in the mills, while Richard and Mary Thomas moved their family to Holbeck from Huddersfield around 1832.

Until children came of working age, and were found employment, the family economy was insufficient for subsistence. Edward Chew, a woollen listing maker headed a family of six; himself, his wife and four children. Only 11 year-old Mary was old enough to work, and brought home 3s. 1d. a week: this represented 31% of the total family income of 10s. 1d. (based on an average weaver's wages). Even if Edward was in full employment, the family's income would have been just 15s. 7d. This meant that the family needed township relief, even though Edward was an able-bodied man, and in employment. The family received casual relief, at up to 8s. per week in the early months of 1840, and were on the grocers list for 5s. per week's worth of goods in 1842. Likewise, when their children were younger, Joseph Stephenson and Samuel Lax needed relief, and received it in 1832, at least. Samuel Lax then had six children aged 8 and under (including twins Joseph and Martha) and, although he was earning comparatively good money weaving, 16s. a week, with no children yet working he had his wages supplemented by 2s. a week from the the town. Joseph Stephenson was out of work in 1832, and although his wife and four of his children were earning a total of 16s. 9d., with four children under 8, he received 4s. a week from the town.

Proximity to poverty: the vulnerability of the working poor

Widow economies

The proximity to poverty of the Isle Lane families was an ever-present feature of their lives. This became more pronounced when the male head died; widow economies were yet more fragile, and children's contributions to the family economy became yet more critical.¹⁰⁸ Illness and mortality, especially of the breadwinner, forced children into work at earlier ages.¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Wild and her 18 year-old daughter Martha lodged with the Othick family, their board paid out of the 5s. 9d. Martha earned at a flax mill. As

¹⁰⁸ In four datasets from the west and east of the country from 1597, 1637, 1790, and 1906, the percentage of children's contributions in widow-headed households has been calculated at between 48% and 89%: Richard Wall, 'Economic collaboration of family members within and beyond households in English society, 1600-2000', *Continuity and Change*, 25:1 (2010), 83-108 (p. 91).

¹⁰⁹ Peter Kirby, *Child Workers and Industrial Health in Britain, 1780-1850* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 40.

discussed below, taking in lodgers was a strategy for the working poor, and William Othick and his wife supplemented their barely subsistence income this way; but for the Wilds lodging was the only option which sustained some relative independence. Likewise, 27 year-old widow Harriet Atha and her 2 year-old daughter, along with her brother, lodged with fellow widow Sarah Sugden in Isle Lane. As noted above Harriet could work in a flax mill and bring home enough to pay for her and her daughter's board, while Sarah and her family minded the toddler. Sarah herself was a working widow too, making a living burling, while her children contributed the major proportion of their family economy. Elizabeth Wild, Sarah Sugden, and Harriet Atha are not known to have received relief (from the limited records available), but the precarious economies of other widow-headed families meant they needed supplements from the township. Four of Sarah Stephenson's children were aged over 15 in 1841, and two would later earn good money as overlookers in the flax mills; nonetheless, Sarah received at least one casual payment (rather than a widow's pension) and had 2s. a week in groceries in 1842. This begs the question at what point did older children keep most of their wages and pay board, rather than handing over their wages? Holbeck overseer John Elliott suggested in 1833 that:

younger children always give up the whole of their earnings to their parents ... that practice continues up to the age of fifteen or sixteen generally. They then pay their parents so much a week for board and lodging, and keep the rest to find themselves in clothes, & c.¹¹⁰

Margaret Layton, a flax rover at Marshalls, handed over all her wages to her father until she was 'sixteen or seventeen' when she began to pay for her board: 'I paid 4s [a week] for that, the rest I kept as my own'.¹¹¹ Widow Hannah Best was in receipt of a pension of 2s. 6d. per week from the township: her family of four - herself and three grown up children, had a total income of between 15s. and 21s., without Hannah's pension, plus the board paid by lodger Edward Williamson. Younger widow Sarah Alderson did not have lodgers in 1841, but had five children at home: four of these were working and brought in a total minimum income of 16s. 4d. - up to around 30s. if all three of her weaver sons had full employment, while 14 year-old flax spinner Elizabeth contributed a regular 4s. 4d. a week, 27% of the minimum average income. Sarah had received 1s. 6d. a week from the town, for William, but, as he was approaching 10 in 1841, this allowance would soon be stopped, and Sarah was not on the grocers list in 1842.

¹¹⁰ *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 47.

¹¹¹ *PP* 1833 (450), C.2., p. 51.

Other strategies

Introduction

Several of the more readily recognisable strategies, the agency of the working poor, have been discussed in the earlier part of this chapter. Changing male occupations, away from that of the 'poverty knocking' hand-loom weaver to more reliable work, most profitably in Holbeck's burgeoning (and unionised) engineering and metalworking sector has been highlighted. Similarly, women might move away from burling, towards the potential of better-paid opportunities in power-loom weaving. The significance of children's contributions to the family economy, and the strategy of finding them work in the mills has been emphasised. The role of friendly societies in providing a level of income in times of sickness and bereavement has also been stressed. Yet several other poverty alleviating strategies were adopted, and adapted by the urban poor, and these are discussed below.

All but one of the seven Isle Lane households and families are known to have had some form of relief from Holbeck's overseers from even the far from comprehensive extant records. Township relief mechanisms, and Holbeck's poor's experience of them, have been discussed in detail in earlier chapters, and has formed a focal point for this thesis. Poor relief was an important safety net for the working poor, and a necessary supplement to their economies in trade-cyclical and life-cyclical times of hardship. Most of Holbeck's inhabitants would have had some, if only familial, relationship with the township's poor relief mechanisms. But application to township relief was only one element of the strategies they employed in their portfolio of makeshift economies.¹¹² While some food strategies open to rural communities (gleaning, poaching and foraging, garden produce, and keeping pigs and lane-cows) were not, or were less, available to urban communities, many similarities between the strategies of the rural and the urban poor existed.¹¹³ As Michael Rose highlighted, the urban poor 'found other means of alleviating their poverty' and 'self-help ... was the principle one'. He identifies potential strategies, some of which are very evident from reconstitution methodologies:

¹¹² See Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (eds), *The Poor in England, 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts*, (Manchester, 2003).

¹¹³ For local rural strategies see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies'.

'the ... earnings of a child or a wife ... [p]awning, loans, the taking in of laundry or lodgers, help from friends or kin'.¹¹⁴ Some are problematic to quantify: women who took in washing were not always identified, like the mangle-keeping Alice Burrow, in censuses, yet the occupation was a commonplace, and has been highlighted in times of male under-employment. Ex-woollen mill worker William Cooper told that, to supplement his income hawking vegetables in 1833, his 'wife does something in washing'; Bridget Berry, with six children, four of them too young to work, 'used to go out to wash and took in washing also', and Mary Kitchin with two dysfunctional grown-up children, also 'took in washing', receiving 'one shilling a week for it'.¹¹⁵ Likewise Bramley shoemaker Robert Spurr, in his autobiography recalled how, during 1837, when the 'cloth trade was all most at a stand', his 'Wife took in some washing'.¹¹⁶ As Jane Humphries has highlighted, washing 'for better-off neighbours' was a commonplace in 'almost all times and places'.¹¹⁷ Some help from kin might be identified by reconstitution methodologies, although friendship networks are harder to define, but such networks were important, as Eliza Marshall told the Factories Commission. Despite living in a cellar, with her sisters, she 'shouldn't like to flit from where we are' because 'We have lived there nigh on seven years among friends nigh at hand to help us, and I shouldn't like to leave them'.¹¹⁸

Allotments, and co-operation

From the 1840s urban families might benefit from the allotment movement. A *Leeds Times* article, 'The Small Allotment System' of 1843, highlighted allotments let out on Marshalls' land:

The operation of the system at Holbeck, where the allotments on the property of Mr Marshall had been in the hands of the workmen for about six months, was said to be the most satisfactory, the rents being punctually paid, and the land showing how much could be done by the industry and skill of workmen.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Rose (ed.), *The Poor and the City*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 66; Catharine Berry, TNA, MH12/5225, 30 Sep 1840; Sarah Brearley, TNA, MH12/5225, 1 Mar 1841.

¹¹⁶ Roger J. Owen (ed.), 'The Autobiography of Robert Spurr', *Baptist Quarterly*, 26:6 (1976), 282-288 (p. 285).

¹¹⁷ Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 111.

¹¹⁸ *PP* 1833 (450), C.1., p. 73.

¹¹⁹ *Leeds Times*, 18 Mar 1843.

Some of these were probably around the Marshalls factory itself, as plots 57, 58, 59, and 61 on the tithe map of 1846 are owned by the firm and named 'gardens near the factory'. These amounted to just over two and half acres. Marshalls also owned intake on Holbeck Moor (plots 147 and 148) and these, a further five acres, one and a half roods, were also designated 'garden' on the tithe apportionment, as was the adjacent intake on Beeston Hill (plot 152) at two acres and fifteen perches.¹²⁰ In total just over ten acres of potential allotments. James Garth Marshall highlighted in 1844 that those on his land in Holbeck and those on Benjamin Gott's were the only allotments in the borough.¹²¹ Gotts had recently laid out eight acres of allotments at Bean Ing, but the *Leeds Times* bemoaned these were 'too minute' each being 'about one-twentieth of an acre'.¹²² At eight perches these correspond nearly to the modern 'accepted size', ten perches,¹²³ while Jeremy Burchardt indicates the usual size for allotments at that period was fifty-one perches.¹²⁴ If all of Marshalls' acreage was let as allotments it would, at a standard size of eight perches provide two hundred 'minute' allotments, or just thirty-one larger ones. There is a suggestion that, just as there was interaction between the parish relief system and friendly society subscription, so there may have been with allotment-holding: it is unclear as to their purpose, but in June 1843, two select vestry members were to visit Marshalls 'with respect to John Kirk's allotment and take such steps as they think necessary in the case'.¹²⁵

Although beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate the effect of the co-operative movement locally, it is worth noting that one strategy available to Holbeck's poor in the later period of this investigation was subscribing to, and receiving dividends from what became one of the largest co-operative societies in the country. Resonant of the radicalisation of politics in the township, and the election of Chartist select vestries to administer poor relief, the 'People's Co-operative Flour Mill', (rather happily) situated across the road from Marshalls Mill in Marshall Street, was established in 1847 from the following premise, 'according to the Society's Report':

120 WYAS, RD_RT112, Holbeck township tithe map, 1846 <locateit.leeds.gov.uk/tithemaps> [accessed Sep 2016].

121 Jeremy Burchardt and Jacqueline Cooper (eds.), *Breaking New Ground: Nineteenth century allotments from local sources* (Milton Keynes, 2010), p. 23.

122 *Leeds Intelligencer*, 18 Mar 1843; *Leeds Times*, 18 Mar 1843.

123 The National Allotment Society <www.nsalg.org.uk> [accessed November 2014].

124 Jeremy Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 254.

125 WYASL, LC/TC, 28 Jun 1843.

Owing to the high price of flour ... while speculation kept up the price of corn, the millers were combined to keep up the price of flour, without regard to the rises and falls in the market. This was so very objectionable to the working classes of the locality, that ... a large meeting of working men decided to commence the purchase of corn, and the manufacture of flour, for the objects of obtaining 'pure flour' at as near prime cost as possible.¹²⁶

It remained solely a flour mill until 1856, and by 1851 had 2997 members.¹²⁷ But by 1862, expanded to undertake the trades of 'corn millers, grocers and provision dealers, drapers and shoemakers, and butchers' and renamed the Industrial Co-operative Flour and Provision Society, it had stores throughout and beyond Leeds, and had become the second largest provision co-operative in the country. In terms of share capital, it was second to a Halifax society, while by the criteria of number of members, was just behind another West Riding society, in Sowerby Bridge.¹²⁸

Lodgers [non-family]

Taking in lodgers was a strategy with continuity across the generations of the reconstitutions undertaken and narrated in the previous chapter; however, many of these lodgers were known family members. There was a blurring of priorities between taking family members in to support the household economy, and taking them as a family support network for the lodging members. Furthermore, taking in lodgers was not solely a strategy for the very poor. Although widow Hannah Best, herself on relief, took in a young weaver who was not a family member, so did the higher-status Nathaniel Dunderdale: he had two young male non-family lodgers, plus his two grandchildren boarded-out with him. In the earlier years lodging strategy may have correlation with domestic clothmaking, and loom-hire. Nathaniel Dunderdale, of 'independent means' in 1841, may have let his loom out, along with a bed, to the young weaver John Russel, likewise Hannah Best may have had her late husband's loom going spare, and let it and a bed to Edward Williamson. Similarly, her son Joseph, had a spare loom he told the Hand-loom Inquiry about, and probably let it out to 'clothier' Joseph Speight.

Conversely, some of the poorest of the Isle Lane households, like the Chews, did not take in any lodgers in 1841. Whilst space and a spare bed would clearly be a

¹²⁶ PP 1859 (155), *Registrar of Friendly Societies in England: Annual Report*, p. 34.

¹²⁷ George Jacob Holyoake, *The Jubilee History of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society* (Leeds, 1897), p. 34.

¹²⁸ PP 1863 (202), *Return of General Statements of Funds of Industrial and Provident Societies, 1862*, (pp. 34-35); and Holyoake, pp. 73 and 200-201.

consideration, it is possible that it was, to some extent, a 'lodgers' market', and those lodging had significant choice and agency in where they lodged. Clearly a spare room was a necessity for a young weaver, as in the above examples, while potential childcare would be essential for young single mothers like Mary Best and Harriet Atha. Independent young women without children might have other criteria. Very close proximity to the family home might be desirable as in Elizabeth Hodgson's case. And she lodged with the widowed mother of a fellow flax spreader, Ann Child, of similar age; friendships and work relationships might be an attraction. Ann Child's mother also took in another young lodger, and expertise in providing board and lodging would also be a consideration. Like Elizabeth, Maria Chew chose to lodge with another young flax-working colleague, and together they formed an all-female household with two older women colleagues. Mary Broadbent opted to lodge with middle-aged childfree couple George and Hannah Calvert in Isle Lane, here the small size of the household and the potential relative space and comfort may have been an attraction: Mary may even have had her own room.¹²⁹ Some single men lodged throughout their lives. Thomas Hodgson did so with family members, while John Crosland, a lodger with Nathaniel Dunderdale in 1841, moved around south Leeds: changing occupation from dyer to miner, to colliery banksman, and back to dyer, he lived with various families in Morley, Leeds and Hunslet over the next forty years.

Family lodgers, groupings, re-alignments, and kinship care

If non-family lodging gave choice and agency to the lodger, while providing additional income for some, notably widow-headed households, family lodging strategies may have had a different premise, more akin to family support networks. The kinship care of young children is apparent, beyond the township-funded placement noted with regard to Nathaniel Dunderdale's orphaned grandchildren. Some caution must be taken in assessing the levels of kinship care; it is possible that families merely happened to have a grandchild or niece or nephew staying over on census night. However, reconstitution methodology might highlight cases of longer-term care. Sarah Clark, Rachel Walmsley's illegitimately-born daughter went to live with Sarah's childless sister Hannah, and her husband, at an early age; she was with them as a 3 year-old in 1841, and they raised the

¹²⁹ As Michael Anderson has concluded for Lancashire mill towns, urban lodging might have been more comfortable than living at home, nor was it expensive; Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 48.

child as their own (although Sarah acknowledged her birth parentage at her marriage). Indeed, she and her husband, when first married, lodged with her aunt and uncle. Childless and child-light couples might be a particular childcare resource for families, whilst the couples themselves might emotionally, particularly maternally, welcome others' children if they could have none, or few, of their own.¹³⁰ Martha Dunderdale had no children, but had a succession of nieces and nephews staying with her over the years. Moses and Mary Alderson had only one child, but adopted a nurse-child, London-born Thomas Ballard. Thomas was so described in 1861, and his fostering by the Aldersons may have attracted a financial premium for the couple in his early years,¹³¹ although by 1871, living with widowed Mary, he was earning his keep as a cloth finisher.

When Priscilla Dunderdale became estranged from her husband Charles, she and 2 year-old daughter, also Priscilla, had, by 1841, moved in with her parents and unmarried younger sisters. Although their daughter was absent from their home in 1851, the younger Priscilla, a doffer in a flax mill, remained with her grandparents. As has been highlighted from studies of nineteenth-century Lancashire towns, during 'critical life situations' it was 'well-nigh essential' that family networks remained available and close for mutual support, 'if life chances were not to be seriously imperilled'.¹³²

Consequently, whole families might move in with relatives: as noted earlier, when Mary Murgatroyd (née Hodgson) died young in 1849, her widower, Thomas, and three sons moved in with his aged widowed father and two unmarried siblings, including his 40 year-old spinster sister Hannah, who, although working as a burler, might provide childcare. This family strategy continued across the century: in 1891, with son Josiah Carr Holgate, and his widow both dead, William and Ann Holgate (née Carr) had taken in their 9 year-old grandson John William; he was still with them in 1901, working as a railway porter.

Family care of older relatives is also revealed. However, of the nine parental heads and spouses of the seven households in 1841, only two, Joshua Carr and Rachel Walmsley, are known to have moved in with their offspring. Three (Jane Chew, Edward Chew and Mary Carr) died relatively young (aged 38, 55, and 60), but the others all lived into old

¹³⁰ For local rural examples of such kinship care see Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', pp. 85-86.

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 86.

¹³² Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 137.

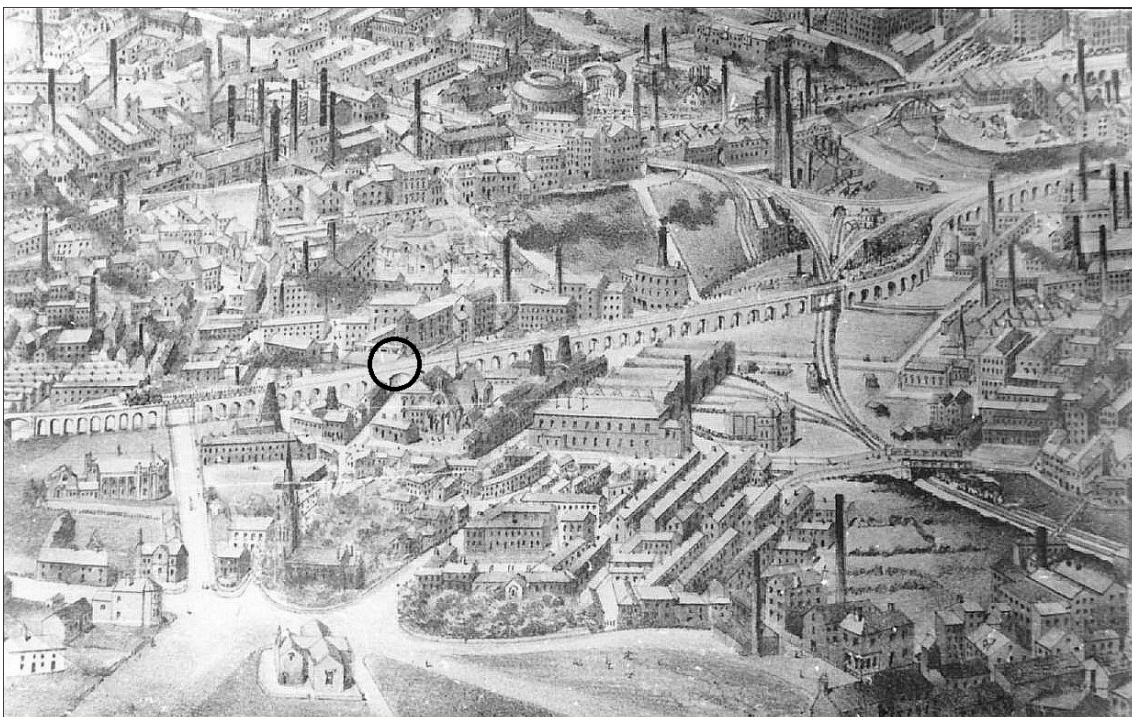
age in their own homes supported by unmarried or maritally estranged grown-up children: this was the case for George Hodgson, Hannah Best, Nathaniel Dunderdale, and Sarah Alderson. Support for older relatives was a commonplace across the chronology of this investigation: if they could not support themselves, or had no unmarried grown-up offspring living in the parental home, they would go live with their married children or other relatives, especially once widowed. Joshua Carr and Rachel Walmsley have been noted above. Similarly, Jane Parker's 69 year-old widowed mother Ann was lodging with Jane and her husband Joseph Carr in 1861, and Joseph and Jane had Jane's widowed older sister staying with them in 1871, while John Alderson had his wife's 73 year-old bachelor uncle living with his family in 1861. Although Henry Hainsworth Dunderdale headed a household at 50 Czar Street in 1871 which additionally housed his married daughter and son-in-law; at the same address in 1881, Henry and his wife were the lodgers and his son-in-law the head. There are tentative indications that the strategy of remaining in the parental home supported by unmarried grown-up children became replaced by one of support in the offspring's (or in some cases niece or nephew's) home. This was perhaps at least partially because of the decline in family size, and the lessened likelihood of having an unmarried child 'sacrificed' to looking after an aged parent.

As discussed earlier, young sibling groupings, like that of the Settle sisters on Isle Lane in 1841, were a relatively common strategy for combining resources. Similarly, married couples might take in unmarried young siblings: Joseph Best and his second wife Mary had Joseph's unmarried brother Edward lodging with them in 1861. John Alderson housed his wife's unmarried brother John Richardson that year too, while his brother Moses had almost his wife's entire sibling group, four brothers and sisters aged between 14 and 22, living with them and their young family in 1851. Until she married, Mary Hainsworth lived with her married brother Henry and his family in 1851, while in 1861 in Isles Terrace, the reunited Charles and Priscilla Dunderdale had Charles' unmarried brother Thomas lodging with them, as well as Priscilla's unmarried sister Mary. Charles was reciprocating for Thomas taking him in in 1851, when he was estranged from his wife, when the two brothers had formed a sibling group. Likewise, an older sibling group was formed when unmarried Thomas Hodgson and widowed brother George lived in Czar Street in 1871: a household headed by their widowed sister Elizabeth.

Spatial proximity

While the nuclear family model was the norm, extended and mixed family groups were not uncommon: household realignment was an economic, poverty-alleviating strategy. Those households and families, across the generations, tended to stay spatially close. In 1851, of the six surviving first generation heads of the Isle Lane seven households of 1841, four, Carr, Hodgson, Best and Walmsley, remained in Isle Lane, two of these in the same yard (Carr and Hodgson), probably in the same cottages. The other two, Alderson and Chew remained in Holbeck, a little further south: Sarah Alderson had remarried, and Edward Chew had become widowed. In 1861 four of the 1841 heads of household survived: Sarah Alderson and Edward Chew remained in Holbeck away from Isle Lane, while the Carrs were in the same yard (now called Isles Place) and Rachel Walmsley was in Front Walk, a street off Isle Lane.

Figure 7.3 Panorama of part of Holbeck in the 1880s, anonymous. The Isle Lane yard is circled



Of the second generation in 1851, one was in the workhouse and eight had died; seven were still in the parental home (six of these in Isle Lane), and two lived with siblings (both in Isle Lane). Of the five who had left the parental home (other than in a coffin)

three remained in the Isle Lane area: Joseph Carr and his new family were in Austin and Whalley's Yard a few doors down from his parents, while Henry Hainsworth Dunderdale and his family, with his sister lodging, were in Isle Terrace, next to the yard. Charles and Thomas Dunderdale were together in a street off Isle Lane, while Moses Alderson and his new family were a couple of hundred yards west in new development, Mann's Field. Only Maria Chew had moved away, and then less than half a mile away, lodging in east Holbeck, very close to Marshalls mill. By 1861, Maria was married and had moved to her husband's township, adjacent Hunslet, while Mary Hainsworth had married and become widowed and lived with her in-laws in Armley. But of the rest only two had moved out of Holbeck: Joseph Carr and his family had moved across the river into west Leeds, as had Edward Best, who lodged with his remarried brother Joseph. Two others had moved away from Isle Lane, but stayed in Holbeck: Moses Alderson moved into better housing a few hundred yards to the south, while Jane Chew, like her sister before her, moved close to Marshalls mill. The remainder stayed around Isle Lane: Ann Carr (Holgate) and her new family were even in the old yard, close by her parents; Charles and Thomas Dunderdale were next to the yard in Isle Terrace; as was George Hodgson; while Henry Hainsworth Dunderdale's address was on Isle Lane itself. Thomas Hodgson lodged across the road from his brother, on Czar Street. Family support networks were consolidated by remaining in close proximity to one another.

Early marriage

Like household realignments, marriage, and re-marriage, notably, but not exclusively, for women, was a necessary strategy. Although marriage at a younger age was a poverty alleviating strategy for young women (and their impoverished parents) it was less pronounced in this urban setting than in the rural.¹³³ Of the young women raised in known poverty, only Jane Parker, Joseph Carr's wife was a teenage bride, 19 when she married. Of the Isle Lane families who were in receipt of relief, the daughters who married, Ann Carr and Maria Chew were 22, Maria's sister Jane 23, while Mary Hainsworth was 26: all at or above the local average. The relative independence provided by work in the textile mills for young women in Holbeck offset the necessity for early marriage. All four of these young women worked in the flax mills.

¹³³ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 85.

Widow strategies

From analysis of working-class autobiography of the nineteenth century, Jane Humphries has highlighted the extent of fatherlessness, and the consequent strategic prevalence of 'household extension'.¹³⁴ The death of a husband heralded potential poverty for a working-class woman. A woman with young children and no assistance could not readily go out to work, even if proletarianised and having the experience to be able to find factory work; nor would she easily find work in live-in domestic service with children in tow (Rachel Walmsley only became a live-in domestic servant after her children had married). One strategy might be quick remarriage: Sarah Ann Bywater, with children aged 3, 10, 12, and 14 to find for (and the death of a 6-year old daughter the previous autumn a reminder of the fragility of survival) married middle-aged bachelor and labourer George Hodgson just five months after the death of her cloth dresser husband in March 1856. But, equally, a widower, especially one with young children would also need child-raising strategies, which included early remarriage. Charlotte Lax of Isle Lane died in late January 1841; with seven children at home, including a toddler, her widower Samuel remarried with some haste, in April that year.

Yet remarriage with such alacrity was not so prevalent (at least for women) as might be expected. Sarah Alderson waited until all her children were (sadly, either dead or) grown-up before she remarried and found the security of a weaver with a Chelsea pension. Likewise, Rachel Walmsley may also have been the beneficiary of her late husband's military pension: in 1851 her status was designated as 'soldier's widow': she did not remarry. Sarah's son Moses died in 1867, and although his widow was raising nurse-child Thomas Ballard, then aged 10, she did not remarry until 1872. Mary Hodgson, who married widower Joseph Best waited over eight years after the death of her husband, despite being pregnant when her husband died, and having three other children under 10; indeed, it was not until she was pregnant with Joseph's child that she remarried. Mary and her children had moved in with her widowed father, shoemaker Thomas Ramskill, after the death of her first husband.

The lack of substantial evidence for widespread quick remarriage of widows with

¹³⁴ Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 84.

children foregrounds other survival strategies which widows might employ. As in Mary Hodgson's case, moving in with parents, or in-laws was one; Mary Hainsworth, although she had no children, when widowed moved in with her late husband's siblings and mother. Elizabeth Batty (née Hodgson) on becoming widowed formed a sibling-group household with her two working brothers (one widowed, one unmarried) and headed that household. But realignments were less than frequently employed; widows would seem to have sustained their survival and the survival of their children without recourse to a realignment with a male breadwinner husband or father, employing and combining a range of strategies, as the tabulation of widow families mentioned in this narrative shows, Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Non-realigned strategies of widow families, Holbeck 1841-1871

<i>Widow's name</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Widow's stated occupation, and age</i>	<i>No. of younger children working</i>	<i>No. of older unmarried working children remaining</i>	<i>No. of lodgers taken in</i>	<i>Becom-ing lodgers</i>	<i>Known relief</i>
Elizabeth Child	1841	burler, 40-44	1	---	2	---	---
Elizabeth Wild	1841	---, 60-64	1	---	---	yes	---
Hannah Best	1841	---, 64	2	1	1	---	yes
Sarah Sugden	1841	burler, 45-49	3	---	2 + 1 infant	---	---
Harriet Atha	1841	flax worker, 27	---	---	---	yes	---
Sarah Flockton	1841	---, 46	2	2	---	---	yes
Sarah Alderson	1841	---, 47	4	---	---	---	yes
Sarah Stephenson	1841	---, 48	5	---	---	---	yes
Alice Burrow	1851	mangle keeper, 50	3	---	1 [child]	---	---
<i>[Hannah Best]</i>	<i>1851</i>	<i>---, 74</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>yes</i>
Mary Littlewood	1861	housekeeper, 55	1	3	2	---	---
Rachel Walmsley	1861	---, 44	1	---	---	---	---
<i>[Rachel Walmsley]</i>	<i>1871</i>	<i>live-in servant, 54</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>---</i>
Mary Alderson	1871	burler in mill, 48	1	---	---	---	---
Priscilla Dunderdale	1871	dressmaker, ¹³⁵ 55	---	---	---	---	---
Priscilla Alderson	1871	---, 50	---	1	2 + 1 infant; family lodgers	---	---

135 Priscilla Dunderdale had also been a dressmaker in 1841 when estranged from her husband.

Returning to an occupation was one strategy, if indeed that occupation had ever been fully rescinded when married; as noted earlier, the reliability of recording (especially married) women's work was inconsistent. Similarly, as discussed earlier in this chapter, taking-in washing might be a particular commonplace for widows like Alice Burrow and Bridget Berry, that often went unrecorded; 'keeps a mangle' as in Alice's case, might be a less representative example.¹³⁶ As a strategy on its own, however, employment only served dressmaker Priscilla Dunderdale, whose household consisted of herself alone, and Harriet Atha, who along with her brother and daughter lived in lodgings. In most cases it was combined with other strategies; particularly, having children working was a necessity. All except Priscilla Dunderdale in 1871, Harriet Atha (who was only 27, with a 2 year-old child), and Rachel Walmsley in 1871 did so; and two of these had to move into lodgings or live-in service. Often these children might (be persuaded to?) remain unmarried and in the family home, or delay marriage, and support their mother. Sarah Alderson's unmarried working daughter stayed with her even after her mother's remarriage. Several combined these strategies with taking in lodgers; as Jane Humphries has noted, 'a standard survival strategy for female-headed households'.¹³⁷ As discussed in Chapter 4, poor relief was also an important factor in widow economies: of the eight widows from 1841 in the above example, four had known relief. Poor relief, however parsimonious, provided widows with a 'breathing space in which to devise a survival strategy'.¹³⁸ A combination of strategies, as with all categories of the poor, staved off absolute poverty, and these strategies were more accentuated in widow economies.

Family limitation

There are indications from the reconstitutions that family limitation via birth control became more prevalent from one generation to the next, and as the century progressed. Of the twelve marriages of full fecund duration six were between 1794 and 1838, and six between 1843 and 1859. Five of the earlier set have strong indicators that lactational infecundity was the prime mover in regulating conception: each of these families had at least seven children, at intervals of around two years or so. Interestingly three of these had a (fertility?) gap of a few years before a last child arrived in later life. Only one, the Carrs, married in 1824, had fewer children: they had three, despite a 42-year marriage.

¹³⁶ TNA, HO107/2317.

¹³⁷ Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour*, p. 73.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 70.

Of the later set only two were indicative of lactational infecundity alone being the main regulator: Ann Carr had seven children over sixteen years, and Maria Chew had seven over seventeen. Moses Alderson's wife Mary (née Flockton), herself from a large impoverished family, had only one child, shortly after her marriage in 1846. Two of the others suggest that only in the early years of marriage did lactational infecundity solely regulate conception. Henry Hainsworth Dunderdale's wife Martha, married in 1843, had three children in a 43-year marriage, the last in 1850 when she was 29. Jane Chew had four children in the nine years after her marriage, the last when she was 32; Jane then had a ten-year gap until her last child. The cessation of conception in these cases suggests that there was conspicuous agency in its regulation. Similarly Joseph Carr's wife, Jane (another daughter of poverty from a large family) regulated the conception of her four children, and these were spread out over fifteen years; in this case only the interval between the first and second child suggests that no form of birth control was in place, the other two intervals, five and six years, suggest there was. Joseph Carr's parents, it might be noted, were the only family in the earlier group who seem to have used some form of birth control; it is possible that knowledge of regulatory methods was passed down from parents to their children - or at least to their sons (or, perhaps, Joseph's sister Ann had little say in the regulation of her conceptions).

Larger families, at least until the children were old enough to work, equalled poverty. As discussed above, and in Chapter 4, such families, when the male breadwinner was sick, un- or under-employed, or dead, were those most likely to be in need of relief. Birth control and its consequence, smaller families, was a major self-help strategy in alleviating poverty. Simon Szreter has posited that, in the locus of textile manufacture, particularly after the Factories Acts of 1833, 1844, and 1853, which limited the working hours of children, couples sought to maximise their joint earning potential by regulating conceptions so that the wife might retain some earning potential in the mills.¹³⁹ Yet this trend towards fewer children was also noticeable in rural labouring families.¹⁴⁰ It cannot be evaluated if the contraceptive campaigns and the literature disseminated by Richard Carlile and Francis Place, discussed at the beginning of this chapter were instrumental in family limitation, there is a dearth of information available regarding the means of

¹³⁹ Simon Szreter, *Fertility, class and gender in Britain, 1860-1940* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 490.

¹⁴⁰ Rawson, 'Economies and Strategies', p. 86.

family limitation employed.¹⁴¹ However, from analysis of CAMPOP data, Hera Cook has highlighted 'the very sharp decline in the birth-rate' during the 1820s and 1830s, and the gentler continued decline thereafter.¹⁴² As Barry Reay has concluded, from a southern microhistorical study, 'those at the bottom of society were moving towards fertility control in the nineteenth century'.¹⁴³ This trend is very evident in both rural and urban northern working-class communities.

Conclusion

Although some comments can be made from the statistical analysis of data derived from the biographical reconstitution of a relatively small group of historical actors, it is the minutiae and interactions of individuals' lives that such a methodology reveals which helps delineate their conditions and experiences, their constraints and strategies.

Men's traditional occupation of woollen cloth weaving (and indeed linen weaving) was in terminal decline: its remuneration was impoverishing. Men sought work in other industries, and the burgeoning engineering sector was the most lucrative of these. It was women, however, who propelled industrialisation: theirs, and their children's, cheap labour drove the textile factories, most particularly in the non-woollen sectors. Although the wages they received, especially in the flax mills, were exploitative, at best half that of men's, they potentially provided women with a nascent and limited economic independence, and many young women lodged away from the family home, without recourse to a male breadwinner. This culture of women's work and relative independence in Leeds would continue throughout the century with the introduction of the power-loom, and on into the tailoring industry.

The contributions children made to family economies were crucial for those families' survival. Even in male-headed families, children contributed more than half of families' incomes. Yet, despite this additional income, most families, when in average employment, had total incomes below the calculated minimum requirements of living costs. Family economies were fragile, and they lived either in poverty, or in its close

141 Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 123.

142 Hera Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800-1975* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 14-15.

143 Reay, *Microhistories*, p. 53.

proximity. Consequently, most of these families were, at some life-cycle point, in receipt of parish relief. However, for men at least, the self-help mechanism of friendly societies was replacing the parish relief system to provide insurance in times of sickness, although these did not insure against un- or under- employment. Collective self-help was also evident in the later period in the establishing of the People's Co-operative Flour Mill in 1847, which by 1862 had become the country's second largest provision co-operative, and forerunner of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society.

Other strategies, other than work and welfare, can be identified from reconstitution. Early marriage for very poor women, and remarriage for widows and widowers with children was less evident in the urban setting, than it was in the rural, and was less significant than other strategies in the case of widows. Taking in, or becoming, lodgers was one strategy - especially for widows. But kinship support, familial household alignments and realignments were critical; and families stayed in close spatial proximity to these support networks. And, crucially, these families were becoming smaller because of family limitation. Like their rural counterparts, the urban poor had a range of poverty alleviating strategies to draw on, and all of these, and others which cannot be readily identified, were employed simply to make ends meet.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Sarah Jubb lived in Holbeck for most of her life, becoming Sarah Alderson and finally Sarah Russell. She died there in 1874, having outlived two husbands and all eight of her children. The eighty years of her life witnessed unprecedented change. The reconstitution of it, and those of her family and neighbours, contextualised by their occupational, welfare, and demographic contexts, can assess the changes and continuities of their experiences, and the constraints upon, and agencies of, the working poor in industrialising communities.

I

Sarah saw her home township grow from a clothier village, with domestic manufacturers like her father producing woollen cloth for sale across the river in the cloth halls of Leeds, to a heavily industrialised, densely populated urbanised continuation of that smoky town. Holbeck, like the rest of the Borough of Leeds, saw its population double in the thirty years between 1821 and 1851. The critical phase of this precipitous growth was the first ten years of this period, a decade which saw population growth in Holbeck approaching three times that of the West Riding average, and almost four times that of the national average. As discussed in Chapter 2, which establishes comparative demographic contexts, growth was at the expense of the stagnation of local rural communities, like the township of Rigton, and was marked by significant gender and age-group imbalances.

Migration had been led by work opportunities for girls and young women in the textile factories, particularly the non-woollen sector: at least two-thirds of the workforce of flax mills, like the monumental Marshalls Mills in Holbeck, was female, the great majority of these under the age of 21. The 'Mill Girl', the 'Factory Girl', that trope of contemporary literature, was found in abundance here. Children's work, and their necessary contributions to family economies, was notably prevalent. In 1841, by the age

of 11, a third of all children were in stated work in Holbeck (a situation similar in neighbouring Wortley). Unlike in the coal mining township of Rothwell, where fewer than 20% of the age-group were in stated employment, by the age of 14, 80% of boys, and approaching 70% of girls in Holbeck and Wortley had a designated occupation. Sarah Alderson's only surviving daughter Elizabeth was one such mill girl, working as a flax spinner: remaining unmarried, it was an occupation she kept for most of her adult life, helping support her widowed mother. Of Elizabeth's peers in seven reconstituted households in Isle Lane in 1841, all three of those aged between 11 and 20, Ann Carr, Hannah Best, and Mary Chew, worked in the flax mills.

The prevalence of child-working varied from community to community because of differing local occupational profiles. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, Holbeck's occupational profile, and consequent age-group and gender demographic, was particular; in many respects it was microcosmic of Leeds as a whole, but there were significant and very locally varying differences. The adjacent township of Wortley, yet more precipitous in population growth than Holbeck, remained a clothier township, with 60% of its male population in 1841 still working in woollen cloth production, mostly as hand-loom weavers. Further demographic research might investigate if this growth in Wortley, whose population almost doubled between 1821 and 1831, was due to weavers from other townships (like Holbeck, perhaps) moving into a consolidated cloth-making community of the domestic tradition.

By 1841 Holbeck's profile was more diverse than Wortley's; although woollen cloth manufacture remained the major male employer. This is highlighted by its prevalence in the seven Isle Lane households, whose biographical reconstitution, in Chapters 6 and 7 particularly, form the core of this investigation. But, the growing metalworking and engineering industries, and flax textiles, were also significant sectors. Overall, however, the single biggest sectoral employer in Holbeck was flax; the female workforce here was more significant than in the comparative communities studied. Although, especially in the clothier township of Wortley, older women might be more likely to be employed, particularly as burlers, in cloth manufacture, the woollen cloth industry retained a male-orientated (and male apprenticeship) culture, even into its mechanised factory settings: while flax manufacture was, at this time, 65% female (and rising), woollen cloth manufacture was just over 20% female.

Holbeck's flax mills, like Marshalls, benefited from exploiting the cheap (and more docile and controllable) labour of girls and women. While there was parity as children between the sexes, from around the age of 16 girls' wages did not rise as boys' did, and by the age of 21 a woman would still be in receipt of little more than 6s. per week, a third of potential (although in comparison with hand-loom weavers particularly, often far from actual) adult male workers' earnings.

Nonetheless, despite the paucity of their wages, the proletarianisation of girls in the mills realised, as discussed in Chapter 7, some nascent, albeit limited, independence for them as young women, and they were less reliant on breadwinning males, who if still woollen cloth weavers were themselves impoverished. This might be termed a 'lodging independence', and several young textile-working women in Holbeck chose to leave the family home, without marrying, eager to 'become their own mistresses'. Maria Chew and Elizabeth Hodgson of the Isle Lane households took this option, finding themselves non-familial lodgings. Work opportunities for girls also provided them with a safety net against absolute poverty if male heads of household had died. All-female, textile-working sibling groups were a relative commonplace in Holbeck and Leeds more generally, while non-related all-female households, like the one Maria Chew lodged in in 1851, were not unknown. The culture of women's factory work in Leeds, stemming from these beginnings, continued into the better-paid occupation, power-loom weaving. Granddaughters of four of the Isle Lane seven households pursued this employment: Sarah Alderson's granddaughter Elizabeth, Joshua and Mary Carr's granddaughter Emma, Rachel Walmsley's granddaughter Annie, and Edward and Jane Chew's granddaughter, Mary Jane, all became power-loom weavers, a more lucrative occupation than those of their mothers and aunts in the flax mills. This culture would continue into Leeds' ready-made clothing industry.

If women's work in Leeds' new textile sectors like flax realised some independence, male employment in the borough's traditional woollen cloth manufacture was becoming precarious. Clothiers were becoming merely weavers, and, although (because of the inadequacies of woollen power-loom technology) hand-loom weaving remained a significant occupation into and even beyond the middle years of the nineteenth century, its remuneration was increasingly impoverishing, and employment irregular.

Reconstitution, synthesised into a commentary on employment constraints and agencies in Chapter 7, confirms accounts by Holbeck weavers that the sound of the loom was becoming the 'poverty knock' of contemporary folklore. Cloth manufacture, by 1841, had an older demographic. Younger ex-weavers, taught by their fathers, sought work in other industries; but unproletarianised by factory work as children, they found transfer to mechanised cloth production problematic; those who tried, like the Hodgson brothers and Moses Alderson, did not remain long in the mechanised sector. Several became labourers, some in the developing dyeing and chemicals industries; or more lucratively in the rising (and unionised) engineering and metalworking sectors, an industry with a much younger demographic. Men who remained weavers were less likely to be married: marriage to a 'poverty knocker' was not a viable economic strategy for young women who might get by independently by working in the flax mills.

Married women's paid work often went unrecorded. Charring, or taking in washing was a commonplace; and children's contributions, girls' particularly, to family economies was vital. Women and their children were the driving force of industrialisation, their cheap and compliant labour made immense fortunes for entrepreneurs like John Marshall, and kept down men's wages: in Holbeck the male breadwinner economy was but an aspiration. Even in families with a working male head of household, children in Holbeck contributed on average more than half of those families' total income. Almost all working-class children worked. Despite the increasing regulation of the textile industry in the 1830s and 1840s, 1851 found most of the offspring of those in the seven Isle Lane households working in the mills, including Sarah Alderson's granddaughters, 12 year-old Hannah Alderson and her 10 year-old sister Sarah. Children's incomes were often the most regular contribution to family economies, especially those headed by hand-loom weavers, and yet more so to the many households headed by a widow like Sarah Alderson.

A weaver, or labourer's earnings alone, even when in full employment, were insufficient to meet any contemporary calculations of minimum living costs; even skilled workers' wages only just bordered on the one pound or so a week calculated to be necessary to feed, clothe and keep warm a family of five. Even including children's contributions, family incomes were rarely significantly above subsistence; households with children too young to work were particularly vulnerable, and commonly impoverished. Poverty,

for the working class in the industrialised township of Holbeck, just as it was for the agricultural labourers of Rigton, was always, at best, within touching distance.

II

One of the agencies available to the poor was application to their entitlement to township welfare mechanisms. In Holbeck, and the comparative townships of this investigation, despite the legislation of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834, welfare mechanisms remained predominantly unaltered, and Holbeck, indeed much of Leeds and its environs, even into the 1860s, administered poor relief in the tradition of the Old Poor Law, with an emphasis on outdoor relief.

As the New Poor Law was implemented in most of the rest of the country and, often under violent protest, in the rest of the West Riding, Leeds townships, (and those surrounding the borough to the north, east, and south-east), were protected from most of its effect by the existence of four large incorporations, each of forty townships, formed under Gilbert's Act of 1782. Townships were incorporated only to share the facility of a single workhouse; they each administered relief independently. As discussed in the first part of Chapter 3, the greatest of these incorporations, the Carlton, by far the largest of its kind in the country, had a population of over 54,000 by 1837 and included seven of the ten Leeds out-townships, including Wortley. Rothwell and Rigton were also members. Because of their existence (and opposition to repealing the act which permitted it), logistically coherent New Poor Law unions could not be formed. Furthermore, townships which were not members of Gilbert incorporations, but interspersed between townships that were, as Holbeck was, were protected from absorption into new unions. Gilbert's Act was not repealed until 1869, and these townships also continued to administer poor relief in the style of the Old Poor Law throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Consequently, less shackled by the centralised authority of the Poor Law Commission and Somerset House, and from the boards of guardians established to manage relief across groups of several townships, individual townships retained autonomy, and continued to elect local bodies, usually still termed select vestries, to administer welfare provision for their own poor. The consequence of this was a continuing emphasis on

outdoor relief. The poor in the Carlton Incorporation were considerably less likely to be admitted to the workhouse: in 1847, just over 2% of its poor were so relieved. While it had its own workhouse, only 5% of Holbeck's poor were relieved in it, compared with over 13% nationally. Townships without their own workhouse, like Rothwell, Wortley, and Rigton retained housing stock for their poor. 'Poor houses' here were simply social housing provision, not the institutionalised accommodation of the workhouses; and all of these administrations, alongside Holbeck, additionally allowed rental allowances when the poor could not pay their rent to private landlords.

Cash payments, in the form of standardised weekly pensions or benefits, and means-tested casual relief were the most valuable form of relief for the poor, and the largest part of townships' expenditure, but a package of other welfare provision is also apparent; these have been evaluated in Chapter 5. Holbeck did not have social housing. Its workhouse served as an institution of accommodation at several levels: a longer-term refuge for the particularly vulnerable poor and the mentally impaired, like Jeremiah Rhodes who moved there when his aged widowed mother was admitted; and the elderly and infirm like the recently widowed journeyman smith Willoughby Ostcliffe, who took with him his household possessions. It also acted as temporary accommodation for the otherwise homeless, particularly single mothers, and young orphaned children like William Meek and his siblings. Children, just as in the family settings, were expected to work, and workhouse children were employed in the textile mills like their non-institutionally housed peers. It also acted as emergency, hostel-type shelter, as in the case of journeyman joiner Thomas Smith and his family. Yet admittance to the workhouse was far more unusual than other forms of relief, and only one of the members of the seven Isle Lane households, Mary Chew, was known to have been admitted.

Medical relief was a significant element of local welfare. Holbeck, like other local townships, subscribed to medical institutions, notably the Leeds General Infirmary, and House of Recovery. It employed a town's surgeon (later two), a practitioner who attended the sick poor in their homes free of charge, provided midwifery services, and, after the Vaccination Act of 1840, inoculated the children of the township against smallpox. On a somewhat experimental basis the township also at times subscribed to a convalescent hospital and a blind school, to which it sent its poor. One major institution

most townships patronised was the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum. While Holbeck's mentally ill poor were often cared for in the community or its workhouse, the township additionally sent many cases there. Admission and case notes of those admitted to the asylum, correlated with other local records, provide a rich source for evaluating the concerns of the poor in their community, particularly with regard to poverty and economic considerations, familial, neighbourly and domestic, and religious preoccupations. There are indications that the facility, established exclusively for the poor, was by mid-century becoming appropriated by the middle classes.

Mechanisms other than the institutional were also employed. The rump of the traditional parish apprenticing system can be identified into the late 1840s, although its main function was a revenue raising scheme to supplement the poor rate. When medical assistance failed funerals were paid for, and 'town's funerals' might account for around 10% of all those buried in Holbeck St Matthew's burial ground. There is evidence to suggest that pauper funerals were no more degraded an event than others of the labouring poor, and little to suggest they were as feared as the commonplace literary trope implies. Financial assistance, both grants and loans, were available. Start-up funding for small self-employment schemes was relatively commonplace until the mid-1840s at least. Particularly after the economic depression of 1842, significant amounts might be paid towards emigration, usually to America, and several Holbeck families applied for assistance and were kitted out, and had their passages paid, to a new life in the New World by order of the select vestry.

III

The existence of the Gilbert incorporations allowed townships to administer relief with continuing autonomy. While nomination to boards of guardians in the New Poor Law unions had a significantly prohibitive property qualification, preventing working men from serving on such bodies, nomination for membership of select vestries did not. As a consequence, and a consequence probably unique to the area, Chartist select vestries, comprised mainly of unenfranchised working men, were three times elected by Holbeck's ratepayers to administer poor relief in the township in the 1840s.

It is problematic to discern particular Chartist policies; innovations in their first

administration in 1842, as discussed in the second part of Chapter 3, are obfuscated by the crash of that year, and the necessary responses to that extreme economic downturn. But it can be said that Chartist administrations comprised of Holbeck working men were efficient and competent, and they were twice re-elected. There is some indication that later Chartist administrations were innovative in prioritising environmental health. However, the clearest evidence of policy might be identified as protectionist. A system for poor relief in the form of groceries was introduced, and relief recipients were allocated Holbeck grocers. Isle Lane's Edward Chew's young family received a weekly 5s. worth of groceries, redeemed at Ann Bashforth's shop nearby on Stocks Hill. While the poor might have bought provisions cheaper in Leeds' markets, this would not have benefited Holbeck's ratepaying shopkeepers. Chartist select vestrymen sought the co-operation of Holbeck's manufacturers in giving employment preference to those who belonged to the township (and who would be entitled to relief if out of work). Although administrations of all political shades adopted removal policies in this desperate year, Holbeck's vestry did so with some gusto, and were applauded for it, particularly in their prioritising removals to agricultural areas, with the intended consequence of compelling rural landlords, protected by the Corn Laws, to support 'their own' poor.

The consequences for the poor of such policies have been touched upon, and the indications are that removal policies could have distressing effects on those removed, and indeed on those who stayed, but, in fearing removal, did not claim relief. But it is an area which would greatly benefit from further research, and biographical reconstitution of those removed, might begin to assess these consequences.

There was variety in types of relief provision, and these have been evaluated in Chapter 4. Outdoor cash relief payments were the mainstay of township welfare and had two main elements. The first were regular pension-type payments, calculated weekly and usually paid fortnightly. The vulnerable groups who were recipients of these pensions can be categorised as follows: the elderly and infirm; widows (or deserted wives) with children; orphaned children; single mothers of illegitimate children; and the otherwise infirm, like Jeremiah Rhodes. Despite the fragmentary survival of records for Holbeck, it can be identified that members of the Isle Lane households fell into the first three of these categories. Widow Hannah Best received a standard 2s. 6d. per week old age pension. Younger widow Sarah Alderson received 1s. 6d. per week child allowance for

her youngest son in 1839, while her son Moses' mother-in-law, widow Sarah Flockton, received 3s. for two children. At this time Nathaniel Dunderdale received the standard 1s. 6d. per week for Mary Hainsworth, the younger of his two grandchildren, who had both been boarded with him on the death of their mother. Prior to her death his daughter, young widow Hannah Hainsworth, had received 3s. per week for her two children. Illegitimacy was less common in the industrialised township of Holbeck than in the rural setting of Rigton. Although Rachel Walmsley had an illegitimate daughter before her marriage, there are no examples of bastardy payments to women in the Isle Lane seven households. Payments for illegitimate children followed the same scale paid on the behalf of other children, 1s. 6d. per week, or 2s. per week if the mother was still nursing. child allowances for poor families remained accessible until the age of ten, when children were expected to be in work, and taken off a family's relief assessment. Thus, Sarah Alderson's relief for youngest child William was discontinued by the end of 1841, and she did not appear on any further relief lists. Consolidated regular relief was standardised at 2s. 6d. per week for an aged or infirm adult pensioner, and 1s. 6d. per week for a dependent child.

As elsewhere, Holbeck paid out-relief for its poor, like Robert Gawthorp, who had moved away from the township; however, as a precipitously growing industrialised township, it was far more common to receive payments from other townships for their settled poor who had migrated to Holbeck for work. Such payments were usually in larger tranches, and could equate to up to 13% of Holbeck's cash relief expenditure. In instigating payment from a poor relief applicant's township of settlement, a magistrate's removal order was sought: in most cases this prompted the township of belonging to pay up, although expensive and lengthy enquiries into settlement and litigation could ensue in disputed cases. There is evidence that the payment of a single shilling, the 'overseer's shilling', served as proof that an applicant had applied for and received nominal relief, as in the case of Jonathan Brooksbank and his family. The seeking of removal orders, and its logical denouement, removal itself, was far more common in times of cyclical economic depression, and consequent un- and under-employment. At such times payments for casual relief could rise exponentially. Expenditure on regular pension-type payments remained stable throughout the 1840s, fluctuating only by a weekly mean of five or six pounds, around 20%. However, casual relief expenditure, which during the less economically stagnant years of the hungry forties, might

approximate with the regular pension bill, fluctuated sharply, spiking at over 100% of the norm for that period, in 1842: consequently, the casual bill at this time was twice that of the pension bill.

Even from the fragmentary records available, three of the seven Isle Lane households, are known to have been in receipt of casual relief at some point. Sarah Alderson's large young family received such relief when her flax dresser husband James was out of work in 1830, and under-employed in 1832. In that year woollen cloth weaver Joshua Carr and his family had relief when his earnings were down to just over a shilling a week, while woollen listing maker Edward Chew had sporadic and often substantial casual relief in 1840; his family also received relief in kind, in the form of groceries during the crash of 1842. Casual payments were means-tested, and tailored to perceived necessity. With four young children, none old enough to work, Edward Chew's weekly relief payments varied from 1s. 6d. to a maximum of 8s., depending on his own income each week, and whatever his wife and children might bring in, and particular family circumstances which may be uncovered by reconstitution methodologies: the Chew family's relief peaked when Jane was confined with baby William, and in the weeks immediately following. Most casual payments were of a temporary and sporadic nature, affected by individual familial circumstance, and by broader economic cycles.

The working poor of Holbeck, as elsewhere, were always close to poverty, and very many had some life-cycle recourse to township relief. While this relief was tailored to circumstance, it was, at best, of a subsistence level, as were standardised pension payments. As Rothwell's overseer noted in 1834, payments in that township barely enabled their recipients' survival. Widowed Hannah Hainsworth succumbed to cholera aged 28 when her total family income was 4s. 6d., three shillings of which was township relief for her children. Sarah Alderson's husband, father of the children with whom Hannah Hainsworth's son and daughter grew up in the yard in Isle Lane, was buried aged 43, the month after his 3 year-old daughter, when his large family's meagre income was supplemented by equally meagre relief payments. The paucity of relief payments foregrounds other strategies necessarily adopted by the poor, and several of these, and their changing nature can be identified by biographical reconstitution across the life-cycle and generations: these have been examined in Chapter 7.

IV

Some strategies, like changing occupation, and children's and women's contributions to family economies, were informed by local employment contexts, and their constraints and opportunities. Others were structured by the working poor themselves. The collective self-help measure of subscription to friendly societies was crucial. There was almost universal male subscription to the local society in rural Rigton. While this also performed an important social role, it was critical in keeping able-bodied families from poor relief, and in providing, on average, a higher rate of income than township relief in times of sickness. Holbeck's workers did not belong to a single society, and it is therefore problematic to ascertain the proportion of working men (or indeed, women) who subscribed to the variety of affiliated orders, unaffiliated societies and unions, sick clubs, and free gifts, but evidence suggests that it was just as prevalent. However, while overseers might temporarily pay the subscriptions to a society, un- or under-employment was not insured against in the membership package, and members, like Holbeck weaver Benjamin Kirk, might be expelled for lapsing subscription during such times. Collective self-help and working-class agency was also in evidence in the township when working people established the People's Co-operative Flour Mill there in 1847. Expanding into a more general provision co-operative, this was the forerunner of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society, and had by 1862 become the second largest society of its type in the country.

While the allotment movement had found some resonance in Holbeck, the food strategies of the poor in rural settings (garden produce; keeping pigs and lane-cows; poaching, foraging and gleaning, for example) were not, or were far less, available to the urban poor. In the industrialised township of Holbeck, alongside the broader collective self-help agencies, the most comprehensive portfolio of strategies is to be found in familial and household alignments.

Early marriage for young poor women, as a poverty alleviating strategy (not only for themselves, but for their parents) was also less pronounced in the urban setting than the rural. All of the daughters of families in receipt of relief in the Isle Lane reconstitutions married at or above the average age of around 22, foregrounding their (pre-marital) economic independence working in the mills. Similarly, the hasty remarriage of widows

is less noticeable, and combinations of other strategies such as work, child-working contributions, older children remaining at home longer, the taking in of (or becoming) lodgers, and application to township relief are more prevalent in widow economies.

Taking in or becoming a non-familial lodger was a commonplace. There are indications that in Holbeck it was to some extent a 'lodger's market' and criteria such as the availability of a loom to let, proximity to mills and to parental home, friendships and work relationships, gender groupings, childcare, and the expertise of the household head in providing for lodgers, alongside space and cost, were taken into consideration. But familial lodging was a strategy of kinship support. The kinship care of young children, both formalised, as in the case of the orphaned Hainsworth children living with their maternal grandfather, and informal, as in the case of Sarah Clark (Rachel Walmsley's illegitimate daughter raised by her childless aunt Hannah and her husband) is apparent. Childless, and child-few, relatives were a familial childcare resource. In times of bereavement, especially, and the economic and childcare considerations which arose, whole families might move in with relatives. This might particularly be the case for young widowers with children, as Mary Murgatroyd's (nee Mary Hodgson, of Isle Lane) widower and children, moving in with his aged father and unmarried siblings indicates. Likewise support for older relatives is indicated: they either moved in with their children's (and sometimes niece's or nephew's) families, like Joshua Carr and Rachel Walmsley, or (perhaps more commonly in the earlier years of this investigation) were supported in their own homes by a grown-up child, unmarried or estranged from a spouse, as Sarah Alderson and Hannah Best were. Sibling groupings, and the consequent combining of resources, were a relatively common familial household strategy, while married couples often took in their unmarried siblings: Moses Alderson had his wife's four brothers and sisters move in with his young family, while Mary Hainsworth lived with her married brother until she wed.

Families remained spatially close too. Kinship support networks were kept in near proximity. Sarah Alderson was unusual in moving across the river into Leeds, before returning to Holbeck. Most families stayed very close to one another, within calling distance, and the streets and yards off and around Isle Lane remained the homes to most of them across the two generations of this investigation.

Sarah Alderson had eight children at two-yearly intervals: her childbearing only ended by her husband's death. The size of her young family was contributory to its poverty and necessity of poor relief. But couples of her children's generation were much less likely to have as many children, nor have them at such regular, lactationally-regulated intervals. Family limitation was a major poverty-alleviating strategy: conception was regulated by other means, and urban working-class families, as has been found for the rural labouring poor, became smaller.

V

This thesis has contributed to the addressing of a historiographical imbalance, in investigating poverty and its alleviation in a northern urban industrialised setting, and has done so by examining the experience of poverty both from an administrative perspective, but more significantly from that of the poor themselves. The development of 'narrative biographical reconstitution', constructed upon the manual linkage of a large number of sources, is a significant contribution to understanding the experiences and agencies of the poor, and a major element of this project. It is a methodology that could very profitably be employed across a variety of communities. The interpretations made here, from such a methodology, have given a voice to the people of the urban poor not before heard with such clarity.

Founding the experiences related by these voices upon the contexts of demographic and poor relief structures has uncovered major findings. Large and populous incorporations of townships, established under Gilbert's Act, prevented the formation of New Poor Law unions. Their prevalence and relevance was considerable, and the implications of their existence suggest a more nuanced approach to understanding poor relief policy and its impact after the Poor Law Amendment Act. The dynamics of the relationship between the Poor Law Commission and administrations unaligned with the New Poor Law, for example, are worthy of further investigation.

The use of select vestry minutes has allowed a fine-grained analysis of local poor relief administration. Because of the unaligned nature of those bodies, this has been investigated in a period of especial significance, one of economic depression, unrest and working-class politicisation. Consequently, for the first time, it has been possible to

examine the policy and impact of a committee of working-class Chartists, elected by their peers to manage poor relief, and thus extend our knowledge of the workings of Chartist municipal governance. While it has been beyond the remit of this thesis, there is a great deal of scope to further investigate the political tactics and interventions of Chartist governance, alongside those of their opposition.

If the contexts of welfare policies have revealed particular circumstances which can inform and extend our understanding of poor relief beyond 1834, so too has establishing a demographic framework added to our knowledge of the gender and age-group dynamics within communities with varying, and changing, occupational profiles during a period of unprecedented population movement, urbanisation and industrialisation, and its consolidation. That framework has established the levels and nature of child labour. From this it has been possible to evaluate the amount and, particularly because of the un- and under-employment of adult males and the paucity of their wages, the necessity of children's contribution to family economies. Reconstitution of such families is the tool which enables us to do this, and the construction of a demographic foundation upon which to construct a fine-grained analysis of work and poverty is essential.

But if the depictions of working-class experience suggest that the actors in this history were simply victims of an oppressive political economy, meekly trying to subsist, it should be emphasised that in Holbeck collective self-help was a strong and significant strategic response to that economy. Trade union membership has been only lightly touched on in this thesis, but it, and the role of friendly societies and co-operation were important contributors to alleviating poverty beyond subsistence level. Civil unrest was met with sympathy from inhabitants, while Chartist alliances of working men were elected several times to administer local governance, including poor relief, and did so with competence and efficiency. Although outside the primary remit of this project, its detailed investigation has revealed Holbeck to have been a crucible of the collectivism and representation which would eventually ameliorate the conditions of the British working class.

Yet, paradoxically stemming from the exploitative nature of local manifestations of that political economy, there rose some nascent and limited independence for women. If children's work, in some sectors of textile manufacture especially, was crucial to family

economies, then, along with cheap women's labour, it was the foundation for the consolidation of industrialisation, and for the fortunes it made for many entrepreneurs. But despite the poor wages for long hours of labour, gendered working, employment opportunities for girls and women in these sectors, established a 'lodging independence', freer from reliance on an oft-impooverished male breadwinner model. The appraisal of female roles in this investigation consolidates our understanding of work and gender during industrialisation, and contributes a more nuanced evaluation of the breadwinner thesis and economic experience.

The methodological richness of reconstituting people's lives and experiences uncovers very many themes, most readily categorised into poverty alleviating agencies. Like their peers in rural settings, the urban poor employed a variety of strategies. All of these themes, the constraints and agencies of the labouring poor, might be further investigated by the method of biographical reconstitution. The effect of removals; the role of friendly societies and its correlation with parish relief; community and kinship support networks; family limitation; child-labour and its contribution to family economies; women's independence - all of these experiences have been evaluated here. The use of biographical reconstitution to establish microhistories of the labouring poor in communities elsewhere has considerable potential.

The narrative of the experience of poverty, told from the perspective of the people who experienced it has been the major aim of this project, and contextualised reconstitution of those experiences evaluates their circumstances of need, and agency. It is the biographical reconstitution of families, like Sarah Alderson's, and the uncovering of their experiences, placed in their temporal and community contexts, which most rigorously gives compelling voice to the working poor, the true industrial revolutionaries, and to the economies and strategies they employed in living their lives, raising their children, making ends meet, and in beginning the shift from subsistence towards social participation.

Their stories should - and can - be told.

Appendix

Table A.1 Population and population change: Leeds townships, and the Carlton Incorporation townships, 1821-1851¹

Township	Parish of	Population				Population change %			
		1821	1831	1841	1851	1821-31	1831-41	1841-51	1821-1851
England and Wales		12.173m	14.052m	16.035m	18.054m	+15.4	+14.1	+12.4	+48.3
West Riding		816,444	993,869	1.177m	1.340m	+21.7	+18.4	+13.9	+64.1
Leeds	Leeds	48,603	71,602	88,741	101,343	+47.3	+23.9	+14.2	+108.5
Hunslet	Leeds	8,171	12,074	15,852	19,466	+47.8	+31.3	+22.8	+138.2
Holbeck	Leeds	7,151	11,210	13,346	14,152	+56.8	+19.1	+6.0	+97.9
Bramley	Leeds	4,921	7,039	8,875	8,949	+43.0	+26.1	+0.8	+81.9
Armley	Leeds	4,273	5,159	5,676	6,190	+20.7	+10.0	+9.1	+44.9
Beeston	Leeds	1,670	2,128	2,175	1,973	+27.4	+2.2	-9.3	+18.1
Chapel Allerton	Leeds	1,678	1,934	2,580	2,842	+15.3	+33.4	+10.2	+69.4
Farnley	Leeds	1,332	1,591	1,530	1,722	+19.4	-3.9	+12.5	+29.3
Headingley-cum-Burley	Leeds	2,154	3,849	4,768	6,105	+78.7	+23.9	+28.0	+183.4
Potternewton	Leeds	664	863	1,241	1,385	+30.0	+43.8	+11.6	+108.6
Wortley	Leeds	3,179	5,944	7,090	7,896	+87.0	+19.3	+11.4	+148.4
Borough total/average ²		83,796	123,393	152,054	172,270	+47.3	+23.2	+13.3	+105.6
Adel-cum Eccup	Adel	699	703	883	682	+0.6	+25.6	-22.8	-2.4
Armley	Leeds	4273	5159	5676	6190	+20.7	+10.0	+9.1	+44.9
Arthington	Adel	329	360	336	368	+9.4	-6.7	+9.5	+11.9
Askwith	Weston	367	400	398	378	+9.0	-0.5	-5.0	+3.0
Baildon	Otley	2679	3044	3280	3008	+13.6	+7.8	+8.3	+12.3
Beamsley	Skipton/Addighm ³	312	279	235	239	-10.6	-15.8	+1.7	-23.4
Beeston	Leeds	1670	2128	2175	1973	+27.4	+2.2	-9.3	+18.1
Bramhope	Otley	366	359	350	391	-1.91	-2.5	+11.7	+6.8
Burley	Otley	1200	1448	1736	1894	+20.7	+19.9	+9.1	+57.8
Carlton	Guiseley	158	181	205	185	+14.6	+13.3	-9.8	+17.1

1 The seven Leeds out-townships are included in both groups in this and other tabulations.

2 For 1841 there is a slight discrepancy in the total of the townships' population (151,874 in 1841 and 172,023 in 1851), and the total published as 'Leeds Parish': reorganisation in 1832 included the hamlet of Coldcotes, population 16, part of the township of Seacroft, and Osmondthorpe, population 164, part of the township of Templenewsam, within the borough of Leeds, see *PP 1843 (496) Enumeration Abstract, 1841*, p. 396; and C.J. Morgan, 'Demographic Change, 1771-1911', in *Modern Leeds*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 46-71 (p.48).

3 The township of Beamsley belonged partly to the parish of Addingham and partly to Skipton.

Chapel Allerton	Leeds	1678	1934	2580	2842	+15.3	+33.4	+10.2	+69.4
Churwell	Batley	814	1023	1198	1103	+25.7	+17.1	- 7.9	+35.5
Collingham	Collingham	369	414	400	378	+12.2	- 3.4	- 5.5	+2.4
Denton	Otley	192	179	185	186	- 6.8	+3.4	+0.5	-3.1
Dunkeswick	Harewood	257	261	297	249	+1.6	+13.8	-16.2	-3.1
Eccleshill	Bradford	2176	2570	3008	3700	+18.1	+17.0	+23.0	+70.0
Farnley	Leeds	1332	1591	1530	1722	+14.4	- 3.9	+12.5	+29.3
Harewood	Harewood	849	894	890	895	+5.3	- 0.4	+0.6	+5.4
Hawksworth	Otley	323	327	339	295	+1.2	+3.7	-13.0	-8.7
Headingley-cum-Burley	Leeds	2154	3849	4768	6105	+78.7	+23.9	+28.0	+183.4
Horsforth	Guisley	2824	3425	4188	4584	+21.3	+22.3	+9.5	+62.3
Ilkley	Ilkley	496	691	778	811	+39.3	+12.6	+4.2	+63.5
Kirkby Overblow	Kirkby Overblow	370	344	381	376	- 3.9	+10.8	- 1.3	+1.6
Leathley	Leathley	312	295	272	247	- 5.4	- 7.8	- 9.2	-20.8
Lofthouse-cm-Carlton	Rothwell	1396	1463	1536	1658	+4.8	+5.0	+7.9	+18.8
Menston	Otley	257	346	329	449	+34.6	- 4.9	+36.5	+74.7
Middleton	Ilkley	205	166	186	162	-19.0	+12.0	-12.9	-21.0
Nesfield-cum-Langbar	Ilkley	210	206	210	[229]	- 1.9	+1.9	+9.0	+9.0
Otley	Otley	3065	3161	3445	4751	+3.1	+9.0	+37.9	+55.0
Pool	Otley	294	315	363	361	+7.1	+15.2	- 0.6	+22.8
Potternewton	Leeds	664	863	1241	1385	+30.0	+43.8	+11.6	+108.6
Rawdon	Guisley	1759	2057	2531	2567	+16.9	+23.0	+1.4	+45.9
Rigton	Kirkby Overblow	429	451	542	463	+5.1	+20.2	-14.6	+7.9
Rothwell	Rothwell	2155	2638	2988	3052	+22.4	+13.3	+2.1	+41.6
Silsden	Kildwick	1904	2137	2346	2508	+12.2	+9.8	+6.9	+31.7
Templenewsam	Whitkirk	1166	1458	1428	1693	+25.0	- 2.1	+18.6	+45.2
Thorner	Thorner	708	804	930	951	+13.6	+15.7	+2.3	+34.3
Weeton	Harewood	310	322	385	300	+3.9	+19.6	-22.1	-3.2
Weston	Weston	108	121	128	[114]	+12.	+5.8	-10.9	+5.6
Wortley	Leeds	3179	5944	7090	7896	+87.0	+19.3	+11.4	+148.4
Carlton Inc total			54,310	61,766⁴	67,340⁵				
The combined Leeds Borough townships			21,468 = 39.5%	25,060 > 0.6%	28,113 > 41.7%				

Source: Census of Great Britain, 1851, Vol. II (London, HMSO, 1852)

4 A figure of 59,778 from the 1841 census for '38 parishes' then in the incorporation, is suggested in *PP* 1845 (409), p. xi.

5 By 1851 Nesfield-cum-Langbar and Weston had left the incorporation: consequently the actual total population would have been 66,997.

Table A.2 Population by gender, and occupational composition by family: Leeds townships, and the Carlton Incorporation townships, 1831

Township	Population 1831					Chiefly agriculture			Chiefly trade, manufacture		Other	
	total	male	fem	% fem	families	fams	%	20+ male %	fams	%	fams	%
Leeds	71602	34672	36930	51.6	15556	15	1.1	[1.4]	9790	62.9	5589	35.9
Hunslet	12074	5956	6118	50.7	2610	107	4.1	[4.0]	2143	82.1	360	13.8
Holbeck	11210	5552	5658	50.5	2408	24	1.0	[1.0]	1855	77.0	529	22.0
Bramley	7039	3516	3523	50.0	1405	23	1.6	[3.8]	1004	71.5	378	26.9
Armley	5159	2611	2548	49.4	1064	15	1.4	[2.1]	858	80.6	191	18.0
Beeston	2128	1142	986	45.5	419	104	24.8	[24.1]	216	51.6	99	23.6
Chapel Allerton	1934	952	982	50.8	426	108	25.4	[30.0]	160	37.6	158	37.1
Farnley	1591	793	798	50.2	308	45	14.6	[12.4]	183	59.4	80	26.0
Headingley-c-Burley	3849	1880	1969	51.2	702	44	6.3	[8.3]	550	78.3	108	15.4
Potternewton	863	393	470	54.5	178	53	29.8	[30.0]	74	41.6	51	28.7
Wortley	5944	3006	2938	49.4	1196	49	4.1	[4.6]	1049	87.7	98	8.2
Borough total/average	123393	60473	62920	51.0	26272	749	2.9	[3.3]	17882	68.1	7641	29.1
Adel-cum Eccup	703	380	323	45.9	128	71	55.5	[65.3]	40	31.3	17	13.3
Armley	5159	2611	2548	49.4	1064	15	1.4	[2.1]	858	80.6	191	18.0
Arthington	360	191	169	46.9	63	49	77.8	[72.0]	11	17.5	3	4.8
Askwith	400	234	166	41.5	76	40	52.6	[82.0]	25	32.9	11	14.5
Baildon	3044	1483	1561	51.3	616	83	13.5	[16.5]	419	68.0	114	18.5
Beamsley [A]	72	36	36		15							
Beamsley [S]	207	108	99		35							
Total	279	144	135	48.4	50	32	64.0	[71.4]	16	32.0	2	4.0
Beeston	2128	1142	986	45.5	419	104	24.8	[24.1]	216	51.6	99	23.6
Bramhope	359	192	167	46.5	75	48	64.0	[60.8]	16	21.3	11	14.7
Burley	1448	640	808	55.8	218	54	24.8	[35.3]	95	43.6	69	31.7
Carlton	181	93	88	48.6	24	21	87.5	[57.9]	0	0.0	3	12.5
Chapel Allerton	1934	952	982	50.8	426	108	25.4	[30.0]	160	37.6	158	37.1
Churwell	1023	518	505	49.4	204	8	3.9	[6.3]	113	55.4	83	40.7
Collingham	414	227	187	45.2	71	54	76.1	[76.9]	16	22.5	1	1.4
Denton	179	94	85	47.5	31	23	74.2	[75.6]	2	6.5	6	19.4
Dunkeswick	261	139	122	46.7	45	27	60.0	[62.1]	8	17.8	10	22.2
Eccleshill	2570	1297	1273	49.5	519	27	5.2	[6.1]	314	60.5	178	34.3
Farnley	1591	793	798	50.2	308	45	14.6	[12.4]	183	59.4	80	26.0

Harewood	894	459	435	48.7	180	42	23.3	[38.9]	47	26.1	91	50.6
Hawksworth	327	191	136	41.6	50	24	48.0	[51.3]	25	50.0	1	2.0
Headingley-cum-Burley	3849	1880	1969	51.2	702	44	6.3	[8.3]	550	78.3	108	15.4
Horsforth	3425	1706	1719	50.2	691	74	10.7	[12.0]	309	44.7	308	44.6
Ilkley	691	335	356	51.5	110	28	25.5	[29.1]	51	46.4	31	28.2
Kirkby Overblow	344	182	162	47.1	68	34	50.0	[57.1]	24	35.3	10	14.7
Leathley	295	146	149	50.5	63	38	60.3	[68.0]	12	19.0	13	20.6
Lofthouse-cum-Carlton	1463	767	696	47.6	305	102	33.4	[23.6]	98	32.1	105 ⁶	34.4
Menston	346	198	148	42.8	66	21	31.8	[39.8]	43	65.2	2	3.0
Middleton	166	76	90	54.2	40	37	92.5	[87.2]	2	5.0	1	2.5
Nesfield-cum-Langbar	206	106	100	48.5	42	31	73.8	[87.0]	11	26.2	0	0.0
Otley	3161	1560	1601	50.6	668	43	6.4	[10.6]	369	55.2	256	38.3
Pool	315	169	146	46.3	67	24	35.8	[36.9]	40	59.7	3	4.5
Potternewton	863	393	470	54.5	178	53	29.8	[30.0]	74	41.6	51	28.7
Rawdon	2057	1056	1001	48.7	401	61	15.2	[15.1]	265	66.1	75	18.7
Rigton	451	236	215	47.7	90	65	72.2	[84.0]	9	10.0	16	17.8
Rothwell	2638	1336	1302	49.4	546	87	15.9	[16.1]	131	24.0	328	60.1⁷
Silsden	2137	1059	1078	50.4	412	124	30.1	[33.7]	273	66.3	15	3.6
Templenewsam	1458	703	755	51.8	312	109	34.9	[36.4]	119	38.1	84	26.9
Thorner	804	422	382	47.5	177	58	32.8	[38.4]	63	35.6	56	31.6
Weeton	322	156	166	51.6	66	48	72.7	[78.8]	13	19.7	5	7.6
Weston	121	61	60	49.6	22	13	59.1	[82.9]	4	18.2	5	22.7
Wortley	5944	3006	2938	49.4	1196	49	4.1	[4.6]	1049	87.7	98	8.2
Carlton Inc total	54,310				10789	2018	18.7		6073	56.3	2698	25.0

Source: *PP* 1833 (149), pp. 792-831

⁶ Calculated, no entry made: the 20+ calculation is 49.5%.

⁷ The 20+ calculation is 44.5%.

Table A.3 Occupational demography by age-group and gender, Holbeck 1841

	<i>Males by age group</i>							<i>Females by age-group</i>							<i>Total</i>	
	<i>0-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-34</i>	<i>35-54</i>	<i>55+</i>	<i>tot m</i>	<i>% m</i>	<i>0-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-34</i>	<i>35-54</i>	<i>55+</i>	<i>tot f</i>	<i>% f</i>	<i>tot</i>	<i>% tot</i>
Agriculture	-	3	17	21	18	59	1.4	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.1	60	1.0
Carriage & storage	-	16	62	45	13	136	3.3	-	-	2	4	1	7	0.4	143	2.4
Ceramics	1	25	34	17	1	78	1.9	-	5	9	-	-	14	0.8	93	1.6
Construction	-	35	94	93	21	243	5.8	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.1	244	4.2
Brick making	1	3	9	8	-	21	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	0.3
Domestic	-	3	1	2	2	8	0.2	-	66	66	35	27	194	11.7	202	3.5
Dress	-	25	100	62	17	204	4.9	-	35	78	18	6	137	8.2	341	5.8
Flax	26	408	187	129	36	786	18.8	14	667	299	37	4	1021	61.4	1807	30.9
General labour	-	23	73	76	23	195	4.7	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.1	196	3.4
Metals	1	223	366	185	24	799	19.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	799	13.7
Mining [coal]	1	13	15	9	4	42	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	0.7
Other textiles	-	2	12	9	3	26	0.6	-	7	8	-	1	16	1.0	42	0.7
Other trades	-	34	73	43	17	167	4.0	-	2	3	1	-	6	0.4	173	3.0
Shop & commodities	1	18	68	78	43	208	5.0	1	2	6	22	13	44	2.6	252	4.3
Textiles dyer/support	-	12	22	18	5	57	1.4	-	3	2	2	-	7	0.4	64	1.1
White collar	-	9	44	22	6	81	1.9	-	1	10	9	9	29	1.7	110	1.9
Wool	3	183	428	307	148	1069	25.6	6	71	78	29	2	186	11.2	1255	21.5
Sailor/soldier	-	-	3	-	-	3	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0
Total workforce	34	1035	1608	1124	381	4182	___	21	859	562	159	63	1664	___	5846	___
<i>Stated non-occupied</i>																
Independent	-	1	3	3	19	26		-	-	6	12	26	44		70	
Pauper	-	-	-	1	4	5		-	-	-	4	18	22		27	
Age-group/ gender pop	1804	1498	1639	1155	409	6505		1839	1495	1788	1232	486	6840		13345	
% employed	1.9	69.1	98.1	97.3	93.2			1.1	57.5	31.4	12.9	7.4				

Source: TNA, HO 107/1344/7-14

Table A.4 Occupational demography by age-group and gender, Wortley 1841

	<i>Males by age group</i>							<i>Females by age-group</i>							<i>Total</i>	
	<i>0-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-34</i>	<i>35-54</i>	<i>55+</i>	<i>tot m</i>	<i>% m</i>	<i>0-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-34</i>	<i>35-54</i>	<i>55+</i>	<i>tot f</i>	<i>% f</i>	<i>tot</i>	<i>% tot</i>
Agriculture	-	12	16	32	8	68	3.2	-	-	1	1	3	5	0.6	73	2.5
Carriage & storage	-	10	20	17	3	50	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	1.7
Ceramics	-	-	-	2	-	2	0.1	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.1	3	0.1
Construction	-	23	37	20	5	85	4.0	-	-	1	-	1	2	0.2	87	3.0
Brick making	1	42	30	13	4	90	4.3	-	-	-	2	-	2	0.2	92	3.1
Domestic	-	7	3	-	-	10	0.5	2	43	28	23	6	102	12.1	112	3.8
Dress	-	8	33	24	4	69	3.3	-	12	23	7	1	43	5.1	112	3.8
Flax	5	41	16	10	2	74	3.5	4	145	24	2	0	175	20.8	249	8.5
General labour	-	0	10	8	4	22	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	0.7
Metals	-	36	64	24	6	130	6.2	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	130	4.4
[clay] [coal] Mining total	[0] [3] 3	[7] [25] 32	[1] [10] 11	[1] [8] 9	[1] [2] 3	[10] [48] 58		-	-	-	-	-	-	[1] 1	[10] [49] 59	2.0
Other textiles	-	5	3	-	-	8	0.4	-	32	16	-	-	48	5.7	56	1.9
Other trades	-	12	12	4	2	30	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	30	1.0
Shop & commodities	-	10	30	29	15	84	4.0	-	-	2	8	5	15	1.8	99	3.4
Textiles dyer/support	-	1	21	19	3	44	2.1	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.1	45	1.5
White collar	-	2	19	9	2	32	1.5	-	1	1	1	3	6	0.7	38	1.3
Wool	7	296	412	402	126	1243	59.2	5	183	158	81	15	442	52.4	1685	57.3
Sailor/soldiers	-	-	1	-	-	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0
Total workforce	16	537	738	622	187	2100		11	418	255	125	34	843		2943	
<i>Stated non-occupied - no stated paupers</i>																
Independent	-	1	2	1	11	15		-	1	7	11	37			56	
Age-group/ gender pop	106 1	842	796	640	206	3545		1061	815	809	623	237	3545		7090	
% employed	1.5	63.8	92.7	97.2	90.8			1.0	51.2	31.5	20.1	14.3				

Source: TNA, HO 107/1350/1-4

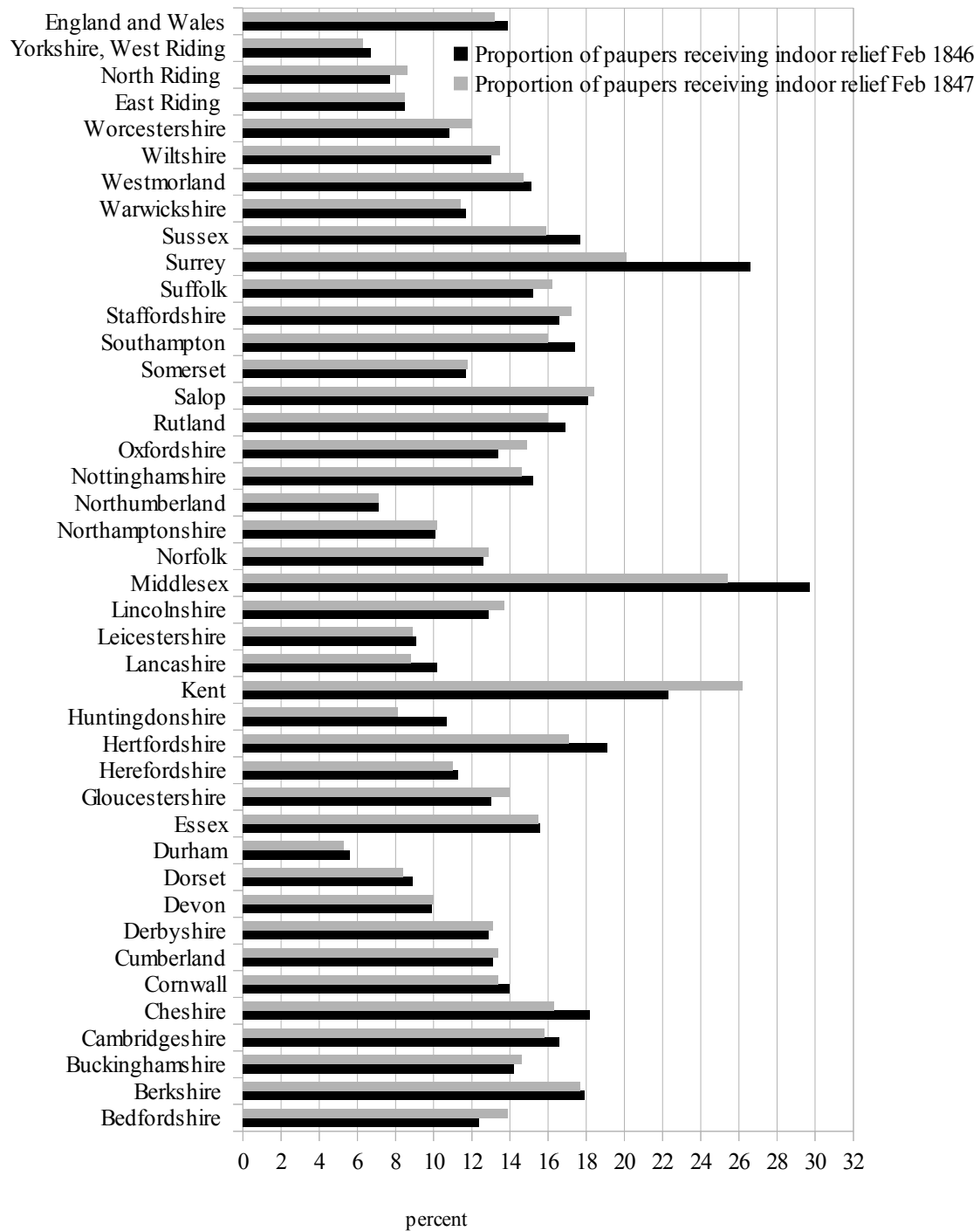
Table A.5 Occupational demography by age-group and gender, Rothwell 1841

	<i>Males by age group</i>							<i>Females by age-group</i>							<i>Total</i>	
	<i>0-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-34</i>	<i>35-54</i>	<i>55+</i>	<i>tot m</i>	<i>% m</i>	<i>0-9</i>	<i>10-19</i>	<i>20-34</i>	<i>35-54</i>	<i>55+</i>	<i>tot f</i>	<i>% f</i>	<i>tot</i>	<i>% tot</i>
Agriculture	1	16	47	57	32	153	19.6	-	1	2	3	3	9	7.1	162	17.9
Basket making	-	-	2	5	1	8	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	8	0.9
Carriage & storage	-	2	9	5	5	21	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	21	2.3
Ceramics	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	0
Construction	-	4	19	11	3	37	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	37	4.1
Brick making	-	-	-	1	1	2	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	2	0.2
Domestic	-	7	2	-	1	10	1.3	1	24	17	13	4	59	46.5	69	7.6
Dress	-	3	14	12	6	35	4.5	-	2	-	-	-	2	1.6	37	4.1
Flax	-	1	-	2	-	3	0.4	-	18	5	-	-	23	18.1	26	2.9
General labour	-	1	26	15	10	52	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	52	5.7
Metals	-	10	15	10	3	38	4.9	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	38	4.2
Mining [coal]	11	80	118	91	14	314	40.3	-	2	-	-	-	2	1.6	316	34.8
Oil milling	-	1	2	5	2	10	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	10	1.1
Other textiles	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	1.6	2	0.2
Other trades	-	3	2	8	2	15	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	15	1.6
Shop & commodities	-	2	6	13	6	27	3.5	-	-	3	4	4	11	8.7	38	4.2
Textiles dyer/support - -	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	0
Twine/rope making	-	1	7	5	2	15	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	15	1.6
White collar	-	-	7	3	5	15	1.9	-	-	5	3	-	8	6.3	23	2.5
Wool	-	-	11	9	5	25	3.2	-	6	5	-	-	11	8.7	36	4.0
Sailor/soldiers	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	0	0
Total workforce	12	131	287	252	98	780	___	1	55	37	23	11	127	___	907	___
<i>Stated non-occupied - no stated paupers</i>																
Independent	-	-	1	1	9	11		-	2	4	3	17	26		37	
Pupils at a girls' school - -	-	-	-	-	-	0		3	7	-	-	-	10		10	
Debtors in gaol -	-	-	4	9	5	18		-	-	-	-	-			18	
Age-group/ gender pop	456	327	322	268	116	1489		430	343	333	248	128	1482		2971 ⁸	
% employed	2.6	40.1	89.1	94.0	84.5			0.2	16.0	11.1	9.3	8.6				

Source: TNA, HO 107/1269/15-16

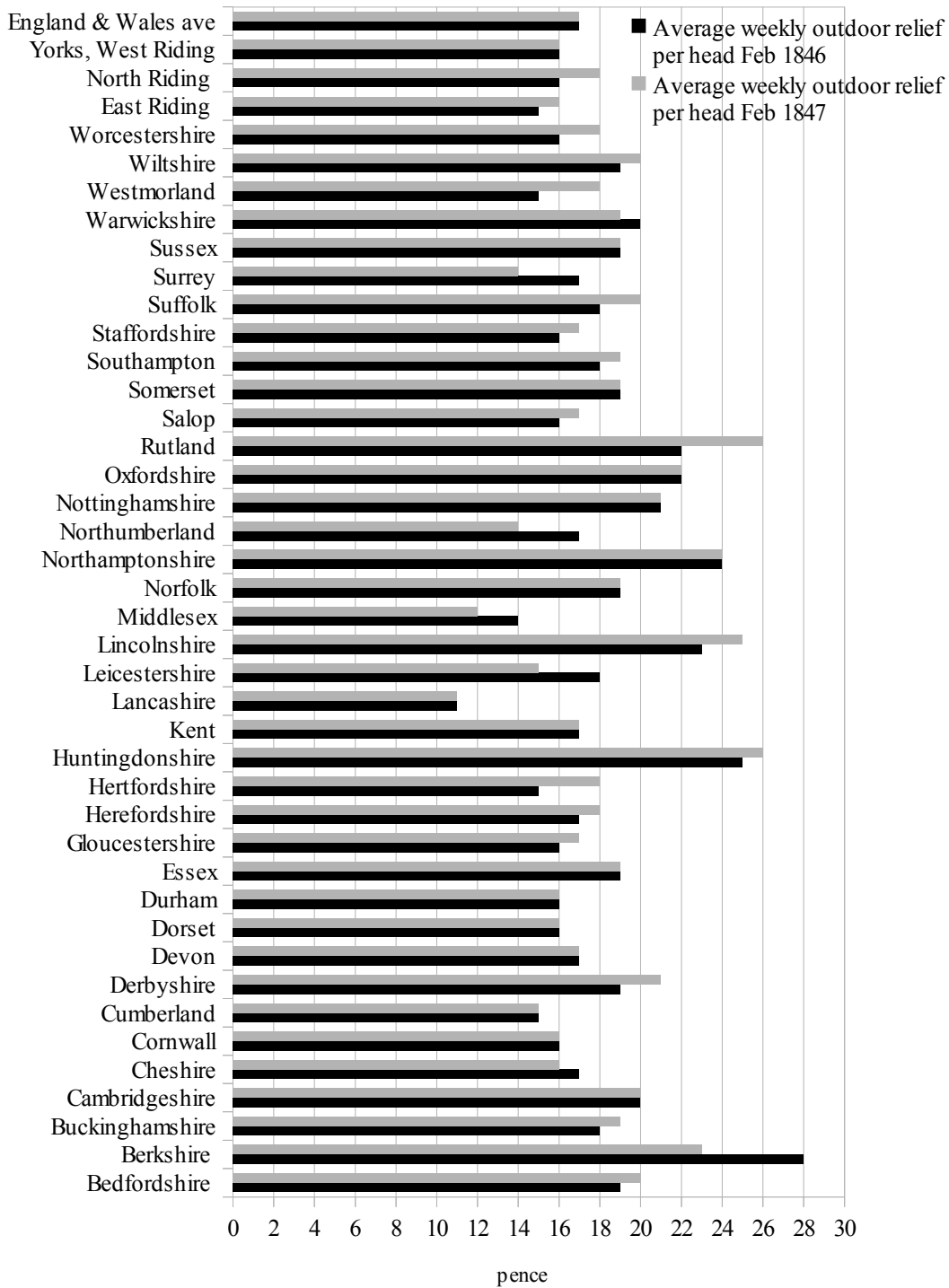
⁸ Enumerators' total was 2988.

Figure A.1 Comparative proportion of indoor relief, 1846 and 1847, the English counties



Source: *PP* 1847-48 (642)

Figure A.2 Comparative outdoor relief payments, 1846 and 1847, the English counties



Source: *PP* 1847-48 (642)

Table A.6 Population and poor relief expenditure, 1821 and 1831:⁹ Carlton Incorporation townships in occupational groupings

<i>Predominantly agricultural township</i>	<i>Pop 1821</i>	<i>Pop 1831</i>	<i>Relief during 1821</i>	<i>Relief during 1831</i>	<i>Mixed economy township</i>	<i>Pop 1821</i>	<i>Pop 1831</i>	<i>Relief during 1821</i>	<i>Relief during 1831</i>
Arthington	329	360	£277	£216	Adel-Eccup [agric]	699	703	£407	£209
Beamsley	312	279	£116	£105	Askwith [agric]	367	400	£127	£117
Bramhope	366	359	£128	£126	Beeston [manuf]	1670	2128	£538	£393
Carlton	158	181	£82	£111	Burley [manuf]	1200	1448	£266	£381
Collingham	369	414	£138	£176	Chapel Allerton	1678	1934	£469	£624
Denton	192	179	£126	£86	Churwell [mf & oth]	814	1023	£210	£306
Dunkeswick	257	261	£74	£76	Farnley [manuf]	1332	1591	£438	£448
Leathley	312	295	£244	£107	Harewood [other]	849	894	£306	£224
Middleton	205	166	£60	0	Hawksworth [manuf & agric]	323	327	£90	£69
Nesfield-Langbar	210	206	£58	£81	Horsforth [mf & oth]	2824	3425	£968	£1020
Rigton	429	451	£146	£202	Ilkley [manuf]	496	691	£127	£129
Weeton	310	322	£75	£80	Kirkby Overblow [agric]	370	344	£206	£269
Total	3449	3473	£1524	£1366	Lofthouse-Carlton	1396	1463	£397	£522
	Pop change		Relief change		Otley [manuf]	3065	3161	£884	£1045
	+0.7%		– 10.4%		Pool [manuf]	294	315	£95	£96
Relief per head	1821 = 8s 10d		1831 = 7s 10d		Potternewton [mnf]	664	863	£377	£233
					Templenewsam	1166	1458	£382	£377
<i>Predominantly manufacturing township</i>					Thorner	708	804	£146	£140
Armley	4273	5159	£915	£1147	Weston [agric]	108	121	£78	£81
Baildon	2679	3044	£456	£379	Total	20023	23093	£6511	£6683
Eccleshill	2176	2570	£355	£379		Pop change	Relief change		
Headingley-Burley	2154	3849	£290	£516		+15.3	+2.6%		
Menston	257	346	£46	£121	Relief per head	1821 = 6s 6d	1831 = 5s 9d		
Rawdon	1759	2057	£465	£298					
Silsden	1904	2137	£474	£674	“Other” township				
Wortley	3179	5944	£1016	£933	Rothwell	2155	2638	£930	£384
Total	18381	25106	£4017	£4447		Pop change	Relief change		
	Pop change		Relief change			+22.4%	– 58.7%		
	+36.6%		+10.7%		Relief per head	1821 = 8s 8d	1831 = 2s 11d		
Relief per head	1821 = 4s 4d		1831 = 3s 7d						

Sources: Census of Great Britain, 1851, Vol. II (London, HMSO, 1852); PP 1825 (334), *Report from the Select Committee on poor rate returns*; and PP 1835 (444), *Poor rate returns. An account of the money expended for the maintenance and relief of the poor in every parish, township or other place in England and Wales, for the five years ending 25th March 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833 and 1834*

⁹ Year ending Mar 1822, and Mar 1832.

Table A.7 Estimates of family incomes, selected Isle Lane households, 1841

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Average weekly earnings</i>	<i>Maximum weekly earnings when in full employment</i>
CARR					
Joshua	40	head, married	clothier/weaver	7s	12s 6d ¹⁰
Mary	35	wife	none stated	-	-
Joseph	17	son	clothier/weaver	2s 6d to 4s	[5s to] 8s ¹¹
Ann	11	daughter	flax mill [worker]	3s 1d	3s 1d
Total family income				12s 7d to 14s 1d	23s 7d
Children's contributions of average weekly earnings				up to 51%	
Girl's contribution of average weekly earnings				up to 24%	
BEST					
Hannah	64	head, widow	none stated	[2s 6d poor relief]	[2s 6d poor relief]
Sarah	35	daughter	m[oiter] wool	6s 7d ¹²	7s 2d
Hannah	20-24	daughter	flax spinner	6s	6s
Edward	18	son	clothier/weaver	2s 6d to 4s	[5s to] 8s
Edward Williamson	15-19	lodger/boarder	clothier weaver	contributing board only	
Total family income without relief				15s 1d to 16s 7d + board payment	21 s 2d + board payment
Total family income with relief				17s 7d to 19s 1d + board payment	23s 8d + board payment
ALDERSON					
Sarah	47	head, widow	none stated	[1839 1s 6s relief for William]	[1839 1s 6s relief for William]
Moses	20	son	clothier	7s	12s 6d
Frederick	18	son	clothier	2s 6d to 4s	5s to 8s
James	16	son	clothier	2s 6d to 4s	5s to 8s
Elizabeth	14	daughter	flax spinner	4s 4d	4s 4d
William	9	son	none stated	-	-
Total family income without relief				16s 4d to 19s 4d	26s 10d
Girl's contribution of average weekly earnings				up to 27%	
CHEW					
Edward	34	head, married	woollen listing maker ¹³	7s	12s 6d
Jane	33	wife	none stated	-	-
Mary	11	daughter	flax spinner	3s 1d	3s 1d

10 Based on Joseph Best's maximum net earnings, *PP* 1840 (43-II), part III., p. 533. (Note however, the enhanced earnings if working for Hirsts, 18s. 9d. per week).

11 Based on Joseph Best's teenage son's earnings as hand-loom weavers: 'one son earned 5s, the other 8s per week when fully employed', *Leeds Times*, 4 Aug 1838.

12 Based on an average paid to burlers at Woods of Holbeck (6s.) and Pim, Nevins of Hunslet (7s. 2d.), *PP* 1834 (167), C.1., p. 172 and C.1., p. 203.

13 As listing was the lowest quality of woven woollen material, Edward Chew's earnings would probably be lower than that of those weaving cloth, however the same rate has been applied in this instance.

Maria	8	daughter	none stated	-	-
Jane	4	daughter	-	-	-
William	1	son	-	-	-
Total family income without relief				10s 1d	15s 7d
Girl's contribution				31%	
STEPHENSON					
Sarah	48	head, widow	none stated	-	-
Elizabeth	10	daughter	none stated	-	-
John	5	son	-	-	-
Benjamin	21	son	flax ¹⁴	14s 10d	14s 10d
Mary	19	daughter	flax	6s	6s
Isaac	17	son	flax ¹⁵	7s 10d	7s 10d
Sarah	15	daughter	thread [flax]	5s	5s
Martha	12	daughter	thread [flax]	3s 4d	3s 4d
Total family income without relief				37s 0d	37s 0d
Girls' contribution				39%	
LAX					
Samuel	40	head, married - re-married widower	watchman	14s ¹⁶	15s
Ann	30	recent second wife	none stated	-	-
Sarah	17	daughter	flax spreader	5s 8d	5s 8d
Mary	15	daughter	carder [flax]	5s	5s
Martha	14	daughter	doffer [flax]	4s 4d	4s 4d
Joseph	14	son	doffer [flax]	4s 2d	4s 2d
David	12	son	carder woollen	3s 8d	3s 8d
William	9	son	flax [worker]	3s	3s
Benjamin	2	son	-	-	-
Total family income				39s 10d	
Children's contribution				65%	
Girls' contribution				36%	
THOMAS					
Richard	40	head, married	clothier/weaver	7s	12s 6d
Mary	40	wife	none stated	-	-
George	15-19	son	clothier/weaver	[2s 6d to] 4s	[5s to] 8s
Titus	13	son	clothier/weaver	2s 6d [to 4s]	5s [to 8s]
Shaw [boy]	8	son	none stated	-	-
Henry	6	son	-	-	-
David	4	son	-	-	-
Ann	15	daughter	flax mill [worker]	5s	5s

14 Benjamin Stephenson became an overlooker, and was so in 1845, 1851 and 1861.

15 Like his brother, Isaac Stephenson also became an overlooker in a flax mill, and was so by 1851.

16 Based on *PP* 1831-32 (706), p. 17: James Kirk's father, a watchman in Leeds, received 'fifteen shillings a week in winter, and thirteen in summer'.

Sarah	11	daughter	flax mill [worker]	3s 1d	3s 1d
Total family income				21s 7d	33s 7d
Children's contribution				68%	
Girls' contribution				38%	
OTHICK					
William	35	head, married	clothier/weaver	7s	12s 6d
Hannah	40	wife	none stated	-	-
Sarah	15	daughter	flax mill [worker]	5s	5s
Joseph	13	son	flax mill [worker]	4s 2d	4s 8d
Annie	7	daughter	-	-	-
<i>Elizabeth Wild</i>	60	lodger [no known relation]	none stated	- [contributing board]	- [contributing board]
<i>Martha Wild</i>	18	lodger	flax mill	[5s 9d paying board for herself and mother]	[5s 9d paying board for herself and mother]
Total family income				16s 2d + board payments	22s 2d + board payments
Children's contribution [discounting board]				57%	
Girl's contribution [discounting board: nb Martha Wild contributing 100% to her and her mother's lodger income]				31%	
SETTLE					
Elizabeth	19	head, unmarried	flax mill	6s	6s
Sarah Ann	17	sister	flax mill	5s 8d	5s 8d
Mary Ann	15	sister	flax mill	4s 11d	4s 11d
Total family income				16s 7d	16s 7d
Sisterly sibling economy, girls contributing all				100%	
STEAD					
Joseph	50	head, married	clothier/weaver	7s	12s 6d
Ann	45	wife	none stated	-	-
Mary	21	daughter	flax spinner	6s	6s
Joseph	16	son	flax spinner	6s 1d	6s 1d
Harriett	12	daughter	flax spinner	3s 5d	3s 5d
Total family income				22s 6d	28s 0d
Children's contribution				69%	
Girls' contribution				42%	

Figure A.3 Part of Holbeck tithe map, 1846



Source: WYAS, RD_RT112, Holbeck Township tithe map, 1846

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HO107/1269/12 (Lofthouse)

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HO107/1287/24 (Rigton)

HO107/1269/15-16 (Rothwell)

HO107/1271/10 (Stanley Royds)

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1851

HO107/2285 (Carlton)

HO107/2317 (Holbeck, including workhouse)

HO107/2314-2318, Registration District 500, Hunslet

HO107/2319-2321, Registration District 501, Leeds

HO107/2322 (Morley)

HO107/2328 (Oulton)

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HO107/2326 (Stanley Royds)

HO107/1958 (Uley, Gloucestershire)

HO107/2327 (Wakefield)

HO107/2353 (York, St Olave)

1861

RG9/3430 (Oulton)

RG9/3329 (Horton, Bradford)

RG9/3349-3369, Registration District 500, Hunslet

RG9/3370-3396, Registration District 501, Leeds

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1871

RG10/4525-4540, Registration District 499, Bramley

RG10/4519-4524, Registration District 498, Holbeck

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1881

RG11/4500-4509, Registration District 500, Bramley

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1891

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1901

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