

THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN
THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE,
c. 1600-1840

Kevin Grady

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ABSTRACT

The study makes a comparative analysis of the provision of public buildings in the twelve principal West Riding towns between 1600 and 1840. It includes an illustrated survey of the changes in the physical form and amenities of buildings over the period and a 170-page gazetteer with details of all the public buildings provided in the towns between 1100 and 1840.

Over six hundred buildings were provided between 1600 and 1840. Approximately three-quarters were purpose-built, the remainder being existing premises converted for public use. The rate of provision rose sharply in the second half of the eighteenth century, coinciding with the onset of the Industrial Revolution and rapid population growth. This acceleration was accompanied by a high level of expenditure (£1.2 million between 1750 and 1840) and a notable rise in spending on individual buildings.

Despite differences in the type and size of buildings erected in each town, little important variation in per capita spending is apparent; only in the "county town", Wakefield, was expenditure significantly above average. The promotion and organization of building projects could be a complex and drawn-out affair. The typical structure took about two years to erect, but the larger ones might take up to five or six years.

The public sector played a subordinate role in provision, contributing no more than one-third of the finance throughout our period. This was not purely the product of laissez-faire attitudes since lack of funds proved a serious problem; some public bodies engaged

enthusiastically in building activities. The remaining two-thirds of finance came from the private sector. Although its activities often were motivated by benevolence, self-preservation, desire for amenity, and civic pride, not infrequently buildings were regarded as sound economic investments.

Two factors exerted considerable influence on the timing of the provision of buildings. The first was a combination of urban rivalry, emulation, and civic pride: the provision of an amenity in one town sometimes set off a chain reaction elsewhere. The second was the state of the economy. It is evident that building provision rose and fell in association with pronounced upturns and downturns in general economic activity.

Assessing the contribution of public buildings to economic development is a hazardous, if not impossible, task. Suffice it to say that, if the West Riding's experience was typical, between 1750 and 1840 the acceleration of investment in them compared favourably with that occurring in other sectors of the British economy.

To
MY MOTHER
and
THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

<u>CONTENTS</u>				<u>Page</u>
List of Plates (with sources)	....	....	....	iv
List of Tables	....	....	....	vii
List of Figures	....	....	....	ix
Acknowledgements	....	....	....	x
List of Abbreviations	....	....	....	xi
Introduction				1
Chapter I	The West Riding and Its Public Buildings: A Survey			11
Chapter II	The Characteristics and Relative Importance of the Public Buildings Provided in the Twelve Towns			49
Chapter III	The Provision of Public Buildings by the Public Sector			117
Chapter IV	The Provision of Public Buildings by the Private Sector			162
Chapter V	Urban Rivalry, Emulation and Civic Pride			197
Chapter VI	The Organization of Building Projects - Part One			216
Chapter VII	The Organization of Building Projects - Part Two			244
Chapter VIII	Public Buildings and the Economy			268
Chapter IX	General Conclusions			294
A Gazetteer of West Riding Public Buildings c. 1100-1840				305
Appendix I	Sources for West Riding Population Statistics			481
Appendix II	Methods of Estimating the Cost of Public Buildings and Aggregate Expenditure on them			483
Bibliography	....	....	....	485

LIST OF PLATES

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title and Source</u>	<u>Page</u>
1.	LEEDS MOOT HALL (D. Linstrum, <u>Historic Architecture of Leeds</u> (Newcastle, 1969), p.20)	51
2.	WAKEFIELD MARKET CROSS (E. Toulson and J. Deen, <u>A Guide and Description of</u> <u>Wakefield City Museum</u> (Wakefield, c.1972, p.15)	51
3.	PONTEFRACT TOWN HALL (B. Boothroyd, <u>The History of the Ancient Borough of</u> <u>Pontefract</u> (Pontefract, 1807), facing p.443)	52
4.	RIPON TOWN HALL AND MARKET PLACE (F. Graham, <u>Yorkshire One Hundred Years Ago</u> (Newcastle, 1969), p.63)	52
5.	WAKEFIELD COURT HOUSE (J.W. Walker, <u>Wakefield Its History and People</u> (Wakefield, 1934), facing p.471)	53
6.	SHEFFIELD TOWN HALL (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.59)	53
7.	LEEDS COURT HOUSE (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.75)	54
8.	BRADFORD COURT HOUSE (J. James, <u>The History and Topography of Bradford</u> (1841), facing p.226)	54
9.	THE SHREWSBURY ALMSHOUSES AND CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD (J. Taylor, <u>The Illustrated Guide to Sheffield</u> (Sheffield, 1879), p.165)	57
10.	LEEDS GENERAL INFIRMARY D. Linstrum, <u>op.cit.</u> p.21)	57
11.	SHEFFIELD GENERAL INFIRMARY (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.161)	59
12.	HUDDERSFIELD AND UPPER AGRIGG INFIRMARY (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.51)	59
13.	WAKEFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL (J.W. Walker, <u>op.cit.</u> facing p.320)	61
14.	WAKEFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL INTERIOR (M.H. Peacock, <u>History of the Free Grammar School of</u> <u>Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield</u> (1892), facing p.65)	61
15.	LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL (J. Sprittles, <u>Links with Bygone Leeds:</u> <u>Thoresby Soc. LII</u> (Leeds, 1969))	62

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title and Source</u>	<u>Page</u>
16.	BRADFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL (H. Speak and J. Forrester, <u>The West Riding of Yorkshire in 1642</u> (Reading, 1974), p.52)	62
17.	THE WEST RIDING PROPRIETARY SCHOOL, WAKEFIELD (H. Speak and J. Forrester, <u>op.cit.</u> p.46)	64
18.	THE WESLEYAN PROPRIETARY COLLEGE, SHEFFIELD (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.149)	64
19.	LEEDS SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY (T.D. Whitaker, <u>Loidis and Elmete</u> (1816), p.	65
20.	LEEDS PHILOSOPHICAL HALL (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> between pp. 88 and 89)	67
21.	BRADFORD MECHANICS' INSTITUTE (J. James, <u>op.cit.</u> p.250)	67
22.	PONTEFRACT MARKET CROSS (B. Boothroyd, <u>op.cit.</u> facing p.364)	68
23.	THE MIXED CLOTH HALL AND THE COURT HOUSE, LEEDS (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> facing p.73)	68
24.	THE MIXED CLOTH HALL YARD, LEEDS (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> between pp. 72 and 73)	70
25.	THE INTERIOR OF THE MIXED CLOTH HALL, LEEDS (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> between pp. 72 and 73)	70
26.	THE WHITE CLOTH HALL, LEEDS (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> facing p.72)	71
27.	HALIFAX PIECE HALL YARD (H. Speak and J. Forrester, <u>op.cit.</u> p.26)	71
28.	THE WEST FRONT OF SHEFFIELD MARKET PLACE (Gales and Martin, <u>A Directory of Sheffield</u> (Sheffield, 1707), frontispiece)	72
29.	LEEDS CENTRAL MARKET (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.73)	72
30.	LEEDS COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.73)	73
31.	LEEDS CORN EXCHANGE (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.75)	73
32.	THE MANSION HOUSE AND BETTING ROOM, DONCASTER (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.31)	75
33.	LEEDS ASSEMBLY ROOMS (D. Linstrum, <u>op.cit.</u> p.21)	75

<u>No.</u>	<u>Title and Source</u>	<u>Page</u>
34.	DONCASTER GRANDSTAND (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.31)	76
35.	WAKEFIELD PUBLIC ROOMS (E. Toulson and J. Deen, <u>op.cit.</u> frontispiece)	76
36.	SHEFFIELD MUSIC HALL (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.59)	77
37.	THE NEW ROOMS AND TRINITY CHURCH, HALIFAX (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.51)	77
38.	SHEFFIELD BOTANICAL GARDENS (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.132)	78
39.	ST. GILES' CHURCH, PONTEFRACHT (B. Boothroyd, <u>op.cit.</u> facing p.364)	80
40.	ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LEEDS (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> between pp. 8 and 9)	80
41.	ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, SHEFFIELD (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.77)	81
42.	ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SHEFFIELD (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.79)	81
43.	ST. MARY'S CHURCH, SHEFFIELD (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.61)	82
44.	CHRIST CHURCH, DONCASTER (F. Graham, <u>op.cit.</u> p.32)	82
45.	MILL HILL CHAPEL, LEEDS (J. Sprittles, <u>op.cit.</u> facing p.40)	83
46.	SION CHAPEL, HALIFAX (J. Crabtree, <u>A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax (1836)</u> , p.342)	83
47.	BRUNSWICK CHAPEL, LEEDS (D. Linstrum, <u>op.cit.</u> p.47)	84
48.	WESLEY CHAPEL, HALIFAX (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.91)	84
49.	BRUNSWICK CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD (J. Taylor, <u>op.cit.</u> p.91)	85
50.	HANOVER STREET CHAPEL, HALIFAX (J. Crabtree, <u>op.cit.</u> p.342)	85

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Intro.1	6
I.1	12
I.2	13
I.3	32
I.4	38
I.5	39
I.6	46
II.1	91
II.2	92
II.3	95
II.4	96
II.5	98
II.6	103
II.7	104
II.8	105
II.9	107
II.10	110
II.11	111

		<u>Page</u>
II.12	Expenditure Per Head of Population in 1841 on Each Category of Public Buildings Provided in Each of the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840	112
III.1	Estimated Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings, 1700-1840	119
III.2	Estimated Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings in the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840	120
III.3	The Composition of Public Bodies in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1600-1840	122
III.4	Estimated Contribution Made by Different Types of Public Body to the Total Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings, 1700-1840	126
III.5	The Wealth and Income of Municipal Corporations in the West Riding in 1835	153
III.6	The Annual Income of Charitable Trusts in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1842	156
IV.1	Estimated Cost of Public Buildings Financed Solely by the Private Sector, 1700-1840	164
IV.2	An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds South Market by Occupation	171
IV.3	An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds Central Market by Occupation	171
IV.4	An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds Commercial Buildings by Occupation	172
IV.5	An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds Public Baths by Occupation	172
IV.6	An Analysis of the Shareholders in Wakefield Public Rooms by Occupation	173
IV.7	An Analysis of the Prospective Shareholders in the Abortive Corn Exchange at Wakefield by Occupation	175
V.1	The Chronological Order in which certain Types of Public Buildings were Provided in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840	205
VIII.1	Estimated Expenditure on Public Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns and Great Britain, 1780-1840	272
VIII.2	Estimated Total Annual Expenditure on Public Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840	278

VIII.3	Estimated Total Annual Number of Public Buildings in Process of Construction in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840	279
VIII.4	Estimated Total Annual Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840	283
VIII.5	Estimated Total Annual Private Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840	284
VIII.6	Notable Fluctuations in the Provision of Public Buildings Compared with Major Fluctuations in the Level of Economic Activity, 1772-1840	288

LIST OF FIGURES

VIII.1	The Total, Public, and Private Expenditure on Public Buildings, and the Number of Buildings in Process of Construction in Twelve West Riding Towns, Annually 1700-1840	280
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KEVIN GRADY
University of Exeter.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>D.</u>	- Directory *
L.C.A.	- Leeds City Archives (Central Library, Archives Department)
L.C.D.	- Leeds Corporation Deeds
<u>L.I.</u>	- <u>Leeds Intelligencer</u>
P.P.	- British Parliamentary Papers
S.C.A.	- Sheffield City Archives (Central Library, Archives Department)
Thors. Soc.	- Thoresby Society Library
<u>Thors. Soc. Pubns.</u>	- <u>Publications of the Thoresby Society</u>
W.R.Q.S. Gen.Index	- West Riding Quarter Sessions General Index
W.Y.R.O.	- West Yorkshire Record Office
Y.A.S.	- Yorkshire Archaeological Society Library

* Town directories are referenced by town and date e.g. Leeds 1817 D. Directories including several towns are referenced by author/publisher and date e.g. W.White, 1837 D. For full titles see bibliography. Unless otherwise stated, references to E.Baines, 1822 D. and W.White, 1837 D. refer to the first volume of the respective works.

N.B. Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication of all books cited in the text is London.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the history of urban areas has only recently become recognized as a subject in its own right. A large number of town histories were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but thereafter interest waned until the middle of the present century. As Asa Briggs has pointed out, when he and Professor Gill wrote the History of Birmingham in 1952 there were no recent models.¹ Since then there has been a rapid growth of interest in the subject, and scholars from a wide range of disciplines have begun the detailed study of the evolution of our towns and cities. Whereas most of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century works on urban history were essentially descriptive studies of the development of individual towns, recent research has placed great emphasis on analysing the processes at work in urban development and on comparative study. A great deal of research has been undertaken on the politics and government, demography, sociology, and geography of urban areas.² Surprisingly, the chief component of the townscape - the buildings - has been neglected.

Comparatively few attempts have been made to analyse the reasons for provision of buildings or the building process itself. Urban historians have tended to regard buildings as either the province of the architectural historian, or the economic historian: the former has been preoccupied with the physical appearance of the buildings, while the latter has tended to regard buildings merely as products of the

1. H. J. Dyos, ed. The Study of Urban History (1968), p. vii.

2. For a bibliography, see H. J. Dyos, op. cit. pp. 1-46.

building industry or instruments of economic and social change. Thus, until very recently, interest in housing has concentrated on the numbers built and the periodicity of housebuilding activity: the works of Weber and Parry Lewis are notable examples of this approach.¹ Likewise, factories have been viewed principally as the powerhouses of the Industrial Revolution and as the initiators of a new style of economic organization which produced great social change. Since the 1960's, however, economic and social historians have been turning in growing numbers to an investigation of the nature of urban buildings and the building process.

The informative use of urban studies on a scale large enough to embrace individual buildings and streets was pioneered by H. J. Dyos in Victorian Suburb published in 1961.² His work began the trend towards the study of housing development, which has produced works such as F. M. L. Thompson, Hampstead: Building a Borough, and S. D. Chapman, ed. The History of Working-Class Housing.³ Most valuable of all is C. W. Chalklin's recent study of house building in the provinces, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England.⁴ This trend towards micro-studies

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1. B. Weber, "A New Index of Residential Construction, 1838-1950", Scottish Journal of Political Economy II (1955), 104-32; J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth (1965). See also, H. J. Habakkuk, "Fluctuations in House-Building in Britain and the United States in the Nineteenth Century", Journal of Economic History XXII (1962), 198-230.
 2. H. J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell (Leicester, 1961).
 3. F. M. L. Thompson, Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964 (1974); S. D. Chapman, ed. The History of Working-Class Housing (1971).
 4. C. W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process, 1740-1820 (1974).

of building development has also encompassed factories; attention is being concentrated on their physical characteristics, location, and evolution. S. D. Chapman began the trend with his work on factories in the cotton industry, and it has been followed by a number of local studies; for example, the works of E. J. Connell and M. F. Ward on factory development in Leeds.¹

Despite the increasing popularity of micro-studies of this type, there is one important category of buildings which has not received attention - public buildings. Town halls, hospitals, schools, workhouses, market halls, and churches, arguably the most striking component of the townscape, have been almost totally neglected. Until the present, research in this area has been confined almost entirely to short studies of individual buildings or discussions of individual towns' buildings within the framework of town histories. Very little of this work draws comparisons with developments in other towns, and writers concentrate on the functions of the buildings, rather than on the events and processes involved in their construction.² Until very recently, even

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1. S. D. Chapman, "Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815", Economic History Review 2nd ser., XXIII (1970), 235-64; E. J. Connell, "Industrial Development in South Leeds 1790-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1975); M. F. Ward, "Industrial Development and Location in Leeds north of the River Aire, 1775-1914" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1973).
 2. Examples of works referring to public buildings are: A. Briggs and C. Gill, History of Birmingham (1952); G. Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Social and Economic History (1972); R. A. Church, Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham 1815-1900 (1966); J. Simmons, Leicester - Past and Present (1974); A. Redford, The History of Local Government in Manchester (1939); A. Briggs, Victorian Cities (1963) - ch. 4 chronicles the building of the present Leeds town hall.

architectural historians have been guilty of neglecting public buildings as a group. Nikolaus Pevsner's A History of Building Types, published in 1976, is the first book to focus entirely on public buildings, but even then, British public buildings are not given especially detailed attention because the book takes a world view. Several books have appeared in the last ten to fifteen years, but much work remains to be done. By and large, architectural historians have examined public buildings only in the course of architectural histories of individual towns.¹ In view of the neglect of public buildings by historians in all spheres, this thesis aims to at least partially fill this considerable gap in our knowledge.

Before we go any further we require a more detailed definition of public buildings in order to distinguish the scope of this study. Finding a satisfactory all-embracing definition is extremely difficult, but there is one characteristic which is common to virtually all "public" buildings: they are amenities for the use or benefit of either the whole or a notable part of a community. Consequently, the concept not only encompasses

1. The architectural histories of single building types are referred to in the notes to Chapter I. The following works are examples of architectural histories of towns which discuss public buildings: J. Summerson, Georgian London (1945); The Survey of London (many volumes, series still in progress); B. Little, Birmingham Buildings: The Architectural Story of a Midland City (1971); B. Allsopp, ed. Historic Architecture of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Newcastle, 1967); Q. Hughes, Seaport - Architecture and Townscape in Liverpool (1964); D. Linstrum, Historic Architecture of Leeds (Newcastle, 1969); L. Wilkes and G. Dobson, Tyneside Classical (1964). Two general works of importance are: H. M. Colvin, The History of the King's Works (1963-, in progress), a detailed study of the palaces and public buildings erected by the Crown; N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England (2nd edn. Harmondsworth, 1977) - this recently completed series examines all England's buildings of architectural note; many existing, and some now demolished, public buildings are noted.

buildings associated with the administration of government and the maintenance of law and order, such as town halls, court houses, and prisons, but also a wide range of buildings connected with physical, moral and cultural welfare, social life, and commerce. In the sphere of physical welfare the buildings range from almshouses and workhouses to medical institutions, while in the area of moral and cultural welfare they include places of worship, schools, libraries and other educational institutions. In the social sphere they range from theatres and assembly rooms to grandstands; while commercial public buildings include market buildings and merchants' exchanges. Small-scale retail and commercial premises such as shops, public houses, offices, and banks have been excluded from this study because, unlike their larger counterparts, they were not tenanted by large numbers of "the town's tradesmen and business men", i.e. a notable section of the public. Other exclusions are gas works and waterworks, since they are regarded as public utilities rather than buildings. Finally, it is important to note that ownership is not a distinguishing characteristic of public buildings because they may be provided by either private enterprise or public bodies. A list of the types of building included in this study is given in Table 1.

This study examines the provision of public buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1600 and 1840. The period was chosen because, as the works of Clark and Slack, and Chalklin have highlighted, it contains the critical years in the evolution of modern English towns.¹ The West Riding was chosen as the geographical focus of the study for two main reasons. Firstly, since a considerable number of public buildings were

1. P. Clark and P. Slack, English Towns in Transition 1500-1700 (1976), especially pp. 8-12, 83-5; C. W. Chalklin, op. cit. especially chs. 1 and 2.

Table 1.

The Types of Public Building included in the Study

Administrative and Law and Order:	Town halls, public offices, court houses, prisons, barracks (post offices and tax offices excluded).
Public Welfare:	Relief of poverty - almshouses, workhouses, vagrancy offices. Medical institutions - infirmaries, dispens- aries, fever hospitals, lying-in hospitals, eye hospitals, cholera hospitals, medical schools, lunatic asylums.
Education:	Children - grammar schools, charity schools, almshouse schools, schools of industry, National schools, Lancasterian schools, Infant schools, collegiate and proprietary schools, schools for the deaf and dumb. (Sunday schools excluded). Adults - philosophical halls, mechanics institutes, theological colleges, libraries, newsrooms (sometimes combined with coffee houses), museums, riding schools.
Marketing and Commercial:	Market crosses, butchers shambles, cloth halls, covered or enclosed market places, market halls, corn exchanges, bazaars, merchants exchanges/commercial buildings.
Social:	Assembly rooms, concert rooms/music halls, theatres, grandstands, betting rooms, baths, Odd Fellows halls, temperance halls, circuses, botanical and zoological gardens.
Places of Worship:	Anglican churches; chapels - principally, Quaker, Methodist, Baptist, Roman Catholic; cemeteries - chapels and associated buildings.

provided for the purposes of local government, it seemed advantageous to investigate them within the context of the largest contemporary unit of local government, an administrative county. Secondly, it can be argued that the West Riding Towns formed a fairly representative cross-section of the inland provincial towns in the period selected. This second point may be verified by consulting the works of Clark and Slack, and Chalklin. In terms of size and functions the twelve towns selected for study encompass most of the types of town distinguished by these historians.¹

Seven of the towns were chosen primarily because of their outstanding size and economic importance; these are Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Wakefield, and Barnsley: in 1841 their populations ranged from 88,741 to 12,310 respectively. The other five, Doncaster, Rotherham, Ripon, Knaresborough, and Pontefract, were chosen because of their administrative importance and as examples of the smaller West Riding towns: in 1841 their populations ranged from 10,455 to 4,669. The economic importance of these five towns had declined considerably since the Middle Ages, but they had retained their administrative importance to a large extent. For much of our period the twelve towns were the largest in the West Riding, although their ranking order in terms of population size changed over time. A much fuller description of the towns is given in Chapter I.

The study concentrates primarily on an economic analysis of the provision of public buildings in these twelve towns. A detailed investigation of

1. P. Clark and P. Slack, *op. cit.* especially pp. 8-12, 83-5; C. W. Chalklin, *op. cit.* especially chs. 1 and 2. For the seventeenth century the only really notable exclusion is Clark and Slack's third type of town - one dominating a whole region - but after 1700 Leeds took on this role.

the sources of finance for the buildings is made; and in examining the motives for providing buildings, special attention is given to economic factors. Furthermore, the construction of the buildings is treated as an important sector of the building industry and of general economic activity. Nevertheless, since economic matters form only a part of the story, particularly with regard to motivation, the non-economic factors influencing the provision of buildings, such as amenity value, cultural value, urban rivalry, and civic pride, are considered throughout.

For this purpose, the thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I describes the character and development of the West Riding and the twelve towns included in the study, and then presents an overall survey of the provision of public buildings in the twelve towns. Chapter II, with the aid of illustrations, describes the physical characteristics of the buildings studied, comparing them in terms of their relative cost and contribution to overall provision; it then compares the provision of buildings in each of the towns. Chapters III-V discuss the sources of finance for buildings and analyse the motives and factors which prompted or hindered provision: Chapter III discusses provision by the public sector; Chapter IV provision by the private sector; while Chapter V examines factors which influenced both sectors in their building activities. Chapters VI and VII discuss the organization involved in the construction of buildings, examining the whole process from the projection of a scheme to the engagement of building contractors and the day-to-day affairs of construction. Chapter VIII places the study within a wider context by examining the relationship between public building provision and the functioning and development of the local and national economy. Finally, Chapter IX brings the investigation to a conclusion with a summary and general

assessment of the study's findings. Appended to the thesis is a substantial Gazetteer listing all the public buildings known to have been provided in the twelve towns from the twelfth century to 1840.

The sources of information for this study are extremely diverse and a full list must be postponed until the bibliography. However, a few general comments on sources at this stage will help in the evaluation of the analysis which follows. The basic data giving a general picture of the provision of buildings, both in terms of its chronology and the nature of the buildings, were obtained from trade directories, contemporary histories, topographical guides, and maps. More detailed data regarding particular buildings were obtained from the records of individuals and public and private bodies which either erected the buildings or had other connections with them. These records ranged from minutes of corporations and local societies to correspondence concerning the projects and building accounts. Equally valuable material was obtained from property deeds, building contracts, and other legal documents. Finally, one of the richest sources of all was local newspapers, notably the Leeds Intelligencer, which were particularly useful in chronicling schemes and revealing contemporary opinions.

The fullness of the data varies over time. For the seventeenth century the sources of information tend to be at best fragmentary and the picture which has been constructed is somewhat tentative, particularly where precise dating is involved. Evidence becomes much fuller during the eighteenth century, and from about 1770 onwards, although a great deal of valuable data has been lost, the problem became one of extracting

the more significant information from the mass of material available. Despite the relative abundance of data after 1770, precise and dependable details of the costs and dates of construction of buildings are either difficult to find or not available. Although this type of data has been found for a considerable number of buildings, time has not permitted an extensive search for similar data for the other buildings. Moreover, the findings of this thesis are likely to be biased to some extent because the available archival material is not evenly distributed. Thus, while the sources for buildings in Leeds and Wakefield are comparatively rich, those for towns such as Bradford are very limited; the choice of examples in the text inevitably reflects this disparity.

CHAPTER I

THE WEST RIDING AND ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS: A SURVEY

I

Between 1600 and 1840 the West Riding was an administrative county within the county of Yorkshire, with its own magistrates and quarter sessions circuit.¹ It joined with the other two Ridings in electing two Members of Parliament for Yorkshire and, in addition, for most of the period it had five parliamentary boroughs which each elected a further two Members of Parliament.² Parliamentary borough status gave towns a certain prestige as did municipal incorporation or inclusion on the quarter sessions circuit; as Table I.1 shows most of the towns included in this study possessed one or more of these privileges.

In 1600 the Riding was essentially an agricultural area with a notable woollen industry. The cloth industry brought considerable wealth to the Riding during the seventeenth century, and after 1700 its principal towns grew rapidly, primarily as a result of the industry's expansion. Production of narrow woollen cloths more than doubled between 1740 and 1840, and that of broad woollen cloths grew more than sevenfold.³

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1. The general description of the Riding is based primarily on information in: E. Baines, 1822 D. I, passim; C. W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England (1974), pp. 4, 7, 38; H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (Oxford, 1965), passim.
 2. The five parliamentary boroughs were Knaresborough, Pontefract, Ripon, Aldborough, and Boroughbridge. As a result of the 1832 Reform Act, some of the larger towns in the Riding also became parliamentary boroughs by 1840.
 3. B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), p. 169.

Table I.1

The Towns with Parliamentary or Municipal
Borough Status or Included on the West Riding Quarter Sessions Circuit
for the Bulk of the Period 1600-1832

	Quarter Sessions Venue	Municipal Borough	Parliamentary Borough
Leeds	*	*	
Sheffield	*		
Bradford	*		
Huddersfield			
Halifax			
Wakefield	*		
Barnsley			
Doncaster	*	*	
Rotherham	*		
Ripon		*	*
Knarborough	*	—	*
Pontefract	*	*	*

Sources: W.R.Q.S. Gen. Index, passim; E. Baines, 1822 D. passim.

Over this period of 240 years the population of the twelve towns grew considerably, some towns experiencing as much as a twenty-fold increase in numbers (see Table I.2).

Before the Industrial Revolution most towns were service centres for their hinterlands. The townsmen worked up or distributed raw materials such as wool and yarn, and finished and dispatched the products outside the region. As the population of the clothing area was often denser than in agricultural districts, the towns distributed corn and other

foodstuffs imported from outside the region. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution the economic base of the Riding became more diversified and the larger towns became important centres for the manufacture of a whole range of products. Though continuing to be dominated by woollen and worsted manufacture, as the following descriptions of the twelve towns will show, the Riding had other important industries, notably a metal industry.

Table I.2

<u>Town</u>	<u>Population of Twelve West Riding Towns</u>				
	<u>1600-1841</u>				
	<u>c. 1600</u>	<u>c. 1700</u>	<u>c. 1750</u>	<u>1801</u>	<u>1841</u>
Leeds	3,750	6,000	12,000	30,669	88,741
Sheffield	2,200	3,500	12,000	31,314	68,186
Bradford	1,000	2,000	3,000	6,393	34,560
Huddersfield	1,000	2,000	3,000	7,268	25,068
Halifax	2,500	4,000	5,000	8,886	19,881
Wakefield	2,000	3,500	4,000	8,131	14,754
Barnsley	1,000	1,500	2,000	3,606	12,310
Doncaster	2,000	2,500	3,000	5,697	10,455
Rotherham	1,000	1,000	2,500	3,070*	5,505
Ripon	1,000	1,500	2,500	3,211	5,461
Knaresborough	1,500	1,500	2,500	3,388	4,678
Pontefract	<u>2,500</u>	<u>1,500</u>	<u>2,500</u>	<u>3,097</u>	<u>4,669</u>
	<u>21,450</u>	<u>30,500</u>	<u>54,000</u>	<u>114,730</u>	<u>294,268</u>

Sources: See Appendix I
* parish population

Since the West Riding was most famous for its textile industry the description of the twelve towns begins with the "textile towns".

These are taken to be the five towns which had particularly strong

associations with textiles: namely, Leeds, Halifax, Wakefield, Huddersfield, and Bradford.

Leeds was the largest and wealthiest town in the West Riding for almost all of our period.¹ In 1600, though it was situated on the eastern edge of the Yorkshire clothing area, it was the principal cloth market in the Riding and was established as the centre of the district making broad cloths. A flourishing merchant community was established in the early seventeenth century and the town became increasingly dominated by the finishing and merchanting of cloth. It was incorporated in 1626 and thereafter it grew rapidly in wealth and prosperity. By the first half of the eighteenth century its inhabitants were largely concerned with market transactions, inns and offices, or engaged in cloth finishing processes. Defoe reckoned that the town's ordinary market for provisions was the greatest of its kind in all the north of England with the exception of the one at Halifax². Because it was the most important centre of the textile region, during the eighteenth century it attracted a range of crafts intended for the service of the whole area: it became a centre for entertainment and wholesale distribution, for books and newspapers, wallpaper, chinaware, bricks, tailoring, the best wigs, medical treatment, and furniture.

1. This description of Leeds is based on: C. Morris, ed. The Journeys of Celis Fiennes (1949), pp. 219-20; D. Defoe, A Tour Through the whole Island of Great Britain (1971 edn.), pp. 500-4; J. Aikin, A Description of the Country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester (1795), pp. 570-77; E. Baines, 1822 D. I, p. 30; H. Heaton, op. cit., pp. 21, 78, 208, 220, 274; C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., pp. 21, 39-40.

2. D. Defoe, op. cit. p. 500.

After 1700 the town's population grew at a phenomenal rate increasing from 6,000 in 1700 to over 88,000 in 1841. Meanwhile, particularly with the onset of the Industrial Revolution around 1760, the economic base of the town became more diversified. Although the woollen cloth trade and manufacture remained Leeds' principal concern, by the 1760's a certain quantity of worsted stuffs were manufactured in and around the town. Factories were established in the town in the last years of the century, and in 1795 Aikin noted the plentiful supplies of coal and stone in the parish, and the manufacture of pottery, carpets, linen, and cotton.¹ By 1840 Leeds had many large-scale factories producing woollen and worsted cloth and linen, several glassworks, a noted pottery, several iron foundries and steam engine factories. It also carried on an extensive wholesale tobacco trade. In national terms Leeds closely rivalled Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham in economic importance.

Halifax was the most important woollen cloth producing centre in the West Riding in 1600.² It was the centre of an enormous parish consisting of twenty-six townships. The inhabitants of the parish concentrated on cloth production and produced little food. Consequently, the town was of exceptional importance as a market and service centre for its large hinterland and throughout our period it had large markets for cloth, foodstuffs, and everyday necessities.

1. J. Aikin, op. cit., pp. 576-7.

2. This description of Halifax is based on: D. Defoe, op. cit., pp. 491-5; J. Aikin, op. cit., pp. 559-67; E. Baines, 1822 D. I 182-6; W. White, 1837 D. I, 398; H. Heaton, op. cit., pp. 74-7, 197, 270-1.

During the seventeenth century it was ousted as the principal woollen cloth producing and marketing centre by Leeds, but in the early eighteenth century it shifted its attention to the manufacture of worsteds, for which it became the West Riding's most important marketing and manufacturing centre by 1750. Before the second half of the eighteenth century Halifax did not have a merchant community of any great size or note; merchants tended to buy cloth unfinished and take it to be finished elsewhere. However, in 1792 Aikin noted that in the last fifteen or twenty years dye-houses and other conveniences had been erected by merchants who finished goods on the spot.¹ Around the same period cloth factories began to be built in the town and it became noted for the manufacture of textile cards. The town's population grew considerably during the eighteenth century - it increased from c. 4,000 to almost 9,000 - and it remained the second largest textile town in the Riding. However, with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, Huddersfield and Bradford emerged as notable rivals. By 1840 their population growth had far outstripped that of Halifax, and the town's supremacy in the worsted industry had been surrendered to Bradford.

In 1600 Wakefield was a notable centre of woollen manufacture, although of lesser importance than Leeds and Halifax.² Its major economic importance was its role as the principal wool market for the West Riding. During the seventeenth century it attempted to oust Leeds as

1. J. Aikin, op. cit., p. 564.

2. This description of Wakefield is based on: D. Defoe, op. cit. pp. 483-4; J. Aikin, op. cit. pp. 579-80; E. Baines, 1822 D. I., 420-4; H. Heaton, op. cit. pp. 78, 208, 359; C. W. Chalklin, op. cit. p. 38

the leading cloth market of the textile region but failed. Nevertheless, it remained prosperous: in the 1720's Defoe described it as: "a large, handsome, rich, clothing town, full of people, and full of trade".¹ The eighteenth century was a period of great prosperity for the town. Early in the century it took up the manufacture of worsted cloth, and by mid-century it was second only to Halifax as a West Riding centre for the production and marketing of worsteds. In addition it became important as a dressing and finishing centre. Undyed and unfinished cloth was sent to Wakefield for further treatment before being finally dispatched to London and the Continent. The most important source of prosperity was its role as a marketing and distribution centre. As W. G. Rimmer points out, it became a funnel through which passed much of the raw material and food produced in eastern England for consumption in the expanding industrial areas of south Lancashire and the West Riding.² It became the greatest market for corn in the north of England and had an exceptionally large market for wool. The town's other source of prosperity was its role as an administrative centre: by 1700 it had become the seat of local government for the unincorporated parts of the West Riding and during the eighteenth century it exhibited many of the attributes of a county town. Its role as the administrative centre of the Riding was the most significant influence on the provision of its public buildings over the next 140 years.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the relative economic

1. D. Defoe, op. cit. p. 484.

2. W. G. Rimmer, "The Evolution of Leeds to 1700", Thors. Soc. Pubns. L part 2, (1967), 126-8.

importance of the town declined considerably: although it was the fourth largest town in the West Riding in 1800, it was now much smaller than Leeds and Sheffield. This decline in its relative size became much more marked in the next forty years. Industrialization was slow to touch Wakefield, and although it remained an important market and administrative centre, in terms of size and economic importance it was soon overhauled by the rapidly growing industrial centres, Bradford and Huddersfield. By 1820 its trade in worsteds had emigrated to Halifax and, more especially, Bradford, and by 1840 it was only the sixth largest town in the West Riding and one-sixth of the size of Leeds.

Compared with Leeds, Halifax, and Wakefield, Huddersfield was of little consequence in the seventeenth century.¹ Even in the early part of the eighteenth century its population and wealth were no more than half of that of either Halifax or Wakefield, and much less than that of Leeds. However, by the early nineteenth century it ranked as one of the five principal market towns in the Riding. Aikin commented in 1795 that Huddersfield was "peculiarly the creation of the woollen manufactory, whereby it was raised from an inconsiderable place, to a great degree of prosperity and population".² In 1671 the town obtained a charter to hold a cloth market, which proved to be the source of its future prosperity. The town and its neighbourhood came to specialize in the production and marketing of kerseys, a type of woollen cloth. Trade

1. This description of Huddersfield is based on: D. Defoe, op. cit. pp. 484-5; J. Aikin, op. cit. pp. 128, 552-4; W. White, 1853 D pp. 592-4; H. Heaton, op. cit. pp. 21, 75, 381-2.

2. J. Aikin, op. cit. p. 552.

and manufacture grew rapidly, and by the 1720's, although the town was still of small account, its commerce and industry impressed Defoe. By 1800 it had a thriving general market and a large share of the West Riding cloth trade and manufacture in woollen broad and narrow cloths. Factory manufacture took a hold in the town at the tail end of the eighteenth century, and was the prime source of its rapidly rising prosperity in the nineteenth century. The increase in its population demonstrates the rapid rise in the town's importance: in 1750 it had a population of about 3,000 and it was probably the sixth or seventh largest town in the West Riding; by 1840 it had a population of about 25,000 and it was the fourth largest town in the Riding.

The fifth and final textile town was Bradford.¹ Like Huddersfield, it was of little consequence in the seventeenth century, but its importance increased in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century it experienced meteoric industrial development. In the early seventeenth century Bradford was a centre of woollen cloth manufacture, but of much less importance than Leeds, Halifax and Wakefield. It was badly affected by the Civil War and thereafter its trade in cloth became almost negligible. During the eighteenth century worsted manufacture and trade grew up in the town but its growth was limited because, like Halifax and Huddersfield, it remained primarily a marketing and manufacturing centre, and did not become a finishing centre as Leeds and Wakefield had done. However, with the onset of the Industrial revolution, Bradford's inhabitants were quick to adopt

1. This description of Bradford is based on: J. Aikin, *op. cit.* pp. 568-9; E. Baines, *1822 D. I.*, 147; W. White, *1853 D.* pp. 409-11; H. Heaton, *op. cit.* pp. 77, 210, 273-4.

factory production. This set the town on the road to rapid economic growth and prosperity. Its population grew more than five-fold from 6,000 to 31,000 in the forty years between 1801 and 1841, and it superseded Halifax as the centre of worsted manufacture. While in 1801 Bradford was the sixth largest town in the Riding, by 1841 it ranked third.

Apart from the textile industry, the other West Riding industry of major importance was the metalware industry. This industry was centred on Sheffield, Barnsley, and Rotherham. Sheffield dominated this group of towns.¹ After comparatively slow growth in the seventeenth century, it grew at a similar pace to Leeds for much of our period and was similar in size. Thus it was the other urban giant of the West Riding. In 1600 it was probably the fourth largest town in the Riding, after Leeds, Halifax, and Pontefract. But by 1700 it had crept into third place after Leeds and Halifax, and thereafter it vied closely with Leeds for first place. Its growth between 1700 and 1840 was phenomenal: its population grew nine-fold in the eighteenth century, and more than doubled between 1800 and 1840, reaching over 68,000 in 1841.

In 1600 Sheffield had been long established as a great production centre of hardware, and it was peopled largely by craftsmen engaged in the

1. This description of Sheffield is based on: J. Defoe, *op. cit.* p. 482; J. Aikin, *op. cit.* pp. 539, 548; E. Baines, *1822 D. I.*, 281, 286-7, 294-5; G. F. Jones, "Industrial Evolution" in D. Linton, ed. *Sheffield and its Region* (Sheffield, 1956), pp. 156-9; A. J. Hunt and S. Pollard, "The Growth of Population" in D. Linton, *op. cit.* p. 173; C. W. Chalklin, *op. cit.* pp. 22-3, 43.

cutlery trades or in the provision of goods or services for the local populace. The town's economy was based on its own industry and that of neighbouring villages. Even after 1700 its hinterland was small and much of it thinly populated, so, unlike Leeds, it was not of major importance as a regional centre for a manufacturing district. Throughout our period, especially after 1700, the skilled craftsmen of the town specialized in producing cutlery, scythes, files, saws, and edged tools, high value finished goods. They were the main suppliers of these products to the British market, and large quantities were also exported. In the second half of the eighteenth century the cutlery trades and toolmakers continued on a small-scale domestic basis, and so, in contrast to Leeds, the town had few wealthy masters and manufacturers. Outside manufacturing, there were merchants and factors getting a living from the distribution of raw materials or the sale of finished goods, or, more commonly, supplying the general crafts and services needed by the manufacturing population. The town's industry grew rapidly during the eighteenth century and one of the most significant developments was the discovery of the technique of silver-plating in 1746. Despite the growth of the industry, there were few large-scale factories even by 1840. Expansion was largely achieved by the endeavours of many small concerns operating with little capital. Nevertheless, the Boundary Commissioners Report of 1831-2 was able to say that:

The environs of the Town are occupied, to an unusual extent, by mills, factories and buildings, belonging to and inhabited by persons having a direct interest in the staple manufacture of the Town.

1. Boundary Commissioners: Report on the Town of Sheffield (P.F. 1831-2, XL), p. 205.

For most of our period the metal trades were supervised by the Corporation of Cutlers founded in 1624. Despite its size, Sheffield did not become an incorporated borough until 1843.

Barnsley, like Sheffield, was noted for its metal trades in 1600.¹ It was a small market town outside the traditional West Riding clothing area and famous for the manufacture of wire. However, in contrast to Sheffield it was the smallest of the twelve towns for virtually the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even though its population doubled during the latter century. In the 1720's Defoe noted that:

Black Barnsley is eminent still for the working in iron and steel; and indeed the very town looks as black and smoky as if they were all smiths that lived in it.²

By 1800 however, major changes were taking place in the town. It was still known for its coal pits, iron works, and trade in wire, and it still functioned as a market town, but it was rapidly becoming involved in the textile industry. Aikin noted that it had "a manufactory of linen yarn and coarse linen, which is in a flourishing state".³ From this period its industrial interests expanded quickly. In 1822 Baines noted that the manufacture of flax and weaving of linen cloth had become its main industry and the source of considerable wealth. Over 3,000 looms were employed in the town and neighbouring villages. There were also two extensive iron foundries making steam engines and other

1. This description of Barnsley is based on: D. Defoe, op. cit. p. 483; J. Aikin, op. cit. p. 551; E. Baines, 1822 D. I., 133-4; W. White, 1837 D. I., 310.

2. D. Defoe, op. cit. p. 483.

3. J. Aikin, op. cit. p. 551.

metal products.¹ This process of industrial growth continued in the remaining part of our period. Between 1800 and 1840 the town's growth was as spectacular as that of Bradford, although on a smaller scale. Its population trebled from 3,606 in 1801 to 12,310 in 1841, by which time it was the seventh largest of the twelve towns.

For much of the period 1600-1840 Rotherham was the smallest of the twelve towns, and only in the last forty years was it able to creep up into ninth place.² With a population of 5,505 in 1841 it was one-seventeenth of the size of Leeds. The town had been a textile producing centre of some note in the Middle Ages, but during the seventeenth century it was just a small market town. In this role it increased in importance during the eighteenth century, and by 1822 Baines could note that: "the town is in a thriving state and considerable trade is carried on in coals, corn, and other articles".³ The town's close proximity to Sheffield - only six miles away - encouraged the growth of the metal industries in its neighbourhood: the nationally famous iron works belonging to the Walker family was founded in its suburb of Masborough in the 1730's, and during the Industrial Revolution the area around the town was noted for its iron and steel works. Thus, together with Sheffield and Barnsley, it formed the metalware producing region of the West Riding.

1. E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 133-4.

2. This description of Rotherham is based on: C. Morris, op. cit. p. 95; D. Defoe, op. cit. pp. 482-3; E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 256-7; Sheffield 1845 D. pp. 337-8; H. Heaton, op. cit. pp. 7, 18, 21.

3. E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 256.

The four towns still to be described, Doncaster, Knaresborough, Ripon, and Pontefract, remained small throughout our period; even Doncaster, the largest of the towns, was only an eighth of the size of Leeds and a sixth of the size of Sheffield in 1841. Unlike the eight towns previously described, they were of little note as centres of industry. As their castles or ecclesiastical buildings testified, they had been of considerable economic and political importance in the Middle Ages, but subsequently their industries declined in importance and to a large extent the Industrial Revolution passed them by. After 1700 in economic terms they were primarily market towns. Nevertheless, they retained administrative importance and, particularly in the case of Doncaster, they possessed a considerable reputation as social centres and seats of the leisured classes. As we have seen, all the towns except Ripon were county quarter sessions venues, all except Knaresborough had municipal corporations, and all except Doncaster were parliamentary boroughs.

Doncaster was the most important of the four towns.¹ In the fourteenth century it had been the second largest town in the West Riding, and until quite well into the eighteenth century it was famous for the knitting of stockings, waistcoats, gloves, and other clothes. During the eighteenth century it attained national importance as a market centre largely because of its situation on the Great North Road. Its principal commodity was corn: Baines said in 1822 that Doncaster corn market ranked amongst the first in the north of England.² By the end

1. This description of Doncaster is based on: D. Defoe, *op. cit.* p. 481; E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 168-9; W. White, 1837 D. I, 276; J. S. Fletcher, A History of the St. Leger Stakes (1902), pp. 22-33;

2. E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 168.

of our period it also traded in malt and timber, and had a few iron works, roperies, and machine works. Nevertheless, its pre-eminence was as a horse-racing centre and seat of the leisured classes. Horse-racing began at the town around 1600 and from the middle of the seventeenth century the town's corporation used every effort to make the race meetings successful, and to provide for the comfort and convenience of those who attended them. The establishment of the St. Leger Stakes in 1776 brought the town increased fame. The races were held in September and were a great source of revenue. By the end of the eighteenth century they were visited by nearly all the families of rank in the north, and many from the south of England, in addition to many thousands of tradesmen and people from Sheffield, Leeds, and other neighbouring towns. The pleasant situation of the town, its good regulation by the corporation, and its plentiful supply of provisions, made it a fashionable place of residence for the upper classes. In 1822 Baines wrote:

There are few towns in the kingdom in which so great a portion of the inhabitants possess independent fortunes, and the neighbourhood is remarkable for opulent families.¹

Knareborough achieved fame in the Middle Ages because of its castle, but throughout our period it functioned primarily as a market town and as a small centre for the manufacture of linen.² From the late seventeenth century it became a noted spa and well into the eighteenth

1. E. Baines, 1822 D. I., 169

2. This description of Knareborough is based on: C. Morris, op. cit. p. 78; D. Defoe, op. cit. pp. 506-7; E. Baines, 1822 D. I., 223-4; Boundary Commissioners: Report on the Borough of Knareborough, (P.P. 1831-2, XL), pp. 191-2.

century it was a place of considerable resort. By the early nineteenth century much of this residential business had been diverted to Harrogate, and the town's waters were taken mainly by day-trippers. In the first forty years of the nineteenth century the town's linen industry adopted the new technology brought by the Industrial Revolution, and capital was invested in mills, warehouses, and machinery, but the town remained very small and its character was little changed.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Ripon was the leading cloth producing town in the West Riding and it was also notable as the centre of the ecclesiastical liberty of Ripon and as a market town.¹ By 1600 its woollen industry had almost totally decayed and it had been replaced by the manufacture of spurs and buttons, industries which persisted well into the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the town functioned almost solely as a market centre. Like Doncaster, it was noted for its preponderance of upper-class inhabitants and, in terms of its size and growth, it was very similar to Knaresborough.

Pontefract, the last of the twelve towns to be examined, was the largest in the West Riding in the fourteenth century, having a notable cloth industry, and a castle which generated a substantial amount of general business.² In 1600, however, it was in decline, and by 1622, after the

1. This description of Ripon is based on: C. Morris, op. cit. p. 83; D. Defoe, op. cit. p. 508; Anon, The History of Ripon (2nd edn., Ripon, 1806) pp. 10, 16, 32, 40, 149-50; E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 247, 250; Boundary Commissioners: Report on the Borough of Ripon (P.P. 1831-2, XL), pp. 201-2; J. R. Walbran, A Guide to Ripon (15th edn. Ripon, 1885), pp. 8, 15-16; H. Heaton, op. cit. pp. 7, 21, 70-1, 285, 359.

2. This description of Pontefract is based on: C. Morris, op. cit. pp. 94-5; D. Defoe, op. cit. p. 505; E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 237-41; Boundary Commissioners: Report on the Borough of Pontefract (P.P. 1831-2, XL), p. 197; H. Heaton, op. cit. pp. 7, 18, 21, 32, 49, 359.

destruction of the castle, its population had fallen to half of what it had been in 1400. Thus in 1700 Pontefract was almost the smallest of the twelve towns. Nevertheless, it was a handsome market town and it was well known for its market gardens, which among other things, produced large quantities of liquorice. Right up to the end of our period it remained principally noted for its market gardens and as a market centre. Much of its garden produce was sold in Leeds and Wakefield, and its liquorice and famous Pontefract cakes were sent all over England. In 1600 Pontefract was the administrative centre of the West Riding but, as we have seen, by 1700 this role had been taken over by Wakefield. However, throughout our period it remained the venue for the West Riding General Quarter Sessions and this, in conjunction with the popularity of its race meetings, made it quite a fashionable place of resort. Rather like his comments on Doncaster and Ripon, Baines said of Pontefract:

It is surrounded by seats of nobles and opulent commoners, and persons of large or small fortune may find here agreeable society .¹

1. E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 237.

II

In 1600 the twelve West Riding towns had a stock of only about fifty public buildings; some towns having as few as two and none more than six.¹ The range of buildings was very limited. Each town had a church, usually dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and several had medieval chantry chapels which were either disused or converted to other uses. Most towns also had a town hall or court house of some description. These buildings were used for a variety of public business, which often included the meetings of guilds, borough corporations, and parish officials, and the judicial sessions of manorial courts and justices of the peace. As an adjunct to the town hall or court house, there was usually a small short-stay prison or gaol; sometimes it was actually incorporated in the building. There were two types of prison: those belonging to authorities such as manorial lords, town corporations, and ecclesiastical bodies, and those belonging to parishes. Often it is difficult to distinguish one type of prison from another, and, in some cases, authorities used the same prison. At this time, the only type of public building the towns had to cater for the physical welfare of the public was the almshouse. These buildings, often referred to as "hospitals", usually consisted of rows of cottages in which from two to

1. The following survey of the public buildings provided in the period 1600-1840 is based on the evidence presented in the gazetteer at the end of this thesis. Unless stated otherwise, the sources for the data given in this survey can be located by referring to the notes to the gazetteer. Although the text of this study is concerned solely with the period 1600-1840 and with public buildings as defined in the introduction, for the benefit of readers interested in earlier periods or using a broader definition of public buildings, the gazetteer gives details of public buildings provided between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, and those buildings on the fringe of my definition which are not encompassed by the study.

twelve poor people of good character were housed and maintained from endowments. As a result of provision made since the twelfth century the towns possessed a total of at least ten sets of almshouses in 1600. Almost all the towns also had a grammar school. Most had been founded in the sixteenth century and, in general, instructed ten to twenty pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Some schools were purpose-built but the ease with which other premises could be converted meant that a new building was not usually necessary. Finally, most of the towns possessed a market cross and a butchers' shambles. Originally, the term "Market cross" referred to a stone cross which formed the focal point of a market place, but by 1600 it is likely that some of these crosses had been replaced by small colonnaded shelters which were used for the sale of dairy produce on market days. In addition, some of the towns had meat shambles - rows of butchers' shops and stalls.

During the seventeenth century the number of public buildings in the twelve towns almost doubled, reaching about 90 by 1700. In all, 55 buildings were provided, 41 of which were additional amenities: 44 of the buildings were purpose-built and 11 were converted premises. The rate of provision - one about every two years - was very slow; during their lifetime many people might see the erection of only one new public building.

Three-fifths of the buildings provided were of the traditional type: they included four town halls, four prisons, five grammar schools, two market crosses, one church, and, most impressive of all, fifteen sets of almshouses. The Sheffield Cutlers' Hall built in 1638 was the most unusual "town hall" erected, since it was the only genuine guild hall built in the twelve towns. It was used almost exclusively for the

administrative and social activities of Sheffield's Cutlers' Company.¹

The remaining two-fifths of the buildings consisted of four new types concerned with the spheres of poor relief, law and order, education, and religion. The early years of the century produced an innovation which was to dominate the relief of destitution for the next three centuries - the workhouse. Workhouses, sometimes known as "poor houses", were intended to accommodate the destitute and to serve as places of employment where they would be obliged to earn their living. The first workhouse was built at Sheffield in 1630, and others were provided in at least five more towns during the century.²

The second important innovation was the erection of the West Riding House of Correction at Wakefield around 1605. Throughout our period this county gaol, with rebuildings and enlargements, was easily the most important prison in the Riding. It accommodated all the prisoners convicted at West Riding Quarter Sessions and Assizes, and therefore made the erection of large local gaols unnecessary.

The third innovation was the foundation of charity or blue coat schools. Whereas grammar schools tended to cater for the sons of the better-off

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1. The hall was replaced by another in 1726, which in turn was superseded in 1833.
 2. Data about these early workhouses is scanty. Moreover, contemporaries' failure to distinguish between "poor houses" and "almshouses" creates problems of identification. Similarly, the spasmodic use of the institutions makes it difficult to distinguish between their foundation and re-establishment.

townsmen, these schools were founded specifically for the education of orphans and the children of poor families, and often housed and clothed the pupil. In contrast to the grammar schools, although they taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, the schools placed great emphasis on teaching trade skills such as scribbling, carding, and spinning.

Where girls were admitted, they were taught domestic arts such as knitting and sewing. Four schools were founded, the first being opened at Halifax in 1610.

The final innovation was made in the last thirty years of the century with the establishment of eleven meeting houses by the Independent Dissenters and the Quakers. The provision of nonconformist places of worship was to become one of the most dynamic forces in the public building history of the next 140 years.

The public building provision in the seventeenth century is summarized in Table I.3: (see page 32).

During the eighteenth century the stock of public buildings in the twelve towns more than doubled, growing from about 90 in 1700 to around 240 by the turn of the century. This increase was produced by a sharp rise in the rate of provision of buildings. In the first half of the century 62 buildings were provided, 46 of which were additional amenities: 49 were purpose-built and 13 were converted premises. In the second half of the century 152 buildings were provided, of which 107 were additional amenities: 115 were purpose-built and 37 were converted premises. Thus the rate of building provision, which had been one every two years in the seventeenth century, rose to over one per year in the first half of the eighteenth century and to just over

three per year in the second half of the century. While many of the traditional types of public building were provided in these years, there was also a good deal of innovation. Moreover, as we shall see in Chapter II, there was a distinct tendency for the buildings to become larger and more grandiose.

Table I.3

The Public Buildings Provided in the Twelve Towns, 1600-99

Building type	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose-built</u>	<u>No. of premises converted</u>	<u>Total No. of buildings provided</u>
Town Halls	1	4	-	4
Court Houses	-	1	1	2
Prisons	-	3	1 (1)	4
Almshouses	13	13	2	15
Workhouses	6	4	3	7
Grammar Schools	2	3	2	5
Charity Schools	3	2 (1)	-	2
Market Crosses	2	2	-	2
Anglican Churches	1	1	-	1
Independent Chapels	7	5	2	7
Quaker Chapels	4	4	-	4
Miscellaneous	2	2	-	2
	<u>41</u>	<u>44 (1)</u>	<u>11 (1)</u>	<u>55</u>

Source: The gazetteer

Notes

- Figures in parenthesis indicate secondary amenities of multipurpose buildings. This method of listing permits a distinction to be made between the number of buildings and number of amenities provided.
- The miscellaneous building types were a puritan school and a grammar school library.

The provisions of the traditional type made in this century included 7 town halls; 3 court houses; 8 prisons (including in the 1760's the rebuilding and major enlargement of the West Riding House of Correction and the addition to it of a women's prison); 15 sets of almshouses; at least 9 workhouses; 5 grammar schools; 17 charity schools; 7 market crosses; 3 butchers' shambles; and 36 places of worship - 7 Anglican, 22 Independent, and 7 Quaker. As Tables I.4 and I.5 summarizing the provision of public buildings in the eighteenth century demonstrate, regarding traditional types of public buildings with the exception of places of worship, the foundation of new amenities occurred primarily in the first half of the century; much of the activity in the second half of the century concerned the rebuilding and replacement of existing premises.

By 1720 most of the workhouses established during the seventeenth century appear to have been closed, but in the 1720's, and '30's the concept was revived with enthusiasm. Seven workhouses were provided in these two decades, four of which were established in existing premises; in Leeds, for example, the original workhouse was brought back into use. Similarly, the foundation of new charity schools was concentrated in the early part of the eighteenth century: 8 of the 14 were founded between 1702 and 1727.

As the figures above show, places of worship were easily the most frequently provided traditional type of public building in the eighteenth century, and they played an important role in the acceleration of activity in the second half of the century, since two-thirds of them were provided between 1770 and 1799. Also at this time, the rebuilding of butchers' shambles became a much more significant event, for in two

cases this was accompanied by the entire rebuilding or replacement of the towns' market places. New shambles and market places were opened at Sheffield in 1786, and at Bradford about 1794. These wholesale redevelopments foreshadowed the extensive market improvements which occurred in other towns in the first forty years of the nineteenth century.

The fact that only half of the public buildings provided in the eighteenth century were of the traditional kind (112 out of a total of 214) testifies that the century was one of great innovation in this sphere. Indeed the acceleration in the rate of provision of buildings was mainly attributable to new types of building. In terms of numbers, the most significant innovation was the provision of chapels resulting from the rise of the Methodists and, to a lesser extent, the Baptists. The twelve towns' first Methodist chapels were built at Sheffield in the 1740's, and in the next fifty years as Methodism spread to all the towns a further 24 chapels were provided. In addition, 6 Baptist chapels, 1 Roman Catholic chapel and 1 quasi-Anglican chapel were also provided, bringing the number of new types of places of worship provided in the century to 32.

Another important innovation and one which was of great utility to the twelve towns' dominant industry was the erection of cloth halls. These halls, which provided covered accommodation for the sale of cloth, were built in all the textile towns during the century. The first halls were built at Halifax, Wakefield, and Leeds in the first eleven years of the century.¹ Thereafter, there was a lull in provision until a

1. There is evidence of the existence of two houses in Halifax in 1616 known as the Wollen Hall and the Lynnen Hall. Although they were used for the sale of cloth, it is unlikely that they were similar in style to the eighteenth century cloth halls.

further eight were erected between 1755 and 1793. The halls were not used solely as cloth markets: for example, the West Riding quarter sessions were held at Bradford Price Hall until 1834, and the halls' court yards were popular venues for large public meetings. The cloth hall was essentially an eighteenth century phenomenon; and no more were built in the remaining part of our period.

The provision of places of entertainment and social rendezvous was another important eighteenth century innovation. Before 1700 public buildings of this type were virtually non-existent in the twelve towns, and dancing assemblies, plays, and musical concerts had to be held in makeshift premises. This remained the case to some extent in the eighteenth century: at Sheffield and Barnsley, for example, assemblies were held regularly in school premises in the early part of the century. However, a considerable number of assembly rooms, theatres, concert rooms, and grandstands were provided in this period.

A purpose-built assembly rooms is first mentioned in 1726 at Leeds, and another was built at Wakefield a year later. In all, six assembly rooms were built during the century, and a further three sets of rooms were incorporated in multipurpose public buildings. By and large, these amenities were the preserve of the middle and upper classes. The first purpose-built theatre was opened in 1762 at Sheffield, and in the remaining part of the eighteenth century, theatres were provided in six of the other towns. Also in the second half of the century concert rooms or music halls were provided at Leeds and Huddersfield and grandstands were built for the race courses at three towns.

One of the most revolutionary innovations in the century was the provision of medical institutions. Until 1767 there were no medical institutions in the twelve towns, the only public institutions providing medical treatment being workhouses. Between 1767 and 1799 infirmaries were established at Leeds and Sheffield, and dispensaries were opened at Doncaster, Wakefield, and Ripon. Usually, infirmaries gave treatment to in-patients, while dispensaries gave treatment to out-patients. The treatment at all these institutions was given free of charge, and they were established for the relief of the working classes.

Libraries and newsrooms for "public" use were other eighteenth century innovations. Probably most schools had libraries in 1700 - Leeds grammar school even had the luxury of a library building erected about 1691 - but there were no "public" libraries at this time. Some parish libraries associated with churches were established in the first half of the century but these were of little consequence. In the next fifty years, however, "subscription" or "circulating" libraries were founded in the larger towns. These libraries were exclusive, middle-class institutions, members paying a high annual subscription. Seven libraries were established but none had purpose-built premises. While the library movement was getting under way, newsrooms, institutions where newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals were available for the reference of subscribers, were established in at least three of the twelve towns. It seems likely that several other newsrooms were provided in public houses and coffee rooms.

Although the bulk of school provision then consisted of grammar schools

and charity schools there were two innovations. The first was the establishment of three Schools of Industry; institutions which trained small groups of girls for domestic service. The schools were run on a part-time basis and were held in makeshift premises. The other innovation was the establishment of Sunday schools. These schools, which were established in significant numbers between 1785 and 1799, are not included in this study because in their early stages they often met in churches and chapels, and later in rooms attached to places of worship.

In addition to these innovations a small number of public buildings were provided which were unique to particular towns. In 1704 an office for the registration of deeds was opened at Wakefield; in 1773 an assay office was opened at Sheffield; and in 1775 a Rotation Office, an office for the borough magistrates, was opened at Leeds. In addition, a freemasons' hall was built at Sheffield about 1787, and a barracks was erected at the same town in 1792-4. Finally, a nonconformist theological college was founded at Rotherham about 1795.

The public building provision of the eighteenth century is summarized in Tables I.4 and I.5 (see pages 38 and 39).

In the last forty years of our period when, as we have seen, the total population of the twelve towns grew at a very rapid pace, the provision of public buildings grew at a similar rate: although it had already accelerated to three per year in the second half of the eighteenth century, it surged forward still faster to a rate of just under nine per year between 1800 and 1840. In all, 354 buildings were provided, of which probably 289 were additional amenities: 262 were purpose-built

and 92 were converted premises. Thus the stock of public buildings in the twelve towns more than doubled, rising from about 240 in 1800 to over 500 by 1840.

Table I.4

The Public Buildings Provided in the Twelve Towns, 1700-49

<u>Building Type</u>	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose-built</u>	<u>No. of premises converted</u>	<u>Total no. of buildings provided</u>
Town Halls	-	5	-	5
Court Houses	-	-	1	1
Prisons	-	1	-	1
Public Offices	1	-	1	1
Almshouses	6	7	1	8
Workhouses	4	3	4	7
Grammar Schools	-	1 (1)	-	1
Charity Schools	9	6	3 (1)	9
Libraries	3	1	2	3
Market Crosses	2	4 (1)	-	4
Shambles	-	1	-	1
Cloth Halls	3	3	-	3
Assembly Rooms	3	3	-	3
Anglican Churches	2	2	-	2
Independent Chapels	7	7	-	7
Quaker Chapels	3	2	1	3
Methodist Chapels	2	2	-	2
Miscellaneous	1	1	-	1
	<u>46</u>	<u>49 (2)</u>	<u>13 (1)</u>	<u>62</u>

Source: The gazetteer.

Notes

- Figures in parenthesis indicate secondary amenities of multipurpose buildings.
- The miscellaneous building type is a riding school.

Table I.5

The Public Buildings Provided in the Twelve Towns, 1750-99

<u>Building Type</u>	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose-built</u>	<u>No. of Premises converted</u>	<u>Total No. of buildings provided</u>
Town Halls	-	2	-	2
Court Houses	-	1	1	2
Prisons	2	6	1 (1)	7
Public Offices	2	1	3	4
Almshouses	3	6	1	7
Workhouses	1	-	2	2
Infirmaries	2	2	1	3
Dispensaries	3	1	2	3
Grammar Schools	2	3	1	4
Charity Schools	5	7	1	8
Schools of Industry	3	-	3	3
Libraries	7	-	8	8
Newsrooms	3	-	3	3
Market Crosses	-	3 (1)	-	3
Shambles	-	2	-	2
Market Places (with Shambles)	-	2	-	2
Cloth Halls	4	7 (1)	-	7
Assembly Rooms	4	3 (3)	-	3
Theatres	8	8	3	11
Concert Rooms	2	1	1	2
Grandstands	3	3	-	3
Anglican Churches	5	5	-	5
Independent Chapels	12	14	1	15
Quaker Chapels	1	2	2	4
Methodist Chapels	21	22	2	24
Baptist chapels	5	5	1	6
Catholic Chapels	1	1	-	1
Misc. Chapels	1	1	-	1
Miscellaneous	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>7</u>
	<u>106</u>	<u>115 (5)</u>	<u>37 (1)</u>	<u>152</u>

Source: The gazetteer.

Notes: Figures in parenthesis indicate secondary amenities of multi-purpose buildings.
The miscellaneous building types are a riding school, a theological college, a barracks, a parish church vestry, a coffee house, a freemasons' halls, and a grammar school master's house.

This high level of building provision was achieved by a combination of vigorous provision of traditional types of buildings, much more extensive provision of the types of amenity first introduced in the second half of the eighteenth century, and yet more innovation. The latter, however, was not limited to entirely new types of building, for, as we shall see, there was a strong innovative element in the provision of what we were ostensibly traditional types of amenities.

The traditional types of buildings provided in this forty-year period included: 3 town halls; 12 court houses; 6 prisons; 8 sets of almshouses; 4 workhouses; 3 grammar schools; 7 charity schools; 1 market cross; 1 shambles; 6 market places; and, if all chapels are included, 135 places of worship - 24 Anglican, 17 Independent, three Quaker, 60 Methodist, 10 Baptist, 11 Catholic, and 10 belonging to other sects.

Clearly, places of worship were the principal feature of the provisions made, and to an even greater extent than in the eighteenth century; probably 111 of them were additional amenities. In contrast, the relative importance of buildings such as grammar schools, charity schools, town halls, and market crosses was small and only two additional amenities were provided. The rate of provision of almshouses was maintained and three new amenities were founded, but they too became less important numerically in the overall provision of buildings.

It is of particular importance to note that twelve court houses were built: four times the number provided in the previous century. Before this period, the West Riding magistrates had always held their sessions in premises not specifically designed for their use; significantly,

eight of the new court houses built in these years were intended primarily for the use of the county and borough magistrates. In addition, four court houses were provided for the Courts of Request held in Huddersfield, Halifax, Sheffield, and Bradford (Courts of Request were established to settle disputes over debts). At the same time at least 9 local prisons were provided, 3 of which were incorporated in new court houses. There were also two major enlargements to the West Riding House of Correction in these years. Although only 4 workhouses were provided between 1800 and 1840, they are important because they represented the beginning of a new era in poor relief: three were built by unions established under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The establishment of vagrancy offices was another new development in this period which was closely associated with workhouses; indeed, their premises sometimes adjoined workhouses. The purposes of the "offices" was to give overnight accommodation and food to vagrants found begging in the streets. The following day the vagrants were sent on their way. Probably three offices were established.

A particularly notable feature of the provision of traditional amenities was the redevelopment or replacement of market places. Six new market places were provided in these years. For example, the market places were redeveloped at Rotherham in 1802-3 and at Halifax about 1810. These developments incorporated shambles and other covered facilities.

Three cemeteries independent of churches or chapels were more unusual features of the provision of the traditional types of public amenity in this period. The cemeteries were much more elaborate than the usual type and, as we shall see subsequently, their mode of finance was also rather novel.

Most of the new types of buildings introduced in the first half and more particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century were provided in much greater numbers between 1800 and 1840. With regard to social amenities, provisions included four assembly rooms, three theatres, four concert rooms, and three grandstands. At the same time, the number of infirmaries and dispensaries was more than trebled: three additional infirmaries were built and nine more dispensaries were founded, the majority of which were housed in converted premises. Libraries and newsrooms also were provided in greater numbers: nine libraries and fourteen newsrooms were established. Twenty buildings were provided, sixteen of which were converted premises, but in addition facilities for twenty more of these amenities were provided in new multipurpose buildings. All the libraries included in this study were primarily middle-class institutions, but it should be noted that other types were established in this period. At Sheffield in 1837, for example, there were no fewer than ten circulating libraries run from the shops of booksellers.¹

Like the fifty years preceding it, the period 1800-40 was a period of great innovation in the sphere of public building provision. Innovation was perhaps at its height in the area of education: the provision of Schools of Industry which had begun at the tail end of the eighteenth century continued on a small scale, but there were several other more far-reaching developments.

A great deal of innovation occurred in the provision of institutions

1. W. White, 1837 D. I, 82.

for child education. The high rate of provision of new schools and school premises in the period occurred largely because of the foundation of several new types of schools, notably National and Lancasterian schools. The National schools, sponsored by the Church of England, and the Lancasterian schools, sponsored by an inter-denominational movement begun by Joseph Lancaster, were established to give a rudimentary education to the children of the lower classes. At least 17 National schools and ten Lancasterian or British schools, as they were later known, were established in these years, resulting in the erection of 21 schoolhouses.

Two other types of school were also founded in this period: Infant schools educating children until they were old enough to enter the National and Lancasterian schools, and Collegiate and Proprietary schools, which gave a classical and commercial education. In all, 14 Infant schools and 4 Collegiate or Proprietary schools were established.

In addition four types of educational institutions catering for adults were added to the "educational system" between 1819 and 1840: literary and philosophical societies, mechanics' institutes, museums, and medical schools. The earliest were the literary and philosophical societies, principally of the 1820's and '30's. Their aim was to promote higher cultural levels amongst townsmen. Societies were established in five of the towns, and three of them erected their own premises: Leeds Philosophical Hall was the first built in 1819-21. Mechanics' institutes were established slightly later for the purpose of educating the lower classes in science and engineering. Despite their objectives they became middle-class institutions with a clientel

not dissimilar to the literary and philosophical societies. Five institutes were established between 1825 and 1832, of which only the one at Bradford erected premises. The societies and institutes often provided museums in their premises, but there is one instance of a museum built as a separate entity, namely, Calvert's Museum erected at Leeds in 1827.

Two medical schools were established at the end of our period: at Sheffield in 1828 and at Leeds slightly later. Of these, the former had its own purpose-built premises known as the Sheffield Medical Institution (1828-9).

Apart from the extension of medical facilities to all the twelve towns by means of the provision of infirmaries and dispensaries, which we have already noted, there was also innovation in the sphere of medicine and public health in the first forty years of the nineteenth century. The medical innovation consisted of the provision of three fever hospitals (hospitals for treating infectious diseases), two or more cholera hospitals, one eye hospital, and two lying-in hospitals (maternity hospitals). Of these, only two institutions, both fever hospitals, had purpose-built premises. Undoubtedly, the most prominent medical institution built at this time was the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, established at Wakefield in 1816-18, and housing for treatment up to 250 insane people from the West Riding. Not long before this, the twelve towns' first public baths had been provided, Doncaster probably being the first in the field in 1812, although Halifax had a set of baths which were well-established in 1822. Seven sets of public baths were built between 1812 and 1840. The term "public bath" was

something of a misnomer, since like "public libraries" these amenities were essentially middle and upper class preserves.

The last two decades of our period produced significant innovations in the sphere of marketing and commerce. Leeds figured prominently in these provisions. The twelve towns' first and only fully-covered general retail market, the Central Market, was built at Leeds in 1824-7, and the only purpose-built wholesale carcass market in about 1830.

The towns' first corn exchanges were also built in this period at Wakefield, Leeds, and Sheffield. Finally, "Commercial Buildings", establishments where businessmen could meet to discuss and transact business, which often incorporated coffee rooms and newsrooms and other ancillary facilities, were built at Leeds, Huddersfield, Sheffield, and Barnsley.

The main provision of social amenities in the period 1800-40 concerned existing types but there were a few innovations: a betting room was built at Doncaster in 1826-7; two circus buildings at Sheffield; and zoological and botanical gardens at Sheffield (1836), Wakefield (1839), and Leeds (1840). Also at the tail end of our period a number of buildings were erected which, as premises for mutual aid societies, were a cross between social and welfare institutions: odd fellows' halls at Barnsley, Bradford, and Halifax, and a temperance hall also at Bradford.

The public building provision of the period 1800-40 is summarized in Table I.6. This brings the first part of our general survey to a

Table I.6

The Public Buildings Provided in the Twelve Towns, 1800-40

<u>Building-Type</u>	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose- built</u>	<u>No. of premises converted</u>	<u>Total No. of buildings provided</u>
Town Halls	-	3	-	3
Court Houses	9	11	1	12
Prisons	-	5 (3)	1	6
Public Offices	4	1	3	4
Almshouses	3	8	-	8
Workhouses	3	3	1	4
Vagrancy Offices	3	1 (1)	2	3
Infirmaries	3	3	-	3
Dispensaries	9	2 (4)	13	15
Fever Hospitals	3	2	1	3
Misc. Medical	6	1	5	6
Baths	7	7	-	7
Grammar Schools	1	2 (1)	1	3
Charity Schools	1	5	2	7
Schools of Industry	5	2	5	7
National Schools	17	14	4	18
Lancasterian and British Schools	10	7	5	12
Infant Schools	14	8 (2)	4	12
Collegiate and Proprietary Schools	4	4	-	4
Misc. Schools	5	2 (1)	2	4
Philosophical Halls	4	3	1	4
Mechanics Institutes	3	1 (1)	1	2
Libraries	9	1 (9)	8 (1)	9
Newsrooms	14	3 (11)	8	11
Market Crosses	-	1	-	1
Shambles	-	1	-	1
Market Places (some with shambles)	4	6	-	6
Covered Markets	1	1	-	1
Corn Exchanges	3	4	-	4

Cont.../..

Table I.6 Contd.

The Public Buildings Provided in the Twelve Towns, 1800-40 Contd.

<u>Building Type</u>	<u>No. of new amenities</u> Contd.	<u>No. purpose- built</u> Contd.	<u>No. of premises converted</u> Contd.	<u>Total No. of buildings provided</u> Contd.
Merchants Exchanges/ Commercial Buildings	5	3 (1)	1	4
Misc. Market Amenities	1	1	-	1
Assembly Rooms	1	4	-	4
Theatres	3	1 (1)	1	2
Concert Rooms	2	3 (1)	-	3
Grandstands	3	3	-	3
Zoological and Botanical Gardens	3	3	-	3
Circuses	1	2	-	2
Oddfellows Halls	3	3	-	3
Temperance Halls	1	1	-	1
Anglican Churches	21	24	-	24
Independent Chapels	13	16	1	17
Quaker Chapels	-	3	-	3
Methodist Chapels	49	52	8	60
Baptist Chapels	9	8	2	10
Catholic Chapels	9	10	1	11
Misc. Chapels	10	4	6	10
Cemeteries	3	3	-	3
Miscellaneous	6	5	3	8
	<u>289</u>	<u>262 (36)</u>	<u>92 (1)</u>	<u>354</u>

Source: The gazetteer

Notes

- Figures in parenthesis indicate secondary amenities of multipurpose buildings.
- The miscellaneous building types are two theological colleges; two barracks (one temporary); three museums (one temporary); a grammar school master's house; a betting room, and publicans' booths at a race course.

conclusion. It has attempted to demonstrate the trends in the provision of buildings in the twelve towns as a whole and to highlight new developments, while keeping in mind the provision of traditional types of building. It is hoped that it also gives some impression of the relative importance in numerical terms of the different types of building. The relative size and cost of buildings, in addition to their numbers, is of crucial importance in assessing their contribution to the overall provision of public buildings. Moreover, the different patterns of provision which occurred in the twelve towns form an important aspect of this study. Both these topics are investigated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATIVE IMPORTANCE
OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS PROVIDED IN
THE TWELVE TOWNS

Chapter I gave an impression of the relative importance of the different types of public buildings in numerical terms, but numbers tell only part of the story: relative size and costs are vital elements making up the picture of the provision of these buildings. The first part of this chapter describes the physical characteristics of each type of building, with the aid of illustrations, and contrasts the sums of money normally expended on them. Using this information, we then present estimates of total expenditure on the twelve towns' public buildings, and assess the relative contribution, in terms of numbers and expenditure, of each type of building to overall building provision. The final part of the chapter compares the extent and characteristics of public building provision in each of the twelve towns.

I

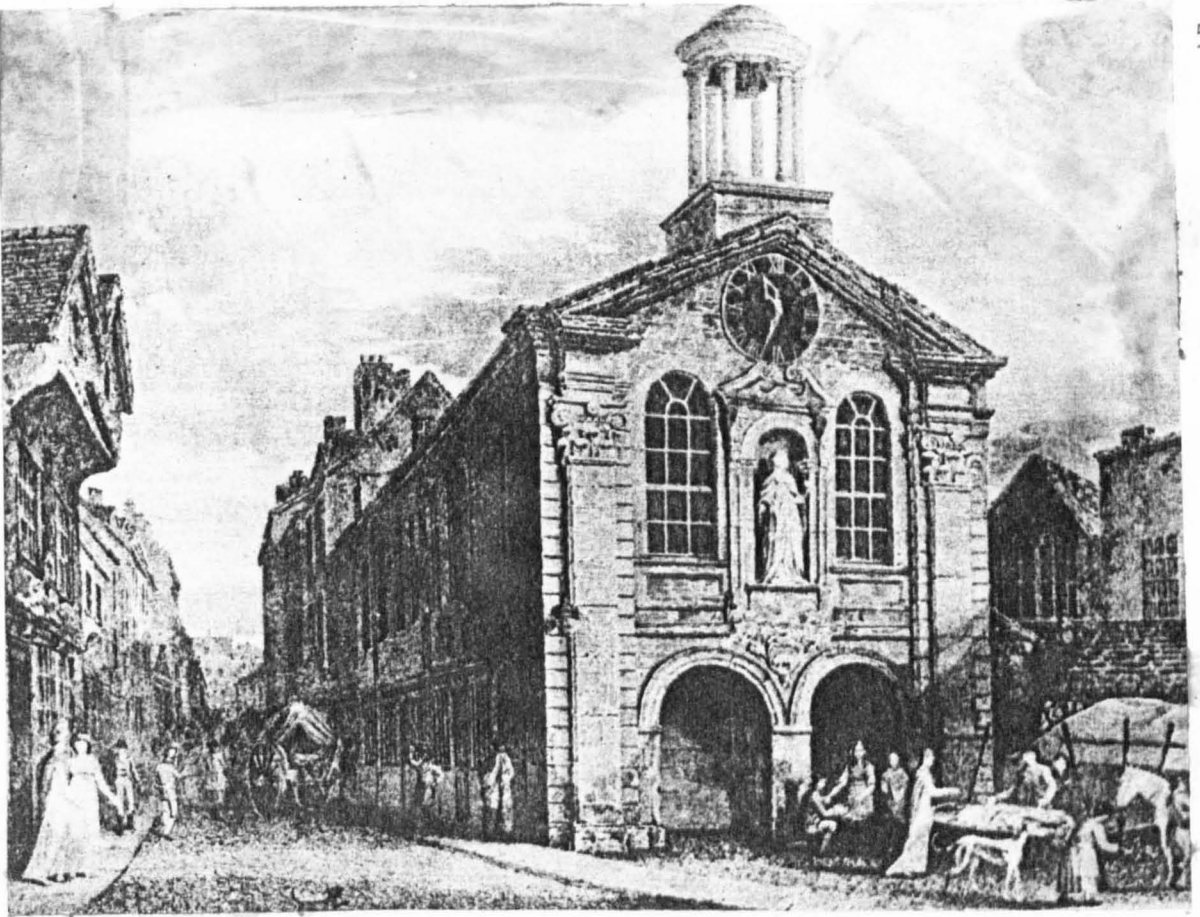
The following descriptions of the physical characteristics of the public buildings provided in the period 1600-1840 are grouped according to the uses of the buildings. Unless stated to the contrary the sources for the information given in this section are to be found in the gazetteer.

Town Halls and Court Houses

The typical design for town halls and court houses built in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was of two storeys: the lower storey serving as a shelter for market traders or consisting of shops, and the upper storey consisting of a hall or room. The Leeds moot hall and Wakefield market cross, shown in Plates 1 and 2, were late examples of this type of design. From the early eighteenth century town halls were increasingly used for social purposes, as for example were Sheffield town halls hired out to a troupe of comedians in 1724,¹ and Rotherham town hall built in 1739-42 and then partly used as a ballroom and place of entertainment.² As a result of this trend it became common to incorporate social rather than retailing amenities in the buildings. This development is instanced in Pontefract and Ripon town halls, built towards the end of the eighteenth century (see Plates 3 and 4). In contrast, however, the court houses built between 1800 and 1840 primarily for the use of the magistrates incorporated neither retailing nor social amenities (see Plates 5, 7, and 8). On the whole,

1. J. Thomas, The Local Register (Sheffield, 1830), p. 36.

2. J. Guest, Historic Notices of Rotherham (Worksop, 1879), p. 403.



1. LEEDS MOOT HALL (LS25)

Rebuilt 1710-11 at a cost of £210. The upper storey contained a court house used for judicial sessions and corporation business, the lower storey contained butchers' shops.



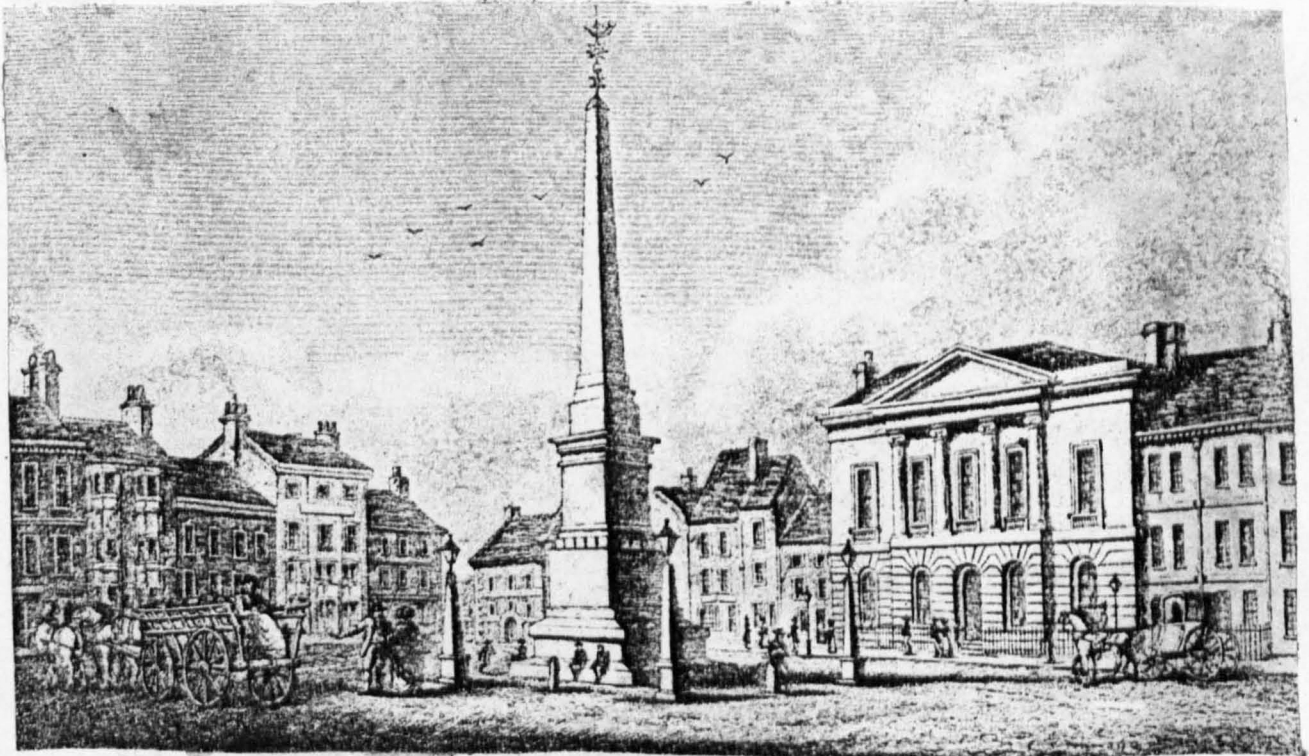
2. WAKEFIELD MARKET CROSS (WD30)

Built 1707 at a cost of over £100 as a market shelter and town hall. The dome contained a room used for public business.



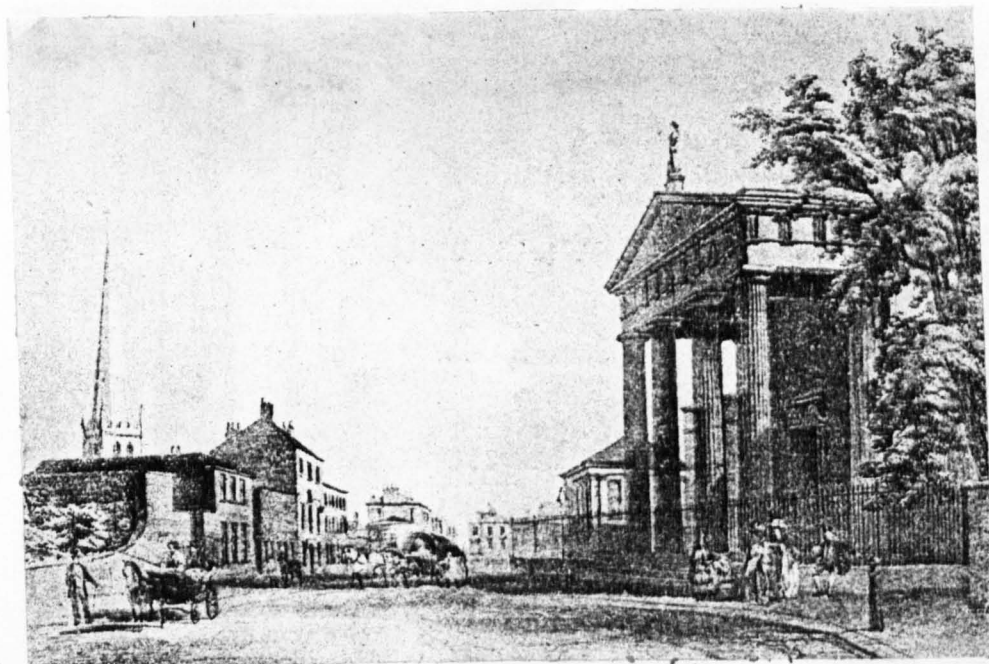
3. PONTEFRAC TOWN HALL (PT30)

Built c. 1785 comprising a magistrates' office, a prison, and a court room used for judicial sessions, corporation meetings, and assemblies.



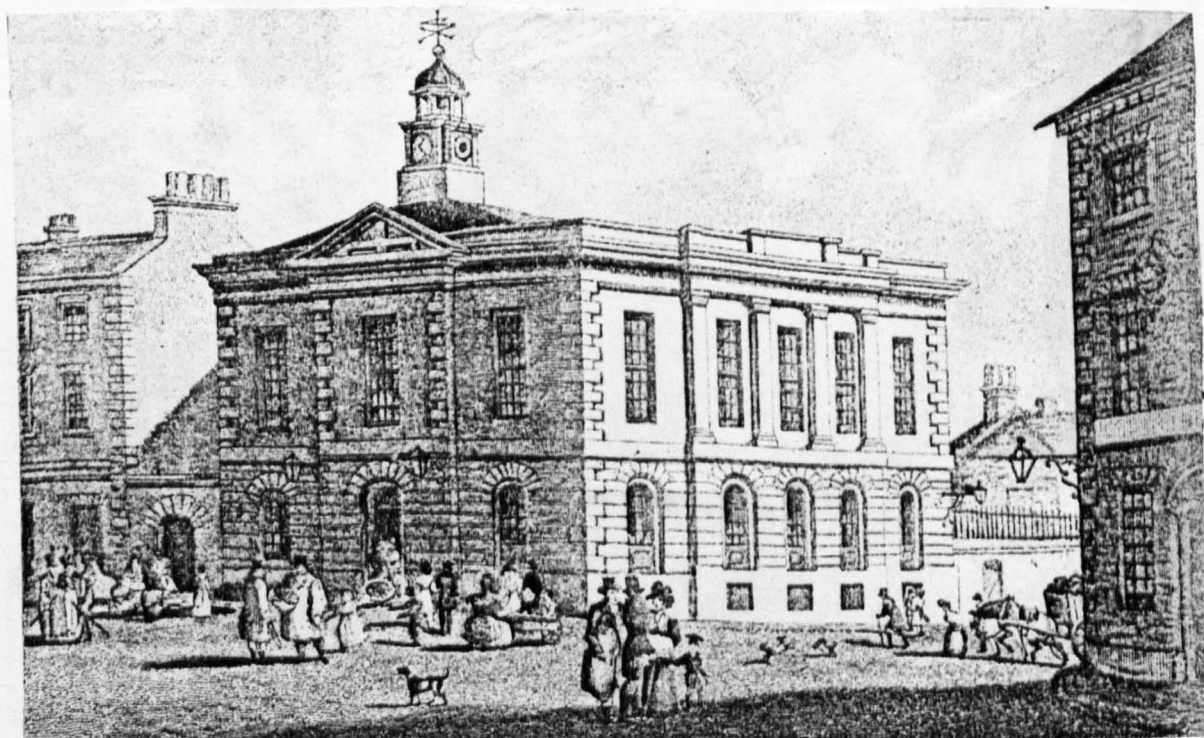
4. RIPON TOWN HALL AND MARKET PLACE (RN19)

The Town Hall (right) was built 1798-1801. It contained an assembly room, committee rooms, and rooms for W.R. quarter and petty sessions.



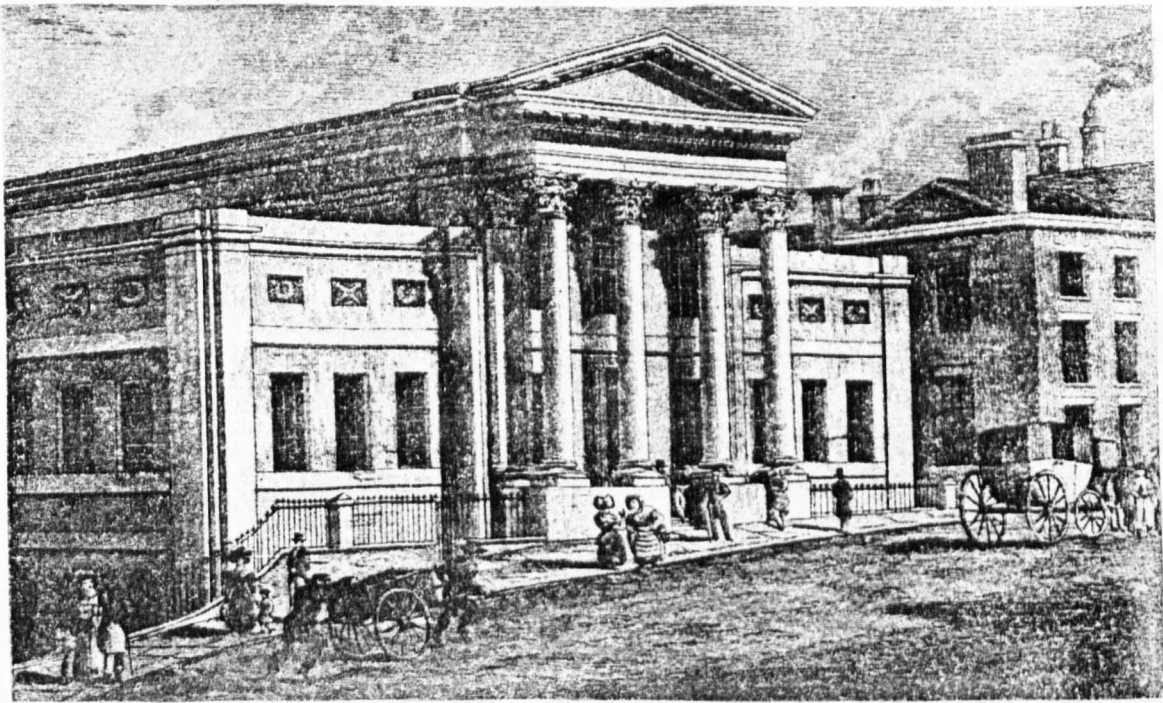
5. WAKEFIELD COURT HOUSE (WD61)

Built 1806-9 for W.R. quarter and petty sessions.



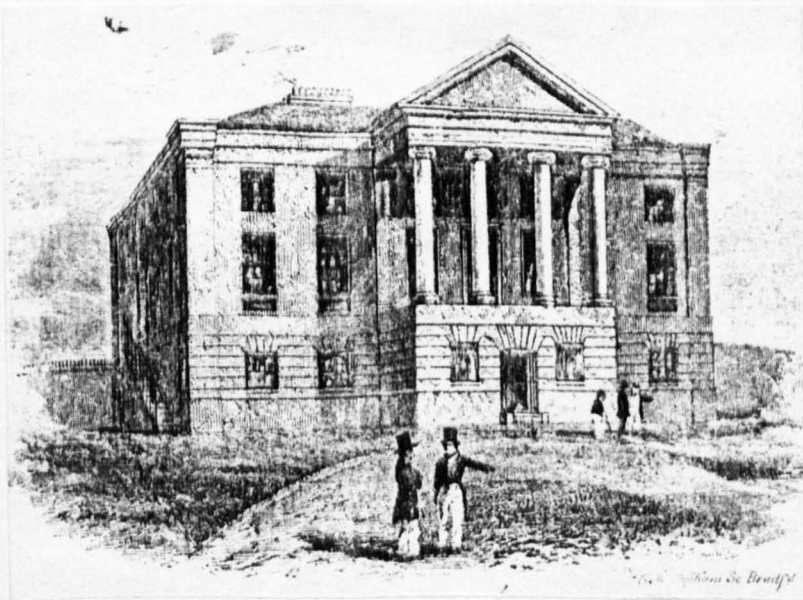
6. SHEFFIELD TOWN HALL (SD73)

Built 1808-10 at a cost of £5,600. It was the venue for W.R. quarter and petty sessions and a variety of public business, and incorporated a prison. It superseded a town hall (SD17) which had been built a century earlier.



7. LEEDS COURT HOUSE (LS86)

Built 1811-15 at a cost of £10,000. It was used for a wide variety of judicial and public business and contained a court room, magistrates' offices, a prison and a cellar for fire engines.



8. BRADFORD COURT HOUSE (BD53)

Built c.1834 at a cost of £6,231. The premises included a court room for W.R. quarter and petty sessions, and a vagrancy office.

town halls and court houses became much more imposing architecturally from the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see Plates 1-8).¹

Prisons

The local prisons built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a variety of names ranging from the "kidcote" and "lock-up" to the "prison" or "gaol". Usually they were very small, consisting of no more than three or four cells, and the segregation of prisoners, at best, was limited to separate cells for felons and debtors. Leeds prison (1726), for example, had only five or six cells, and Doncaster Town Gaol (1768-9) had only four rooms, two for felons and two for debtors.

In general the prisons built between 1800 and 1840 were larger than their predecessors, often accommodating ten to twenty prisoners, and provided for greater segregation of different categories of prisoners. The Gaol of the Borough and Soke of Doncaster (1829) was an exceptionally advanced example of this new trend. It had a gaoler's house in the centre from which cells radiated in four directions; each set of cells accommodated a different category of prisoners and was provided with an airing court. After 1800 it became much more common for local prisons to be incorporated in town halls and court houses.

As we have seen, the West Riding's major prison was the House of Correction at Wakefield. Little is known about the original prison of

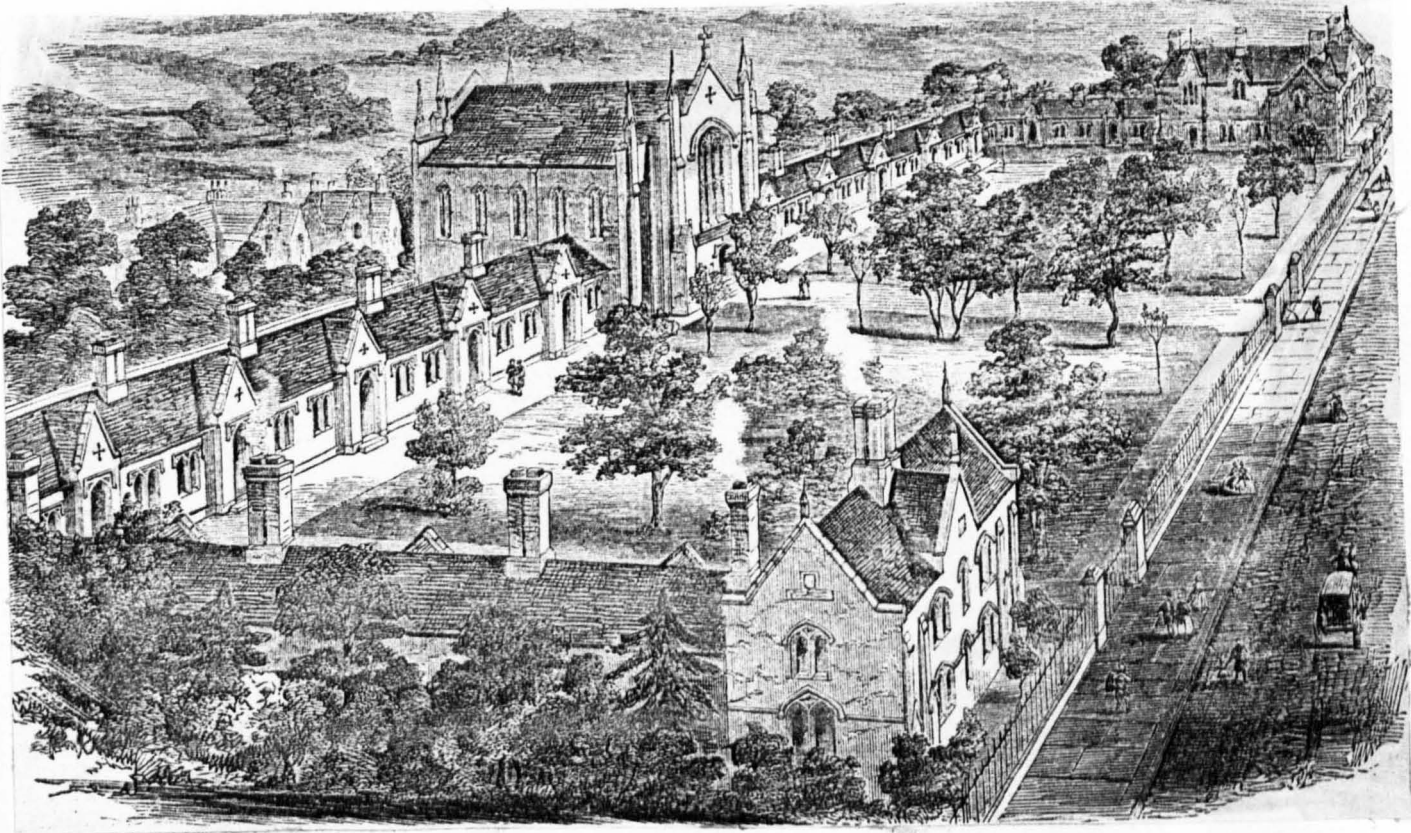
1. An interesting architectural study of town halls is C. J. K. Cunningham, "A Study of Town Halls of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and the Reflection of Civic Pride in Public Buildings" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1974).

1605 and later buildings, except that they were much larger than the local prisons. It was enlarged in 1709 and again in 1768-70, by which time it was thought to be one of the largest county gaols in England.¹ It was enlarged again in 1820 and 1837, and by the end of our period it could accommodate six hundred prisoners.²

Almshouses

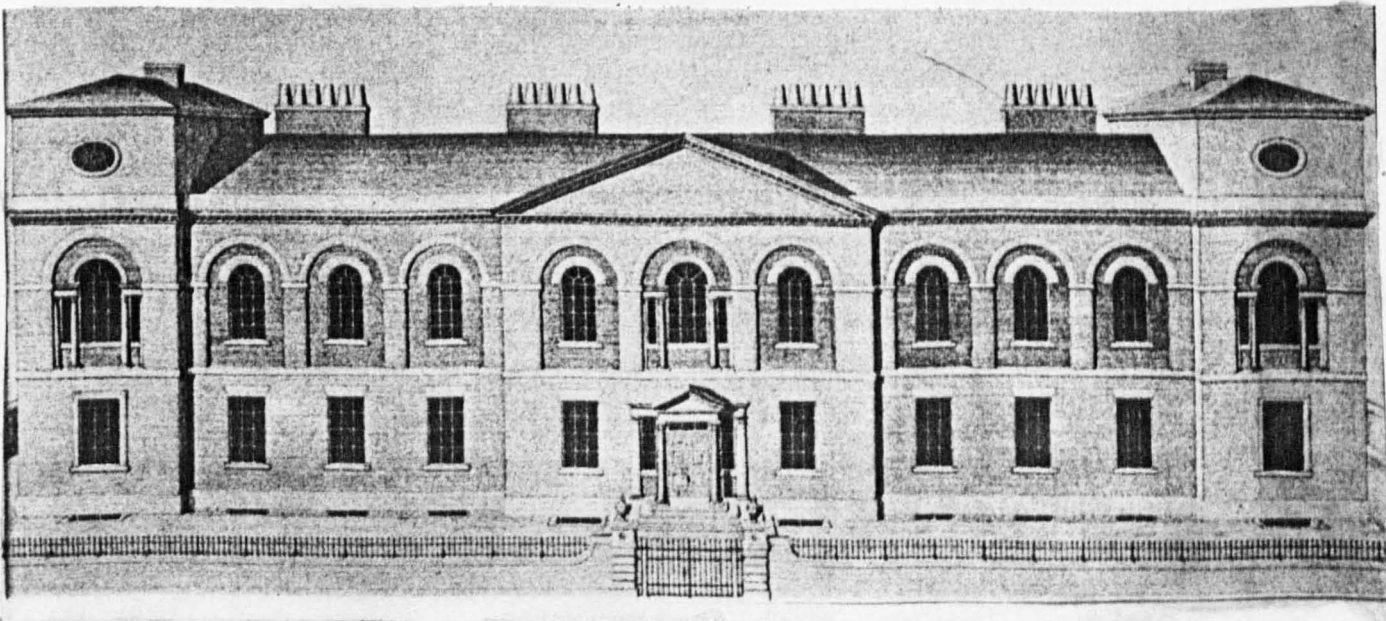
As we have seen, the almshouses built in the seventeenth century usually took the form of groups of cottages often accompanied by a chapel. Two examples of the larger almshouses are Hopkinson's and Crowther's Almshouses at Halifax (1610), which had twenty rooms and accommodated eighteen poor widows; and Harrison's Hospital at Leeds (c. 1653), which consisted of two sets of almshouses, each with twenty rooms, accommodating a total of forty indigent aged women. There is no evidence to suggest that the almshouses built between the mid-seventeenth century and 1840 were significantly larger than their predecessors, although they may have been more imposing: undoubtedly, the Shrewsbury Almshouses and Chapel at Sheffield, rebuilt in 1825-7, were the most architecturally impressive and probably the largest almshouses built in the twelve towns in our period (see Plate 9).³

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1. W. S. Banks, Walks in Yorkshire: Wakefield and its Neighbourhood (1871), p. 11.
 2. Important contemporary surveys of prisons are J. Howard, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales (1777) and J. Nield, The State of Prisons (1812).
 3. For the history and description of English almshouses see W. H. Godfrey, The English Almshouse (Faber and Faber Ltd, n.d.) and R. M. Clay, The Medieval Hospitals of England (1909).



9. THE SHREWSBURY ALMHOUSES AND CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD (SD94)

Built 1825-7 at a cost of £10,183. The almshouses, which consisted of 36 dwellings, replaced a group of almshouses which had been built 1665-6 (SD13) and substantially repaired 1774-7 (SD53).



10. LEEDS GENERAL INFIRMARY (LS45)

Built 1768-71 for the sum of £4,599. It replaced temporary premises acquired in 1767 (LS43). When opened it had 27 beds for the gratuitous treatment of in-patients.

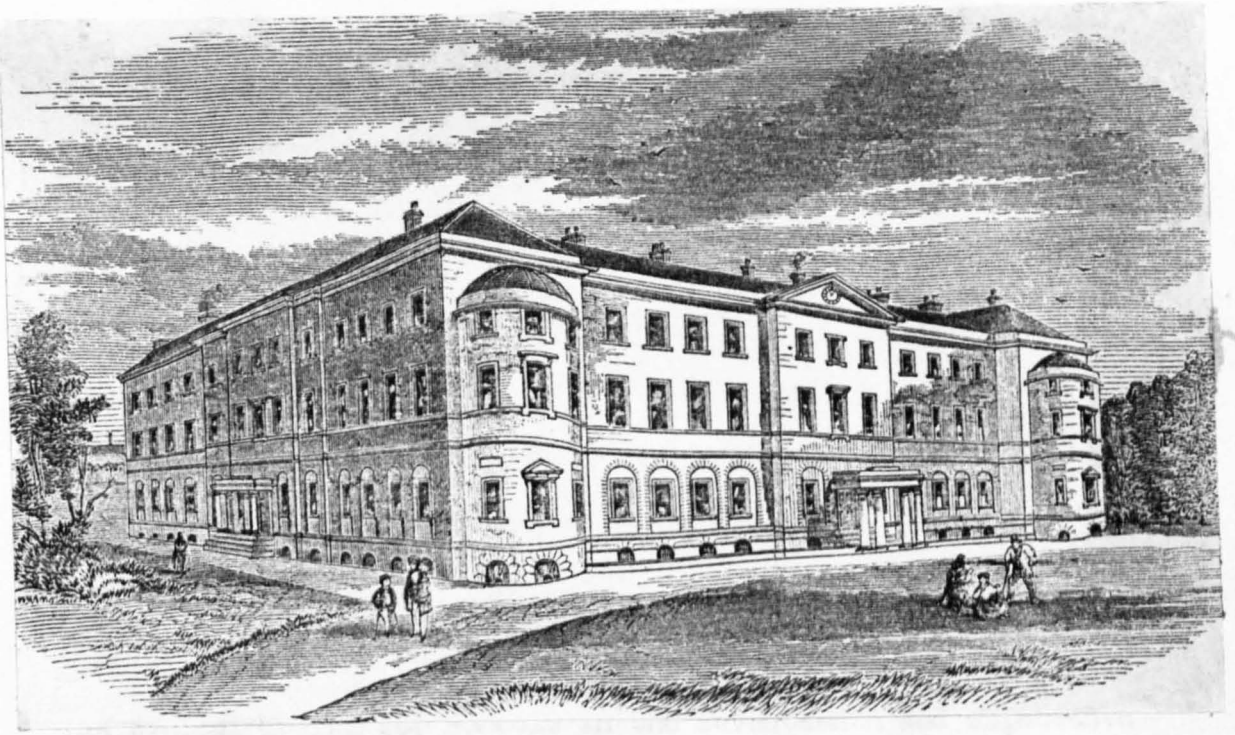
Workhouses

Little information has been found about the physical appearance of workhouses or their design. By the late eighteenth century, most workhouses probably were a conglomeration of buildings surrounding or built on to the original premises. It appears that the workhouses provided in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries accommodated about 50-100 paupers, but by 1840, those in the larger towns accommodated many more: the Union Workhouses built at the very end of our period were particularly large and accommodated 200-420 inmates. Some impression of the scale and character of the later workhouses is given by the fact that the new workhouse opened at Sheffield in 1829 was a converted factory.¹

Medical Institutions and Public Baths

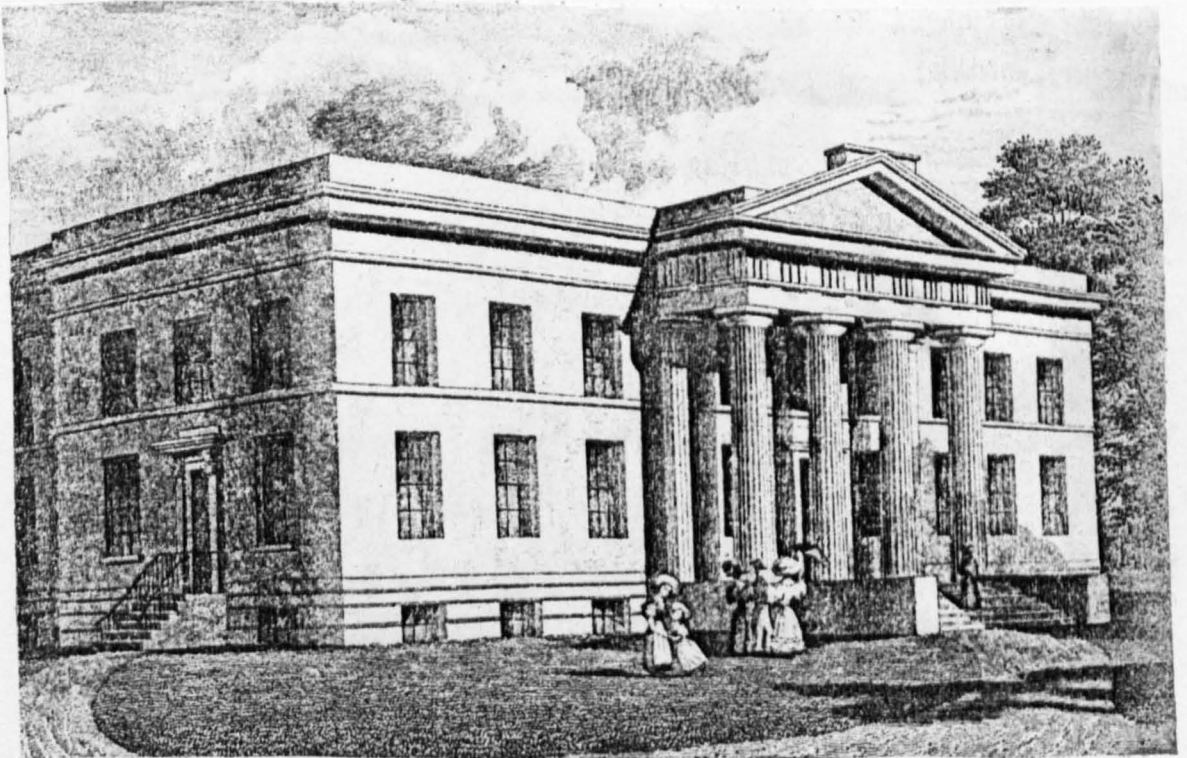
The size and style of the medical institutions varied considerably. The first two infirmaries built in our period are shown in Plates 10 and 11. These were the largest infirmaries built in the twelve towns and were erected in the largest towns, but in later years even smaller towns like Huddersfield sometimes were provided with imposing medical institutions (see Plate 12). Since dispensaries treated only out-patients they required much smaller premises than infirmaries and therefore could be established in converted buildings. Those that were purpose-built were usually incorporated in multipurpose buildings, some being combined with infirmaries as in the case of the Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary, and others being incorporated in non-medical amenities such as Wakefield Public Rooms shown in Plate 35. Without doubt, the largest and most impressive medical institution built in the twelve towns was

1. For a history of poor relief in our period see M. E. Rose, The English Poor Law, 1780-1930 (Newton Abbot, 1971) which provides an extensive bibliography of all useful works on the subject.



11. SHEFFIELD GENERAL INFIRMARY (SD64)

Built 1793-7 at a cost of £17,697. Treatment was given to both in-patients and out-patients.



12. HUDDERSFIELD AND UPPER AGRIBRIGG INFIRMARY (HD34)

Built 1829-31 at a cost of £7,518. It treated both in-patients and out-patients, and took over the functions of the dispensary established in the town in 1814 (HD13). It had facilities for 40 in-patients.

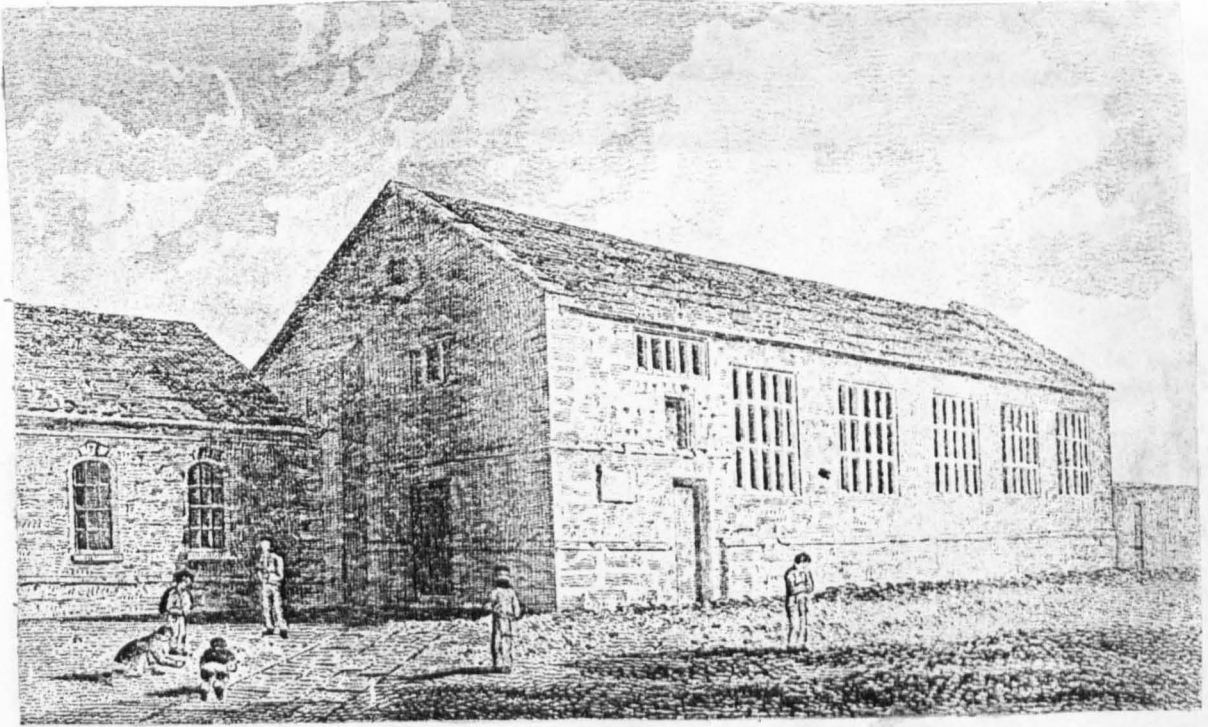
the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum at Wakefield with its spacious grounds and accommodation for 250 patients.

The public baths provided in the first forty years of the nineteenth century seem to have been commodious and fairly lavish premises if Leeds baths (1819-20) were typical: the building incorporated separate suites of apartments for men and women, and had cold and shower baths, Matlock and Buxton baths, hot baths, and vapour baths.

Educational Institutions

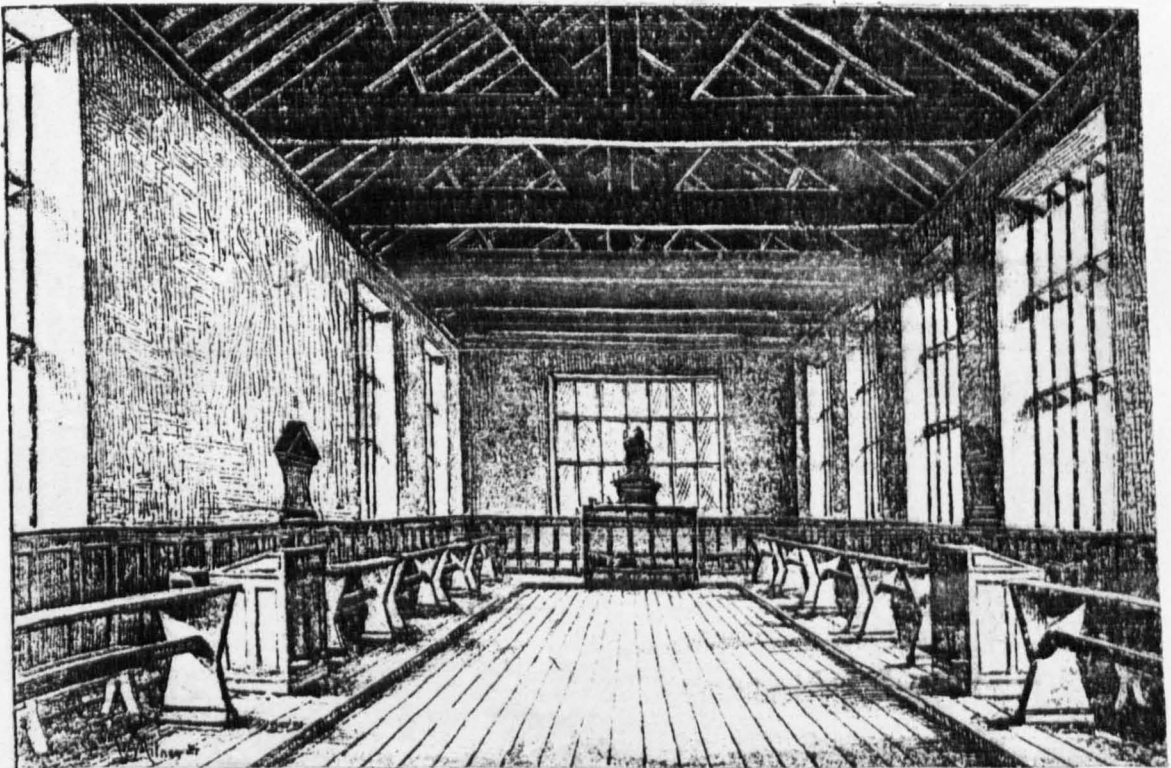
The typical design for schools in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was simply a large room with desks: Wakefield grammar school, built at the end of the sixteenth century, and Leeds grammar school, built about 1624, were good examples (see Plates 13-15). The seventeenth and eighteenth century grammar schools and charity schools must have had fairly small buildings since it was rare for them to have more than 20-30 pupils: the Blue Coat schools built at Halifax in 1642 and Ripon in 1672 each educated only 20 orphans, and the charity school established at Leeds in 1705, which was the largest contemporary school of its type, educated only 40 pupils.

In the last forty years of our period, grammar schools and charity schools still taught fairly small numbers, but, as Plate 16 shows, some schools such as Bradford grammar school acquired buildings of architectural note. In contrast, the National, Lancasterian, and Infant schools provided in these years had much larger buildings; the extra room being necessitated by much higher pupil intakes. The National schools built at Sheffield and Leeds (1812-13), for example, each accommodated 500 pupils, while even the schools built at smaller

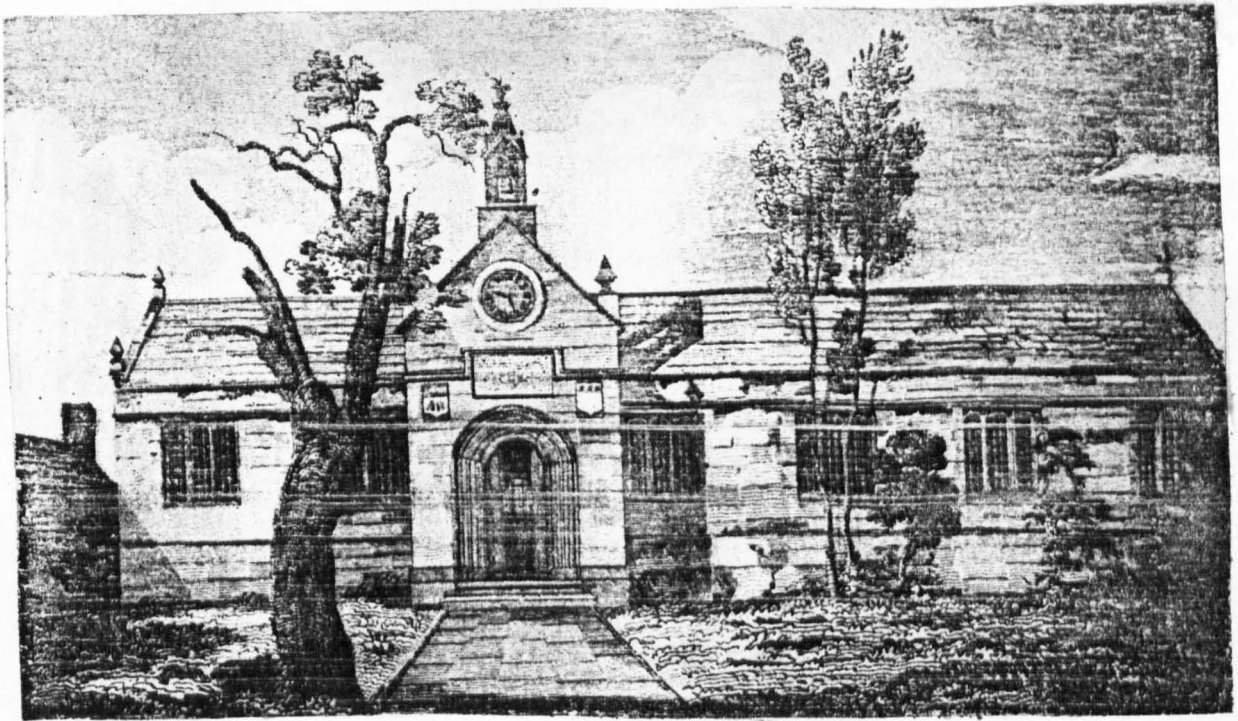


13. WAKEFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL (WD18)

Built 1596 as a free grammar school. Its facilities were improved by the addition of a library building in 1717 (WD33).

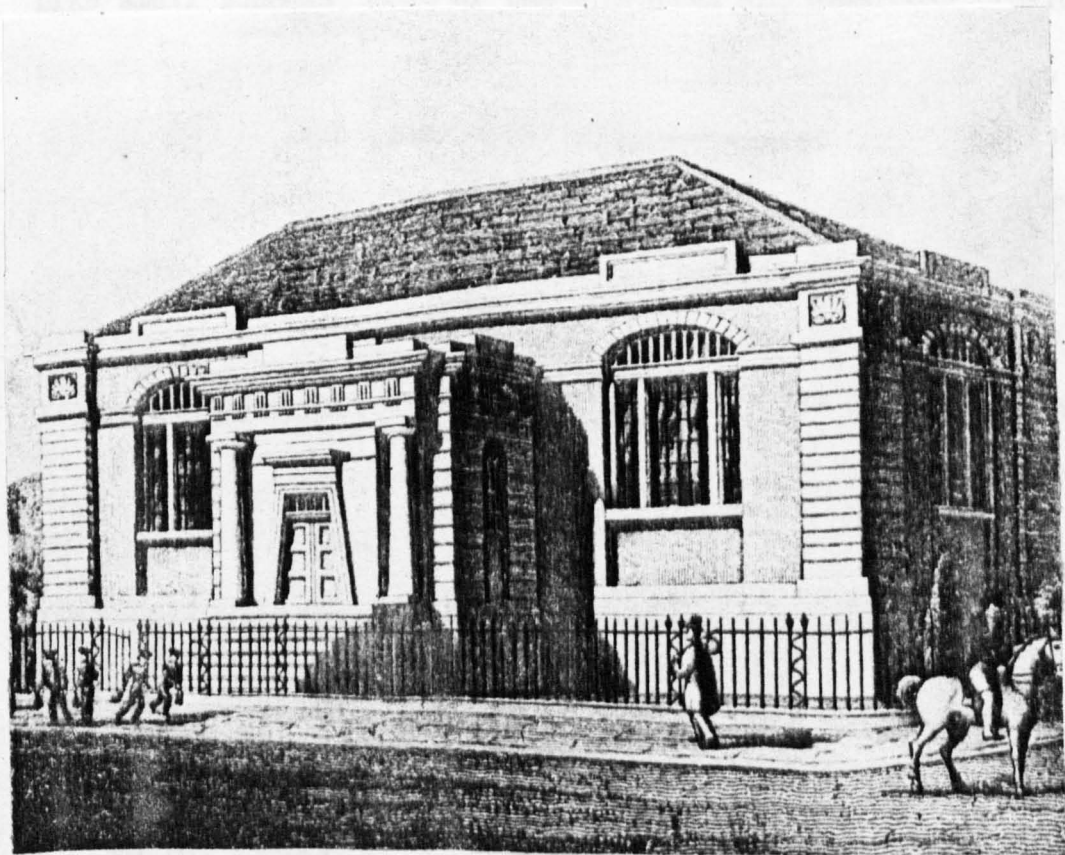


14. WAKEFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL -- INTERIOR (WD18)



15. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL (LS11)

Built c.1624 to house the grammar school founded in 1552.



16. BRADFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL (BD29)

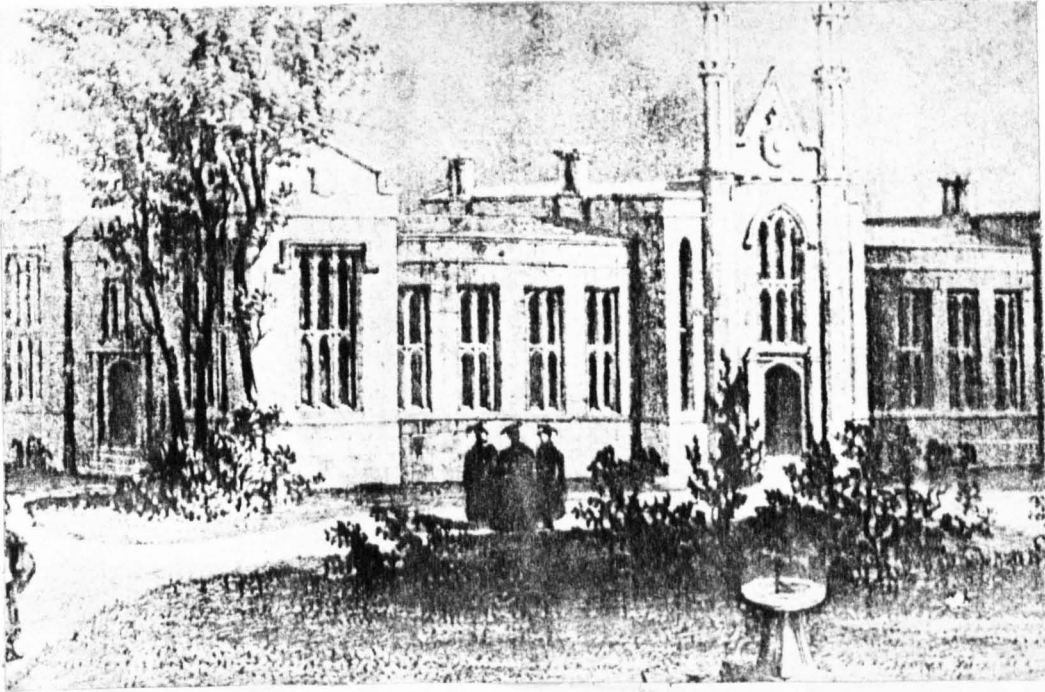
Built c.1820 with teaching space for 50 pupils.

towns such as Barnsley (1815) accommodated 300 children. The Lancasterian schools were similar in size, and although Infant schools tended to be smaller, even these housed about 150 children. The schools' premises tended to be very plain and utilitarian, and in 1818 it was suggested that a barn would make a suitable model for their design.¹

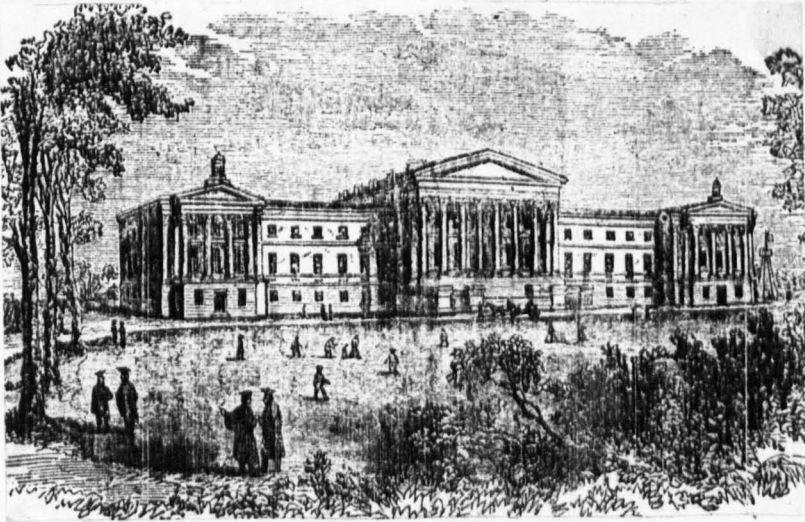
In further contrast to all these types of schools, the collegiate and proprietary schools provided in these years were both large and architecturally impressive. Their large size was partly necessitated by the accommodation of boarders. Two of the four institutions, the West Riding Proprietary School at Sheffield and the Wesleyan Proprietary College at Sheffield, are shown in Plates 17 and 18.

Like small schools, most of the libraries and newsrooms provided in our period did not require elaborate premises: as we have noted, many were established in converted buildings. When purpose-built libraries and newsrooms were first erected, between 1800 and 1840, they were provided in conjunction with other amenities. The first purpose-built premises were those for Leeds Subscription Library, shown in Plate 19: this was almost certainly the most elaborate library and newsroom built in the twelve towns. Other examples of purpose-built facilities were those incorporated in Leeds Philosophical Hall, Bradford Mechanics' Institute, Wakefield Public Rooms, Sheffield Music Hall, and the New Rooms at

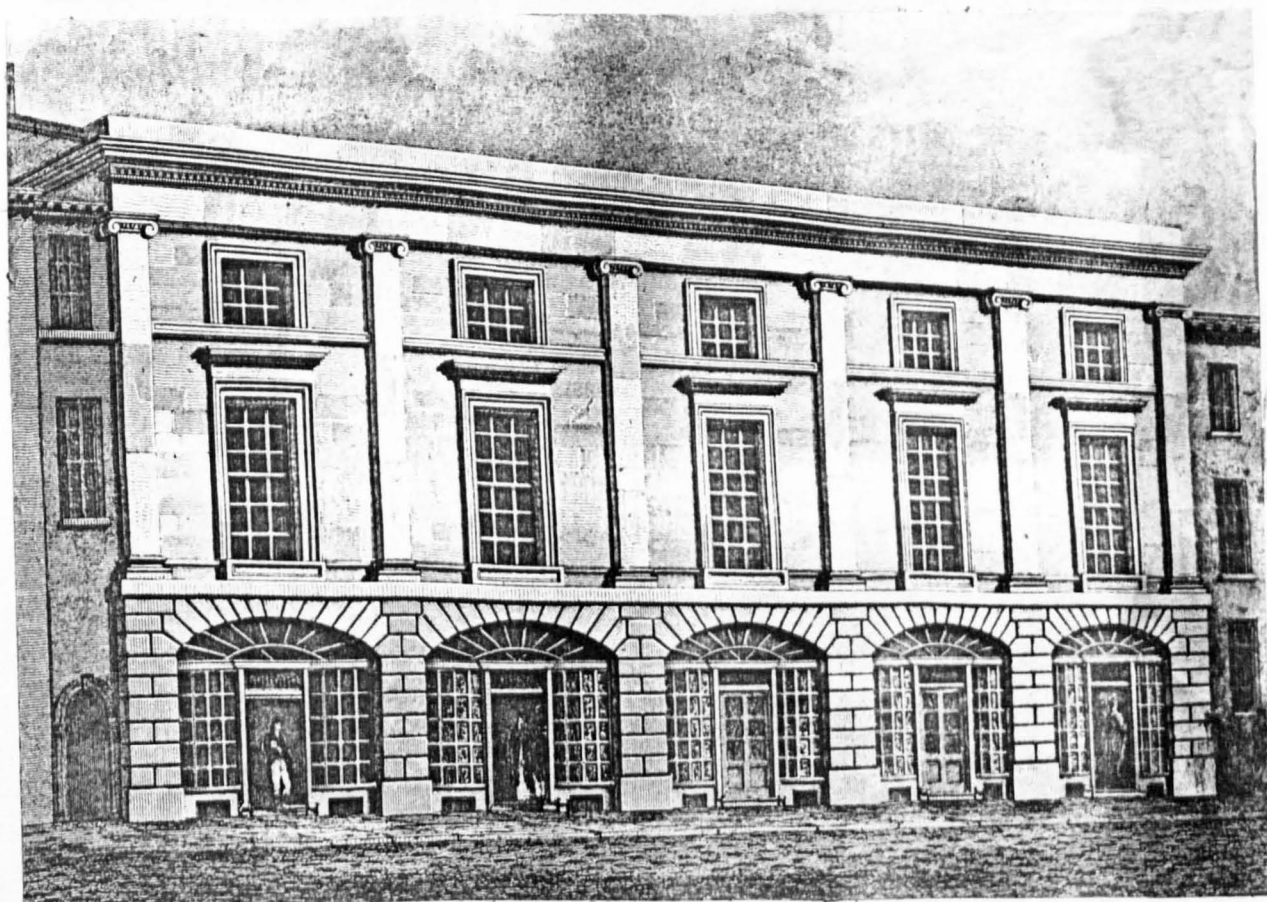
1. J. McNicholas, "The Development of Open-Plan Schools", (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Hull, 1973) p. 15 citing the evidence of Rev. Walmsley to the Brougham Committee 1818.



17. THE WEST RIDING PROPRIETARY SCHOOL, WAKEFIELD (WD87)
 Built 1833-4 at an estimated cost of £7,800. The school provided a commercial education for middle-class boys.



18. THE WESLEYAN PROPRIETARY COLLEGE, SHEFFIELD (SD134)
 Built c.1836-40 at a cost of £19,752. The college housed 200 boys who were instructed in classics, commerce, and science.



19. LEEDS SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY (LS81)

Built 1807-8 for the sum of £5,000 to house the subscription library established in 1768 (LS44). The library, which had previously used makeshift premises, occupied the upper storey of the new building, while the lower storey contained a newsroom and shops.

Halifax (see Plates 20, 21, 35, 36, and 37).

The small number of philosophical halls and mechanics' institutes built in the last thirty years of our period had quite imposing premises. Two examples are Leeds Philosophical Hall and Bradford Mechanics' Institute shown in Plates 20 and 21.¹

Markets and Commercial Amenities

In general the market buildings provided in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were small. As we saw in the previous chapter, butchers' shambles were usually rows of covered stalls or shops, and often market crosses were merely stone crosses. An elaborate example of a "market cross" is the obelisk erected in Ripon market place in 1702 shown in Plate 4. Where market crosses took the form of covered shelters, most were similar to the one at Pontefract shown in Plate 22. However, as noted earlier, market crosses and shambles were sometimes combined with town halls, and the product could be quite pleasing in architectural terms (see Plates 1 and 2).

In contrast, the cloth halls provided in the eighteenth century were massive buildings. The first White Cloth Hall built at Leeds in 1710-11 was described as "a stately hall, built on pillars and arches in the form of an exchange, with a quadrangular court within".² The typical

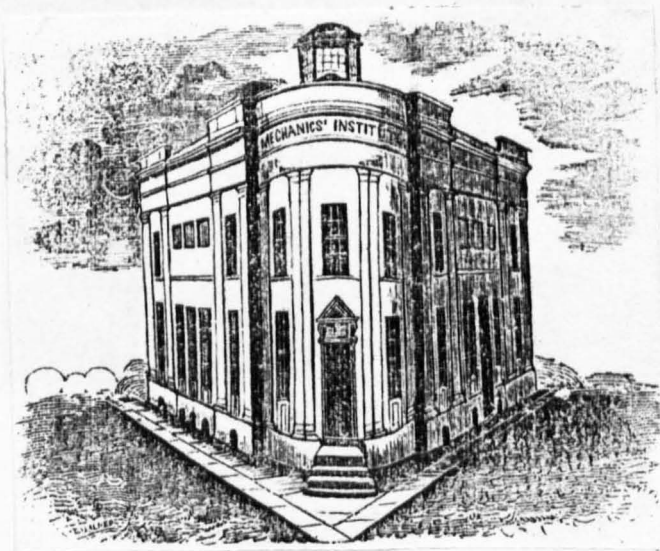
1. For histories of education and school architecture see S. J. Curtis, A History of Education in Great Britain (7th edn. 1967) and M. Seaborne, The English School: Its Architecture and Organization 1370-1870 (1971).

2. R. Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis (1715), pp. 249-50.



20. LEEDS PHILOSOPHICAL HALL (LS104)

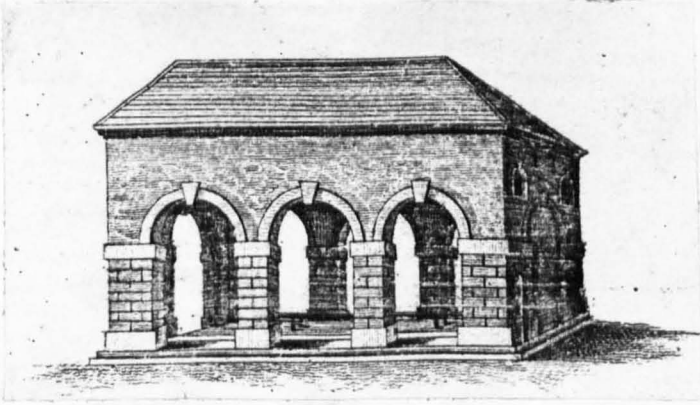
Built 1819-22 for the use of the newly established Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. The premises, which cost £6,150, included a lecture room, a museum, a library, and a laboratory.



21. BRADFORD MECHANICS' INSTITUTE (BD63)

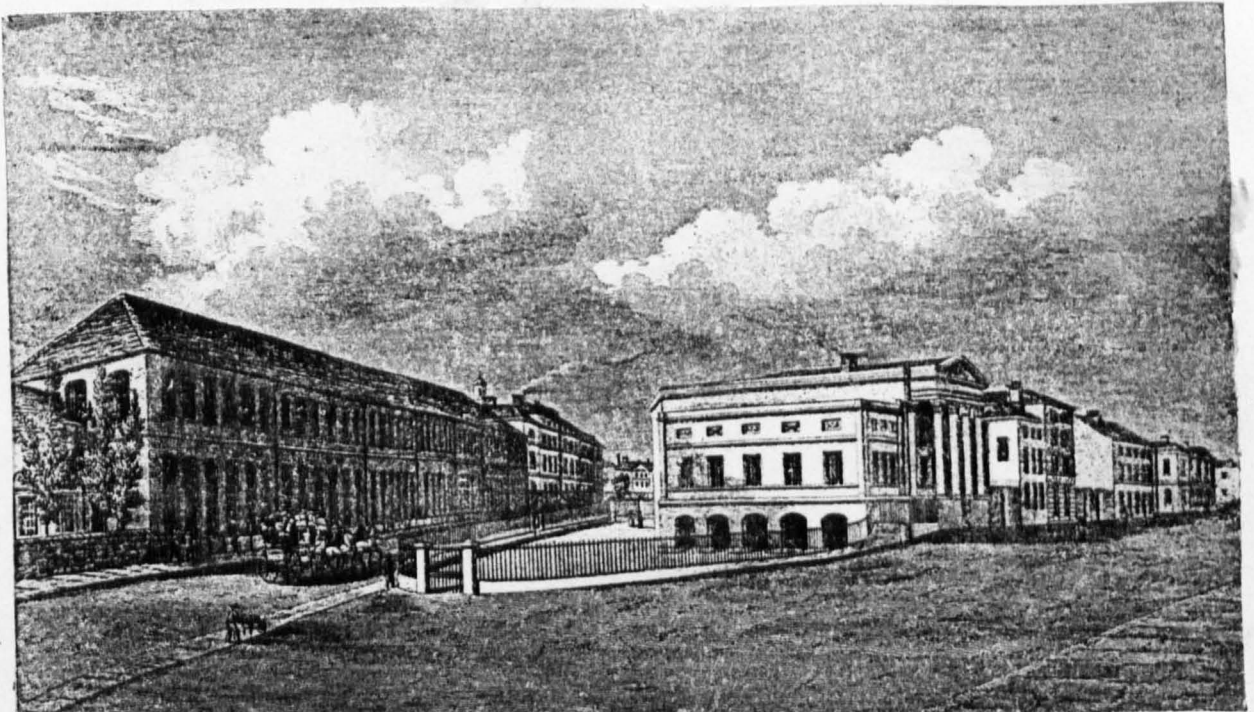
Commenced in 1839 and completed at a cost of £2,665.

The premises incorporated a lecture theatre and a library for the use of the Institute's members.



22. PONTEFRACT MARKET CROSS (PT24)

Originally built in 1734 (PT21) but rebuilt in the form shown in 1763.



23. THE MIXED CLOTH HALL (left) AND THE COURT HOUSE, LEEDS (LS42 & 86)

The Mixed Cloth Hall was built c.1755-8 as a market for coloured or finished cloth. It housed 1770 stalls and was erected at a cost of £5,300.

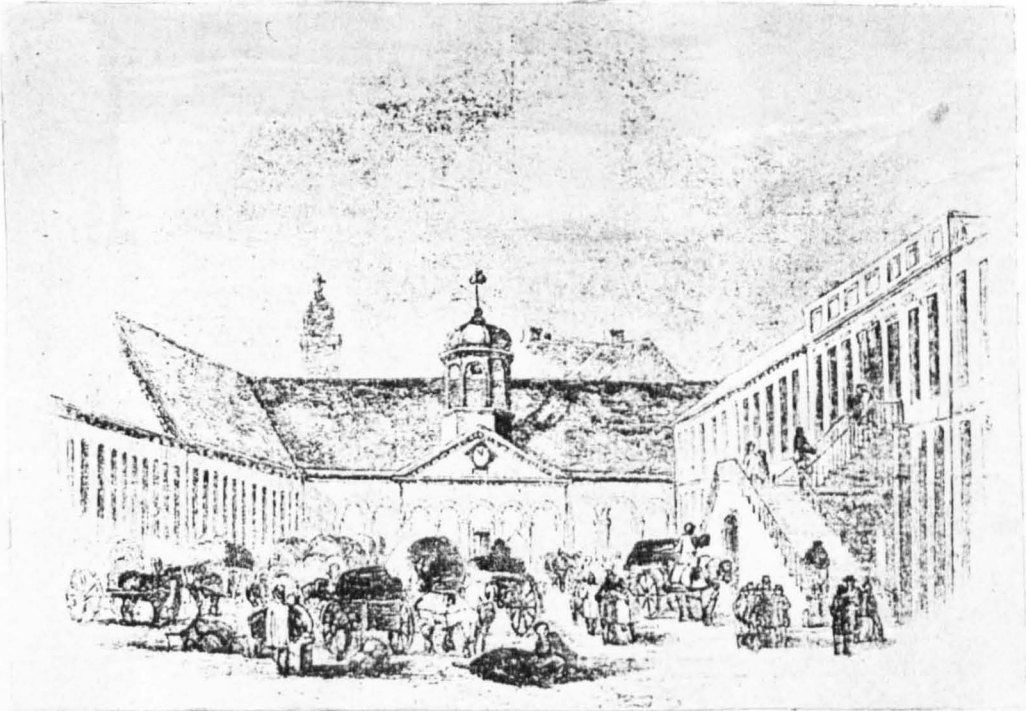
design for the halls was rectangular with two or more storeys, built around a large court yard. The interiors of the buildings contained rows of stalls, arranged in alleys, at which clothiers could exhibit their cloth, while merchants passed up and down bargaining for its purchase. Examples of the halls are shown in Plates 23-27. As the plates demonstrate, the cloth halls built from the 1750's and especially the 1770's were larger than their predecessors and were not without architectural merit.

After 1750 almost all the marketing and commercial amenities erected were much larger and offered more facilities than those provided earlier in our period. Moreover, increased attention was given to architectural detail. As the illustration of Sheffield Market Place shows, when market places began to be redeveloped in the 1780's, quite substantial buildings might be erected (see Plate 28). The markets, commercial buildings, and corn exchanges provided between 1800 and 1840 were especially imposing and commodious: those at Leeds shown in Plates 29-31 were particularly outstanding.¹

Social Amenities

Little is known about the twelve towns' first assembly rooms except that the rooms built at Wakefield in 1727 took the form of a two storey building with a dining room on its ground floor and an assembly room and a card room on its upper floor. Of the five assembly rooms purpose-built in the remaining part of the eighteenth century Doncaster

1. For a history of marketing and retailing in the later part of our period see D. Alexander, Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution (1970) and D. Davis, A History of Shopping (1967).



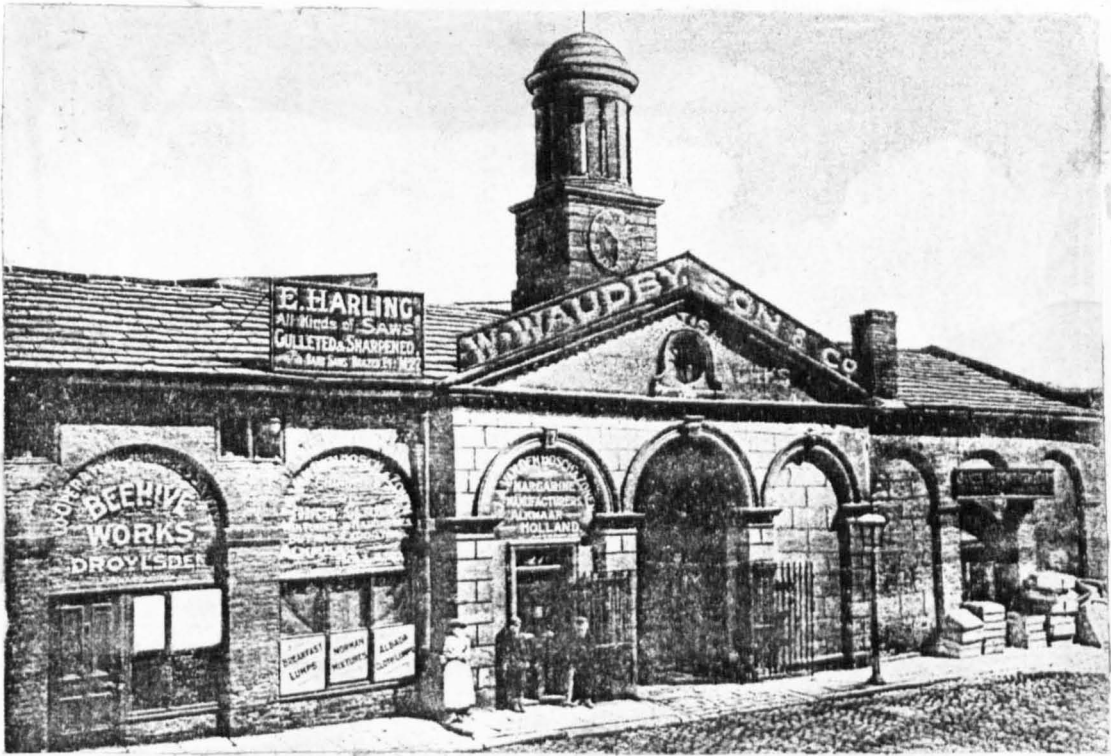
24. THE MIXED CLOTH HALL YARD, LEEDS (LS42)

The yard of the hall was frequently used for large public meetings, particularly at election times. It could contain 20,000 people.



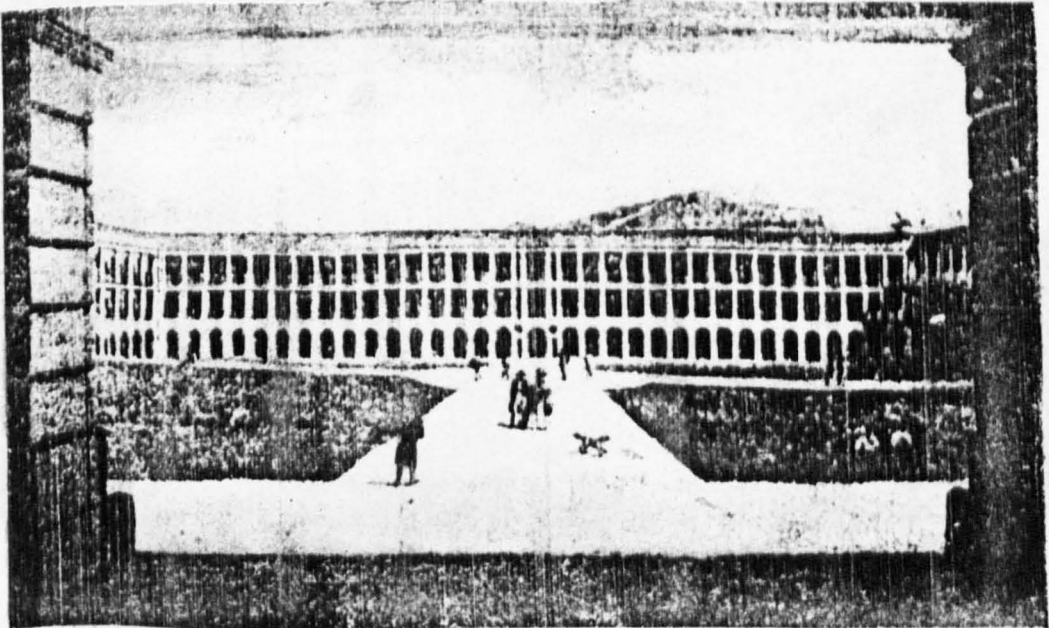
25. THE MIXED CLOTH HALL - INTERIOR, LEEDS (LS42)

The hall's interior contained rows of stalls from which clothiers sold cloth to merchants.



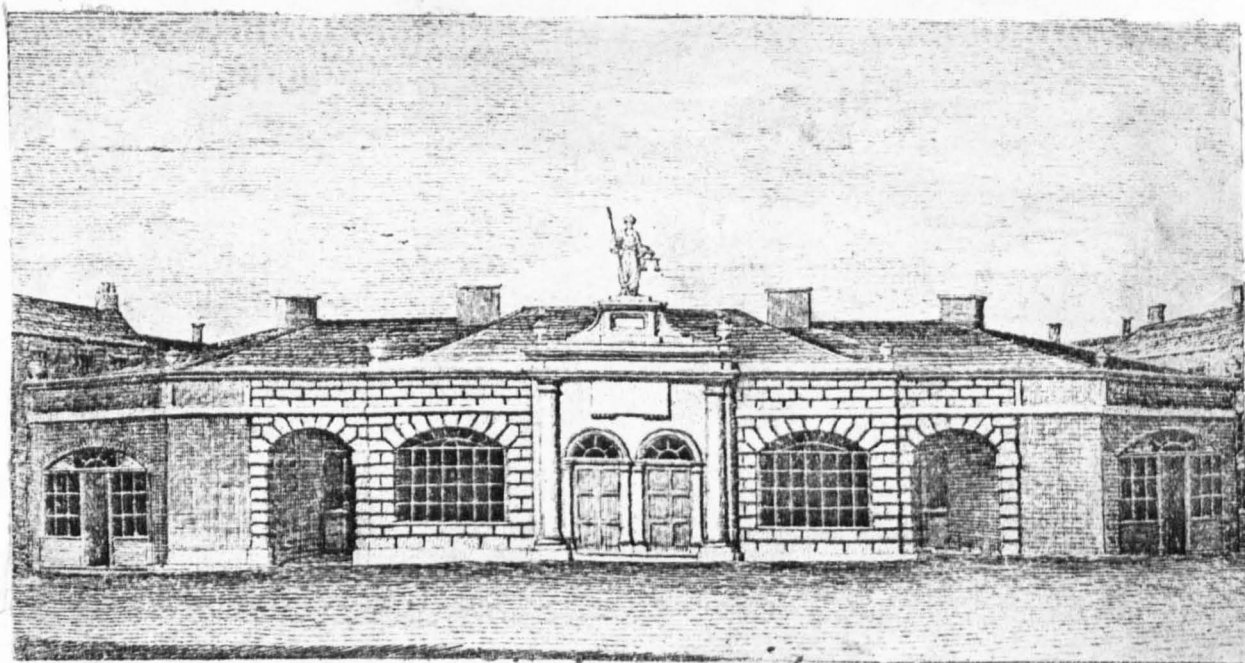
26. THE WHITE CLOTH HALL, LEEDS (LS50)

Built 1775-6 as a market for unfinished or "white" cloth. It replaced a smaller hall built 1755-6 (LS41), which in turn had superseded a hall built 1710-11 (LS26). The building housed 1210 stalls and cost £4,000.



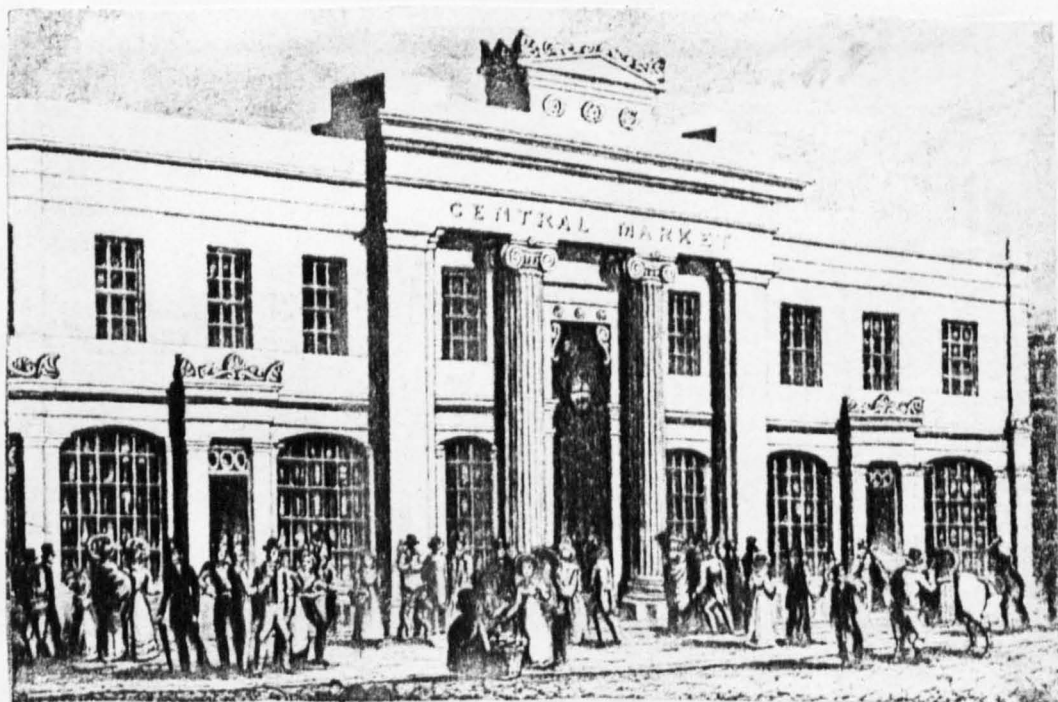
27. HALIFAX PIECE HALL YARD (HX26)

The hall was built 1775-8, at a cost of over £12,000, as a market for woollen cloth. It was unusual because the clothiers made their sales from individual rooms rather than from stalls in a large hall. There were 315 rooms arranged along the hall's balconies.



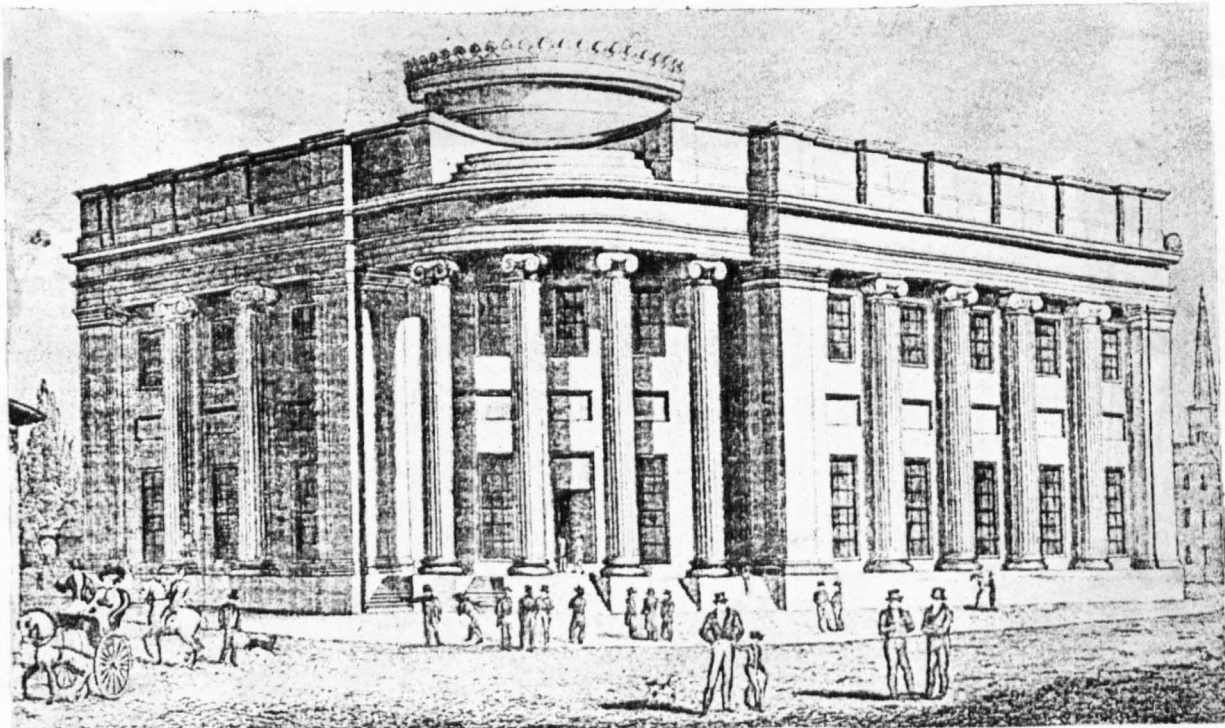
28. SHEFFIELD MARKET PLACE - WEST FRONT (SD53)

Completed 1786 as part of a market improvement scheme. The whole project cost over £11,000. The market building incorporated a butchers' shambles, a market for dairy produce, and fruit and vegetable shops.



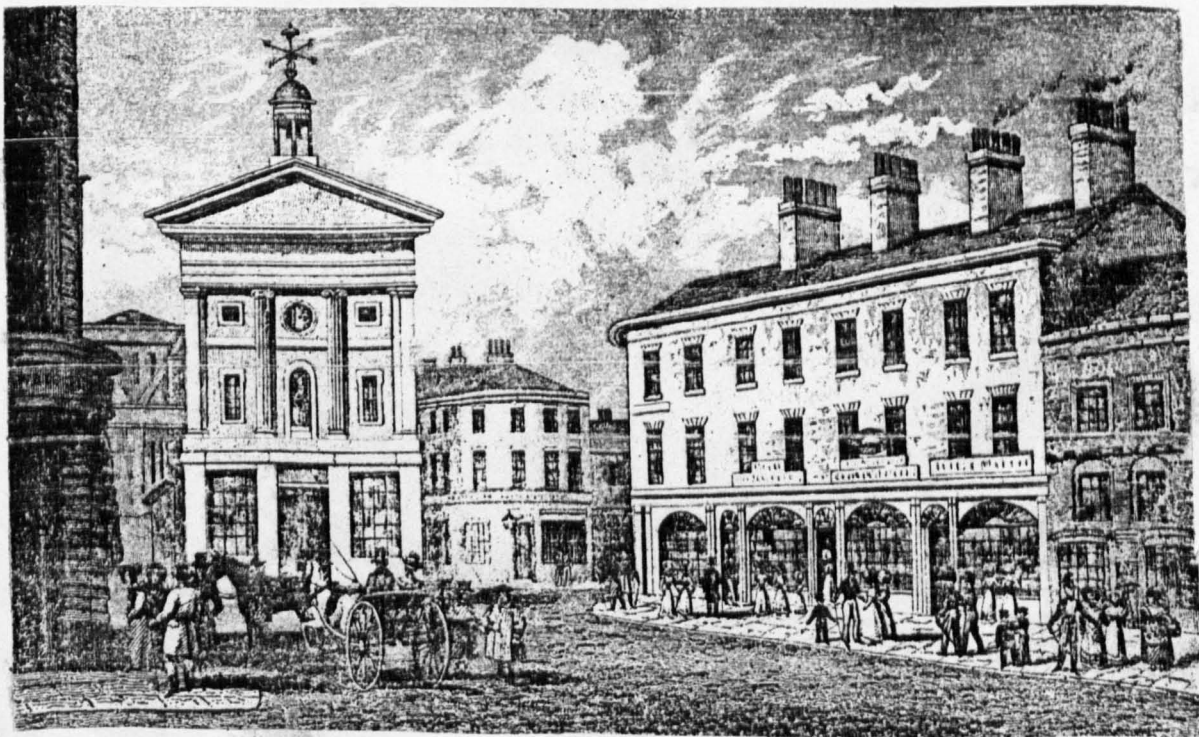
29. LEEDS CENTRAL MARKET (LS119)

Built 1824-7 as a general retail market at a cost of £24,800. The premises incorporated 67 shops, 56 stalls, offices, and a hotel.



30. LEEDS COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS (LS131)

Built 1826-9 at a cost of £28,000. It was intended as a business and social centre for the merchant community, and incorporated an exchange room, a newsroom, dining rooms, a concert room, offices, and a hotel.



31. LEEDS CORN EXCHANGE (LS132)

Built 1826-8 at a cost of £12,500. It provided facilities for the sale of corn by sample and included warehouses and offices for corn merchants. In addition it incorporated a hotel and tavern, and 4 shops.

Mansion House, shown in Plate 32, was quite exceptionally lavish. Leeds assembly rooms, shown in Plate 33, was more typical in that it was much plainer. With the exception of Sheffield and Doncaster theatres, the theatres built in the second half of the eighteenth century were fairly unimposing. Leeds theatre, for example, built in 1771 was described as "a plain, small brick building" and was later likened to a barn.¹ Similarly, the race track grandstands built in this period also were quite plain - in fact most were utilitarian wooden structures. The notable exception was the Doncaster grandstand, shown in Plate 34, which was built in 1777-8.

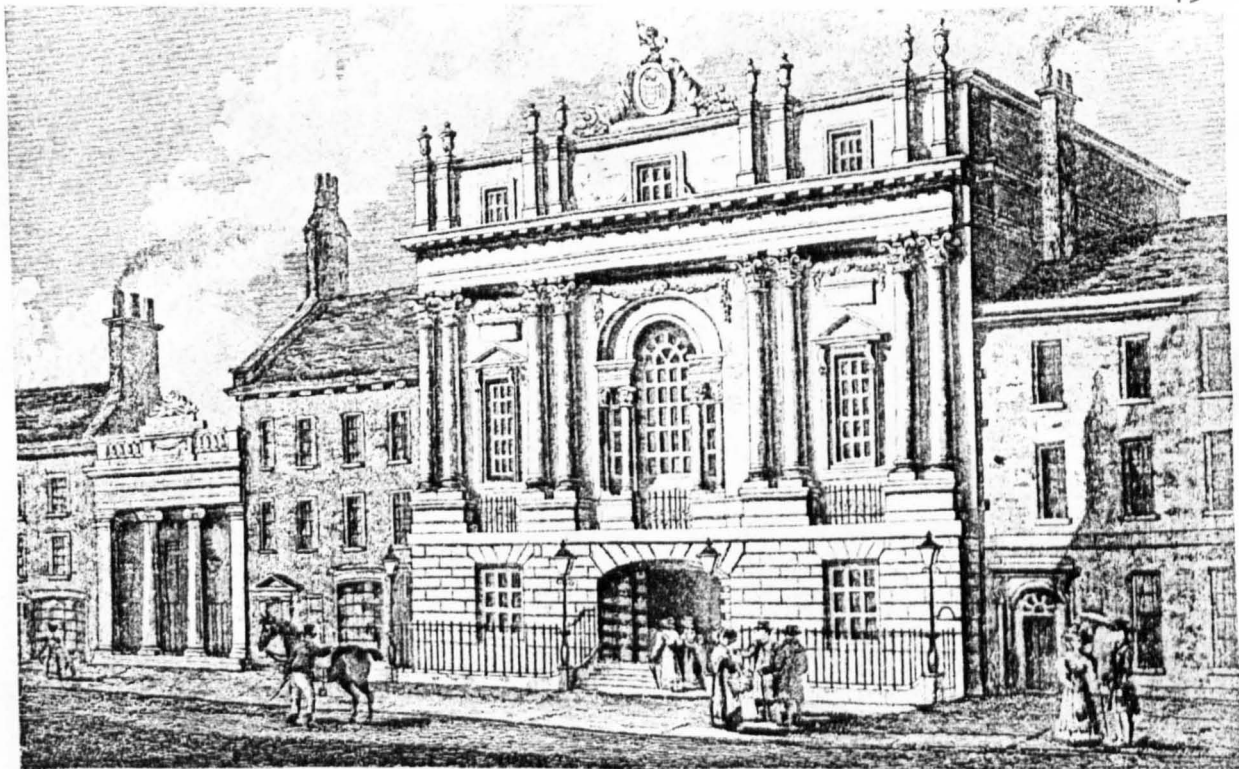
Most of the social amenities provided after 1800 formed part of quite imposing multipurpose buildings: three examples are Wakefield Public Rooms, Sheffield Music Hall, and the New Rooms at Halifax shown in Plates 35-7.

The botanical and zoological gardens provided in the 1830's were primarily open areas but they did have some buildings. Probably, like the gardens at Sheffield, they were surrounded by substantial boundary walls with gate houses, and included green houses and a miscellany of shelters and enclosures. Sheffield's gardens, shown in Plate 38, had an 18 acre site.

Places of Worship

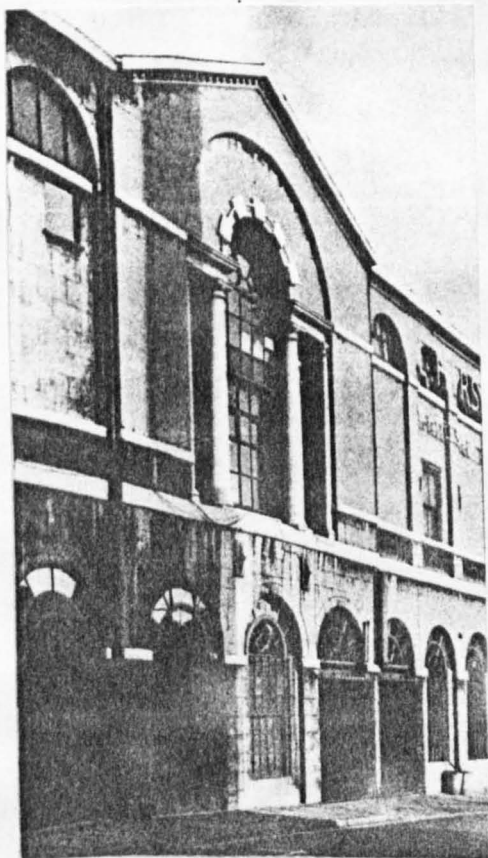
Many of the churches and chapels provided in the period 1600-1840 have survived to the present day, and therefore they need little description.

1. Leeds 1817 D. p. 38; W. White, 1837 D. I., p. 527.



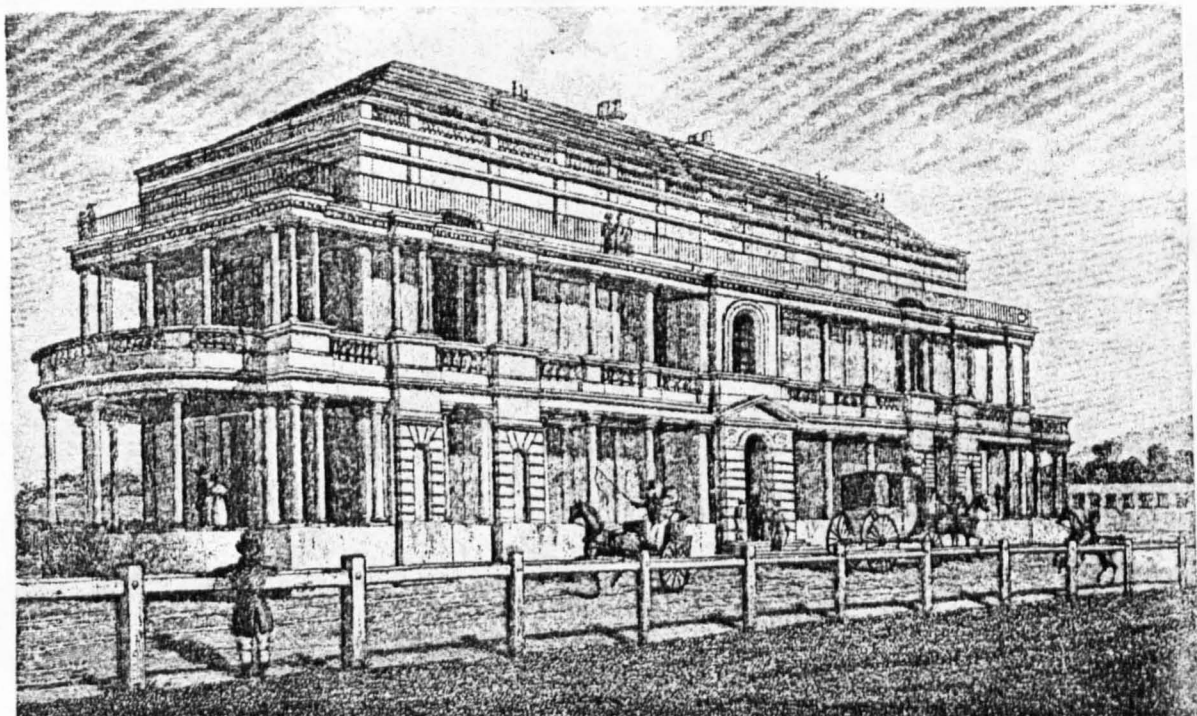
32. THE MANSION HOUSE AND BETTING ROOM, DONCASTER (DR17 & 47)

The Mansion House (right), built 1745-8 at a cost of £8,000, was Doncaster Corporation's assembly rooms and the mayor's residence. The Betting Room was opened in 1827 for off-course betting in race weeks.



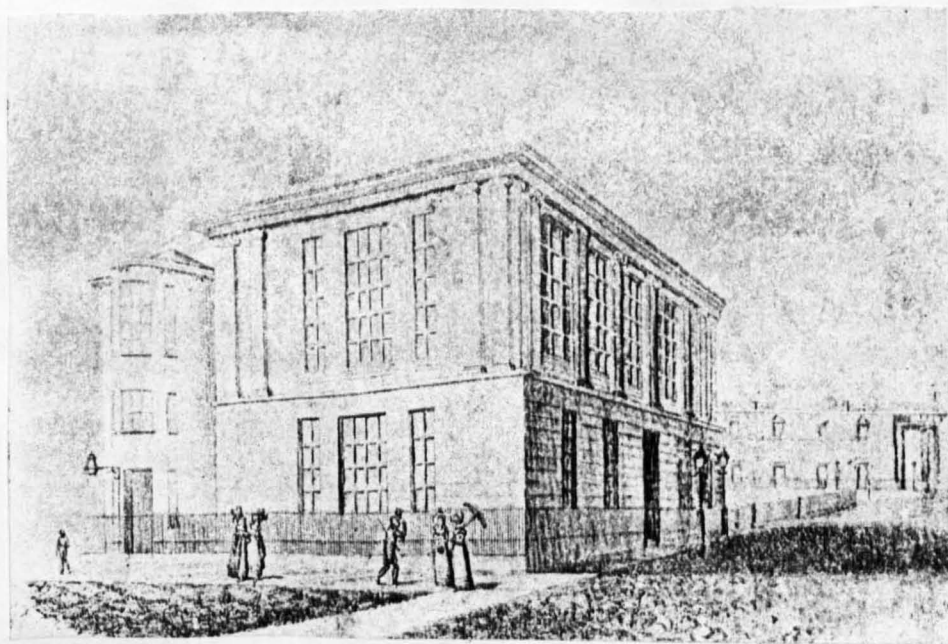
33. LEEDS ASSEMBLY ROOMS (LS51)

Built 1775-7 above the north end of the White Cloth Hall (LS50) for the sum of £2,500.



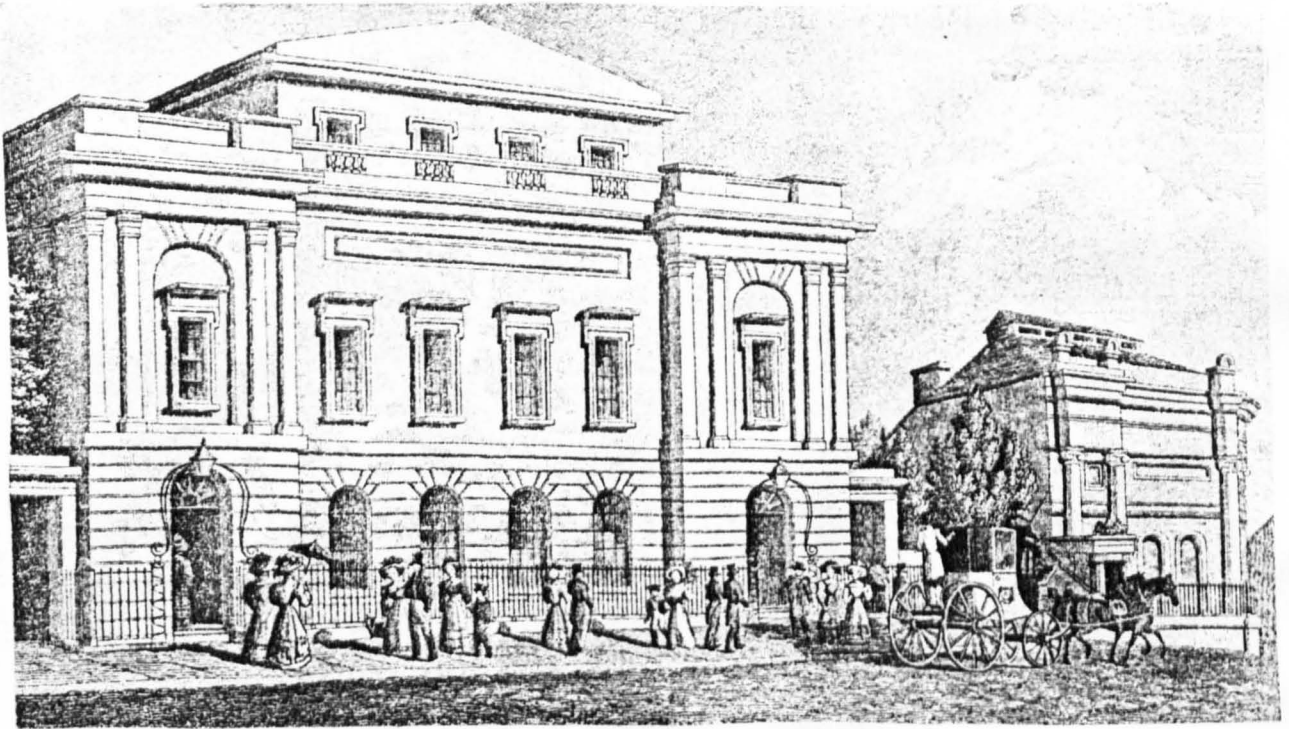
34. DONCASTER GRANDSTAND (DR22)

Built 1777-8 for the use of the wealthier classes at race meetings.



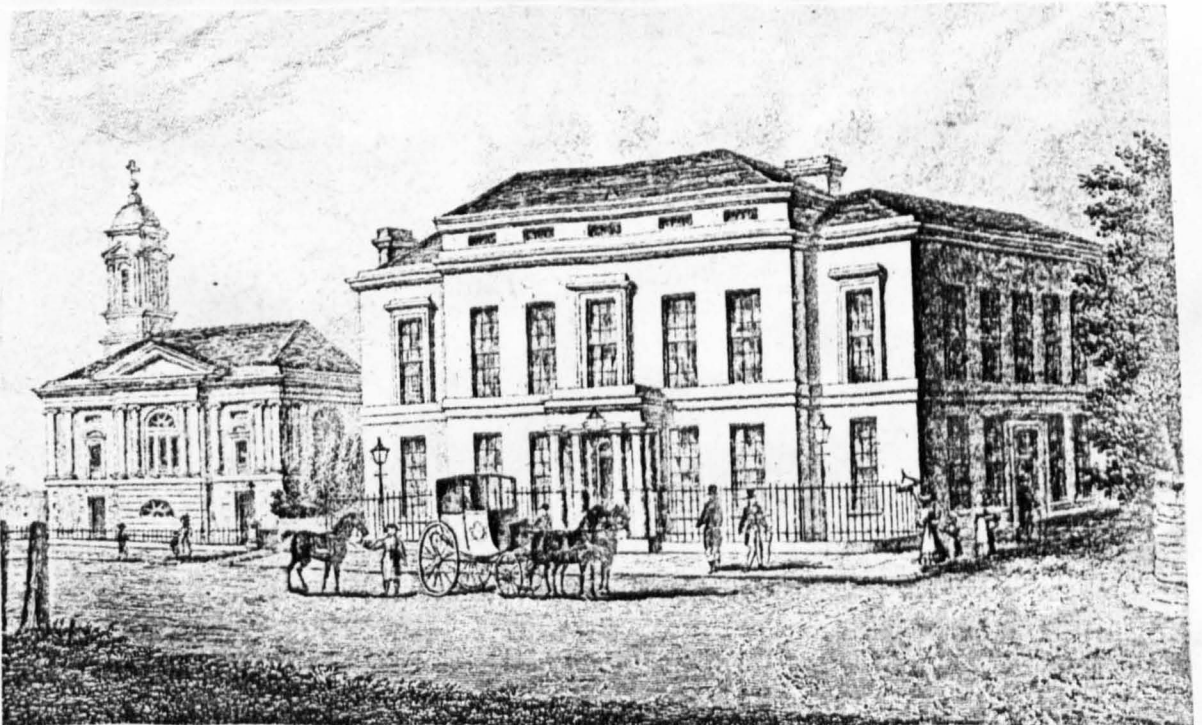
35. WAKEFIELD PUBLIC ROOMS (WD70)

Built 1821-3 at a cost of over £4,600. It was a multi-purpose building comprising an assembly-cum-concert room, a newsroom, a library and a public dispensary.



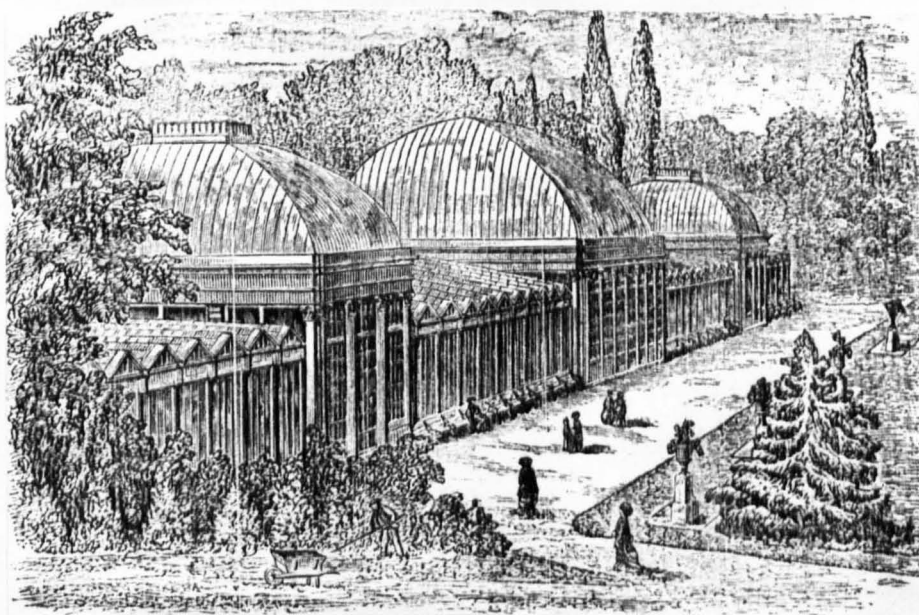
36. SHEFFIELD MUSIC HALL (SD90)

Built 1823-5 incorporating a saloon used for concerts and lectures, a subscription library, a newsroom, and a museum and laboratory used by the newly formed Literary and Philosophical Society.



37. THE NEW ROOMS AND TRINITY CHURCH, HALIFAX (HX48 & 29)

The New Rooms (right) were built 1823-5 and included a subscription library, a newsroom, a billiard room, and an assembly room.



38. SHEFFIELD BOTANICAL GARDENS (SD126)

Opened in 1836. The total cost of the land and buildings was £16,000.

The Anglican churches built during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were usually built in stone and accommodated about 1,000 worshippers. Perhaps the only significant change during this period was in the architectural styles of the buildings: St. John's Church built at Leeds in 1631-4 was in gothic style, while the eighteenth century churches such as St. Paul's at Sheffield and the rebuilt St. Giles' at Pontefract were in classical style (see Plates 39-41). The churches built in the rush of activity in the 1820's and 30's were considerably larger than those of the two preceding centuries, often accommodating as many as 2,000 worshippers, and mainly reverted to the gothic style (see Plates 42-44).

The non-conformist chapels built in the period c. 1670-1770 tended to be plainer and much smaller than Anglican churches. Mill Hill Chapel at Leeds, shown in Plate 45, was one of the largest and most lavish chapels built in the century. In general, Independent and Quaker chapels were more substantial and imposing than those of the Methodists and Baptists; the former often being built of stone, whereas the latter were often of brick. From around 1770 there was a notable increase in the size of the chapels built and several accommodated over 2,000 worshippers; there was also a tendency to erect much more imposing buildings. In contrast to the gothic style generally used for Anglican churches in the last forty years of our period, the contemporary non-conformist chapels were built almost exclusively in classical style (see Plates 46-50).¹

1. For discussions of the Anglican churches built in the nineteenth century see B. F. L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century (Newton Abbot, 1969).



39. ST GILES' CHURCH, PONTEFRACT (PT4)

Building commenced c.1135 and tower rebuilt c.1707 (PT18).



40. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LEEDS (LS12)

Built 1631-4. Accommodated 1200 worshippers.



41. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, SHEFFIELD (SD23)

Commenced in 1720 and completed at a cost of over £1,000.
Accommodated 1250 worshippers.



42. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SHEFFIELD (SD87)

Built 1821-5 at a cost of £15,181. Accommodated 1933 worshippers.



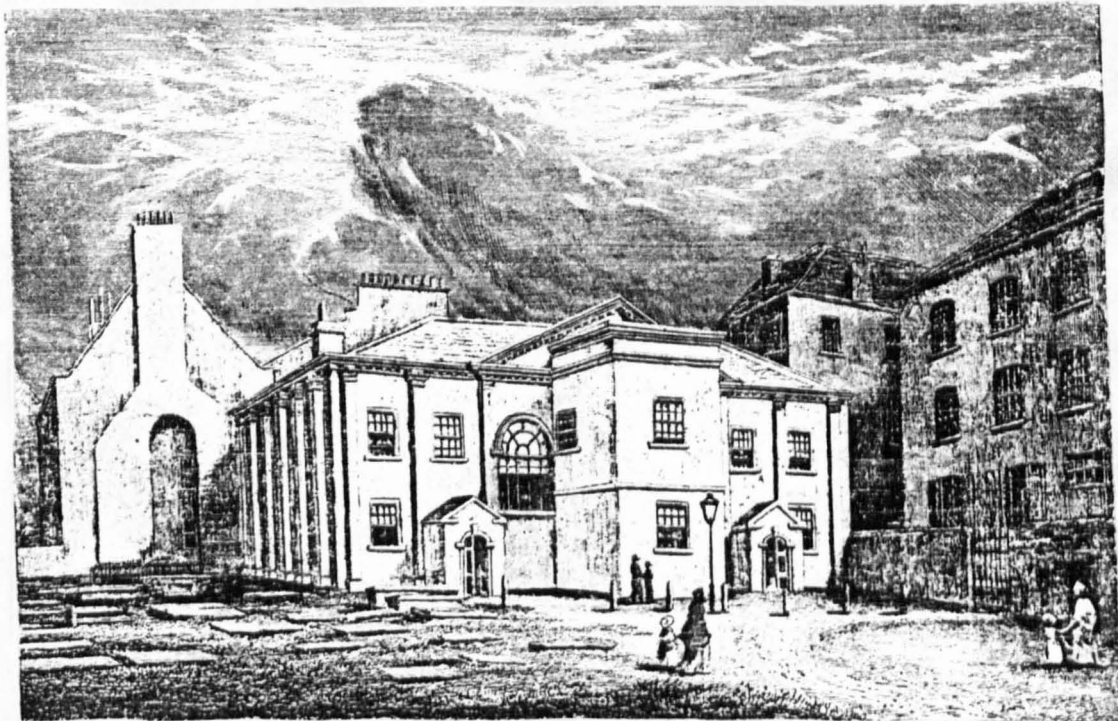
43. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, SHEFFIELD (SD95)

Built 1826-30 at a cost of £13,927. Accommodated 2000 worshippers.



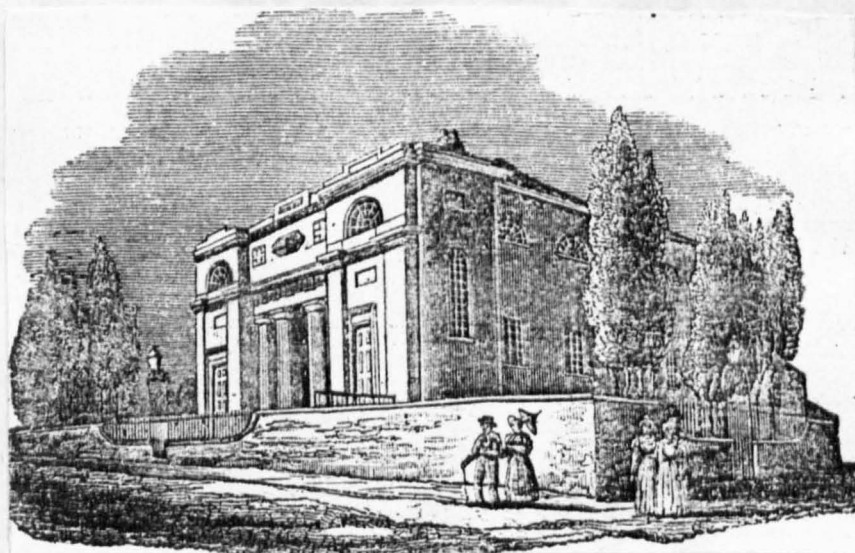
44. CHRIST CHURCH, DONCASTER (DR48)

Built 1827-9 at a cost of £10,000. Accommodated 1000 worshippers.



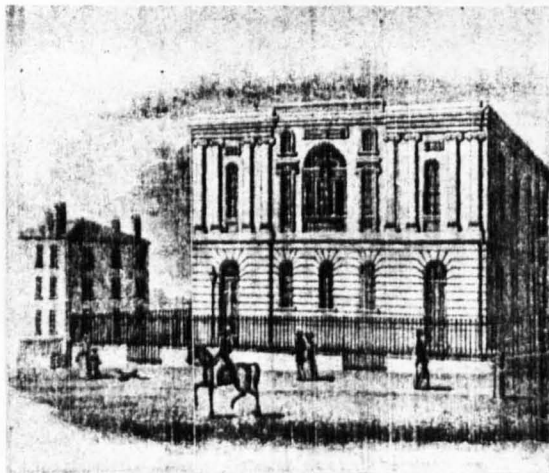
45. MILL HILL CHAPEL, LEEDS (LS18)

Built 1672-4 for the Unitarians at a cost of £400. Accommodated 700 worshippers.



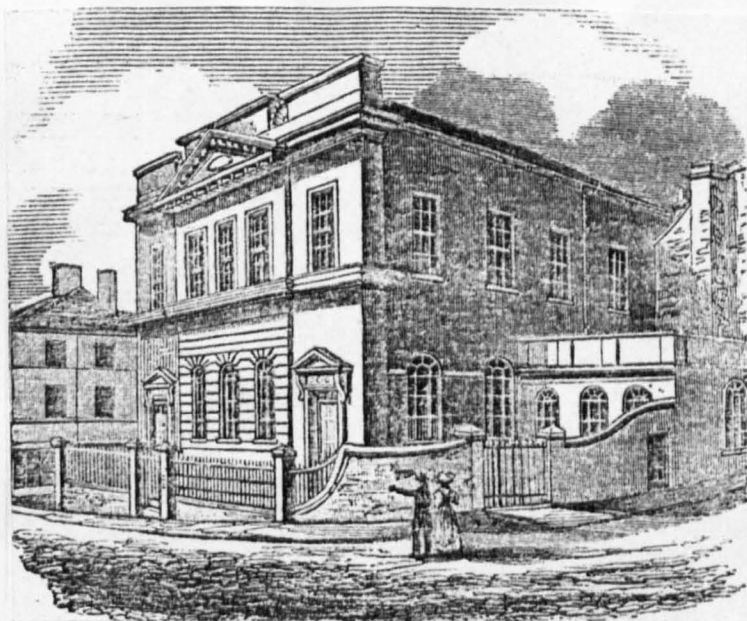
46. SION CHAPEL, HALIFAX (HX39)

Commenced 1819 for the Independents and completed at a cost of over £6,000.



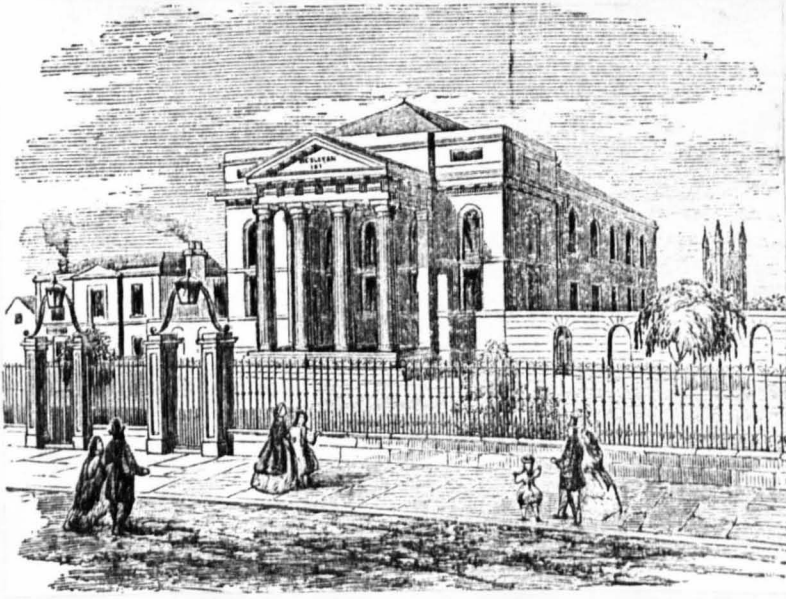
47. BRUNSWICK CHAPEL, LEEDS (LS116)

Built 1824-5 for the Methodists at a cost of £7,000. Accommodated 2417 worshippers.



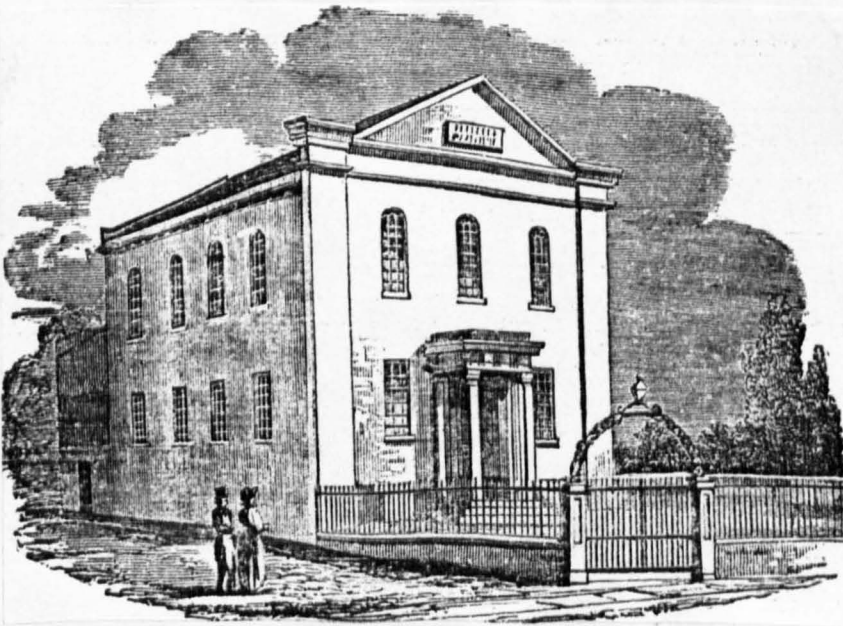
48. WESLEY CHAPEL, HALIFAX (HX52)

Built 1829 for the Methodists at a cost of £4,000.



49. BRUNSWICK CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD (SD115)

Built 1833-4 for the Wesleyan Methodists. Accommodated 2000 worshippers.



50. HANOVER STREET CHAPEL, HALIFAX (HX55)

Built 1834-5 for the New Connexion Methodists.

This description of the physical characteristics of the different types of public buildings cannot be concluded without a brief discussion of the premises which were converted or taken-over for use as public buildings, for as many as one-quarter of the public buildings provided between 1600 and 1840 were converted premises. It was quicker and cheaper to buy or lease an existing property and to convert that for use as a public amenity than it was to have one built. The only limitation was whether or not a suitable property could be found. For amenities such as libraries, dispensaries, and public offices a private house often sufficed, while for schools and places of worship - amenities which required halls - a larger building might be needed. As the gazetteer shows, buildings such as places of worship, assembly rooms, and schools were often superseded and subsequently taken over to serve as other public buildings. Leeds old assembly rooms (built in the early eighteenth century) was reused as a school and as a place of worship.¹ The New Hall, a dissenters meeting house at Sheffield, was purchased in 1703 and converted into an almshouse.² Pontefract theatre was taken over in 1837 for use as a British school.³ Barns and factories were sometimes converted into public buildings: Huddersfield theatre was a converted barn,⁴ and Sheffield Lancasterian school opened in 1809 was housed in a building formerly used as an iron works, and a riding school and circus.⁵ However, where amenities were expected to last for many

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1. L.I. 13 Jan. 1789, 1 July 1811; J. Ryley, The Leeds Guide (Leeds, 1806), p. 62
 2. J. Thomas, op. cit. p. 31.
 3. W. White, 1837 D. I., p. 281
 4. R. Brooke, The Story of Huddersfield (1968), p. 272.
 5. J. Hunter, Hallamshire (A. Gatty's edn. 1869), p. 330; W. White, 1837 D. I., p. 79.

years, and purpose-built premises would offer great convenience, existing premises were usually taken over only as a temporary measure, and if finances permitted new buildings were erected with all possible speed.

II

In the absence of detailed data for the dimensions, structural characteristics, and materials of many of the buildings included in this study, it is not possible to make precise comparisons in physical terms between buildings. However, it is possible to compare the sums expended on buildings, and thereby gain an impression of how size and quality varied over time and between building types.

We begin by examining the average expenditure on individual buildings in the period 1600-1840. The average expenditure on a public building in the seventeenth century can only be guessed, but the limited amount of expenditure data available suggests that a typical building was unlikely to cost more than £100-200: Sheffield's first Cutlers' Hall, for example, built in 1638 cost £86, while Pontefract's Bead House Hospital, an eight-roomed almshouse, completed in 1670, cost £101; Mill Hill Chapel built at Leeds in 1672-4, undoubtedly an exceptionally large building by contemporary standards, cost £400. In the next 140 years average expenditure probably rose considerably: reaching approximately £500 in the first half of the eighteenth century; £1,000 in the second half of the century; and just over £4,000 in the first forty years of the nineteenth century.¹ Given that building costs rose by about one-third between 1600 and 1790, and approximately doubled between 1790 and 1840,² this suggests that in real terms the

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1. These figures were obtained by dividing the expenditure figures presented in Table II.3 by the numbers of purpose-built premises erected in the period, shown in Tables I. 4-6.
 2. See figures given in W. S. Jevons, "On the variations of Prices and the Value of the Currency since 1782" in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed. Essays in Economic History (1962) III, 1-28; E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage-rates", in E.M. Carus-Wilson, op. cit. II, 179-96; C. W. Chalklin, Provincial Towns pp. 221-7.

average expenditure on a public building probably trebled between the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, doubled between the first and second halves of the eighteenth century, and doubled again between the second half of the eighteenth century and the years 1800-40. Thus the average real expenditure on a building grew about 8-12 times between 1600 and 1840.

This increase in real expenditure resulted from a combination of the increased size and quality of the buildings. As the foregoing description showed, most types of building erected after the middle of the eighteenth century seem to have been larger than their predecessors and accommodated increasing numbers of amenities and people. In particular, the growth in popularity of multipurpose premises, especially after the Napoleonic Wars, was a strong force for increasing the size of the typical building. The plates also demonstrate that particularly from the later years of the eighteenth century the buildings provided were of a higher quality: where finances permitted stone was preferred to brick, and, as a later chapter shows, architects were more frequently employed to design the buildings.

The cost of working-class dwellings is a yardstick by which we can measure the significance of the increased expenditure on public building in the later years of our period. Given an average cost of about £40 for a working-class dwelling, the expenditure on a typical public building in the second half of the eighteenth century would have financed the building of about 25 dwellings; whereas by the years 1800-40, when a working-class dwelling cost around £60, the expenditure on a typical

public building would have financed about 66 dwellings.¹

The typical expenditure on public buildings varied from type to type. Since expenditure data often are only available for a small sample of each type of building comparisons must be regarded with caution. However, Table II.1 presents estimates of the typical expenditure on each of the major types of buildings in the period 1700-1840. Looking at the period as a whole, town halls and court houses came closest to representing typical public buildings since the typical expenditure on them was reasonably close to overall average expenditure throughout the period. Anglican churches were the recipients of easily the largest expenditures for most of the period, and even between 1800 and 1840 they were just narrowly pushed into third place by markets and corn exchanges. Meanwhile, prisons, schools, and almshouses were at the lower end of the expenditure scale.

These generalizations require some qualification. In the first half of the eighteenth century, when most buildings were small by the standards of the last forty years of our period, expenditure on churches and cloth halls was well above average expenditure at c. £3,000 and c. £1,000 respectively; these apart, however, there was little disparity between the expenditures on the other types of building: town halls, court houses, almshouses, workhouses, schools, and chapels all tended to be built for around £300-400. Perhaps only local gaols and market crosses were built for significantly smaller amounts.

1. Cost of working-class dwellings are given in C. W. Chalklin, op. cit. p. 224 and J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth (1965), pp. 41, 103.

Table II.1

Estimated Typical Expenditure on Buildings by Type

<u>Building Type</u>	<u>1700-1840*</u>		
	<u>(£)</u>		
	<u>1700-49</u>	<u>1750-99</u>	<u>1800-40</u>
Town Halls/Court Houses	350	1,000?	6,000
Prisons	-	100	1,000
Almshouses	500*	500	1,000
Workhouses	300	-	5,000
Infirmaries/Dispensaries	-	4,500*	4,000
Schools	300	500	1,000
Libraries	-	-	6,000*
Mechanics' Institutes/ Philosophical Halls	-	-	3,000
Shambles	-	1,000	-
Cloth Halls	1,000	4,000	-
Markets/Corn Exchanges	-	-	12,000
Assembly Rooms	-	2,000	5,000
Theatres	-	1,000	3,000
Churches	3,000+	9,000	10,000
Chapels	400*	1,000	3,000
Multipurpose Buildings	-	-	6,000
Average Expenditure	500	1,000	4,000

Source: The gazetteer

* In some cases, data about expenditure on buildings are so scarce that it is impossible to make an estimated typical expenditure. Where the expenditure shown is that on only one building in a category, the figure is asterisked if the building is thought to have been unusually large or lavish.

This bunching is also apparent in the second half of the eighteenth century: the highest typical expenditures again were made on churches and cloth halls, being nine and four times the average respectively; and next came infirmaries and assembly rooms, but as before there was a fairly broad middle range of buildings consisting of town halls and court houses, theatres, chapels, and shambles, the typical expenditure on all of which was about £1,000. The lower end of the expenditure scale was occupied by prisons, almshouses, and schools built for between £100 and £500.

In the last forty years of our period, as we have already noted, the highest typical expenditures were made on markets and corn exchanges, and churches came close behind: at £12,000 and £10,000 respectively they were three and two and a half times average expenditure. Next came town halls, court houses, and multipurpose buildings in the £6,000 region, and then in a broad middle range of £3-5,000 there were workhouses, assembly rooms, philosophical halls, mechanics' institutes, infirmaries, dispensaries, theatres, and chapels. As before, the end of the typical expenditure scale, at around £1,000, was occupied by prisons, almshouses, and schools.

It must be emphasized that the figures just presented are estimates of the expenditures, for particularly after 1750, in most categories of building there were buildings whose cost greatly exceeded typical expenditure and even overall average expenditure. Moreover, the ranking order of the different building-types according to typical expenditure would be contradicted by ranking in order of the single most expensive buildings in each category. This is demonstrated by Table II.2 which shows the most expensive in each category of

Table II.2

The Most Expensive Public Buildings by Type, 1700-1840

<u>Building Type</u>	1700-49	£	1750-99	£	1800-40	£
Town Halls/Ct.Ho.	Doncaster Town Hall & G.S.	550	-		Leeds Court House	c.10,000
Prisons	-		W.R. House of Correction	3,000	W.R. House of Correction	28,000
Almshouses	Potter's, Leeds	482	Watkinson's, Pontefract	485	Shrewsbury, Sheffield	10,000
Workhouses	Bradford Workhouse	360	-		Halifax Union Workhouse	10,000
Medical	-		Sheffield Gen.Infirmary	18,000	W.R. Lunatic Asylum	40,000
Gram./Char.School	Sheffield Charity School	275	Sheffield Girls' Char.Sch.	1,500	Sheffield Boys' Char.Sch.	3,000
Nat./Lanc.School	-		-		Leeds Lanc. School	2,000
Other Schools	-		-		Sheffield Proprietary School	20,000
Libraries	-		-		Leeds Library	6,000
Mech./Phil.Halls	-		-		Leeds Philosophical Hall	6,000
Shambles	-		Sheffield Shambles & Market Place	11,000	Leeds Bazaar & Shambles	12,000
Cloth Halls	Leeds White Cloth Hall	1,000	Halifax Piece Hall	12,000	-	
Markets	Wakefield Market Cross	100 +	Rotherham Market House	173	Leeds Central Market	24,800
Corn Exchanges	-		-		Leeds Corn Exchange	12,500
Comm. Buildings	-		-		Leeds Commercial Buildings	28,000
Assembly Rooms	Doncaster Mansion House	8,000	Leeds Assembly Rooms	2,500	Wakefield Public Rooms	4,600
Theatres	-		Doncaster Theatre	1,500	Sheffield Circus & Theatre	6,000
Churches	Holy Trinity, Leeds	4,500	St. Paul's, Leeds	10,000	Leeds Parish Church	30,000
Chapels	Bradford Unitarian	340	Square Chapel, Halifax	2,000	Queen Street, Leeds	8,000
Multipurpose	-		Sheffield Assembly Rooms & Theatre	3,000	Bradford Exchange Buildings	7,000

buildings in the period 1700-1840. In the first half of the eighteenth century, though the largest typical expenditures were on churches and cloth halls, the most expensive building was Doncaster Mansion House. Likewise, in the second half of the eighteenth century, though the largest typical expenditures again were on churches and cloth halls, the most costly building was Sheffield General Infirmary. Finally, in the last forty years of our period, when the highest typical expenditures were on markets and corn exchanges, easily the most expensive building erected was the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum. The table presents other outstanding examples of high expenditures: of these the West Riding House of Correction, the Shrewsbury Alms-houses, Halifax Union Workhouse, Sheffield Wesleyan Proprietary School, Leeds Bazaar and Shambles, and Leeds Commercial Buildings are particularly notable because the money spent on them far exceeded what was typical for buildings of their general type.

By making estimates of the amounts expended on buildings for which no expenditure data is available, it has been possible to estimate the total expenditure on public buildings in the twelve towns in the years 1700-1840. As Table II.3 shows that this expenditure was in excess of £1½ million. This total can be broken down to show the total amounts expended on each category of public buildings. The figures, in conjunction with the details of the numbers of buildings provided presented in Chapter I, permit an assessment of the relative contribution of each category of buildings to the overall provision of public buildings.

The relative contributions of each type of building in numerical terms are summarized in Table II.4, while their contributions in terms of expenditure are shown in Table II.5. For the main part these tables

Table II.3

Estimated Total Expenditure on Public Buildings
in the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total Expenditure</u> (£)
1700-9	2,800
1710-19	2,500
1720-29	7,300
1730-39	2,200
1740-49	9,700
1750-59	11,500
1760-69	15,000
1770-79	52,300
1780-89	34,300
1790-99	93,500
1800-9	55,000
1810-19	162,500
1820-29	436,500
1830-40	392,900
Total	1,278,000

Source: The gazetteer

Table II.4

The Public Buildings Provided in the
Twelve Towns, 1600-1840

<u>Building Type</u>	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose-built</u>	<u>No. of premises converted</u>	<u>Total No. of buildings</u>
Town Halls	1	14	-	14
Court Houses	9	13	4	17
Prisons	2	15 (3)	3 (2)	18
Public Offices	7	2	7	9
Almshouses	25	34	4	38
Workhouses	14	10	10	20
Vagrancy Offices	3	1 (1)	2	3
Infirmaries	5	5	1	6
Dispensaries	12	3 (4)	15	18
Fever Hospitals	3	2	1	3
Misc. Medical	6	1	5	6
Baths	7	7	-	7
Grammar Schools	5	9 (2)	4	13
Charity Schools	18	20 (1)	6 (1)	26
Schools of Industry	8	2	8	10
National Schools	17	14	4	18
Lancasterian and British Schools	10	7	5	12
Infant Schools	14	8 (2)	4	12
Collegiate and Proprietary Schools	4	4	-	4
Misc. Schools	6	3 (1)	2	5
Theological Colleges	3	2	1	3
Philosophical Halls	4	3	1	4
Mechanics' Institutes	3	1 (1)	1	2
Libraries	20	3 (9)	18 (1)	21
Newsrooms	17	3 (11)	11	14
Market Crosses	4	10 (2)	-	10
Shambles	-	4	-	4
Market Places (some with Shambles)	4	8	-	8

Contd../..

Table II.4 Contd.

	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose-built</u>	<u>No. of premises converted</u>	<u>Total No. of buildings</u>
Cloth Halls	7	10 (1)	-	10
Covered Markets	1	1	-	1
Corn Exchanges	3	4	-	4
Merchants' Exchanges/ Commercial Buildings	5	3 (1)	1	4
Misc. Market Amenities	1	1	-	1
Assembly Rooms	8	10 (3)	-	10
Theatres	11	9 (1)	4	13
Concert Rooms	4	4 (1)	1	5
Grandstands	6	6	-	6
Zoological and Botanical Gardens	3	3	-	3
Misc. Social Amenities	3	4	-	4
Oddfellows' & Free- masons' Halls	4	4	-	4
Temperance Hall	1	1	-	1
Anglican Churches	29	32	-	32
Independent Chapels	39	42	4	46
Quaker Chapels	8	11	3	14
Methodist Chapels	72	76	10	86
Baptist Chapels	14	13	3	16
Catholic Chapels	10	11	1	12
Misc. Chapels	11	5	6	11
Cemeteries	3	3	-	3
Miscellaneous	8	9	3	12
Total	482	470 (43)	153 (4)	623

Source: The gazetteer

Notes

- Figures in parenthesis indicate secondary amenities in multi-purpose buildings.
- The miscellaneous building types are: 3 barracks (1 temporary), 2 riding schools, 3 museums (1 temporary), a vestry, a coffee house, and two houses for masters of grammar schools.

Table II.5

Expenditure on Public Buildings in Twelve West Riding Towns by Type, 1700-1840 (£)

<u>Building Types</u>	<u>1700-49</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1750-99</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1800-40</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1700-1840</u>	<u>%</u>
Town Halls, Court Houses & Public Offices	1,200	5	5,500	3	62,000	6	68,700	5
Prisons	-	-	13,500	6	38,000	4	51,500	4
Schools & Colleges	1,700	7	9,600	5	93,700	9	105,000	8
Philosophical Halls, Mechanics' Institutes, Libraries, Newsrooms	-	-	-	-	28,300	3	28,300	2
Markets & Commercial Premises	3,100	12	50,500	24	153,900	15	207,500	16
Medical Institutions & Baths	-	-	23,500	11	90,200	9	113,700	9
Almshouses, Workhouses, & Vagrancy Offices	2,400	10	3,500	2	35,800	3	41,700	3
Social Amenities	8,200	33	18,100	9	55,700	5	82,000	6
Anglican Places of Worship	5,600	23	37,400	18	218,300	21	261,300	21
Non-Anglican Places of Worship	2,400	10	34,700	17	223,100	21	260,200	21
Miscellaneous	-	-	10,500	5	48,000	4	58,500	5
Total	<u>24,600</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>206,800</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>1,047,000</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>1,278,400</u>	<u>100</u>

may be allowed to speak for themselves, since a drawn out discussion of their minor details would be tedious for the reader. However, their major aspects are worthy of comment.

The most notable fact revealed by the tables is the overwhelming contribution made by places of worship to the overall provision of buildings. between 1700 and 1840 they accounted for 42 per cent of total expenditure, and between 1600 and 1840 they accounted numerically for 40 per cent of all buildings erected. The expenditure was split almost equally between Anglican and non-Anglican places of worship, but since expenditure on individual Anglican churches was usually much higher than that on non-Anglican places of worship, this equality was not reflected in terms of numbers: in numerical terms Anglican churches accounted for approximately 7 per cent of total provision, while non-Anglican places of worship accounted for 33 per cent.

The second largest contributor to overall expenditure was markets and commercial premises, which accounted for 16 per cent of the total in the period 1700-1840. In numerical terms over the whole period studied these buildings accounted for approximately 9 per cent of all purpose-built premises; this smaller figure reflects the well above average expenditure on typical buildings of this type.

The third largest contributor was medical institutions and baths accounting for 9 per cent of total expenditure; a particularly notable contribution since their provision did not begin until 1767. Again the high expenditure on individual buildings within this category was of crucial importance to their relatively high share of total expenditure,

for over the period 1600-1840 they accounted numerically for only 2 per cent of all buildings erected and 5 per cent of all buildings provided if converted buildings are included.

The fourth highest contribution in terms of expenditure was made by schools and colleges which accounted for 8 per cent of total expenditure in the period 1700-1840. However, the typical expenditure on these buildings tended to be below the average for public buildings, and in numerical terms they constituted 14 per cent of public building provision.

Closely allied to schools and colleges in the educational sphere were philosophical halls, mechanics' institutes, libraries, and newsrooms. These buildings accounted for a further 2 per cent of expenditure on public buildings, and brought the contribution of buildings associated with the spread of knowledge to 10 per cent. Numerically, these buildings accounted for a mere 2 per cent of purpose-built premises, but when converted premises are included they accounted for 6 per cent of total provisions.

The remaining categories of buildings each accounted for 3-6 per cent of overall expenditure. The most significant contribution was made by town halls, court houses, public offices, and prisons, which, if taken together as buildings associated with public administration and maintenance of law and order, accounted for 9 per cent of overall expenditure. Indeed, in numerical terms they also accounted for just over 9 per cent of buildings erected between 1600 and 1840.

Social amenities formed the next most important of the categories of buildings making smaller contributions to overall expenditure: in all, they accounted for approximately 6 per cent of expenditure. The category's contribution of 33 per cent to total expenditure in the first half of the eighteenth century must be regarded as a freak result, since the bulk of the expenditure consisted of the £8,000 spent on Doncaster Mansion House.

Almshouses, workhouses, and vagrancy offices contributed 3 per cent to overall expenditure, while accounting for over 9 per cent in numerical terms of buildings erected between 1600 and 1840. The disparity between these figures reflects the fact that almshouses were of much lesser importance in the period covered by the expenditure figures than they had been in the seventeenth century. Also it is likely that the expenditure figures understate the amounts expended on workhouses: for several of the buildings must have been extensively enlarged during our period, although little detailed evidence on the subject is available.

Finally, approximately 5 per cent of total expenditure was contributed by a small number of miscellaneous buildings: primarily barracks and cemeteries.

III

Having surveyed the provision of public buildings as a group and by category for the twelve towns as a whole, this survey concludes by comparing the provision of buildings in each of the towns. Attention is given principally to the extent and intensity of provision in each town, and to notable differences in the types of buildings provided.

First of all, it is clear that there were great disparities between the numbers of buildings provided in each town between 1600 and 1840: as Table II.6 shows, while Leeds and Sheffield each contributed about 20 per cent of the total; Wakefield, Bradford, and Halifax contributed 9-10 per cent each; Doncaster, Huddersfield and Pontefract 6-7 per cent each; and Rotherham, Ripon, Knaresborough, and Barnsley approximately 3-4 per cent each.

In terms of the total expenditure between 1700 and 1840 there were even greater disparities between individual town's contributions. Their respective shares, shown in Table II.7 were Leeds 28 per cent; Sheffield 22 per cent; Wakefield and Bradford 10-12 per cent; Halifax and Huddersfield 7-8 per cent: and Doncaster, Barnsley, Rotherham, Ripon, Pontefract and Knaresborough 1-4 per cent.

Generally, the larger a town was, the more buildings it had and the greater the expenditure, but there was not an exact proportional relationship between provision and town size. As Table II.8 shows, the larger towns, despite their more substantial contribution to overall provision of buildings, tended to erect fewer buildings per head of

Table II.6

The Number of Public Buildings Provided in
Each of the Twelve Towns, 1600-1840

<u>Town</u>	<u>No. of new amenities</u>	<u>No. purpose-built</u>	<u>No. of premises converted</u>	<u>Total No. of buildings provided</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Leeds	105	96	38	134	21
Sheffield	86	95	21	116	18
Wakefield	42	39	23	62	10
Bradford	45	47	8	55	9
Halifax	41	41	12	53	9
Doncaster	33	27	14	41	7
Huddersfield	34	28	10	38	6
Pontefract	27	29	8	37	6
Rotherham	15	17	7	24	4
Ripon	19	18	6	24	4
Knaresborough	16	14	6	20	3
Barnsley	19	19	-	19	3
	482	470	153	623	100

Source: The gazetteer

Table II.7

Total Expenditure on Public Buildings in Each
of the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840.

<u>Town</u>	<u>Total expenditure</u> <u>on buildings</u> (£)	<u>% of overall</u> <u>total</u>
Leeds	355,193	28
Sheffield	280,608	22
Wakefield	150,794	12
Bradford	129,593	10
Halifax	95,972	8
Huddersfield	94,278	7
Doncaster	56,079	4
Barnsley	34,133	3
Rotherham	29,768	2
Ripon	27,180	2
Pontefract	13,726	1
Knarborough	10,800	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	1,278,124	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Source: The gazetteer

Table II.8

Numbers Provided and Expenditure on Public
Buildings in Each of the Twelve Towns per
Head of Population in 1841

	<u>Population</u> <u>in</u> <u>1841</u>	<u>No. of buildings provided</u> <u>per thousand of</u> <u>1841 population</u>		<u>Expenditure on</u> <u>buildings, 1700-</u> <u>1840 per head of</u> <u>1841 population</u>
		1600-1840	1700-1840	(£)
Leeds	88,741	1.5	1.4	4.0
Sheffield	68,186	1.7	1.6	4.1
Bradford	34,560	1.6	1.5	3.7
Huddersfield	25,068	1.6	1.4	3.8
Halifax	19,881	2.6	2.3	4.8
Wakefield	14,754	4.2	3.8	10.2
Barnsley	12,310	4.1	1.4	2.8
Doncaster	10,455	3.9	3.9	5.4
Rotherham	5,505	4.4	4.2	5.4
Ripon	5,461	4.4	3.1	5.0
Knaresborough	4,678	4.3	3.9	2.3
Pontefract	4,669	7.9	6.4	2.9
				—
Average				4.3

Sources: Table I.2 and the gazetteer

population than the smaller towns. Thus, the textile and metalware towns - those commercial and industrial centres, which had populations of over 12,000 in 1841 - were provided with around 1.5 buildings per head over the period 1700-1840, while the smaller towns - market centres with occasional pockets of industry - were provided with around 3-4 buildings per head. The only really significant exception to this generalization was Wakefield which because of its role as "county town" had a much higher per capita provision of buildings than would have been predicted under normal circumstances.

Although fewer buildings were provided per head in the large towns than in the small towns, the buildings erected in the larger towns had a considerably higher average cost than those in smaller towns. Table II.9, which lists the twelve towns in order of population size, shows that average expenditure ranged from about £4,300 in Leeds and £3,100 in Sheffield to £600-800 in Knaresborough and Pontefract. Although these large disparities must be regarded with some caution, since the estimates of expenditure on some buildings took town size into account, they are borne out by the overwhelming body of evidence collected.

The result of this inverse relationship between the numbers of buildings provided per head and the average expenditure per building was that the sums expended on buildings per head of population did not differ to a very significant extent from town to town: as Table II.8 shows, while the average expenditure per head for the twelve towns was £4.3, the expenditures per head in the five largest towns in 1841, Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax were £3.7-4.8, and those in the smaller towns were Doncaster and Rotherham £5.0-5.4 and

Table II.9

The Average Expenditure on the Public Buildings
Erected in Each of the Twelve Towns, 1700 - 1840

<u>Town</u>	<u>Average Expenditure</u> <u>on buildings</u> (£)
Leeds	4,279
Sheffield	3,118
Bradford	2,880
Huddersfield	3,491
Halifax	2,665
Wakefield	4,075
Barnsley	2,008
Doncaster	2,077
Rotherham	1,860
Ripon	2,265
Knarborough	771
Pontefract	623

Source: The gazetteer

Note: These averages must be regarded with care, since they are partly derived from estimates of expenditure which assume that expenditure on buildings was related to town-size.

Barnsley, Knaresborough, and Pontefract £2.3-2.9. The differences between the smaller towns' expenditure and the norm is not of major importance, because given the small size of their total expenditure the erection of one substantial building (or lack of it) affected the size of their expenditure per head very considerably. Only Wakefield had a per capita expenditure which differed significantly from the average, and once again it was its county buildings which were responsible.

Turning to the types of building provided in each town, it is evident that all the towns had a basic minimum stock of public buildings, which by 1840 usually included a town hall or court house, a prison, several schools, a library, a newsroom, a market place and shambles, an infirmary or dispensary, a workhouse, some almshouses, an assembly room (perhaps in a multipurpose building), a theatre, and several places of worship. The existence of this minimum stock of amenities perhaps explains why the small towns had a higher rate of provision of buildings per head than the large towns, i.e. they reaped no economies of scale.

However, looking beyond the minimum stock of amenities and remembering that in general the large towns had buildings of greater size and quality than smaller towns, it is clear that the most significant differences from town to town occurred in the intensity of provision of particular building types and in the provision of comparatively unusual types of building. No variations worthy of note here occurred in the seventeenth century, so attention is concentrated on the period 1700-1840.

The expenditure on each category of buildings, the proportion they contributed to total expenditure, and the money expended per head on them in each of the twelve towns for the period 1700-1840 are shown in Tables II. 10-12. Only the most significant aspects of these tables are to be discussed, since minor details can be clarified by reference to the gazetteer or the text of the thesis in general.

Overall, these tables demonstrate the great importance in relative terms of the minimum stock of public buildings in the smaller towns. Looking, for example, at Rotherham, Ripon, Pontefract, Knaresborough, and even Barnsley, buildings such as town halls and court houses, schools, and places of worship took a relatively high percentage of total expenditure when compared to some of the larger towns. In more specific terms, the tables demonstrate that for most categories of buildings the provisions in some towns were more outstanding than in others. With regard to the provision of town halls, court houses, and public offices, no towns were particularly outstanding, although as we have seen, this category of buildings took much larger percentages of total spending in the small towns than in the large ones. However, with respect to the provision of prisons, Wakefield easily surpassed other towns. The expenditure on the West Riding House of Correction occupied almost one-third of the expenditure on buildings in the town, and took the lion's share of expenditure on prisons in the twelve towns as a whole. It is worth noting that the absence of expenditure on prisons for particular towns does not indicate that no expenditure was made: several prisons were incorporated in town halls and court houses and the expenditure is included under that heading (this proviso also applies to other categories of building, where amenities may have been incorporated into multipurpose premises).

Table II.10

The Expenditure on the Different Categories of Public Buildings in Each of the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840

<i>Building Types</i>	Leeds	Sheffield	Wakefield	Bradford	Halifax	Hudd's field	Doncaster	Barnsley	Rotherham	Ripon	Pontefract	Knaresborough	Total
<i>Town Halls, Court Houses & Public Offices</i>	11,219	16,701	5,300	7,731	3,500	4,000	280	1,300	5,300	5,500	5,000	2,800	68,631
<i>Prisons</i>	-	-	47,172	300	-	-	2,681	-	-	1,000	-	350	51,503
<i>Schools & Colleges</i>	7,995	43,827	9,100	15,300	1,600	9,304	2,050	2,000	8,721	680	2,375	2,000	104,952
<i>Phil. Halls, Mechanics Insts, Libraries & Newsrooms</i>	13,450	1,000	-	2,665	2,500	3,150	3,000	-	-	2,500	-	-	28,265
<i>Marketing & Commercial Premises</i>	108,150	33,600	16,494	17,000	19,250	2,500	550	1,500	7,588	500	96	250	207,478
<i>Medical Institutions & Baths</i>	18,224	28,697	40,000	5,050	9,500	9,518	2,660	-	-	-	-	-	113,649
<i>Almshouses, Workhouses & Vagrancy Offices</i>	2,682	15,330	2,000	360	10,600	-	5,402	90	3,988	-	1,055	200	41,707
<i>Social Amenities</i>	9,000	27,030	9,300	7,000	5,000	-	21,289	1,400	-	1,000	1,000	-	82,019
<i>Anglican Places of Worship</i>	84,850	49,664	12,428	25,200	13,122	36,306	10,000	17,743	-	12,000	-	-	261,313
<i>Non-Anglican Places of Worship</i>	67,800	47,259	9,000	44,587	27,400	29,500	8,167	9,000	4,171	4,000	4,200	5,200	260,284
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	31,823	17,500	-	4,400	3,500	-	-	1,100	-	-	-	-	58,323
<i>Total</i>	355,193	280,608	150,794	129,593	95,972	94,278	56,079	34,133	29,768	27,180	13,726	10,800	1,278,124

Source: The gazetteer

Table II.11

The Percentage Contribution of Each Category of Buildings to Overall Provision
of Public Buildings in Each of the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840

Building Types	Leeds	Sheffield	Wakefield	Bradford	Halifax	Huddersfield	Doncaster	Barnsley	Rotherham	Ripon	Fontefract	Knaresborough
Town Halls, Court Houses & Public Offices	3.15	5.95	3.51	5.96	3.65	4.24	0.50	3.81	17.80	20.24	36.43	25.93
Prisons	-	-	31.28	0.23	-	-	4.78	-	-	3.68	-	3.24
Schools & Colleges	2.25	15.62	6.03	11.81	1.67	9.87	3.66	5.85	29.30	2.50	17.30	18.52
Phil. Halls, Mechanics' Insts., Libraries, Newsrooms	3.78	0.36	-	2.05	2.60	3.34	5.35	-	-	9.20	-	-
Marketing & Commercial Premises	30.45	11.97	10.94	13.12	20.06	2.65	0.98	4.39	25.49	1.84	0.70	2.31
Medical Institutions & Baths	5.13	10.23	26.52	3.90	9.90	10.10	4.74	-	-	-	-	-
Almshouses, Workhouses & Vagrancy Offices	0.76	5.46	1.34	0.28	11.04	-	9.63	0.26	13.40	-	7.69	1.85
Social Amenities	2.53	9.63	6.17	5.40	5.21	-	37.96	4.10	-	3.68	7.28	-
Anglican Places of Worship	23.89	17.70	8.24	19.44	13.67	38.51	17.83	51.98	-	44.15	-	-
Non-Anglican Places of Worship	19.09	15.84	5.97	34.41	28.55	31.29	14.56	26.38	14.01	14.71	30.60	48.15
Miscellaneous	8.96	6.24	-	3.40	3.65	-	-	3.22	-	-	-	-
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: The gazetteer.

Table II.12

Expenditure Per Head of Population in 1841 on Each Category of Public
Buildings Provided in Each of the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840

Building Types	Leeds	Shef- field	Wake- field	Brad- ford	Halifax	Hudders- field	Don- caster	Barn- sley	Rother- ham	Ripon	Ponte- fract	Knares- borough	All Towns
<i>Town Halls, Court Houses & Public Offices</i>	0.13	0.24	0.36	0.22	0.18	0.15	0.03	0.11	0.96	1.01	1.07	0.6	0.23
<i>Prisons</i>	-	-	3.2	0.01	-	-	0.26	-	-	0.18	-	0.07	0.18
<i>Schools & Colleges</i>	0.09	0.64	0.62	0.44	0.08	0.37	0.2	0.16	1.58	0.12	0.51	0.43	0.35
<i>Phil. Halls, Mechanics Insts, Libraries & Newsrooms</i>	0.15	0.01	-	0.08	0.13	0.13	0.29	-	-	0.46	-	-	0.1
<i>Marketing & Commercial Premises</i>	1.22	0.49	1.12	0.49	0.97	0.1	0.05	0.12	1.38	0.09	0.02	0.05	0.71
<i>Medical Institutions & Baths</i>	0.21	0.42	2.71	0.15	0.48	0.38	0.25	-	-	-	-	-	0.39
<i>Almshouses, Workhouses & Vagrancy Offices</i>	0.03	0.22	0.14	0.01	0.53	-	0.52	0.01	0.72	-	0.23	0.04	0.14
<i>Social Amenities</i>	0.10	0.40	0.63	0.20	0.25	-	2.04	0.11	-	0.18	0.21	-	0.28
<i>Anglican Places of Worship</i>	0.96	0.73	0.84	0.73	0.66	1.45	0.96	1.44	-	2.2	-	-	0.89
<i>Non-Anglican Places of Worship</i>	0.75	0.69	0.61	1.29	1.38	1.18	0.78	0.73	0.76	0.73	0.9	1.1	0.88
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	0.36	0.26	-	0.13	0.18	-	-	0.09	-	-	-	-	0.2
<i>Total</i>	4.00	4.12	10.21	3.75	4.83	3.76	5.37	2.77	5.41	4.98	2.93	2.31	4.34

Source: The Gazetteer.

With respect to schools and colleges, Sheffield, Wakefield, Bradford, and Rotherham were of particular note. The provision of collegiate and proprietary schools and theological colleges in these towns swelled their total and per capita expenditures on this category of buildings to unusually high levels. As we saw earlier, the provision of philosophical halls and mechanics' institutes was a comparatively rare occurrence, as was the erection of single-purpose premises for libraries and newsrooms. Hence the major significance of the figures in the tables, is not the amount of money spent but the fact that money was spent at all. The most impressive philosophical hall and library were built at Leeds.

Tables II.10-12 clearly demonstrate that Rotherham, Halifax, Bradford, Wakefield, Sheffield, and above all Leeds were of particular note for their markets and commercial amenities.

In the eighteenth century all the textile towns were famous in the marketing sphere because of their cloth halls, but with the decline of cloth hall building and the redevelopment and provision of market places, covered markets, corn exchanges, and "commercial buildings" in the twelve towns in general between 1800 and 1840, some of them came to figure less prominently in this sphere.

Rotherham, Halifax, and Bradford attained relatively high levels of total expenditure and expenditure per head due to the provision of market places and, at the latter two, cloth halls. At the same time, Leeds, Sheffield and Wakefield gained even greater prominence by the provision of corn exchanges at all three towns, market places and commercial buildings at the first two, and cloth halls at the first and last. Leeds towered above all the towns

for the provision of marketing and commercial premises with an expenditure three times the size of its closest rival and representing 30 per cent of all its provisions. Moreover, it had the highest expenditure per head on this category of buildings.

The provision of purpose-built medical institutions and public baths was dominated by the larger towns, five of the smaller towns possessing no single-purpose buildings in this category. Owing to the erection of the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, Wakefield was the most outstanding town for provisions in this sphere. In terms of expenditure, Sheffield and Leeds were next in rank mainly because of their infirmaries and public baths. Although the tables show Sheffield ahead of Leeds in expenditure and the other measures, there was probably not a significant difference between their activities since the Leeds expenditure does not take account of extensions to its infirmary.

With respect to the provision of almshouses, workhouses, and vagrancy offices, Halifax, Doncaster, and Rotherham were prominent in terms of expenditure, both total and per head, and in percentage contributions because of their union workhouses. Overall, however, Sheffield had the highest expenditure principally because of costly rebuilding of the Shrewsbury Almshouses in the 1820's. Although not of great significance in building terms, Leeds, Bradford, and Doncaster were distinguished as the only towns to possess vagrancy offices by 1840.

For the provision of social amenities, towns such as Huddersfield,

Rotherham, and Knaresborough were of no distinction, relying entirely on the use of converted premises or facilities in multipurpose buildings. Of the other towns Sheffield, Wakefield, and Doncaster were of particular note. Sheffield with its lavish theatre and assembly rooms, its music hall, circuses, and botanical gardens was the largest contributor to total expenditure on social amenities. On the other hand, in terms of expenditure per head, it was overshadowed by Wakefield and above all Doncaster. The relatively high per capita expenditure at Wakefield, involving the provision of a theatre, assembly rooms, and zoological gardens perhaps was another result of its role as "county town". At Doncaster the principal public buildings were social amenities. Thirty-nine per cent of the expenditure on the town's public buildings was devoted to them, a percentage four times greater than that in any other town. Thus the provision of its Mansion House, theatre, grandstands, betting rooms, and other race course facilities was a major contribution to Doncaster's character as a social centre which was noted in Chapter I.

The provision of places of worship differed very little from town to town. In virtually all towns they took easily the greatest share of the total expenditure on all different types of buildings, and the per capita expenditure on them showed little significant variation. In general, expenditure per head on Anglican places of worship was about 18 shillings and that on non-Anglican was about 16 shillings. The variations in per capita expenditure on Anglican churches were merely the result of the absence or erection of an additional church in the smaller towns. However, the

relatively high per capita expenditures on non-Anglican places of worship in Halifax, Bradford, and Huddersfield perhaps do reflect an unusually high provision of these buildings.

Finally, with respect to the group of miscellaneous buildings, Leeds and Sheffield were outstanding because they were provided with barracks, at considerable cost, and private cemeteries. Bradford, Halifax, and Barnsley also were unusual because between them they possessed a cemetery, two oddfellows halls, and a temperance hall.

The survey of the provision of public buildings in the twelve towns is now complete. The remaining part of this study examines the sources of finance for the buildings and the motives and factors which influenced their provision. In addition, it describes the organizational activity involved in the projection and erection of a building.

CHAPTER III
THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS BY
THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The third and last duty of the sovereign or commonwealth is that of erecting and maintaining those public institutions and those public works, which, though they may be in the highest degree advantageous to a great society, are, however, of such a nature, that the profit could never repay the expence to any individual or small number of individuals, and which it therefore cannot be expected that any individual or small number of individuals should erect or maintain After the public institutions and public works necessary for the defence of the society, and for the administration of justice, the other works and institutions of this kind are chiefly those for promoting the commerce of the society, and those for promoting the instruction of people.

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (1776)¹

I

The public sector or "commonwealth" financed the erection of many public buildings in the West Riding between 1600 and 1840. Buildings were provided by the whole range of governmental bodies: Parliament at national level; the magistracy at county level; and corporations, improvement commissions, and vestries at town and parish level. They were also provided by charitable trusts, i.e. public bodies which, although having no powers of government,

1. A. Smith, The Wealth of Nations (1776), Book V, chapter 1, part 3.

were endowed with funds and property to be administered for public purposes. It is impossible to calculate with any accuracy the sector's contribution to the provision of public buildings in the seventeenth century, but the data suggest that one-fifth of all the buildings erected were financed from the public purse.¹ Better data permit more precise estimates for the period, 1700-1840. Table III.1 shows that the buildings erected by the sector alone accounted for approximately a quarter of total expenditure on public buildings, and those it financed in conjunction with the private sector a further 5 per cent. In other words, the public sector provided either the whole, or at least part, of the finance for approximately one-third of all public buildings when measured in terms of cost.

These overall figures conceal two highly significant aspects of the public sector's expenditure. Firstly, there were considerable decennial variations in the proportion of total expenditure contributed by the public sector; in several decades its contribution was only about 10 per cent, whereas in the 1740's it was 87 per cent, and in the first three decades of the nineteenth century it ranged between 23 and 46 per cent. Secondly, as Table III.2 shows, there were notable differences from town to town in the proportion of total expenditure on public buildings coming from the public sector. For example, its expenditure amounted to over 50 per cent of the total in Wakefield and Doncaster, whereas in Ripon and Bradford it was less than 5 per cent.

1. Estimated from data presented in the gazetteer.

Table III.1

Estimated Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings,1700-1840 *

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Expenditure on buildings financed independently</u>	(a)	<u>Cost of buildings financed jointly with private sector</u>	(b)	<u>(a) + (b)</u>
		<u>As a percentage of total expenditure</u>		<u>As a percentage of total expenditure</u>	
	(£)	(%)	(£)	(%)	(%)
1700-9	-	-	770	28	28
1710-19	285	11	-	-	11
1720-29	864	12	-	-	12
1730-39	960	43	200	9	52
1740-49	8,440	87	-	-	87
1750-59	550	5	-	-	5
1760-69	3,943	26	-	-	26
1770-79	5,431	11	1,450	2	13
1780-89	5,453	16	100	1	17
1790-99	17,160	18	600	1	19
1800-9	12,922	23	1,600	3	26
1810-19	75,776	47	5,150	3	50
1820-29	145,890	33	25,033	6	39
1830-40	41,541	13	55,206	14	27
Totals & Averages	<u>329,215</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>90,109</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>30</u>

Source: The gazetteer.

* As in all tables, percentages have been rounded and "-" indicates zero expenditure.

Table III.2

Estimated Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings
in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840

<u>Town</u>	<u>Expenditure on buildings financed independently</u>	(a)	<u>Cost of buildings financed jointly with private sector</u>	(b)	<u>(a) + (b)</u>
		<u>As a percentage of total expenditure on buildings in town</u>		<u>As a percentage of total expenditure on buildings in town</u>	
	(£)	(%)	(£)	(%)	(%)
Wakefield	92,472	61	550	1	62
Barnsley	17,833	52	2,800	8	60
Doncaster	28,762	51	4,050	7	59
Pontefract	5,390	40	1,675	12	52
Knarborough	3,250	30	500	5	35
Sheffield	72,852	26	11,203	4	30
Leeds	72,428	20	25,878	7	27
Rotherham	5,982	20	8,200	27	47
Halifax	13,600	14	11,722	12	26
Huddersfield	13,306	14	9,000	10	24
Ripon	1,180	4	4,500	17	21
Bradford	2,160	2	10,031	8	10
Totals and Averages	<u>329,215</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>90,109</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>38</u>

Source: The gazetteer.

Before we proceed in our examination of the activities of the public sector, a more detailed description of the twelve towns' public bodies will prove helpful; while all the towns were affected by the activities of Parliament and the county magistrates, there was a considerable diversity in the public bodies existing at the local level.¹ Table III.3 compares the composition of public bodies in the twelve urban centres. All the towns had vestries which administered parochial affairs such as poor relief. However, there were important differences associated with corporations and charitable trusts. Leeds, Pontefract, Doncaster and Ripon had municipal corporations with varying powers of local government; and Sheffield, although not a borough, had a Cutlers' Corporation or Company, which regulated the manufacture of metal and metalwares in the town. Almost all towns had charitable trusts, but there were differences in the number of trusts which each town possessed, and in the functions and wealth of the trusts themselves. All the principal trusts which provided or maintained public buildings are listed in the table. Finally, Leeds, Wakefield, and Bradford possessed improvement commissions which also financed public buildings.

II

Having viewed briefly the overall picture of public sector provision of public buildings, and described the variations which existed in the types of public bodies which existed at the local level, we can

1. Borough magistrates administered judicial affairs within the municipal boroughs but the county magistrates held county quarter sessions in the boroughs as they did in other towns.

Table III.3

The Composition of Public Bodies in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1600- 1840

<u>Town</u>	<u>Corporation</u>		<u>Principal Trusts</u>
Leeds	Municipal Corporation	Vestry Improvement Commission	Pious Uses Committee Harrison's Charities Free Grammar School
Sheffield	Cutlers' Corporation	Vestry	Town Burgesses (or Town Trust) Church Burgesses Free Grammar School Duke of Norfolk's Hospital
Wakefield	-	Vestry Improvement Commission	Grammar School Charity School Hornes' Almshouses
Pontefract	Municipal Corporation	Vestry	Grammar School Charity School Numerous Almshouses - administered by Corporation
Doncaster	Municipal Corporation	Vestry	Grammar School St. Thomas's Hospital
Ripon	Municipal Corporation	Vestry	Grammar School) administered Several Almshouses) by Corporation
Ennesborough	-	Vestry	Grammar School
Rotherham	-	Vestry	Feoffees of the Common Land
Halifax	-	Vestry	Waterhouse's Charities Free Grammar School

Table III.3 (contd.)

<u>Town</u>	<u>Corporation</u>			<u>Principal Trusts</u>
Huddersfield	-	Vestry		-
Barnsley	-	Vestry		School
Bradford	-	Vestry.	Improvement Commission	Free Grammar School

Source: Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities (England and Wales) (P.P. 1894-99) - see the bibliography for specific references for each town; General information about the towns given in W. White, 1837 D; Information in general works on each town - see the bibliography.

make a chronological survey of the types of buildings financed by this sector, and assess the relative financial contribution made by the different types of public body.

During the seventeenth century no public buildings in the twelve towns were financed by Parliament; the small number of buildings erected by the public sector were financed by the County and local bodies. The activities of the county magistracy were very limited but were of considerable significance for future levels of public expenditure. The West Riding House of Correction established at Wakefield in 1597 was financed by the magistrates, and in the seventeenth century they obtained new premises for it and took full responsibility for their maintenance and repair. However, this apart, their only other expenditure on public buildings was a small grant towards the rebuilding of Pontefract Town Hall in 1657.

The expenditure of local public bodies was also very limited in this century. Ripon Corporation built a town hall in 1611, Sheffield's Cutlers' Company built a guild hall in 1638, and probably Pontefract Corporation helped to finance the erection of the town hall in 1657,¹ but otherwise the corporations merely maintained premises, such as prisons, which they had erected in earlier years. Parish vestries were even less active: the workhouses established in several towns were maintained from parish funds but the only known source of

1. Although the latter cannot be proved, it seems probable because the Corporation financed the 1785 town hall in conjunction with the county.

finance for the actual buildings was private funds occasionally assisted by grants from charitable trusts. Meanwhile, charitable trusts were almost totally inactive; the only example of the erection of a new building by a trust being St. Nicholas's Hospital at Pontefract which was rebuilt c.1673, but even this work was assisted by donations from private individuals.

After 1700 the data relating to public buildings improve considerably in quality and it is possible not only to survey the buildings provided by the public sector, but also to estimate the overall financial contribution made by the different branches of the sector to buildings in general.

As Table III.4 shows, in the first half of the eighteenth century all public expenditure on buildings was made by local bodies; no buildings were financed either by Parliament or the county magistrates (undoubtedly, the County paid out small sums for the maintenance of the House of Correction at Wakefield and the court house at Pontefract, but it did not finance the erection of any new buildings). Although 75 per cent of finance came from corporations, the bulk of this expenditure was Doncaster Corporation's exceptionally large outlay of £8,000 on building its Mansion House, 1744-8. If the latter were excluded from the figures, the sums contributed from local rates, charitable trusts, and corporations in this period would have been very similar. The local bodies spent money on town halls, workhouses, almshouses, and, in one case, a school. In Sheffield, the Town Trust, with some private assistance, financed the town hall, and the Cutlers' Corporation built the Cutlers' Hall; at

Table III.4

Estimated Contribution made by Different Types of Public Body to the
Total Public Sector Expenditure on Public Buildings, 1700-1840 *

Period	Parliament £	%	Parliament & Private Sector jointly £	%	County £	%	County & Private Sector jointly £	%	Local Rate £	%	Local Rate & Private Sector jointly £	%	Charitable Trusts £	%	Charitable Trusts & Private Sector jointly £	%	Corporations £	%	Corporations & Private Sector jointly £	%	Combinations of Public Bodies & Private Sector £	%
1700-49	-		-		-		-		850	7	150	1	897	8	620	5	8,592	75	-		410	4
1750-99	10,800	31	-		12,972	37	-		-		200	1	1,227	4	950	3	5,448	16	500	1	2,090	7
1800-40	119,272	32	36,625	10	83,259	22	8,031	2	37,890	10	4,300	1	5,184	2	27,683	7	21,324	6	3,850	1	23,200	7

Source: The gazetteer.

* Percentages show the proportion of public sector expenditure provided by each type of body. Percentages are rounded.

Rotherham, the Feoffees of the Common Lands built a town hall and grammar school; in Knaresborough and Barnsley, workhouses were financed from the poor rates; at Leeds, the Moot Hall was financed jointly by its corporation and its principal charitable trust, the Pious Uses Committee; almshouses were erected at Doncaster from the corporation's funds and at Sheffield from the Town Trust's funds. The timing of these particular building activities explains the distinct increases in the proportion of total expenditure on public buildings contributed by the public sector in the 1700's, 1730's and 1740's (see Table III.1). In the 1700's it was principally accounted for by the financing of town halls at Sheffield and Wakefield, and the Feoffees' Charity School at Rotherham; in the 1730's the increase was principally the result of the provision of workhouses at Doncaster, Barnsley, Bradford, and Knaresborough, and almshouses at Pontefract; in the 1740's the jump to approximately 87 per cent of total expenditure is entirely explained by the building of Doncaster's Mansion House.

The most striking feature of the second half of the eighteenth century is the entry of Parliament and the County into the erection of new public buildings; each of them accounted for approximately one-third of total public sector expenditure. Without their building activities, coupled with those of Doncaster Corporation, the public sector's contribution to overall provision of public buildings would have been insignificant in this period. The erection of the new House of Correction and the Women's Prison at Wakefield by the County, 1766-70, accounted for almost all public expenditure in the 1760's. Similarly, in the 1780's the County's expenditure on enlarging the House of Correction and assisting in the building

of the new town hall at Pontefract in conjunction with the town's corporation, accounted for over two-thirds of public sector expenditure. In the 1790's, Parliament's provision of a barracks at Sheffield accounted for almost two-thirds of public expenditure. The bulk of the public sector expenditure in the other decades came from the activities of Doncaster Corporation. It entered new spheres of provision and spent quite lavishly. It provided a shambles and cross, 1756-7, costing £550; a gaol, 1768-9, costing £81; a theatre, 1775-6, costing £1,577; the grandstand, 1777-8, costing c. £2,000; another gaol, 1779, costing c. £300; it repaired the town hall in 1784 at a cost of £280; and it built a public dispensary, 1793-4, at a cost of £660. Meanwhile, the other public bodies continued to erect public buildings but on a very limited scale. Unlike Doncaster Corporation, they showed little innovatory enterprise; their provisions were once again limited to almshouses, schools, town halls and prisons.

In the first forty years of the nineteenth century, Parliament and the County again contributed the lion's share of the public sector's expenditure on public buildings. Almost entirely as a result of their activities, peaks in the proportion of total expenditure contributed by the public sector occurred in the 1810's and 1820's (see Table III.1). In these decades the sector accounted for 47 per cent and 33 per cent, respectively, of total expenditure on public buildings. In contrast to the period 1750-99, Parliament now expended more than the County; it provided a barracks at Leeds, 1819-20, at a cost of £24,000, and spent very large sums on its major building activity in this period, the erection of Anglican churches. In the 1820's, it was solely responsible for financing

ten churches at a total cost of £81,769 - three each at Leeds, Sheffield, and Huddersfield, and another at Barnsley. In the 1830's, it spent another £6,503 on churches where it alone provided finance, and contributed substantially to three other churches which cost a total of £35,450. Meanwhile, the County was also spending large sums on erecting buildings at Wakefield: an estimated £5,000 on the court house, 1806-9; an enormous £40,000 on the Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1816-18; and £28,300 on the enlargement of the House of Correction, 1819-24; the latter was extended again in 1837 at a cost of £5,100.

Although, taken as a whole, the relative contribution of local bodies to total public expenditure, 1800-40, was the same as in the previous half century, i.e. approximately one-third, there were some significant developments in this area, as Table III.4 demonstrates. Whilst the size of corporation expenditure on public buildings went up considerably, their share in public sector expenditure fell by 10 per cent. This corporation expenditure consisted of £9,939 spent by Sheffield Cutlers' Corporation on a new Cutlers' Hall, 1832-3, and Doncaster Corporation's periodic expenditure on improving the Mansion House, the theatre, and buildings at the race track, building a School of Industry, some almshouses, a vagrancy office, and a gaol, and contributing to the erection of a newsroom and public library.

The principal reason for the decline in the corporations' share of public sector expenditure was the increased use of local (non-Corporation) rates to finance public buildings: a tenth of public sector expenditure came from this source. Almost half of the

money was raised from the poor rate and was spent on fitting out a new workhouse at Sheffield at the end of the 1820's, and building Union Workhouses at Rotherham and Halifax at the end of the 1830's; a further third was raised by a "local rate" levied on the inhabitants of Barnsley to finance a new church, 1820-2; and the remainder was raised by parish rates or improvement rates levied on a town and expended for novel purposes. These rates levied for novel purposes were particularly significant for the future provision of public buildings, because they are the earliest examples of the use of local rates to finance public buildings not intended for the relief of poverty or religious purposes. During the latter part of the eighteenth century improvement commissions with rating powers had been established in several West Riding towns, but they had never used their funds to erect public buildings. However, a Borough Police Office and Fire Engine House was erected in Wakefield, 1829-30, and a Station House for the use of the improvement commissioners and their employees was erected at Bradford in 1837; these must have been financed from local improvement rates. In Leeds the town's improvement commissioners were empowered to levy two rates in addition to the normal improvement rate. One was the Court House Rate, which in conjunction with county funds financed the erection of the court house, 1811-15, and the other was the Free Market Rate, which financed the laying out of the Free Market at Leeds, 1826-7. At Sheffield the poor rate or parish rate was used in conjunction with county funds to finance the erection of a town hall, 1808-10, and the rate was also used at Wakefield to finance a town prison.

Finally, there was little change in the building activities of charitable trusts. They continued to rebuild and repair their trust premises where necessary and make occasional contributions to other public building ventures. The most notable items of expenditure were the rebuilding of the Shrewsbury Hospital at Sheffield, 1825-7, which was financed jointly by the trustees and the Duke of Norfolk at a cost of over £10,000, and the building of the Halifax Infirmary and Dispensary, begun in 1836, which was financed jointly by the Dispensary's trustees and private funds at a cost of £7,500.

The remaining sections of this chapter attempt to explain the pattern of provision just outlined. Sections III - V examine the pressures and motives which induced public bodies to erect buildings, while Section VI discusses the important influence of financial considerations.

III

The scope of Parliament's building activities, as we have already noted, was very limited: it financed only two types of public buildings, churches and barracks. Surprisingly, in view of the great difference between the functions of the buildings, it had the same principal motive for financing them - a desire to prevent or quell social disorder. The barracks at Sheffield and Leeds were built at times when the working classes were in a rebellious mood. Sheffield Barracks were begun in 1792 for the purpose of "awing the

threatening aspect of the people who had long been clamorous for the reform of parliament, and had several times evinced their joy on receiving intelligence of the successful progress of the French revolutionary armies."¹ Similarly, Leeds Barracks were built 1819-20, when it was "supposed that the manufacturing districts were on the verge of insurrection and rebellion".²

Although providing churches was a much less direct way of dealing with social unrest, it is evident that Parliament felt it would be effective. By the early nineteenth century the provision of Anglican churches in the manufacturing districts of England had become totally inadequate for the needs of the much enlarged population. It was calculated in 1818 that churches in parishes with populations of 4,000 or more had sufficient capacity for only one quarter of the population.³ The situation in some of the West Riding towns was far worse: Sheffield, for example, had accommodation for only 6,280 people out of a population of 55,000.⁴ It might be argued that when Parliament granted one million pounds in 1818 for the purposes of building Anglican churches in working-class areas it was motivated by a patriotic desire to support the national church, but, as M.H. Port convincingly argues, the fear of social disorder was the overriding motive.⁵ This line of

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1. Sheffield 1833 D. p.59.
 2. E. Parsons, The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial, and Miscellaneous History of Leeds ... and the Manufacturing Districts of Yorkshire (Leeds, 1834), I, 152.
 3. M.H. Port, Six Hundred New Churches: A Study of the Church Building Commission, 1818-1856, and its Church Building Activities (1961), p.5.
 4. Ibid. p.5.
 5. Ibid. chapter 1.

thought was clearly expressed in John Bardler's memorial to the Prime Minister in 1815 on behalf of the High Church faction in Parliament: "We are alarmed at the danger to which the constitution of this country both in church and state is exposed from the want of places of public worship, particularly for persons of the middle and lower classes". Morals could only be inculcated by religious principles, and without them the nation could not prosper. The work of providing the necessary churches was beyond the power of private or parochial subscription: "Parliament alone can do it; and we conceive it to be one of its chief duties to provide places of worship for the members of the established religion".¹

Parliament saw no reason for providing any other types of public building in the West Riding towns. Laissez-faire and non-intervention by the State were the order of things prior to the Victorian era.² Adam Smith expressed this attitude by suggesting that State provision of provincial public buildings would be both inequitable and inefficient. He went on to say:

Even those public works which are of such a nature that they cannot afford any revenue for maintaining themselves, but of which the conveniency is nearly confined to some particular place or district, are always better maintained by a local or provincial revenue, under the management of a local and provincial administration, than by the general revenue of the state, of which the executive power must always have the management.³

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1. M.H. Port, Six Hundred New Churches: A Study of the Church Building Commission, 1818-1856, and its Church Building Activities (1961), p.9.
 2. See A.J. Taylor, Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain (1972).
 3. A.Smith, op.cit. Book V, Chapter 1, part 3.

IV

The provision of public buildings by the West Riding magistrates was principally motivated by their desire, fostered by Parliament, to execute their major duty of the maintenance of law and order in an efficient and effective manner. Until the nineteenth century the magistrates were very reluctant to finance buildings. Wherever possible they encouraged the inhabitants of individual towns to provide buildings needed for the judicial purposes of the county, rather than providing them themselves, and in some cases it was mainly parliamentary pressure which forced them to act.

The magistrates' provision of the West Riding House of Correction was almost certainly the product of parliamentary pressure. In 1609 an Act of Parliament was passed which compelled the magistrates of every county to provide a House of Correction by Michaelmas Day 1611. As the preamble to the Act showed, Parliament had attempted to persuade county magistrates to build Houses of Correction in earlier years but had met with limited success.

Heretofore divers good and necessary Laws and Statutes have been made and provided for the Erection of Houses of Correction, for the suppressing and punishing of Rogues, Vagabonds and other idle, vagrant and disorderly Persons; which Laws have not wrought so good Effect as was expected, as well for that the said Houses of Correction have not been built according as was intended¹

The West Riding Quarter Sessions minutes for 1610-12 refer to money being available for building a House of Correction,² and at the

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1. 7 Jac.I, c.4 (1609): An Act for the Due Execution of Divers Laws and Statutes Heretofore Made Against Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars, and Other Lewd and Idle Persons. For a discussion of the legislation see S. and B. Webb, English Poor Law History: Part I (1927), pp.83-4.
 2. J.W. Walker, Wakefield its History and People (Wakefield, 1934), p.364.

Michaelmas Sessions at Pontefract in 1611 the magistrates resolved to erect one.¹ An existing building was converted for the purpose and opened in 1612.² Once the magistrates had accepted responsibility for providing a House of Correction, the subsequent repair, enlargement and rebuilding of the premises were prompted by the inadequacy for accommodating the growing numbers of prisoners which the magistrates wished to confine. In 1662 the magistrates paid for the repair of the premises because they were in "great ruin and decay".³ In 1766 steps were taken to rebuild the premises because they were "not sufficient".⁴ The major enlargement of the building, 1819-24, stemmed from a resolution at the Wakefield Quarter Sessions in 1818 that: "In consequence of the very great increase in the number of commitments some additional building is absolutely necessary".⁵

Before the nineteenth century the magistrates were very reluctant to finance court houses and the only one they helped to finance was Pontefract Town Hall in 1657. However, they thought court houses and local prisons were essential for the efficient transaction of judicial business and were at pains to encourage town inhabitants to provide the facilities. The technique they adopted was to threaten to remove the quarter sessions from towns where courtroom

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1. J.W. Walker, Wakefield its History and People (2nd edn, Wakefield, 1939), p. 425.
 2. Ibid. p. 425. A "House of Correction" existed at Wakefield in 1597 but there is no evidence that it belonged to the magistrates - if it did, it was certainly not in existence by 1610.
 3. J.H. Turner, The Annals of Wakefield House of Correction (Bingley, 1904), p.61.
 4. Ibid. p.88.
 5. Ibid. p.149.

facilities were inadequate. This approach prompted the rebuilding of Leeds Moot Hall, 1710-11, the building of Leeds Court House, 1811-13, and Rotherham Town Hall, 1825-6.¹ With regard to the Leeds Court House, the Leeds Intelligencer commented in 1810:

We trust that the complaint so justly made at these Sessions, against the Leeds Court House the Moot Hall, and which was assigned as the cause of the Sessions being removed to Wakefield, will not operate another year. The necessary powers being obtained, there should be no longer delay in selecting a proper situation and building a Sessions House, as will do credit to the town.²

Similarly, immediately prior to the erection of Rotherham Town Hall, the magistrates had "threatened" to remove the sessions from the town because the old hall was in a "ruinous and dangerous state".³

There are several factors which explain why the West Riding magistrates began to finance court houses and prisons after 1806, amongst which was the pressure of increasing judicial business. During the eighteenth century, owing to the growth of population, the scale of the magistrates' business grew considerably and the use of makeshift and cramped facilities which they shared with other people became increasingly impractical. By the end of the century the magistrates needed their own permanent premises of a

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1. Re. Leeds Moot Hall: LC/M2, fo.69, 5 June 1710.
 2. L.I. 8 October 1810.
 3. Minutes of Feoffees of the Common Lands, 4 August 1824 - quoted in J.Guest, Historic Notices of Rotherham (Worksop, 1879), p.413.

substantial size. The notable increase in the volume of judicial business is illustrated by the frequency of the Leeds Borough magistrates' sessions over the period; whereas in the early part of the eighteenth century they had sat once a week at most, by 1775 they were forced to sit twice a week and needed to provide a permanent office for holding their petty sessions.¹ By 1836 the magistrates were sitting every day.² The preamble of the Act of Parliament passed in 1806 to enable the West Riding magistrates to provide their own court houses indicated that legislation was required because the magistrates' pressure on towns to provide better amenities had met with only limited success and their lack of control of the premises was a nuisance:

The Court Houses of Buildings in the said several Towns in which the said General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the said Riding have been holden are for the most Part very ancient Buildings, greatly out of Repair, and altogether inconvenient for the Purposes of holding therein the said General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and the same are either the Property of private Individuals or of Corporation, by whose Permission and Sufferance only they have been used for the Purposes aforesaid, and therefore are not subject in any respect to the Control of the Justices of the Peace for the said Riding. (my italics)

Even the court houses built as a result of this Act soon became inadequate because of the continuous growth of judicial business. Only twelve years after the completion of Leeds Court House, the West Riding magistrates were obliged to help finance its enlargement because of the increased pressure of business. In 1827 the

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1. L.I. 14 March 1775.
 2. L.C.A. L C J 1: Leeds Borough Magistrates Minutes, 21 April 1836.
 3. 46 Geo.III, C.3 (1806): An Act to Enable the Justices of the Peace for the West Riding of the County of York, to Provide Convenient Court Houses for Holding the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace Within the Said Riding.

magistrates resolved that it was:

highly desirable that an Enlargement of the Leeds Court House should take place, by making the necessary accommodation for an additional Court for the dispatch of business at the Quarter Sessions, and providing additional rooms for public business to meet the present increased and increasing wants of the Magistracy and the public.¹

Just over two centuries after the West Riding magistrates had first provided a county House of Correction, they provided the county lunatic asylum. Their action was motivated by the same factors which had led to the provision of the House of Correction and court houses, i.e. parliamentary pressure and encouragement, and the difficulties of carrying out magisterial duties as the size of business grew. By 1800, the problem of caring for the mentally ill had grown to a scale which was unsuitable for management at parish level. During the eighteenth century private asylums had become more common and parishes sometimes sent their lunatics to them, but very often, as was the case in Leeds, these facilities were ignored and lunatics were merely housed amongst the poor and infirm in workhouses.² A parliamentary select committee inquiring into "the state of lunatics" in 1807 reported that the highly dangerous and inconvenient practice of confining lunatics in gaols, poor houses and houses of industry could not be prevented unless some other public provision was made - private asylums were either too expensive to attract parish use or were too sparsely provided. The committee thought that the most economic and

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1. L.C.A. L C J 1: Leeds Borough Magistrates Minutes, 7 February 1827.
 2. S. and B. Webb, English Poor Law History: Part I (1927) pp. 300-3.

satisfactory provision would be the establishment of large-scale asylums, each capable of holding two or three hundred patients, and they recommended that these should be provided by the county magistrates.¹ Accordingly, as a result of two Acts, Parliament transferred the responsibility for the care of the insane to the county.² Hence, in response to this legislation and the growing problem of lunacy, the West Riding magistrates built an asylum of the type that the select committee had recommended.

In the final analysis the provision of buildings by the county magistrates was a direct response to the duties imposed on them by Parliament. In some cases they provided buildings because they were compelled to by Parliament, in other cases because they felt that the buildings were necessary for the proper execution of their duties. Little innovation stemmed from the initiative of the magistracy itself because it stayed strictly within its spheres of responsibility. When the variation from town to town in the public sector's contribution to the provision of buildings is considered, it should be noted that the sector's expenditure was highest in Wakefield because the major county buildings were built there; for, as we have seen, in the period 1600-1840 Wakefield was regarded as the administrative centre of the West Riding.³

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1. S. and B. Webb, op.cit. pp.300-3.
 2. 48 Geo.III, c.96 (1808): An Act for the Better Care of Lunatics, Being Paupers or Criminals in England. 55 Geo.III, c.46: An Act to Amend an Act Passed in the Forty Eighth Year of the Reign of His Present Majesty entitled An Act for the Better Care and Maintenance of Lunatics, Being Paupers or Criminals, in England.
 3. In the Middle Ages, Pontefract had been the administrative centre of the Riding and the General Quarter Sessions for the Riding continued to be held there throughout the period 1600-1840.

V

The provision of buildings by local public bodies is much more difficult to explain than provision by Parliament and the county magistrates. The major analytical problem is that bodies which were nominally the same, i.e., corporations, charitable trusts, etc., in fact did not follow a consistent pattern in their provision of buildings. For example, the Vestry financed the workhouse in Leeds, whereas the Corporation financed the workhouse in Doncaster; charitable trusts financed town halls at Sheffield and Rotherham, whereas in Doncaster and Leeds they were financed by the corporations; Doncaster Corporation provided places of entertainment and medical institutions, whereas none of the other municipal corporations did.

Parish vestries were the public bodies with the most consistent pattern of building provision. From the sixteenth century, legislation had firmly placed the responsibility for poor relief on their shoulders. The method by which they relieved the poor was left to their discretion, but various Acts of Parliament encouraged the provision of workhouses.¹ Throughout the period 1600-1840 the principal motive which induced parish vestries to provide workhouses was the desire to perform their duty of poor relief in the most economic manner. For example, in 1737 a general meeting of the inhabitants of Knaresborough declared that:

1. W.E. Tate, The Parish Chest (Cambridge, 1969), pp.226-31.

The rates and assessments of the said township and borough have, for several years past, increased to a very great disadvantage; and the same in all probability will be worse and worse, unless some effectual means can be found to the remedy the same

- the solution they decided on was to erect a workhouse.¹

Writers on Poor Law history emphasize the economic incentives to provide workhouses.² Before the eighteenth century contemporaries thought that the workhouse would serve as a place of profitable employment of the poor, and an ideal way of lowering and even abolishing the poor rate. However, the repeated economic failure of the institutions during the seventeenth century made them unpopular and led to their disuse and a return to systems of out-relief. The revival in their popularity from the 1720's, which has been noted, although partly induced by the desire to provide the best form of relief for the sick and infirm, was once again motivated principally by economic considerations. In 1722 an Act was passed which enabled the officers of parishes to purchase or hire a house for keeping, maintaining, and employing the poor.³ While it might be suggested that the provision of workhouses resulted from this Act because it was the first (apart from local Acts applying to specific parishes) which specifically empowered parish officials to erect workhouses, in fact, the Act made a rather more significant provision. One of its clauses stipulated

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1. M. Calvert, The History of Knaresborough (Knaresborough, 1844), p.79.
 2. S. and B. Webb, op.cit. esp. pp.212-313; D. Marshall, "The Old Poor Law, 1662-1795", Economic History Review VIII, (1937), 38-47; D. Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century (1926), esp. Chapter 4; M. Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State (4th edn. 1968), pp.39-56, 89-103.
 3. 9 Geo.I, C.7 (1722): An Act for Amending the Laws Relating to the Settlement, Employment and Relief of the Poor.

that if a workhouse was provided and a pauper refused a place in it, a parish would be absolved of its statutory responsibility to give the pauper poor relief. Consequently a parish might cut the cost of relief by providing a workhouse which was so unpleasant that people would only apply for assistance if they were absolutely desperate.

In later years "economy" was again the principal incentive which prompted parishes to combine into Poor Law Unions and provide union workhouses such as those at Doncaster and Halifax. Edwin Chadwick, one of the leading instigators of the "New Poor Law", saw one of the principal benefits of the Unions as being the economy produced by dealing with the problem of the poor on a large scale.¹

In contrast to the activities of vestries, there were major differences between the provisions of each of the municipal corporations. This resulted to a large extent from the differing ways in which the corporations interpreted their responsibilities and functions. The principal members of all the corporations were magistrates for their respective boroughs and this explains the use of corporate funds for building town halls and court houses,² but opinions on how far their duties went beyond these provisions

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1. M. Bruce, op.cit. pp.89-103.
 2. For full details about the corporations' powers and responsibilities see: Reports From Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in England and Wales (P.P. 1035, XXIII):
Doncaster Corporation pp.1491-1507; Leeds Corporation pp. 1615-1624; Pontefract Corporation pp.1671-9; Ripon Corporation pp.1705-10.

varied considerably. For example, although Leeds Corporation took an interest in the general well-being of its town, its activities outside the sphere of law and order were very limited. As Mr. F.E. Bingley complained in 1833 at a public meeting discussing the reform of the Corporation, its contribution to the provision of public buildings had been very limited:

What improvements had either originated or been carried on by the Leeds Corporation? He knew of but one instance, and that was the Court House. Where would have been that noble edifice the Commercial Buildings? Where would have been the Central Market? -- the Corn Exchange? -- the South Market and the New Shambles, had their establishment been left to the Corporation?¹

Leeds Corporation saw itself primarily as a body established to regulate the woollen cloth trade and manufacture, and to maintain law and order in its capacity as the borough magistracy; its interpretation of its role went little beyond this. Likewise, the corporations at Pontefract and Ripon were also fairly inactive and apathetic. As one writer on the history of local government wrote when generalising about the activities of corporations:

The eighteenth-century corporation regarded itself far less as an instrument of local government of the modern type than as an institution for the management of a corporate property. In the past they had consented to regulate local trade and industry, but when laissez-faire rendered this obsolete there followed a hiatus in which they remained blissfully² unaware that there was anything much for them to do.

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1. Leeds Mercury 13 April 1833.
 2. E. Moir, The Justice of the Peace (1969), p.174.

Doncaster Corporation was an exception to this generalization; in stark contrast to the other three municipal corporations, as we have seen, it provided many public buildings in addition to a town hall. To some extent it provided these buildings because they were a profitable way to use its corporate wealth. For example, the theatre which it built in 1776 was let immediately at an annual rate of £70, a return of over 4 per cent.¹ Similarly, by the 1830's the rate of return received from the shambles, which it had built in 1756, had reached 18 per cent per annum, and the return from its grandstand, built in 1777, was well over 7 per cent.² In all, by 1835, the corporation received the considerable annual income of £902 from the buildings which it had erected in Doncaster, including the dispensary, the grandstand and booths on the race-course, the theatre, the weighing-machine and the baths - all of which were let, with the exception of the grandstand.³ However, comments of contemporaries reveal that to very large extent the corporation believed the interests of the town to be its major concern. Edward Baines pointed out in 1822 that a considerable portion of the Doncaster Corporation funds were "employed in improving the town and its precincts, and adding to the comforts of its inhabitants".⁴ Similarly, the Municipal Corporation Commissioners were full of praise for the public-spirited activities

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1. Doncaster Corporation, A Calendar to the Records of the Borough of Doncaster (Doncaster, 1902), IV, 248.
 2. Reports From Commissioners (P.P. 1835, XXIII), pp.1503-4.
 3. Ibid.
 4. E. Baines, 1822 D. I, 168.

of the corporation. Examples they cited were the financing of the town's street lighting and loans made for building turnpikes.

"The sums", they said, "were not advanced so much with a view to profitable investment as with a view to improving the town".¹

The Sheffield corporation, the Cutlers' Corporation or Company, was not a municipal corporation and its principal officers were not magistrates, but with these exceptions it was very similar to Leeds Corporation in that it had been established to regulate a local industry, in its case the metal trade and manufacture.²

Inevitably, it took an interest in the well-being of the town because most of the male inhabitants were members of the corporation, but with respect to the provision of public buildings it confined its attention to those which were for its own use, the Cutlers' Halls.

The provision of public buildings by charitable trusts was undertaken as part of their duties and legal responsibilities. The trustees of schools and almshouses were often vested with funds for the maintenance and administration of the premises; when these premises became derelict it was the trustees' legal responsibility to rebuild them if sufficient funds were available. For example, Leeds Grammar School was considerably enlarged by its trustees in 1823; the Duke of Norfolk's Hospital at Sheffield was rebuilt by the trustees, 1825-7, and Waterhouse's Almshouses at Halifax were

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1. Reports From Commissioners (P.P. 1835, XXIII), p.1502.
 2. For background history of the Corporation see R.E. Leader, History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York (Sheffield, 1905).

rebuilt by its trustees, 1812-13. All of these works were undertaken because the existing premises were both decaying and inadequate.

However, certain charitable trusts went beyond the provision of schools and almshouses, as has been noted. The main reason for this was that their responsibilities and functions were not clearly defined by the terms on which they were established. The two principal trusts of this type were the Town Burgesses Trust at Sheffield and the Feoffees of the Common Lands at Rotherham. The Charity Commissioners reported that because of the broad definition of the ways in which Town Burgesses should use their funds, they had been able to use "a very wide discretion in applying the income of their trust".¹ Similarly, the Feoffees of the Common Lands had wide powers of discretion in the use of their funds, which were held for trusts of a "general and indefinite nature", and were to be used for purposes "most useful and beneficial to the inhabitants of the town of Rotherham".² Hence, how their funds were used was open to the interpretation of the trusts' members. An inquiry in 1811 found that the Town Burgesses Trust had applied its income to several charitable purposes including building and repairing "the workhouses, almshouses, the town hall, and other public buildings in Sheffield".³

The Charity Commissioners were equally impressed by the latitude of the activities of the Feoffees of the Common Lands:

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1. Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities (England and Wales), Report on the City of Sheffield (P.P. 1897, LXVII, part 6, p.506.
 2. Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities (England and Wales), Report on the Parish of Rotherham (P.P. 1897, LXVII, part 6), pp.356-7.
 3. Reports Endowed Charities (P.P. 1897, LXVII, part 6), p.507.

Since 1589 they have exercised at one time or other, and probably at the same time, every function which a local public body can exercise. They have combined the duties of a town council, a local board of health, a board of guardians, market commissioners, road trustees; they have regulated the commons, supplied the town with water, maintained a number of different officials, built town halls and schools, and in fact, to use Mr. Guest's words, their duties have "comprised help from bringing into the world to winding sheets and burial fees on being taken out of it."¹

In addition to town halls and schools, the Feoffees had provided a prison and market house, and had helped to finance a new market place and shambles and a dispensary.

Looking at the overall picture of the provision of buildings by local public bodies it seems that a body would provide a building which lay within its sphere of responsibility; but where its responsibilities were not clearly defined it became a matter of contemporary interpretation. In cases where a building was needed but no public body was prepared to provide it, the Webbs' "ad hoc public bodies", that is the improvement commissions, sometimes stepped in.

VI

In the final analysis a public body's ability to provide a building was entirely dependent on whether or not it had access to the necessary finance. In order to finance a building a body

1. Reports Endowed Charities (P.P. 1897, LXVII, part 6), pp. 369-70.

might have the choice of levying a local tax, if it had rating powers, or drawing on its own funds, if it had any.

In contrast to the present day, local taxation was a very inaccessible source of finance for public buildings in the period, 1600-1840.

Whilst Parliament might levy taxes for any purpose it chose, the rating powers which the county magistrates and local public bodies possessed were very limited.¹ A major problem was that the use of existing local and county taxes was restricted in several ways.

At parish level prior to the mid-eighteenth century the vestry was the only body which could levy rates, and these rates could only be used for poor relief, the maintenance of the highways, and the upkeep of the church fabric.² Consequently, workhouses, vagrancy offices and churches were the only public buildings which could be financed from parish revenue. Moreover, the sizable increases in these rates required to build a workhouse or rebuild a church were very unpopular and therefore discouraged their use as a source of finance for building purposes. For example, in 1738 the Bradford church wardens and overseers of the poor, fearing opposition to their plans to finance the erection of a workhouse from the poor rate, softened the blow by borrowing the money required with the intention of paying it back out of the poor rate over a number of years. As they explained:

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1. For a detailed discussion of the origins and development of local taxation see: E. Cannan, The History of Local Rates in England (1912); W.E. Tate, op.cit. pp.25-9, 93-5.
 2. The first poor rate was imposed by an Act of 1597-8 (39 Eliz., C.3, 1597-8). Church rates were begun in the fourteenth century but, apart from a short period in the Interregnum, they had no statutory basis. See W.E. Tate, op.cit. pp. 27, 93-5.

Raising so large a sum of money [£300] by way of a poor-rate upon the said town in a short time, may be very grievous and burthensome to several of the small freeholders and other inhabitants of the said town.¹

The Webbs point out that the solution adopted by Bradford's officials was not available in earlier years because even though Tudor legislation had empowered parishes to levy a local rate for providing "convenient houses of dwelling" for the poor, it had not empowered them to borrow money on the security of repayment from future income from the poor rate.² The same sort of problem affected the use of the church rate. As late as 1818, although the rate could be used to finance church building, it could not be used as security for a loan.³ Consequently, extremely high rates would have been required to finance the building of new churches. By the early nineteenth century the imposition of church rates for any purpose had become a very thorny issue because of the rise of nonconformity, and so the likelihood of their use for church building decreased considerably.⁴ Given this situation at parish level it is not difficult to see why parish expenditure on public buildings was so limited in both size and scope.

At a higher level of administration, a rate which might have provided a source of finance for public buildings was the County Rate levied by the county magistrates. This rate was established in 1739 by an Act of Parliament which consolidated a number of small rates for

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1. J. James, The History and Topography of Bradford (1841), pp. 153-4.
 2. S. and B. Webb, op.cit. pp.215-6.
 3. W.E. Tate, op.cit. pp.93-5.
 4. Nonconformists objected to paying rates for the maintenance of Anglican churches. For a discussion of the controversy surrounding church rates in early nineteenth-century Leeds see: D. Fraser, "The Leeds Churchwardens 1828-1850", Thors.Soc. Pubns. LIII, part 1 (1970), 1-22.

various purposes, which the magistrates had been empowered to levy over the previous century and a half.¹ The Act and its predecessors empowered county magistrates to levy rates to finance, amongst other things, the building and repairing of gaols and a House of Correction.² Whilst the Act was crucial to the provision of prisons, no other public buildings could be financed from the rate. Therefore until the nineteenth century these legal restrictions were a major obstacle to the provision of a wider variety of public buildings by the county.

The limitations placed on the provision of buildings by the specific designation of local rates are amply illustrated by the story of the West Riding court houses. Since contemporaries attached great importance to the role of public bodies in maintaining law and order, it would have seemed natural and acceptable for them to use local taxation to finance the provision of court houses; however, problems arose even in this respect. In 1804 the West Riding magistrates decided to build a court house at Sheffield but in the early stages of the scheme the legality of the use of the County Rate to finance the building was challenged.³ After taking legal advice, the magistrates discovered that it was illegal to use funds accruing from the County Rate to finance any court house other than a "Shire Hall" - the "Shire Hall" in their case being the court house at Pontefract.⁴ Thus in order to finance the court house,

1. 12 Geo.II, c.29.

2. Small rates for building Houses of Correction had been legalised by: 3 Jac.I, c.10 (1605-6) and 7 Jac.I, c.4 (1609-10). See W.E. Tate, *op.cit.* p.27.

3. W.Y.R.O., W.R.Q.S. Order Books, Wakefield Sessions, June 1804.

4. W.Y.R.O., W.R.Q.S. Records, Cases for the Opinion of Counsel - two documents explaining the legal position, dated 1804.

they were obliged to secure an Act of Parliament to allow them to use the County Rate for this purpose.¹ In 1809 the inhabitants of Leeds decided that a court house was needed in their town, and so they applied to the West Riding magistrates for funds.² The magistrates, with their new powers, were able to reply that they would make a grant amounting to about half the cost of the building, but the inhabitants must find the rest of the money.³ However, because local rates could not be used to finance a building of this type, and funds were not available from other sources, the inhabitants of the town, led by the Corporation, had no alternative but to apply for a special Act of Parliament empowering them to levy a rate to finance their contribution to the cost of the court house.⁴ Hence, because of the restrictions on the use of local rates, in effect it was necessary to obtain a second Act of Parliament to secure the finance for Leeds Court House. Faced with these obstacles, there can be little doubt that public bodies' lack of suitable rating power retarded their provision of a wider variety of public buildings in the twelve towns.

The provision of the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum is another illustration of this point. For, prior to the legislation which resulted from the select committee report into the treatment of lunatics, the magistrates would have been unable to finance a county asylum owing to restrictions on the use of the County Rate. Before

1. 46 Geo.III, c.3 (1806).

2. L.I. 20 February 1809.

3. Ibid. 29 April 1811.

4. 49 Geo.III, c.122 (1809): An Act to Amend and for Erecting a Court House and Prison for the Borough of Leeds.

1808 the County Rate could not be used to finance asylums, and magistrates did not have authority to borrow money on the security of the rate - a particularly important power when a building could cost as much as £40,000. It was only as a result of two Acts of Parliament that the magistrates gained sufficient powers to enable them to finance the Pauper Lunatic Asylum.¹

The income which public bodies received from their property and investments was an alternative to taxation as a source of finance. However, corporations and charitable trusts were the only public bodies endowed with property and investments of sufficient substance to yield an income adequate for erecting public buildings.² In general their income was small in relation to the cost of public buildings, and therefore was of limited use for their provision. Furthermore, restrictions were often placed on its use, which severely limited the type of buildings which might be financed.

Of the four municipal corporations, shown in Table III.5, only Doncaster Corporation had sufficient wealth and income to finance buildings. With an income of nearly £12,000 per annum by 1835 - sufficient to build a substantial Anglican church or a town hall

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1. See note 31 for details of the legislation. Also S. and B. Webb, op.cit. pp. 300-3. The Asylum was the first in the country built as a result of this legislation.
 2. Parliament had no long-standing funds for providing public buildings in the provinces. The county magistrates had been endowed with funds and property for the maintenance of bridges and highways, but not public buildings. Vestries were occasionally endowed with funds and property for the maintenance of their parish church, but normally endowments of this sort were vested in some sort of charitable trust, e.g. the Church Burgesses at Sheffield or the Pious Uses Committee at Leeds.

Table III.5

The Wealth and Income of Municipal Corporations
in the West Riding in 1835

<u>Corporation</u>	<u>Value of Property and Investments</u>	<u>Annual Income</u>
	£	£
Doncaster	312,428	11,864
Leeds	4,100	220
Ripon	1,500	153
Pontefract	small *	c.160

Source: Reports from Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in England and Wales (P.P. 1835, XXIII): Doncaster pp. 1491-1507; Leeds pp.1615-1624; Pontefract pp. 1671-9; Ripon pp.1705-10.

- * The value of Pontefract Corporation's property was not given in the Report; presumably it was similar in size to that of Ripon Corporation.

every year - it was able to provide buildings with some regularity. In contrast, the other corporations were very poor, having annual incomes less than one-fiftieth of the size. Their income permitted only small contributions to the finance of buildings, and presented a major, if not insuperable, obstacle to any desires to provide more buildings.¹

The other corporation in the West Riding, the Sheffield Cutlers' Corporation, was also very poor by the standards of Doncaster Corporation.² In the early seventeenth century its annual income was under £20, and even by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had only risen to £50. The corporation was forced to go into debt in order to pay the £442 required to build its hall, 1725-6. By 1808 its income had risen to £812 per annum but after it had paid dues such as interest and annuities, and general expenses including its traditional charitable contributions, only a small surplus of £18 remained. By 1840 its annual income was £973 but once again its surplus was too small to permit more than an occasional contribution to the cost of a public building.

There were similar disparities in the wealth and income of charitable

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1. The Municipal Corporation Reports of 1835 show that the wealth of the corporations had altered very little since they were first established. They were endowed with funds periodically but the bulk of their wealth stemmed from lands and property which they had acquired prior to 1600. Leeds Corporation was exceptional because it was established after 1600 (i.e. 1626) and it owned no land; its sole property consisted of £3,600 in Consols and £500 lent to turnpike trustees; this revenue was derived solely from fines payable on refusal to serve the offices of the Corporation.
 2. The details of the Corporation's finances discussed in this paragraph are taken from R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 130-4, 139-141.

trusts, as is illustrated by Table III.6 showing the incomes of the charitable trusts in each of the twelve towns in 1842. It is immediately apparent that, even if the towns had devoted their total charitable income to financing buildings, most of them had too small an income to finance buildings regularly. With the exceptions of Sheffield, Leeds, Wakefield, and possibly Halifax, the charitable trusts of each town would have needed to save their income for several years before they could afford to finance a substantial building. A further problem was that at least one-third of this charitable income could never be used for building purposes because it had been bequeathed for a variety of uses such as maintaining highways, paying doles and pensions to the poor, maintaining ministers and providing educational scholarships.

The other two-thirds of the income might possibly be used for erecting buildings but even here there were problems. Owing to the terms on which the trusts had been endowed with property, the majority of them were compelled to use their income for particular purposes. As Table III.6 shows, the majority of funds were specifically designated for the upkeep of schools and almshouses. Thus, the type of buildings which charitable trusts could finance was severely limited. Furthermore, the funds and property from which income accrued had been given principally to maintain almspeople and scholars and to pay schoolmasters; few benefactors had provided for the day when the premises would require rebuilding. Consequently, few trusts were able to accumulate surplus funds to finance rebuilding, a fact which not only retarded the provision of new buildings by trusts, but also necessitated much of the joint financing of public buildings by the public and the private sector

Table III.6

The Annual Income of Charitable Trusts in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1842 *

Town	Total Income of Charities £	Income from Funds and Property Potentially Available for Erecting Buildings (Incomes over £5)				
		Grammar Schools	Charity Schools	Almshouses	Income of trusts for diverse specific or general purposes	Total
Sheffield	6,000	175		1,801 (Shrewsbury Hospital)	1,346 - Town Trust - "Public Good" 1,419 - Church Burgesses - Ministers, Church, Poor	4,741
Leeds	4,803	1,675	392	1,056 (3 sets)		3,123
Wakefield	3,033	304	632	487 (3 sets)		1,423
Halifax	1,565	185		13	1,181 - Waterhouse's Charity - including almshouses, school, workhouse, poor	1,379
Doncaster	902	39		425 (St. Thomas' Hospital)		464
Rotherham	717	15	57		567 - Feoffees of the Common Lands - "Public Purposes"	639
Bradford	628	431				431
Ripon	596	143		281 (4 sets)		424
Knaresborough	519	102				102
Fontefract	489	58	90	302 (9 sets)		450
Barnsley	260	19			180 - Shaw Land - Church, Highways and "Public Good"	199
Huddersfield	89					

* Notes for table given on following page.

Notes for Table III.6

Source: Public Charities - Analytical Digest of the Reports
(P.P. 1042, Command Paper 434), part 2:

Sheffield	pp. 708-11;	Leeds	pp. 692-3 ;	Wakefield	pp. 716-9;
Halifax	pp. 678-81;	Doncaster	pp. 672-5 ;	Rotherham	pp. 702-5;
Bradford	pp. 666-7 ;	Ripon	pp. 700-3 :	Knaresborough	pp. 690-1;
Pontefract	pp. 698-9 ;	Barnsley	pp. 710-11;	Huddersfield	pp. 684-7.

* The figures shown in the Grammar and Charity Schools columns apply to only one institution. In the Alms-houses column, where the figure is the total income accruing to several institutions, the number of institutions is given below. The next column gives the aggregate income of trusts which had income for several purposes.

N.B. Scarcely any of the income "potentially available for erecting buildings" was derived from endowments made specifically for building purposes; mainly, it accrued to trusts which either had discretion in the way they used their income or which maintained a public building as the essential part of their functions. On the evidence of the Charity Commissioners' Reports there appears to have been little alteration in the real wealth and income of these charitable trusts in the period under study.

which was shown in Table III.1. Only trusts such as those administering the Shrewsbury Hospital at Sheffield, Leeds Grammar School, and Harrison's Almshouses at Leeds were sufficiently wealthy to rebuild their premises without a great deal of private assistance. A short-term solution to the need to rebuild trust premises would have been to sell trust property - the value of trusts' property was approximately twenty times their annual income and in this sense some of the trusts were reasonably wealthy.¹ However, trust property was strongly protected by the law and it could only be sold if sanctioned by an Act of Parliament.

As noted in the previous section, two charitable trusts, the Town Trust at Sheffield and the Feoffees of the Common Lands at Rotherham, were in an exceptional position. They were the only trusts which possessed substantial funds that were not designated for a specific use. The only financial limitation on their provision of buildings was the size of their funds. Although they did finance buildings, their annual incomes of £1,346 and £567 respectively were not sufficient to permit extensive provisions.

In circumstances where it was difficult to finance public buildings because of the smallness of available funds or impediments to their use, there were several solutions to the problem which public bodies might choose if they were sufficiently enthusiastic or devious. The first solution was for two or more public bodies to finance a building jointly. This solution, for example, was adopted to finance the rebuilding of the Moot Hall in Leeds at the beginning

1. Property was often valued at "twenty years' purchase", i.e. twenty times its annual rental value.

of the eighteenth century. The hall, which had become a major source of complaint, was rebuilt at the joint cost of Leeds Corporation and the Pious Uses Committee. However, public bodies seemed loth to adopt this solution, and their inability to co-operate sometimes retarded the provision of buildings. For example, in 1753, it was proposed that a new town hall should be built in Sheffield at the joint expense of the Corporation of Cutlers and the Town Trust, but the proposal was rejected;¹ another fifty-five years elapsed before Sheffield had a new town hall. In 1805 the same idea was revived, only to be rejected by the Cutlers' Corporation.² However, the building was eventually financed from the combined funds of the Town Trust, the Cutlers' Company, the Parish Vestry, and the West Riding magistrates; an example of what might have been done if public bodies had co-operated more amongst themselves.

The second solution to the lack of funds was misappropriation. There are two notable instances where funds for specific charitable purposes were misappropriated to finance public buildings. In 1598 the Leeds Moot Hall was in a dangerous and decaying state and abortive efforts were made to provide a new building.³ Seventeen years later, presumably in desperation, a new moot hall was built out of funds which had been put in trust for the relief of the poor in the town. The idea was that the poor would not suffer because the rents from the hall and the shops beneath it would be

1. R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 189.

2. Ibid. I, 189-190.

3. L.C.A. DB/213/47. In 1598 Robert Littlewood offered to rebuild the Moot Hall if the Crown granted him a monopoly of weighing wool and sealing tarred leather within Leeds.

used for their benefit.¹

An even more blatant case of misappropriation arose at Halifax.² In 1636 Nathaniel Waterhouse bequeathed to thirteen trustees a large house in Halifax, to be used as a workhouse, and also provided various funds and property for its upkeep. By the letters patent which established the trust it was decreed that the Master and Prime Governor of the Workhouse (the two principal trustees) should be invested as magistrates for the town and liberties of Halifax. When a charitable commission inquired into Halifax's charities in 1719, it found that in 1700 the trustees had demolished the workhouse and erected a "stately building" in its place, which was used, not as a workhouse, but as a court house for holding the West Riding Quarter Sessions. Evidently, discontent with the cost of poor relief at the time and the magistrates' desire for better court facilities had proved too great a temptation.³

The fact that these sorts of solution to financial problems were not attempted more often by public bodies suggests that while financial difficulties did severely limit their provision of buildings, they were also severely limited by their conception of their duties and responsibilities.

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1. See sources cited in the gazetteer.
 2. J. Watson, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax in Yorkshire (1775), pp. 592-606, 620-34.
 3. The magistrates' ploy was a short-lived success because the commission ordered that the sessions house should be converted into a workhouse. In 1725 the West Riding magistrates removed the quarter sessions from Halifax "till a convenient court house be provided" - W.R.Q.S. Gen.Index, Court Houses, Pontefract April 1725.

In conclusion, three aspects of the foregoing analysis require emphasis. Firstly, although the building activities of the public sector were by no means insubstantial, the restrictions enforced by financial factors and contemporary attitudes prevented the sector from contributing more than one-third of the total finance for public building provision. Secondly, the size of public sector expenditure in a town depended to a considerable extent on the speed at which its population grew: the Parliamentary Commissioners' expenditure on churches in the 1820's and 1830's, for example, accounted for approximately a quarter of total public sector expenditure, 1700-1840, and these churches were only built in towns where there had been very rapid population growth. Finally, chance played a large part in determining the differences in the levels of public sector expenditure from town to town: if Leeds had been chosen as the administrative centre of the West Riding, then the county buildings would have been erected there and public sector expenditure in Wakefield would have been very small; similarly, if Ripon Corporation had possessed the wealth of Doncaster Corporation, or more charitable trusts had held their wealth on similar terms to those governing the use of the Feoffees of the Common Lands' funds, then the picture might have been very different.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS
BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR

In contrast to the activities of the public sector, the type of public buildings provided by the private sector became increasingly diverse over the period 1600-1840. In the seventeenth century the range of privately-financed buildings was fairly limited: places of worship, workhouses, almshouses, and schools were provided quite frequently, and, occasionally, manorial court houses and prisons, and market buildings such as shambles and crosses, also were built. After 1700, however, the variety of buildings financed by the sector expanded dramatically, and exceeded by far the range of buildings financed by the public sector. The list of provisions expanded to include cloth halls, theatres, assembly rooms, music halls, medical institutions, libraries, and newsrooms: in fact, almost all the innovations in the provision of public buildings, 1700-1840, came from the private sector. This is particularly true of the first forty years of the nineteenth century. Thus the expansion in educational facilities came largely from this sector with the provision of the National Schools, Lancasterian Schools, Infant Schools, Collegiate and Proprietary Schools, Philosophical Halls, and Mechanics' Institutes. Private finance also played a critical role in the provision of covered markets, commercial buildings, corn exchanges, bazaars, baths, botanical gardens, and multipurpose buildings which incorporated various combinations of amenities such as assembly rooms, libraries, newsrooms, and dispensaries.

The outstanding overall contribution of the private sector to the provision of public buildings between 1700 and 1840 is shown in Table IV.1. In only four decades in this period did the sector's expenditure on public buildings fall below 72 per cent of total expenditure, and even in three of these four decades there were exceptional circumstances which explain the decline.¹ On average two-thirds of the finance for public buildings came from the private sector. A further indication of the importance of private finance is given by the sectoral breakdown of expenditure on the principal categories of public buildings presented in Table II.5. For example, expenditure on non-Anglican places of worship, which were the sole preserve of the private sector, was approximately 21 per cent of total expenditure on public buildings, 1700-1840; estimated expenditure on markets and commercial buildings, again almost the sole preserve of this sector, was 16 per cent of the total.

I

The sources of private funds for erecting public buildings can be divided into three categories: individuals; small groups of up to twelve people; and larger groups of usually over fifty people.

Throughout the period 1600-1840 there are many examples of buildings being financed by only one person. The majority of these buildings

1. The provision made by the public sector was unusually high in these decades: in the 1740's Doncaster Corporation provided the Mansion House costing £3,000; in the 1810's the County magistrates financed the Pauper Lunatic Asylum costing £40,000; and in the 1820's Parliament spent over £80,000 on Anglican churches.

Table IV.1

Estimated Cost of Public Buildings Financed Solely
by the Private Sector, 1700-1840

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Cost of buildings</u> £	<u>% of total expenditure on public buildings</u>
1700 - 09	1,984	72
1710 - 19	2,161	85
1720 - 29	6,483	88
1730 - 39	832	37
1740 - 49	900	9
1750 - 59	10,935	95
1760 - 69	11,210	74
1770 - 79	44,922	86
1780 - 89	27,285	79
1790 - 99	70,205	78
1800 - 09	40,425	74
1810 - 19	81,595	50
1820 - 29	265,513	61
1830 - 40	286,150	73
	<u>850,600</u>	<u>70</u>

Source: The gazetteer.

served charitable or religious purposes and brought their benefactors no tangible reward. Between 1600 and 1770, several places of worship, almshouses, grammar schools and charity schools were financed in this way; thereafter, until 1840, the provision of almshouses and schools was less frequent, and the financing of places of worship became the most common form of individual benefaction. Usually, the benefactors were wealthy merchants or landowners, and in many cases held civic office or were Lords of Manors. Two notable examples from the seventeenth century are John Harrison of Leeds, and Nathaniel Waterhouse of Halifax. Harrison was a wealthy cloth merchant and onetime mayor of Leeds, and between 1619 and 1639 he built a market cross, a church, a grammar school and a set of almshouses for the town.¹ Waterhouse was a wealthy landowner and Lord of the Manor of Halifax, and in the first half of the seventeenth century he provided Halifax with a workhouse, a set of almshouses, and a charity school.² (While Harrison and Waterhouse gave buildings during their lifetimes, many other benefactors left funds for erecting public buildings as bequests in their wills.) However, the scale of the activities of these two men was exceptional; most benefactors restricted their activities to the provision of only one or two buildings. For example, Josiah Jenkinson built a set of almshouses at Leeds c.1643; Edward Bennett financed the erection of an Independent chapel at Sheffield, opened in 1774; Caleb Crowther financed the building of a set of almshouses at

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1. J.Sprittles, "Links with Bygone Leeds", Thors.Soc.Pubns. LII (1969), 6-27.
 2. J.Watson, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax in Yorkshire (1775), pp.630-9.

Wakefield c.1838. There were several people whose one benefaction was the erection of an Anglican church: for example, Benjamin Haigh Allen at Huddersfield, 1817-19, John Jarratt at Doncaster, 1827-8, John Wood at Bradford, 1836-8.

Individuals also provided a small number of public buildings which brought them tangible benefits. These consisted of manorial court houses and prisons, and market buildings. Since a manor was essentially a unit of property, and manor courts were established to administer and protect the private property of the lord of the manor, lay and clerical lords were acting as essentially private and self-interested individuals when they provided premises to house their courts and hold their prisoners.¹ Several manorial court houses and prisons were built between 1600 and 1840: for example, at some time before 1777 the Duke of Norfolk built a manorial prison at Sheffield, and gave substantial financial support in 1700 to the erection of a town hall in which his manorial courts were to be held. Also it seems likely that a moot hall or manorial court house was built in Wakefield during the seventeenth century. Certainly, the Archbishop of York erected a court house and a prison in Ripon in the years immediately prior to 1806 to cater for the affairs of the Liberty of Ripon. Similar buildings were erected in other towns.

Nevertheless, the most impressive part of individuals' self-interested activities was their provision of a small number of market buildings.

1. S. and B. Webb, English Local Government: Part III The Manor and the Borough (1900), part I, esp. p.13.

In most cases the person providing the building was the Lord of the Manor and the owner of sizable areas of land in its locality. The Lord of the Manor provided the cloth hall at Halifax in 1700; similarly, Sir John Ramsden provided the cloth hall at Huddersfield; the dukes of Norfolk, who owned most of the land in central Sheffield, provided the town's market places in the 1780's and again in the 1820's, the latter scheme including the erection of the corn exchange. The corn exchange opened at Wakefield in 1820 was one of the few examples of a market building provided by an individual who was not a landowner or Lord of a Manor; it was built by a local business man and banker, Thomas Rishworth.

The second source of private funds for erecting public buildings, provision by groups of up to twelve people, is worth only scant attention since its use was so infrequent. A few almshouses were jointly financed, for example Hopkinson's and Crowther's almshouses in Halifax in the seventeenth century, and occasionally workhouses were financed in this way, for example Doncaster workhouse, but little else. The only known example of a non-charitable building financed by a small group of people was the Bazaar and Shambles built at Leeds, 1823-5, which was financed by two brothers who were in partnership.

The third source of private funds for public buildings, the collective voluntary contributions of large numbers of people, was the most important of the three sources. Prior to 1700, only a small number of public buildings were financed by this method; most of these were places of worship or schools. However, after 1700 it was used much

more frequently and financed an increasingly extensive range of public buildings. In the period from 1750 to 1840, particularly during the last forty years, it was easily the most fruitful source of private funds for public buildings.

Collective voluntary contributions played a major part in the finance of charitable and religious buildings, and, with a few exceptions, were almost the only source of funds for medical institutions, non-conformist chapels, and the National and Lancasterian Schools. In general, the groups of people who financed these buildings had no claims to the ownerships of the premises, although in some cases contributions brought various privileges. There were exceptions however, some churches, for example, were financed by the sale of pews. The "donation" of a specified sum would buy the donor a pew, which became his freehold property. Pew sales helped to finance churches such as Holy Trinity, Leeds, 1721-7, St. James', Sheffield, 1787-9, and St. John's Wakefield, opened in 1795.

After 1700, with the few exceptions which have already been noted, virtually every privately financed public building, intended neither for charitable, judicial, nor religious purposes, was financed by collective contributions; these contributions were made by the purchase of shares in private companies formed to build and manage the premises concerned. Between 1761 and 1840 at least 34 of the most costly public buildings in the Riding were financed by this method. They included markets and commercial premises such as the Market Places and Shambles at Rotherham and Halifax, the South Market and the Central Market at Leeds, the Commercial Buildings at Leeds,

Sheffield, and Barnsley, the Exchange Buildings at Bradford, and corn exchanges at Leeds and Wakefield. Examples of other types of buildings financed in this way were: Sheffield's Assembly Rooms and Theatre, 1761-2, the Halifax theatre, 1789-90, the Leeds Music Hall, 1792-3, the Wakefield Public Rooms, 1821-3, and the zoological gardens and baths in both Sheffield and Leeds. Companies were also formed to erect buildings in the educational sphere, for example the philosophical halls at Huddersfield and Leeds, the collegiate and proprietary schools, and several libraries and newsrooms. Finally, even cemeteries such as those at Halifax and Sheffield, were financed by companies.

The legality of most of these companies was dubious, since only a few had obtained the Act of Parliament or Royal Charter which was required by law for the formation of a joint-stock company.¹ Only the companies established to provide market places and cemeteries obtained Acts of Parliament. However, despite legal doubts, the companies for which detailed evidence is available seem to have functioned like ordinary joint-stock companies: apart from the fact that their shareholders were sometimes denominated "the proprietors", their shares were freely transferable and potential difficulties with regard to lawsuits and legal matters were circumvented by empowering either the trustees or the management committee of the company to act as a legal entity on the shareholders' behalf.²

The number of shareholders in the companies varied considerably,

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1. For further details of the legal position of joint stock companies see: H.A. Shannon, "The Coming of General Limited Liability", Economic History II (1931), 267-91.
 2. See the trust deeds for the South and Central Markets and the Commercial Buildings at Leeds, and the Corn Exchange at Wakefield, 1837-40 - references given in the gazeteer.

ranging from 12 "proprietors" in the case of Halifax's theatre, to 101 in Wakefield's Public Rooms, 155 in the Leeds Commercial Buildings and 182 or more in the West Riding Proprietary School. The denomination of shares ranged from £1 to £100, but shares of £25 and £50 were most common.

In an attempt to identify the type of person who purchased shares in these companies, the occupations and places of residence and business of the shareholders in four Leeds building companies have been analysed. The companies were established between 1819 and 1825 to build the South Market, the Central Market, the Commercial Buildings and the Public Baths. An analysis of the occupations of their shareholders is presented in Tables IV.2-5. Particular occupations have been grouped together in order to distinguish the contributions made by shareholders with similar social and economic backgrounds: "Widows, Spinsters, Gentlemen, Esquires and Clergy" distinguishes a leisured, landed class; "Bankers, Solicitors, Doctors and Surgeons", professional men; "Merchants and 'Merchants and Manufacturers'", the merchant class and men who combined merchanting with manufacturing; "Retailers and Dealers", tradesmen and people who were described as "dealers" - in general, people who were of lower social status than the Leeds merchant class.

These tables reveal that the bulk of the shareholders had a middle-class background. None of the shareholders were aristocrats or knights, and "Retailers and Dealers" and "Miscellaneous Occupations", the only categories which contained people of less than middle-class status, never constitute more than 37 per cent of the shareholders. The most important class of shareholders was "Merchants and 'Merchants

Table IV.2

An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds South
Market by Occupation

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of shareholders</u>	<u>Total no. of shares held</u>	<u>Percentage of shares in company</u>
Widows, Spinsters, Gentlemen, Esquires and Clergy	42	130	33
Bankers, Solicitors, Doctors, and Surgeons	9	39	10
Merchants and 'Merchants and Manufacturers'	16	100	25
Retailers and Dealers	21	82	20
Miscellaneous occupations	12	49	12
Totals	<u>100</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: L.C.D. 12716, the company trust deed, 6 August 1830;
E.Baines, 1822 D.

Table IV.3

An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds Central
Market by Occupation

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of shareholders</u>	<u>Total no. of shares held</u>	<u>Percentage of shares in company</u>
Widows, Spinsters, Gentlemen, Esquires and Clergy	24	89	22
Bankers, Solicitors, Doctors, and Surgeons	13	62	15
Merchants and 'Merchants and Manufacturers'	23	105	26
Retailers and Dealers	22	74	18
Miscellaneous occupations	19	75	19
Totals	<u>101</u>	<u>405</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: L.C.D. 225, the company trust deed, 12 November 1827;
E.Baines, 1822 D.

Table IV.4

An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds Commercial
Buildings by Occupation

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of shareholders</u>	<u>Total no. of shares held</u>	<u>Percentage of shares in company</u>
Gentlemen, Esquires and Clergy	18	61	11
Bankers, Solicitors, Doctors and Surgeons	22	95	18
Merchants and 'Merchants and Manufacturers'	74	261	48
Retailers and Dealers	18	54	10
Miscellaneous occupations	23	71	13
Totals	<u>155</u>	<u>542</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: L.C.D. 216, the company trust deed, 2 December 1830;
E. Baines, 1822 D.

Table IV.5

An Analysis of the Shareholders in Leeds Public
Baths by Occupation

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of shareholders</u>	<u>Total no. of shares held</u>	<u>Percentage of shares in company</u>
Widows, Spinsters, Gentlemen, Esquires and Clergy	5	5	7
Bankers, Solicitors, Doctors and Surgeons	17	17	24
Merchants and 'Merchants and Manufacturers'	28	28	44
Retailers and Dealers	5	5	7
Miscellaneous Occupations	8	8	11
Occupations Unknown	5	5	7
Totals	<u>70</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Leeds Public Baths, Byelaws and Regulations of the Public Baths at Leeds (Leeds, 1826).

and Manufacturers'" which held from 25 per cent to 48 per cent of the shares. However, the professional men and leisured class also made a notable contribution holding from 10 per cent to 24 per cent and from 7 per cent to 33 per cent of the shares respectively. The distribution of shares between occupations in the South Market and the Central Market companies is remarkably similar, and suggests that this distribution might have been typical of market companies at this time. This suggestion is particularly plausible because only 6 shareholders from a combined total of 195 held shares in both markets.

Further analysis of the shareholders reveals also that the bulk of the finance came from people who lived or worked in the locality. All the shareholders in the Baths lived or worked in Leeds; the corresponding proportion for the Commercial Buildings was 92 per cent. Although the assertion is also generally true for the market companies, they did have a notable group of shareholders with neither places of residence nor business in Leeds; 33 per cent of the shareholders in the South Market Company and 22 per cent in the Central Market company.¹

Finally, the analysis of shareholdings in this small group of companies hints also at the presence of a class of person who made a habit of purchasing shares in public building companies: 17 people had shares in three or more of the companies, 22 others had shares in both the Baths and the Commercial Buildings, and 7 more had shares in the

1. Details of places of residence and business were derived from the companies' trust deeds and E. Baines, 1822 D. passim.

Baths and either the South Market or the Central Market.

Similar analysis was carried out on the shareholdings of three companies established to erect public buildings at Wakefield - the buildings were the Public Rooms; a corn exchange which was proposed in 1825 but never built; and the West Riding Proprietary School. Unfortunately, the data available are less full than those for the Leeds buildings, and differences in contemporary classification of occupations make comparisons more difficult. Nevertheless, the data reveal several important similarities to the findings for the Leeds companies.

Table IV.6, which analyses the occupations of the shareholders in the Wakefield Public Rooms company, shows that, like the shareholders in the Leeds companies, most shareholders whose occupations could be identified were middle-class; approximately two-fifths of the shares were held by professional men, one-fifth by leisured people, and another fifth by merchants. Likewise, the bulk of the finance came from people who lived or worked in the locality: at least 60 per cent of the shares were held by Wakefield people.¹

Table IV.7 gives the occupations of 26 potential shareholders in Wakefield's abortive corn exchange. Unfortunately, the occupations of over one-third of the potential shareholders could not be identified, but a breakdown of the remainder is highly significant. Almost

1. Forty per cent of the shares were held by people who were not mentioned in the trade directory for the town. This suggests either that they lived in Wakefield and simply were not mentioned in the directory, or that they lived outside the town. Quite probably they lived close to Wakefield.

Table IV.6

An Analysis of the Shareholders in Wakefield Public
Rooms by Occupation

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of share- holders</u>	<u>Total No. of shares held</u>	<u>Percentage of shares in Company</u>	<u>Percentage of shares held by shareholders with known occupations</u>
Aristocrats, Gentlemen and Clergy *	9	17	11	19
Bankers, Solicitors, Doctors and Surgeons	24	36	24	39
Merchants	13	19	13	21
Retailers and Dealers	11	11	7	12
Miscellaneous Occupations	6	8	5	9
Occupations unknown	37	61	40	
Totals	100	152	100	100

Source: Wakefield Public Rooms Papers: Subscription deed, 23 February 1820; E.Baines, 1822 D.

* The aristocrats consisted of one earl and three knights.

Table IV.7

An Analysis of the Prospective Shareholders in the
Abortive Corn Exchange at Wakefield by Occupation *

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of Share- holders</u>	<u>Total No. of shares held</u>	<u>Percentage of shares included in table</u>
Solicitors and Surgeons	4	9	14
Corn Factors, Corn Dealers and Maltsters	16	48	72
Miscellaneous Occupations	6	9	14
Totals	26	66	100

Source: Goodchild Collection: Subscription deed, 16 June 1825; E.Baines, 1822 D.

* The table shows the occupations of the 26 shareholders, out of a total of 46; whose occupations could be identified. These shareholders subscribed for slightly over half the shares in the prospective company.

three-quarters of the shareholders whose occupations were identified were associated with the corn trade, and therefore were likely to use the premises. Significantly, two-fifths of the shareholders lived outside Wakefield, coming from Leeds, Huddersfield, Halifax, Malton and York.

Analysis for the West Riding Proprietary School is even more restricted because it is only possible to give a breakdown of the shareholders' places of residence.¹ This reveals that, while a great deal of the finance came from Wakefield itself, the institution really was a West Riding enterprise; approximately one-third of the 182 shareholders were Wakefield men, one-quarter of the shareholders came from Leeds, Halifax and Huddersfield, and the majority of the remainder came from places scattered all over the West Riding. Surprisingly, five shareholders came from Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham. There can be no doubt that the shareholders were middle-class, because the school was founded to cater specifically for the sons of middle-class families.

1. A list of shareholders with their places of residence and the number of shares purchased is appended to West Riding Proprietary School, The Proceedings at the Opening of (Wakefield, 1834), pp.72-6.

II

The prospect of profit was one of the principal incentives which led private individuals to finance the erection of public buildings.

Profit might accrue from an undertaking in two ways: in the form of a direct financial return on the capital laid out, such as a dividend from a share or rent; or, alternatively, by producing an increase in the returns from the financiers' business activities. This section discusses the incentive given by a direct financial return.

The markets and commercial buildings erected at Leeds in the 1820's are excellent examples of public buildings which were largely the product of a desire for a direct financial return on capital. As we have seen in the cases of the South and Central Markets: firstly, at most only 20 per cent of the shareholders pursued occupations that implied they might use the premises as retail outlets, i.e. the "Retailers and Dealers"; secondly, a high percentage of the shareholders belonged to a leisured class who had no readily apparent commercial or business interests which might be stimulated by the provision of a market; thirdly, a substantial number of the shareholders had neither places of business nor residence in Leeds, and therefore would not frequent the markets as customers. It seems that the prospect of a direct financial return was the only major incentive which remained. Shareholdings in the Commercial Buildings show a similar range of occupations to those for the South and Central Markets. However, here it might be argued that the profit motive is likely to have been weak because the facilities offered by the building were suitable for the use of all the shareholders. Although this

argument is plausible, there is a good deal of evidence in addition to shareholder analysis which proves that the prospect of a direct profit not only encouraged the provision of this building but also the two markets just discussed and two other Leeds enterprises from the 1820's, the Bazaar and Shambles, and the Corn Exchange.

In the early 1820's the yield from Consols, i.e. Government securities, and the rates of interest demanded for substantial loans, suggest that 4 per cent was considered to be a very acceptable rate of return on capital. With this in mind, it is not difficult to appreciate the attraction of the Leeds schemes to potential investors. The projectors of markets must have been particularly encouraged by assertions such as one made in August 1823 that a covered market recently erected in Liverpool paid over 20 per cent to its company of shareholders.¹ Likewise, potential investors in the Commercial Buildings were encouraged by the Leeds Intelligencer which claimed that a similar institution in Manchester, the Exchange Rooms, yielded "a very considerable profit to the proprietors";² a profit which a later advocate of the Leeds scheme asserted was in the region of 7 - 10 per cent.³ The whole tone of the contemporary newspaper reports and of speeches at dinners and ceremonies connected with the five Leeds projects was that, while being of great benefit to the town, the enterprises would repay their projectors handsomely. Frederick Rinder, one of the partners projecting the Bazaar and Shambles, expressed precisely these sentiments when he laid the

1. L.I. 28 August 1823.

2. Ibid. 13 May 1824.

3. Ibid. 27 May 1824.

foundation stone of the building. He felt confident that "the speculation will be beneficial to us as individuals, and a great benefit to the town at large".¹ As in the earlier schemes, the promoters of the Corn Exchange seem to have lured potential investors with the prospect of high returns; when the scheme was laid before the public it was predicted that its yield would be 5 - 6 per cent at the very minimum.²

The incentive of profits must also have encouraged the provision of markets in other West Riding towns. For example, in 1712, Bentley, the historian of Halifax, was much impressed by the size of the profits received by the Lord of the Manor in consequence of erecting the cloth hall around 1700.³ Presumably it was the prospect of a similar profit which induced Sir John Ramsden to build his cloth hall in Huddersfield. Likewise, the prospect of a high return from the new market place at Halifax begun in 1810 must also have encouraged the subscription of funds. Confidence in a large profit was so great that the Act of Parliament which established the market company put a legal limit of 10 per cent on its dividends and made elaborate arrangements for the use of the profits in excess of this limit.⁴ The promoters of the Exchange Buildings at Wakefield in 1837-40, also anticipated more than adequate profits. As the prospectus they issued in 1836 pointed out, one of the many inducements to invest was: "the advantageous results that must accrue to the original shareholders

1. L.I. 19 June 1823.

2. Ibid. 24 Feb. 1825.

3. J. Crabtree, A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax, in the County of York (Halifax, 1836), p.304.

4. Ibid. pp.333-4, 356-7.

in the undertaking, as from minute and accurate calculation, the Projectors have every reason to believe, that an Interest of at least from Four to Six per cent may be fairly relied upon by the Shareholders".¹

However, markets and commercial amenities were not the only types of public building promoted by the prospect of profits. The Theatre and Assembly Rooms built at Sheffield in 1761 is a good example of a social amenity financed by shareholders, which gave an extremely good rate of return of the invested capital. A record of the annual dividends for the period 1795 - 1830 shows that, despite periodic expenditure on the improvement and repair of the premises, the annual yield on the £100 shares was 6 per cent or more in twenty-nine of the thirty-six years.² As a result of these high returns shares in the enterprise were at a premium, and sold for £130 in 1790, £145 in 1821, and as much as £185 in 1827.³

The Sheffield Public Baths, commenced in 1836, comprising a bath, a public room and residential accommodation, is an example of yet another type of public building which had the potential to yield an attractive return. The West Riding Directory for 1837 pointed out that: "There is every probability of the speculation yielding a profit of 7-10%".⁴

A further indication of the power of potentially high returns to attract funds for buildings is the relative ease with which money

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1. Wakefield Exchange Buildings, Prospectus (Wakefield, 1836).
 2. S.C.A. J.C.1552.
 3. J.Thomas, The Local Register ... of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1830), pp.65, 165, 192.
 4. W.White, 1837 D. pp.86-7.

was raised for different types of buildings. Where the economic return was uncertain money tended to come in very slowly. For example, only seventy shareholders could be found for Leeds Public Baths instead of the hundred that were originally anticipated.¹

The promoters of Wakefield Public Rooms also faced severe difficulties in the early stages of their project; six months after the commencement of subscriptions they were forced to renew their appeal for subscribers because funds were still insufficient to carry out the scheme.² Similarly, the promoters of the West Riding Proprietary School were forced to appeal for additional funds four months after subscriptions had been opened.³

In contrast, money was raised speedily and easily for projects such as markets and commercial premises, which had a more obvious economic potential. The returns predicted for the Leeds markets, already noted, produced a rapid inflow of money: it was claimed that "a single day" sufficed to raise the £20,000 initially required to finance the South Market;⁴ when the Central Market was originally projected in 1823, the subscriptions came in with such speed and enthusiasm that with £22,000 promised after only two days, the projectors decided to extend the scheme and raised the limit on the subscription to £40,000.⁵ The efforts to raise funds for the Commercial Buildings and the Corn Exchange met with similar success:

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1. Leeds Public Baths, Byelaws and Regulations of the Public Baths at Leeds (Leeds, 1826).
 2. Wakefield Public Rooms, Public Library and Newsroom (Wakefield, 1 July 1820) - Y.A.S. 53 L 20.
 3. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. p.62.
 4. L.I. 30 October 1823.
 5. Ibid. 10 July 1823.

within eight days of opening subscriptions to the Commercial Buildings only 66 of the 600 shares remained to be disposed of;¹ within three days of opening subscriptions to the Corn Exchange between 100 and 130 of the 160 shares had been taken up.²

III

There were other economic benefits, apart from direct remuneration, which might accrue to private individuals if they financed public buildings. For example, the erection of a public building could improve their business opportunities and profits. Undoubtedly, this notion encouraged the provision of most of the West Riding cloth halls, for, with the exceptions of the first Halifax cloth hall and the Huddersfield cloth hall, all the buildings were financed either by the merchants or clothiers who traded in them. Shares in the halls brought no financial return but gave the right either to occupy a particular stall or room, or simply to trade in the hall. Any income that the halls produced from tolls and stall rentals was used to maintain and improve the buildings.³ The Leeds merchants who financed the erection of their town's third White Cloth Hall

1. L.I. 9, 16 December 1824.

2. Ibid. 24 February 1825.

3. H.Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (Oxford, 1965), Chapter 11.

demonstrated their complete disinterest in obtaining a direct financial return from the building by giving it to trustees nominated by the clothiers.¹

The incentive of indirect profit coupled with amenity value can be seen at work in the abortive scheme of 1825, referred to earlier, to build a corn exchange in Wakefield. As we have seen, almost three-quarters of the shareholders whose occupations were identified were engaged in some branch of the corn trade. This contrasts notably with the shareholding in a slightly earlier Wakefield enterprise, the Public Rooms, where less than one-tenth of the shareholders had associations with the corn trade.

The hope of improving the general economic and trading climate was also an incentive to the provision of public buildings. For example, at the laying of the foundation stone of the Bradford Exchange Buildings in 1827, a speaker said that he hoped when the building was opened that "the Exchange Room would be crowded with merchants and manufacturers - and that the streams of commerce thence arising would fertilize the surrounding districts".² Even workhouses attracted private funds because it was thought that their establishment could boost trade and prosperity: Nathaniel Waterhouse provided the workhouse at Halifax in 1635 in the belief that it would reduce the poor rates, the burden of which had caused many skilled clothiers to leave the town and thereby leading to its impoverishment.³

1. H.Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (Oxford, 1965), pp.367-71.

2. L.I. 8 February 1837.

3. The Letters Patent establishing Waterhouse's Charity, 11 September 1635 - transcribed in J.Watson, op.cit. pp.592-606.

Similarly, in 1719 eleven gentlemen agreed to subscribe £558 annually between them to Doncaster Workhouse to relieve the burden of the poor rates and "to encourage trade".¹

The provision of a building might also yield returns by increasing the value of property or the volume of business in its locality.

The circumstances surrounding the provision of Leeds Corn Exchange demonstrate how this type of consideration could promote a building project. For centuries Leeds corn market had been situated at the top of the town's main street at a place known as Cross Parish.

However, by the 1820's the facilities for the sale of corn in Cross Parish had become grossly inadequate, and consequently an attempt was made to move the corn market to another part of the town.²

The response to these efforts was immediate, and a scheme to erect a Corn Exchange at Cross Parish was set on foot. Although a list of shareholders in the company formed to erect the building is not extant, the names and addresses of the building committee have survived and are highly significant; of the 22 members, 10 had retail premises actually in Cross Parish and 5 others had retail premises close by.³ The proprietors' principal objectives were explained by John Cawood, one of the leading promoters of the scheme, when he laid the foundation stone of the building. They were, he

1. C.W. Hatfield, Historical Notices of Doncaster (1st series, 1866), p.283.

2. L.I. 17 February 1825.

3. Ibid. 24 February, 3 March 1825; the addresses of the committee members and their occupations were ascertained from E. Baines, 1822 D. passim.

said:

to retain on the site of the ancient corn market the future sale of grain - to preserve to the premises adjoining this market, that value which time and the vicinity to it had placed upon them - and last, though not least to give a facility for the sale of corn, which the extended population and the growing importance of the town and neighbourhood demand. ¹

Similarly, motivation stemming from promoters' commercial and property interests is apparent in the support given to the South and Central Markets in Leeds. A significantly high proportion of their shareholders had premises in the locality of the particular market to which they subscribed. The South Market was located south of the town across the River Aire and an analysis of its shareholders' business interests reveals that 59 per cent were based in that area of the town.² This fact gains in significance when it is realised that only about one-fifth of the town's population and business was situated south of the river.³ In contrast, the Central Market was sited north of the river and an analysis of the business interests of the shareholders shows that all their business premises were also sited north of the river.⁴ The fact that each market was looked upon as a potential stimulus to local trade and property values, and a possible detriment to other localities, is supported by the fact that of the combined total of 195 shareholders in the two markets, only 6 people held shares in both.

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1. L.I. 30 August 1827. A fuller account of the circumstances surrounding the erection of the corn exchange can be seen in K.Grady, "Profit, Property Interests and Public Spirit: The Provision of Markets and Commercial Amenities in Leeds, 1822-29", Thors.Soc.Pubns. LIV, part 3 (1976), 165-195.
 2. Calculated using the data in the companies' trust deeds, and E.Baines, 1822 D.
 3. F.Beckwith, "The Population of Leeds during the Industrial Revolution", Thors.Soc.Pubns. XLI (1948), 118-196; W.G.Rimmer, "The Industrial Profile of Leeds", Thors.Soc.Pubns. L (1968), 130-157.
 4. Calculated using the data in the companies' trust deeds, and E.Baines, 1822 D.

Another inducement to the initiation of public buildings schemes was the desire of landowners to gainfully exploit their estates. In the 1820's when advertisements for the sale of land appeared in the Leeds newspapers it was sometimes suggested that the sites in question would be suitable for particular types of public building.¹ However, there are two main examples of more positive action in this respect - the South Market and the Bazaar and Shambles. The South Market was actually proposed by the owners of the land on which it was erected. It is apparent that they regarded the encouragement of the market project as a method of securing a profitable sale for their land, for although George Banks said that it was the necessity and facility of a market for the southern area of the town which "had induced Mr. Jacques and himself to offer the land to the public",² in fact, of the £6,600 which they received for it, only £300 was ploughed back into the enterprise.³ In the case of the Bazaar and Shambles, the involvement of the site's owners was absolute for Frederick and Joseph Rinder, the butchers who financed the scheme, actually owned most of the estate on which it was built.⁴

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1. E.g. L.I. 17 February 1825 - site suitable for a corn exchange.
 2. L.I. 19 June 1823.
 3. George Banks bought six £50 shares in the market.
 4. L.I. 12 August 1822; E. Parsons, The Civil, Ecclesiastical History of Leeds (Leeds, 1834), I, 142-4.

IV

Benevolence and public spirit were two of the principal motives which induced private provision of public buildings throughout the period 1600 - 1840. Part of the stimulus to charitable works of this nature was given by the Church which suggested that they were not only desirable, but indeed were the duty of the more affluent members of the community. The Rev. William Turner exemplified both these points in his sermon, Benevolence Recommended, given in 1770 in support of the Leeds General Infirmary which was then being built.¹ Two of his texts were:

2 Corinthians ix 8 - And God is able to make all grace to abound towards you, that ye always, having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work.

and rather more forcefully:

Deuteronomy xv 11 - For the poor shall never cease out of the land, therefore I command thee, saying, thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to the needy of the land.

The State also, during the Tudor period, had made considerable efforts to encourage charitable giving by affording better legal protection to charitable bequests. The Acts of 1572, 1598, and 1601, which established the Elizabethan Poor Law, were all accompanied by measures which encouraged the establishment of charitable trusts. This legislation was of enduring value and, undoubtedly, many of the school and almshouse trusts established in the ensuing years owed their existence to it.

1. W. Turner, Benevolence Recommended in a Sermon Preached at Mill Hill Chapel at Leeds, 14 October 1770, for the Benefit of the General Infirmary (Leeds, 1770).

Tudor legislation shifted the obligation to relieve the poor from the private individual to the community, and therefore, by the eighteenth century, the emphasis of the benevolent activities of the private sector moved from poor relief to other areas of need - principally the provision of education and the relief of the sick.¹

J.K. Walker confirmed this point in his pamphlet of 1828 proposing the establishment of an infirmary at Huddersfield:

The policy of the country, has provided a security against lack of food and raiment, but to that best of all laws, the law of benevolence, is left the delightful task of ministering to the sick.²

While the desire to provide medical and educational facilities for the poor might have been a natural instinct, Walker, like the Rev. Turner, was at pains to point out the obligation of the affluent classes. With respect to the infirmary at Huddersfield he wrote:

Unfortunately, the number of objects among the sick poor, whose lives are sacrificed for want of those means which wealth could purchase, is so considerable in a populous district, as to make it a matter of duty in those who are blessed with the means to contribute to their relief. To the poorer classes, as the sinews of our local wealth, we are called by every principle of duty, to minister succour in their hour of distress, especially if brought on in our service.³

In the eyes of contemporaries, the scope for benevolence and public spirit was not restricted to the provision of charitable institutions; it was maintained that these motives could play a part even in the

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1. M. Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State (4th edn. 1968), p.43.
 2. J.K. Walker, Observations on the Expediency of Establishing Hospitals for the Admission of a Limited Number of In-Patients, in Manufacturing Districts Addressed to the Governors of Huddersfield Dispensary (Huddersfield, 1828), p.23.
 3. Ibid. p.22.

provision of buildings which had distinct commercial advantages and profitable returns. For instance, a suggestion that profit was the sole motive for building the Central Market at Leeds was rejected by one of its trustees and shareholders. At the dinner to celebrate the laying of its foundation stone he said:

It was the opinion of some that the object they were pursuing was personal gain, but as a proof of the public spirit of the town he referred them to our Public Baths, Philosophical Hall, Infirmary, House of Recovery, Guardian Asylum, Dispensary, Mechanics Institute and other institutions that might have been named.¹

Another speaker in praise of the proprietors said that he was well aware that "their profit and advantage" was not their only object, but their actions had also "sprung from the purest motives of patriotism".² Similar comments and claims were made about the motives of the proprietors of the other markets and commercial facilities built at the time, and it seems impossible to distinguish them completely from other contemporary improvements whose provisions more clearly stemmed from benevolence and public spirit.

However, contemporaries were not completely deceived by the charitable aspect of their fellows and realized that the desire for public acclaim and display of one's wealth often accompanied charitable works. As "An Observing Traveller" pointed out with respect to the provision of places of worship at Leeds in 1791:

In so opulent a place as Leeds, there are private people to be found, doubtless, sufficiently well meaning and pious to erect monuments of this kind to their own fame and to public utility.³

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1. L.I. 2 December 1824.
 2. Ibid.
 3. L.I. 24 February 1791.

The idea of building oneself a place in history was similarly referred to at the opening of the West Riding Proprietary School, in 1834:

One lasting source of consolation will result to them the founders, that, not only have they benefited the children of their own generation, but they have prepared similar advantages to unborn thousands, and raised a more enduring monument for themselves, than one produced by the chisel of the sculptor.¹

Beyond the motive of outward show, there were other more mercenary motives for providing buildings, which might be mistaken for the products of pure benevolence. Self-interest was particularly noticeable in the provision of medical institutions. As the Leeds Intelligencer pointed out with respect to the Leeds fever hospital:

The Laws of Self-preservation as well as motives of Benevolence call upon us to avert such a consequence the closure of the House of Recovery an establishment affording a ready and safe Asylum to the Poor but also security to the more Opulent by the Reception of their Apprentices and Servants when attacked with Fever over the last 26 years.²

Similar motives were revealed in the case made out for establishing the infirmary in Huddersfield. Infirmaries were extolled for their role as places of medical instruction and investigation. The author continued that:

From the wards of infirmaries have emanated some of our most useful discoveries in medicine, and thus it is that the affluent part of society are amply repaid for the support of such institutions.³

Some of the motives for the provision of Leeds Infirmary were possibly even less laudable. S.T. Anning, the historian of the institution,

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1. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. p.13.
 2. L.I. 22 January 1831.
 3. J.K. Walker, op.cit. p.9.

suggests that although its establishment reflected a rising sense of social responsibility, it was the economic necessity of a hospital which was paramount. The institution's management committee had no qualms about admitting this. In their first report they said:

There are many useful and industrious Manufacturers and Labourers who, whilst they are in Health, are able to provide well for the present Subsistence of themselves and Families, but with all their economy can make no great provision against the time of sickness. And others who have no care of a family, will inconsiderately spend the fruits of their labour as it comes in. Now when any of these are by Sickness, or Accidental Hurt, unfit for work, they are commonly unable to procure any medical assistance: Whereas by the advantage of an Infirmary, many of them will probably soon be restored to the strength and Capacity of Labour.¹

In other words, an Infirmary would not only reduce the burden of the poor rates but would also ensure the speedy return of workers to the service of the middle classes. It seems that economic motivation extended even to the provision of churches and chapels. A Catholic chapel was built in Huddersfield in 1832 by a number of Protestant businessmen because they valued Irish labour and thought that a new church would keep new workpeople in the town.²

Even when the people who financed a building or institution had purely benevolent motives, it was possible that the initiators of a scheme had self-interest at heart. Robert Baker pointed this out in an attack on the medical profession in Leeds in 1827:

It was said that the Dispensary was instituted to relieve the Infirmary of its overplus of patients; -

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1. Quoted in S.T. Anning, The General Infirmary at Leeds (1963), I, 3 - 4.
 2. R. Brooke, The Story of Huddersfield (1968), p.128.

I think it will not be doubted that that was the motive, on the part of the Subscribers, but still, at the same time, it afforded an admirable opportunity for Medical men to get into office.¹

In conclusion, it would be cynical to suggest that most "charitable" works were produced largely by selfish motives, for it is clear that in many cases pure charity was readily forthcoming in times of need. As G.C. Holland noted in the early nineteenth century, when discussing Sheffield's charitable institutions:

The tendency of the present age is a mania towards the establishment of Charitable Institutions The spring of charity is perennial in its flow, and gushes with a force proportionate to the demands and claims which are made upon it.²

This comment seems equally applicable to the benevolence of the private sector in the two preceding centuries.

V

When the motives of profit and benevolence are set aside, there can be no doubt that the desire to make life more comfortable, more enjoyable, and more cultured was a notable force encouraging the private provision of public buildings. People felt that growing wealth should be accompanied by higher moral and educational

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1. R. Baker, Remarks on the Abuses in the Infirmary and an Inquiry into the Advantages and Disadvantages of a Public Dispensary in Leeds (Leeds, 1827), pp.11 - 12.
 2. G.C. Holland, An Inquiry into the Moral, Social and Intellectual Condition of the Industrious Classes of Sheffield: Part I, The Abuses and Evils of Charity, especially of Medical Charitable Institutions (1839), pp. 131, 85.

standards, and improved amenities for business and social activities. During the seventeenth century there is little evidence of efforts to improve the amenities of life other than for mercenary or benevolent motives. However, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and particularly from the 1760's, people became increasingly concerned with improving the quality of life, rather than just increasing material wealth. T.D. Whitaker noted this change in the West Riding in the mid-eighteenth century:

The general state of trade and manners appears to have continued nearly the same [in the century before 1760]. But soon after the commencement of the present reign [George III] a general stimulus appears to have operated on the intelligence, the morals, and the religious character of the nation. Of this the great trading towns partook in proportion to their general activity and the increase of their population But till then an habitual acquiescence in every hardship and every absurdity which had descended from their ancestors prevented them from reflecting, and much more from acting upon what they felt. At that time it was held a good practical answer to every proposal for improvement that such inconveniences had immemorially existed. Public spirit, however began now to dawn

He went on to use the removal of the cloth market in Leeds from the open air into cloth halls as an example of the desire for a higher quality of life and attributed the provision of the Leeds assembly room in 1775 to "a rising spirit of elegance in the town".²

The rising enthusiasm for the social amenities of life in the 1770's was noted also by Tate Wilkinson, the well-known theatrical agent, with reference to Doncaster:

I closed Wakefield Theatre on Saturday, September 21, and opened the new Theatre at Doncaster on Monday,

1. T.D. Whitaker, Lordis and Elmete (Leeds, 1816), pp.82 - 3.

2. Ibid. p.83.

September 23, 1776 and a pretty elegant theatre it then was and now is. Of course, the novelty of the theatre and the numerous attendance at the Races made it a fashionable place of resort. But the assembly rooms kept the ladies entirely away from the three race nights. On Friday the town is thinned, and on Saturday everybody is quite tired out.¹

A report on the state of Leeds in 1819 indicates that the process of change sped on with renewed vigour into the nineteenth century:

There is an evident alteration taking place in the character of the people of Leeds. They are putting off in some degree that rudeness which is peculiar to them, enlightened pursuits are more cultivated, and the elegancies and comforts of life are more sought after.²

In the case of market buildings, their amenity value in bringing business under cover was unchallenged and undoubtedly gave strength to the support for them. Equally, the provision of theatres and assembly rooms resulted in great measure from the desire for not only more entertainment but also more comfortable facilities in which to hold it. The promoters of a scheme to build a concert room in Leeds in 1785 suggested that their scheme had been occasioned by "A Desire to promote some Rational Amusement for the General Entertainment of the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Town and Neighbourhood".³

A desire to cater for the "elegancies and comforts of life" was not restricted to the inhabitants of Leeds and Doncaster. For example, the Exchange Buildings built at Bradford, 1827-9, were partially a product of the inconvenience experienced by the inhabitants of the town owing to the lack of a suitable room to accommodate balls.

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1. Extract from Tate Wilkinson's Memoirs quoted in J.S. Fletcher, The History of the St. Leger Stakes 1776-1901 (1902)
 2. Hertfordshire County Records Office T.4951, Report of surveyors to Earl Cowper on his Leeds estates, 1819.
 3. L.I. 1 November 1785.

Hitherto, they had used the town's court house for this purpose.¹

Where profits accrued to the proprietors of a building, it is difficult to distinguish between the profit-motive and the desire for amenity. However, if a building was called forth by its profitable nature, then the demand for its facilities was the root cause of its provision.

The clearest instances of buildings promoted by a desire for amenity are those which brought no financial return to their proprietors. The cloth halls, to some extent, are cases in point because most of them were provided by merchants or clothiers who used the buildings but gained no direct financial return from their investment. There are better examples in the educational sphere: for instance, the principal reward for the shareholders in the West Riding Proprietary School was the right to send their children and male relatives or nominees there.² The school was specifically adapted to the needs of middle-class boys, providing them with a commercial education, and was built because there was no amenity of its type in the West Riding. The promoters felt that while schools had recently been provided for the poor and the upper classes, the middle classes had been neglected. As the principal of the new school explained:

Many of our old Establishments i.e. Public Schools are, from various circumstances, either of expense, of situation, or the necessary limitation of their numbers confined in some measure to the higher and wealthier

1. L.I. 10 February 1825.

2. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. pp.66 - 7.

classes; and thus that highly important class, placed between these, and the lower orders, on which so much of the welfare of the country depends, would, without more extended and less expensive means of obtaining improvement, be left far behind in the race of mental cultivation.¹

The primary motive of amenity was also present in the provision of libraries, philosophical halls and mechanics' institutes, where the proprietors used the buildings and received no profits.

The best example of the incentive given by amenity value concerns Leeds Public Baths, built 1819-20. Disregarding the motives of the original shareholders, interest centres on the motives of the shareholders in a company which took over the baths in 1837. The fortunes of the Public Baths had begun to decline in the 1830's, and by 1836 revenue had dwindled until it was too small to meet costs, let alone pay a dividend to the shareholders. Consequently, it was decided to close the baths. However, the outcry caused by the prospect of losing this amenity was so great that a new company was formed to save them. In view of the unprofitable nature of the establishment there can be little doubt that amenity was the shareholders' primary concern.

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1. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. p.62.
 2. Leeds Mercury 2, 9, 16 July, 20 August 1836; Leeds New Baths Company, Extracts from the Trust Deed (Leeds, 1837)

CHAPTER V

URBAN RIVALRY, EMULATION AND CIVIC PRIDE

Although the two previous chapters have highlighted significant differences between the factors which influenced the provision of public buildings by the public and private sectors, they have also revealed similarities. Both sectors, for example, were influenced by economic considerations and the desire for amenity. In addition to these, there were other common factors at work: firstly, both sectors in a town were influenced by the provision of public buildings in other towns; secondly, their activities were affected by a consciousness that the state of their town came under the scrutiny of outsiders. This chapter makes a detailed examination of these two common factors.

I

There is a substantial amount of evidence to show that townspeople's knowledge of the provision of public buildings in other towns induced them to provide similar institutions for their own town. Sometimes, they merely borrowed the idea of providing a building to house a particular amenity, but in many cases they actually studied other towns' institutions with a view to adopting the most advantageous features for the design of their own building. In extreme cases the buildings erected were almost exact architectural copies of institutions in other towns. The process of emulation was established by the

beginning of the eighteenth century. However, the most abundant evidence of its existence is available from the 1760's onwards, and indicates that it affected almost every category of public buildings.¹

The most extensive evidence of emulation is associated with medical institutions. The provision of Leeds Infirmary in the late 1760's is the earliest example of the process at work. When the scheme was first proposed, the founders of the institution sought advice on various subjects from one of the trustees of the Manchester Infirmary.² The establishment of Sheffield Infirmary is an example of even more direct emulation since its premises, which were opened in 1797, were actually built and planned with Northampton Infirmary as a model.³ Similar cases occurred in the early nineteenth century. For example, prior to the erection of the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1816-18, its architects, Watson and Pritchett, visited "several of the best constructed Asylums in the kingdom, particularly the celebrated one at Glasgow" with a view to incorporating their best features in the prospective design.⁴ Similarly, when it was decided that purpose-built premises were required for the Leeds Dispensary soon after its establishment in 1824, various people associated with the institution were requested to obtain sketches and details of the costs of the dispensary buildings

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1. Places of worship are one of the few categories of building for which I have found no evidence of emulation.
 2. S.T. Anning, The General Infirmary at Leeds (1963), I, 4.
 3. J.D. Leader and S. Snell, The History of the Sheffield Royal Infirmary (Sheffield, 1897), p.13.
 4. Watson and Pritchett, Plans, Elevations, Sections and Description of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum lately erected at Wakefield (1819), introduction.

at Birmingham and Liverpool.¹

Perhaps the most explicit evidence for the existence of the emulative process is provided by a large pamphlet published in 1828 in support of a scheme to build an infirmary at Huddersfield.² It not only demonstrates that people were aware of provisions elsewhere, but also shows that they drew their inspiration from an impressively wide geographical area. The pamphlet, which was followed by the building of the Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary, 1829-31, gave examples of medical provisions scattered all over England. The provisions and costs were cited for towns such as Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Lincoln, Hereford, Colchester, Durham, Taunton, Northampton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and many more.

However, emulation was by no means restricted to the medical sphere. For example, in 1786 when it was decided to rebuild and enlarge the West Riding House of Correction, the magistrates ordered at Quarter Sessions that:

the Deputy Clerk of the Peace use his endeavours to procure plans of any Houses of Correction that are recommended to him as worthy of imitation and in particular of the plans and regulations now adopted in the County of Suffolk.³

Emulation also featured in the provision for education and the advancement of knowledge. For example, the Sheffield Subscription Library was commenced in 1771 "on the model of one recently established at Leeds".⁴ Similarly, the establishment of the West Riding

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1. S.T. Anning, "The Leeds Public Dispensary", Thors.Soc.Pubns. LIV, part 2, (1975), 135-6. The scheme was abortive.
 2. J.K. Walker, Observations on the Expediency of Establishing Hospitals Addressed to the Governors of Huddersfield Dispensary (Huddersfield, 1828), passim.
 3. W.R.Q.S. Order Books, Doncaster Sessions 18 January 1786.
 4. A. Gatty, Sheffield Past and Present (Sheffield, 1873), pp.152-3.

Proprietary School at Wakefield, 1833-4, followed the example of several institutions which had "recently been established in the south of England and in Edinburgh and had been attended with universal success".¹

Provisions in other towns also had a distinct influence on the sphere of marketing and commerce. This is illustrated by a letter from the mysterious "B.N." to the Leeds Intelligencer in 1822 in which the correspondent writes:

I beg to submit to those readers interested in the improvement of the town whether or not, besides the erection of our Philosophical Hall, the Baths, and the intended New Churches, an elegant Exchange and Newsroom, after the plan of those of Manchester or Liverpool, is not wanted.²

In fact, the example of Liverpool and Manchester in the provision of this type of amenity was of especial importance to developments in Leeds. In suggesting the erection of a public market in 1822, the mayor of Leeds referred the inhabitants to a covered market recently built in Liverpool and suggested that a similar venture would be successful in their own town.³ Likewise, when the design for the town's Central Market was chosen the Leeds Intelligencer disclosed that it would be a covered market "on the same principle as that erected at Liverpool".⁴ Again, some aspects of the design for the town's Free Market were copied from a similar market in Manchester.⁵

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1. West Riding Proprietary School, The Proceedings at the Opening of (Wakefield, 1834), p.61.
 2. L.I. 15 July 1822.
 3. Ibid. 5 August 1822.
 4. Ibid. 15 July 1824.
 5. Ibid. 15 November 1827.

Finally, the process of emulation is also evident in the sphere of leisure and entertainment. When the idea of building a theatre at Doncaster was proposed in 1770 the town corporation ordered that plans and estimates should be obtained for the playhouses at Scarborough, Stamford, and Hull.¹ Imitation was clearly apparent once more when the same corporation erected a grandstand, 1777-8; the stand closely resembled one erected at York three years earlier and the same architect, John Carr, was chosen to supervise the work.² Similarly, the provision of amenities primarily for outdoor recreation was also influenced by developments elsewhere. For example, a scheme for establishing a zoological garden at Leeds was revived in 1836 owing to the success of similar gardens in Sheffield, London and Liverpool.³

II

Attention now turns to an examination of the direction of the emulative process, and an attempt is made to establish which towns led the way in the provision of buildings. The most important point to make at the outset is that, with the possible exception of the cloth halls, none of the public buildings provided in the West Riding were original in conception. All the West Riding's buildings had precedents in other parts of the country. The nature of this situation poses the

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1. Doncaster Corporation, Calendar to the Records of the Borough of Doncaster (Doncaster, 1902), IV, 241.
 2. H.E.C. Stapleton, ed. A Skilful Master Builder (York, 1975), p.40.
 3. Leeds Mercury 6 August 1836.

question of whether ideas on the provision of buildings were transmitted directly from towns outside to towns inside the Riding, or whether they followed a more circuitous route. It is argued here that the latter was the case: in general after 1700 it appears that, while Leeds and Sheffield directly emulated developments in towns of a similar size and character outside the West Riding, the smaller towns were influenced by developments outside the Riding indirectly via the example of Leeds and Sheffield or the smaller West Riding towns which had already followed their example. It cannot be denied that there was also a direct transmission of ideas to the smaller West Riding towns from without the Riding, but it is argued that the indirect process of transmission was of greater influence.

The overriding influence on Leeds people of the provision of buildings in Liverpool and Manchester has already been demonstrated, but evidence of a similar character is also available for Sheffield; it shows that not only did the people of Sheffield imitate provisions in towns outside the Riding, but also that they were conscious of being led. For example, the West Riding Directory for 1837, commenting on the recent provision of the Public Baths, said:

This useful and long wanted bathing establishment is one of the best of the kind in the kingdom, for though Sheffield is generally much later than other towns, it is usually amongst the most judicious in the construction of public institutions. (my italics)

Twenty years earlier when moves were afoot to build a new public library in the town, Hunter commented: "We seem, however, to be

1. W.White, 1837 D. pp.86-7.

rousing ourselves. Liverpool and Manchester have led the way."¹

Surprisingly, in view of its importance as the country's capital, London does not appear to have been a source of direct emulation. The only one of its amenities specifically referred to as being worthy of emulation was its Zoological Gardens. In fact, a national periodical, The Mirror, even suggested that London might follow an example set by Leeds. In a description of the town's Central Market opened in 1827 it commented:

Too much praise cannot be conferred on this and similar instances of provincial improvement; while it is much to be regretted that such praise cannot be extended to the metropolis of England; for, strange to say, LONDON is still without a market-place suitable to its commercial consequence.²

Another town which was notable for its absence when comparisons were being made was York.³ References to it appear to have been very rare. This administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the three Yorkshire Ridings had a population of a similar size to those of Leeds and Sheffield in the mid-eighteenth century, but thereafter its growth was comparatively slow. By 1841 it was less than one-third of the size of Leeds, less than half the size of Sheffield, and even Bradford had out-grown it. It seems likely that in the years leading up to the mid-eighteenth century the town did set an example to be followed: its Mansion House (1730), assembly rooms (1731-2), hospital (1740), and theatre (1744) all pre-empted

1. J.Hunter, Hallamshire (1869 edn.), p.129.

2. The Mirror pp.236-7 - loose pages of the periodical, dated c.1827, in Thors.Soc.

3. The information in this paragraph is drawn from R.B. Pugh, ed. The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Yorkshire - The City of York (1961), pp.212, 254, 260, 467-70, 531-3, 535-6, 541-4.

provisions in the West Riding towns in either conception or scale. However, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards the roles seem to have been reversed: for instance York's subscription library (1794), Philosophical Society (1823), public baths (1827), all post-dated provisions in Leeds. Moreover, the town remained without a corn exchange until 1868 and its markets were still without shelter at the end of the nineteenth century.

A ranking table, Table V.1, is presented below to support the hypothesis that ideas of providing certain types of public building were transmitted from outside the Riding directly to a small group of towns within the Riding, and via this group indirectly to other Riding towns. The table lists various types of building provided and ranks each of the twelve towns according to the chronological order in which they provided them; the first town to erect a particular type of building is ranked one, the second town is ranked two, and so on. The bottom column of the table gives the average rank each town took in the chronology of erecting buildings. If the hypothesis suggested above is correct, a small group of towns should persistently occupy a high ranking position.

An examination of the table demonstrates clearly the leadership given by Leeds, Sheffield and Wakefield; first rank went to a town outside this group in only one case. Leeds was the principal leader of trends with its infirmary, music hall, philosophical hall, library, and marketing facilities. Sheffield vied with Leeds for first rank in several types of building, and actually achieved

Table V.1

The Chronological Order in which certain Types of
Public Buildings were Provided in the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840

Building Type	Leeds	Sheffield	Wakefield	Doncaster	Hallifax	Ripon	Rotherham	Huddersfield	Pontefract	Bradford	Barnsley	Keansborough
Medical Institution (purpose-built)	1	2=	4	2=	8		6	7		5		
Medical Institution (with or without building)	1	4=	2	4=	7	3	6	10	8	9		11
Town Hall or Court House for W.R.Q.S. post-1806 *	4	2=	1			7	5	5=	2=	8=	8=	10
Assembly Rooms **	1=	4	1=	3	5	7				6		
Theatres	2	1	3=	3=	5	6=			6		8	
Cloth Halls	3		2		1			4		5		
Libraries and/or Newsrooms	1	2	4	3	5	8	6=	9		6=	10	
National Schools ***	1=	1=	3=	8	7	3=		9	10	11	3=	3=
Lancasterian Schools	2	1			3							
Collegiate & Pro- prietary Schools		2	1					3				
Philosophical Halls	1				2			3				
Music Halls	1	2										
Public Baths	2	5		1	3			4				
Botanical Gardens	3	1	2									
Corn Exchanges ****	1	2	3									
Average Rank	1.6	2.2	2.4	3.4	4.6	5.7	5.8	6	6.5	7	7.2	8

Notes:

- * The Act to facilitate the provision of West Riding court houses was passed in 1806.

contd.

the position with its educational and recreational institutions; its Lancasterian school, theatre, and botanical gardens were all erected earlier than similar facilities in Leeds. Wakefield came close behind Sheffield in importance as a trend-setter; its cloth hall, court house, proprietary school, and possibly also its assembly rooms, were the first buildings of their kind provided in the Riding. Doncaster seems to have been a trend-setter within the limited range of buildings associated with leisure and recreation. Even where the town's buildings ranked third they were exemplary for their lavishness. This is hardly surprising for a town of which the Baines directory said in 1822:

There are few towns in the kindgom in which so great a portion of the inhabitants possess independent fortunes, and the neighbourhood is remarkable for opulent families.¹

1. E.Baines, 1822 D. I, 169.

Table V.1 Notes, contd.

- ** Some town halls were used as assembly rooms; the table does not include them.
- *** A small number of converted premises are included in this category.
- **** The first corn exchange built in the Riding was at Wakefield in 1820, but it has been ignored because it survived only for two or three years and therefore was unlikely to have led to emulation due to rivalry or good example.

The remaining eight towns, although achieving second or third rank on occasions, never attained first rank and therefore the ranking table gives strong support to the hypothesis suggested. While the inhabitants of these towns were quite possibly aware of developments outside the Riding, they always had a local example which they might follow.

III

There were three principal causes of the emulative process.

Firstly, emulation was promoted by purely practical consideration.

The novel problems of urban growth, particularly during the Industrial Revolution, made innovation in the sphere of urban amenities almost essential; consequently, a town's inhabitants often investigated methods employed to solve problems and accommodate new requirements in other towns, with a view to imitating suitable provisions. When imitation did occur it was caused not so much by envy or rivalry, but rather by a genuine and unashamed desire to use the most advanced modern and proven devices to cater for contemporary urban requirements; the examples of emulation cited earlier in this chapter clearly illustrate this fact. The terms, such as "the best constructed", "worthy of imitation", "attended with universal success", all indicate that the promoters of buildings felt that amenities elsewhere offered a valuable illustration of what might be done. This is particularly well illustrated by the comments made by an

inhabitant of Wakefield, when he encouraged his fellow townsmen to provide the town's multi-purpose public building, the Public Rooms:

The town of Leeds, originally of no greater extent or importance than Wakefield, has, from peculiar circumstances, aided by the spirited exertions of its inhabitants, become entitled to rank as the first town in the county, whether it be considered for its extent and population, or for its wealth and public spirit. To enumerate all its public Institutions and Buildings would be unnecessary, but amongst those which it does possess may be mentioned its Gas Lights, Water Works, and Infirmary. To these and others will soon be added Public Baths, and a Building preparing for the Philosophical Society lately established there These observations upon the prosperity of a neighbouring town have not been called forth by envy or jealousy, but rather with a view to hold it up as an example worthy to be followed, and as a proof of what may be accomplished by a little exertion and public spirit.¹

A second cause of emulation was economic rivalry, and is highlighted in the provision of marketing and commercial buildings in the West Riding. The clearest illustration is given by the provision of cloth halls. The cloth industry was the major source of wealth in the West Riding during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, because a town might grow prosperous on the revenue and business produced by a cloth market, there was a great deal of rivalry between towns for predominance as cloth marketing centres.² During the seventeenth century, Wakefield and Leeds grew in size and importance as cloth marketing centres and a strong rivalry developed between them.³ The provision of a cloth hall at Leeds in the early eighteenth century clearly demonstrates that the town's inhabitants believed their success in competing for trade and commerce was substantially

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1. Wakefield Public Rooms, Public Library and Newsroom (Wakefield, 1 July 1820).
 2. H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (Oxford, 1965), passim.
 3. Ibid, pp.359-63.

dependent upon the marketing and commercial amenities which they provided. When a cloth hall was built at Wakefield in 1710, the inhabitants of Leeds reacted with remarkable speed. Thoresby, the local antiquarian and member of the Leeds Corporation, wrote in his diary on 14th August 1710:

Rode with the Mayor and others to my lord Irwin's at Temple Newsam, about the erection of a hall for white cloths in Kirkgate, to prevent the damage to this town of one lately erected at Wakefield, with design to engross the woollen trade.

By April 1711 the proposed Leeds hall was built and open for business. While one reason for providing a cloth hall was simply to make marketing easier and pleasanter, clearly the promoters were motivated principally by the fear of losing trade to other towns. This argument is supported by another example in the 1770's. On this occasion Leeds faced a challenge from the small village of Gomersal, where a scheme to build a large white cloth hall was afoot. The scheme's principal appeal was that Gomersal was situated quite close to the centre of the cloth manufacturing area, in direct contrast to Leeds, which was situated on its periphery. It is not difficult to appreciate the Leeds merchants' fear that clothiers might be drawn away from their market to the geographically advantageous site at Gomersal. The trustees of the Leeds White Cloth Hall threatened legal action to prevent the building of the new hall and took various measures to discourage its patronage, but meanwhile the merchants of Leeds turned their attention to more practical and satisfactory methods of circumventing the new rival. This they did by promoting a new and much larger White Cloth Hall which was erected

1. R. Thoresby, Diary (1830), II, 65-6.

at Leeds, 1775-6.¹

It cannot be doubted that all the cloth halls built in the West Riding were at least partially the product of economic rivalry, and the view that they were a vital aid to competition. In 1829 an inhabitant of Wakefield, when he considered the great prosperity of Leeds, clearly stated the value of cloth halls in economic competition:

Doubtless Leeds is in a great measure indebted for its state of prosperity to being the principal seat of the Cloth Trade, and when the great advantages which it has derived on account of possessing the White and Coloured Cloth Halls are duly considered, it must for ever be lamented that the inhabitants of Wakefield were, at the time of their erection, so little alive to the real interests of their own town, as to allow themselves to be deprived of the White Hall.²

The third force which encouraged the process of emulation was a kind of self-conscious civic pride. The inhabitants of towns valued the good opinion of outsiders, and they feared the loss of these opinions if the amenities they provided were inferior to those in other towns. This was, partly at least, the reason for the provision of many buildings. For example, the people of Wakefield seem to have been particularly sensitive to the opinions of outsiders, as the prospectuses for the two of the town's public buildings reveal. The Exchange Buildings prospectus issued in 1836 pointed out:

It has long been the surprise of Strangers, that the frequenters of the Wakefield Corn Market should be so much exposed to the casualties of the Weather, and other unfavourable circumstance; and it is generally admitted, that no Market in the Kingdom of half its importance is so inadequately provided with Accommodation.³

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1. For fuller details see H. Heaton, op.cit. pp.366-70. The Gomersal cloth hall was built but never achieved major success.
 2. Wakefield Public Rooms, op.cit.
 3. Wakefield Exchange Buildings, Prospectus for the Erection of a Corn Exchange (Wakefield, 1836).

The prospectus issued to urge the provision of a public room sixteen years earlier represents an even more extreme display of self-consciousness:

That Wakefield, situated in the centre of an opulent and populous neighbourhood, and containing the various public edifices belonging to the West-Riding of the County, should be totally unprovided with any Building adapted to the purposes of Public Amusements, of Lectures or Exhibitions, has long caused a feeling of regret in the minds of the constant inhabitants of the town, and has not unfrequently been a subject of surprise to those who make it their occasional residence. Nor is this the only want of which Wakefield has to complain: there is not another town in the Riding, perhaps in the County, whose Library and News-Rooms are so inadequate to the uses for which they are designed, or so inconvenient with regard to their situation¹

Even Leeds, the wealthiest town in the West Riding, was partly induced to provide public buildings by a sensitivity to the opinions of outsiders. A writer to the Leeds Intelligencer revealed this fact when discussing economic matters:

Sir - The spirit of improvement which happily seems now in progress, will I trust, wipe off the justly merited reproach under which the town has so long laboured; the removal of the old butchers' shambles will, I hope be soon followed by other improvements consistent with the opulence and commercial importance of the town of Leeds, and no longer subject us to the scorn of visitors, who wonder that, with the advance of intelligence and general science, we have been negligent of those matters, by which other large commercial towns have facilitated the intercourse of strangers with their merchants²

Three markets, a bazaar and shambles, a corn exchange, and a merchants' exchange were provided in the seven years following this letter.

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1. Wakefield Public Rooms, op.cit.
 2. L.I. 15 July 1822.

Although in some cases the opinions of outsiders were not referred to specifically when the reasons for providing a building were discussed, there was often a strong implication that the lack of the facility concerned reflected badly on the town. For example, when a case was made out for the provision of Sheffield Infirmary in 1792, potential subscribers were reminded that there was scarcely a city or large town in the kingdom that had not already established an infirmary.¹

A similar sort of implication was contained in a letter to the Leeds Mercury in 1818 recommending the erection of the Philosophical Hall:

It has long been the subject of surprise to me and I believe to many others, that although the town of Leeds is justly celebrated for the number of its benevolent and humane institutions, it can boast of no Society for the promotion of intellectual and literary improvement There are few large towns where such institutions do not exist or flourish, and they are patronised in many places, much less considerable in extent and much less respectable in the character of the inhabitants, than the town of Leeds.²

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1. J.D. Leader and S.Snell, op.cit. p.6.
 2. Leeds Mercury 26 September 1818.

IV

In conclusion, attention turns from emulation and its causes to a brief comment on civic pride; for, just as the factors producing emulation influenced provision of buildings by a town's inhabitants acting both publicly and privately, civic pride also featured in the building decisions of the two sectors. Public buildings were regarded as status symbols, symbols of taste, culture, and respectability; and as a historian pointed out in the 1880's, they were "the best proof of opulence".¹ Quite apart from the feeling of inferiority which motivated emulation, it is clear that the inhabitants of the West Riding were proud of their towns and county and wished to provide buildings which proclaimed their virtues and achievements. The origin of the reflection of this pride with the provision of buildings is difficult to pinpoint. Little existed in seventeenth-century Leeds, if Thoresby's comments on the Leeds inhabitants' actions were generally applicable. He castigated his fellow townsmen for their refusal of substantial financial aid towards rebuilding the town's Moot Hall in the latter part of the century: "We might have boasted of a stately Comitium, where Conveniency is now all that is pretended to".² However, by the end of our period, there can be no doubt that Yorkshiremen's self-assured pride in their town and county had been established and that provisions in other towns were being imitated not only in defence of their status and dignity, but out of self-confident pride. For

1. J. Clegg, Annals of Bolton (Bolton, 1888), p.78.

2. R. Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis (1715), p.15.

example, the tone of a letter to the Leeds Intelligencer in 1824 calling for the provision of a dispensary in Bradford was not couched in apologetic terms but rather more in chauvinistic pride. The correspondent, a Bradford man, rallied his fellow townsmen with the call:

Institutions of this kind are an honour to the towns in which they are supported. Bradford is the only wealthy manufacturing town hereabouts in which such a one does not exist; and shall Wakefield, Huddersfield and Halifax excel us? Our pride says nay.¹

The element of civic pride was also apparent in a letter to the Leeds Intelligencer recommending the provision of the Commercial Buildings; the writer asked why Leeds should not "have all the advantages experienced in other large Manufacturing Towns".² Civic pride reached such proportions in Leeds in the 1820's that it even transcended political differences as a report in the Leeds Intelligencer indicated:

We cannot close this article without congratulating our fellow townsmen on the greatest of all improvements. A short time only has elapsed since war raged without, and party feuds within. Now one feeling seems to animate both Whigs and Tories, viz. an anxiety to improve the convenience of this ancient borough. We trust this spirit will remain undiminished until the town is susceptible of no further addition; either useful or ornamental.³

That the provision of public buildings could be a demonstration of pride in both town and county, is clearly evident from the words of Lord Morpeth at the opening of the West Riding Proprietary School:

I am jealous for the success of everything which can redound to the just credit of Yorkshire; I wish that

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1. L.I. 14 October 1824.
 2. Ibid. 27 May 1824.
 3. Ibid. 2 December 1824.

it should lay behind in no department, where honest
praise can be attained.¹

1. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. p.28.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORGANIZATION OF BUILDING PROJECTS

PART ONE

This chapter and its successor examine the processes involved in the provision of a public building from the inception of the scheme to the completion of the structure. Since data relating to such projects before the mid-eighteenth century are extremely sparse, the bulk of the evidence for their organization is drawn from the period 1750-1840. The present chapter describes the activities preceding the commencement of building work.

I

Once the idea of providing a public building was conceived the next step in the process leading to the erection of the building depended on how it was to be financed. If the initiators of the idea intended to finance the building personally, then their next step was to choose a site and select an architect. However, in most cases they needed to gather the support of people who had access to the capital required. Where the building was to be financed by a public body, it was necessary to solicit the support of the members of a corporation, a charitable trust or, in the case of a vestry, the ratepayers of the parish. Alternatively, if finance was to come from the private sector, then a more general appeal had to be made. In both cases the promoters' usual method was to use private contacts to secure the commitment of a hard core of supporters and then to submit their proposals

to a formal meeting.

In cases where finance was dependent upon the decisions of the members of a public body such as a corporation or charitable trust the discussions and meetings were inevitably small-scale affairs. In the case of the rebuilding of Leeds Moot Hall, 1710-11, by the Leeds Pious Uses Committee and Leeds Corporation, the informal promotion of the scheme was so effective that the first reference to the project in the bodies' minutes merely approved what had already been decided in private. In fact, the contract was signed only four days after the scheme was first referred to in Leeds Corporation minutes, an architect having already submitted plans and specifications for the building.¹

In Sheffield, at the same period, the procedure followed by public bodies for initiating the provision of public buildings seems to have been rather more formal. For example, referring to the inception of the scheme for erecting Sheffield Town Hall, 1700-1, an entry in the Burgery Accounts for the year 1699-1700 reads: "Spent att a meeteing about the Townes Hall 3-4d"; as at subsequent meetings to discuss the proposed town hall, the money accounted for was the cost of the ale consumed during the proceedings.² Likewise, a preliminary meeting to discuss the desirability of building a new Cutlers' Hall was held at Sheffield in February 1725. The minutes of the Cutlers' Company record: "the Trustees, Wardens and the Company mett to know whether the

1. LC/M2, fo.69, 5 June 1710; DB/197/1, part 1, 151, 9 June 1710.

2. J.D. Leader, The Records of the Burgery of Sheffield, commonly called the Town Trust (Sheffield, 1897), pp. 271-86.

Hall should come down or noe".¹

When the availability of finance was dependent upon the support of a larger number of people, such as the ratepayers of a parish or the wealthier members of a community in general, public meetings were held. The records of parish vestries provide ample evidence of such meetings prior to the mid-eighteenth century, particularly with reference to the provision of workhouses.² After this period there are frequent press records of meetings held to promote all manner of public buildings. To encourage attendance at these events promoters often placed advertisements in local newspapers. An early example from the Leeds Intelligencer refers to the proposal to erect a new cloth hall at Leeds in 1774:

White-Cloth-Hall at Leeds

At a meeting of several of the Trustees of the White-Cloth-Hall, and of Freeholders and Merchants of Leeds, had on Tuesday last, it was unanimously Resolved, To advertise a General Meeting of all the White-Clothiers, Freeholders, Merchants, Traders, and others, any way concerned in the Expediency of erecting A New White-Cloth-Hall at Leeds. (the present Hall being found incogmodious and totally insufficient for the purpose)³

A similar type of advertisement appeared in the Leeds Intelligencer in 1785 inviting people interested in the provision of a concert room at Leeds to attend a public meeting:

A Meeting of Inhabitants of the Town of Leeds, who are desirous of promoting a Concert and Ball, for the Winter Season, is requested at Mr. Wood's, the Old King's Arms, Leeds, on Thursday 10th November at

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1. R.E. Leader, History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York (Sheffield, 1905), I, 183-9.
 2. For example, Knaresborough vestry and Bradford vestry. See M. Calvert, The History of Knaresborough (Knaresborough, 1844), p.79, and J. James, The History and Topography of Bradford (1841), pp. 153-4.
 3. L.I. 16 August 1774.

11 o'clock a.m.

A Subscription being already open for the Building of a New and Complete CONCERT ROOM, Plans and Estimates will then be submitted to the Consideration of the Gentlemen present. As it may be adviseable, at the same time, to take into Consideration some other Public Building, such as a Library or Hall for Narrow Cloth, Worsted Goods & c. the Attendance of such as find themselves interested therein is likewise required.¹

The principal purpose of the public meetings was to discuss the viability of the project and to sound out potential supporters of the scheme. If the general tenor of opinion favoured the scheme, attention turned to a discussion of the facilities which ought to be incorporated in the building, the amount of capital required, and the choice of site. The meetings then closed by electing, or arranging a date for electing, a committee to fully investigate the proposals and set the project in motion.

There are numerous examples of these procedures taking place at meetings, but a few illustrations must suffice. One example is the meeting of merchants in 1774 to discuss the provision of the new white cloth hall at Leeds where it was resolved that "a Committee may be appointed for carrying into Execution such Resolutions as shall from time to time be made respecting the said hall".² Another example is a meeting held at Leeds in June 1823 to discuss the provision of the South Market: the meeting, in addition to endorsing the proposal, decided that: a particular site was suitable; the capital should be raised in £50 shares; and when £10,000 capital had been subscribed, a

1. L.I. 1 November 1785.

2. H.Heaton, "The Leeds White Cloth Hall", Thors.Soc.Pubns. XXII, (1913), 139-40.

meeting should be held to elect a committee to set the project under way.¹

Regardless of whether a building was promoted by a public body or a group of private individuals, a special committee was always appointed to handle the project. There are many examples in addition to those already cited: Doncaster Corporation established building committees in 1744 for the erection of its Mansion House,² and in 1774 for the erection of Doncaster Playhouse;³ a "committee for building a Piece Hall" in Halifax was appointed in 1774;⁴ and the West Riding Magistrates appointed a committee in 1819 to deal with the rebuilding of the House of Correction.⁵ The initial duties of these committees were usually threefold: to obtain a site for the building; to solicit designs from architects; and, in the case of collective private ventures, to gather in funds to finance the building.

Although tentative negotiations about possible sites were sometimes entered into very early on, the first principal concern of these committees, in the case of private projects, was to raise the funds required.⁶ The usual procedure was to publicize the scheme by newspaper advertisements, handbills, and printed prospectuses, which suggested the merits of the scheme and informed the reader

1. L.I. 19 June 1823.

2. Doncaster Corporation, A Calendar to the Records of the Borough of Doncaster (Doncaster, 1902), IV, 216.

3. Ibid. IV, 245.

4. L.I. 31 January 1775.

5. J.H. Turner, Wakefield House of Correction (1904), p.150.

6. In a few cases subscription lists were opened before a building committee was appointed, e.g. Leeds South Market.

where he might subscribe for shares or hand in his donation.

For example, the handbill which publicized the Wakefield Public Rooms scheme in 1820 informed its readers of the promoters' resolution:

That Books, for entering the Names of such Gentlemen as wish to become Shareholders, be left at the two Banks and at the Shop of Mr. R. Nichols, Bookseller; the Books to remain open until the 1st day of March next.

The prospectus published in 1836 for Wakefield Exchange Buildings told readers desiring to buy shares to apply to the Bank of Messrs. Leatham & Co., The Wakefield Banking Company, or The Northern and Central Bank, Wakefield, where a deposit of £1 per share would be required.² Presumably solicitors' offices were also used as repositories for subscription books, since each company had its own solicitor. The method of disposing of shares in Leeds Commercial Buildings was rather different: the twenty members of the building committee were each given the task of allocating twenty shares,³ but it is not known how often this method was used.

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1. Wakefield Public Rooms, Wakefield, 20th January 1820, At a Meeting held this Day (A handbill - for a copy see Y.A.S. 53 L20).
 2. Wakefield Exchange Buildings, Prospectus (Wakefield, 1836).
 3. L.I. 9 December 1824.

II

Once the initiators of a scheme, or a building committee, were confident that sufficient funds to erect a building would be at their disposal, they set about choosing a site.¹ The criteria which determined the suitability of a site were location, cost, and size. The subscribers to Leeds Lancasterian School, when choosing its site, clearly considered convenience of position to be of greater importance than cost. The first report of the school's committee in 1814 stated that:

The situation of the School was determined at a General Meeting of the Subscribers, as being a central one, and as such advantageous for the attendance of the children, and presenting an inducement to the patrons and friends of the Institution frequently to visit it. Though the cost of the ground was more than it would have been in some parts of the town the Committee are satisfied, that these advantages are more than compensation for the difference.²

The location of a site was of especial importance to the success of commercial amenities, and therefore projectors of such enterprises laid emphasis on this factor. The projectors of Leeds Commercial Buildings had difficulty in obtaining a sufficiently large site in a prominent position in the town centre, and finally bought a site which had little to recommend it other than its location. Commenting on the Commercial Buildings, the Leeds Monthly Magazine said:

There cannot be two opinions about the exterior; it is clumsy, uncouth, and inelegant in the highest degree. This, however, we are told results, in a great measure,

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1. On a few occasions tentative negotiations for a site were begun prior to gathering financial support for a project.
 2. Quoted in F.Beckwith, "Thomas Taylor - Regency Architect", Thors.Soc.Pubns. Monograph I (1949), p.23

from the desire of the projectors to occupy every inch of the ground with the site of the building, and to sacrifice external taste and beauty to the completeness and perfection of the interior. Perhaps they were right, the ground is certainly far from being the most proper and commodious piece for such an undertaking, and we have little doubt, that, in the plenitude of their wisdom, they have made the most of it.¹

This view was echoed by the Leeds Intelligencer in its comments on the architects' designs for the building: it had been difficult to produce "a regular edifice from an irregular site".² Cost was a major influence in the choice of the site for Leeds Central Market. The sub-committee appointed to buy a site abandoned negotiations for the one most favoured "on account of the high price asked by its owners - quite inconsistent with its worth";³ they eventually purchased the "next most eligible site".⁴

Building committees or their counterparts normally selected and obtained a site by making approaches to the owners of suitable pieces of ground. For example, in 1755 the minutes of Leeds Pious Uses Committee reveal that:

At this Court, John Rogerson and Benjamin Holdsworth on Behalf of themselves and the rest of the Mixt Clothiers came and proposed to purchase of the Committee the Ground called the Tenter Garth in order to make the land a convenient Market for the sale of Broad Woolen cloth.⁵

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1. Leeds Monthly Magazine IX, Nov.1829, 429-30.
 2. L.I. 30 June 1825.
 3. Ibid. 2 February 1822.
 4. Ibid.
 5. DB/197/1, part 2, fo.448, 24 November 1755.

In this case nothing came of their application and the Mixed Cloth Hall was built elsewhere. In another instance, the projectors of Leeds Corn Exchange selected a suitable site and then sent a deputation to the owner, Mrs. Baron, to negotiate for its purchase.¹ In a few cases, projectors resorted to advertising. The White Clothiers advertised in the Leeds Intelligencer on 25th February 1755:

Wanted to be purchased a Piece of Ground at Leedes, whereon to build a WHITE CLOTH-HALL. N.B. In Meadow-Lane or Hunslet-Lane near the Bridge will be the most convenient situation.

However, once a project had received publicity, it must have been quite common for owners of land to make unsolicited offers of sites to its projectors. When Leeds Corn Exchange was projected in 1825, one landowner even advertised in the local newspaper that his land was available:

CORN EXCHANGE

to be sold by private contract, a valuable freehold estate on the East Side of Cross Parish in Leeds, in the several Occupations of Messrs. Burnley, Threlfall, Barr and other: the Front next the street about Twenty Yards, and the Depth from front to back about Seventy Yards. A most eligible situation for a CORN EXCHANGE.²

In quite a large number of cases, however, projectors did not need to search for sites or, indeed, pay for them.³ Doncaster Corporation, for example, owning a large amount of land in the centre of the town, erected several buildings there; the theatre, and the gaol, built 1768-9, are cases in point. Similarly, Sheffield Town Trust helped to finance the erection of Sheffield Town Hall, 1808-10,

1. L.I. 24 February, 3 March 1825.

2. Ibid. 17 February 1825.

3. See the gazetteer for the sources of the data given in this and the following paragraph.

which was built on a piece of ground which the Trust owned. Existing sites were often used in the rebuilding of many public buildings: for example, the Sheffield Cutlers' Halls, 1725-6 and 1832-3; and Leeds Moot Hall, 1710-11. Many almshouses also were rebuilt on their existing sites; for example, Waterhouse's Almshouses at Halifax, 1812-13, the Hornes' Almshouses at Wakefield in 1793. This practice was most common in the case of churches and chapels; the Baptist Chapel at Halifax, 1835, Scotland Street Methodist New Connexion Chapel at Sheffield, 1828-9, and Leeds Parish Church, 1838-41, are but a few of the instances.

The projectors of many charitable buildings and places of worship were saved both the trouble and expense of purchasing sites by the donation of suitable ones. For example, the Duke of Norfolk gave land in Sheffield for St. Mary's Church, 1826-30; St. John's Church, 1836-8; and the Shrewsbury Almshouses, rebuilt 1825-7. Similarly, Sir John Ramsden gave the site for St. Paul's Church, Huddersfield, in 1838, and presented a site, at a nominal rent, for the town's National School in 1820. Charles Harris gave the site for the British and Infant School erected at Bradford in 1831. Surprisingly, in spite of the commercial nature of the building, a site was donated even for Halifax Piece Hall in 1775.

III

Once a site had been chosen, the first decision a building committee had to make was whether or not to commission an architect to submit a design. Even by the early nineteenth century, it was not certain that an architect would be employed - a builder might have sufficient

expertise to perform the task: when William Lindley, the Doncaster architect, was asked to prepare plans for Rotherham's new market place and shambles in 1801 he declined on the grounds that in his opinion the buildings were "intended to be so plain and simple in construction" that the assistance of a professional architect was unnecessary.¹ Because of the vagueness and brevity of contemporary building records, it is often difficult to ascertain whether a builder or an architect had been employed to design a public building in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. This subject is further complicated by the fact that some men performed the dual role of architect and builder. (In fact no evidence has been discovered showing that "architects" were employed to design public buildings other than churches and chapels in the West Riding during the seventeenth century.)

However, during the eighteenth century, in an increasingly large proportion of cases, men who were expressly denominated "architect" were employed to design all types of public buildings. Data concerning Sheffield Town Hall, 1700-1, and Leeds Moot Hall, 1710-11, show that by the beginning of the eighteenth century, architects were employed to design some secular public buildings. They also illustrate the lack of distinction which existed between an "architect" and a "builder" at this time. In the case of Sheffield Town Hall, a Mr. Renny was paid £2. 3s. Od. for "drawing the draught of the hall", and he also contracted to erect the building.² Unfortunately, the evidence gives no indication of

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1. J. Guest, Historic Notices of Rotherham (Worksop, 1879), p. 542.
 2. J. D. Leader, op.cit. pp. 271-86.

what contemporaries considered Mr. Renny's professional status to be. The evidence regarding Leeds Moot Hall is more informative: the Leeds authorities agreed to rebuild the hall in accordance with a "draught made and given in" by "Mr. William ETTY of York, Architect".¹ However, despite his status of "Architect", Mr. ETTY, like Mr. Renny, also contracted to perform the building work.²

As the eighteenth century progressed, builders were still asked occasionally to make designs for small public buildings or alterations to existing ones - for example, when Leeds Moot Hall was altered in 1766 plans and estimates were sought from "workmen".³ However, professional architects were employed to design the vast majority of public buildings: James Paine designed Doncaster Mansion, 1745-8;⁴ John Carr of York designed the Leeds General Infirmary, 1767-71,⁵ and the West Riding House of Correction at Wakefield, 1766-8;⁶ Mr. Atkinson of York designed the new theatre at Sheffield, 1777-;⁷ Mr. Lindley of York designed the playhouse at Doncaster, 1775-6.⁸ Even in some of these cases the architect's function was not limited to designing the building but also included contracting to erect the building.

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1. DB/197/1, part 1, fo.151, 9 June 1710.
 2. Ibid.
 3. LC/QS. (1766-75), fo.21, 28 May 1766.
 4. Doncaster Corporation, op.cit. IV, p.265.
 5. S.T. Anning, The General Infirmary at Leeds (1963), I, 7.
 6. J.H. Turner, op.cit. p.88.
 7. S.C.A. MS.Wil. D256, dated 30 December 1776.
 8. Doncaster Corporation, op.cit. IV, 245.

For example, Mr. Lindley contracted to build Doncaster Playhouse.¹ However, during the second half of the eighteenth century it was uncommon for an architect to both design and contract to erect a building. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the employment of an architect to design a public building was virtually a foregone conclusion, and it was extremely rare for him also to contract to erect the building.

Until the last years of the eighteenth century architects were chosen on the basis of their reputation. Although there may have been some jockeying for position behind the scenes for appointment as architect there was no formal competition: Mr. Renny and Mr. Ety, respectively, were the only figures associated with the designs for Sheffield Town Hall and Leeds Moot Hall; Mr. Lindley of York was the only architect asked to submit a design for Doncaster Theatre in 1774.² Similarly, when a new Cutlers' Hall at Sheffield was proposed in 1776 only one architect, Mr. Atkinson of York, was requested to submit a design.³

It was not until the 1790's that the first evidence appears of the selection of an architect as the result of open competition. When a design was required for Sheffield General Infirmary in 1792, it was decided to advertise, but even in this case the architect appointed, Mr. Rawstone, was not selected on the basis of a design for the building - his suitability was adjudged from the recommendations and testimonials which he produced.⁴

1. Doncaster Corporation, op.cit. IV, 245.

2. Ibid.

3. R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 189.

4. J.D. Leader and S. Snell, The History of the Sheffield Royal Infirmary (Sheffield, 1897), pp.13-14.

However, in the early nineteenth century it became common practice for the appointment of the architect of a public building to be thrown open to competition on the basis of the best design; building committees either advertised generally for architects' designs or personally invited a number of suitably qualified architects to submit them. Advertisements for designs were issued for buildings such as the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1816-18, Leeds Public Baths, 1819-20, Leeds South Market, 1823-4, and Sheffield Cutlers' Hall, 1832-3.¹ The response to the advertisements was quite sizable: forty designs were submitted for the Asylum; twelve for the Baths; and thirteen designs plus two models for the Cutlers' Hall.² Where personal invitations to submit designs were issued to particular architects, the number varied: six were issued for Leeds Commercial Buildings in 1825,³ compared with three for Leeds Corn Exchange in 1825,⁴ and twelve for Wakefield Exchange Buildings in 1836.⁵

While the prospect of lucrative employment undoubtedly provided a considerable incentive for architects to submit designs, some promoters did not consider it sufficient inducement; often a formal competition for designs was instituted, with money prizes for runners-up as well as for winners. A competition was held for the design of the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, the winning architect receiving one hundred guineas, and those in second and

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1. L.I. 2 January 1815; Leeds Public Baths, Byelaws (Leeds, 1826), p.3; L.I. 26 June 1823; R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 190-3; respectively.
 2. Watson and Pritchett, Plans, Elevations (1819); Leeds Public Baths, op.cit. p.3; R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 180-3; respectively.
 3. L.I. 23 June 1825.
 4. Ibid. 8 September 1825.
 5. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers, An abstract of the company minutes, 1836-40.

third places seventy and fifty guineas respectively.¹ A formal competition was also held for the design of Leeds South Market, the successful architect receiving twenty guineas, and the two runners-up ten and five guineas respectively.² The terms of the competition for the designs of Leeds Central Market and Wakefield Exchange Buildings were slightly different: the reward of the winning architects was deemed to be their contract of employment, and prizes were awarded only to the runners-up. In the Central Market competition the two runners-up received £30 and £20 respectively,³ and in the Exchange Buildings competition the prizes were £40 and £20.⁴

One of the principal reasons for instituting formal design competitions with prize money seems to have been that they were the least expensive method of obtaining a sizable choice of designs. If the practice followed by the projectors of Leeds Commercial Buildings was typical, the drawback of inviting a number of specifically chosen architects to submit designs was that they all had to be paid; the five architects whose designs were rejected were paid a total of £425 - by far the largest expenditure for unused designs.⁵

Once architects had been induced to submit competing designs, the most suitable one was selected by the building committee or a general meeting of the promoters. Provided that no element of favouritism or corruption was involved, the choice of design was

1. L.I. 2 January 1815.

2. Ibid. 26 June 1823.

3. Ibid. 22 April 1824.

4. J.W. Walker, Wakefield its History and People (Wakefield, 1934), p.444.

5. L.I. 7 July 1825; Thor.Soc. 31D1.

made on three principal criteria: the practicability of the design for the purposes intended; the appearance of the building; and its estimated cost.

The importance of all these factors is particularly well illustrated by the circumstances surrounding the selection of a design for the Leeds Commercial Buildings in 1825.¹ The choice of design proved to be such a contentious issue that the building committee's decision was overruled by the subscribers to the project, who held a further meeting at which four ballots were required before a final decision was reached. The local newspaper's appraisal of the six competing designs illustrates the criteria adopted for making the choice. First of all it made comments on the style of building thought most suitable:

We do not desire or expect that a public building in a manufacturing town, erected principally for commercial purposes, should exhibit the lightness, airiness and ornament of a House of Assembly in a fashionable watering place. Solidarity combined with taste, and utility with comfort, convenience and economy, are the objects chiefly deserving attention.

On the issue of practicability and convenience several of the designs were harshly criticised. It was thought that the rooms of one would be too dark; another wasted space; a third was adjudged totally unsuitable because its internal accommodation was deficient and light and air were excluded from the coffee room "as carefully as from a rat-trap". Harsh criticisms were made also on the grounds of appearance. For example, it was suggested that the

1. The details of the competition are fully described in L.I. 23, 30 June, 7, 14, July 1825.

front elevation of the design which the committee had chosen "would rather become a ball-room at Bath, than a commercial newsroom at Leeds". Another design was described as having "two eye-sores - the lantern - like a chinese wart, and the upper row of windows, or rather portholes in front". The importance of cost was also particularly evident, for the paper reported that the building committee, after its choice of design had been overruled, wrote to another of the architects asking him to reduce his estimate. John Clark, the architect concerned, complied with their request and subsequently won the competition. However, the newspaper revealed also that the three criteria for choice might be ignored because of personal considerations: "It is rumoured that Mr. Chantrell's [design] will be rejected whatever its merits because the subscribers are prejudiced against him". This, apparently, was because of problems which had arisen concerning buildings which he had designed and supervised in Leeds in the previous few years.

Strong controversy over the choice of a design probably occurred quite frequently. Another example is that of the choice of design for the Sheffield Cutlers' Hall, 1832-3. The competition for the best design was such a close-run affair that as a result the two architects who had submitted the best designs, Samuel Worth and Benjamin Broomhead Taylor, were appointed as joint architects.¹

1. R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 190-3.

IV

Once an architect had been chosen he became the key figure in the building project. The extent to which he supervised the ensuing affairs varied according to the competence of the building committee. The typical functions of an architect on a public building project are clearly summarized in a statement made by the proprietors of Sheffield Assembly Rooms and Theatre, when they resolved to employ Mr. Atkinson, a York architect, to design their new theatre in 1776:

Mr. Atkinson be employed to give such further plans, as shall be necessary for the completion of the said buildings. And also to take estimates from any workman that chuses to produce them. And that he is to assist the committee in contracting with such workmen as shall be most approved. Then also resolved that he shall be further employed to superintend, and from time to time as occasion shall require, give instructions to such as shall be employed.¹

Having appointed the architect and approved his design, the next step for the building committee, with the assistance of the architect, was to decide who would erect the building. The building committee had two options in this respect, either it could employ one firm to take responsibility for erecting the whole building or, alternatively, it could employ different firms or workmen to carry out each of the different processes necessary, i.e. one firm to dig the foundations, another to perform the stone and brick work, another to perform the wood work etc. In general, it seems that they chose which ever alternative was least expensive.

Once plans and detailed specifications for the building had been made available by the architect, building committees usually invited builders and craftsmen to make competitive tenders for the

1. S.C.A. MS.Wil. D256, dated 30 December 1776.

proposed work. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries these invitations were probably made by word of mouth or by letters and public notices. The earliest example discovered of tenders being solicited concerns an extension to Leeds Workhouse in 1740. The workhouse committee agreed to meet in order to "consult with the workmen about prices for respective work in Erecting a house in ye yard".¹ In this case the different aspects of the work were contracted for separately.² There is abundant evidence showing that tenders were required for the building work of virtually all public buildings from the 1760's onwards. Much of this evidence is provided by newspapers since it became normal practice to use them as a medium through which to solicit tenders. A typical advertisement is one placed in the Leeds Intelligencer in 1766 concerning the rebuilding of the West Riding House of Correction. The Clerk of Peace for the West Riding gave notice that:

The Plan, Elevation and Directions for building a new House of Correction, is now fixed upon, and left in the hands of Mr, John Watson of South - Leanley. And Persons willing to treat for the same Work, are desired to deliver in their estimates and Proposals to his Majesty's Justices of the Peace at the next General Quarter Sessions³

Further examples in the same period of building work for which tenders were required are the repair to Leeds Moot Hall in 1766, the erection of Leeds General Infirmary in 1768, and Doncaster Playhouse in 1775.⁴ A later example of an advertisement soliciting tenders is one issued in 1815 for the erection of the West Riding Pauper Lunatic

1. LO/M1 26 March 1740.

2. Ibid. 2, 9 April, 27 August 1740.

3. L.I. 22 July 1766.

4. LC/QS. (1766-75), fo.21, 28 May 1766; L.I. 23 August 1768; Doncaster Corporation, op.cit. IV, 245; respectively.

Asylum.¹ The work was divided into four different contracts for which tenders were sought. The contracts consisted of:

- (1) Excavators, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Work
- (2) Carpenters, Joiners, Iron founders and Ironmongers Work
- (3) The Slaters Work
- (4) The Plumbers, Glaziers and Painters Work.

In order to help builders to make their estimates for the purposes of tendering it was usual for the architect's plans and specifications to be made available for inspection at the office of a principal official of the public body or company projecting the scheme. Presumably in the eighteenth century and before these details were presented in manuscript form; however, by the nineteenth century some at least were printed and potential contractors were presented with individual copies. Two notable examples of printed "Specifications" are those produced for the Wakefield Public Rooms in 1820 and Wakefield Exchange Buildings in 1837.² Since both these projects were only of medium size, their costs being £4600 and £9044 respectively, it is fair to assume that specifications in this style were produced for many other building projects. Specifications gave detailed descriptions of all the work required in each stage of the building, stipulating both dimensions and materials to be used. They also told potential contractors the form of words in which their tenders must be submitted and the details they were expected to specify.

1. L.I. 25 September 1815.

2. Y.A.S. 53 L20 : Specifications of the Manner of Erecting a Public Building at Wakefield (Wakefield, 1820). Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Specifications for the Wakefield Exchange Buildings (Wakefield, 1837).

The principal aim of soliciting tenders was to find the builders who would perform the work for the lowest cost. There can be little doubt that competition for contracts worked to the financial advantage of a building's promoters. For example, rivalry between stone masons and bricklayers for the task of building Sheffield General Infirmary acted "much in favour of the charity".¹

However, cost was not always the factor which determined the choice of builder as is shown by the appointment of the contractor for building the Gaol for the Borough and Soke of Doncaster in 1829: Hatfield, the nineteenth century historian of Doncaster, wrote:

Mr. Lockwood's tender received preference, for his influence with the Corporation was paramount and the power of his family might² defy competition from what ever quarter it emanated.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to estimate the frequency of this form of bias or corruption.

The available evidence suggests that, in the majority of cases after 1700, separate firms and groups of workmen were employed to perform the different types of work involved in the construction of public buildings. The extension to Leeds Workhouse was let on separate contracts in 1740.³ Similarly, Sheffield General Infirmary was built by several contractors.⁴ In the nineteenth century, the various types of work for Carver Street Chapel, Sheffield, 1804-5⁵,

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1. J.D. Leader and S. Snell, op.cit. pp.13-14.
 2. C.W. Hatfield, Historical Notices of Doncaster (3rd series, 1870), p.171.
 3. IO/M1 26 March - 27 August 1740.
 4. J.D. Leader and S. Snell, op.cit. pp.13-14.
 5. T.A. Seed, Norfolk Street Wesleyan Chapel, Sheffield (1900), pp.236-9.

the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1816-18,¹ Leeds Corn Exchange, 1826-8,² and many more buildings were performed by different firms. Newspaper advertisements requesting tenders were usually directed towards "such persons as are willing to contract for the different works necessary"³

However, there were several projects where one firm was employed to execute the whole of the building work. Sheffield Town Hall, 1700-1, and Leeds Moot Hall, rebuilt 1710-11, already mentioned, are two very early examples. Subsequent examples are the West Riding House of Correction, 1766-8,⁴ the Market Place and Shambles at Rotherham, 1802- ,⁵ and Wakefield Exchange Buildings, 1837-40. In these cases the firms probably relied to some extent on subcontracting part of the work which they had agreed to perform: the firm which was employed to build Wakefield Exchange Buildings for example, subcontracted the plastering, plumbing, glazing, and slater's work.⁶

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1. Watson and Pritchett, op.cit.
 2. L.I. 1 June 1826.
 3. Ibid 5 August 1811, advertisement requesting tenders for building Leeds Court House.
 4. J.H. Turner, op.cit. p.88.
 5. J. Guest, op.cit. pp.542-3.
 6. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Agreement between Benjamin Binns, William Perkin and George Perkin and the Directors.

V

Throughout the period 1700-1840, firms or workmen, who were chosen to perform building work, were required to sign a legally binding contract for its execution. For example, in 1700 Sheffield Town Trust spent 4s.9d. "at sealing the articles with Mr. Renny about building the Towns hall".¹ Similarly, contracts were drawn up for the extension to Leeds Workhouse in 1740. The workhouse minutes recorded a decision that:

Mr. John and Thomas Lucas, bricklayers, Do and performe all the stone and brick work in building the house above mentioned, find and provide necessaries incerted in a Contract to be drawn in the ensuing week.²

The usual basic form of contract was an agreement by the contractor to perform a specified piece of work, for a stipulated sum of money, within a specified time period. A good example is the contract entered into in 1766 for rebuilding the West Riding House of Correction. The Quarter Sessions minutes recorded that:

The court doth contract with Robert Carr of Horbury, mason, and Luke Holt of Horbury, carpenter for the building of the new House of Correction for the sum of £2,650, to be built within two years from Michaelmas 1766.³

A later example is the contract drawn up in 1837 for building Wakefield Exchange Building.⁴ Not only does the contract specify the details already mentioned but it also specifies how the contractors should be paid. The agreed amount was to be paid to the contractors in six instalments, each becoming due when the

1. J.D. Leader, *op.cit.* pp.271-86.

2. IO/M1 2 April 1740.

3. West Riding Quarter Sessions held at Rotherham 6 August 1766, quoted in J.H. Turner, *op.cit.* p.88.

4. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Agreement between Benjamin Binns, William Perkin and George Perkin and the Directors, 18 March 1837.

walls and arches of the basement had been built and the whole of the joisting of the ground floor had been completed; the third instalment of £1,200 became due when the roof had been completed; and so on.

The possibility of contractors failing to complete their work for the amounts specified in their contracts was a major worry for the promoters of buildings. In order to guard against liability for additional expenditure for this reason, promoters often required contractors to provide some form of guarantee that they would pay any additional costs. The guarantee normally took the form of a money bond, issued by a third party, which the promoters could draw upon if the contractors overran the contracted cost.

Although the bulk of evidence for this practice concerns the period 1790-1840, it also occurred in the earlier part of the eighteenth century: for example, when a comparatively minor repair to Leeds Moot Hall was required in 1737, the joiner and bricklayer concerned were required to "give security jointly, for their true performing this agreement".¹ In 1802, when the promoters of Rotherham Market Place and Shambles accepted John Earnshaw's estimate of £1,760 for building and completing the work within twelve months, they requested him to provide "proper sureties for the due performance of the contract".² Similarly, the building committee of Wakefield Public Rooms informed potential contractors that "Security satisfactory to the Committee, equal to one half of the amount of the respective contracts, will be required of the

1. DB/197/1, part 1, fo.372, 20 June 1737.

2. J. Guest, op.cit. p.542.

contractors. The expense of the agreements will be paid by the Committee".¹ A similar procedure was followed in making the contract for Wakefield Exchange Buildings: two men acted as sureties for the contractors by signing bonds which stipulated that they would each pay £1,000 if the building work was not satisfactorily conducted according to the terms of the contract.²

In some cases even the architect was asked to provide some form of security that his estimates would be adhered to: for example when John Clark was appointed architect of Leeds Commercial Buildings in 1825;³ and when R.D. Chantrell was asked to design an extension for Leeds Philosophical Hall in 1826.⁴ In the latter case the architect declined the request and another firm of architects was employed.

Promoters were also often worried that their building might not be completed within the time period specified in the contract. To guard against this, penalty clauses were sometimes inserted in contracts. For example, the contract for building a coffee house at Sheffield in 1793 included a proviso that the builder should forfeit £100 if he did not complete the work by the date specified.⁵ Similarly, the Wakefield Exchange Buildings contract stipulated that the builders would forfeit £20 for every month by which completion was overdue.⁶

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1. Y.A.S. 53L 20: Specifications of a Public Building at Wakefield (Wakefield, 1820).
 2. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Bond issued by Joseph Holdsworth and Daniel Middlethwaite, 18 March 1837.
 3. L.I. 14 July 1825.
 4. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Journal, I, 25 May 1827.
 5. S.C.A. MS.Wil D260, Articles of agreement for erecting a Coffee House at Sheffield, 23 May 1793.
 6. See note 4. on page

It was common for modifications to be made to the design of a building after a contract had been signed, and therefore it was necessary for building promoters to guard against the contractors taking advantage of this situation. One form of safeguard, which was adopted by the promoters of Wakefield Exchange Buildings, was to insert clauses in a contract, stipulating that if it was decided to omit work, or to add to it, the architect was at liberty to increase or decrease the amount which the contractors were due to receive. In order to cater for such an eventuality itemized accounts were required from the contractors, a point about which the architect of Wakefield Exchange Buildings was adamant. In 1837 he wrote to the promoters' solicitor as follows:

It is absolutely and indispensably necessary in this as in all case of Contract Works that a List of detailed prices for the works in each department should be put into my hands before the signing of the Contracts in order to make secure against future disputes and disagreements. Such prices to be the guide in valuing Additions or Deductions that may arise during the progress of the Works from the Design, Specifications and Agreement.¹

While negotiations with potential contractors were in progress and immediately after contracts were made, there were a few other important matters which required attention: the building committee needed to gather in the funds for the building work; and the architect needed to select suitable building materials and engage a clerk of works.

When a building was financed by a public body, the building committee was usually able to pay for it simply by drawing on the body's funds or revenue. However, when a building was financed by a number of

1. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Letter from W.L. Moffatt to J. Scholey, 13 March 1837.

private individuals, the building committee (via the enterprise's treasurer or solicitor) had the task of gathering in money from people who had promised to contribute to the cost. When people initially subscribed for shares in a building company, they paid only a nominal deposit, and promised to pay the bulk of their contribution when they were formally requested to do so. Three-fifths of the capital subscribed to Wakefield Exchange Buildings, 1837-40, was called in before building work commenced, and the remainder during the first year building was in progress.¹ While part of this money was needed to pay for the site, the building committee obviously wanted to have money in hand when the building work began. At least two-fifths of the Leeds South Market Company's capital was called in before building work commenced, but there are no details about the remainder.² The building committee of Rotherham Market Place and Shambles, built 1802-4, called in their company's capital even more speedily than those already mentioned: eight calls of ten per cent were made before building commenced, and the remainder was called in within the next six months.³

Meanwhile, the architect had two matters to attend to in addition to the negotiations with contractors already mentioned. He might travel about to find suitable building materials: for example, Clark, the architect of Leeds Commercial Buildings, inspected

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1. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Letter from the company solicitor to shareholders, requesting them to pay money due on their shares, 19 November 1838.
 2. L.C.A. FW211: South Market Committee Order Book, 23 June, 1 August 1823.
 3. J. Guest, op.cit. pp.541-3.

quarries to obtain stone for the building.¹ The other matter which the architect had to deal with was hiring a clerk of works - the man who administered and supervised the building work. William Moffatt, the architect of Wakefield Exchange Buildings, wrote to the company's solicitor in 1837: "I have taken steps to provide a Clerk of Works who I expect will be ready to enter on his duties immediately that the Building requires his attention."²

Once the procedures discussed in this chapter had been completed, building work could begin.

1. L.I. 11 August 1825.

2. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Letter from W.L. Moffatt to J. Scholey, 13 March 1837.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORGANIZATION OF BUILDING PROJECTS -

PART TWO

Nothing better conveys the excitement and interest produced by the commencement of work on a new public building than the pomp and circumstance surrounding the laying of its foundation stone. As the following contemporary accounts show, foundation ceremonies often were magnificent affairs:

The first stone of this Institution, the WEST-RIDING PROPRIETARY SCHOOL, was laid on Wednesday, the Sixth day of February, 1833, by the Right Honorable the EARL of MEXBOROUGH, P.G.M. of the Provincial Grand Lodge of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, the CONSTABLE of the TOWN, the ARCHITECT, Mr. RICHARD LANE, of MANCHESTER, a great number of SHAREHOLDERS and their FRIENDS, and an immense concourse of SPECTATORS, all feeling the most lively interest in its welfare.

The PROCESSION formed in Westgate, and, preceded by a band of music, marched to the site intended for the building Convenient hustings were vested for the Ladies, and other arrangements made, conducive to the order and solemnity of the ceremony.

The Rev. Dr. NAYLOR, the PROVINCIAL GRAND CHAPLAIN, offered up a Prayer.

The Right Honorable the Earl of MEXBOROUGH then (with a silver Trowel, which was subsequently presented to his Lordship, with a suitable Inscription, by the Committee,) laid the first stone; after which, the Rev. THOMAS KILBY addressed the assembled multitude, to which the PROVINCIAL GRAND CHAPLAIN replied in the most suitable manner, concluding an eloquent Address to the bountiful Father of all mercies, with the Lord's Prayer.

The Procession then returned in the same order to the Provincial Grand Lodge, where the National Anthem was played, and the delighted Spectators immediately dispersed.

One hundred of the SHAREHOLDERS and their FRIENDS afterwards sat down to a sumptuous Dinner at the Old Assembly Room,

White Hart Inn, the Right Honorable the EARL of MEXBOROUGH in the Chair, JOSEPH HOLDSWORTH, Esq. (the Chairman of the Committee,) Vice-President; and after an Evening spent in the "feast of reason and the flow of soul", separated with anxious wishes for the completion of the building.

West Riding Proprietary School, Proceedings at the
Laying of the First Stone, 6th February 1833
pp.17-18.

LEEDS COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

The first stone of these Buildings was laid at two o'clock this day, by Lepton Dobson, Esq. Chairman of the Committee, in the presence of a numerous and respectable assemblage of ladies and gentlemen. The Mayor and Corporation of Leeds with several functionaries assembled at the Court House, at twelve o'clock, and proceeded in the following order of procession to the site of the intended building:-

Constables.
 Music & Choristers.
 Chief and Deputy Constables.
 The Mayor, Recorder and Corporation.
 E. Smith, Esq. Solicitor.
 R. Barr, Esq. Deputy Town Clerk, with the Coins.
 John Clark, Esq. Architect.
 Lepton Dobson, Esq. Chairman of the Committee, and
 the Vicar.
 J. W. Elam, Esq. with a silver trowel.

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 Members of the Committee, four abreast.
 Subscribers, three abreast.
 Gentlemen of the town, three abreast.
 Contractor for the Bricklayers' Work, carrying a
 mahogany plumb-rule and trowel ornamented with blue
 ribbons.
 Bricklayers' Workmen, three abreast
 more contractors and workmen
 Constables.

The procession halted at the corner of Bond Street and at the corner of Boar Lane, at which places the Choristers sang "God Save the King"

When the procession arrived on the spot, a large stone was raised, and the mortar applied to the ground by Mr. Dobson, with the silver trowel. The stone was then lowered, and he placed the level on various parts of it. He then took the mahogany mallet, and struck the stone three times, saying, "Thus, thus, and thus I lay the first stone of the Leeds Commercial Buildings; and may the Almighty bless our undertaking".

Leeds Intelligencer, 18th May 1826

I

After the pomp and splendour of the foundation ceremony, the construction of a building began in earnest. The task of overall supervision of the work was undertaken by the architect. As was noted earlier, Mr. Atkinson, the architect of Sheffield Theatre, was required as part of his duties to "Superintend, and from time to time as occasion shall require, give instructions to such as shall be employed."¹ Similarly, Mr. Rawstone, the architect of Sheffield General Infirmary, 1793-7, "conducted the building at every stage".² The architects of Leeds Philosophical Hall, 1819-22, and Wakefield Exchange Buildings, 1837-40, made frequent inspections of the works, and were expected to ensure that the contractors strictly adhered to the specifications required.³

A few architects took rather less interest at the construction stage; for example, John Carr, the architect of Leeds General Infirmary, was loth to supervise its construction because of his many commitments - he was occasionally consulted about details, but for most of the period a "surveyor" was on site to act as overseer.⁴

The surveyor, more usually called the clerk of works, was a vital adjunct to the architect in the supervision of the construction

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1. S.C.A. MS.Wil. D256, dated 30 December 1776.
 2. J. Hunter, Hallamshire (A. Gatty's edn. 1869), p.324.
 3. E. Kitson Clark, The History of 100 Years of Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Leeds, 1924), pp.11-35, and L.I. 7 July 1825; Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers, miscellaneous references to the architect's inspections, respectively.
 4. S.T. Anning, The General Infirmary at Leeds (1963), I, 7.

process. He managed the site, dealing with all the day-to-day administration necessary during construction, and having complete charge of the works in the architect's absence.¹ Clearly, the architect would prefer a man with experience of similar schemes, and it is evident that clerks moved from one public building to another: when James Donaldson completed his duties as clerk of work to Wakefield Exchange Buildings at the end of 1839, he went on to a similar job at East Parade Chapel in Leeds.² Donaldson's duties at Wakefield Exchange Buildings were to approve the contractors' building materials and workmanship, if the architect was absent; to make payment of wages and other bills incidental to construction; to assist in the purchase of building materials; and to deal with any additional matters which required attention. These seem to have been the typical duties of a clerk of works. Although it may appear surprising for the clerk to assist in the purchases of materials (a job which might have been left to the contractors) it did occur elsewhere. The clerk of works at Sheffield General Infirmary also performed this duty: "To obtain timber, two master builders and carpenters of acknowledged credit, character, and abilities, accompanied by the Clerk of the Works, proceeded to Thorne and Hull, there to buy for ready money the best articles they could meet with".³

Once the building contracts had been signed and sealed, a surprisingly short time elapsed before work started: less than four months in

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1. The duties of a clerk of works are well documented in Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers. In particular, see the building contract, and a document head, "Barff v Michlethwaite: Memorandum taken from Donaldson" dated c.1840.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Minutes of the Infirmary's building committee, cited in J.D. Leader and S. Snell, The History of the Sheffield Royal Infirmary (Sheffield, 1897), pp.14-15.

the case of the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum in 1816;¹ and only two months in the case of Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary.² The speed with which Leeds Court House was commenced was quite remarkable: specifications for the building were made available to potential contractors in August 1811, and the building's first stone was laid less than one month later.³

It was usual to pay contractors by instalments as the building work progressed; a practice which spanned the whole of the period 1700-1840. Mr. Renny, the architect and contractor for Sheffield Town Hall, 1700-1, received his payment in four instalments of £50.⁴

Also, as we have seen, the contract for building Wakefield Exchange Buildings stipulated that the contractors were to be paid in six instalments, the last one becoming due when the building had been satisfactorily completed.⁵ This contract illustrates also the general practice that no payment would be made for work until the architect or clerk of works certified it as being satisfactory; if work was found to be defective, contractors were expected to make it good at their own expense.

In general, the day-to-day events during the construction of a public building were unspectacular and therefore no attempt is made here to describe them in any detail. However, in several

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1. Watson and Pritchett, Plans, Elevations (1819).
 2. L.I. 16 April, 23 June 1829.
 3. Ibid. 5 August, 2 September 1811.
 4. J.D. Leader, The Records of the Burgery of Sheffield, commonly called the Town Trust (Sheffield, 1897), pp.271-86.
 5. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: the building contract, 18 March 1837.

cases difficulties arose which, while causing proprietors and building committees severe worries, provide much added interest to the study of public buildings; these are discussed in the later sections of this chapter. Regardless of whether construction had been routine or full of problems, a building was eventually completed, and the opening of the premises provided yet another opportunity for celebrations. Processions, stirring words and a great commotion were as much the order of the day as they had been at the foundation ceremony. As the Leeds Monthly Magazine pointed out in 1829, on the eve of the opening of Leeds Commercial Buildings, there was one type of celebration which was rarely omitted:

The avidity of the English people for guzzling in public, must be perfectly astonishing to other nations; nothing at all can be done without it. Of course, a public dinner is absolutely necessary to give the opening of these Commercial Buildings proper eclat; and accordingly, we see one is announced.¹

II

Once a building was completed and the contractors' accounts had been settled, the architect's fees needed to be paid. M.S. Briggs has suggested that an architect's fee amounted to approximately five per cent of the building's cost;² however, the available evidence for public buildings suggests a sum nearer two per cent. Mr. Johnson, the architect of the Subscription Library and Union News

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1. Leeds Monthly Magazine IX, November 1839, 429-30.
 2. M.S. Briggs, The Architect in History (1927), cited in F. Beckwith, "Thomas Taylor - Regency Architect", Thors. Soc. Pubns., Monograph I (1949), p.86.

Room at Leeds, 1807-8, was paid £100 out of a total cost of £5,000.¹ Similarly, the architect's fees for Leeds General Infirmary, 1768-71, were £98. 5s. Od. out of a total cost of £4,599.² Sometimes also the clerk of works' or surveyor's fees were paid at the end of a project; after the major enlargement of the West Riding House of Correction was completed in 1824 the West Riding magistrates paid £300 to a Mr. Hartley for superintending the erection of the new buildings.³

However, architects sometimes waived their fees if a building was to be used for charitable purposes. For example, the management committee of Leeds Lancasterian School reported in 1814:

It is a duty which we perform with pleasure to acknowledge their obligations to Mr. Taylor, the Architect, who gratuitously furnished the plans of the building, superintended its erection, measured off the work and settled all accounts with the workmen.⁴

Similarly, William Hurst supervised the erection of Doncaster National School, 1816-17, free of charge.⁵ In the case of Carver Street Methodist Connexion Chapel in Sheffield, built 1804-5, no architect's fees were required because the superintendent minister, Rev. William Jenkins, had been an architect before becoming a minister.⁶

1. F. Beckwith, op.cit. p.86.

2. S.T. Anning, op.cit. p.7.

3. J.H. Turner, Wakefield House of Correction (1904), p.171.

4. F. Beckwith, op.cit. p.23, quoting First Report of Leeds Lancasterian School (1814). The Committee went on to report "the kindness of the different workmen, who, in their zeal for the cause undertook and completed, their work at less than current prices".

5. C.W. Hatfield, Historical Notices of Doncaster (2nd series, 1868), p.362.

6. T.A. Seed, Norfolk Street Wesleyan Chapel, Sheffield (1900), pp.236-9.

As will be shown in the latter part of this chapter, the duration of a building project might be prolonged by a wide variety of exceptional circumstances. However, it is possible to make generalizations about the length of time it took to erect buildings, when no significant problems held back progress.¹ Regardless of time period, on average a building of fairly plain design and medium size, by contemporary standards, took under two years to erect. Usually it would be commenced in one calendar year and completed in the next. The following are typical examples of buildings of medium size and medium cost in their respective periods: Sheffield Town Hall built, May 1700 to May 1701, at a cost of £220; Doncaster Theatre built, April 1775 to May 1776, at a cost of £1577; and St. John's Church, Bradford, built 1839-40, at a cost of £4000. In general, Schools, almshouses, and nonconformist chapels took between one and two years to build, irrespective of the time period or cost. For example, even Brunswick Methodist chapel at Leeds, one of the largest and most expensive nonconformist chapels, being capable of seating 2,500 people and costing over £7000, was completed after only twenty months in September 1825. In contrast to the latter, on average it took three and a half years to build an Anglican church.

Buildings above medium size and cost normally took longer to complete. During the eighteenth century the construction of buildings costing over £3000 spanned approximately three to five years: for example,

1. These generalizations are based on an analysis of the data contained in the gazetteer.

Doncaster Mansion House, costing £4,563, took four years, 1745-8; Leeds Mixed Cloth Hall, costing £5,300, took three years, 1956-8; Leeds General Infirmary, costing £4,599, took five years, 1793-7; and St. John's Church, Wakefield, costing £9,228, took five years, 1791-5. During the first forty years of the nineteenth century, buildings which cost between £4,000 and £9,000 took two to three years to erect, and those above this cost took from three to six years. Examples of the latter type are the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, costing £40,000, which took three years to build, 1816-18; the extension of the West Riding House of Correction, costing £28,300, which took six years, 1819-24; Leeds Commercial Buildings, costing £28,300, which was erected in three and a half years, May 1826 to October 1829; Leeds Central Market, costing £24,800, which took three years, November 1824 to October 1827; and St. George's Church, Sheffield, costing £15,181, which took four years, July 1821 to June 1825.

The most significant factor, apart from the size and quality of the building, determining the duration of a building project, was the length of time between the inception of the idea and the commencement of construction, since this varied considerably. For example, the Doncaster Mansion House project was particularly slow-moving; it was initiated in 1739 but building did not begin until 1745.¹ The Leeds Central Market project was also fairly slow-moving at first; it was proposed in September 1822 but building did not begin

1. Doncaster Corporation, A Calendar to the Records of the Borough of Doncaster (Doncaster, 1902), IV, 212, 216.

until November 1824.¹ Similarly, Sheffield Town Hall was proposed in 1804 but its first stone was not laid until 1808.² In contrast, other proposals were often acted upon more speedily. Leeds General Infirmary was proposed in June 1767 and its first stone was laid in October 1768.³ Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary was proposed in 1828 and its first stone was laid in June 1829.⁴ Sheffield General Infirmary was proposed in April 1792 and was begun in September 1793.⁵ The project to build Leeds Philosophical Hall was one of the most rapid in its early stages; it was initiated in May 1819 and building began two months later.⁶

1. L.I. 2 September 1822, 2 December 1824.

2. W.R.Q.S. Gen.Index: Court Houses, Wakefield June 1804; Sheffield 1833 D. p.68.

3. L.I. 9 June 1767, 11 October 1768.

4. J.K. Walker, Observations on the Expediency of Establishing Hospitals (Huddersfield, 1822); L.I. 25 June 1829.

5. J.D. Leader and S. Snell, op.cit. pp.8, 12.

6. E. Kitson Clark, op.cit. pp.20 - 1.

III

Problems could arise at almost any stage of a building project; in some cases they made a building committee's task merely more arduous, but at their worst they severely retarded the progress of a project and made unwelcome demands on the promoter's financial resources. In some schemes, problems began early on with the purchase of a site. We saw previously that the process of obtaining a site might be delayed by competition for its purchase; in fact there were several other problems which might arise.

One problem might be the existence of legal obstacles to the purchase of the site. Charitable trusts were unable to sell their property without the sanction of an Act of Parliament, and therefore both delay and additional expense would result if a building committee chose a site belonging to a trust. In 1755 the Mixed Clothiers applied to Leeds Pious Uses Committee, with a view to purchasing part of the Grammar School Estate as the site for their cloth hall. It seems likely that the legal difficulties prevented the transaction from taking place, since at the time the Pious Uses Committee were fully in agreement with the proposal.¹ The drawbacks were clearly illustrated almost twenty years later, when the White Clothiers decided to buy the same piece of land for the site of their new cloth hall: apart from a delay of six months while an Act was obtained, the cost of

1. DB/197/1, part 2, fo.448, 24 November 1755.

obtaining the Act was almost as much as the purchase price of the land - the land cost £300, while the expenses of obtaining the Act were £228.¹

Site purchase might also be delayed or complicated when the land was owned by a number of people. The Wakefield Exchange Buildings project provides the most extreme example of this problem.² It was necessary to make at least six legal agreements, with a variety of parties, before the company gained full control of the site. For example, a house which was situated on the site was owned jointly by four parties and it was necessary to make four separate agreements in order to complete its purchase. In order to obtain another part of the land, the company had to agree to pay not only a sum of money but also an annuity. The solicitor spent a great deal of time at the Register Office searching for incumbrances on the property, and the result was that the site purchase could be completed only after agreements had been obtained from a number of people, one of whom was living in America and another in Grand Canary Island. Finally, all the arrangements having been made and the agreement signed, several disputes arose over precisely what the vendors could remove from the site.

Further obstacles inhibiting the choice of sites were the conditions and restrictions which sale agreements placed on the nature and

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1. DB/197/1, part 2, fo.514-5, 20 December 1774; White Cloth Hall papers, C.18a dated 25 May 1775; 15 Geo.III c. 90 (1775): An Act for the Sale and Enfranchisement of certain Copyhold Tenements and Premises, in the Parish of Leeds in the County of York, Part of the Estate Belonging to the Free Grammar School there, for the Purpose of Erecting a Public Cloth Hall.
 2. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Itemized bill for legal services of Haxby and Scholey, solicitors to the Directors, 21 March 1836 - June 1839; Articles of agreement for purchase of land.

physical characteristics of the building which could be erected on the land in question. The sale agreement for the sites of Leeds Mixed Cloth Hall, 1756-8, and Leeds Philosophical Hall, 1819-22, are cases in point. The agreement for the cloth hall site stipulated that the height of the building should not exceed twenty-four feet and that no windows should be made on the south-east side of the hall.¹ The agreement for the Philosophical Hall site stipulated that the building was to be "fronted with Stone of Tool'd Ashler or red dressed Bricks", and it was to be not less than thirty feet high.² Neither site could have been used for the markets and shambles subsequently built in Leeds because the former agreement prohibited the erection of a public house (which the markets incorporated) and the latter prohibited the erection of slaughter-houses (which the Bazaar and Shambles, and the South Market incorporated).

Delays might also arise because existing tenants had to be removed from a site before building could begin. For example, although Doncaster Corporation built the town theatre on its own land, the building could not be commenced until a row of shops on the site had been demolished. In 1774 it was necessary for the building committee to treat with the tenants in order to persuade them to quit the premises.³ Similarly, it was reported in July 1825

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1. DB/24/3, An Indenture made between Richard Wilson Esq. of Leeds and John Rogerson of Leeds, clother, Benjamin Holdsworth of same, clother, John Hollingworth of Holbeck, clothier, 9 May 1757.
 2. Leeds Philosophical Hall Building Committee Book, p. 1-2, Conditions for the Elevation of the Building to be observed by Purchaser of Land, 4 May 1819.
 3. Doncaster Corporation, op.cit. IV, 245.

that work on Leeds Corn Exchange would now proceed "with as little delay as the proper accommodation of present tenants will admit"; in fact, it was another nine months before the building could be started.¹

Finally, having gained access to a site, problems might arise because of the nature of the ground. How common this was is uncertain, but the sort of difficulty which could occur is illustrated by the Leeds Public Baths project. The building committee reported in 1821 that:

A plot of ground originally fixed on was relinquished in consequence of the fear that a good foundation could not be made, and, though the committee had nothing to apprehend in the ground they purchased, they have to regret that the back part of the present site was found too swampy to risk a building without piles.²

This unfortunate circumstance added over £500 to the cost of the project.

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1. L.I. 7 July 1825, 27 April 1826.
 2. Leeds Public Baths, Byelaws (Leeds, 1826), pp.3-4.

IV

The most common problem experienced in the course of a building project was that the final cost of a building was often considerably in excess of the architect's original estimate. Leeds General Infirmary, 1768-71, Rotherham Market Place and Shambles, 1802-4, Leeds Public Baths, 1819-20, and Sheffield Cutlers' Hall, 1832-3, are just a few of the buildings where the final costs were higher than anticipated.¹ Contemporary comment clearly shows that this situation occurred frequently. The committee of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society reported in 1821 with reference to their hall, which was in construction:

The original estimate including the land was £4,000, but it will not much surprise those who are practically conversant with the science of architecture when they are informed that this estimate will be exceeded by at least £1,000.²

Similarly, the chairman of the directors of the West Riding Proprietary School commented at the school's opening ceremony in 1834:

It is incident to all large undertakings of this nature to exceed the computed cost. The exactest foresight seldom provides for all contingencies.³

The novelty of a building project which did not exceed its estimated cost is clearly apparent from a speech given at the opening of Leeds Commercial Buildings in 1829. Lepton Dobson,

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1. S.T. Anning, op.cit. I, 11; J. Guest, Historic Notices of Rotherham ... (Worksop, 1879), pp.542-3; Leeds Public Baths, op.cit. pp.3-4; R.E. Leader, History of the Company of Cutlers ... (Sheffield, 1905), pp.140-3; respectively.
 2. E. Kitson Clark, op.cit. p.28.
 3. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. p.25.

one of the building's trustees, remarked that: "the whole will be completed within Mr. Clark's original estimate, a fact seldom occurring either public or private buildings."¹

There were four major causes of excessive costs: increases in the costs of labour and materials during the course of a project; the tendency for building committees to modify a building's specifications when the work was in progress; the ineptitude of the contractors; and technical hitches. The cost of Wakefield Exchange Buildings exceeded its estimate by fifty per cent (£3,000) partly because of the increased cost of materials. There was a big increase in demand for stone during the progress of the work and at one point work stopped because supplies had run out. The contractors had little choice other than to pay higher prices in order to obtain the materials they needed.²

The modification of a building's design while work was in progress was a frequent and costly occurrence - even modest alterations were expensive. The West Riding Proprietary School's building committee claimed that they had adhered to the contract "with all practicable strictness" and had ventured only on such further outlay as was "necessary to give consistency and perfectness to their design", but the extra cost was at least £1,000, making the final total approximately twenty per cent above the original

1. L.I. 15 October 1829.

2. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: Barff v. Micklethwaite - Instructions for Dieton & to Advise (undated); Barff v. Micklethwaite - Observations to accompany Questions for Answer (undated); Miscellaneous document dated 15 August 1838.

estimates.¹ When R.D. Chantrell, the architect, was criticised for the excessive cost of Leeds Philosophical Hall, he laid the blame on the interference of the Hall's building committee. He claimed:

The committee for erecting the Hall, made great alterations in the Design, after it was, with its accompanying estimate, approved of - and secondly, that in the progress of the work, they interfered without previously conferring with the Architect, and introduced further alterations to a considerable extent, by which the aggregate cost was swelled to a larger amount than originally set down.²

The cost of the hall exceeded the original estimate by fifty per cent.³

Technical hitches, such as the swampiness of the site for Leeds Public Baths, already noted, could add to the cost of a building. The excessive cost of Sheffield Cutlers' Hall was produced by a combination of technical hitches and the sort of problems already mentioned. R.E. Leader attributed it to:

The quarrymen who saw a chance of getting higher wages; the contractor for joinery, who failed to fulfil his specifications, and had to be supplanted; and experiments with ventilating or the new system of heating which, if doubtful in its operation was certain in its cost.⁴

More will be said in the next section about the excessive costs due to ineptitude of contractors.

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1. West Riding Proprietary School, op.cit. p.25.
 2. L.I. 7 July 1825.
 3. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Journal, I, Minutes of A.G.M., 18 May 1821.
 4. R.E. Leader, op.cit. I, 190-3.

For the moment, attention turns to the methods which were adopted to pay for the unexpected costs of a building project. One method was to solicit additional subscriptions to the building. For example, the extra cost of Leeds Philosophical Hall was met by persuading two of the existing shareholders each to purchase an additional £500 worth of shares.¹ However, the most usual way of finding the extra funds was to obtain a loan with the premises as security - in other words to take out a mortgage. Only a few months after work had begun on Rotherham Market Place and Shambles in 1802, the company borrowed £1,875 on a mortgage at five per cent per annum, and by the time the building was completed the debt had increased to £3,315.² The Trustees of Leeds General Infirmary also were obliged to borrow money to complete the building which "required more than the Amount of first Calculation".³ In view of the disappointing amount of money subscribed to Wakefield Public Rooms, the proprietors took out a mortgage on the premises for £1,400.⁴ Similarly, in 1828 shortly after the completion of Leeds Central Market, its proprietors resolved that:

The Trustees be empowered to demise the said Trust Property for a term of 1500 years in security by way of mortgage to anyone who will lend the Proprietors £10,000 at interest of five per cent per annum, in order to discharge the debts and liabilities of the said Company of Proprietors.⁵

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1. E. Kitson Clark, op.cit. p.21.
 2. J. Guest, op.cit. pp.541-3.
 3. Annual Report of Leeds General Infirmary, 1771-2, quoted in S.T. Anning, op.cit. I, 11.
 4. Wakefield Public Rooms Paper: Mortgage deed between Messrs. Leatham, Tew & Co. and the trustees of the Public Rooms, 26 July 1830. Leatham and Tew were bankers, undoubtedly this was a loan which had been renewed annually since the building was completed.
 5. L.C.D. 225; Minutes of the General Meeting of Proprietors of the Central Market, 7 March 1828.

Since buildings frequently exceeded their estimated cost, the practice of obtaining mortgages for public buildings must have been widespread.

V

The other major source of problems in a building project was the incompetence of the building contractors and, on occasions, the architect. Lack of attention by the architect in the early stages of a project might cause unwanted delays. For example, it was alleged that the progress of the Leeds Central Market project was injuriously delayed because its architect, R.D. Chantrell, would not furnish working drawings for the building.¹ Delays might also result from poor or improper workmanship; John Carr, the architect of Leeds General Infirmary, found that a large part of its foundation was "so ill Executed and improperly set out" that the foundation had to be demolished and rebuilt before the work could proceed any further.² In the case of Leeds Philosophical Hall it was found that the joiner had used the wrong type of timber in part of the building and consequently this had to be replaced.³

The longest delays of all were caused by the bankruptcy of building contractors. For example, St. Philip's Church, begun at Sheffield in 1822, took six years to complete owing to the contractor's

1. L.I. 7 July 1825.

2. S.T. Anning, op.cit. I, 9.

3. L.I. 7 July 1825; E. Kitson Clark, op.cit. p.28.

bankruptcy.¹ Wakefield Exchange Buildings was a similar case, the contractors having agreed to finish the building by 1st October 1838 went bankrupt in the meantime and were unable to complete the work.² The building's records give a detailed account of the battle which ensued over its completion, and reveal the contractors' total incompetence. It was observed that:

The contractors were intemperate, unattentive and unskilful, and had not the pecuniary means required for carrying on a work of this description containing (as it does) a good deal of ornamental work particularly in the principal front.³

This problem delayed the completion of the building by two years, and involved the proprietors in an additional outlay of £3,000. Similarly, during the building of Rotherham Market Place and Shambles (the scheme already noted because of its excessive cost) the proprietors held several meetings "as to difficulties with the contractor".⁴

When a contractor failed to fulfil his contract, the last resort of a building's proprietors was to proceed against the contractor's sureties; a course which was taken by the proprietors of both Wakefield Exchange Buildings and Rotherham Market Place and Shambles.⁵ The outcome of the Rotherham company's action is unknown, but if it was similar to that of the Wakefield company's action, then it

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1. W. White, 1837 D I, 77.
 2. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: the building contract, 18 March 1837; Barff v. Micklethwaite - Observations to accompany Questions for Answer (undated).
 3. Ibid. Barff v. Micklethwaite - Observations
 4. J. Guest, op.cit. p.543.
 5. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers: numerous miscellaneous documents, 1837-40; J. Guest, op.cit. p.543.

was almost more trouble than it was worth. At the time when the contract for building the corn exchange had been signed, two sureties had agreed to pay up to £1,000 each if the contractors failed to fulfil its terms.¹ When it became obvious that the builders were unable to complete the building, the proprietors approached the sureties for the payment of their bonds. The sureties refused to pay the requisite sums. One surety agreed to pay £250 in settlement of his liability, but the other refused to pay anything, and in consequence the proprietors began an action against him in the Court of Chancery. Although it was clear that the contractors had failed to comply with the contract, it soon became apparent that the proprietors also, in their anxiety to keep the building work going, had breached the contract in various ways. The growing doubts about the success of the action evidently persuaded the proprietors to settle out of court. The surety agreed to pay £250, but, ironically, the costs of the legal battle were £587, part of which, if not all, was paid by the surety.

Data relating to the performance of building contractors is difficult to obtain and therefore it is impossible to estimate the frequency of the sort of occurrences discussed above. However, it is evident that the general public's confidence in their ability was not always as great as it might have been. During the opening service for Ebenezer Chapel at Sheffield in

1. Wakefield Exchange Buildings Papers, especially: Barff v. Micklethwaite - Instructions; Barff v. Micklethwaite - Observations; In Chancery, Plaintiff's costs and Defendant's costs.

1823, an alarm was raised that "the building was falling"; the congregation escaped in confusion, breaking seven hundred panes of glass.¹

VI

In conclusion, the foregoing discussion of the organization and problems of building projects poses various questions which, though research may never satisfactorily answer them, are nevertheless of considerable interest. It would be useful to know the extent to which building firms came to specialize in the erection of public buildings. A recent study of Thomas Anelay and Son, the Doncaster building firm, revealed that the firm worked on many of Doncaster's public buildings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.² Equally, in 1836, the Leeds Mercury reported the death of Mr. George Brown, "a general contractor for the erection of public and other buildings".³ However, more informative and conclusive evidence would be valuable.

There are also unanswered questions concerning the problems which arose during building projects. For example, although various acceptable suggestions have been advanced to explain the excessive costs incurred during many building projects, it is possible that part of the problem stemmed from the temptation for architects and contractors to reduce their estimates to unrealistically low

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1. J. Thomas, The Local Register and Chronological Account of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1830), pp.172-3.
 2. H.E.C., Stapleton, ed. A Skilful Master Builder (York, 1975)
 3. Leeds Mercury

levels in their keenness to gain employment. Equally, it could be argued that, when accepting tenders, building committees were lured more by cheapness than by good reputation.

In addition, it would be useful to have a more detailed analysis of the costs and payments involved in a building project; reliable data on changes in the cost of building materials and builders' wages would be invaluable to economic historians.

However, these gaps in our knowledge could be filled only by a lengthy study of detailed records of building firms and building projects, neither of which are in great supply. Unfortunately, time has not permitted the author to delve further into these subjects for the present.

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND THE ECONOMY

In the preceding chapters we have surveyed the provision of public buildings and studied the motives and methods of the institutions and people who provided them. However, from the economic historian's point of view, an important area of interest remains to be examined, namely, the relationship between public building provision and the functioning and development of the local and national economies. The two sections of this short chapter attempt to place public buildings in their contemporary economic context: Section I presents data on the value of investment in public buildings and compares them with investment in other forms of capital; Section II then examines the hypothesis that the level of investment in public buildings was influenced by fluctuations in the general level of economic activity. A general cautionary note is in order, in that the reliability of the data is restricted and, thus, they cannot bear a sophisticated cliometric examination. Indeed many of the calculations which follow rely on very bold assumptions. Nevertheless, in view of current concern with the link between capital formation and economic growth, the results of this investigation are of interest, despite their limitations.

I

In recent years there has been a great debate amongst economic historians about the nature of capital formation during the Industrial Revolution: its size and rate of change, and its

extent in particular industries and sectors of the economy.¹ This study has produced estimates of fixed capital formation in one not inconsiderable form of construction, the public building, for an important economic region, the West Riding. It is interesting, therefore, to attempt to assess the relative importance of public buildings as a sector of investment.

Since there are no figures for the size of capital formation in the West Riding in the period 1700-1840 - the years for which expenditure on public buildings has been calculated - the contribution of public buildings to capital formation must be estimated by an indirect route. Since we have estimates of the proportion of national capital formation absorbed by urban house-building, by estimating the relative sizes of investment in public buildings and urban houses, we can arrive at an estimate of the proportion of national capital formation absorbed by public buildings.

The census returns for the West Riding show that the stock of houses in the twelve West Riding towns increased by 40,050 between 1801 and 1841.² If all these new dwellings had been working-class houses, they would have cost a total of approximately £2 million,

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1. See F.Crouzet, ed. Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution (1972), esp. articles by P.Deane and S.Pollard; J.P.P. Higgins and S.Pollard, eds. Aspects of Capital Investment in Great Britain 1750-1850 (1971); S.D. Chapman, "Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815", Economic History Review (1970); M.C. Reed, Investment in Railways in Britain, 1820-1844 (1975); C.H. Feinstein, "Capital Formation in Great Britain", Cambridge Economic History of Europe VII (1978), 28-96.
 2. Census Reports of Great Britain, 1801 and 1841

but, assuming that about 10 per cent were built for the middle and upper classes, a total cost of £3-4 million would be a more realistic estimate.¹ During the same period approximately one million pounds was spent on public buildings in the twelve towns. Hence, expenditure on public buildings amounted to something between one-half and one-quarter of the total expenditure on houses.

Chalklin has estimated that in the period, c.1750-1820, approximately one-half of national house-building was urban, and he assumes that house construction absorbed about 25 or 30 per cent of national capital formation.² Thus, on this basis, urban house-building seems to have absorbed about $12\frac{1}{2}$ -15 per cent of national capital formation. If the ratio of investment in public buildings to investment in house-building was the same for the whole country as it was for the West Riding, the implication is that public buildings must have absorbed somewhere between 3 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of national capital formation between 1800 and 1840. Moreover, if Chalklin's suggestion that urban housing absorbed about 1 per cent of national income is correct, then public buildings absorbed $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of national income.³

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1. In 1800 a working-class house would cost about £50, and the house of a merchant or wealthy middle-class family might cost about £1,000. Phyllis Deane in "Capital Formation in Britain before the Railway Age", in F.Crouzet, *op.cit.* p.106 suggests that the average cost of a house at the time of the Industrial Revolution was about £100.
 2. C.W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England (1974), pp.308 - 309.
 3. C.W. Chalklin, *op.cit.* p.309.

As a check on these estimates, the contribution of the provision of public buildings to capital formation and national income can be estimated in another way. In 1841 the population of Great Britain was approximately 18.5 million, with about 40 per cent of the total living in towns.¹ The 300,000 people living in the twelve West Riding towns at that time therefore represented approximately 4 per cent of the urban population of Great Britain. Assuming that expenditure on public buildings per head of urban population in Great Britain was similar to that for the West Riding, the total expenditure on public buildings in the country in the period 1800-1840 could be estimated as £25 million, or about £625,000 per annum. Deane and Cole have estimated that the average national income of Great Britain in the years 1801 to 1841 was around £300 million.² Thus expenditure on public buildings absorbed about 1/5 per cent of national income. If, as Deane and Cole imply, the rate of capital formation had reached about 8 or 9 per cent by 1840, public buildings absorbed about 2-2½ per cent of national capital formation.³

Whichever of these calculations is accepted, the fact remains that at first glance public buildings appear to have formed a fairly insignificant part of national income and capital formation. To a large extent this is a mistaken impression. When the amounts of capital going into other notable sectors of the economy are considered, investment in public buildings seems by no means paltry.

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1. Census Report of Great Britain, 1841; C.W. Chalklin, op.cit. p.25; B.R. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962), pp. 24-26.
 2. P.Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1969), p.160.
 3. Ibid. pp.262-4.

Table VIII.1 presents estimates of the amount of capital invested in public buildings in Great Britain in each decade in the years 1780-1840. Estimates of capital formation in various sectors of the British economy in this period are few and are also open to question but they provide interesting comparisons.¹ For example, investment in the leading sectors in the Industrial Revolution - the cotton and iron industries - over the last two decades of the eighteenth century was approximately £8 million and £11 million respectively.²

Table VIII.1

Estimated Expenditure on Public Buildings in
the Twelve West Riding Towns and Great Britain,
1780-1840 (£)

	Twelve West Riding Towns	Great Britain
1780 - 89	34,338	858,450
1790 - 99	93,465	2,336,625
1800 - 09	54,947	1,373,675
1810 - 19	162,521	4,063,025
1820 - 29	436,436	10,910,900
1830 - 40	392,897	9,822,425

Source: The gazetteer.

The figures for Great Britain were obtained by multiplying the West Riding figures by 25, the assumption being that the twelve towns held about 4 per cent of the urban population of Great Britain. The assumption is based on Chalklin's estimates of the proportion of the population of England and Wales which was urban in 1800 and 1820, and applying this to Great Britain to obtain the approximate size of its urban population. See C.W. Chalklin, op.cit. p.25.

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1. Since this chapter was written, Professor C.H. Feinstein has produced new estimates of capital formation in Britain during the Industrial Revolution. For the sectors compared with public buildings in the following paragraphs, the new estimates do not differ sufficiently from the old to invalidate the comments made here. See C.H. Feinstein, op.cit. pp.28-96.
 2. P.Deane and W.A. Cole, op.cit. p.262.

By this standard, the estimated £3 million invested in public buildings over the same period seems quite sizable. About £25 million was spent on canal, dock, and harbour projects in the period 1790-1809,¹ while investment in public buildings was approximately £3.7 million. A similar impression is gained from the performance in later years. While approximately £45 million of capital was raised by railway companies in England and Wales in the period 1825-40,² about £15.5 million was invested in public buildings. In the years 1828-39 probably £8.5 million was invested in the iron industry,³ while about £11 million was invested in public buildings. Even the massive £360 million invested in the British transport system as a whole between 1790 and 1840⁴ could not completely dwarf investment in public buildings, which is estimated as approximately £28.5 million in these years. These comparisons taken in conjunction with our estimate that investment in public buildings amounted to 25-50 per cent of investment in urban housebuilding, suggest that the provision of public buildings made a small but significant contribution to capital formation and national income.

One of the most outstanding aspects of the investment in public buildings was the rapid rate at which it grew. The estimates presented here suggest that investment in public buildings in the West Riding towns, and thus perhaps the whole of Great Britain,

1. P.Deane and W.A. Cole, op.cit. p.262.

2. M.C. Reed, Investment in Railways in Britain, 1820-44 (1975), p.35.

3. Ibid, p.43.

4. P.Deane and W.A. Cole, op.cit. p.263.

grew over 140 times between the 1700's and the 1830's, and more than 25 times between the 1760's and the 1830's (see Table II.3). Clearly, this sector of capital was capable of greater expansion than was either required or achieved by many other sectors during the Industrial Revolution. Some economic historians have suggested that a growth in capital formation from 5 to over 10 per cent of the net national income was a necessary condition for the occurrence of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.¹ In 1700 national income was about £50 million and by 1841 it had risen nine-fold to approximately £450 million.² This means that it was necessary for capital formation to grow eighteen-fold if it was to reach the level required for the Industrial Revolution to take place; without doubt investment in public buildings grew at a much more rapid rate.

The amount of capital invested in a particular sector of the economy, however, does not necessarily reflect the extent of its contribution to economic growth. It has been argued by Phyllis Deane that, given an increase in capital formation, the occurrence of an industrial revolution depends much more on the direction of capital formation than the size of its increase.³ This view begs the question of whether increased investment in public buildings did promote the Industrial Revolution. Although some economic historians argue vehemently that social capital, such as public buildings, could make no positive contribution to economic growth,

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1. See W.A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth (1955), p.208; W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth (1960), esp. p.37; P.Deane and W.A. Cole, op.cit. esp. pp.260-4.
 2. P.Deane and W.A. Cole, op.cit. pp.156 and 166.
 3. P.Deane, "The Role of Capital in the Industrial Revolution", Explorations in Economic History X (1973), 349-64.

one must seriously question how fast economic growth could have proceeded without the provision of adequate social capital. It seems likely that the provision of public buildings made a contribution to economic growth - albeit a small one. In the first place, all investment in public buildings regardless of the types of buildings financed must have helped raise the level of economic activity through the multiplier effect: even if the public buildings were of no direct assistance to economic activity, the increase in incomes created by their erection helped to create the demand for the products of the Industrial Revolution.

Of course, much of the investment in public buildings went into amenities which had little direct influence on economic affairs. As Chapter II showed, 42 per cent of investment went into places of worship; about 12 per cent went into town halls, court houses, prisons, almshouses, workhouses and the like; and another 6 per cent went into places of entertainment - in all, about 60 per cent of total investment. Nevertheless, this investment may have had an indirect impact on economic affairs. Rapid economic growth normally requires a stable social and political environment, and the provision of these buildings and the activities performed in them did much to prevent administrative chaos and social disorder at a time of great economic and social change.

The remaining 40 per cent of investment in public buildings had a much more direct influence on economic activity and undoubtedly promoted economic growth. Over 10 per cent of investment went into educational establishments and thereby helped to raise the educational standards of the local population. Another 9 per cent

went into medical institutions and public baths, thereby perhaps helping to improve the health of the population and contributing to the increase in the output of the working population. Finally, about 16 per cent of investment went into markets and commercial amenities. Of all investment in public buildings this was probably the most significant in promoting economic growth. The success of the Industrial Revolution depended to a large extent on the ability of entrepreneurs to sell their products at home and abroad, and it seems likely that marketing and commercial amenities were a not unimportant element in promoting their success.

II

One major hypothesis that we should test is that important fluctuations in the level of economic activity produced major fluctuations in the output of public buildings. Chapter I showed that public buildings were provided with increasing frequency over our period, and subsequently we noted that total annual expenditure on buildings rose substantially as the period progressed. However, a closer examination of the output figures shows that there were distinct short-term fluctuations in the level of provision, particularly from the mid-eighteenth century. Could these fluctuations have been produced by variations in the level of economic activity?

In order to identify the short-term movements in building provision, two time series covering the period 1700-1840 have been constructed. The first series, presented in Table VIII.2, consists of estimates of total annual expenditure on public buildings; the second, presented in Table VIII.3, consists of annual estimates of the number of public buildings in construction (buildings-in-progress). The series are also shown in Figure VIII.1.

Both time series have their deficiencies. One of these is that estimates have been made of the duration of some of the building projects and errors here may create the appearance of fluctuations in activity when, in fact, none took place. The annual expenditure series has the additional limitations that its construction involved estimates of the costs of buildings and it takes no account of changes over time in building costs.¹ The buildings-in-progress series has the additional limitation as a measure of activity that it takes no account of the size and cost of buildings. Nevertheless, since one series relies principally on costs and the other on numbers of buildings, we are fairly safe in placing confidence in major fluctuations in provision revealed by both series.

The time series show that there were four major phases of very active provision of public buildings between 1760 and 1840. With upturns and downturns encompassing these phases, the fluctuations appear almost cyclical in nature.

1. No sophisticated index of building costs in the period is available.

Estimated Total Annual Expenditure on Public
Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840

(£)

1700	610	1737	220	1774	3,250	1811	15,750
1701	210	1738	480	1775	8,398	1812	7,754
1702	250	1739	415	1776	10,000	1813	8,729
1703	400	1740	485	1777	8,933	1814	9,575
1704	150	1741	485	1778	6,892	1815	11,015
1705	-	1742	110	1779	3,428	1816	16,742
1706	175	1743	110	1780	2,771	1817	21,142
1707	275	1744	-	1781	587	1818	18,933
1708	191	1745	2,000	1782	1,750	1819	40,776
1709	393	1746	2,000	1783	800	1820	34,959
1710	946	1747	2,000	1784	5,946	1821	22,193
1711	605	1748	2,000	1785	4,668	1822	23,846
1712	-	1749	-	1786	3,666	1823	52,855
1713	-	1750	150	1787	3,250	1824	66,950
1714	150	1751	700	1788	4,900	1825	53,116
1715	250	1752	550	1789	5,500	1826	49,142
1716	100	1753	500	1790	4,850	1827	50,145
1717	100	1754	650	1791	7,345	1828	41,746
1718	-	1755	1,400	1792	12,347	1829	38,284
1719	395	1756	3,291	1793	15,731	1830	20,895
1720	1,045	1757	2,043	1794	17,813	1831	17,542
1721	1,474	1758	1,766	1795	12,718	1832	15,707
1722	831	1759	135	1796	7,122	1833	27,274
1723	651	1760	136	1797	6,789	1834	37,675
1724	651	1761	1,500	1798	4,250	1835	44,900
1725	872	1762	1,500	1799	1,000	1836	57,723
1726	972	1763	446	1800	2,500	1837	48,628
1727	751	1764	400	1801	5,950	1838	50,834
1728	-	1765	1,833	1802	7,540	1839	39,195
1729	-	1766	2,673	1803	5,587	1840	28,924
1730	200	1767	1,204	1804	5,988		
1731	-	1768	2,513	1805	4,590		
1732	-	1769	2,443	1806	1,650		
1733	-	1770	6,892	1807	3,950		
1734	200	1771	3,801	1808	8,216		
1735	391	1772	1,000	1809	5,976		
1736	286	1773	2,500	1810	8,005		

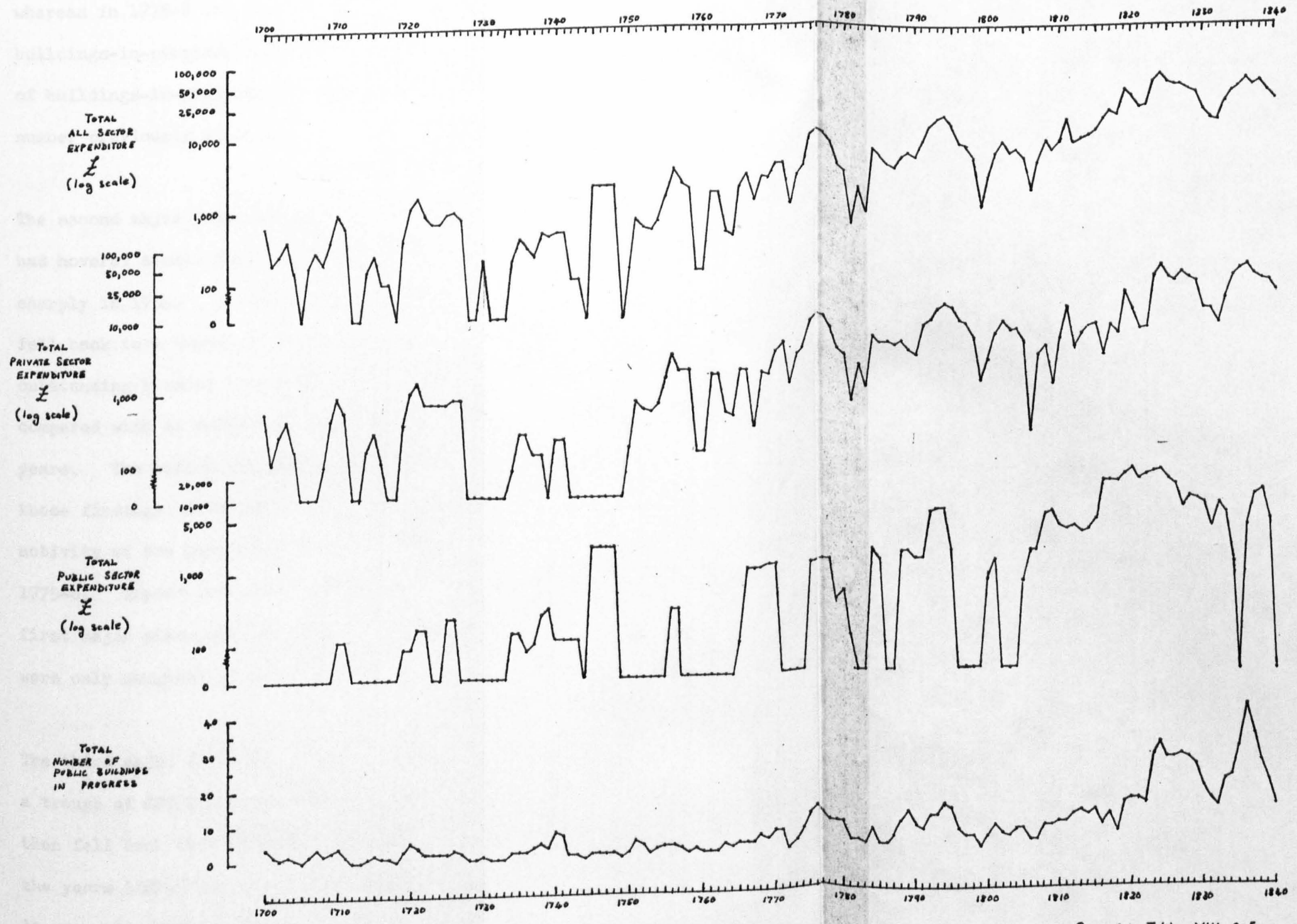
Source: The gazetteer. For details of the method of calculation see Appendix II.

Estimated Total Annual Number of Public Buildings in Process
of Construction in the Twelve Towns, 1700-1840
(including enlargements and extensive alterations and repairs)

1700	4	1740	6	1780	8	1820	14
1701	2	1741	5	1781	3	1821	14
1702	1	1742	1	1782	3	1822	13
1703	2	1743	1	1783	2	1823	26
1704	1	1744	-	1784	6	1824	29
1705	-	1745	1	1785	2	1825	25
1706	2	1746	1	1786	2	1826	25
1707	4	1747	1	1787	4	1827	26
1708	2	1748	1	1788	8	1828	25
1709	3	1749	-	1789	11	1829	23
1710	4	1750	1	1790	7	1830	17
1711	2	1751	4	1791	6	1831	14
1712	-	1752	3	1792	10	1832	12
1713	-	1753	1	1793	10	1833	19
1714	1	1754	2	1794	13	1834	20
1715	2	1755	3	1795	12	1835	28
1716	1	1756	3	1796	6	1836	40
1717	1	1757	2	1797	4	1837	32
1718	-	1758	1	1798	4	1838	24
1719	3	1759	2	1799	1	1839	19
1720	5	1760	1	1800	4	1840	12
1721	4	1761	1	1801	7		
1722	2	1762	1	1802	5		
1723	2	1763	3	1803	4		
1724	2	1764	2	1804	6		
1725	2	1765	3	1805	6		
1726	3	1766	3	1806	3		
1727	2	1767	3	1807	3		
1728	-	1768	5	1808	7		
1729	-	1769	4	1809	7		
1730	1	1770	6	1810	8		
1731	-	1771	6	1811	8		
1732	-	1772	1	1812	10		
1733	-	1773	3	1813	11		
1734	2	1774	6	1814	10		
1735	2	1775	10	1815	11		
1736	2	1776	12	1816	7		
1737	3	1777	10	1817	10		
1738	4	1778	8	1818	5		
1739	3	1779	8	1819	13		

Source: The gazetteer. For details of the method of calculation see Appendix II.

FIGURE VIII.1 THE TOTAL, PUBLIC, AND PRIVATE EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS, AND THE NUMBER OF BUILDINGS IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION IN TWELVE WEST RIDING TOWNS, ANNUAL ESTIMATES, 1700-1840



SOURCE: Tables VIII. 2-5

The first phase occurred in 1775-8. Annual expenditure rose from a trough of £1,000 in 1772 to reach a peak of £10,000 in 1776 and fell back to a trough of £587 in 1781. The highest annual expenditure in the two decades before 1775 was approximately £3,800, whereas in 1775-8 its minimum level was almost £7,000. The buildings-in-progress figures reflect these swings; the number of buildings-in-progress in 1776 - twelve - was double the highest number previously attained.

The second major phase was 1792-5. Annual expenditure, which had hovered around £4-5,000 in the years 1784-90, turned up sharply in 1791. It reached a peak of £17,813 in 1794 and then fell back to a trough of £1,000 in 1799. The years 1792-5 are outstanding because the annual expenditures were over £10,000 compared with an average of about £5,000 in the previous seven years. The buildings-in-progress figures again broadly confirm these findings, although they discourage us from regarding the activity of the peak years as being much greater than that of 1775-8. Expenditure was about 50 per cent higher than in the first major phase, but the numbers of buildings-in-progress were only marginally greater.

The third major phase was 1823-9. Annual expenditure rose from a trough of £22,193 in 1821, to a peak of £66,950 in 1824, and then fell back to a trough of £15,707 in 1832. Expenditure in the years 1823-8 was on an unprecedented scale, and even in 1829 it was only slightly less than the previous highest level, set in 1819. The buildings-in-progress figures emphasize the massive proportions of the boom. The average number of buildings-in-

progress in 1823-9 - twenty-five - was almost double the previous highest annual level.

The fourth, and final, major phase was 1834-9. Annual expenditure rose from a trough of £15,707 in 1832 to a peak of £57,723 in 1836, and then fell back to what may have been a trough of £28,924 in 1840 - the last year of the expenditure series. The boom years, 1834-9, were only marginally less spectacular than those of the 1820's. The minimum level of annual expenditure was £37,675.

Once again the buildings-in-progress figures support the indications of the expenditure series, but suggest a much higher level of activity in 1836 than 1834: there were forty buildings in progress as opposed to twenty-nine. In fact, the figures are somewhat misleading because there was an unusually large number of alterations and enlargements to buildings in the mid-1830's. For example, four of the places of worship built at Leeds in the 1820's were in the process of enlargement in 1836.

The significance of these four phases of high activity is heightened by the fact that they are found not only in the aggregate totals of annual expenditure on buildings, but also in the disaggregated figures for public and private sector expenditure (see Tables VIII.4 and 5 and Figure VIII.1). For the most part, public and private expenditures show similar peaks and troughs.

In seeking explanations of the broad fluctuations in our time series a number of possible channels of enquiry seem promising. The fluctuations of output in the construction industry, especially housebuilding, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are

Estimated Total Annual Public Sector Expenditure on Public
Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840
(£)

1700	-	1737	97	1774	-	1811	2,600
1701	-	1738	230	1775	915	1812	2,900
1702	-	1739	290	1776	916	1813	2,425
1703	-	1740	110	1777	1,000	1814	2,625
1704	-	1741	110	1778	1,000	1815	3,615
1705	-	1742	110	1779	300	1816	13,667
1706	-	1743	110	1780	386	1817	13,917
1707	-	1744	-	1781	87	1818	13,583
1708	-	1745	2,000	1782	-	1819	17,539
1709	-	1746	2,000	1783	-	1820	20,720
1710	105	1747	2,000	1784	1,480	1821	14,623
1711	105	1748	2,000	1785	1,000	1822	17,041
1712	-	1749	-	1786	-	1823	18,922
1713	-	1750	-	1787	-	1824	19,880
1714	-	1751	-	1788	1,250	1825	15,157
1715	-	1752	-	1789	1,250	1826	13,981
1716	-	1753	-	1790	1,000	1827	6,235
1717	-	1754	-	1791	1,000	1828	8,451
1718	-	1755	-	1792	4,333	1829	7,880
1719	75	1756	275	1793	4,664	1830	6,378
1720	75	1757	275	1794	4,913	1831	3,425
1721	173	1758	-	1795	1,250	1832	6,969
1722	174	1759	-	1796	-	1833	4,970
1723	-	1760	-	1797	-	1834	1,009
1724	-	1761	-	1798	-	1835	-
1725	221	1762	-	1799	-	1836	3,300
1726	221	1763	-	1800	500	1837	9,600
1727	-	1764	-	1801	950	1838	10,595
1728	-	1765	90	1802	-	1839	4,295
1729	-	1766	924	1803	-	1840	-
1730	-	1767	924	1804	-		
1731	-	1768	964	1805	480		
1732	-	1769	1,041	1806	1,250		
1733	-	1770	1,000	1807	1,250		
1734	150	1771	-	1808	4,116		
1735	150	1772	-	1809	4,376		
1736	45	1773	-	1810	2,905		

Source: The gazetteer. For details of the method of calculation, see Appendix II.

Estimated Total Annual Private Sector Expenditure on
Public Buildings in the Twelve West Riding Towns, 1700-1840
(£)

1700	500	1737	125	1774	3,000	1811	12,550
1701	100	1738	125	1775	6,833	1812	3,504
1702	250	1739	-	1776	8,534	1813	5,554
1703	400	1740	200	1777	7,933	1814	6,950
1704	150	1741	200	1778	5,642	1815	7,400
1705	-	1742	-	1779	2,878	1816	2,750
1706	-	1743	-	1780	2,385	1817	6,900
1707	-	1744	-	1781	500	1818	5,350
1708	91	1745	-	1782	1,750	1819	22,037
1709	393	1746	-	1783	800	1820	11,739
1710	841	1747	-	1784	4,466	1821	5,970
1711	500	1748	-	1785	3,668	1822	6,805
1712	-	1749	-	1786	3,666	1823	33,933
1713	-	1750	150	1787	3,250	1824	47,070
1714	150	1751	700	1788	3,650	1825	32,065
1715	250	1752	550	1789	2,650	1826	29,266
1716	100	1753	500	1790	2,250	1827	38,850
1717	-	1754	650	1791	6,345	1828	31,627
1718	-	1755	1,400	1792	7,514	1829	27,988
1719	320	1756	3,016	1793	10,567	1830	11,706
1720	970	1757	1,768	1794	12,900	1831	12,056
1721	1,301	1758	1,766	1795	11,468	1832	7,338
1722	657	1759	135	1796	7,122	1833	17,139
1723	651	1760	136	1797	6,789	1834	32,900
1724	651	1761	1,500	1798	4,250	1835	40,400
1725	651	1762	1,500	1799	1,000	1836	47,173
1726	751	1763	446	1800	2,000	1837	35,603
1727	751	1764	400	1801	5,000	1838	30,297
1728	-	1765	1,748	1802	7,540	1839	27,456
1729	-	1766	1,749	1803	5,587	1840	21,482
1730	-	1767	280	1804	5,988		
1731	-	1768	1,549	1805	4,110		
1732	-	1769	1,402	1806	200		
1733	-	1770	2,801	1807	2,500		
1734	50	1771	3,801	1808	3,500		
1735	241	1772	1,000	1809	1,000		
1736	241	1773	2,500	1810	4,500		

Source: The gazetteer. For details of the method of calculation, see Appendix II.

well known, and many economic historians have attempted to explain them. Perhaps the current explanations of this phenomenon may also be applicable to public buildings. T.S. Ashton and H.A. Shannon have suggested that the level of building activity was inversely related to the level of interest rates.¹ Their theory was that builders worked on credit, and therefore built mainly when credit was cheap. In Ashton's words: "A rise in the rate of interest might not merely check new enterprise but bring projects already begun to a halt."² An examination of the rates of return on government securities - a good indicator of long-term interest rates - suggests that, indeed, there was an association between low interest rates and increased provision of public buildings.³ Yet, the link between interest rates and the provision of public buildings seems rather tenuous. As shown in earlier chapters, public buildings were financed principally from the accumulated funds or income of the public and private sectors - not borrowing. Cheapness of credit was therefore only a minor consideration. On the other hand, it must be allowed that low interest rates might encourage people to invest their capital in public buildings offering reasonably high rates of return. It is possible to envisage this sort of relationship existing, particularly in the 1820's and 1830's. In those years, while interest rates hovered about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the rates of return predicted for several public buildings were

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1. H.A. Shannon, "Bricks - A Trade Index, 1795-1849", in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed. Essays in Economic History (1962), II, 197; T.S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959), Chapters 4 and 5.
 2. T.S. Ashton, op.cit. p.86.
 3. For rate of return on Consols see T.S. Ashton, op.cit. p.187 and H.A. Shannon, op.cit. pp.200-201.

in the region of 6 to 10 per cent or even more. However, the majority of public buildings did not offer financial reward, let alone high rates of return.

Another explanation of the fluctuations in the level of housebuilding, which might apply to public buildings, has been postulated by Professor Parry Lewis. He suggested in his book on building cycles that fluctuations stemmed partly from alterations in the demand for houses resulting from demographic changes.¹ This theory may well be acceptable for housebuilding, since there is clearly a direct link between alterations in the number and size of family units and the demand for dwellings, but the link between demographic changes and the demand for public buildings seems much less direct. As we saw in earlier chapters, the provision of buildings might occur long after major demographic changes had begun to make them desirable. It seems unlikely that the demographic factor would be of sufficient influence to cause short-term fluctuations in provision.

Thus, these two alternative explanations of the fluctuations in the provision of public buildings seem of limited value. However, at first sight at least, a comparison of the fluctuations in the provision of public buildings with those in general economic activity appears more fruitful.

The findings of Ashton and Gayer, Rostow, and Schwartz on economic

1. J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth (1965), especially Chapters 2, 3, and 7.

fluctuations in England, 1700-1840, reveal major fluctuations in economic activity broadly similar to the cycles and phases of high activity in the provision of public buildings which have been identified (see Table VIII.6). The major phases of high public building provision, i.e. 1775-8, 1792-5, 1823-9, and 1834-9, all begin within periods of generally increased or increasing prosperity, and the peaks in the phases (with the exception of that of 1792) all occur close to peaks in the economy. Thus, there does appear to be a relationship between the two variables. This might well be a lagged relationship since, in the cases of all four phases, building provision remained high for up to two or three years after the economy had reached a trough.

Sceptics might argue that these comparisons are limited in their usefulness because we are comparing the output of buildings with national rather than local economic trends. Fortunately, however, qualitative evidence of the West Riding's economic fortunes is available which gives impressive support for the existence of a relationship between economic prosperity and the provision of public buildings. A report to the Home Secretary in 1775 clearly indicates that the West Riding economy was very prosperous at the beginning of the major phase of public building activity in 1775-8:

In Yorkshire, particularly in Halifax, Bradford and Leeds, the coarse cloth manufacture has never known a better state or a greater number of hands employed, and more extensive schemes are projected. ¹ The interruptions with America is little felt.

Similarly, the Report on the Woollen Manufacture of England, published in 1806, indicates that trade was prosperous in the West Riding at

1. Calendar of Home Office Papers, 1773-1775 (1899), p.416: 28 September 1775 - Report of Charles Irving, Esq., to the Home Secretary.

Table VIII.6

Notable Fluctuations in the Provision of
Public Buildings Compared with Major
Fluctuations in the Level of Economic Activity,
1772-1840

Major phases of high public building provision	Public building cycles encompassing major phases			Major economic fluctuations		
	Trough	Peak	Trough	Trough	Peak	Trough
1775-8	1772	1776	1781	1775	1777	1778-81
1792-5	1786	1794	1799	1788	1792	1793
1823-9	1821	1824	1832	1819	1825	1826
1834-9	1832	1836	1840 ?	1832	1836	1837

Sources: Public building activity - Table VIII 2 & 3

Economic fluctuations -

1775-87, T.S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in
England, 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959)

1788-1840, A.D. Gayer, W.W. Rostow, and A.J.
Schwartz, The Growth and Fluctuations of the
British Economy, 1790-1850 (Oxford, 1953),
Vol.I, part I.

the beginning of the second major phase of high activity, 1792-5. Part of the evidence mentions the state of trade when a cloth hall was built at Leeds in 1792-3:

"What is the third Cloth Hall in Leeds called?"
 "It is generally called the Tom Paine Hall, it was built at the time the trade was so good." ¹

The prosperity of the West Riding economy at the beginning of the third major phase of high activity, 1823-29, is clearly indicated by a speech at the foundation ceremony of Leeds Corn Exchange in 1827:

"Fellow Townsmen - We are met here today to lay the last foundation stone of a series of public buildings, in this town, having their origin during the most unexampled tide of prosperity ever remembered." ²

Finally, there is also evidence that times were prosperous in the early stages of the fourth major phase of high activity, 1834-9. The 1835 report on Leeds Corporation mentioned the economic state of Leeds:

The state of the trade of the borough is said to be highly favourable, and the town advancing in prosperity the commercial prospects of the town are improving. ³

Similarly, the prospectus issued in 1836 for Wakefield Corn Exchange commented on the advancing economic prosperity of the town. ⁴

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1. Report from the Select Committee on the State of the Woollen Manufacture in England (P.P. 1806, III), p.158, evidence of John Hebblethwaite (Leeds merchant).
 2. L.I. 30 August 1827, speech of John Cawood.
 3. Reports from Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in England and Wales (P.P. 1835, XXIII), p.1624.
 4. Wakefield Exchange Buildings, Prospectus (Wakefield, 1836).

Evidence of a correlation between the level of public building provision and the level of economic activity does not, of course, establish a causal relationship. Moreover, to claim a lagged relationship between the two variables may appear very rash in view of the manner in which the public building time series were constructed. However, our knowledge of the promotion and organization of building schemes gives good support to both causality and lagging. It is evident that when the economy was depressed, the decision makers in the public and the private sectors felt financially insecure and were reluctant to spend the money they had available. When prosperity began to return as the economy came out of depression, they became more enthusiastic about financing buildings because they had more money to spare and the prospects for a good return on the capital invested were much brighter. Initially, however, they usually held back because they wanted to be certain that the economic improvement was more than a flash in the pan before they embarked on schemes involving heavy expenditure. The initial suspicion with which a return of prosperity might be viewed is reflected in some comments made on an improvement scheme in Leeds projected in 1822:

The time was not proper for such an undertaking: much had been said of the prosperity of the town; but who would guarantee the continuance of that prosperity for 12 or even two months? The present prosperity was occasioned by speculation in trade. They were just emerged from a state of distress, and they might soon revert back to it again.

Likewise, the importance of confidence in economic prospects is.

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1. L.I. 5 August 1822, speech at a public meeting to discuss the demolition of the Moot Hall and butchers' shambles.

demonstrated by J.K. Walker's assurances and encouragement given to potential subscribers to the Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary, in 1828 - an earlier scheme had been abandoned in 1826.

It is not assumed that our prospects are at present so bright as could be wished; after so tremendous a shock, it could not be expected that trade would recover without great struggles. But if our commercial prospects are not so brilliant as before the late crisis, who is there that will contend that they are not based on a more solid foundation, and less exposed to sudden convulsions? The prosperity of the former period, was a deceitful glare, a hectic prosperity, which is so often the forerunner of dissolution; that of the present is not so imposing to the eye, perhaps, but more healthy, and less at the mercy of events.¹

Once people felt that there was an element of permanence in the return of prosperity they embarked on public building projects. However, it would take several months, if not over a year, before building work would commence. Hence a time-lag of around two years between the return of prosperity and a major increase in expenditure on public buildings was very likely. When the economy was at its peak, many public buildings would be projected and many would be under construction. A downturn in the economy would not, however, produce an immediate and drastic decline in the provision of buildings. Although some projects might be abandoned when the economic downturn came, many would be sufficiently well underway to make cancellation almost unthinkable. Since the duration of projects was often two or three years, building was likely to continue at a fairly high level for approximately two or even three years.

1. J.K. Walker, Observations on the Expediency of Establishing Hospitals Addressed to the Governors of Huddersfield Dispensary (Huddersfield, 1828), p.5.

Nevertheless, inevitably the depression took its toll. With the disappearance of prosperity few new schemes would be undertaken. The depression of 1826-31, for instance, led to the abandonment of several projects and a notable reluctance to commence new ones. A forerunner of the successful scheme to build the Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary was abandoned at the end of 1825 because of the economic collapse. J.K. Walker wrote in 1828:

We seemed however just on the point of realizing the project, but a few years ago, when that never-to-be-forgotten crisis, that shook our commercial fabric to its very basis, suspended this, as well as many other schemes of benevolence.¹

A report in Leeds Intelligencer in 1826 concerning the exhaustion of Leeds General Infirmary's funds, also revealed the reluctance of people to finance even charitable concerns in times of economic depression:

This exhaustion also happens when the springs of benevolence amongst the better classes are, though not dried up, somewhat contracted by the prevalence of commercial embarrassment throughout the country.²

Another project, for the enlarged Leeds Court House, was abandoned in 1827 owing to "the depressed state of the times".³ Finally, the Report on the Borough of Leeds in 1831 disclosed how the projection and subsequently the erection of new buildings came to an end with the downturn of the economy:

The Town was stated to have been in a very flourishing condition about five or six years ago and receiving a rapid increase in its population and buildings. This increase has,

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1. J.K. Walker, op.cit. p.5.
 2. L.I. 16 March 1826.
 3. L.C.A. L.C J /1 5 March 1827.

since that period, experienced a check; few buildings are now in the course of erection.¹

The influence of depression, however, was not usually sufficient to bring public building provision to a complete standstill. Indeed, as our time series show, after 1749 the provision of buildings never fell to zero, and after 1820 there were never fewer than a dozen buildings in progress. This continuance of building activity, albeit at a low level, in depressed times perhaps occurred because building costs were lower than in prosperous periods. For example, when J.K. Walker successfully revived the scheme to build the Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary in 1828, he pointed out that the fall in the cost of labour and building materials since 1825 had reduced the cost of the building by a quarter.² On the whole, therefore, there seems to be quite good support for the hypothesis that substantial fluctuations in the level of provision of public buildings were induced by major fluctuations in the level of general economic activity.

1. Boundary Commissioners: Report on the Borough of Leeds
(P.P. 1031-2, XL), pp.195-6.

2. J.K. Walker, op.cit. p.5.

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In concluding this investigation of the provision of public buildings, believed to be the first of its kind, it seems important to draw its findings together and to assess what they tell us about the process of urban development.

In the first place, the study investigated the extent and chronology of the provision of this important category of urban buildings. In all, as many as six hundred public buildings were provided in the twelve West Riding towns between 1600 and 1840; approximately three-quarters of them were purpose-built, the remainder being existing premises converted for public purposes. The most striking aspect of the chronology is the sharp up-turn in the rate of provision which coincided with the onset of the Industrial Revolution and rapid population growth in the second half of the eighteenth century: the frequency of provision, which had grown comparatively slowly from one building every two years in the seventeenth century to one per year in the first half of the eighteenth, leapt to three per year between 1750 and 1799, and almost ten per year between 1800 and 1840. Very large sums of money were spent on public buildings in the West Riding, particularly after 1750. An estimated £1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million was spent in the twelve towns between 1700 and 1840, of which about £200,000 was expended in the second half of the eighteenth century and another million pounds between 1800 and 1840.

From the middle years of the eighteenth century many new types of public buildings were provided and there was a much more widespread adoption of earlier innovations. During the seventeenth century only a small range of buildings was provided, consisting of town halls, court houses, prisons, workhouses, almshouses, grammar and charity schools, market crosses, butchers' shambles, and places of worship. However, in the next century these were supplemented by new types of schools, libraries, newsrooms, medical institutions, assembly rooms, theatres, cloth halls, and more commodious market places. In the following forty years, innovations included county court houses, union workhouses, collegiate and proprietary schools, mechanics' institutes, philosophical halls, a county lunatic asylum, public baths, covered markets, corn exchanges, commercial buildings, and zoological and botanical gardens. Of the £1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million invested in public buildings between 1700 and 1840 approximately 42 per cent financed places of worship; 16 per cent markets and commercial amenities; 9 per cent medical institutions and public baths; 10 per cent schools, colleges, and educational institutions; 9 per cent town halls, court houses, public offices, and prisons; 6 per cent social amenities; 3 per cent almshouses, workhouses, and vagrancy-offices; and 5 per cent miscellaneous buildings.

The greatly increased provision and expenditure on public buildings after 1750 was accompanied by a notable rise in expenditure on individual buildings: while in the seventeenth century a typical building perhaps cost £100 - 200, rising to an average expenditure of around £400 in the period 1700 - 1750, in the second half of the eighteenth century average expenditure reached £1,000, and just over

£4,000 between 1800 and 1840. (Allowing for inflation, the average real expenditure on a typical public building rose about eight to twelve times between the seventeenth century and the end of our period.)

This clear picture of the rapid upsurge in the provision of new and more commodious public buildings between 1750 and 1840 must lead us to qualify our view of urban growth in this period. Too often historians paint a picture of a general deterioration in urban conditions as towns experienced mushroom growth during the Industrial Revolution; leading townsmen and public authorities have been accused of inactivity, lack of concern, or inadequate efforts in the face of urban problems. This study shows that a great deal of effort and money went into the provision of urban public buildings in this period. Moreover, these amenities, at least in the early years of their use, adequately served the purposes for which they were intended. It would seem unjust to denigrate the providers of these buildings simply because unprecedented population growth soon made inadequate their apparently ample provisions. Often it did take time before people recognised that provisions of earlier years needed replacement, but eventually money was found and a town's public buildings of one type or another were once again made sufficient for its needs.

It has become commonplace for historians to talk about "the great public buildings of the Victorian era" as if their predecessors were either few in number or small and uninspiring. This study has shown that the period of enthusiasm for erecting public buildings

really began in the second half of the eighteenth century. In terms of architectural merit, the contemporary interest aroused, and even size, many of these buildings, had they endured to the present day, would rank with our surviving public buildings of later years.

Another important aspect of this investigation was the comparison of the provision of buildings in each town. The most notable finding is that, despite the differences in the types and sizes of buildings erected in each town, there was remarkably little significant variation in per capita spending on buildings. Taking the populations of the twelve towns in 1841, about £4. 6s. per capita was expended on public buildings in most towns between 1700 and 1840; Wakefield, the "county town", was the only urban centre with a significantly different expenditure. One of the main explanations for this similarity is that the larger towns tended to erect fewer, but more costly, buildings per head of population than the smaller towns. Leeds, for example, with a population of c. 89,000 in 1841 was provided with 1.4 buildings per thousand inhabitants at an average cost of £4,279, while Ripon with a population of c. 5,500 in 1841 was provided with 3.1 buildings per thousand inhabitants at an average cost of £2,265.

The similarity in per capita expenditure on buildings in each town, of course, does not imply that levels of aggregate expenditure were the same; the larger towns had many more buildings than their smaller neighbours. For example, four or five times more buildings were provided in Leeds than in towns such as Rotherham, Ripon, or Pontefract over the period 1600 - 1840, and the total expenditure on

its buildings between 1700 and 1840 was more than ten times higher than that in the other towns.

Thus, if the West Riding towns were representative, this study suggests that the number and typical size and cost of public buildings erected in provincial towns in our period was related to their population size; expenditure per head, however, was not likely to have varied significantly from town to town. The major exceptions to this rule are county towns. Because their administrative responsibilities extended far beyond their own boundaries they are likely to have had unusually high expenditures on buildings per head of population. Wakefield had an expenditure per head on public buildings more than double the average for the twelve towns. This anomaly was entirely due to its role as "county town" and the consequent provision of large county buildings out of the West Riding magistrates' funds; if the county expenditure is omitted, the per capita expenditure on the town's buildings is very similar to that for Leeds and Sheffield.

Over and above a basic stock of public buildings, there were differences in the types of buildings provided in each town. These variations might result, as we have just noted, from differences in the administrative functions of towns, but they might stem also from differences in economic interests. It was natural that in towns where an industry or trade prospered, the beneficiaries had both the incentive and the funds to provide buildings which promoted or protected their source of wealth. In textile towns such as Leeds and Halifax these interests led to the provision of cloth halls, and in a town such as Doncaster, drawing considerable income from

its races, they led to the provision of social amenities.

The detailed consideration given in the foregoing chapters to the sources of finance for public buildings has offered several important insights into the process of urban development. Perhaps the most significant is the demonstration of the public sector's limited contribution to this aspect of urban building. In the period 1600-1840, in the twelve towns at least, the public sector played a subordinate role in the financing of public buildings: public bodies provided only about one-fifth of the finance for buildings in the seventeenth century, and in the following 140 years their share rose to no more than one-third. This evidence gives further confirmation to historians' view that public bodies and authorities were slow to extend their activities and responsibilities amidst the rapid urban development accompanying the Industrial Revolution.

Parliament did not begin to finance public buildings in this area until the 1790's, and it was not until the early nineteenth century that the West Riding magistrates financed them on their own initiative. (Over the period 1700-1840, in very approximate terms, Parliament provided three-sevenths of public finance for buildings, the County two-sevenths, and local public bodies two-sevenths.) Most public bodies provided only those buildings which they thought essential for the efficient execution of their traditional functions and duties. Hence, Parliament provided barracks and churches to prevent social disorder; the County and municipal corporations provided prisons and court houses for the proper administration of justice; parishes provided workhouses for relieving the poor; and charitable trusts built schools and almshouses in accordance with their legal obligations.

However, we should not attribute the limited extent of public sector activities entirely to laissez-faire attitudes; there is much evidence showing that the lack of substantial funds and rating powers was a major obstacle to public sector provision of urban amenities. This deficiency, undoubtedly, made public bodies less responsive to urban needs than they might have wished. The examples of Doncaster Corporation and several charitable trusts show that where funds were available public bodies could be quite energetic in meeting the exigencies of urban growth.

Considered from the opposite standpoint, the limited extent of public sector activity highlights both the willingness and the ability of the private sector to provide a large number of public amenities at considerable cost. In view of the heavy demands made on private capital during the Industrial Revolution, it is surprising to see that, when the economy was prosperous, private individuals or groups of people had large sums of money readily available to provide the major part of the investment in this form of social capital. Private contributions of capital often resulted from motives of benevolence, self-preservation, desire for amenity, and civic pride, but, in explaining readiness to invest, it seems particularly significant that public buildings were often regarded as sound and profitable economic investments; for example, markets, theatres, public baths, and even certain types of school were thought to offer potentially high rates of return.

The examination of the stimulants to the provision of public buildings in the twelve towns has revealed two major influences on the timing of urban development: firstly, a combination of urban rivalry,

emulation, and civic pride, and secondly, the state of the economy. It has been noted that often the provision of buildings was induced by developments in other towns. Certainly from the middle of the eighteenth century the inhabitants of the twelve towns were aware of the amenities being provided in other towns and attempted to imitate or surpass them. This process was prompted by feelings of rivalry and civic pride; people felt that a town's public buildings reflected the character of its inhabitants and could influence its economic prospects. Thus, the provision of an amenity in one town might set off a chain reaction in others. Clark and Slack's concept of a hierarchy or league of industrial towns set apart from the traditional hierarchy of towns in England is supported by this emulative process.¹ For the most part, the West Riding townsmen compared their provision of buildings with that in other manufacturing or commercial centres: provisions in Liverpool and Manchester, or Leeds and Sheffield, amongst their own number, are cited frequently as examples to be followed, whilst buildings in large non-industrial towns such as York appear to have been discussed very little.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the state of the economy often was the crucial factor in determining the precise timing of the erection of a building. The level of building activity generated by public buildings rose and fell in a pronounced fashion with the up-turns and down-turns in the level of economic activity. Projects might be postponed in periods of depression but taken up again when prosperity returned.

1. P.Clark and P.Slack, English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700 (Oxford, 1976), p.10.

For the benefit of architectural historians the foregoing study, notably chapters VI and VII, has presented detailed information about the conduct of public building projects. It has been shown that the promotion and organisation of a project could be a complex and drawn-out procedure. Support for a scheme had to be canvassed and, for the most part, the economic climate had to be propitious. Choosing suitable sites, designs, and builders all had their pitfalls, and though buildings were usually completed to their projectors' satisfaction, they often considerably exceeded the cost anticipated. The typical public buildings took about two years to erect, usually being commenced in one calendar year and completed in the next, but the larger buildings might take up to five or six years.

Thus, the interests of both the urban and the architectural historian have been catered for; those of the economic historian, however, have not been neglected. Indeed, a good deal of the findings pertinent to the latter have already been referred to in this summing-up. Nevertheless, it would be particularly valuable if a final assessment could be made of the general contribution of the provision of public buildings to the process of economic development. Unfortunately, as with other forms of social capital, it is virtually impossible to make a measurement of this kind. We can say only that public buildings appear to have absorbed large amounts of capital during the Industrial Revolution and that investment in them rose by an increment at least consistent with the acceleration in general investment many consider essential for an industrial revolution. Clearly, those public buildings with economic functions promoted economic growth, while those with social functions are unlikely to have retarded it.

This study has concentrated on the immediate causes of the provision of public buildings, to have done otherwise would have required a lengthy restatement of the forces and influences at the root of the process of English urban development in our period. However, it is worthwhile emphasizing that in the final analysis there were powerful general forces underlying the more immediate and particular factors which induced the provision of public buildings. It was the need to maintain law and order and to provide the basic necessities of life at a time of rapid urban growth and great economic and social change which prompted the greatly accelerated provision of public buildings after 1750. The rise in destitution as the common man became a wage labourer divorced from the land; the threat to public order as workers became congregated in larger numbers and class divisions became more clearly defined; the threat to public health as urban congestion increased; the need for a better educated population as trade and industry became more sophisticated; the rapid increase in volume and complexity of retail and business transactions; the need to entertain or pacify the urban population in its leisure time - all these factors combined to promote the provision of public buildings.

Within the last twenty or thirty years of our period, one of the greatest problems facing the promoters of town improvements was their inability to anticipate future requirements. Whereas public buildings provided in the seventeenth century often had a useful life of more than a century, those erected in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries sometimes became inadequate within twenty or thirty years. As the editor of the Sheffield Directory for 1828 pointed out when lamenting the necessity of redeveloping the town's

markets for the second time within forty years: to have anticipated the rapid growth of the town "would have required the omniscience of a being superior to man".¹

1. Sheffield 1828 D. p.xxxiv.

A GAZETTEER OF WEST RIDING PUBLIC BUILDINGS, c. 1100-1840

Introduction and Guide to the Use of the Gazetteer

The Gazetteer is a list of the public buildings provided in twelve West Riding towns c. 1100-1840. The towns included are Barnsley, Bradford, Doncaster, Halifax, Huddersfield, Knaresborough, Leeds, Pontefract, Ripon, Rotherham, Sheffield, and Wakefield. A chronological list of buildings is given for each town. In addition to giving the names, locations, and construction dates of the buildings, the Gazetteer, where possible, gives details of function, size, building materials, sources of finance, and cost. This information is presented in tables with ten columns. A series of abbreviations and code letters has been adopted in order to save space.

Column One - Building Numbers

Each building has been numbered according to the chronological order of its provision in the town concerned. Their numbers are prefixed by the first and last letters of the name of the town in which they were provided. Hence, the first building provided in Leeds is numbered LS1, the tenth building provided in Sheffield is numbered SD10, and so on.

Columns Two and Three - Start of Building and Completion Date

Where precise dates are given for the start and completion of a building, e.g. 17 Aug. 1835, 13 May 1837, the dates normally are those of the foundation or opening ceremonies. In most cases, however, the data available permit dating to particular months or years only.

A date prefixed by "pre", e.g. "pre-1376", indicates that the building existed in the year specified, but its precise dates of construction are unknown. For buildings erected c. 1750-1840 the date specified in these cases is almost certainly within ten years of the dates of construction, but for buildings of an earlier date the margin of error is likely to be much greater.

"C.P." standing for Converted Premises, indicates that existing

premises were converted or taken over to serve as a public building "C.P.?" is used in cases where although the premises were newly occupied it is not known whether they were converted or purpose-built. In both of these cases the date given in column three is the date when the premises were occupied. Occasionally, buildings were used for public purposes on a part-time basis, e.g. schoolrooms used for assemblies and balls; "C.P." is used in these cases also, but the temporary usage is shown by the location specified, e.g. "in the Grammar School".

Finally, the sources used often specify only one year as the construction date, e.g. "built 1802", "erected 1750", etc. Research has shown that it was rare for a public building to be completed within one calendar year; normally, where writers specify only one year it is the year of completion. In these cases the date is put in the Completion Date column, and is suffixed with the letter "s", e.g. 1755^s, to indicate that it was the sole date specified.

Column Four - Name of Building and its Location

Where details of the exact location of a building were readily accessible, they were obtained and are included in the Gazetteer. Since the prime criterion for the inclusion of a building in the Gazetteer was simply that it lay within the boundaries of the towns concerned, ascertaining the exact location was not considered to be of major importance.

Column Five - Function

In general the entries are self-explanatory. The denominations of places of worship are specified in this column.

Column Six - Size

This column presents a variety of information about the physical characteristics of the buildings. Details are given about the dimensions

and capacity of the buildings. Dimensions are given in terms of ground areas, number of storeys, and contemporary descriptions, e.g. "large", "small", etc. Ability to accommodate objects and people is measured in terms of numbers of dwelling units, stalls, shops, or simply the number of people that could be accommodated in the premises, for example, in the case of a church, "accom. 1600", or in the case of a school, "200 scholars".

Column Seven - Building Material (Bdg. Matl.)

S = stone; B = brick; W = wood

Usually, only the principal building material is specified. Where two types of material are given the principal material is listed first.

Column Eight - Source of Finance

Two broad categories of finance are distinguished: public sources and private sources. With respect to private sources, where possible, the main objective of the providers of the finance, i.e. benevolent or commercial, is also indicated.

Public Sources: County rates; Borough rates; Parish rates; Poor rates; Improvement rates (Impvmt. rates); Corporation funds (Corptn. funds); Parish funds; Parliamentary grant (Parl. grant); and Charity funds, i.e. the funds of a charitable trust.

Private Sources: Projects producing no remuneration or tangible reward for the providers - Benefactor/s; Donations; Subscribers/ Subscriptions (Subns.). Projects producing a tangible reward for the providers - Entrepreneur; Partnership; Shareholders/Shares, i.e. finance by a joint-stock company; Pew sales.

Where practicable, more specific details about the people or public bodies financing the buildings are given, e.g. "Benefactor - John Harrison"; "£50 shares", etc.

Column Nine - Cost of Land (£)

Sites for public buildings were either purchased, leased, or donated. This column records the mode of obtaining the site, where it is known, and purchase prices.

Column Ten - Cost of Building (£)

Often it is impossible to give a figure for the cost of the building alone because the figures available include the cost of site purchase. Equally, in some cases it is impossible to tell whether or not the available figures include the cost of site purchase. To identify these circumstances the figures are presented as follows:

£2,000 = £2,000 cost of building

£2,000¹ = £2,000 cost of building plus cost of site

£2,000^q = £2,000 cost of building, unknown whether cost of site included

For purpose-built premises, where no details of the actual cost have been found, estimates are presented: contemporary estimates are prefixed by "e", e.g. "e. 5,000"; and my estimates are prefixed by "E", e.g. "E. 200". Where it is probable that the costs given are understatements, they are suffixed by "+", e.g. "10,000+".

Sources

The sources of the information presented in the Gazetteer are noted at the end of the list of buildings for each town.

BARNSELY PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BY1	1493		Brookhouse's Almshouses (nr. Church Yard)		3 houses		Benefactor: Edmund Brookhouse		
BY2		16th C.	Parochial Chapel of St. Mary		Accom. 500				
BY3		pre 1622	The Moot Hall (Market Place)	Hall, over shops & prison, for public business and Quarter Sessions	2 storeys				
BY4		1660	The Grammar School (Kirkgate)	Children taught regardless of parental wealth			Benefactor:		
BY5	post 1657	c.1660	The Quaker Chapel						
BY6	1736		The Workhouse	Housing & employing the poor			Poor rate		90+
BY7	C.P.	1738	The Assembly Room (in the Free School)						
BY8		c.1769 ^s	The Free Grammar School rebuilt (Church St.)	100 boys & girls taught the 3 R'S	2 rooms 2 storeys		Donations		£. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BY9		1778 ^s	The Calvinist Chapel (nr. Sheffield Road)						E. 1,000
BY10		c.1800 ^s	The Methodist Chapel (Westgate)						E. 1,000
BY11		1813 ^s	The National School (Blucher St.)	Children of all religions taught	Accom. 300 6 rooms 1 storey		Charity funds & donations		1,500 ^q
BY12		1814 ^s	The Theatre (Wellington St.)						1,400 ^q
BY13		1816 ^s	The Quaker Chapel						E. 1,000
BY14	1820	July 1822	The Parochial Church of St. Mary - rebuilt	C/E	Accom. 1050 691 sq. yd.		Local rate		12,000 ^l
BY15	23. April 1821.	22. Oct 1822	St. George's Church (Pitt St.)	C/E	Accom. 1174		Parl. grant		5,743
BY16		1824 ^s	Primitive Methodist Chapel (Wilson's Piece)		"Small"				E. 1,000
BY17		1824	Roman Catholic Chapel		"Small"				E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BY18		1827 ^s	Salem Chapel	Independent					E. 1,000
BY19		1829 ^s	Wesleyan Association Chapel	Chapel with schoolroom beneath	Accom. 700 2 storeys				E. 2,000
BY20	C.P.?	pre 1829	The Town Prison						
BY21		1832 ^s	The Roman Catholic Chapel - enlarged		Accom. 600				
BY22		25 Sept 1834	The Court House (St. Mary's Gate)	Venue for Petty Sessions & courts leet			Poor rate & subns.		1,300 ^q
BY23		1835 ^s	The Wesleyan Chapel (Sheffield Road)		"Small"				E. 1,000
BY24	18 July 1836		The Oddfellows' Hall (Pitt St.)	Venue for the odd-fellows' "lodges"			£1 shares		1,100 ^q
BY25		1837 ^s	The Commercial Buildings (Church St.)	Commercial newsroom, reading room & library of the Mechanics' Institute & post office	2 storeys		£25 shares		1,500

Sources for Barnsley Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

- Barnsley - R. Jackson, The History of the Town and Township of Barnsley in Yorkshire from an Early Period (1858).
- End. Char. By. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities (England and Wales) - Report on Barnsley (in the Parish of Silkstone) (P.P. 1897, LXVII, pt. 6).

- BY1 End. Char. By. pp. 785-6.
- BY2 Barnsley p. 181.
- BY3 Ibid. pp. 127-8, 132-4.
- BY4 Ibid. p. 232; End. Char. By. pp. 783-4.
- BY5 Barnsley p. 219.
- BY6 Ibid. p. 135.
- BY7 Ibid. p. 126.
- BY8 W. White, 1837 D. p. 313; End. Char. By. p. 784.
- BY9 Barnsley p. 219.
- BY10 Ibid. p. 216.
- BY11 W. White, 1837 D. p. 313; End. Char. By. p. 786; Barnsley p. 227.
- BY12 W. White, 1837 D. p. 314.
- BY13 Barnsley p. 219.
- BY14 L.I. 8 July 1822; W. White, 1837 D. p. 312; Barnsley p. 181.
- BY15 W. White, 1837 D. p. 313; Barnsley pp. 210, 212.
- BY16 Barnsley p. 220.
- BY17 Ibid. p. 220.
- BY18 W. White, 1837 D. p. 313; Barnsley p. 220.
- BY19 Barnsley p. 220.
- BY20 L.I. 12 Nov. 1829.
- BY21 Barnsley p. 220.
- BY22 W. White, 1837 D. p. 312; W. S. Banks, Walks in Yorkshire (Wakefield, 1871), p. 363; Barnsley p. 135.
- BY23 W. White, 1837 D. p. 313.
- BY24 Ibid. p. 314.
- BY25 Leeds Mercury 11 June 1836; W. White, 1837 D. p. 314; Barnsley p. 137.

BRADFORD PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
BD1		pre 1277	Prison and Gallows						
BD2		1458	St. Peter's Church	Parish church	640 sq. yd.	S			
BD3		pre 1570	Hall of Pleas (Ivegate)	Courthouse for manorial courts, with shops and gaol beneath	2 storeys				
BD4	C.P.?	pre 1613	The Free School						
BD5		pre 1632	A Court House (Kirkgate)						
BD6		c.1670	The Quaker Meeting House						
BD7		1688 ^s	The Manor Court House (Westgate)						
BD8	1719	1720	The Unitarian Chapel (Chapel Lane)						340
BD9	post July 1738	c.1738	The Workhouse				Poor rate		e.360

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
ED10		c.1755 ^s	The Baptist Chapel (Westgate)		"Small"				E. 300
ED11	C.P.	1755	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (The Cockpit)						
BD12	1765	1766	The Octagon (Great Horton Lane)	Methodist chapel	324 sq. yd.			Leased	997
ED13		1773 ^s	The Piece Hall	Market for worsted cloth	258 rooms 576 sq. yd. 2 storeys	B	Subs.: merchants, clothiers, woolstaplers		E. 4,000
ED14		c.1775	The Debtors' Prison	Prisoners of the Court of Requests for Halifax & surrounding area	5 rooms				E. 300
BD15	C.P.	c.1780	A Lunatic Asylum (Cliffe Wood)		A house				
ED16		1780 ^s	The Independent Chapel (Little Horton Lane)						E. 1,000
ED17		1782 ^s	Westgate Chapel	Baptist					E. 500
ED18	C.P.	c.1788	The Subscription Library						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BD19	C.P.?	pre 1793	The Assembly Room (at the Talbot Inn)						
BD20		c.1794	The Market Place and Shambles (adj. New St.)		"Commodious"				E. 3,000
BD21		pre 1801	The Town Prison (s. of Sun Bridge)		"Small"				
BD22	C.P.	1806	The School of Industry						
BD23	C.P.	1806	The Baptist College						
BD24	April 1808	April 1809	The Methodist Chapel (Low Moor)		"Spacious"				1,000+ (E. 2,000)
BD25	1811	12 May 1811	Kirkgate Methodist Chapel		Accom. 1400		Donations	2,500	6,500
BD26		1811 ^s	The Quaker Meeting House (site of old chapel)						E. 2,000
BD27		12 Oct 1815	Christ Church (Darley St.)	C/E	Accom. 1300		Subns.		5,400 ^a

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BD28		1817 ^s	Westgate Chapel - enlargement	Baptist					1,050 ^q
BD29		1820 ^s	The Grammar School (North Parade)		Accom. 50				E. 2,000
BD30		1821 ^s	The School of Industry (Northgate)	Girls taught to sew and knit	Accom. 60			Gift	E. 1,000
BD31	C.P.?	pre 1822	A Subscription Library (Kirkgate)						
BD32	C.P.?	pre 1822.	A Circulating Library (Market St.)						
BD33	12 Apr. 1823	21 Nov 1823	Bradford Moor Chapel	Methodist					E. 1,000
ED34	1823	5 May 1824	Sion Chapel (Bridge St.)	Baptist			Subns.	Gift	E. 1,000
BD35		1823 ^s	Methodist Sunday School (School St.)						
BD36	16 Apr 1824	2 Sept 1825	Eastbrook Chapel (Leeds Road)	Methodist	Accom. 1500			1,050	7,000 ^q

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BD37		16 Sept 1824	The New Market Place	2 bazaars, butchers' shops, 2 butter crosses			Lord of Manor		E. 10,000
BD38		Nov 1824	Primitive Methodist Chapel (Manchester Road)		Accom. 1200			700	1,600
BD39		1824 ^s	The Roman Catholic Chapel (Stott Hill)						c.2,000 ^q
BD40		1825 ^s	The Quaker Meeting House - enlargement		Accom. 1400				
BD41	C.P.	1825	The Dispensary (High St.)						
BD42	29 May 1826	1827	The Dispensary (Darley St.)	Medical treatment given to outpatients				1,500	2,000
BD43		1826 ^s	Christ Church - enlargement (Darley St.)	C/E					
BD44	3 Feb 1827	Dec 1829	The Exchange Buildings	Newsroom, subscription library & assembly/lecture room			£25 shares		7,000+ ¹

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BD45		1828 ^s	The Parish Church Sunday School				Donations		c.1,000 ^q
BD46	C.P.?	pre 1830	Overseers' Office (Tyrrel Court)						
ED47	C.P.?	pre 1830	Vagrancy Office (Tyrrel Court)						
BD48	C.P.?	pre 1830	The Post Office (Bridge St.)						
BD49	20 June 1831	1834	Airedale Independent College (Undercliffe)	College for training Independent ministers					E. 8,000
BD50		1831 ^s	The National School (Westgate)	Belonging to Christ Church, for boys and girls	Accom. 150		Donations & Nat. Soc. grant		1,000 ^l
BD51		1831 ^s	The British and Infants' School (Chapel St., Leeds Road)	200 boys, 150 girls and 130 infants taught	Accom. 480		Subns.	Gift	2,300
BD52		1833 ^s	Parish Church - restored						1,800

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BD53		1834 ^s	The Court House	Court room for Quarter and Petty Sessions, & Vagrancy Office			Donations & County Rate		6,231 ^q
BD54		Feb 1836	Salem Chapel	Independent					5,000 ^q
BD55		Dec 1836	The Baptist Chapel (Prospect St.)	General Baptist					E. 1,000
BD56	31 Oct 1836	1838	St. James' Church.	C/E			Benefactor: John Wood		14,000 ^l
BD57		1836 ^s	Christ Church - enlargement	C/E	Accom. 1300				
BD58		1837 ^s	The Station House (Hall Ings)	For Commissioners under the Lighting & Watching Act. Housed nightly watch, fire engines, & office					c.1,500 ^l
BD59		1837 ^s	The Odd Fellows' Hall (Thornton Road)	For meetings of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows					3,000 ^l

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BE60	.	1837 ^s	The Temperance Hall (Leeds Road)	Temperance Society meetings			Donations & shares		c.1,400 ^q
BE61		June 1838	Wesley Associationist Chapel (Bridge St.)		Accom. 600				1,500 ^t
BE62		1838 ^s	White Abbey Chapel	Methodist	Accom. 750				1,750 ^q
BD63	1 April 1839		The Mechanics' Institute (Leeds New Road)	Lecture theatre and library			Subns.	635	2,665
BD64		1839 ^s	A Chapel (High St.)	Associated with Aire-dale Independent College			Subns.		3,000 ^q
BD65		1839	New Connexion Methodist Chapel (Bowling Lane)		Accom. 1000			700	1,800
BD66		1839 ^s	The Centenary Chapel.	Methodist	Accom. 400				1,250
BD67		1839 ^s	Roman Catholic Chapel - enlargement (Stott Hill)						2,000 ^q
BD68	1839	27 Sept 1840	St. John's Church (Manchester Road)	C/E	Accom. 1150		Benefactor: J. Bertham		4,000 ^l

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
BD69	C.P.?	pre 1841	Southcottian Chapel (off Manchester Road)						
BD70		pre 1841	The Gospel Pilgrims' Chapel (Spring St.)		Accom. 500				
BD71		pre 1841	The National School	Associated with St. James' Church					
BD72		pre 1841	The Court of Requests Court House (Darley St.)		"Commodious"		Commissioners of Court of Requests		
BD73	1840		The Infirmary and Dispensary (Westgate)		Accom. 60				c.6,100

Sources for Bradford Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

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(1841).
- End. Char. Bd. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities
(England and Wales) - Report on the County Borough
of Bradford (P.P. 1894, LXIV).
- B.C.R. - Bradford City Reference Library and Archives.

- BD1 Bradford pp. 49-50.
- BD2 Ibid. pp. 189,202.
- BD3 Ibid. pp. 105, 113, 297.
- BD4 Ibid. p. 116.
- BD5 B.C.R. 15D74/Box 1/Case 7/1.
- BD6 Bradford p. 236.
- BD7 Ibid. pp. 298-9.
- BD8 Ibid. p. 226.
- BD9 Ibid. pp. 153-4.
- BD10 Ibid. pp. 229-30.
- BD11 Ibid. p. 233; W. W. Stamp, Historical Notices of Wesleyan Methodism in Bradford and its Vicinity (Bradford, c.1840), pp. 36-7.
- BD12 Bradford p. 233; W. W. Stamp, op. cit. p. 44.
- BD13 B.C.R.: Deed Box 30 case 31, An estimate of the cost of building dated April 1773; Deed Box 6 case 5, Bond of indemnity signed by subscribers to the hall dated 11 Aug. 1774; Bradford pp. 271-2, 285, 291; H. Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries (Oxford, 1965), p. 297. Additional information in J. W. Turner, "The Bradford Piece Halls", Bradford Antiquary I, (1888), pp. 135-9.
- BD14 J. H. Turner, Wakefield House of Correction (1904), p. 112.
- BD15 Bradford p. 294.
- BD16 Ibid. pp. 227-8.
- BD17 Ibid. pp. 229-30.
- BD18 Ibid. pp. 251-2.
- BD19 L.I. 9 Jan. 1792,
- BD20 Bradford p. 295.
- BD21 Ibid. pp. 287-8.
- BD22 Ibid. pp. 260-1.
- BD23 Ibid. p. 231.
- BD24 W. W. Stamp, op. cit. pp. 87-9.
- BD25 Ibid. pp. 89-92.
- BD26 Bradford p. 236.

- BD27 Ibid. p. 222; W. White, 1853 D. p. 415; J. Mayhall, The Annals of Yorkshire (Leeds, 1865), p. 255.
- BD28 Bradford pp. 229-30.
- BD29 Ibid. p. 243.
- BD30 W. Parsons and W. White, 1830 D. p. 224 ; Bradford pp. 260-1.
- BD31 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 148.
- BD32 Ibid. p. 148.
- BD33 Bradford p. 235; W. W. Stamp, op. cit. p. 101.
- BD34 Bradford pp. 229-30.
- BD35 W. W. Stamp, op. cit. p. 102.
- BD36 L.I. 15 April 1824; Bradford p. 234; W. W. Stamp, op. cit. pp. 102-3; End. Char. Bd. pp. 78-9.
- BD37 Bradford p. 295.
- BD38 Ibid. p. 235.
- BD39 Ibid. p. 237.
- BD40 Ibid. p. 236.
- BD41 Ibid. pp. 258-9.
- BD42 Ibid. pp. 258-9; J. Mayhall, op. cit. pp. 326-7.
- BD43 Bradford p. 222; W. White, 1853 D. p. 415.
- BD44 L.I. 17 Dec. 1829; Bradford pp. 251-2; J. Mayhall, op. cit. p. 329.
- BD45 Bradford p. 261.
- BD46 W. Parsons and W. White, 1830 D. p. 224.
- BD47 Ibid. p. 224.
- BD48 Ibid. p. 224.
- BD49 Bradford pp. 228-9; J. Mayhall, op. cit. pp. 375-6.
- BD50 Bradford p. 260.
- BD51 Ibid. p. 260.
- BD52 Ibid. p. 207.
- BD53 Leeds Mercury 21 May 1836; Bradford pp. 260, 291.
- BD54 Bradford p. 228.

- BD55 Ibid. p. 231.
- BD56 Ibid. pp. 222-3.
- BD57 Ibid. p. 222.
- BD58 Ibid. p. 292.
- BD59 Ibid. p. 265.
- BD60 Ibid. pp. 291-2.
- BD61 Ibid. p. 235.
- BD62 W. W. Stamp, op. cit. p. 124.
- BD63 Bradford pp. 248-50.
- BD64 Ibid. pp. 228-9.
- BD65 Ibid. p. 235.
- BD66 Ibid. p. 235; W. W. Stamp, op. cit. p. 124.
- BD67 Bradford p. 237.
- BD68 Ibid. p. 223; W. White, 1853 D. p. 415.
- BD69 Bradford p. 236.
- BD70 Ibid. p. 235.
- BD71 Ibid. p. 260.
- BD72 Ibid. p. 295.
- BD73 Ibid. pp. 258-9.

DONCASTER PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR1		11th C.	St. George's Church	Parish church					
DR2		Middle Ages	The Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen						
DR3		pre 1508	The Guild Hall or Moot Hall (Fisher Gate)	Venue for meetings of the corptn. & local guilds					
DR4	C.P.	1557	The Town Hall (in chancel and nave of ruined Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen in Market Place)	Court house for W.R. & borough magistrates' sessions, corporation courts, & public business. Shops beneath		S	Corptn. funds		
DR5		1558	The Hospital of St. Thomas the Apostle (St. Sepulchre Gate)	Almshouse for 6 poor men & women			Benefactor: Thos. Ellis		
DR6		pre 1579	The Shambles	Butchers' shops & stalls			Corptn. funds		
DR7	C.P.	1575	The Grammar School (under the Town Hall) in the Magdalens	Free school for sons of freemen of the borough		S	Benefactors & corptn. funds		

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR8	.	pre 1586	The Prison						
DR9	.	pre 1606	The Butcher Cross						
DR10	.	pre 1648	The Almshouses (Fisher Gate)						
DR11	.	1704 ^s	The Presbyterian Chapel	Unitarian					E. 300
DR12	.	1720	The Corporation Almshouses (Church Gate)	For 6 poor people			Corptn. funds		E. 150
DR13	C.P.	1721	A Temporary Workhouse (the Town Hall)	Setting the poor to work till a more convenient place could be found					
DR14	C.P.	14 April 1725	A Library (a room over south porch of parish church)	Included books on religion			Subns.		
DR15	C.P.?	pre 1728	The Town Gaol (St. Sepulchre Gate)		2 storeys				

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR16	C.P.	1730	The House of Maintenance (St. Sepulchre Gate)	Workhouse			Corptn. funds, poor rate, donations		200+
DR17	1745	1748	The Mansion House (High St.)	Corporation assembly rooms & mayor's residence		S	Corptn. funds	170	8,000
DR18		pre 1755	The Toll House (Market Place)						
DR19	Aug 1756	1756	The New Shambles and Cross (Market Place)				Corptn. funds		550
DR20	1768	1769	The Town Gaol (St. Sepulchre Gate)	Corporation gaol for felons & debtors	4 rooms 2 storeys		Corptn. funds		81
DR21	28 April 1775	May 1776	The Theatre (New St.)	Theatre with shops beneath		B	Corptn. funds		1,577
DR22	1777	1778	The Grand Stand	Race course grandstand	Accom. 1200		Corptn. funds		E.2,000
DR23	1779		The Gaol (St. Sepulchre Gate)	Prison for felons & debtors	4 rooms 2 storeys		Corptn. funds		E. 300
DR24	1784		The Town Hall - partially rebuilt				Corptn. funds		280

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR25	1793	1794	The Public Dispensary	Free medical treatment to poor people			Corptn. funds		660
DR26	C.P.?	pre 1798	The News Room				Corptn. funds		
DR27	C.P.	1798	The Quaker Meeting House (West Laithgate, formerly a barn)		Accom. 200				
DR28	C.P.	1799	The School of Industry	30 poor girls taught "such things as suit their station"			Donations & subns.		
DR29	1801	1801	The Mansion House - enlarged	Front beautified & another storey added		S	Corptn. funds		950
DR30		17 Oct 1804	The Independent Chapel (Hallgate?)		Accom. 600				2,090 ^q
DR31	1804		Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (Spring Gardens)					220	E. 1,000
DR32	1805		The Mansion House - alteration	New dining room			Corptn. funds		180+
DR33	1805	1805	Judges' and Stewards' Stand (The Race Course)				Corptn. funds		E. 300

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR34	1808		The School of Industry (adj. the Dispensary)	Poor girls lodged & trained in "suitable" subjects	Accom. 40	B	Corptn. funds		800
DR35	C.F.	c.1811	The English School (part of the Grammar School premises)	Boys taught English			Corptn. funds		
DR36	1812		The Public Baths (near Friars Bridge)				Entrepreneurs	Leased	E. 2,000
DR37		1814	Stocks' Almshouses (Factory Lane)	For 3 poor women	3 tenements		Corptn. funds		250
DR38	1815	1815	The Theatre - enlarged	New entrance, reception rooms, stairs, etc.			Corptn. funds		e.782
DR39	14 May 1816	1817	The National School (West Louth Gate)	200 boys & 160 girls taught	Accom. 360		Donations & corptn. funds		650 ^q
DR40	1819	1819 ^s	The Vagrancy Office and Lodging House (adj. Workhouse)	Reception of beggars	5 rooms		Donations & corptn. funds		e.200

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR41	1820	6 April 1821	The Newsroom and Public Library (High St.)	Subscription library & newsroom	2 storeys		£20 shares. Corptn. was a shareholder	500	E. 3,000
DR42		1821 ^s	The New Connexion Methodist Chapel		"Large"				1,400 ^q
DR43	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Post Office (High St.)						
DR44		1822 ^s	The Congregational Chapel						400 ^q
DR45	1823	1823	The Publicans' Booths (The Race Course)	42 booths for the sale of alcohol			Corptn. funds		E. 1,000
DR46	1824	1824	The Grand Stand - enlarged (The Race Course)				Corptn. funds		
DR47		7 Sept 1827	The Betting Rooms (High St.)	Gaming room	100 sq. yd.	S			E. 2,500
DR48	9 Oct 1827	26 June 1829	Christ Church	C/E	Accom. 1000 540 sq. yd.		Benefactor: John Jarratt	Gift	10,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR49	1828		The Town Hall - enlarged (Market Place)	Improved accommodation for judicial business & a small gaol provided beneath			Corp'tn. funds		
DR50	27 April 1829		The Gaol for the Borough and Soke of Doncaster	All types of prisoners including those from the Court of Requests			Corp'tn. funds	700	2,300
DR51	C.P.	1829	The Yorkshire Institution for the Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Children (Eastfield House - originally a grandstand)		Large house				Conversion Cost: 500
DR52	1831		The Mansion House - enlarged	Additional saloon, household offices, etc.			Corp'tn. funds		4,000
DR53		pre 1832	The Bethel Chapel (Lower Fishgate)	Wesleyan	"Small"				
DR54	28 June 1832	17 July 1833	Priory Place Wesleyan Chapel						2,977 ^a
DR55	C.P.	1832	The British School	Boys and girls taught					
DR56	C.P.	11 Sept 1833	Catholic Chapel (Prince's St.)		Accom. 150				

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
DR57	C.P.	Dec 1834	The Lyceum (upper rooms of building in Hallgate)	Literary & scientific institution with museum & library					
DR58		1835 ^s	The British School	Boys & girls taught	Accom. 320				600 ^q
DR59		pre 1837	Primitive Methodist Chapel (Hallgate)		"Small"				
DR60	C.P.	pre 1837	The Mechanics' Library (in Town Hall)						
DR61	C.P.?	pre 1837	The Post Office (Priory Place)						
DR62	C.P.?	pre 1837	The Lying-in-Hospital				Donations		
DR63	1838	7 Sept 1839	Doncaster Union Workhouse						4,602

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- DR1 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 167.
- DR2 Doncaster Notices II, p. 379.
- DR3 Doncaster Notices II, p. 2; Calendar pp. 229, 233 - Courtiers IV, pp. 26, 55; also Calendar p. viii.
- DR4 W. White, 1837 D. p. 275; Doncaster Notices II, pp. 379-82.
- DR5 End. Char. Dr. p. 107.
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- DR7 Doncaster Notices II, p. 381; End. Char. Dr. pp. 107, 114.
- DR8 Doncaster Notices III, p. 168.
- DR9 Calendar p. 71 - Courtiers I, fo. 184 dors.
- DR10 Doncaster Notices III, p. 197.
- DR11 W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
- DR12 Doncaster Notices I, p. 280; Calendar pp. 185, 187 - Courtiers III, pp. 578, 586.
- DR13 Calendar p. 185 - Courtiers III, p. 577.
- DR14 Ibid. p. 198 - Courtiers III, p. 651.
- DR15 Ibid. p. 207 - Courtiers III, p. 666; p. 239 - Courtiers IV, p. 86.
- DR16 Ibid. pp. 207-8 - Courtiers III, pp. 678, 683, 688; p. 293 - Courtiers V, pp. 325-6.
- DR17 W. White, 1837 D. pp. 272, 275; Calendar pp. 212-13, 216-21 - Courtiers III, pp. 721, 728, 755-7, 767, 781, 787-8.
- DR18 Calendar p. 225 - Courtiers IV, p. 3.
- DR19 Ibid. pp. 227-8 - Courtiers IV, pp. 9-11, 23.
- DR20 Ibid. p. 239 - Courtiers IV, pp. 81-2, 86; Doncaster Notices III, pp. 167-9.
- DR21 W. White, 1837 D. p. 281; Doncaster Notices III, pp. 156-7, 428.
- DR22 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 169; L.I. 23 Sept. 1822; W. White, 1837 D. pp. 273-4, 276-7; Calendar pp. 248-9 - Courtiers IV, pp. 137, 144.
- DR23 Doncaster Notices III, p. 169; Calendar p. 250 - Courtiers IV, p. 145.
- DR24 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 168; Calendar p. 253 - Courtiers IV, p. 167.

- DR25 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 168; W. White, 1837 D. pp. 274, 282; Calendar pp. 259-60 - Courtiers IV, pp. 192, 195-6.
- DR26 Calendar p. 262 - Courtiers IV, p. 210.
- DR27 H. E. C. Stapleton, ed. A Skilful Master Builder (York, 1975), p. 11.
- DR28 Doncaster Notices I, pp. 321, 323-5; Calendar p. 264 - Courtiers IV, p. 218.
- DR29 W. White, 1837 D. p. 275; Calendar p. 265 - Courtiers IV, p. 222; H. E. C. Stapleton, op. cit. pp. 11, 37.
- DR30 W. White, 1837 D. p. 279; Doncaster Notices II, p. 349.
- DR31 Doncaster Notices II, p. 448.
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- DR34 Doncaster Notices I. pp. 323-5; Calendar pp. 274, 282 - Courtiers IV, pp. 275, 348.
- DR35 Calendar p. 276 - Courtiers IV, p. 295.
- DR36 Ibid. pp. 278, 282 - Courtiers IV, pp. 308, 343.
- DR37 End. Char. Dr. pp. 109-10; Calendar p. 279 - Courtiers IV, p. 317.
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- DR39 W. White, 1837 D. p. 280; Doncaster Notices II, pp. 361-2; End. Char. Dr. p. 144.
- DR40 Doncaster Notices I, p. 269; II, p. 439.
- DR41 W. White, 1837 D. p. 281; Doncaster Notices II, p. 330; III, p.60; Calendar pp. 286, 288 - Courtiers IV, pp. 382, 400.
- DR42 W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
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- DR47 W. White, 1837 D. p. 275; Doncaster Notices II, p. 330.
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- DR49 W. White, 1837 D. p. 275; H. E. C. Stapleton, op. cit. pp. 46-7.

- DR50 W. White, 1837 D. p. 275; Doncaster Notices III, pp. 170-1.
- DR51 W. White, 1837 D. p. 280.
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- DR57 W. White, 1837 D. p. 281.
- DR58 Ibid. p. 280.
- DR59 Ibid. p. 279.
- DR60 Ibid. p. 281.
- DR61 Ibid. p. 282.
- DR62 Ibid. p. 282.
- DR63 Doncaster Notices I, pp. 309-10.

HALIFAX PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX1	.	pre 1443	The Moote Hall	Residence of Lord of Manor					
HX2	c.1447		St. John's Church (s.e. end of town)	Halifax parish church	1280 sq. yd.	S			
HX3		pre 1567	Lee Courte House or Lee Mote Hall	Manorial court house					
HX4	C.P.?	1599	Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth (Skircoat)				Benefactors: The Savile family		
HX5		pre 1609	The Shambles						
HX6		1610 ^s	Hopkinson's and Crowther's Almshouses and School (near Parish Church)	Residence for 18 widows, & charity school	20 rooms		Benefactors: E. Hopkinson & J. Crowther		
HX7		pre 1616	The Wollen Hall and Lynnen Hall	2 houses used for the sale of cloth					
HX8	C.P.?	pre 1635	The Workhouse	Housed and set the poor to work	Large house		Benefactor: Nathaniel Waterhouse		

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX9	C.P.	pre 1642	Waterhouse's Almshouses (Causey-Head)	Housed 12 poor widows	12 houses		Benefactor: Nathaniel Waterhouse		
HX10		1642	The Blue Coat School	For habitation, maintenance, employment & training of orphans	82 sq. yd. 20 scholars 2 storeys		Benefactor: Nathaniel Waterhouse		
HX11		1662	The Manor of Wakefield's Debtors' Prison		2 storeys		Duke of Leeds		
HX12	C.P.?	8 July 1688	The Dissenting Chapel (Northowram)						
HX13		1693 ^s	The Puritan School (Northowram)		6 scholars				
HX14		1699 ^s	Northgate Chapel	Presbyterian chapel			Donations		£. 300
HX15		c.1700 ^s	The Cloth Hall (upper end of town)	Market for undrest cloth	"Spacious"		Entrepreneur: Lord of Manor		£. 500
HX16	C.P. 1700	c.1700	The Sessions House (in converted workhouse building)	Venue of W.R.Quarter Sessions			Charity funds		
HX17	C.P.	c.1720	The Workhouse - re-established (in original building)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
HX18		pre 1726	Smyth's Charity School	6 boys or girls taught			Benefactor: John Smyth		E. 100
HX19		c.1750 ^s	The Anabaptist Chapel (Pellon Lane)						E. 300
HX20		1752 ^s	The Wesleyan Chapel (nr. South Parade)	Methodist chapel					300
HX21		1752 ^s	The Methodist Meeting House (Church Lane)		"Spacious"				300
HX22	C.P.	1769	The Subscription Library						
HX23	1771	1772	The Square Chapel	Independent Dissenter	"Large"	B			2,000+
HX24		pre 1775	The Cross (The Market Place)						
HX25		1775	A Court Room	Venue of W.R. Quarter Sessions					E. 500
HX26	1775	Dec 1778	The Piece Hall (Price's Square)	Market for woollen cloth	315 rooms 10,000 sq. yd. 3 storeys	S	Subns.: Merchants & clothiers	Gift	12,000+

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX27		1777	The Methodist Chapel (South Parade)		Accom. 3000				E. 3,000
HX28		1788 ^s	The Theatre (Ward's End)		"Small"		Subns.		E. 1,000
HX29	1795	1798	Trinity Church (w. of town)	C/E			Donations		E. 9,000
HX30		1798 ^s	Methodist New Connexion Chapel (North Parade)						E. 500
HX31	C.P.	1807	The Dispensary (Causey-Head)	Medical treatment to out-patients			Donations & subns.		
HX32	1810		New Market Place and Shambles	Meat shambles, market & shops		B	£50 shares		E. 7,000
HX33	1812	1813	Waterhouse's Almshouses - rebuilt	Housed 12 poor widows					E. 600
HX34	G.P.?	pre 1814	The Assembly Rooms (adj. Talbot Inn)						
HX35		1815 ^s	The National School (nr. Trinity Church)		Accom. 400	B	Donations		E. 700

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX36		1815 ^s	Salem Chapel (North Parade)	New Connexion Methodist		S			E. 2,000
HX37		1818 ^s	The Lancasterian School (Albion St.)	Boys & girls taught	Accom. 350		Donations		E. 700
HX38	C.P.?	pre 1819	Southcottian Chapel (Wade St.)	Chapel for followers of Johanna Southcote					
HX39	10 May 1819	1819 ^s	Sion Chapel (Wade St.)	Independent		S			6,000+ ^q
HX40	C.P.?	c.1819 ^s	The Court of Requests and Sessions House (Union St.)	Court house for W.R. & manorial business					
HX41		1821 ^s	Smyth's Charity School - rebuilt (King St.)		10 scholars		School funds & donations		100
HX42	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Police Office (Copper St.)						
HX43	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Post Office (Westgate)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX44	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Magistrates' Office (Ward's End)	Office of W.R. Magistrates for Petty Sessions & business					
HX45		pre 1822	The Baths (south of town)	Cold, warm, swimming, shower & vapour baths					E. 2,000
HX46	C.P.?	pre 1822	Newsroom and Subscription Library (Ward's End)		2 storeys				
HX47		1822 ^s	Ebenezer Chapel (Cabbage Lane)	Primitive Methodist		S			E. 1,000
HX48	1823	1825	The New Rooms (Harrison Lane)	Subscription library, newsroom, billiard room, & assembly rooms			Subns.		E. 4,000
HX49	C.P.?	1823	Newsroom and Subscription Library (Old Cock Yd.)						
HX50	C.P.	1825	Subscription Newsroom						
HX51	c.1828		The Court of Requests (Harrison Lane)	Court Room & debtors' prison for prisoners committed by Court of Requests	"Large"		Commissioners of Court of Requests		E. 3,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX52	3 Mar 1829	Nov 1829	Wesley Chapel (Broad St.)						4,000 ^q
HX53	25 Mar 1830	1831	St. James' Church	C/E	Accom. 1206	S	Parl. grant & donations		4,122 ^q (Stone a gift)
HX54	16 May 1834		Literary and Philosophical Society Hall (Harrison Lane)	Lecture room, museum, etc.	2 storeys	S			E. 2,500
HX55	1 Oct 1834	1835	Hanover Chapel (King Cross Lane)	Methodist New Connexion					E. 1,000
HX56		1835 ^s	Baptist Chapel (Pellon Lane)						1,600 ^q
HX57		pre 1836	Manor of Wakefield Gaol (adj. Duke of Leeds Inn)	Manor of Wakefield's debtors' prison					
HX58		pre 1836	Quaker Meeting House (Ward's End)						
HX59	C.P.?	pre 1837	Baptist Chapel (Haley Hill)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HX60	21. Sept 1836		Halifax Infirmary and Dispensary (Blackwall)	Medical treatment for both in- and out- patients			Dispensary's trust funds & subns.		7,500 ^q
HX61		1836 ^s	Independent Chapel (Harrison Road)						3,000 ^q
HX62	20 Sept 1836	1837	The Catholic Chapel (Gibbet St.)		460 sq. yd.				2,400 ^q
HX63	1837		The General Cemetery				£5 shares		2,500 ^l
HX64	1837	1838	Halifax Union Workhouse		Accom. 420				10,000 ^q
HX65		1840	The Odd Fellows' Hall						1,000

Sources for Halifax Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

- Antiquities - J. Watson, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax in Yorkshire (1775).
- History - J. Crabtree, A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax, in the County of York (Halifax, 1836).
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- Hx. Antiq. Soc. - Halifax Antiquarian Society Papers.

- HX1 History p. 324.
- HX2 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 184; W. White, 1837 D. p. 400.
- HX3 L.C.A. TN/HX/69 and 71 Deed dated 31 Jan. 1566/7.
- HX4 Transcript of Letters Patent dated 1585 in Antiquities pp. 684-91.
- HX5 L.C.A. TN/HX/A160 Deed dated 1609.
- HX6 Antiquities pp. 583, 589; History p. 181.
- HX7 L.C.A. TN/HX/A208(a) Lease dated 1 Mar. 1614/15.
- HX8 Letters Patent establishing Waterhouse's Charity dated 14 Sept. 1635 - transcript in Antiquities pp. 592-606.
- HX9 Will of Nathaniel Waterhouse, 1 July 1642 - transcript in Antiquities pp. 609-15.
- HX10 Ibid. pp. 609-15.
- HX11 J. H. Turner, Wakefield House of Correction (1904), p. 115.
- HX12 History p. 85.
- HX13 Ibid. p. 140.
- HX14 End. Char. Hx. p. 414; History pp. 339-40.
- HX15 History p. 304.
- HX16 Antiquities pp. 628-34.
- HX17 Ibid. pp. 628-34.
- HX18 Will of John Smyth dated 1726 - transcript in Antiquities pp. 642-5.
- HX19 History p. 340.
- HX20 Ibid. p. 340.
- HX21 E. Baines, 1822 D. pp. 186-7; History p. 142.
- HX22 History p. 355.
- HX23 Ibid. p. 343.
- HX24 Antiquities p. 203.
- HX25 W.R.Q.S. Gen. Index, Brad. July 1775, EE122.
- HX26 L.I. 31 Jan. 1775; W. White, 1837 D. p. 399; History pp. 357-8. Additional information in J. H. Ogden, "Building the Piece Hall", Hx. Antiq. Soc. (1904), pp. 187-94; anon, "The Halifax Piece Hall", Hx. Antiq. Soc. (1921), pp. 169-208;

R. Bretton, "The Square and the Piece Hall, Halifax", Hx. Antiq. Soc. (1961), pp. 67-78.

- HX27 History p. 340.
- HX28 History p. 346; W. White, 1837 D. p. 403. Additional information in A. Porritt, "The Old Halifax Theatre", Hx. Antiq. Soc. (1956), pp. 17-30.
- HX29 History pp. 17, 338; W. White, 1837 D. p. 401.
- HX30 History p. 343.
- HX31 Ibid. pp. 344-6.
- HX32 An Act for Regulating the New Market Place at Halifax, Acts Local and Personal, ; History pp. 333-4, 356-7.
- HX33 W. White, 1837 D. p. 402.
- HX34 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 187; J. Mayhall, The Annals of Yorkshire (Leeds, 1865), pp. 245-6.
- HX35 History p. 344; W. White, 1837 D. p. 402.
- HX36 History p. 343.
- HX37 Ibid. p. 344.
- HX38 Ibid. p. 343.
- HX39 Ibid. p. 343; J. Mayhall, op. cit. p. 277.
- HX40 History p. 356; R. Bretton, "Halifax Courts of Justice", Hx. Antiq. Soc. (1951), pp. 57-61.
- HX41 W. White, 1837 D. p. 402.
- HX42 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 187.
- HX43 Ibid. p. 188.
- HX44 Ibid. p. 187; History pp. 322, 356; R. Bretton, op. cit. (1951), pp. 57-61.
- HX45 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 187; History p. 358.
- HX46 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 187.
- HX47 History p. 344.
- HX48 L.I. 13 Mar. 1823, 19 May 1825; History pp. 347-8.
- HX49 W. White, 1837 D. p. 403.
- HX50 History p. 356.

- HX51 W. White, 1837 D. p. 395; R. Eccles, "Notes on Halifax Gaols", Hx. Antiq. Soc. (1922), pp. 89-104.
- HX52 L.I. 29 Oct. 1829; History pp. 340-3.
- HX53 History p. 339; J. Mayhall, op. cit. p. 359; W. White, 1837 D. p. 401.
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- HX55 Ibid. p. 343.
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- HX57 History pp. 59-60; W. White, 1837 D. p. 394.
- HX58 History p. 340.
- HX59 W. White, 1837 D. p. 401.
- HX60 Ibid. pp. 402-3.
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- HX63 W. White, 1837 D. p. 401.
- HX64 W. White, 1853 D. p. 547.
- HX65 Ibid. p. 551.

HUDDERSFIELD PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD1		1506	St. Peter's Church	Parish church					
HD2	C.P.?	1563	The Grammar School (Almondbury)						
HD3	C.P.?	1608	King James' Free Grammar School (Almondbury)						
HD4	post 1671	c.1672	The Market Cross				Lord of Manor		
HD5	1765	9 Dec 1766	The Cloth Hall	Market for cloth	Accom. 2000 clothiers 1 storey	S	Lord of Manor		E. 2,500
HD6	1770		Fartown Grammar School (Fartown)	Boys & girls taught "Religious and useful knowledge"			Subns.		304
HD7		1771	The Independent Chapel (Highfield)	Congregational					E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD8		1775 ^s	Old Bank Chapel (Buxton Road)	Methodist	"Small"	B			E. 500
HD9		1780 ^s	The Cloth Hall - enlarged	Upper storey added			Lord of Manor		
HD10	C.P.	pre 1791	The Concert Room (at the George Inn)						
HD11		1801 ^s	The Methodist Chapel (predecessor of Queen St. Chapel)		"Small"				E. 1,000
HD12	C.P.	1807	The Subscription Library (at Mr. Brock's in Westgate)						
HD13	C.P.	1814	The Dispensary						
HD14	1814	1815	A Methodist Chapel (High St.)	Methodist New Con- nexion	Accom. 700				4,000 ^g

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD15	C.P.?	1816	The Theatre (Kirkgate)		"Large barn"				
HD16	1817	10 Oct 1819	Trinity Church (Greenhead)	C/E	Accom. 1500		Benefactor: B. H. Allen		12,000 ^q
HD17	29 May 1819	1819 ^s	Queen St. Chapel	Methodist	Accom. 2400 816 sq. yd.				8,000 ^q
HD18	3 Sept 1819	1819 ^s	The National School (Seed Hill)	150 boys and 130 girls taught	Accom. 280			Leased	1,000
HD19	c. 1821	pre Sept 1822	The New Concert Room						
HD20	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Quaker Meeting House (the Paddock)						
HD21	C.P.?	pre 1823	The Riding School						
HD22	24 July 1823	Oct 1825	Christ Church (Woodhouse)	C/E	Accom. 600		Benefactor: J. Whitacre		6,000 ^q

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD23	14 July 1824	28 Dec 1825	Ramsden Street Chapel	Independent	Accom. 1250		Donations		6,000 ^q
HD24	C.P.	April 1825	The Mechanics' Institute						
HD25		1825 ^s	Trinity Church - enlarged (Greenhead)	C/E			Parl. grant		1,000
HD26		1825 ^s	The Court House	Venue of Court of Requests & Petty Sessions			Parl. funds		E. 4,000
HD27	C.P.?	pre 1826	The Post Office (near Castlegate)						
HD28	C.P.?	pre 1827	The Post Office (the Shambles)						
HD29	C.P.?	pre 1827	The Prison						
HD30	C.P.?	pre 1827	The Commercial Buildings						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD31		1827 ^s	Lockwood Spa Baths (s. of town)	Swimming, cold, tepid, warm, vapour & shower baths					E. 2,000
HD32	5 Nov 1828	24 June (1830)	All Saints Church (Paddock)	C/E	Accom. 867		Parl. grant		2,606 ^q
HD33	13 Nov 1828	1831	St. Paul's Church (Ramsden St.)	C/E	Accom. 1243		Parl. grant	Gift	5,700
HD34	29 June 1829	29 June 1831	Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Infirmary (Trinity St.)	In-patients & out-patients treated	Accom. 40	S	Donations		7,518 ^q
HD35	C.P.	1829	The Law Library (Mr. Lancashire's, Market Pl.)						
HD36	C.P.?	1829	The Commercial Newsroom						
HD37		1832	The Catholic Chapel				Donations		2,000 ^q
HD38	1835	27 Oct 1836	St. Peter's Church - rebuilt	Parish church	Accom. 1620		Pew sales Parl. grant Donations		9,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD39	14 May 1836	24 May 1837	The Philosophical Hall (Ramsden St.)	Lecture room/hall for philosophical society & newsroom	Accom. 1280 780 sq. yd.		£10 shares		3,150 ^q
HD40		1836 ^s	Primitive Methodist Chapel (Spring Pl.)						E. 1,000
HD41		1836 ^s	Christ Church Schools (Sheepridge)						E. 800
HD42	post 1829	pre 1837	The Infant School		Accom. 160				600 ^q
HD43	C.P.?	pre 1837	The Conservative News- room						
HD44		18 July 1837	Wesleyan Chapel (Buxton Road)		Accom. 1400		Donations		6,000
HD45	1838	1839	Huddersfield Collegiate School (New North Road)				£20 shares		E. 5,000
HD46		1838 ^s	The British School						E. 800

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
HD47		1840 ^s	Trinity Church National School						E. 800

Sources for Huddersfield Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

- End. Char. Hd. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities
(England and Wales) - Report on the County Borough
of Huddersfield (P.P. 1899, LXXI).
- Story - R. Brook, The Story of Huddersfield (1968).

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- HD2 Story p. 196.
- HD3 End. Char. Hd. pp. 644, 702; Story pp. 196-7.
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- HD5 L.I. 9 Dec. 1766; E. Baines, 1822 D. pp. 204-5; W. White, 1837 D. p. 363; Story pp. 52-3.
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- HD7 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 206; E. Parsons, The Civil, Ecclesiastical ...History of Leeds II, p. 418.
- HD8 J. Mallinson, History of Methodism in Huddersfield, Holmfirth and Denby Dale (1898), pp. 24, 101, 221-2; Story p. 65.
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- HD13 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 206; L.I. 26 June 1823; Story pp. 124-5.
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- HD23 L.I. 22 July 1824; W. White, 1837 D. p. 365; Story pp. 125-6.
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- HD30 Ibid.
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- HD32 W. White, 1837 D. pp. 364-5; E. Parsons, op. cit. II, p. 410.
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- HD40 W. White, 1837 D. p. 365.
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KNARESBOROUGH PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
KH1		12th C.	St. John's Church	Parish church	Accom.1300				
KH2		pre 1555	The Court House						
KH3		1592 ^s	The Toll Booth (Market Place)	Borough court house with shops and town prison beneath					
KH4	C.P.?	1616	The Free Grammar School	Boys taught			Benefactor: Peter Benson		
KH5		17th C.	The Court House and Prison (re_novated part castle ruins)	Court house and prison for the Forest of Knaresborough	2 storeys				
KH6		1701 ^s	The Quaker Meeting House (Gracious St.)						E. 200
KH7		pre 1707	The Almshouses (Tanners-row)	For 9 poor widows			Benefactress: Lady Hewley		E. 100
KH8		1709 ^s	The Market Cross				Donations		E. 50

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
KH9		pre 1729	The Congregational Chapel (Windsor Lane)				Benefactress: Lady Hewley		
KH10	1737		The Workhouse	Maintaining, lodging & employing the poor			Poor rate		E. 100
KH11		1741 ^s	The Free Grammar School - rebuilt -				Donations		E. 300.
KH12	C.P.?	1765	Richardson's School	30 boys and girls taught the 3 R's and religious knowledge			Benefactor: Thos. Richardson		
KH13		1779 ^s	The Congregational Chapel (Windsor Lane)	Independent					E. 1,000
KH14		1784	The Sessions House and Frison - rebuilt (Market Place)	Court house for borough courts & W.R. Quarter Sessions. Prisons for debtors & felons beneath			County rate		200+
KH15	1795		Wesleyan Methodist Chapel						E. 500
KH16	C.P.	1795	The Subscription Library						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
KH17	1813	1814	The National School	Boys taught	180 scholars		Donations		1,200+ ^q
KH18	1815		Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (Chapel St.)		Accom. 800	S			E. 1,500
KH19		1817 ^s	The Congregational Chapel - enlarged (Windsor Lane)		Accom. 700				
KH20	post 1822	c.1823	The Market Cross - rebuilt				Benefactor: Mr. Malan		E. 200
KH21		1827	The Prison - rebuilt (under the Court House?)				County rate		350
KH22		1831 ^s	The Catholic Chapel and School	Chapel & school where 100 children taught	Accom. 500				E. 2,000
KH23		1837 ^s	The Girls' National School and Infants' School	80 girls taught 3 R's, knitting & sewing. 80 infants taught the alphabet, etc.			Donations & parl. grant		135+ ^q (E. 500)
KH24	1837	1838	The Sessions House	Magistrates' sessions & public meetings			Town & county rate		2,600 ^q

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
KH25	C.P.?	pre 1844	The Dispensary	Free medical treatment for the poor			Donations		

Sources for Knaresborough Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

End. Char. Kh. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities
(England and Wales) - Report on the Parish of
Knaresborough (P.P. 1897, LXXII).

- KH1 M. Calvert, The History of Knaresborough (Knaresborough, 1844), pp. 50, 66-7; N. Pevesner, The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, The West Riding (1967), p. 294.
- KH2 Y.A.S. DD56 B4 Papers relating to a dispute over rents, c. 1555-6.
- KH3 Y.A.S. DD56 B4 & 5 Papers relating to the Toll Booth and Court House, c. 1592.
- KH4 End. Char. Kh. pp. 250-1.
- KH5 N. Pevesner, op. cit. p. 297.
- KH6 E. Hargrove, The History of the Castle, Town and Forest of Knaresborough (York, 1775), p. 57.
- KH7 M. Calvert, op. cit. pp. 80-1.
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- KH9 End. Char. Kh. p. 280.
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- KH13 Ibid. p. 280.
- KH14 W.R.Q.S. Gen. Index, Wetherby Jan. 1784; E. Hargrove, op. cit. p. 56.
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- KH17 L.I. 4 Oct. 1813; M. Calvert, op. cit. p. 77.
- KH18 M. Calvert, op. cit. p. 69; End. Char. Kh. p. 279.
- KH19 M. Calvert, op. cit. p. 69; End. Char. Kh. p. 280.
- KH20 M. Calvert, op. cit. p. 93.
- KH21 W.R.Q.S. Gen. Index, Knaresborough Oct. 1824, Pontefract April 1827.
- KH22 M. Calvert, op. cit. p. 68.
- KH23 Ibid. p. 78.
- KH24 Ibid. p. 94.
- KH25 Ibid. p. 84.

LEEDS PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS1		14th C.	St. Peter's Church (Kirkgate)	Parish church	2340 sq. yd.	S	Donations		
LS2		pre 1357	Hall of Pleas (Leeds)	Manorial court house					
LS3		pre 1376	The Chantry Chapel (on Leeds Bridge)	Chapel; school from Dissolution to 1728			Maintained by charity funds		
LS4		founded 1470	Chantry of St. Mary Magdalen (West side of Cross Parish)		Size of a dwelling				
LS5		pre 1476	Moot Hall and Bakehouse (Leeds)	Manorial court house and oven					
LS6	C.P.	founded 1552	Leeds Grammar School (nr. Lady Lane)						
LS7	C.P.	1580	Leeds Grammar School (in The New Chapel)						
LS8		pre 1598	Moot Hall and Common Oven (Kirkgate)	Venue of Sessions of the Peace and manorial courts					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS9	1615		The Moot Hall (Briggate)	Venue for Leeds Corptn courts, Quarter Sessions, public meetings	243 sq. yd. 2 storeys	W	Charity funds		
LS10		1619 ^s	The Market Cross (Briggate)	Shelter for sale of produce			Benefactor: John Harrison		
LS11		1624 ^s	Leeds Grammar School (North Town End)	Classical education		S	Benefactor: John Harrison		
LS12	1631	1634	St. John's Church (New Briggate)	C/E	Accom. 1200	S	Benefactor: John Harrison		
LS13		1638 ^s	The Workhouse (Lady Lane)	Workhouse and home for aged poor	"Large"	S	Donations		
LS14	c.1643	pre 1644	Jenkinson's Almshouses (Quebec)	Housing 16 impotent and aged persons inhabiting Leeds	8 cottages	.	Benefactor: J. Jenkinson		
LS15	c.1653	pre 1654	Harrison's Hospital (St. John's Church grounds)	Almshouses for 40 poor women	2 sets of almshouses	S	Benefactor: John Harrison		

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
LS16		pre 1655	The Prison (Briggate, nr. Market Cross)	Short-stay* town gaol.	"Small"				
LS17		1655 ^s	The Prison (top of Kirkgate)	Reception of offenders within the borough	"Small"				
LS18	1672	25 Mar 1674	Mill Hill Chapel (Mill Hill)	Unitarian	Accom. 700		Shares	15.	400
LS19		1691 ^s	Call Lane Chapel (Call Lane)	Dissenters	Accom. 530	B			E. 350
LS20		c.1691 ^s	Leeds Grammar School Library (North Town End)	Library with school-room beneath	2 storeys	S	Benefactor: G. Lawson		
LS21		c.1695 ^s	Iveson's Almshouses (nr. Workhouse)		3 houses		Benefactor: L. Iveson		
LS22		1698 ^s	The Town's Warehouse (north bank of the Aire)	Public warehouse for reception of imported goods	"Large"				
LS23	1698	1699 ^s	Friends' Meeting House (Water Lane)	Quaker meeting house and school					E. 350

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS24	C.P.	1705	The Charity School (Lady Lane, formerly the Workhouse)	Blue coat school for poor children	40 scholars		Donations		
LS25	12 Aug 1710	March 1711	The Moot Hall (Briggate)	Butchers' shops and court house for Leeds Corptn., Leeds and W. R. Quarter Sessions, manorial courts	243 sq. yd. 2 storeys	S	Corptn. funds and charity funds (P.U.C.)		210
LS26	c. Aug 1710	29 May 1711	The White Cloth Hall (off Kirkgate)	Market for unfinished cloth	2 storeys	S or B	Shareholders: merchants and tradesmen		1,000
LS27		pre 1714	The Almshouses (Vicar Lane)		2 houses				
LS28		pre 1715	The Tythe Barn (Kirkgate)	Barn and venue of manorial courts					
LS29	1715		Ibbetson's Almshouses (Call Lane)	For poor men			Benefactor: Jas. Ibbetson		E. 200
LS30	23 Aug 1721	27 Aug 1727	Trinity Church (Boar Lane)	C/E	Accom. 1400	S	Donations and pew sales	175	4,563

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS31	.	pre 1726	The Old Assembly Rooms (Kirkgate)						
LS32	1726		The Prison (Kirkgate)	Short-stay gaol	5 or 6 cells		Parish funds?		
LS33	C.P.	1726	Charity School (chapel in St. John's churchyard)	Blue coat school for poor boys and girls	120 scholars (in 1806)		Donations		
LS34	C.P.	June 1726	The Workhouse (Lady Lane)	Housing poor and infirm	Accom. 100 2 storeys	S or B	Poor rate and charity funds (P.U.C.)		
LS35		1736 ^s	Potter's Almshouses (Wade Lane)	For 10 widows of deceased tradesmen	Ten 2-roomed tenements		Benefactress: Mary Potter	250	482
LS36	April 1740	1740	Workhouse - extension (Lady Lane)	Workroom, infirmary, grainery, brewhouse, wash house, coalhouse	90 sq. yd. 2 storeys	B	Poor rate		
LS37	1750	1751	The Methodist Chapel. (location unknown)						E. 300
LS38		1754 ^s	Old White Chapel (Hunslet Lane)	Calvinist Independent					E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS39		1755 ^s	Methodist Chapel (nr. The Calls)						E. 300
LS40	1755	Oct 1755	Trinity Church - gallery added	Additional seating					
LS41	1755	1756	The White Cloth Hall (Meadow Lane)	Market for unfinished cloth	700 sq. yd. 3 storeys	S or B	Shareholders: clothiers	80	E. 2,500
LS42	post Nov 1755	1758 ^s	The Mixed Cloth Hall. (Quebec)	Market for coloured or finished cloth; venue for public meetings	1770 stalls 8382 sq. yd.	B	Sale of stalls to clothiers		5,300 ¹
LS43	C.P.	1767	Leeds General Infirmary (Kirkgate)	Hospital treating in-patients					
LS44	C.P.	1768	The Circulating Library (under Rotation Office, Kirkgate by 1806)	Subscription Library	"Small"	B			
LS45	10 Oct 1768	5 March 1771	Leeds General Infirmary	Hospital treating in-patients	27 beds 650 sq. yd.	B & S	Donations	Leased	4,599
LS46		1769 ^s	Woodhouse Chapel (Woodhouse)	Methodist Old Connexion					E. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS47		1771 ^s	The Old Methodist Chapel (Low St., St. Peter's)		"Large"	B	Donations		E. 1,000
LS48		1771 ^s	The Theatre (Hunslet Lane)	Playhouse/theatre	"Small" and "barn-like"	B			E. 1,000
LS49	C.P.	1775	The Rotation Office (Call Lane)	Everyday business of borough magistrates			Corptn. funds?		Leased
LS50	c. April 1775	Sept 1776	The White Cloth Hall (The Calls)	Market for unfinished cloth	6930 sq. yd. 1210 stands	B	Donations: cloth merchants	300	4,000
LS51	1775	1777	The Assembly Rooms (over north side of new White Cloth Hall)	Ballroom, card rooms, etc., for upper and middle classes		B	Shares		2,500
LS52		1776 ^s	The Market Cross (Cross Parish, Briggate)	Shelter for sale of dairy produce	"Large"		Charity funds (P.U.C.) and donations		50+ (E. 150)
LS53		1780 ^s	Master's House for the Grammar School	House for headmaster and accom. for boarders			School trust funds		E. 300
LS54		1781 ^s	The Stone Chapel (Low St., St. Peter's)	Baptist		S			E. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS55		1782 ^s	Leeds Infirmary - a New Wing		Total 68 beds	B			500+
LS56		1784 ^s	Charity Day School (Woodhouse)		40 pupils				E. 500
LS57		1786 ^s	Leeds Infirmary - a New Wing		20 extra beds	B			
LS58		1788 ^s	Friends' Meeting House (Water Lane)	Quaker meeting house with school	Accom. 1000 2 storeys	B or S			E. 2,000
LS59	post 1787	1789	Ebenezer Chapel (Ebenezer St.)	Baptist	Accom. 500	B			500
LS60		1791	Salem Chapel (Hunslet Lane)	Calvinist Independent	Accom. 1000	S			E. 2,000
LS61	26 Sept 1791	Dec 1794	St. Paul's Church (Park Square)	C/E	Accom. 1500	B & S	Donations	Gift	10,000
LS62	2 July 1792	1793	The Music Hall and Irregulars' Cloth Hall (Albion St.)	Basement storey: hall for sale of cloth made by clothiers lacking 7 yr. apprenticeship. Upper storey: concert room & education room	550 sq. yd. Music saloon 280 sq. yd.	B	Shares		1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS63	post June 1792	1792	Leeds Infirmary - attic storey added to central section of building		20 extra beds	B	Donations		
LS64	post July 1793		Mixed Cloth Hall - extension to the south part			B & S			
LS65	C.P.	1793	New Subscription Library (Albion St.)	For seceders from the Leeds Library	100 members				
LS66		1794 ^s	Zion Chapel (later called St. James' Church) (York St., off Kirkgate)	Offered service preferred by Countess of Huntingdon; later C/E	Accom. 1000		Lady Betty Hastings' Charity?		E. 5,000
LS67	12 Apr 1794		Roman Catholic Chapel (Lady Lane)		"Neat"	B			E. 500
LS68		pre 1796	Bethel Chapel (St. George's St.)	Methodist followers of Mr. Thoresby		B			
LS69	C.P.	April 1796	The Rotation Office and Circulating Library (Kirkgate)	Magistrates' office, library & 2 dwellings for Chief Constable & Librarian		B			

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS70		25 Sept 1796	The Albion Chapel (Albion St.)	C/E when opened; Independent from 1802		B			E. 1,000
LS71	C.P.	1799	The School of Industry (Beezon's Yd., Briggate)	Girls taught reading, knitting & sewing from age of 9 to 13 yrs.	Accom. 25 pupils		Donations & fees		
LS72	c.1799	pre 1800	The Riding School (York Road.)	Training the gentlemen cavalry	700 sq. yd.				
LS73	C.P.	pre 1800	The Post Office (Boar Lane)						
LS74	30 April 1801	1802	Albion Street Methodist Chapel (Albion St.)		"Large"				E.5,000
LS75	C.P.?	July 1802	The School of Industry (Burley Bar)	50 children taught sewing, knitting and reading	Accom. 25 pupils		Donations & subns.		
LS76	1802	Sept 1804	The House of Recovery (Vicar Lane)	Hospital for infectious diseases	"Substantial"		Donations & subns.	Leased	2,500
LS77	C.P.	1800-6	The Post Office (Call Lane/Duncan St.)		A house				

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
LS78	c.1806	pre 1806	The Workhouse - building added (Lady Lane)		"Of considerable extent"				
LS79	C.P.?	1 Jan 1806	The Commercial Newsroom and Leeds Exchange (Briggate)	Newsroom for commercial men & suite of apartments for transacting business	"Large"		Subns.		
LS80	Jan 1806	1807 ^s	Jenkinson's Almshouses - rebuilt (Mill Hill)	Housed 8 poor widows	8 tenements site 368 sq. yd.		Donation & charity funds		165+ (E. 400)
LS81			The Subscription Library and Union News Room (Commercial St.)	Newsroom & shops with Library above, 500 subscribers	30,000 books 2 storeys	S & B	Shares		5,000 ^g
LS82	1808	1812	St. Peter's Church - rebuilt (Kirkgate)	Parish church		S			E.3,000
LS83	C.P.?	pre 1809	Anabaptist Chapel (Arminian St.)						
LS84		pre 1809	The Coffee Room (Briggate adj. Commercial Newsroom)	Newsroom and coffee room for mercantile men					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS85		1810 ^s	The Mixed Cloth Hall - enlarged (north side of hall).	Additional storey for sale of undyed ladies' cloths					
LS86	2 Sept 1811	4 Oct 1813 (1815)	The Court House and Prison (Park Row)	Venue for W.R. & Borō. Quarter Sessions and meetings of: Corptn., Improvement Commission, Watch Cmtee, Turnpike Comns, etc. Court room, magistrates' offices, prison, and cellar for fire engines		S & B	Local and county rates		10,000+ ¹
LS87		July 1812	Royal Lancasterian Free School (Alfred St.)	Boys taught 3 R's	Accom. 50 pupils 375 sq. yd. 2 storeys	B	Donations & subns.		2,100 ¹
LS88	8 May 1812	7 Feb 1813	The National School (Kirkgate)	School for 320 poor boys & 180 poor girls; teaching on Madras System					1,208 ^q
LS89		1815 ^s	The Charity School (Harrison's Hospital Grounds)	Training girls for domestic service	80 pupils		Charity School funds		1,000+

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS90	post 1790	pre 1817	Harrison's Hospital - additional houses (St. John's Church yard)	Almshouses for 24 people	12 houses		Benefactor: Arthur Ikin		E. 600
LS91		27 June 1816	Wesley Chapel (Meadow Lane)	Wesleyan Methodist		B			E. 2,000
LS92		pre 1817 1826.	The Exchange (adj. Mixed Cloth Hall)	Transacting business of Hall's trustees					
LS93	C.P.	pre 1817	The Girls' Free School (Assembly Court)	Girls taught to sew, read and write	173 pupils		Donations & subns.		
LS94	C.P.?	pre 1817	School of Industry (Clarkson's Yard)	Evening school; girls taught sewing, reading and knitting	Accom. 30 pupils				
LS95	C.P.	pre 1817	Bank Chapel (nr. Richmond Hill)	Independent Dissenter	"Large room"				
LS96	C.P.?	pre 1817	Southcottarian Chapel (St. George's St.)		Accom. 186				

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS97	C.P.?	pre 1817	Antinomian Chapel (York St.)	Philadelphian Universalists					
LS98		pre 1817	Inghamite Chapel (Duke St.)	Followers of Mr. Ingham	Accom. 200				
LS99	C.P.?	pre 1817	The Tabernacle (Timble Bridge or Kemplay's Yd., Kirkgate)	Swedenborgian chapel					
LS100	C.P.?	1818	The Vagrancy Office (Vicar Lane)	Housed vagrants overnight			Poor rate		
LS101	15 May 1819	1820	The Public Baths (Wellington Road)	Various types of baths		B & S	£100 shares		7,000 ^q
LS102	c.1819		The Temporary Barracks	Accom. for cavalry			Corptn. funds		823 ^q
LS103	1819	1820	The Horse Barracks (Buslingthorpe)	H.Q. of regiment of cavalry - quarters, stables, hospital and riding school	Site 11 acres		Parl. funds		24,000 ^q
LS104	9 July 1819	March 1822	The Philosophical Hall (Park Row.)	Premises of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society	Site 855 sq. yd. 2 storeys	S	£100 proprietary shares	825	6,150

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS105		1821 ^s	Music Hall - addition of Lanterns (Albion St.)	To increase light					
LS106	C.P.?	1821	Guardian Society and General Penitentiary (St. James' Square)	Asylum for prostitutes	"Commodious"				
LS107	C.P.?	1822	The Eye Dispensary (St. Peter's Square)	Gratuitous relief of eye diseases					
LS108		1822 ^s	Primitive Methodist Chapel (York St.)						E. 1,000
LS109		1823 ^s	The Grammar School - enlarged (North Town End)		Accom. 100 boys		School trust funds		1,087
LS110	29 Jan 1823	Oct 1826	St. Mary's Church (Quarry Hill)	C/E	Accom. 1207	S	Parl. grant		10,807
LS111	29 Jan 1823	1826	Christ Church (Meadow Lane)	C/E	Accom. 1329	S	Parl. grant		10,555
LS112	23 April 1823	1826	St. Mark's Church (Woodhouse)	C/E	Accom. 1200	S	Parl. grant		9,637

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS113	17 June 1823	Aug 1825	The Bazaar and Shambles (between Briggate and Vicar Lane)	Meat shambles, fish market, shops and bazaar	60 shops, 1000 sq. yd. 2 storeys	S & B	Partnership	c.6,000	E.12,000
LS114	23 Oct 1823	Dec 1824	The South Market (between Hunslet Lane and Meadow Lane)	General retail market, partially covered: shops, stalls, slaughterhouses and dwellings	49 shops 88 stalls 9 slaughterhouses 18 dwellings	B & S	£50 shares	6,600	15,400
LS115	11 Dec 1823	27 April 1825	Queen St. Chapel (Queen St.)	Independent chapel	Accom. 1200	B			E. 5,000
LS116	26 April 1824	9 Sept 1825	Brunswick Chapel (Brunswick St.)	Methodist chapel	Accom. 2417	S			e.7,000
LS117	C.P.	June 1824	The Lying-in-Hospital (St. Peter's Square)	Maternity hospital for poor married women					
LS118	C.P.	1 Oct 1824	The Dispensary (The House of Recovery, Vicar Lane)	Medical treatment for outpatients			Subscriptions & donations		
LS119	26 Nov 1824	6 Oct 1827	The Central Market (Duncan St.)	Covered general retail market: bazaar, shops, offices & a hotel	67 shops 56 stalls 2 storeys	S	£50 shares	5,200	24,800

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land	Cost of Building
LS120	C.P.	1824	The Post Office (Mill Hill)						
LS121	1824	1824	The Grandstand (Haigh Pk. Races, 3 miles s. of Leeds)	Boarded, unpainted race stand	Accom. 1000	W			
LS122	23 Feb 1825	25 Oct 1826	Baptist Chapel (South Parade)		Accom. 800	S & B			E. 1,000
LS123	7 Mar 1825	1826	Female Revivalist Chapel (Regent St.)	Female revivalists	"Small"				E. 500
LS124	C.P.?	15 May 1825	Zion Chapel (Zion St., Bank)	New Connexion Methodist					
LS125	1825	c.1826	New Jerusalem Chapel (Byron St.)	Swedenborgian					E. 500
LS126	C.P.?	pre 1826	Zoar Chapel (George's Court, George St.)	Particular Baptist					
LS127	C.P.?	pre 1826	The New Subscription Library (Park Row)	Subscription library limited to 100 members					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS128	C.P.?	pre 1826	Rehoboth Chapel (Spitalfields, Bank)	Methodist					
LS129	C.P.?	pre 1826	Independent Methodist Chapel (Harper St.)						
LS130	C.P.?	pre 1826	Bethesda Chapel (Hill's Yard, Meadow Lane)	Primitive Methodist					
LS131	18 May 1826	12 Oct 1829	The Commercial Buildings (Boar Lane)	Merchants' exchange, newsroom, dining room, concert room/dining room, hotel, offices		S	£50 shares	6,000	28,000
LS132	31 May 1826	1828	The Corn Exchange (Top of Briggate)	Corn exchange, warehouses, shops, offices, hotel and tavern		S	£50 shares	Leased	12,500
LS133	1826	1827	The Philosophical Hall - extension						1,300
LS134	1826	1827	The Free Market (Kirkgate)	Open air market for agricultural products	9,758 sq. yd.		Local rate		8,000 ¹ (E. 2,000)
LS135	C.P.	1826	Calvert's Museum (Briggate)	Natural history museum			Entrepreneur: John Calvert		

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS136		Oct 1827	Calvert's Museum (Commercial St.)	Natural history museum	"Spacious" 15,000 specimens				E. 1,000
LS137	C.P.	Nov 1828	The Dispensary (North St.)	Medical treatment for outpatients			Subns. and donations		1,625
LS138	C.P.?	19 April 1829	Wesleyan Protestant Methodist Chapel (Caroline St., West St.)						
LS139		pre 1831 1826	Leadenhall Wholesale Carcase Market (Vicar Lane)	Underground market where animals killed and dressed for retail butchers					
LS140	1 Mar 1831	12 July 1832	St. Patrick's Chapel (York Road)	Roman Catholic					2,500 ¹
LS141	C.P.	1832	The Cholera Hospital (St. Peter's Square)	Temporary hospital for cholera cases	A house				
LS142		1832 ^s	Woodhouse School - rebuilding		Accom. 40	S	Subns. and National School Society grant		E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compl. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS143		1833	Bethesda Chapel (Wellington Street)	Methodist New Connexion					E. 1,000
LS144	March 1833	1834	Waterloo Swimming Bath (Leeds and Liverpool canal basin)	Swimming bath			Shares		E. 2,000
LS145	19 Feb 1834	10 Oct 1834	St. Peter's Chapel (St. Peter's St.)	Wesleyan Methodist	Accom. 2500	B			E. 6,000
LS146	April 1834	Dec 1834	The Court House - enlargement (Park Row)	Additional rooms			County rate		1,009
LS147	C.P.?	1825-35	Leeds Infants School Society School (nr. South Market)						
LS148		23 July 1835	Leeds General Cemetery Chapel and Buildings (adj. Woodhouse Moor)	Buildings for private cemetery		S	Shares	4,000	7,000
LS149	May 1835	6 Jan 1836	Belgrave Chapel (Belgrave Street)	Independent	Accom. 1800	B			E. 5,000
LS150		1835	Oxford Place Chapel (Oxford Place)	Wesleyan	Accom. 3500	B			E. 6,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS151		1836 ^s	Baptist Chapel Low Road, Hunslet)		Accom. 700				1,000 ^q
LS152		1836 ^s	South Parade Baptist Chapel - enlargement		Accom. for 600 added				1,700
LS153		1836 ^s	St. Mary's Church - Gallery added (Quarry Hill)		Accom. for 800 added				
LS154		1836 ^s	Christ Church - Gallery added (Meadow Lane)		Accom. for 650 added				
LS155		1836 ^s	St. Mark's Church - Gallery added (Woodhouse)		Accom. for 300 added				
LS156		1836 ^s	Leeds Infants School Society School (Park St.)						E. 800
LS157	C.P.?	1836 ^s	Public School on Infant System (Spitalfields)						
LS158	16 Dec 1836	Nov 1838	St. George's Church (Mount Pleasant)	C/E	Accom. 1500 1075 sq. yd.		Donations		e.5,960

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS159	C.P.?	pre 1837	Methodist Associationist Chapel (old Rotation Office Yard)		"Small"				
LS160		1837 ^s	Independent Chapel (Marshall Street)						E. 2,000
LS161		1837 ^s	The Tabernacle (Meadow Lane)	Methodist Association chapel					E. 1,000
LS162		1837	Court House - altered and repaired						
LS163	8 Aug 1837	1838	St. Ann's Church (Park Terrace)	Roman Catholic	Accom. 1000				E. 5,000
LS164	post 1837	c.1838	Jenkinson's Almshouses (St. Mark's Road, Woodhouse)	9 almshouses	9 tenements site 526 sq. yd. 1 storey				E. 1,000
LS165		c.1838 ^s	Association Methodist Chapel (Lady Lane)						E. 1,000
LS166	1838	Sept 1841	St. Peter's Church - rebuilt (Kirkgate)	Leeds Parish Church	Accom. 3800 1700 sq. yd.	S	Donations & Parl. grant		29,770

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
LS167	3 Sept 1839	6 Jan 1841	East Parade Chapel (East Parade)	Independent		S			E. 5,000
LS168		8 July 1840	Zoological and Botanical Gardens Buildings (Headingley)				Shares		E. 5,000
LS169		1841 ^s	St. Luke's Church (North St.)	Principally for soldiers at the Barracks	Accom. 500				E. 3,000
LS170		pre 1842	Spa Well Spring Baths (Meadow Lane)	Tepid and warm baths.					
LS171	C.P.?	pre 1843	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (Russell Street)						
LS172	C.P.?	pre 1843	Associationist Methodist Chapel (St. Peter's St.)						
LS173		1826-45	Harrison's Hospital - additional almshouses (Harrison St.)		8 tenements				

Sources for Leeds Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

- Ducatus - Ralph Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis (1715).
- End. Char. Ls. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities
(England and Wales) - Report on the City of Leeds
(House of Commons Order Papers 1898, No. 45).
- L.C.D. - Leeds Corporation Deeds.
- LC/QS - Leeds Quarter Sessions, Order and Indictment Books,
1698-1809.
- LC/M - Leeds Corporation Court Books, 1662-1835.
- LO/M - Minute and Order Books of the Vestry Workhouse Committee
of Leeds Township, 1726-1824.

- LS1 Leeds 1817 D. p. 24.
- LS2 Information from Professor M. W. Beresford.
- LS3 E. Parsons, The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial, and Miscellaneous History of Leeds.....and the Manufacturing Districts of Yorkshire (Leeds, 1834), (hereafter History) I, pp. 104-5.
- LS4 Leeds 1817 D. p. 22.
- LS5 P.R.O. DL5/1, fo. 104.
- LS6 Leeds 1817 D. pp. 34-5; End. Char. Ls. p. 29.
- LS7 End. Char. Ls. p. 29.
- LS8 DB/213/47.
- LS9 DB/197/1, part 2, "A Table of Writeings in the Old Church", and "The First Decree of Pious Uses, 1621"; DB/204/8, "Pious Uses Committee Estate Survey Book, 1792-4"; LC/M1 passim; LC/QS. passim; Ducatus p. 15.
- LS10 Ducatus p. 16.
- LS11 Leeds 1817 D. p. 35; E. Parsons, History II, p. 83; End. Char. Ls. pp. 3, 52.
- LS12 J. H. Leach, printer, A Walk Through Leeds (Leeds, 1806), p. 30; Leeds 1817 D. p. 24; E. Parsons, History I, p. 426; W. White, 1853 D. p. 19.
- LS13 DB/197/1, part 2, "The Second Decree of Pious Uses, 1663"; Ducatus pp. 57, 87-88.
- LS14 Ducatus p. 4; Leeds 1817 D. p. 34; End. Char. Ls. p. 6.
- LS15 Leeds 1817 D. p. 34; End. Char. Ls. p. 7.
- LS16 Ducatus p. 16.
- LS17 Ibid. p. 37.
- LS18 Ducatus p. 4; Leeds 1817 D. p. 26; W. White, 1843 D. p. 11; W. L. Schroeder, Mill Hill Chapel 1674-1924 (Leeds, 1925), pp. 25-6.
- LS19 Ducatus p. 79; Leeds 1843 D. p. 11; T. Fenteman, An Historical Guide to Leeds and its Environs (Leeds, 1858), p. 71.
- LS20 End. Char. Ls. p. 52.
- LS21 Ducatus p. 88.
- LS22 Ibid. p. 80.

- LS23 Ibid. p. 101; E. Parsons, History II, p. 74.
- LS24 Ducatus p. 248; End. Char. Ls. pp. 9, 85.
- LS25 LC/12, fo. 69, 5 June 1710; LC/QS. (1725-36), fos. 17, 182; DB/197/1, part 1, fos. 151-5; DB/197/1, part 2 "The First Decree of Pious Uses, 1621"; DB/204/8; D. H. Atkinson, Ralph Thoresby the Topographer: His Town and Times (Leeds, 1887), II, pp. 31, 53.
- LS26 Ducatus pp. 249-50; E. Parsons, History II, p. 209; D. H. Atkinson, op. cit. II, pp. 31-2.
- LS27 Ducatus p. 37.
- LS28 Ibid. p. 38.
- LS29 Ibid. p. 576.
- LS30 Leeds 1817 D. p. 25; E. Parsons, History I, pp. 428-9.
- LS31 Leeds Mercury 20 Sept. 1726; Leeds 1817 D. p. 38; L.I. 1 July 1811.
- LS32 J. Cossins, A New and Exact Plan of the Town of Leeds (c.1725); LC/QS. (1725-36), fo. 16, March 1726; J. Ryley, The Leeds Guide 1806 (Leeds, 1806), p. 65; E. Parsons, History I, p. 136.
- LS33 J. H. Leach, op. cit. pp. 32-3; Leeds 1817 D. p. 36; End. Char. Ls. p. 9.
- LS34 LC/QS. (1725-36), fo. 17, 2 Mar. 1826; LO/M1 18 June 1726; Leeds Parish Vestry Minutes, 6 Mar., 26 May 1726; DB/197/1, part 1, fo. 320; Leeds Mercury 28 Nov. 1738.
- LS35 Leeds 1817 D. p. 34; End. Char. Ls. pp. 11-12, 83.
- LS36 Leeds Parish Vestry Minutes, 22 Sept., 11 Oct. 1738; LO/M1 26 Mar. - June 1740.
- LS37 E. Parsons, History II, p. 47.
- LS38 Leeds 1817 D. p. 26.
- LS39 E. Parsons, History II, p. 47.
- LS40 L.I. 18 Mar., 28 Oct. 1755.
- LS41 White Cloth Hall Papers, A4, F2, F5; L.C.A. FW211, Abstract of deeds, 3 April 1765; E. Parsons, History II, p. 209.
- LS42 DB/197/1, part 2, fo. 448, 24 Nov. 1755; Thors. Soc Ms. Box IV, 29; P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes, 1790 D. p. 534; Leeds 1817 D. p. 28; E. Parsons, History II, pp. 209-10.
- LS43 L.I. 9 June, 11 Aug. 1767; W. White, 1837 D. p. 525; S. T. Anning, The General Infirmary at Leeds (1963), I, p. 4.
- LS44 J. H. Leach, op. cit. p. 35; J. Ryley, op. cit. p. 66; E. Parsons, History II, p. 109.

- LS45 DB 32/18, Lease, 29 Sept. 1778; Leeds 1817 D. p. 31; S. T. Anning, op. cit. I, pp. 4, 7-11.
- LS46 Leeds 1826 D. p. 253.
- LS47 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; E. Parsons, History II, p. 47.
- LS48 Leeds 1817 D. p. 38; W. White, 1837 D. p. 527.
- LS49 L.I. 14 Mar. 1775; LC/QS (1766-75), fo. 418, 10 July 1775.
- LS50 White Cloth Hall Papers, C. 3, 18a; D. 2-4, 6, 7a; DB 197/1, part 2, fos. 514-5, 20 Dec. 1774; Leeds 1817 D. p. 29.
- LS51 White Cloth Hall Papers, D. 7a, 9; Leeds 1817 D. p. 38; E. Parsons, History I, p. 136.
- LS52 DB/197/1, part 2, fo. 521, 26 Feb. 1776; J. H. Leach, op. cit. p. 28; E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 18.
- LS53 E. Parsons, History II, p. 86.
- LS54 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 26; E. Parsons, History II; p. 38.
- LS55 E. Parsons, History II, p. 157; S. T. Anning, op. cit. p. 12.
- LS56 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 29; W. White, 1837 D. p. 521.
- LS57 E. Parsons, History II, p. 157; S. T. Anning, op. cit. p. 12.
- LS58 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; Leeds 1834 D. p. 11.
- LS59 Sun Assurance Policy 361/560711, dated 1789; Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 68.
- LS60 J. H. Leach, op. cit. p. 49; Leeds 1817 D. p. 26; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 70.
- LS61 Leeds 1817 D. p. 25; E. Parsons, History I, p. 429; W. White, 1837 D. p. 517; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 58.
- LS62 Royal Exchange Insurance Policy 26/133484, dated 1793; L.I. 13 Jan. 1794, 16 Dec. 1811; Leeds 1809 D. appendix pp. 14, 15, 21; Leeds 1817 D. pp. 29, 38; E. Parsons, History II, p. 211; W. White, 1837 D. p. 527; H. Cullingworth, publisher, The Stranger's Guide Through Leeds (Leeds, 1842), p. 20; J. Mayhall, The Annals of Yorkshire (Leeds, 1865), p. 177.
- LS63 L.I. 18 June 1792; E. Parsons, History II, pp. 157-8; S. T. Anning, op. cit. p. 12.
- LS64 L.I. 22 July 1793.
- LS65 Leeds 1809 D. appendix p. 13; Leeds 1817 D. p. 30.
- LS66 J. H. Leach, op. cit. pp. 46-7; Leeds 1817 D. p. 25.
- LS67 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; J. Mayhall, op. cit. p. 180.
- LS68 Leeds 1817 D. p. 26; W. White, 1837 D. pp. 502-3.

- LS69 Royal Exchange Insurance Policy 32/150688, dated 12 April 1796; J. H. Leach, op. cit. p. 35; J. Ryley, op. cit. pp. 65-6.
- LS70 Leeds 1817 D. p. 26; J. Mayhall, op. cit. p. 186.
- LS71 J. Ryley, op. cit. p. 53; Leeds 1817 D. p. 36.
- LS72 Leeds 1800 D. p. 87; Leeds 1817 D. p. 38; L.I. 18 Nov. 1823.
- LS73 Leeds 1800 D. p. 87.
- LS74 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; E. Parsons, History II, p. 47.
- LS75 Leeds 1817 D. p. 36.
- LS76 DB 197/2, fos. 57-8, 5 June 1805; Leeds 1817 D. p. 31; E. Parsons, History II, p. 158.
- LS77 Leeds 1817 D. p. 29.
- LS78 J. Ryley, op. cit. p.
- LS79 L.I. 16 Dec. 1805; Leeds 1809 D. appendix p. 14; Leeds 1817 D. p. 30.
- LS80 End. Char. Ls. pp. 6-7, 79.
- LS81 L.I. 14 Mar. 1808, 2 Jan. 1809; Leeds 1809 D. appendix pp. 12, 14; Leeds 1817 D. p. 30; F. Beckwith, "The Beginnings of the Leeds Library", Thors. Soc. Pubns. XXXVII, (1941), 145-65.
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- LS84 Ibid. appendix p. 13; Leeds 1817 D. p. 30.
- LS85 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 20.
- LS86 L.I. 20 Feb. 1809; 29 April, 2 Sept. 1811; 4 Oct. 1813; 6 Nov. 1815. Leeds 1817 D. pp. 22-3.
- LS87 Leeds 1817 D. p. 35; E. Parsons, History II, pp. 105-6; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 98.
- LS88 Leeds 1817 D. p. 35; E. Parsons, History II, p. 106; W. White, 1837 D. p. 521.
- LS89 End. Char. Ls. pp. 9, 84; F. Beckwith, "Thomas Taylor: Regency Architect", Thors. Soc. Pubns. - Monograph I (1949), pp. 24-5.
- LS90 Leeds 1817 D. p. 34; End. Char. Ls. p. 8.
- LS91 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; E. Parsons, History II, p. 47; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 68.
- LS92 Leeds 1817 D. p. 28.
- LS93 Ibid. p. 35.

- LS94 Ibid. p. 36.
- LS95 Ibid. p. 26.
- LS96 Ibid. p. 27; W. White, 1837 D. p. 519; W. White, 1843 D. p. 11.
- LS97 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27.
- LS98 Ibid. p. 27; W. White, 1843 D. p. 11.
- LS99 Leeds 1817 D. p. 27; Leeds 1826 D. p. 253.
- LS100 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 17.
- LS101. Byelaws and Regulations of the Public Baths at Leeds (Leeds, 1826); E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 22; E. Parsons, History I, p. 152.
- LS102 LC/M3, fo. 199, c. Oct. 1822.
- LS103 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 20; E. Parsons, History I, p. 152.
- LS104 Records of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: "Subscriptions and Building Account Book", (1819-22); Society minutes, 31 May 1822. E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 22; E. Parsons, History II p. 103; T. Fenteman, op. cit. pp. 86-7; E. Kitson Clark, The History of 100 Years of Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Leeds, 1924), pp. 20-3.
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- LS108 Leeds 1834 D. p. 404; W. White, 1837 D. p. 518.
- LS109 End. Char. Ls. pp. 3, 4, 35.
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- LS113 L.I. 19 June 1823, 4 Aug. 1825; E. Parsons, History I, pp. 143-4; Leeds Mercury 14 May, 11 June 1836; W. White, 1837 D. pp. 509-10; K. Grady, "Profit, Property Interests, and Public Spirit: The Provision of Markets and Commercial Amenities in Leeds, 1822-9", Thors. Soc. Pubns. LIV, Miscellany (1976), 165-95.
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- LS116 L.I. 7 July 1825; Leeds 1826 D. p. 252; E. Parsons, History II, p. 47.
- LS117 Leeds 1826 D. p. 256; W. White, 1837 D. p. 526.
- LS118 E. Parsons, History II, p. 158; S.T. Anning, "The Leeds Public Dispensary", Thors. Soc. Pubns. LIV, Miscellany (1974), pp. 135-6.
- LS 119 L.C.D. 225: Central Market Trust Deed, 12 Nov. 1827; Memorandum of an agreement regarding land purchase, 11 Nov. 1823. L.I. 2 Dec. 1824, 6 Sept., 25 Oct. 1827; E. Parsons, History I, pp. 145-6; K. Grady, op. cit. passim.
- LS120 E. Parsons, History II, p. 258.
- LS121 Ibid. I, p. 167.
- LS122 L.I. 19 Oct. 1826; E. Parsons, History II, p. 38; W. White, 1837 D. p. 519; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 70.
- LS123 W. Parsons and W. White, 1830 D. p. 201; E. Parsons, History II, p. 76.
- LS124 Leeds 1826 D. p. 253.
- LS125 Ibid. p. 253.
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- LS127 Ibid. p. 259; E. Parsons, History II, p. 110.
- LS128 Leeds 1826 D. p. 252.
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- LS131 Thors. Soc. 31D1, Commercial Buildings Balance Sheet, 2 Aug. 1830; L.C.D. 216, Commercial Buildings Trust Deed, 2 Dec. 1830; L.I. 18 May 1826, 15 Oct. 1829; K. Grady, op. cit. passim.
- LS132 L.C.D. 217, Abstract of the title of J. A. Jowett to the old corn exchange, 22 Oct. 1868; L.I. 1 June 1826, 28 June 1827; W. White, 1837 D. p. 510; K. Grady, op. cit. passim.
- LS133 Records of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Annual Reports and minutes of general meetings, 27 May 1825, May 1826, 30 June 1826; Building Committee Minutes, 25 May 1827.
- LS134 L.I. 28 Aug. 1823; 22 July, 12 Aug. 1824; 14 Dec. 1826. Leeds Mercury 30 Mar. 1833; E. Parsons, History I, pp. 144-5; W. White, 1837 D. p. 510.
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- LS138 L.I. 6 April 1829; Leeds 1834 D. p. 404.
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- LS140 Ibid. p. 20; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 72.
- LS141 End. Char. Ls. p. 98.
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- LS144 Leeds Mercury 3 Mar. 1833; Leeds 1834 D. p. 416.
- LS145 Leeds 1834 D. p. 403; T. Fenteman, op. cit. p. 68; J. Mayhall, op. cit. pp. 416-7.
- LS146 L.C.A. L.C.J./1, 21 April, 26 Dec. 1834.
- LS147 W. White, 1837 D. p. 521.
- LS148 Ibid. p. 519.
- LS149 Leeds Mercury 2 May 1835; W. White, 1837 D. p. 519.
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- LS162 Leeds Mercury 14 Oct. 1837.
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- LS164 End. Char. Ls. pp. 79-80.
- LS165 W. White, 1843 D. p. 11.
- LS166 H. Cullingworth, op. cit. pp. 27-8, 30; W. White, 1843 D. pp. 10-11.

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- LS168 W. White, 1837 D. p. 527; H. Cullingworth, op. cit. p. 25;
J. Mayhall, op. cit. p. 468.
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- LS172 Ibid. p. 11.
- LS173 End. Char. Ls. pp. 74-5.

PONTEFRACT PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT1		1090 ^s	St. John's Priory						
PT2		c.1090	St. Nicholas' Hospital (Monkhill Road)	Almshouses					
PT3		c.1100 ^s	St. Clement's Church (within the Castle)						
PT4	c.1135		St. Giles' Church	Parish church	"Small"				
PT5		1286 ^s	The Lazar House (on site of Frank's Hospital)	Hospital for lepers			Benefactor: Henry de Lacy		
PT6		1322 ^s	The Chantry of St. Thomas						
PT7		pre 1363	The Mote Hall						
PT8		c.1377	All Saints or All Hallows Church						
PT9		c.1385	Almshouse and College of Sir Robert Knolles - or Trinity Almshouses (Trinity Fold)	Housed 7 men and 9 women			Benefactor: Robt. Knolles		

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT10	C.P.?	c.1547-53	King Edward's Free Grammar School						
PT11	c.1620		Thwaites' Hospital	Almshouse for 4 women	2 tenements		Benefactor: Rd. Thwaites		
PT12		pre 1629	Frank's Hospital (Micklegate)	Almshouse for 2 widows			Benefactor: M. Frank		
PT13		1657	The New Town Hall (old Moot Hall site)						
PT14		pre 1668	Cowper's Hospital (Boner Hill)	For 4 poor widows	2 houses		Benefactor: Rd. Cowper		
PT15		1670 ^s	Bead House Hospital (Micklegate)	Almshouse for 16 indigent persons	8 rooms				101
PT16		c.1673	St. Nicholas' Hospital - rebuilt (Monkshill Road)	Almshouses for 13 men & women	2 houses		Benefactor & charity funds		100+
PT17	post 1684	c:1685	The Quaker Meeting House (Scuthgate)			S			E. 250
PT18		1707 ^s	St. Giles' Church - tower rebuilt	Parish church					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT19	C.P.	c.1709	The Charity School	24 boys and 12 girls taught and clothed					
PT20		pre 1721	The Dissenting Chapel (Tanshelf)						
PT21		1734 ^s	The Market Cross			S	Benefactor		E. 50
PT22		1735 ^s	St. Nicholas' Hospital - rebuilt (Monkhill Road)	Almshouse	Accom. 12		At expense of town		E. 300
PT23	c.1736	pre 1737	Frank's Hospital - addition	Almshouse	Accom. 2		Benefactor: Robt. Frank		E. 50
PT24	Aug 1763	Sept 1763	The Market Cross - rebuilt				The inhabitants		46
PT25	May 1765	July 1765	Cowper or Butt's Hospital - rebuilt (The Butts)	Almshouses	Accom. 4		Poor rate & Corpn. Funds		90

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT26		1767 ^s	Perfect's Hospital (Micklegate)	Almshouses for 6 poor people	3 tenements		Benefactor: Wm. Perfect		E. 130
PT27	1778	1779	Dr. Watkinson's Hospital (Northgate)	Almshouses for 4 poor men & 5 poor women					485
PT28		1779 ^s	The Charity School (The Horsefair)						E. 500
PT29	C.P.?	1783	The Newsroom (Market Place)						
PT30		1785 ^s	The Town Hall (Market Place)	Courtroom for borough sessions, rotation office, prison. Also used as assembly room	2 storeys		County Rate & Corptn. Funds		E. 2,000
PT31	1789	4 April 1790	The Wesleyan Chapel (Horsefair)		Accom. 1000?				E. 1,500
PT32		c.1792 ^s	The Theatre (Gillygate)			S	Subns.		E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT33	c.1792		King Edward's Free Grammar School - rebuilt	Classical education for boys	Accom. 14+		Donations & Corptn. Funds		E. 500
PT34	1795	1796	Protestant Nonconformist Dissenters' Chapel (Finkle St.?)				Donations		E. 1,000
PT35		1806 ^s	The Catholic Chapel (Tanshelf)		Accom. c.100				E. 200
PT36	C.P.	1811	The Workhouse - extension (premises formerly Bead House Hospital)		6 rooms				
PT37	C.P.?	1812	The Dispensary						
PT38	C.P.	1816	The National School (in enlarged charity school)	For boys and girls	Accom. 200				
PT39		1820 ^s	The West Riding Court House (Beast Market)	For the W.R. General Sessions of the Peace		S	County Rate		E. 3,000
PT40	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Post Office (Finkle St.)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT41	C.P.?	pre Aug 1824	The New Assembly Rooms						
PT42	Feb 1824	1824	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (Micklegate)		"Large"				E. 1,500
PT43		pre 1827	The Grand Stand (1 mile n. of town)						
PT44		1829	The National School (Northgate)	For boys	Accom. 200		Donations, subns. & Nat. Soc. grant		700 ^q
PT45	C.P.?	1831	The Infant School		Accom. 100				
PT46	C.P.	1831	The British School (the Methodist School-room)				Subns.		
PT47	C.P.?	1835	The Subscription Library						
PT48		pre 1837	Ward's Hospital		6 tenements				

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
PT49		1837 ^s	All Saints or All Hallows Church - restored.						
PT50	C.P.	1837	The British School (formerly the theatre)		Accom. 400		Subns. & Govt. grant		conversion 675

Sources for Pontefract Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

End. Char. Pt. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities
(England and Wales) - Report on the Parish of Pontefract (P.P. 1899, LXXIII).

- PT1 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 237.
- PT2 W. White, 1837 D. p. 281; End. Char. Pt. p. 353.
- PT3 G. Fox, The History of Pontefract (Pontefract, 1827), p. 287.
- PT4 E. Baines, 1822D. p. 237.
- PT5 B. Boothroyd, The History of the Ancient Borough of Pontefract (Pontefract, 1807), pp. 382-3; G. Fox, op. cit. pp. 296, 327.
- PT6 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 237.
- PT7 G. Fox, op. cit. pp. 75, 180.
- PT8 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 237.
- PT9 G. Fox, op. cit. pp. 317, 324; W. White, 1837 D. p. 281.
- PT10 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 238; W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
- PT11 G. Fox, op. cit. p. 330; End Char. Pt. p. 338.
- PT12 G. Fox, op. cit. p. 327.
- PT13 W.R.Q.S. Gen.Index, Pontefract April 1657; G. Fox, op. cit. p. 357.
- PT14 G. Fox, op. cit. p. 297; End. Char. Pt. p. 339.
- PT15 G. Fox, op. cit. pp. 295-6; End. Char. Pt. p. 356.
- PT16 End. Char. Pt. pp. 334-6.
- PT17 B. Boothroyd, op. cit. p. 491; G. Fox, op. cit. p. 352; W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
- PT18 W. White, 1837 D. p. 218.
- PT19 End. Char. Pt. pp. 341-2.
- PT20 B. Boothroyd, op. cit. pp. 490-1.
- PT21 G. Fox, op. cit. p. 355.
- PT22 Ibid. p. 281; W. White, 1837 D. p. 281.
- PT23 W. White, 1837 D. p. 282; End. Char. Pt. p. 339.
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- PT29 W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
- PT30 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 240; N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, The West Riding (1967), p. 395.
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- PT32 L.I. 23 July 1792; G. Fox, op. cit. p. 357; E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 240.
- PT33 W. White, 1837 D. p. 279; End. Char. Pt. pp. 346-9.
- PT34 G. Fox, op. cit. p. 352; W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
- PT35 B. Boothroyd, op. cit. p. 485; G. Fox, op. cit. p. 352; W. White, 1837 D. p. 279.
- PT36 End. Char. Pt. p. 337.
- PT37 Ibid. p. 385.
- PT38 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 238; W. White, 1837 D. p. 280.
- PT39 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 240; G. Fox, op. cit. p. 357; W. White, 1837 D. p. 280; W.R.Q.S. Gen. Index: Pontefract, April and June 1807, April 1811; Wakefield, May 1818.
- PT40 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 241.
- PT41 L.I. 5 Aug. 1824.
- PT42 L.I. 4 Mar. 1824; G. Fox, op. cit. p. 352.
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- PT44 W. White, 1837 D. p. 280; End Char. Pt. p. 378.
- PT45 W. White 1837 D. p. 280.
- PT46 Ibid. p. 280.
- PT47 Ibid. p. 279.
- PT48 Ibid. p. 282.
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- PT50 W. White, 1837 D. p. 280; End. Char. Pt. p. 382.

RIPON PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RN1	post 1100	pre 1135	The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen (Stammergate)	Almshouses for 6 poor women & chapel					
RN2		c.1109	Hospital of St. John the Baptist (Bondgate)	Almshouse and chapel for 2 poor women	1 storey		Benefactors		
RN3	1331	1494	St. Peter's Collegiate Church	C/E					
RN4	C.P.?	1555	The Free Grammar School (St. Agnesgate)	Children and young men taught	Accom. 40		Royal endowment		
RN5		pre 1599	The Tolbooth	A town hall					
RN6	1611		The New Town House	Town hall, venue for corptn. meetings	2 storeys		Corptn. funds		
RN7	C.P.	1629	The House of Correction (Archbishop's Palace)	Poor set to work			Benefactor: Archbishop of York		
RN8		1654 ^s	Hospital of St. Anne or Maison Dieu	Almshouse relieving 8 poor women & chapel					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RN9	C:P.	1672	Jepson's Hospital or Blue Coat School (Low Skellgate)	Accommodating and educating 20 orphan boys	2 storeys		Benefactor: Zacharias Jepson		Conversion 100
RN10		1674 ^s	Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen - restored (Stammergate)	Housed 6 poor women			Benefactor: Rd. Hooke		
RN11	1684		A Workhouse and House of Correction	Setting the poor to work and punishing criminals					
RN12		17th C.	The Prison and House of Correction (St. Marygate)	Housing prisoners of Liberty of Ripon; & the Dean & Chapter's court of pleas	5 rooms 2 storeys				
RN13		1702 ^s	The Market Cross - rebuilt (Market Place)				Benefactor: John Aislabie		500+
RN14	C:P.	1776	The Workhouse - new premises (Allhallowgate)				Benefactor: Wm. Aislabie		
RN15		1777 ^s	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (Coltsgate Hill)						E. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RN16	C.P.?	1790	The Public Dispensary (Agnesgate)	Medical treatment for out-patients			Subns.		
RN17		1792 ^s	The Theatre						E. 1,000
RN18		1796 ^s	New Methodist Connexion Chapel (Low Skellgate)						E. 500
RN19	2 Feb 1798	1801	The Town Hall (Market Square)	Assembly rooms, committee rooms, & rooms for Petty & Quarter Sessions.	456 sq. yd. 2 storeys		Benefactress: Mrs. Allanson		E. 4,000
RN20	C.P.?	10 Jan 1803	Ripon Subscription School	12 boys taught					
RN21		pre 1806	The Prison for the Liberty of Ripon (n. of Church)	4 rooms for debtors, 2 cells for felons			Archbishop of York		
RN22		pre 1806	The Court House for the Liberty of Ripon (n. of church)				Archbishop of York		
RN23	1810	1810	The Grammar School - repaired				School trust funds		180

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RN24	C.P.	1813	The Boys' National School (Hospital of St. John the Baptist)						
RN25	.	1813?	The Girls' National School				Benefactress: Mrs. Lawrence		E. 500
RN26	.	1815 ^s	Prison for the Liberty of Ripon						E. 1,000
RN27	.	1818 ^s	Independent Chapel (Allhallow Gate)						E. 2,000
RN28	.	1821 ^s	Primitive Methodist Chapel (Priest Lane)						E. 1,000
RN29	28 July 1826	31 Oct 1827	Trinity Church (w. of town)	C/E	Accom. 1000		Benefactor: Ed. Kilvington		9,000
RN30	.	1829 ^s	St. Peter's Collegiate Church - repaired						3,000+
RN31	.	1830 ^s	The Court House.	Venue of Quarter Sessions of Borough & Liberty					E. 1,500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RN32		1834 ^s	The Public Rooms (Low Skellgate)	Library, newsroom & large room for public business			£12.10s. shares		2,500 ^q
RN33		Instituted 14 Feb 1835	The Public Dispensary (held in Public Rooms)	Medical treatment for out-patients					

Sources for Ripon Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

- Ripon History - W. Farrer, The History of Ripon: Comprehending a Civil and Ecclesiastical Account of that Ancient Borough(Ripon, 1801).
- Tourist's Guide - The Tourist's Guide; Being a Concise History and Description of Ripon(2nd edn. Ripon, 1838).
- End. Char. Rn. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities (England and Wales) - Report on the Parish of Ripon (P.P. 1899, LXXII).

- RN1 Ripon History pp. 152-9.
- RN2 Ibid. p. 160; End. Char. Rn. pp. 617-19.
- RN3 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 248; J. R. Walbran, A Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey (15th edn. Ripon, 1885), p. 32.
- RN4 Ripon History, p. 44; W. White, 1837 D. II, p. 797; End. Char. Rn. p. 593.
- RN5 W. Harrison, printer, The Ripon Millenary Record (Ripon, 1892), part II, p. 49; Ripon Civic Trust, Ripon Some Aspects of its History (1972), p. 13.
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- RN7 Ibid. p. 55, Corporation Minutes 3 Nov. 1629.
- RN8 Ripon History p. 161; End. Char. Rn. pp. 599-600.
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- RN10 End. Char. Rn. pp. 615-6.
- RN11 W. Harrison, op. cit. part II, pp. 77-9.
- RN12 Ripon History p. 151; J. H. Turner, Wakefield House of Correction (1904), pp. 110-11; Ripon Civic Trust, op. cit. p. 67.
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- RN14 W. Harrison, op. cit. part II, p. 107.
- RN15 Tourist's Guide p. 75.
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- RN17 Ripon History p. 43; W. White, 1837 D. II, p. 797.
- RN18 Tourist's Guide p. 75.
- RN19 Ripon History p. 42; E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 247; W. Harrison, op. cit. part II, pp. 117-18.
- RN20 W. Harrison, op. cit. part II, p. 119.
- RN21 Ripon History pp. 150-1.
- RN22 Ibid. p. 150.
- RN23 End. Char. Rn. p. 594.
- RN24 W. White, 1837 D. II, pp. 797-8.
- RN25 Ibid. II, pp. 797-8.
- RN26 Ibid. II, p. 795.

- RN27 Tourist's Guide p. 75.
- RN28 Ibid. p. 75.
- RN29 W. White, 1837 D. II, p. 796; Tourist's Guide p. 70.
- RN30 J. R. Walbran, op. cit. p. 32.
- RN31 W. White, 1837 D. II, p. 795.
- RN32 Ibid. II, p. 797; Tourist's Guide p. 75.
- RN33 Tourist's Guide p. 75.

ROTHERHAM PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RM1	post 1461	pre 1483	All Saints' Church	Rotherham parish church					
RM2	founded 1481	pre 1500	Jesus College	For a provost, 5 priests, 6 choristers & 3 schoolmasters			Benefactor		
RM3		pre 1500?	The Bridge Chapel (on the Bridge)	Long used as town's prison					
RM4		pre 1548	The Grammar School (Jesus-Gate)	"A house wherein 3 free schools be kept and taught"			Benefactor		
RM5		pre 1553	The Bakehouse (Jesus-Gate)		30' long 2 storeys				
RM6		pre 1584	The Town Hall						
RM7		pre 1594	The Almshouses						
RM8		pre 1610	The Market Cross						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RM9		pre 1627	The Tollbooth						
RM10		pre 1660	The Workhouse						
RM11		pre 1684	The Moot Hall						
RM12	C.P.?	1702	The Hollis School	Charity school for 30 boys and girls			Benefactor: Thos. Hollis		
RM13		1708 ^s	The Feoffees' Charity School (or Petty School)	Maintaining poor children and teaching them to read, write, knit and sew			Subns. & charity funds (Feoffees)		E. 200
RM14		1720 ^s	The Unitarian Chapel (Beast Market)				Benefactor: Thos. Hollis		E. 300
RM15	8 Aug 1739	10 Feb 1743	The Town Hall and Grammar School (Market Place)	Grammar school for boys, with hall above for public business, Quarter Sessions & assemblies. Also prison	2 storeys		Charity funds (Feoffees)		550

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RM16		1760 ^s	Methodist Chapel (Bunting Croft)				Donations & Methodist Conference grant		271 ^q
RM17		1776 ^s	The Feoffees' Charity School - rebuilt (Beast Market)	Schoolroom and house for master. Boys & girls taught 3 R's & clothed	Accom. c.50 pupils		Charity funds (Feoffees)	Gift	254 + stone
RM18	C.P.	c.1779	The Prison (in old almshouses)				Charity funds (Feoffees)		
RM19	C.P.	1780	Bellamy's Almshouses	Housed 4 poor women			Benefactress: M. Bellamy		
RM20	1780	1781	The Market House (Market Place)	Shelter for con- venience of market			Charity funds (Feoffees)		173
RM21	C.P.?	pre 1789	The Baptist Church (Masborough Common)						
RM22		1789 ^s	The Hollis School - new building	Charity school for boys and girls	Accom. 24		School's trust funds		E. 500
RM23		c.1795 ^s	Nonconformist College ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile from town)	Training priests			Benefactor: J. Walker		E. 4,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RM24	10. Feb. 1802	30. Aug 1803	The Market Place and Shambles	Market buildings containing 20 butchers' shops, 8 slaughter-houses & 9 clamming houses			£50 shares		7,415 ^q
RM25		1805 ^s	The New Methodist Chapel (Talbot Lane)						2,500+ ^q
RM26	C.P.	May 1806	The Dispensary (Wellgate)						
RM27		1810 ^s	The Grammar School - Master's House rebuilt (nr. Town Hall)	Residence for school master			Charity funds (Feoffees)		517
RM28	C.P.	1816	The School of Industry (in old college building)	Training girls as servants			Subns.		
RM29	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Subscription Library						
RM30	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Post Office (High St.)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
RM31	1825	1826	The Town Hall	Venue for Quarter & Petty Sessions, Court of Requests, Courts Leet			County rate, charity funds (Feoffees) & subns.		5,000 ^q .
RM32	1827	1829	The New Dispensary, Newsroom, Library and Grammar School	Grammar school, dispensary, subscription library & newsroom			Charity funds (Feoffees) & subns.		2,000
RM33		1832 ^s	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel - enlargement (Talbot Lane)		Accom. 1500				
RM34		1833 ^s	The British School	Boys and girls taught	Accom. 400		Charity funds (Feoffees) & donations	Gift	E. 1,000
RM35	27 Apr 1836		The Baptist Chapel (Westgate)			S & B			1,100 ^q
RM36	1838	1839	The Union Workhouse (Pennyless Walk Close)		Accom. 200			1,000	3,988

Sources for Rotherham Gazetteer

Abbreviations and short titles:

- Notices - J. Guest, Historic Notices of Rotherham: Ecclesiastical, Collegiate and Civil (Worksop, 1879).
- End. Char. Rm. - Reports of Commissioners for Endowed Charities (England and Wales) - Report on the Parish of Rotherham (P.P.1897, LXVII, pt.6).

- RM1 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 256.
- RM2 End. Char. Rm. pp. 381-3; E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 256. Additional information in J. Guest, Rotherham Ancient College and Grammar School (Rotherham, 1876).
- RM3 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 337.
- RM4 End. Char. Rm. pp. 381-3; Notices p. 333.
- RM5 Notices p. 355.
- RM6 Ibid. p. 417.
- RM7 Ibid. pp. 387, 395.
- RM8 Ibid. p. 392.
- RM9 Ibid. p. 394.
- RM10 Ibid. pp. 398, 433-4.
- RM11 Ibid. p. 190.
- RM12 Ibid. p. 469.
- RM13 End. Char. Rm. p. 377; Notices pp. 418, 420.
- RM14 End. Char. Rm. p. 410; E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 256; Sheffield 1845 D. p. 339; Notices p. 454.
- RM15 End. Char. Rm. p. 357; Notices pp. 65-6, 288, 403-4, 406-7, 411, 413.
- RM16 Notices pp. 476-7.
- RM17 End. Char. Rm. pp. 357-8, 378; Notices pp. 410, 420. Additional information in J. Guest, History of the Feoffees' School, Rotherham (Rotherham, n.d.).
- RM18 Notices p. 411.
- RM19 End. Char. Rm. p. 355.
- RM20 Notices pp. 65-6, 411.
- RM21 Ibid. p. 467.
- RM22 Ibid. p. 469.
- RM23 Ibid. pp. 461, 466.
- RM24 Ibid. pp. 412, 415, 542-3.
- RM25 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 339; Notices pp. 480-1, 483.
- RM26 Notices pp. 409, 412, 434.
- RM27 End. Char. Rm. 357; Notices p. 409.

- RM28 Notices p. 409.
- RM29 E. Baines, 1822 D. p. 256.
- RM30 Ibid. p. 258.
- RM31 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 341; Notices p. 40, 410, 413.
- RM32 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 341; Notices p. 341, 346, 413.
- RM33 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 339.
- RM34 Ibid. p. 340; Notices p. 413.
- RM35 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 339; Notices p. 467.
- RM36 Sheffield 1845 D. p. 342; Notices pp. 413, 434.

SHEFFIELD PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD1	c.1110'		St. Peter's Church .	Sheffield parish church					
SD2		1155 ^s	St. Leonard's Hospital (Spital Hill)				Benefactor: De Lovetot		
SD3	C.F.?	1390	The Grammar School						
SD4		pre 1568	The Market Cross						
SD5		1568 ^s	The Market Cross - rebuilt						
SD6		pre 1571	The Sembly House (The Wicker)	Manorial court house					
SD7		pre 1612	The "Cage" or "Lock-up"	Short-stay prison					
SD8		pre 1619	The Grammar School House						
SD9		1630	The Workhouse				Charity funds & donations	Leasēd	

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD10		pre 1638	The Town Hall (on Church Wall)	Hall for public business with 11 shops beneath			Lord of the Manor		
SD11	1638	1638	The Cutlers' Hall (Church Lane)	Social and business affairs of the Cutlers' Company	"Small"	S	Company's funds and donations	69	86
SD12		1648 ^s	The Grammar School (nr. Townhead Cross)					Leased	
SD13	1665	1666	Hospital of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury (E. bank of river Sheaf, nr. the bridge)	Almshouses and chapel for 10 men and 10 women			Benefactor: Earl of Shrewsbury		
SD14		1678	The New Hall	Dissenters' meeting house					E. 300
SD15		pre 18th C.	Old Almshouses (foot of Lady's Bridge)						
SD16		pre 18th C.	The Old Shambles						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD17	May 1700	c. May 1701	The Town Hall (Church Yard)	Venue of W.R. Quarter Sessions, manor courts and meetings of the Town Trust. Lower storey: cells and shops	2 storeys	B	Charity funds (T.T.) and benefactor: Duke of Norfolk		220
SD18		1700 ^s	The Upper Chapel (Norfolk St.)	Dissenter		B	Donations		E. 300
SD19	C.P.	1703	Hollis's Hospital and School (The Brown School) (in the New Hall, New Hall St.)	16 almshouses for cutlers' widows and school for 50 boys and girls			Benefactor: Thos. Hollis		
SD20	C.P.	1707	The Parochial Library (Parish Church Vestry)						
SD21	Aug 1708	Sept 1710	The Boys' Charity School (Parish Church Yard)	c. 30 boys taught and accommodated between age of 7 and 12 yrs.			Donations	Leased	275
SD22		1715 ^s	The Nether Chapel (Norfolk St.)	Independent		B & S			E. 300
SD23	28 May 1720	1721?	St. Paul's Church (Shaw's Close)	C/E	Accom. 1250 494 sq. yd.	S	Benefactor: Robt. Downes & donations		1,000+

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD24		1721 ^s	Birley's Free Writing School (Townhead St.)	Boys taught reading and writing	Accom. 60		Benefactor: Wm. Birley		E. 300
SD25		1722 ^s	The Almshouses (West Barr)			B	Charity funds (T.T.)		347 ^q
SD26	May 1725	Aug 1726	The Cutlers' Hall (Church St.)	Social & business affairs of Cutlers' Company; Petty Sessions	Accom. 260	B & S	Co. funds		442
SD27	C.P.?	1733	The Workhouse (West Barr)	Housed poor adults & children	Accom. 24+	B	Poor Rate?		
SD28	1737		The Quaker Meeting House						E. 250
SD29	c.1738	c.1741	The Shambles (on site of old Shambles in Market Place)	Butchers' shops and stalls					E. 500
SD30		11 Apr 1741	The Market Cross (Market Place)						E. 100
SD31		1 Sept 1741 ^s	Wesleyan Chapel (Cheney Square, Pinstone Lane)	Wesleyan Methodist	"Small"	W?	Donations.		E. 100

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD32		c.1745 ^s	Union Street Chapel	Wesleyan	"Small"		Benefactor: James Bennet		E. 200
SD33		1756 ^s	A Public Brewery (Townhead Cross)				Entrepreneur: John Taylor		
SD34	C.P.?	pre 1757	Calvinist Chapel (Orchard St.)	Shared by Calvinists and Wesleyan Methodists	"Small"				
SD35	C.P.	c.1757	Mulberry Street Chapel	Wesleyan Methodist	Accom. 60 120 sq. yd.				
SD36	12 Feb 1759?		The Workhouse - enlargement ordered	To be enlarged, improved, & school room to be built	Accom. 156 in 1781				
SD37	C.P.?	pre 1762	A Theatre (Angel Yard)		A room				
SD38		1762 ^s	The Assembly Rooms and Theatre (Norfolk St.)	Assembly room & card room, with theatre adjoining	Theatre accom. 800		£100 shares		3,000+ ¹
SD39		1764 ^s	Methodist Chapel (Norfolk St.)						E. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD40		1764 ^s	The Quaker Meeting House - rebuilt (Hartshead)						E. 300
SD41	1767		Scotland Street Chapel	Followers of Mr. Bryant - Methodist seceders			"Built by Mr. Bryant"		E. 300
SD42	C.P.	1771	The Town Library	Subscription library	49 members				
SD43	C.P.	20 Sept 1773	The Assay Office (Norfolk St.)	Office where metals assayed and marked					
SD44	24 Sept 1774	1777	Duke of Norfolk's Hospital - repaired and Chapel added	Mainly for worship of the almshouse pensioners			Benefactor: Duke of Norfolk		1,000
SD45		1774	Coal Pit Lane Chapel	Independent			Benefactor: Ed. Bennett		E. 500
SD46		1776 ^s	Hollis's Hospital - rebuilt	Almshouses	16 dwellings	B			E. 800
SD47	post 1775	c.1776	The Grammar School - repaired				Donations		E. 400
SD48	post 1776	.1777?	The Theatre - rebuilt (Norfolk St., adj. Assembly Room)			B	Shares		E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD49		pre 1777	Duke of Norfolk's Prison (King St.)	Debtors' prison, included workroom	2 storeys	S	Duke of Norfolk		
SD50	1779	30 June 1780	Norfolk St. Wesleyan Chapel (Alsop's Field, Norfolk St.)		Accom. 1300	B		430	2,070
SD51		21 Sept 1780 ^s	Garden Street Chapel	Independent Protestant Dissenters			"Erected by Mr. Bristol"		700+
SD52		1780 ^s	Lee Croft Chapel	Independent Methodist					E. 500
SD53	1783	1784 ^s	Queen Street Chapel	Dissenters			Donations	Leased	1,100
SD54	post 1783	31 Aug 1786	The Shambles and Market Place	Covered area for butchers' stalls, dairy produce, fruit & vegetable shops	Site 4000 sq. yd. 1 storey	B & S	Entrepreneur: Duke of Norfolk		11,000+
SD55	1787	1788	The Girls' Charity School (Parish Church Yard)	Training girls to read, and for domestic service, from ages 7 to 15 yrs.	Accom. 50 girls		Donations		1,500 ^q
SD56	post 1786	5 Aug 1789	St. James' Church (Vicarage Croft)	C/E	Accom. 700		Pew sales		3,000
SD57		c.1787 ^s	The Freemasons' Hall (Paradise Square)	Freemasons' meetings	"Spacious"				E. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD58		1789 ^s	Park Free School	Sheffield National District Society school					E. 300
SD59		1789 ^s	Methodist Sunday School				Donations		
SD60		pre 1790	The Race Stand (on Crookes Moor)				Shares		
SD61		11 Apr 1790	Howard Street Chapel	Dissenters			Donations		E. 1,000
SD62		June 1790 ^s	The Parish Church - partially rebuilt						
SD63	27 July 1792	1794 ^s	The Barracks (beyond Shales Moor)	Cavalry barracks	Accom.200	S			E. 10,000
SD64	May 1793	9. Jan 1794	The New Coffee House (George St.)	A coffee house			Shares		1,030+

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD65	4 Sept 1793	4 Oct 1797	The General Infirmary (n.w. of the town)	Medical treatment to in-patients and out-patients	Site 31 acres	S	Donations	5,991	17,697
SD66		1795 ^s	Methodist Chapel (Bridgehouses)		"Small"	S			E. 500
SD67		1795 ^s	The Assay Office (Fargate)	Testing & marking of articles of plate manufactured in Sheffield					E. 500
SD68	C.P.?	Jan 1797	The School of Industry (Hartshead)	Teaching poor children to read, knit and sew					
SD69	post Nov 1800	6 Oct 1805	The Parish Church - extensive renovation		Accom. 3000	S			
SD70	1 Mar 1804	25 July 1805	Carver Street Chapel (Cadman's Fields)	Methodist Connexion	Accom. 1400	B	Donations	. 250	4,720 ²
SD71		1806?	Quaker Meeting House - rebuilt (Hartshead)		Accom. 1200	B			E. 2,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD72	post 1790	pre 1808	Ecclesall Gaol (Bright St.)	Debtors' prison belonging to Ecclesall Court Baron			Donations	Gift	
SD73	23 June 1808	19 Apr 1810	The Town Hall (Haymarket)	Venue for W.R. Quarter Sessions, Town Trust meetings, Court of Requests & other public business. Prison incorporated		S	Charity funds (T.T.) Poor rate Cutlers' Co. funds	Gift	5,600
SD74		pre 1809	Ecclesall Bierlow Court House (Tudor St., Little Sheffield)	Venue for Court of Requests for Manor of Ecclesall					
SD75	C.P.	5 June 1809	The Lancasterian School (Gibraltar St.)	Boys' school	Accom. 1000		Donations		
SD76	C.P.?	1. Jan 1810 ^s	The Public Newsroom (old Church Yard)						
SD77	1812	11 Oct 1813	The National School (Carver St.)	Day school for boys and girls	Accom. 500+		Donations & Nat. Soc. grant		700
SD78		1814 ^s	Townhead Chapel (Townhead Cross)	Baptist					E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD79		pre 1816	The Lord's House (Norfolk Row)	Roman Catholic chapel owned by the Duke of Norfolk					
SD80	C.P.	1816	Lancasterian School for Girls (Gibraltar St.)	400 girls taught					
SD81		1 May 1816	The Catholic Chapel (Norfolk Row)			B & S	Benefactor: Duke of Norfolk & donations		E. 1,000
SD82		c.1817	The Subscription News-room (East Parade)						E. 1,000
SD83	C.P.	Jan 1818	The Town Library - new premises (George St.)	Subscription library	"Large"				
SD84	C.P.	22 Aug 1818	The Gaol (Scotland St.)	Duke of Norfolk's debtors' prison		B	Duke of Norfolk		
SD85		1820 ^s	Independent Methodist Chapel (Bow St.)						E. 1,000
SD86	C.P.?	22 Apr 1821	New Independent Methodist Chapel (Church St.)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD87	19 July 1821	29 June 1825	St. George's Church (Broad Lane)	C/E	Accom. 1933 900 sq. yd.	S	Parl. grant		15,181
SD88	26 Sept 1822	13 July 1828	St. Philip's Church (Infirmary Road)	C/E	Accom. 2000 832 sq. yd.		Parl. grant	Gift	13,116
SD89	21 Oct 1822	27 July 1823	Ebenezer Chapel (Shales Moor)	Wesleyan Methodist	Accom. 1579	S		Gift	4,069
SD90	31 Mar. 1823	Dec 1825	The New Music Hall (Surrey St.)	Music saloon/lecture room, subscription library, newsroom, merchants' exchange		S	Shares		E. 10,000
SD91	Oct 1823	4 Aug 1825	The Free Grammar School (Broad Lane)	25 boys taught	Site 2400 sq. yd.		Subns. and donations	Leased	1,600
SD92	6 Apr 1825	July 1826	The Boys' Charity School - rebuilt (Church Yard)		Accom. 100		Subns.		3,000
SD93		11 Apr 1825	Cooke's Olympic Circus (Sycamore St.)						E. 1,000
SD94	3 July 1825	May 1827	Hospital of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury - rebuilt (overlooking Claywood)	Chapel and almshouses	36 dwellings			Gift	10,183

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD95	12 Oct 1826	21 July 1830	St. Mary's Church (Bramhall Lane)	C/E	Accom. 2000		Parl. grant.	Gift	13,927
SD96	7 May 1827	19 Aug 1828	The New Nether Chapel (Norfolk St.)	Independent	"Spacious" 374 sq. yd.	B	Donations		E. 2,000
SD97		1827 ^s	Birley's Free Writing School - rebuilt (School Croft)		Accom. 30		Charity funds		E. 800
SD98		8 June 1828	The Methodist Connexion Chapel (South St.)	New Connexion Methodist	Accom. 1000				E. 2,500
SD99	25 Nov 1828		The Corn Exchange (The Park)	Corn exchange - part of the new Sheffield Market scheme 1827-30	"Large"	S	Entrepreneur: Duke of Norfolk		E. 12,000
SD100		24 May 1829	Scotland St. Chapel - rebuilt	New Connexion Methodist					E. 1,000
SD101	c.1827	30 June 1829	Ecclesall Bazaar (Sheffield Moor)	Market place sur- rounded by shops			Entrepreneur: Earl Fitz- william		E. 5,000
SD102	C.P.	4 Feb 1828	The Post Office (Arundel St.)		A house				

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD103	9 July 1828	2 July 1829	Sheffield Medical Institution (Surrey St.)	Medical & anatomical academy for the town's medical students			Subns.	Leased	E. 1,000
SD104	C.P. Aug 1828	18 June 1829	The New Workhouse (a converted mill in Kelham St.)		Accom. 600		Poor rate		Conversion 3,000
SD105		1829 ^s	Infant School (The Park)						E. 300
SD106	1830	7 Jan 1831	Wesleyan Chapel (Duke St.)	Chapel & Sunday school	Accom. 2000	S	Donations	750	2,000
SD107		1830 ^s	Infant School (Hermitage St.)				Benefactor: R. Hodgson & donations		E. 800
SD108		1831 ^s	Lancasterian Infant School (Bowling Green St.)						E. 800
SD109		1831 ^s	Wesleyan Protestant Methodist Chapel (Surrey St.)		Accom. 500				Under 3,000 (E. 1,500)

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD110	C.P.	4 June 1832	Sheffield Public Dispensary (Tudor St.)	Medical relief to out-patients					
SD111	11 June 1832	1833	The Cutlers' Hall - rebuilt (Church St.)	Hall, dining room, assembly room, etc. for Cutlers' Co.	2 storeys	S & B	Cutlers' Co. funds	400	9,939
SD112	C.P.	Aug 1832	Cholera Hospitals (at Workhouse & The Park)	2 hospitals for cholera victims			Poor rate		
SD113		1832 ^s	Infant School (Hoyle St.)		2 storeys	B & S			1,200 ^q
SD114		c.1832 ^s	Wesleyan Protestant Methodist Chapel (Stanley St.)						E. 1,000
SD115	3 Apr 1833	30 May 1834	Brunswick Chapel (South St.)	Wesleyan Methodist chapel with school beneath	Accom. 2000				E. 6,000
SD116		1833 ^s	The Town Hall - enlargement	Venue for Quarter Sessions, Manor Courts, etc. Prison, offices & Police office			Charity funds (T.T.)		

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD117	C.P.	1833	Sheffield Public Dispensary (West St.)	Relief of the sick & lame poor	"A house"				
SD118		1833 ^s	Norfolk St. Wesleyan Chapel - enlargement						
SD119	1833	13 Feb 1834	Bridge Houses Chapel - rebuilt (Rock St.)	Wesleyan Methodist					E. 1,000
SD120	7 April 1834	12 May 1835	Mount Zion Chapel (Westfield Terrace)		Accom. 1000	B & S			E. 5,000
SD121		1834 ^s	Carver St. Chapel School						E. 800
SD122		1834 ^s	The Commercial Buildings (High St.)	Post office, newsroom, offices	2 storeys		£25 shares		5,000 ^q
SD123	20 July 1835	c. Aug 1836	Bethel Primitive Methodist Chapel (Coal Pit Lane)		Accom. 1800	B			3,000 ^q
SD124	23 Sept 1835	July 1836	Sheffield Collegiate School (nr. Broomhall)	School for boys, giving classical & commercial education on principles of C/E	Accom. 120	S	£25 shares		9,000 ^l

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD125	C:P.?	20 Dec 1835	The Operative Conservative Newsroom (Chapel Walk)						
SD126		29 June 1836	The Botanical Gardens (1½ miles s.w. of town)	Gardens including various buildings	Site 18 acres		£20 shares		Total cost 16,000 (E. 5,000)
SD127		30 July 1836	Sheffield General Cemetery (Ecclesall Bierlow)	Chapel & cemetery surrounds		S	£25 shares		Under 13,000 (E. 7,000)
SD128		1836 ^s	Norfolk St. Wesleyan Chapel School (nr. chapel)		"Large"				E. 800
SD129	28 Sept 1836	26 July 1838	St. John the Evangelist Trustee Church (Park Hill)	C/E	Accom. 1200			Gift	3,440
SD130		1836 ^s	The Catholic School (Surrey St.)		Accom. .80	B & S			E. 1,000
SD131		1836 ^s	The Public Baths (Glossop Road)	Public baths & room over, suitable for lectures, or newsroom/ subscription library. Also 15 houses	Large room 216 sq. yd.		£20 shares		c.8,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
SD132	1836	1837	The Circus and Theatre (opp. Cattle Market)	Building for dramatic & equestrian performances	850 sq. yds	S	£25 shares		6,000 ^q .
SD133		pre 1837	The Vapour Baths (Portobello)	Suite of medicated vapour baths					
SD134	post 1835	1840	Wesleyan Proprietary College	Boarding school for boys, teaching classics, commerce, science	Accom. 200		£10 shares	4,218	19,752
SD135	C.P.	10 Apr 1839	Eldon St. and Portmahon Chapel	Baptist					
SD136	post 11 Jan 1839	13 Oct 1843	The Fever Hospital (nr. Infirmary)	Used as general wards for Infirmary					5,000 ^q

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WAKEFIELD PUBLIC BUILDINGS

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD1		c.1100	Wakefield Parish Church (Market Place)	C/E					
WD2	C.P.?	pre 1276	A School						
WD3		pre 1277	The Tolbooth (Market Place on Biche Hill)	Manorial prison					
WD4		pre 1284	St. Swithin's Chapel	Chantry chapel					
WD5		pre 1300	Chapel of St. John the Baptist (Leeds-Wakefield Road)	Chantry chapel					
WD6	1315	1329	Wakefield Parish Church - rebuilding	C/E					
WD7		early 14th C.	The Market Cross (Market Place)						
WD8		pre 1323	Le Wodehalle	Manorial court house					
WD9		c.1342	Lady Chapel (Wakefield Bridge)	Chantry chapel					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD10		1090-1347	The Manorial Bakehouse (Bread-booths)						
WD11		pre 1383	The Manorial Gaol (Marygate)		30 sq. yd.		Earls Warenne		
WD12		pre 1384	The Tolbooth or Kidcote (Biche Hill, the Market Place)	Gaol with court house above	16 sq. yd.				
WD13		1461-83	The Market Cross (Kirkgate)				King Edward IV		
WD14		pre 1388	Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene (Chald Lane)	Chantry chapel					
WD15		1470 ^s	Wakefield Parish Church - rebuilding (Market Place)	C/E	1200 sq. yd.	S			
WD16		c.1509-47	The Moot Hall - rebuilt (south side of Parish Church)	Manorial court house & residence of manorial steward		W			
WD17	c.1580	pre 1581	Leonard Bate's Alms-houses (Brookbank, Westgate)	Housed 5 poor people					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD18		1596 ^s	The Grammar School (Goodybower)	Free school for teaching children		S & W	Benefactors: Savile family	Gift	
WD19	C.P.?	1597 ^s	The House of Correction (Westgate?)	Prison where prisoners set on work					
WD20	C.P.	1612	The House of Correction (Westgate)	House converted for use as a prison for prisoners committed by the West Riding Magistrates					
WD21	c.1645	pre 1646	Cotton Horne's Alms-houses	Housed 10 poor women			Benefactor: Cotton Horne		
WD22	1662		The House of Correction - repaired (Westgate)						100
WD23	C.P.	1669	William Horne's Alms-houses	Housed 10 poor men			Benefactor: Wm. Horne		
WD24	C.P.	c.1670	Dissenters' Meeting House (Flanshaw Lane)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD25	C.P.	1689	The Workhouse (vacant rooms in the House of Correction)	Employing the poor of Wakefield					
WD26	1695	1697	Westgate Chapel or "Bell Chapel" (Westgate End)	Dissenter	340 sq. yd.				E. 300
WD27		17th C.?	The Moot Hall (Manor House Yard)	Manorial court house & venue of W.R. Quarter Sessions during 17th & 18th C.					
WD28	C.P.?	1704	The Register Office	Office for registration of deeds					
WD29		1707 ^s	The Charity School or Green Coat School	Children maintained & taught the 3 R's			Benefactors & charity funds		E. 200
WD30		1707 ^s	The Market Cross (Market Place)	Colonnaded area for markets with room above for public business		S			100+ (E. 150)
WD31		1710 ^s	The Cloth Hall	Market for cloth					E. 500

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD32	C.P.	1716	The Friends' Meeting House (Kirkgate)	Quaker					
WD33		1717 ^s	Grammar School Library (Goodybower)	Library to serve the Grammar School pupils					E. 100
WD34		1724 ^s	The Parish Church - south front rebuilt						
WD35		1727	The Assembly Rooms (adj. White Hart Hotel)	Assembly room and card room. Dining room and other rooms beneath	217 sq. yd. 2 storeys				E. 200
WD36		mid 18th C.	The Grandstand (Wakefield Outwood)						
WD37		1752	Westgate Chapel (Westgate)	Protestant dissenter					E. 500
WD38		1758	The Grammar School - a writing school added (Goodybower)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD39		pre 1765	The Riding School. (Westgate)	For military gents.					
WD40	1766	1768	The House of Correction - rebuilt	County gaol			County rate		2,772
WD41		1770 ^s	The House of Correction - Women's Prison				County rate		E. 2,000
WD42	C.P.	1772	Friends' Meeting House (Agbrigg, Donc.- Wak. Road)	Quaker					c.500
WD43	30 Aug 1773	27 April 1774	Wesleyan Chapel (Thornhill St.)						
WD44	C.P.?	pre 1776	A Theatre (Bull Yard)		"Tiny"				
WD45	C.P.?	pre 1776	A Theatre (George Yard)		"Tiny"				
WD46	1775	1776	The Theatre (Westgate)			B			E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD47	1777	1778	The Tammy Hall (George and Crown Yard, Wood St.)	Market for tammies, shalloons, worsteds & other woollen goods	400 stalls 700 sq. yd. 2 storeys		Shares & donations	367	1,800+
WD48	1782	1782	Zion Chapel (George St.)	Independent				70	E. 1,000
WD49	C.P.	1787	The Dispensary (Church Yard)	Medical relief to out- patients					
WD50	1788	1795	The House of Correction - enlarged	Additional wings with solitary cells & enclosing wall			County rate		E. 8,000
WD51	5 Sept 1789		The Parish Church Vestry (on east wall of Church)						E. 200
WD52		1790 ^s	The Shambles (Market Place)						E. 3,000
WD53	4 Nov 1791	28 July 1795	St. John's Church (St. John's Place)		Accom. 1000	S	Benefactor & pew sales	Gift	9,228
WD54		1793 ^s	Hornes' Almshouses - rebuilt						E. 1,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD55	C.P.?	1796 ^s	The Subscription Library						
WD56		1798	The New Assembly Rooms (Crown Court)						E. 1,500
WD57		pre 1800	The Poorhouse (George St.)						
WD58		1801	Salem Chapel (George St.)	Independent					E. 1,000
WD59	1800	1800	The Kidcote (George St.)	Town prison	Site 63 sq. yd.		Town commissioners	51	E. 500
WD60		1802 ^s	The Methodist Chapel (West Parade)	Wesleyan Methodist					E. 1,000
WD61	1806	1809	The Court House (Wood St.)	Venue of West Riding Quarter & Petty Sessions		S	County rate		E. 5,000
WD62	C.P.?	1808	The Newsroom	Subscription news-room					

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD63	C.P.?	1812	The School of Industry (Bond St.)						
WD64		1812 ^s	Lancasterian School (Margaret St.)	Boys & girls taught					E. 1,000
WD65	C.P.?	1813	The National School (Cross St.)	Boys taught					
WD66	C.P.?	1813	The National School (Almshouse Lane)	Girls taught					
WD67	C.P.	c.1816	Green Coat School for Girls (Providence St.)	Charity school for girls					
WD68	Feb 1816	23 Nov 1818	The West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (Wakefield outskirts)	Housing and treating the insane in the county	Accom. 250	B	County rate		40,000
WD69	Nov 1817		Temporary Extension to House of Correction				County rate		500
WD70	1819	1824	The House of Correction - enlarged.	Cells, treadmill, governor's house			County rate		28,300

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD71		1820 ^s	The Corn Exchange (Westgate)	Corn exchange and auction mart			Entrepreneur: Thomas Rishworth		E. 2,000
WD72	1821	12 Dec 1823	The Public Rooms (Wood St.)	Assembly/concert room & newsroom, library & dispensary	2 storeys	S	£25 shares	571	4,600+
WD73	C.P.?	pre 1822	The Post Office and Stamp Office (Post Office Yard, Market Place)						
WD74		pre 1823	The Clerk of the Peace's Office (Kirkgate)						
WD75		1823 ^s	The Primitive Methodist Chapel (Quebec St.)						E. 1,000
WD76	C.P.?	pre 1824	The Manor of Wakefield Rolls Office (opp. Church Yard)						
WD77	C.P.?	pre 1824	A School (nr. Wak.-Huddersfield Road)						
WD78	C.P.?	1824	The Dispensary (Northgate)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD79	C.P.?	1826	The House of Recovery (Westgate Common)	Hospital for fever cases					
WD80		1828 ^S	Westgate Chapel (Westgate)	Unitarian					E. 2,000
WD81		1828 ^S	The Catholic Church (Wentworth Terrace)						E. 2,000
WD82	C.P. 1829	1830	The Borough Police Office and Station for Fire Engines (King St.)	Police office, vagrancy office, lock-up and fire station					300
WD83		1829 ^S	The Register Office - enlargement						
WD84	C.P.?	1829	The Infant School (Quebec St.)						
WD85	C.P.? 1829	1830	The Museum (North Gate)						
WD86		pre 1830	The Wesleyan Chapel (East Moor)						

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD87		1830 ^s	The Pauper Lunatic Asylum - enlargement						
WD88	C.P.	1831	The Dispensary (Barstow Sq.)						
WD89	6 Feb. 1833	6 Aug 1834	The West Riding Proprietary School (Northgate)	Provided commercial education for middle-class boys			£25 shares		E. 7,800 ^l
WD90		1836 ^s	Methodist Chapel - enlargement (West Parade)						
WD91	24 May 1837	1840	The Corn Exchange (Westgate)	Corn exchange, shops, coffee rooms, offices & committee rooms	Site 2000 sq. yd.	S & B	£25 shares	5,780	9,044 ⁺
WD92		1837 ^s	The Pauper Lunatic Asylum - enlargement						
WD93		1837 ^s	The House of Correction - enlargement						5,100 ^q
WD94	1838	1839	Trinity Church	C/E	"Small"			Gift	E. 3,000

No.	Start of bdg.	Compln. date	Name of Building and its Location	Function	Size	Bdg. Matl.	Source of Finance	Cost of Land £	Cost of Building £
WD95		1838 ^s	Crowther's Almshouses (George St.)	Row of almshouses for dissenters			Benefactor: Caleb Crowther		E. 1,000
WD96		10 July 1839	The Zoological Gardens (Back Lane)						E. 2,000

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Appendix I

Sources for West Riding Population Statistics

The figures in Table I for 1600, 1700, and 1750 are my own estimates based on contemporary estimates and descriptions of the towns. Where no statistics are available a town's population is estimated from data indicating its size relative to towns for which population estimates are available. Hence, at the very least, the table is a reasonably accurate indicator of the towns' relative sizes. It is comforting to note that my estimates for 1750 are fairly similar to those made by C. M. Law in "Some Notes on the Urban Population of England and Wales in the Eighteenth Century", The Local Historian X, part 1 (1972-3), 86.

The figures for 1801 and 1841 are taken from the Census Reports of Great Britain, 1801 and 1841.

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Appendix II

Methods of Estimating the Cost of Public Buildings and Aggregate Expenditure on them

(a) Estimates of Expenditure on Individual Buildings

To permit the calculation of total expenditure on public buildings and the construction of the annual expenditure time series, it has been necessary to estimate the cost of many buildings. These estimates are derived from the cost of similar buildings for which expenditure data are available. The comparability of places of worship, for example, has been adjudged on the basis of their date, building materials, seating capacity, denomination, and appearance. Buildings for which data other than date and function are not available are usually omitted from expenditure calculations or given nominal valuations, since the scanty notice paid them by contemporary guides and directories suggests they were of little consequence. The estimates of expenditure on individual buildings, which are shown in the gazetteer, always err on the conservative side.

(b) The Construction of Aggregate Expenditure Figures

The estimation of aggregate annual and decennial expenditure figures, whether for all sectors or the public and private sectors individually, requires a knowledge of the timing of building projects, so that expenditure can be distributed over the years of construction.

The most important dates needed are those of foundation and opening ceremonies: these being assumed to approximate to the dates of a building's commencement and completion. In our calculations the cost of buildings has been divided by the number of calendar years taken for construction, the resulting amount being regarded as the expenditure incurred in each of the years. Thus, in the hypothetical

case of Building X - foundation stone laid in April 1791, opened November 1793, cost £3,000 - an expenditure of £1,000 would have been attributed to each of the years 1791, 1792, and 1793.

A major difficulty is that often we have only one date for a building, i.e. its date of foundation or opening, or worse still a directory entry such as "erected 1793" or "built 1793". It has been assumed, with considerable justification, that in the latter case the directory entries mean completed in the years cited. Given only one date, the duration of buildings' construction has been estimated by taking an average of the time taken to complete buildings of a similar type for which the construction dates are known.

The aggregate figures presented throughout this study include all those buildings credited in the gazetteer with either a known or estimated cost. Where possible, expenditure on sites is not contained in these calculations. Two points with regard to specific tables should be noted. Firstly, none of the time series include expenditure on buildings whose dates could not be estimated with some reliability. This expenditure, however, is included in the decennial and overall totals. Secondly, the public and private sector expenditure time series do not include expenditure made jointly by the two sectors.

(c) The Construction of the Annual Number of Buildings in Progress Time Series

This time series, like the long-term aggregate expenditure series depended partly for its construction on estimates of the length of time taken to erect buildings. The estimates were the same as those used for the expenditure series.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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I. Manuscript Sources

II. Printed Sources

(1) Parliamentary Papers and Official Publications

(a) Reports

(b) Acts

(c) Miscellaneous

(2) Directories

(3) Newspapers

(4) Maps

(5) Books

(a) published up to 1840

(b) published after 1840

(6) Articles

(a) published up to 1840

(b) published after 1840

(7) Miscellaneous Printed Material

including handbills, company prospectuses,

building specifications, reports of societies

III. Unpublished Theses

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Levying of County Rates
12 Geo.II, c.29 (1739)

An Act for the Better Care of Lunatics, Being Paupers
or Criminals in England
48 Geo.III, c.96 (1808)

An Act to Amend an Act Passed in the Forty Eighth Year of
the Reign of His Present Majesty entituled An Act for the
Better Care and Maintenance of Lunatics, Being Paupers or
Criminals, in England
55 Geo.III, c.46 (1815)

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Peace within the Said Riding
46 Geo.III, c.3 (1806)

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49 Geo.III, c.122 (1809)

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