

THE MECHANICS OF URBAN LAND DEVELOPMENT
IN HUDDERSFIELD 1770-1911

by

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SUMMARY

The land development process involves decision-making by landowners, developers and builders in the context of a changing socio-economic environment. Essential to that process is the transfer of property rights either wholly (freehold) or partly (leasehold) from landowners to builders. This process is examined in Huddersfield between 1770 and 1911.

Development from 1770 to 1850 was dominated by the Ramsden Estate. Building was undertaken in an ad hoc and informal manner by small capitalists from all ranks of society. Some limited building took place on freehold land but most houses were built on leasehold tenure or tenancy at will, the latter being available on the Ramsden Estate.

After 1850 an increasing number of landowners participated in land development as suburbanisation took place, firstly amongst the upper middle classes and after 1880 amongst the lower middle classes. Consequently the Ramsden Estate's near monopoly of development land declined and that Estate found it increasingly difficult to let land on the terms and conditions it wished. Builders, however, had a widening choice of locations in which to build and exhibited a preference for land available on long-term leasehold. By 1867 this had become the tenure on which land was available throughout Huddersfield.

During the final years of the nineteenth century a number of changes were manifest in the mechanics of land development. Construction costs rose, primarily as a result of the introduction of byelaws governing house-building. Thus, not only did builders increasingly concentrate on building for the lower middle classes at the expense of the working classes, but they also increased the size of building projects. Moreover, house building was now chiefly

initiated by members of the lower middle classes or building contractors on a speculative basis rather than the contractual basis that had been the practice. Meanwhile, landowners found themselves in increasing competition with each other in the supply of land. By the beginning of the twentieth century some of the smaller landowners were offering land for development on freehold as well as leasehold tenure, whichever a builder preferred.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Contents	1
Acknowledgements	2
List of Tables	3
List of Figures	5
Abbreviations	8
Locational Base Map	9
Chapter 1 The Conceptual Framework	10
Chapter 2 The Contextual Factors	44
Chapter 3 The Pre-development Pattern of Landownership and the Freehold Land Market	107
Chapter 4 The Ramsden Estate	150
Chapter 5 Decision-making by Other Landowners	184
Chapter 6 The Mechanics of Building 1770-1850	219
Chapter 7 The Mechanics of Building 1850-1911	265
Chapter 8 Summary and Conclusions	340
Appendix A Constructing the Spatial Pattern of Landownership: Notes on Sources	353
Appendix B The West Riding Registry of Deeds	356
Appendix C Ramsden Estate Purchases: Regression Analysis	359
Appendix D Examples of Covenants in Leases	360
Appendix E Friedman Two-way Analysis of Variance	365
Appendix F The Building Process: Notes on Sources	366
Appendix G Building Clubs and Societies advancing money for building in Huddersfield 1859-79	372
Appendix H House Types in Huddersfield	374
Bibliography	386

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TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
2.1 The Incidence of Births, Marriages and Deaths before 1800.	50
2.2 Population Trends 1801-1851.	52
2.3 Occupational Structure of Huddersfield.	60
2.4 Population Trends 1851-1911.	68
2.5 Occupational Structure in 1871 and 1911.	72
2.6 Incidence of Development in Outlying Areas 1797-1850.	93
3.1 Distribution of Land at Huddersfield Enclosure 1786.	113
3.2 Structure of Landownership in North Crosland 1799.	114
3.3 Distribution of Land to Landowners: Lindley Enclosure 1798.	114
3.4 Distribution of Land to Landowners: Dalton Enclosure 1811.	115
3.5 Number of Freehold Transactions 1770-1850.	117
3.6 Estate Sales 1851-1911.	137
3.7 Freehold Land Prices 1885-1911.	144
3.8 Cost of Ramsden Estate Purchases 1850-1884.	147
4.1 Mortgages charged on the Estate in 1890.	171
6.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics of Building Undertakers 1770-1850.	221
6.2 Cost of Land on Freehold, Leasehold and Tenancy at Will.	228
6.3 Turnover of Members of the Building Trade between 1843 and 1847.	230
6.4 Houseownership.	233
6.5 Evidence of Additions to Property from the Ramsden Rental.	236
6.6 Entries in the Ramsden Rentals relating to Building Clubs.	240
6.7 Ground Rents charged for New Cottages built 1801-1851.	252

TABLES (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
6.8 Houses built 1801-1851.	263
7.1 Extract of Notes on the Division of Leases in the Ramsden Estate Lease Register.	266
7.2 Socio-Economic Characteristics of Building Undertakers 1850-1905.	268
7.3 Starkey Estate: Extracts from Accounts relating to Huddersfield Property.	273
7.4 Building Project Size 1850-1875.	279
7.5 Building Project Size 1875-1911.	280
7.6 Subsequent Ownership of Land bought at Lindley: Thornhill Sales 1855.	284
7.7 Intensity of Site Development: Ramsden Estate.	285
7.8 Variation in Plot Size.	286
7.9 Average Area per House in Square Yards.	287
7.10 Ratio of Houses to Cottages.	288
7.11 Villa Development on the Thornhill Estate.	290
7.12 Houses built 1851-1901.	291
7.13 Wage Statistics.	295
7.14 House Rents 1908.	297
7.15 House Rents 1910.	298
7.16 Housing Statistics by Ward 1871.	299
7.17 Income and Expenditure 1890.	300
7.18 Development on the Thornhill and Ramsden Estates at Hillhouse.	322
7.19 Development at Bay Hall.	323
7.20 Villa Development in the North-west Sector of Huddersfield.	323
7.21 Journey to Work of Middle Classes.	335
7.22 Distribution of House Values.	336

FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
1.1 The Decision-making Process.	25
1.2 Factors influencing the Decision-making Process.	29
2.1 The Physical Relief of the Huddersfield Area.	47
2.2 Cumulative Expansion of Population in Huddersfield.	69
2.3 Tram Routes in Huddersfield.	75
2.4 Huddersfield in 1778.	82
2.5 Huddersfield Township in 1780.	84
2.6 Huddersfield in 1825.	85
2.7 Huddersfield in 1832.	87
2.8 Huddersfield in 1850.	89
2.9 Cottage Building on the Ramsden Estate 1800-1845.	92
2.10 House-building on the Lockwood Proprietors' Estate 1801-1850.	94
2.11 Huddersfield in 1878.	97
2.12 Huddersfield in 1911.	99
2.13 House-building in Huddersfield 1850-1911.	101
2.14 Leases granted on the Radcliffe Yorkshire Estates.	102
3.1 The Pattern of Landownership in Huddersfield Township 1780.	112 a
3.2 The Pattern of Landownership in Huddersfield 1850.	130
3.3 Land Sales 1850-1855.	132
3.4 Sale Plan of the Kaye Estate in Dalton 1851.	133
3.5 Freehold Estates sold 1880-1911.	139
4.1 Location of Improvements undertaken by the Ramsden Estate 1845-1850.	165
5.1 Location of Estates developed 1770-1850.	185
5.2 Sale Plan of the Kaye Estate in Dalton 1827.	188
5.3 Location of Estates developed 1850-1911.	200
5.4 Portion of the Thornhill Estate laid out for development at Edgerton.	212

FIGURES (continued)

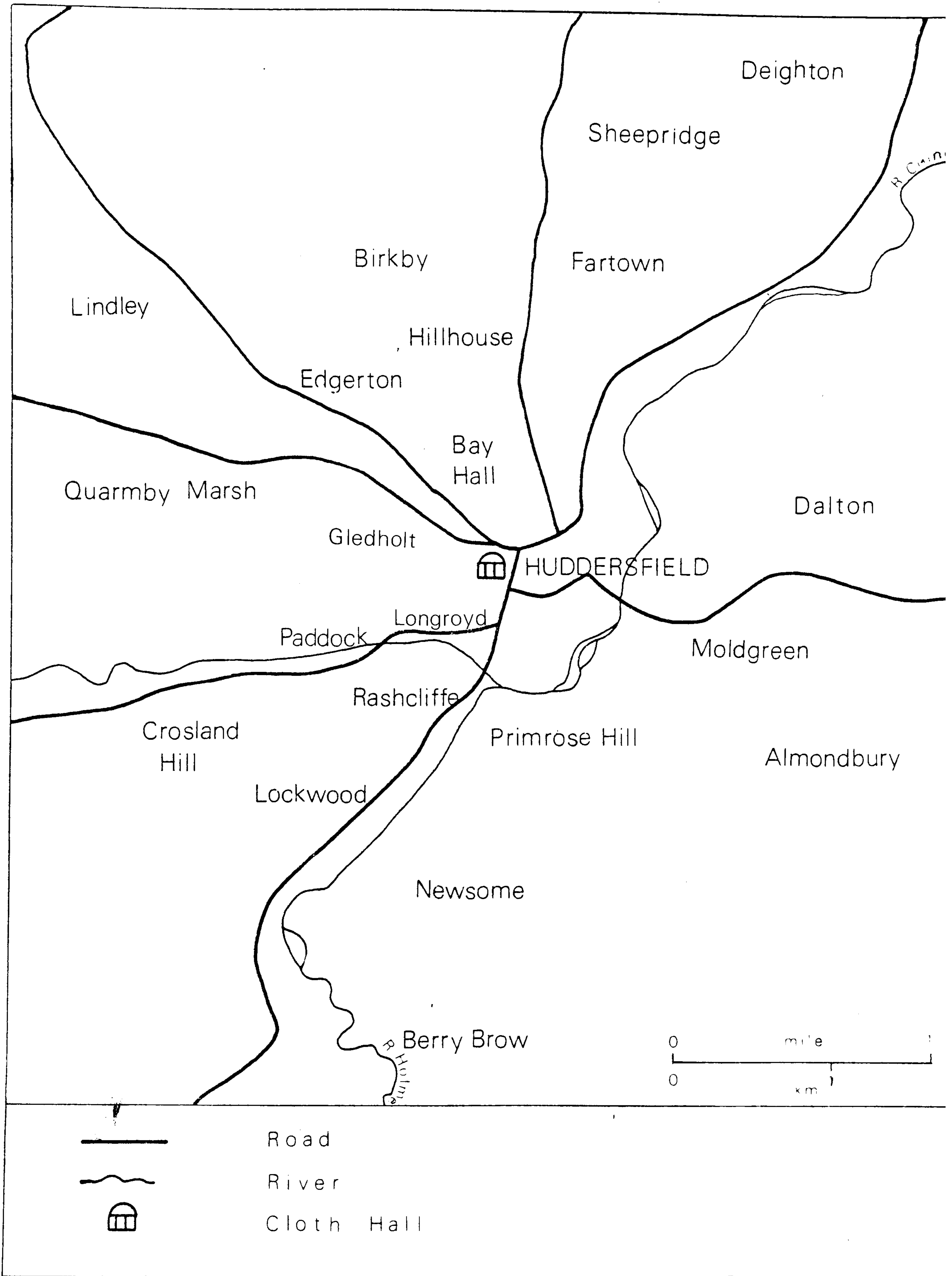
	<u>Page</u>
5.5 The Thornhill Estate at Hillhouse.	213
5.6 The Thornhill Estate laid out for development at Lindley.	214
6.1 Land developed at Greenside by Heap.	225
6.2 Location of Cottages built in 1834.	243
6.3 Location of Houses and Factories built in Lockwood 1815, 1824 and 1833.	244
6.4 Location of development in Lindley 1770-1850.	245
6.5 Location of Housing Developments 1846-1849.	248
6.6 Distribution of Owner-occupancy by House-rent.	259
6.7 Pattern of Owner-occupancy 1847.	260
6.8 Residential Location and House Ownership 1847.	261
7.1 The Estate of the Trustees of Lewis Fenton.	272
7.2 Pattern of Land Purchase at the Thornhill Estate Sales 1855.	283
7.3 Location of Housing Developments 1850.	305
7.4 Location of Housing Developments 1855.	306
7.5 Location of Housing Developments 1860.	307
7.6 Location of Housing Developments 1865.	308
7.7 Location of Housing Developments 1870.	309
7.8 Location of Housing Developments 1875.	310
7.9 Location of Houses built 1880.	312
7.10 Location of Houses built 1885.	313
7.11 Location of Houses built 1890.	314
7.12 Location of Houses built 1895.	315
7.13 Location of Houses built 1900.	316
7.14 Location of Houses built 1905.	317
7.15 Pace of Development on Selected Estates.	320
7.16 Primrose Hill in 1878.	325

FIGURES (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
7.17 Rental Surface in 1850.	328
7.18 Rental Surface in 1870.	329
7.19 Rental Surface after 1880.	330
7.20 Owner-occupancy in 1896.	338

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.A.G.	Annals of the Association of American Geographers.
H.P.L.	Huddersfield Public Library.
L.C.A.	Leeds City Archives.
L.P.L.	Leeds Public Library.
N.C.R.O.	Nottinghamshire County Record Office.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
R.E.P.	Ramsden Estate Papers.
S.C.T.H.	Select Committee on Town Holdings.
T.E.P.	Thornhill Estate Papers.
T.M.M.	Tolson Memorial Museum.
W.R.R.D.	West Riding Registry of Deeds.
Y.A.S.	Yorkshire Archaeological Society.



Locational Base Map

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The urban expansion which accompanied the industrial revolution involved the development of land at an unprecedented rate. A large proportion of this land was used to provide residential accommodation for the increasing urban population. As growth continued the internal arrangements of towns underwent considerable change and, by the early twentieth century, social segregation was manifest. The nature of the housing stock that was built was the result of the activities and location decisions of numerous builders, developers and landowners. Therefore, our understanding of the internal structure of the city in the nineteenth century will be increased by the study of the people and institutions involved in the land development process. Yet, hitherto this process has been a neglected aspect of geographical study in a historical context. The work of economic historians has furthered our knowledge of the urban land development process but most studies have concentrated on the development of a single landed estate or parts of towns¹. Thus, little has been said concerning the development process at the intra-urban level.

Those few studies of the urban land development process that have been undertaken by geographers have focussed on the role of the landowner. Ward in his study of Leeds drew attention to the influence of property boundaries on the configuration of streets and houses². While Mortimore in examining the growth of

1. For example: OLSEN, D. J. (1973) "House upon house: estate development in London and Sheffield." DYOS, H. J. and WOLFF, M. (ed). The Victorian City, Vol. 1, 333-357.

2. WARD, D. (1962). "The pre-urban cadaster and the urban pattern

Bradford showed how legal and institutional restrictions on freehold land sales affected the scale and direction of urban growth¹. In investigating the decision-making behaviour of the managers of the Fitzwilliam estate Rowley argued that the landowner was an agent of control in residential development². This view has been supported by economic historians, many of whom maintain that the influence of the landowner was a major factor in determining the nature and extent of residential segregation in early Victorian England³.

More recently, however, there has been a change in emphasis. Urban historians have been increasingly reluctant to accord landownership overriding importance in urban development. It is now suggested that many of the features of urban morphology such as well laid out residential districts would have occurred without the aid of the landowner. The role of the landowner was always constrained by the forces of the market⁴. Like the twentieth century planner he could only channel development more firmly along the path it would have taken. Indeed, urban economic forces in the form of competitive bidding for urban land in response to accessibility constraints within the city are considered by some to be of far greater importance than the personal whims of the landowner⁵.

1. MORTIMORE, M. J. (1969) "Landownership and urban growth in Bradford and its environs in the West Riding Conurbation." Trans. Inst. Br. Geog., 46, 109-19.

2. ROWLEY, G. (1975) "Landownership and the spatial growth of towns: a Sheffield example." The East Midland Geographer, 200-1.

3. CANNADINE, D. (1977) "Victorian Cities, how different?" Social History, 4, 457-482. DAUNTON, M. J. (1978) "The building cycle and the urban fringe in Victorian cities, a Comment" Journal of Historical Geography, 4, 175-181.

4. CANNADINE, D. (1978) "How much mark did aristocratic landowners have on the Victorian City?" Paper given at Urban History Group Annual General Meeting, March.

5. WHITEHAND, J. W. (1978) "The building cycle and the urban fringe in Victorian Cities, a reply." Journal of Historical Geography, 4, 181-192.

Such arguments concerning land development are derived from a set of micro-economic models which have been developed from Alonso's Theory of Urban Land Use¹. Potential users of land bid for land in terms of the utility or satisfaction they can derive from it. In residential location the rich seek to acquire large units of land. They therefore trade accessibility for cheaper land on the periphery of the city. Location is very much dependent on the nature of the demand for space and transport costs. Supply under the assumptions of profit maximisation and a totally elastic housing stock follows automatically from the structure of demand. The result is a pattern of population density decline with distance from the urban centre, an increase in housing lot size with distance from the urban centre, and an increase in lot size with income. No account is taken of any social forces operating in the market². Decisions are taken on purely economic grounds.

Social considerations do figure in another set of urban growth models - those based on ecological theory as originally developed by Park in 1925³. Although these models deal essentially with patterns of land use in the city, at the same time they offer an explanation for the process of urban growth. The most static of the models is that proposed by Sjoberg for the pre-industrial city⁴. It postulated a city developed on the precepts of a feudal society and under the control of an elite. The rich were located according to the requirements of administrative, religious,

1. ALONSO, W. (1960) "A theory of the urban land market." Papers and proceedings of the Regional Science Association Sixth annual general meeting, 6, 149-57.

2. Form has demonstrated the influence of social forces on the 20th Century City. FORM, W. H. (1954) "The place of social structure in the determination of land use: some implications for a theory of Urban Ecology." Social Forces, 32, 317-25.

3. PARK, R. E. and BURGESS, E. W. (1925). The City (Chicago).

4. SJOBERG, G. (1960). The Pre-Industrial City (New York).

political, ceremonial and educational activities. The remainder of the population was located on the basis of occupational, ethnic or family ties. Vance has examined in greater detail the basis of land-use in the precapitalist city¹. He argues that land use in a pre-industrial city results from a land allocation process based on a functional rather than a materialistic evaluation of land. Ideas of social intercourse were more important than economic matters.

Models of urban growth for the industrial city focus on three patterns of land use - concentric zones, sectors, and multi-nuclei. The Burgess concentric zone model emphasises the pressure of urban growth from the centre; the process of outward growth being dependent on the provision of new housing for the rich on the periphery of the city. This produces four concentric zones around a central business district representing the filtering down of housing stock abandoned by the rich as they move outwards². The Hoyt sectoral model argues that such growth does not take place concentrically but along the main transportation routes, and the growth along a particular axis usually consists of the same type of land use. In the wealthy residential sector, the rich in anticipating that growth have placed a value on that land too high for the low rent and intermediate rent groups³. The multi-nuclei model was developed to take account of pre-existing nuclei in an area of urban growth and the need for certain commercial enterprises

1. VANCE, J. E. jnr. (1971) "Land assignment in the precapitalist, capitalist and post-capitalist city." Economic Geography, 47, 101-120.

2. BURGESS, E. W. (1925) The growth of the city. PARK, R. E. and BURGESS, E. "The City"(Chicago), 47-62.

3. HOYT, H. (1937) The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighbourhoods in American Cities (Washington D.C.)

to obtain specialised locations within that area. Development can proceed from more than one centre and a complex pattern of land use emerges that differs according to the economic and historical base of the urban area¹.

Although the patterns of land use indicated in these three models have been observed together or in part in most twentieth century cities, the assumptions concerning the underlying process have been criticised as gross oversimplification when applied to the Victorian City². The models throw no light on the transition from the pre-industrial to the industrial city. Empirical evidence shows that a considerable amount of housing was built directly for the working classes³. This is a process not allowed for in any of the models. The migration of the middle classes only occurred to a significant extent in the late nineteenth century. Indeed only in the late nineteenth century, after the establishment of tram routes, do the processes accord more closely to those described by the models. This suggests that different social and economic forces were in operation during the greater part of the nineteenth century.

Geographers who stressed the role of the landowner were attempting to rectify the failure of both sets of the models previously outlined, to include a consideration of supply as well as demand. Land, the basic resource of development is accorded only a passive role. It is considered to be homogeneous, there to be acted upon by capital and labour. Further it is assumed

1. HARRIS, C. D. and ULLMAN, E. L. (1945) "The Nature of Cities." Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 242, 7-17.

2. WARD, D. (1975) "Victorian Cities: How modern?" Journal of Historical Geography, 1, 135-151.

3. CHAPMAN, S. D. (ed) (1971) The History of Working Class Housing: a symposium (Newton Abbott)

that the market in land is freely competitive and fully informed. But while the inherent monopoly properties of land allows decision-making agents on the supply side to influence the market in any context, Thompson has demonstrated that it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that an economically organised market in land had fully developed¹. There were a number of social forces operating in the land market, many of which were antecedent and legal. The market tended to operate on a personal level. As a result there was a lack of information available on the general state of the market since there was no central exchange to which a buyer could refer for commodity prices. Local publicity was achieved mainly through the use of posters or by word of mouth, although guidance as to the likely state of the market could be gauged in newspapers from pointers such as levels of industrial activity. Thus widely available information, a prime element in free competition, was absent.

These urban models, therefore, offer only a few insights into the process of urban development in the nineteenth century. In the context of land development a change in scale to the individual may well be a more fruitful line of inquiry. Indeed, Robson has suggested that our understanding of how urban areas expand will only progress if we focus on the variation between towns in the roles of individual actors and their operations, even if those actions are very specific to particular towns².

1. THOMPSON, F. M. L. (1957) "The Land Market in the Nineteenth Century". Oxford Economic Papers, 9, 286-308.

2. ROBSON, B. (1975) Urban Social Areas, 58.

Huddersfield as a Case Study

Huddersfield was a textile manufacturing town which grew from a small village in 1770 to a town with a population of 95,000 in 1911. Its economic growth was fairly typical but the relatively late development of the town as an urban community makes it possible to study the process of urban development from its inception. Huddersfield presents an interesting case study because in other ways it was an archetype. Landownership was concentrated in a few hands and in particular those of the Ramsden family. Of the 4055 acres which constituted Huddersfield township the Ramsden family owned 30.7% in 1844 and no less than 51.5% in 1884. Of the area which eventually formed the Borough of Huddersfield in 1868 the family owned 26.44% and 41.44% of the land at the same dates¹. In such circumstances the landowner had considerable control over the supply of land in the land development process, but did not have complete monopoly of the land market. Nevertheless the opportunities for an individual landowner to determine the character of the land development process would seem extensive. The questions here are whether the actions taken by such an individual were dictated by market forces alone and whether the idiosyncrasies of that person could lead to circumstantial linkages capable of changing the form of urban growth. The survival of a number of documents relating to landed estates in Huddersfield and in particular the Ramsden Estate makes possible a detailed examination of the decision-making process involved in the development of land. This estate material can be supplemented

1. Calculated from Ramsden Estate Papers. Particulars of Purchases, Box 12, H.P.L. The Borough created in 1868 consisted of Huddersfield, Lindley cum Quarmby, Dalton, Lockwood and Almondbury townships, amounting to 10,496 acres.

by the use of deeds registered at the West Riding Registry of Deeds, thus making possible a study of the land development process in Huddersfield as a whole.

A Conceptual Framework for a Behavioural Approach to the Study of Land Development

The most useful framework for the study of the land development process stems from the work of Kaiser and others who have attempted to develop a model of the land development process in the twentieth century¹. In this model land is regarded as passing through a series of states as the result of positive decisions taken by key actors in the process. There are certain priming decisions which precondition and establish a broad framework for a considerable number of secondary decisions that follow and determine the detailed pattern of development.

At each stage of the process there are a number of primary and secondary (supporting) decision agents. The Kaiser model focuses on the locational role of the developer since it was felt that his key function was appropriate for modern conditions. Such a focus may well be applicable to a number of towns in the nineteenth century² but for the purpose of the present investigation it was felt that concentration on the residential developer would not adequately reflect the nature of the land market in Huddersfield. The model can usefully be adapted to provide a

1. KAISER, E. J. (1966) Towards a model of Residential Developer Locational Behaviour. Phd University of N Carolina, Chapel Hill.
WEISS, S. F. et al (1966) Residential Developer Decisions. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Chapel Hill.

2. For example in Leeds: BERESFORD, M. (1975) "The making of a townscape - Richard Paley in the East End of Leeds 1771-1803." Chalklin, C. W. and Havinden, M. A. Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800 (Glasgow), 281-320. KELLET, J. R. (1961) "Property Speculations and the Building of Glasgow 1780-1830." Scottish Journal of Political Economy, 8, 211-232.

conceptual framework for the study of land development in Huddersfield. X

The Kaiser model is also incomplete in that it fails to recognise the importance of rights in land in the land development process. In practice the developer's power of positive decision-making stems from the nature of the rights in land he holds. Denman and Prodano¹ have shown in the context of rural land use that it is exclusively from the ownership of land rights that the ability to execute positive plans for the use of land is derived. Thus land cannot be developed without the agreement of the owner of the freehold rights. This may be obtained by the owner also being the developer, by the owner selling outright to the developer, or by the owner conveying some of the rights in land to the developer for a specified period of time, in consideration of rent.

Denman and Prodano have also studied the nature of land rights in detail and their analysis provides useful insights into the nature of the urban land market. For example, they have shown that the land market should not be considered as comprising a simple series of transactions in the absolute possession of land as a physical resource; rather it consists of the buying and selling of a whole spectrum of rights in land, ranging from untrammelled freehold to closely defined leasehold.

The fundamental unit within which decisions are taken is the proprietary land unit. This is defined as an 'area of land used as a single entity and coextensive in its physical dimensions with the vested rights of property to use dispose and alienate it'.² By

1. DENMAN, D. R. and PRODANO, S. D. (1972). Land Use: An Introduction to Proprietary Land Use Analysis (Cambridge).

2. DENMAN, D. R. (1969) Land Use and the Constitution of Property, an inaugural lecture (Cambridge). 1.

implication urban land tenure plays a crucial role in determining not only why landowners, builders and developers acted in the way they did, but why they did so at a particular time. Any analysis of the urban land development process must therefore pay attention to the ownership of rights in land, the nature of those rights in an area and how the rights to develop are exchanged.

The usefulness of Denman's model to geographers is severely limited because he assigns only a minor role to location. Denman's ideas, however, do permit the identification of a number of important factors which influence the reaction of landowners to the demand for land. Moreover, it draws attention to one of the distinguishing features of the development of a number of nineteenth century towns, namely that this development often took place on the leasehold system of tenure.¹ In the light of Denman's analysis one would expect that the nature of different land tenures, that is different property rights, would influence the land development process.

The importance of tenure in the context of urban land use is immediately apparent if one views it in the context of Alonso's theory of urban land use², that users of land will bid for a particular land tenure in light of the utility they derive from it. In the nineteenth century a wide variety of land tenures existed, but land was conveyed for development either on 'fee-simple', that is as freehold, or it was leased for a term of years. The term for leasehold land ranged from 60 years to 1000 years, but most leaseholds were for ninety-nine years, that is short term leases, or for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, that is long term leases.

1. ASPINALL, P. (1978) The Evolution of Urban Tenure Systems in Nineteenth Century Cities. C.U.R.S. Birmingham. Research Memorandum.

2. ALONSO (1963) op cit.

The freehold possession of land in the nineteenth century, and the associated right to do as one wished with the land, was regarded as a fundamental individual liberty. By contrast leasehold tenure conveyed inferior rights, so that the ability of the tenant to act as he might wish would be restricted as a result of the terms imposed by the freeholder.

Leasehold was therefore less acceptable from a potential purchaser's point of view. Likewise long term leases conferring rights beyond the foreseeable future were favoured over short leases for buildings on land with a long lease were more likely to have reached the end of their economic life by the time of the expiry of the lease. The tenant's heirs in title thus would obtain all the economic benefits of the capital investment. With a lease for ninety-nine years or less the land and capital would revert to an owner of the freehold before all its potential had been realised. Even less attractive were the leases for numbers of lives because of their uncertain nature.¹ For these leases renewal fines had to be paid when the last of the specified lives had terminated. For some a heriot had to be paid on each death. Least attractive of all were copyhold rights which not only invariably required fines on every death but also involved arbitrary fines on each sale or transfer of the copyhold at twice the annual value.²

Under Alonso's theory land supply should quickly meet demand and therefore in a free market one would expect freehold tenure to

1. Report of the Select Committee on Town Holdings, 1888, para 2164-2191. Leases for lives were mainly found in the West Country. Usually three people were named and on the death of the last of the three the lease was surrendered.

2. S.C.T.H. 1888, para 4469. See also the use of copyhold on the Estate of Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson in Hampstead. THOMPSON, F. M. L. (1974) Hampstead, the building of a Borough 1650-1964 (London).

be made widely available. The widespread existence of other tenures in the land market suggests that such a ready response of supply to demand did not take place. Rather, the existence of a large number of short leases suggests that the landowner was in a strong bargaining position. Conversely the tendency, as the nineteenth century progressed, for landowners to extend the terms of their leases in many towns and even convey land on freehold¹ suggests a trend towards a freer market in land, where the landowner supplied land in response to the demands of the building industry.

The failure of the market to supply land on terms favoured by the majority of purchasers remained an important aspect of the nature of the land development process throughout the nineteenth century. Thus the investigation of the process of land development in any town must be prefaced by an appreciation of the degree to which the supply was constrained.

The land development process as an evaluation of land throughout the sequence of states²

Land surrounding the built-up areas of the town passes through a series of states from an initial condition of urban interest to one of final residential use. The urban interest area lies within a conceptual line surrounding any urban area. The line is envisaged in different ways by different decision makers. In the case of the freehold landowner the line could enclose a wide area under agricultural use and expected to remain in this condition for many years. Many landowners had long term economic horizons and thus practised policies of estate retention. The agricultural prosperity and general stability of the eighteenth century engendered a sense of estate continuity and family continuity never

1. S.C.T.H. 1887. Appendix refers to a number of such towns.

2. This section and the next draws heavily on the work of Kaiser et al op cit. It attempts to apply the Kaiser model to the nineteenth century context.

felt before or since. These feelings were predetermined by the imposition of legal restrictions on the disposal of estates.¹ The area included within the landowner's conceptual line did not remain constant. At the onset of the industrial revolution it was limited in extent and only gradually did there emerge an awareness of the benefits to be derived from the use of agricultural land for urban development. The area within the conceptual line became more restricted at the end of the nineteenth century too. The combination of a political threat to landownership, stemming from radical demands for the nationalisation of land and the economic reality of the agricultural depression, seriously undermined the ability of landowners to retain large areas of land under agricultural use.

The area of urban interest of a land developer, on the other hand, would include all land considered likely to be developed in the immediate future. This area would usually be found immediately adjacent to the existing built-up area. To a great extent it was limited by the distance people were able and willing to travel to work. For the greater part of the nineteenth century this was walking distance, for the majority of people went to their work on foot. Technological improvements in transport, however, widened the choice of mode for the wealthier members of the urban community and increased the distance they were able to travel. In particular the introduction of a tramway system widened the potential area of development. Thus the late nineteenth century was characterised by a growing convergence between the area of urban interest of the landowner and that of the developer.

1. Particularly settlement and entail; for fuller explanation vide infra and also HABBAKKUK, H. J. (1960) 'The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century' in BROMLEY, J. S. and KOSSMAN, E. H. eds. Britain and the Netherlands (Oxford).

The building industry was organised on a notoriously small scale¹ and had a concomitant short term economic horizon and correspondingly its urban interest area was small. Usually the builder was concerned only with his present project and perhaps the one to follow. Rarely would he look more than six months ahead. Often his spatial horizon was restricted to the immediate vicinity of his home or to one part of the town.² In the late nineteenth century rising incomes and a rising demand for suburban housing from the lower middle classes, coupled with increased construction costs, led to the growth of larger units in the building industry. One result of the emergence of large firms of building contractors was probably the extension of the builder's urban interest area.

The development process commenced when the land passed from a state of urban interest to a state of active consideration. This usually involved contact between different decision agents. For instance, a landowner might contact a developer with a view to entering a partnership for the laying out of a villa estate. Alternatively, a builder might effect contact with a landowner about leasing a particular plot of land adjoining a newly-built mill in order to house the mill workers.

For land to pass into the next state it was necessary for the developer or promoter of land to have envisaged the definite nature and timescale of projected land use. This state is difficult to identify but it usually involved some commitment of resources to the provision of services or amenities ranging from a church to

1. DAUNTON, M. J. (1977) Coal Metropolis, Cardiff, 1870-1914.
DYOS, H. J. (1968). 'The Speculative Builder and developers of Victorian London.' Victorian Studies, 11. 641 ff.

2. ASPINALL, P. J. (1977). 'The size structure of the house-building industry in Victorian Sheffield'. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, Working Paper 49.

street sewers. In a free land market this stage would be attained when the builder had purchased the freehold. Sometimes such land had already been laid out in plots and streets. The purchase of land for speculative purposes is not included in this stage. With leasehold land this stage would involve the drawing up of either a building agreement or a lease stipulating the nature of the intended building. Sometimes the lease would include a detailed plan, but often the details were confined to a reference as to general use such as one or two houses and a stated value. This stage could span a number of years and was influenced by the general economic climate, in particular by the nature of the demand for housing.

The next stage in the process was concerned with the actual building process. Since the builder was concerned to obtain an immediate return he operated as fast as capital could be obtained and employed. For the process of land development to be concluded the land must have passed into the state of residential use. Transition to this state was marked by the renting of the house by a tenant, or its purchase by an owner occupier¹ or a building owner.

The mechanism of land development is a decision-making process that involves a number of decisions taken by one or more key decision makers, which governs the evolution of land from one state to another. In Huddersfield two key sets of decision makers appear to have been involved. First the landowners who acted also as land developers or promoters and second the builders.² Both were supported by a number of secondary agents. It is hypothesised

1. Sometimes this was the original builder.

2. Here and elsewhere landowner refers to the owner of the freehold, developer refers to the person who provided the facilities for development, eg laying the land out in roads; builder refers to the person who makes the decision to build, not necessarily a member of the building profession.

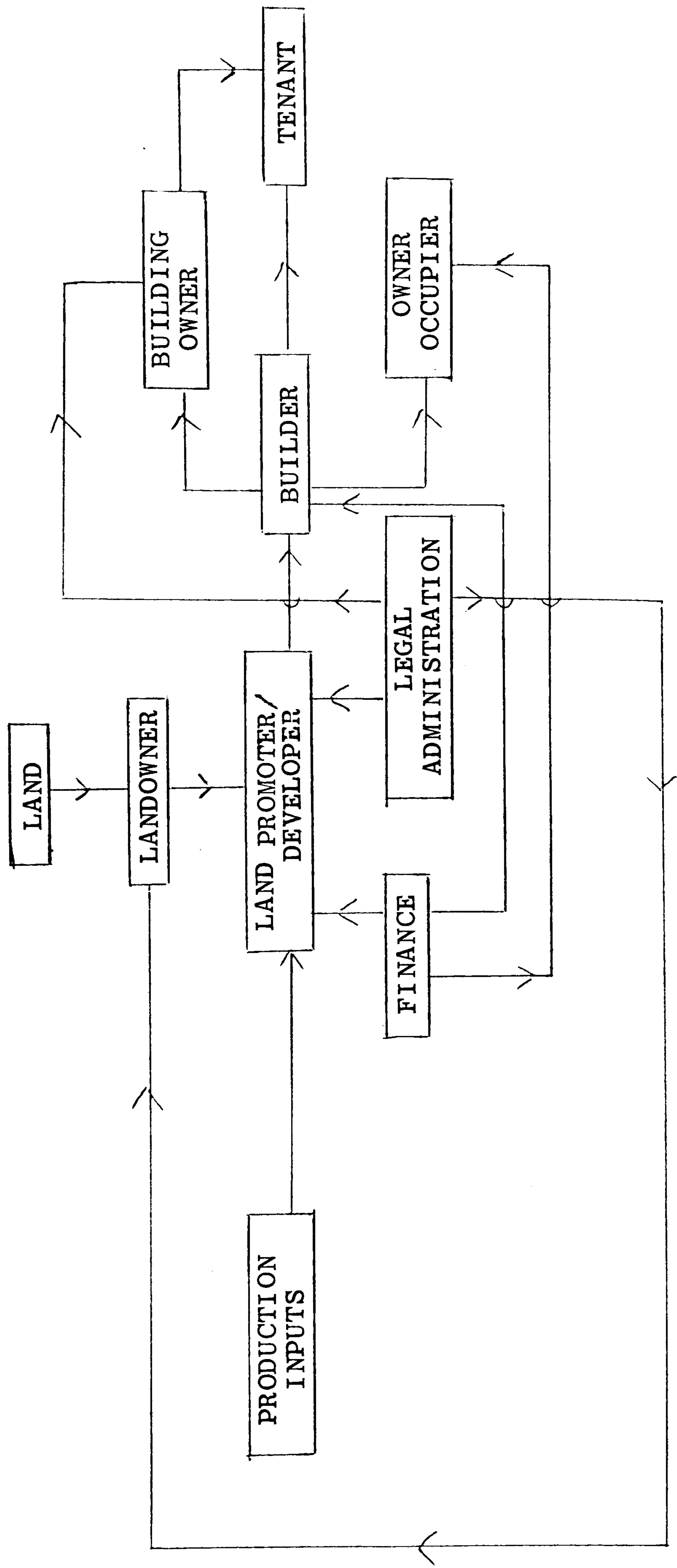


Figure 1.1 The Decision-making Process

that the types of decisions made by each key decision maker affected the size of the land unit undergoing development, its location and the nature of the development undertaken. An integral part of the entire process was the transfer of property rights from one person to another.

The decision makers and the decision making process

Individual decision makers do not act in a vacuum; they have to take into account the environment created by other members involved in the development process. This interrelationship makes the process complex and diverse (Figure 1.1). Each participant can initiate change or veto the changes favoured by others, thus creating a constant feedback. Similarly innovation had to be within the context established by others. For example, the use and value of one tract of land is affected by the use and value of similar or neighbouring tracts. The building of one type of house in a particular area will lead to the building of similar types of housing in that area, reinforcing developing trends in the creation of the socio-economic status of the area.

The solicitor was one of the more important secondary decision makers who lubricated the process by supplying capital and creating the communication links. Much negotiation and acquisition of capital was done on a personal basis through the acquisition by marriage of wealthy relatives who might be interested in providing speculative finance.

The acquisition of contacts over time meant those long connected with the development of land were at an advantage. Since the development of land involved a legal process, the advice of the family solicitor was important. He could provide a link between clients so that one could further the other's interests. Among the secondary decision makers were land agents, estate agents and

land surveyors. To these could be added innkeepers, for the creation of money clubs was often a crucial element in the acquisition of capital for housing.¹

The restrictions on the ability to obtain capital had an impact on the various roles of the decision makers. In the capital-hungry society of the early nineteenth century there was a shortage of capital amongst individuals² and there were few speculative developers with the result that the original landowner was frequently asked to take an entrepreneurial role with his land as mortgage security. Initially industrialists were concerned with the investment of capital in plant and the expansion of the firm. Only later did surplus commercial capital become invested in property and then only for personal prestige reasons.³ Olsen maintained that there was no shortage of capital⁴, but while this may have been so in the case of small-scale builders it did not apply to the developer where the amounts required were substantial and the ability to obtain credit was limited. As with many other sectors of the economy an intimate knowledge, contacts and an established place in the field were important for participation in the market.

The decisions made by key decision agents had three important characteristics:

1. Although each decision was considerably influenced by a number of supporting decisions, in the final analysis it was the personal judgement of the builder or landowner. Thus in order to

1. GOSDEN, P. H. J. H. (1973) Self help: voluntary associations in the nineteenth century. Money clubs were clubs created for the accumulation of money for housing. Similar to Friendly Societies they were forerunners of the Building Societies.

2. DEANE, P. (1965) The First Industrial Revolution.

3. For example in a large family house in the suburbs.

4. OLSEN, D. (1976) The Growth of Victorian London.

understand the process the ideal source of data would be the correspondence and personal diaries of an individual.¹

2. Each key decision involved either a visible change in the physical characteristics of the land unit or a change in the ownership of rights in land. This data can be obtained from maps, building plan applications and deeds as to the timing and character of development.

3. Each key decision represented an important link in the development process. Because the decision-making process in urban expansion is a circular one, an analysis of the process could begin anywhere and with any of the sets of decision makers involved. The starting place in this thesis will be the freehold landowner.² The decision of the landowner to release land for development on whatever land tenure terms the market would allow had a decisive influence on all subsequent decisions. In addition, the existence of an oligopoly in the supply of land in Huddersfield suggests a potentially dominant role in the process of land development for the landowner.³

Factors influencing the decision-making process

Kaiser has argued that to study the land development process it is necessary to investigate the relationship between three sets of decision factors and the key decisions.⁴ (Figure 1.2) The three sets of factors that were identified as impinging on the decisions made by the key agents in the process and explain the

1. Only on rare occasions however do these exist. The Ramsden family of Huddersfield in the present case is such an exception.

2. Because of data availability and because of the existence of land monopoly.

3. As in Edinburgh. See RICHARDSON, H. W., VIPOND, J. FURBEY, R (1975). Housing and Urban Spatial Structure: a case study.

4. KAISER, E. J. op cit.

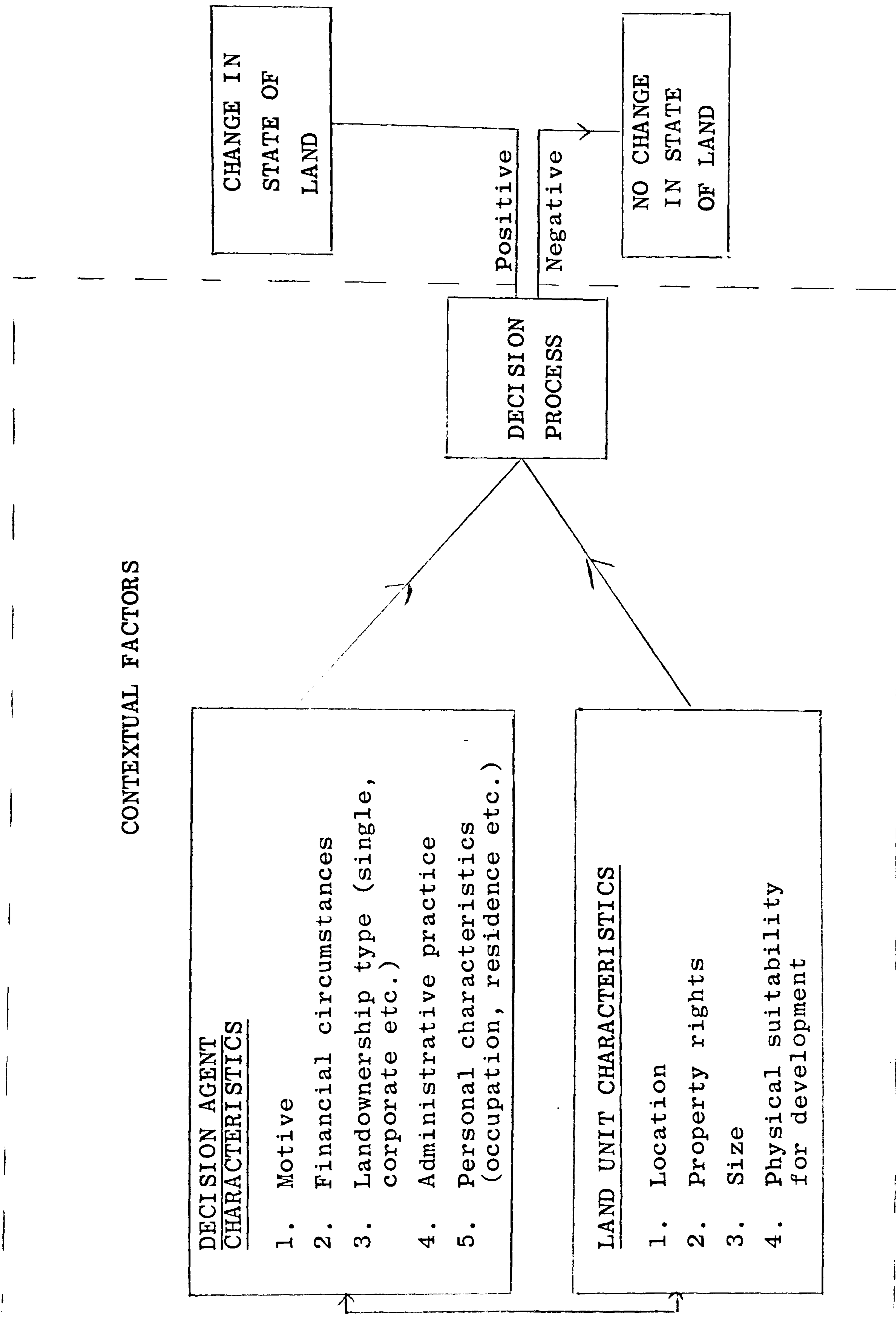


Figure 1.2 Factors influencing the Decision-making Process

the variation in location decisions are:

1. Contextual factors
2. Decision agent characteristics
3. Land unit attributes.

Contextual factors

These represent the macro-environment in which decisions are made. They constitute the overall rate of change in the community including such socio-economic changes as the nature of the housing market. The contextual factors contribute to the relative certainty and stability of the atmosphere in which development decisions were taken. They also constitute the aggregate of all the decisions of the various decision makers which together directly affect the individual decisions. These include the macro-forces identified by other studies on the nineteenth century city, such as the tendency for the wealthier classes to seek suburban dwellings in healthy elevated districts and the importance of industrial plant location for the location of housing for the working classes.¹ Of fundamental importance is recognition of the existence of a laissez-faire attitude in society which exaggerated the importance of the monetary values placed on relative accessibility.

Contextual factors also comprise the spatial pattern of freehold landownership and the distribution of land amongst owners. The ability of the early nineteenth century economy to meet the unprecedented demand for land created by the industrial revolution was restricted by conditions inherited from the eighteenth century situation. Thus, the spatial pattern of freehold landownership influenced the structure of the land market for development land. Although changes occurred in the legal environment which reduced

1. VANCE, J. E. jnr. (1977). This Scene of Man. 305-307

these restrictions¹, conditions existing in a town at the onset of urban growth had a profound effect on the character of the urban land market that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.

Decision Agent Characteristics

The decision agent characteristics are interrelated with the land unit attributes to form the decision making unit which reacts with the environment to create the decision making process. On the basis of current research the characteristics itemised subsequently appear to explain much of the variation in behaviour amongst decision agents.

Landowner Characteristics

A number of landowners were restricted in their ability to dispose of their estates as the market demanded. These were antecedent restrictions created by the pre-industrial economy and fossilised in legal clauses in wills and marriage settlements.²

In the eighteenth century landowners felt more confident about investing reasonable amounts of capital in order to improve their estates.³ Since the fate of an estate was often tied up with matters of birth and death, there was increasing use of legal devices in order to keep an estate intact so future generations of the family might benefit. Among these devices was entail which involved restricting the descent of an estate to a named class of heirs; this was usually a tail male so that descent was restricted

1. While the antecedent restrictions were in themselves a product of the wider contextual environment (ie 18th century attitudes and within any one area the various restrictions on landowners influenced the overall supply of land), those pertaining specifically to individual landowners must be considered as landowner characteristics since they influence internal policy.

2. HABAKKUK, op cit, p.171, has shown that despite a return on land of only $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ and on other investments of 5%, landowners continued to invest in land.

3. MEGARRY, R. E. & WADE, H. W. R. (1975). The Law of Real Property, 4th Ed.

to male descendants only. An owner of an estate subject to entail was called a tenant in tail.¹ Settlements were frequently made on marriages to provide an income for the spouse and children as well as ensure an estate remained intact. The property was conveyed to the husband for life with the remainder to his children in tail subject to paying the wife an annual sum. More often a strict family settlement was made in a landowner's will. The tenant for life had no power to grant leases ending after his death or sell the fee simple of the land. Any improvements that were made had to be financed out of his own capital. In addition he was impeachable for waste. These restrictions could on rare occasions be relaxed by provisions in the settlement. For instance, some specified portion of the fee simple might be sold if the purchase money was paid to the Trustees of the Settlement. The device could only be broken by a private Act of Parliament, which was a lengthy and expensive procedure.²

In 1882 the Settled Land Act reduced the strictness of any settlement. Wide powers over the determination of use and disposal of land were given to the tenant for life. The rights of the beneficiaries were protected in the case of a sale by shifting the settlement from the land to the purchase money which was paid to the trustees.³ As a result, from 1882 the tenant for life could respond to the demands of the market more easily.

Problems could also arise if the owner of the leasehold of a property died intestate. In contrast to freehold property which

1. DIBBEN, A. (1965) 'Deeds of Title'. Short guides to records No. 12. History, 323-328. Fee simple is land held freehold without any restrictions.

2. In Huddersfield the Thornhill Estate Act 1852 cost over £2,000. Thornhill Estate Papers. HPL.

3. MEGARRY AND WADE op cit.

was subject to primogeniture, leasehold property had to be subdivided amongst the children on probate.¹ This could impose constraints on the use and management of the property. It led to proliferation of small land units yielding only a small rent to the individual owner, though often of great potential value if combined. The existence of such units in the centre of towns made redevelopment difficult. The financial return to the owners of such property units was too small to generate an adequate income for reinvestment so as to permit improvement, despite any inherent potential.

Included amongst the inheritance characteristics of a landowner must be the period for which he and his ancestors had held the estate. The longer an estate was held in a family, the greater the personal attachment to that unit and the greater the economic pressure required to force a sale. On large estates there was a particular attachment to the 'capital message' even if that property was no longer the chief residence of the owner.² The capital message was often that part of the estate first acquired by the family some centuries previously.

Amongst the important socio-economic characteristics were the status and social standing of the landowner. A public school and university aristocrat would react differently from a commercial opportunist whose education was limited but who nevertheless had a 'nose' for business and a great deal of entrepreneurial skill. Similarly the viewpoint of an elderly widow with no children would differ from that of a young bachelor contemplating marriage. Thus,

1. MEGARRY AND WADE op cit. . Matters concerning lessees inevitably had repercussions on the actions of the freehold landowner from which land was leased.

2. Often Wills and Deeds specifically forbade the sale of the 'capital message'.

lifestyle, life cycle, access to information and expertise would all influence the decisions made and thus the fate of the land.

Whatever the social status of a landowner, his financial position could constrain his actions. Many landowners inherited highly encumbered estates and these were restricted in the amount of capital investment they could undertake. They were also unable to obtain mortgages to raise necessary additional capital. Where there was a charge on an estate such as a marriage jointure, a high proportion of the rental could be diverted away from capital investment. Much depended on the landowner's access to wealth that was not immediately related to the land unit but which could be called upon to finance any development. The owners of extensive agricultural estates could raise mortgages on these lands in order to finance their urban estates. The transfer of capital from rural to urban uses remains an inadequately explored aspect of economic development.¹ Large aristocratic landowners and owners of London estates were at a distinct advantage over owners of single urban provincial estates. It was the larger landowners who were better placed to weather the late nineteenth century agricultural depression.² The power to assimilate wealth so that the total resources available were greater than the resources inherent in a land unit in an urban area affected the choices available to the decision agent. No matter how wide their horizons or how great their aspirations, landowners required money to execute their plans.

The nature of the landowner often influenced the type of estate administration employed and this in turn affected the efficiency of estate management. An efficient administration was

1. WARD, J. T. (1971) Land and Industry.

2. THOMPSON (1968) op cit.

more likely to respond with alacrity and rationally to market forces. Financially solvent large landowners had easy access to the expertise of solicitors, land surveyors and land agents and were able to make decisions in an informed manner. Equally, large landowners with an efficient management team were better able to indulge a particular whim. But the concept of Requisite Variety¹ suggests that any control system must have at least as much variety as the system which it controls. For a landowner to effectively control a large urban estate it was necessary for him to have a comprehensive administrative structure to manage his estate. The types of administration available to the nineteenth century landowner were initially restricted to those available to the managers of agricultural estates. On such an estate a steward, a bailiff and a surveyor would be employed. In addition there would be the advice of the family attorney.² A truly professional class with experience in urban estate management did not emerge until late in the century.³

Bound up with these characteristics is the importance of the third characteristic - that of a landowner's motive in decision making. Motive is a highly subjective phenomenon. But since property power is the seat of all positive action for the use of land, the study of the land development process is incomplete unless it takes cognisance of the motives for holding land and the power associated with it.⁴

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1. BEER, S. (1971) Decision and Control.
 2. SPRING, D. (1963) The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century. Its Administration, 55-134.
 3. REEDER, W. G. (1966) Professional Man - the rise of the professional classes in the nineteenth century England.
 4. DENMAN, D. R. (1964) Land in the Market, Hobart Paper No. 2. Inst. of Economic Affairs, London, 9.

de holding land

Some indication as to motive can be gleaned if the decision making process is treated as a black box. Regarded in this way the investigator will examine the inputs and outputs of the box rather than its inner workings. When the participants in the process take some form of action, then the motive involved should become manifest. There are, however, problems associated with this assumption. Circumstances may have already modified the original motive so that what is desired becomes what is possible. In fact the whole process of action and the consequent results modifies the motive and there will be a continual re-evaluation.

In a capitalist laissez-faire society it is to be expected that motive will be essentially entrepreneurial and concerned with maximising the income from land development. Usually, however, it is not as straightforward as this because motivation could be philanthropic. Alternatively it could be that of an enlightened capitalist where the profit motive, although still present, is modified. Land holding in the nineteenth century had a social and political value as well as a straightforward economic one. The former is shown by the pronounced demand in the 1820's for land on the part of wealthy merchants seeking the enhanced status of landed proprietors.¹ The political influence of large landowners is well attested. At a less exalted level, prior to the 1832 Reform Act, many of the new towns of the industrial revolution were only represented in Parliament at the county level. For anyone to exercise a vote it was necessary to own a 40s freehold. In new towns, particularly where leasehold prevailed, small plots of freehold were at a premium because of the associated voting

1. SIMPSON, M. A. & LLOYD, T. H. ed (1977). Middle Class Housing in Britain.

rights.¹ The political and social value of landownership declined during the course of the nineteenth century so that the economic motive for land holding assumed a dominant role.²

In studies of the land development process concerned with either past or present conditions, great emphasis has been placed on the extremely personalised nature of decision making. Typical is the comment of Clawson:

"Though empirical data is lacking, at least to this author, one cannot but suspect that the personal desires, projections and preferences of the present landowners must be a major factor responsible."³

Denman and Prodano also emphasised that decision-making in the last analysis is a personal issue. According to their law of proprietary magnitudes⁴ they claim that this is true even in the case of a corporation. There are human limits to the scope of the power possessed by one individual. An individual who owns the freehold rights over a large urban area cannot comprehend all that is taking place on his estate. He must therefore delegate authority and do so either via supporting agents or by creating leasehold units. While reluctance to delegate can lead to inefficiency in decision-making, so does control by the body corporate. The more complex the system, the more time-consuming can the execution of operation

1. For example, in BURY where the Earl of Derby owned most of the land, when land in what came to be known as Freetown was put on the market, there was a rapid purchase for votes. However, the property subsequently built was so poor that the Receiving Officer declared it well below 40s in value. See S.C.T.H. 1888, para 4358-9.

2. THOMPSON (1963) op cit.

3. CLAWSON, M. (1962) 'Urban sprawl and speculation in suburban land.' Land Economics, 38, 99-111.

4. DENMAN & PRODANO, op cit.

by collective thought and action become. Carter has shown the effect of the concentration of decision-making in a few hands. He argued that 'the more social power (the power of decision-making) is concentrated into the hands of a class or representative elite the clearer and more unequivocal will be the consequences and the more uniform the plan, for it is the consequence of one voice and not a multitude.'¹

Builder Characteristics

Many of the concepts discussed above are equally applicable to the builder who, in order to operate, must acquire some rights in land. But, there are a number of characteristics relating specifically to builders and affecting their locational decision which need to be separately identified. Amongst the most significant of these are the socio-economic characteristics of the builders and the scale of the operations which they could undertake.

Typical socio-economic characteristics include not only the social status or social class of a builder but also his access to capital. Socio-economic characteristics could determine the motive behind the decision to build. For instance, early in the industrial revolution industrialists concerned to attract skilled labour diverted some of their capital to building houses for key workers.² Similarly the rising living standards of the middle classes during the mid nineteenth century encouraged them to build their own houses away from the smoke of the factories they owned.³ Underlying most

1. CARTER, H. (1970). "A decision making approach to Town Plan Analysis: A case study of Llandudno" in CARTER, H. & DAVIES, W. K. D. ed. Urban Essays: studies in the Geography of Wales, 67.

2. VANCE, J. E. jnr. (1966) "Housing the Workers: the employment linkage as a force in urban structure." Economic Geography, 42, 296-325.

3. NUTTGENS, P. (1972) The Landscape of Ideas.

decisions to build was the desire to invest capital in a safe and reasonably reliable form of investment.¹

Considering the relative attractiveness of the return on other forms of investment², it is surprising that so many individuals did undertake house building for rent. It is likely therefore that the approach of the house builder was a satisficer one rather than one concerned with the maximisation of profit. As a result, the builder may not always have been perfectly responsive to market forces. Moreover, the types of capitalist who participated in house building - widows, shopkeepers and craftsmen - often operated with imperfect knowledge; their spatial horizons were limited to the immediate neighbourhood.³ Few had the resources to employ the expertise of real estate agents or solicitors other than in a marginal capacity. Equally, the jobbing builders they employed worked on a small scale and in a localised manner. Such small scale concerns operated at a high level of risk, since capital was short, and entrepreneurial ability was probably limited. Nevertheless, their perception of the needs of the housing market and the extent to which their houses reflected consumer preferences would determine the location and nature of the houses they built.

There is evidence that as the century progressed larger scale units developed in the building industry. In addition, professional builder-contractors played an increasing role in building decision-making.⁴ One would expect that the added expertise such a builder

1. Hence the phrase "as safe as houses".

2. Returns on housing were only around 4-5%.

3. ASPINALL (1977) op cit.

4. COONEY, E. N. (1955) "The origins of the Victorian Master Builders." Economic History Review, 2nd Series, 8, 167-176.

had would mean the area within which he operated would expand. Certainly such a builder would be more likely to make an economically rational choice concerning what and where to build.

Land Unit Attributes

The second of the decision factors which contributes to an explanation of the development decision emphasises the unique characteristics of a land unit in space, and the nature of land as a resource, both of which influence its value.

Physical Attributes

Included in this category are features relating to the 'state' which the land unit has reached. It therefore includes the nature of the soil, agricultural use, relief, and the existence or availability of amenities such as roads and sewers. Such attributes affect the cost of development and the cost of land as a proportion of the total development cost. Considerable changes in relief over a small area might inhibit development. A high demand for land in a particular location would be sufficient to overcome this but alternatively builders might well compensate for the increased cost of the development by building at a greater density.¹ Conversely, if an estate or land unit possessed features such as a rolling landscape and treelined vistas which conformed to middle-class notions of amenity, then, provided it was within reasonable distance of a town centre, it might well have been deemed to have a higher value than other less attractive land in a similar location.²

Finally, unit size and shape were important physical attributes

1. Either by building back to back or tenements as they did in Glasgow. See BEST, G. F. H. (1968) 'The Scottish Victorian City'. Victorian Studies, 11, 329-358.

2. SIMPSON & LLOYD op cit.

of a land unit. For instance, the size and shape of a unit might influence the configuration of the streets as well as the character of development.¹

Abstract Attributes

The main feature of abstract attributes is that they derive their value from the relative location of the land unit in the potential urban area. Only contextual factors can change these abstract characteristics since the land unit is fixed in space. Thus, changes in the landownership pattern and the general market availability of parcels on favourable terms of tenure can affect the relative locational attributes of a particular unit of land. Changes in population growth and the locational requirements of local industry can affect both the overall demand for land and the potential location of that demand. Similarly changes in transport technology can influence the relative accessibility of one unit of land with respect to another and therefore change the potential value of its location.

The three characteristics relating to location which are deemed important are social location, accessibility to the central business district and proximity to existing development.² Social location refers to the social status of a neighbourhood which became increasingly important to the Victorians as they segregated themselves according to class.³ Models of urban rent have demonstrated the importance of the accessibility factor;⁴ while the attractive

1. WARD, D. op cit.

2. HUSAK, L. J. (1975) "The urban demand for urban-rural fringe land." Land Economics, 112-123.

3. NEALE, R. S. (1968) "Class and Class Consciousness in early nineteenth century England, three classes or five?" Victorian Studies, 7, 5-32.

4. ALONSO op cit and see also WHITEHAND, J. W. (1972) "Building cycles and the spatial pattern of urban growth." Trans. Inst. Br. Geog., 56, 39-56.

power of existing development is continually noted in work on urban fringe development.¹

The other abstract attribute relates to the bundle of rights attached to a particular land unit. These rights also constitute part of the assets of that unit and like the physical attributes are to some extent dependent on the 'state' of the land development process. Resource use can be affected by the duration of a lease which can affect the liquidity of the assets and impose a monetary restraint on the type of development. Restrictive covenants can impose severe restraints on the range of use to which a piece of land may be put. Conversely the prevalence of leasehold rights might encourage the participation in house building of the small capitalist since a large initial deposit on the land would not be required. Again contextual factors can change the value of the rights in land attached to a unit of land. Changes in the relative bargaining position of sellers and purchasers in the land market might well reduce the ability of a freehold landowner to enforce restrictions on any leaseholder or even his ability to convey leasehold rights at all.

An Analytical Approach to the Study of the Mechanics of Land Development

The conceptual framework thus outlined provides a basis for the present investigation of the mechanics of land development in Huddersfield. Within this framework two sets of decision makers, the landowners and the builders, will be considered and emphasis will be placed on two decision-making processes, the decision to develop land and the decision to build. The aim is to analyse, within the conceptual framework outlined, the changes that have

1. HUDSON, J. (1973) "Density and Pattern on Suburban Fringes". A.A.A.G. 63, 28-39.

occurred in the different factors that impinge on the two decisions. The analysis is undertaken for two time periods, that from 1770-1850 and that from 1850 to 1911. The choice of chronological division is not completely arbitrary. A preliminary examination of the growth of Huddersfield suggests that the mid nineteenth century was a turning point in its growth. At this time the upper middle classes spearheaded the process of residential suburbanisation which remained a major feature of urban expansion until 1911.

The analysis will deal first with the contextual factors which modulated the decision to develop land and the decision to build. Then, the other decision factors, the decision agent characteristics and land unit attributes will be considered in concert since it was felt that to separate would oversimplify the complexity of the interrelationship between these factors in the decision-making process. The decision-making process on the Ramsden Estate will be examined separately for both periods because this estate dominated the urban land market in Huddersfield for the greater part of the time span from 1770 to 1911.

CHAPTER 2THE CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

The environment within which landowners and builders made their decisions can be sub-divided into three broad categories - the natural environment, the socio-economic environment and the built environment. The natural environment provided the physical resource base on which the town of Huddersfield developed economically, socially and territorially. The socio-economic environment comprised those aspects of life which generated a demand for land and building, including population growth, economic growth and transport developments, and also all aspects of public intervention directly or indirectly affecting the development process.

These were matters which both limited and encouraged development in a particular form and direction. Changes in the built environment include the territorial expansion of the built-up area and the pace at which building took place. Like the socio-economic environment the built environment constituted the sum of the decisions of the individuals undertaking development. Each worked within the broader environment of which they were a part.

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The natural environment through its geology, soils, topography and water resource base acted both as a stimulant and as an impediment to the development of Huddersfield. Huddersfield is the natural centre of four drainage basins in the Pennine foothills, those of the rivers Holme, Colne, Meltham Beck and Fenay Beck; and each basin has a fine grained secondary drainage pattern. The basic geological structure is simple, consisting of Carboniferous sedimentary formations, Millstone Grits and the Lower Coal Measures.

The Lower Coal Measures consisted of alternative deposits of shales, fireclays, coal and sandstones. Overlying these up to about 400 feet are glacial deposits of boulder clay, sand and gravel.¹

High rainfall on the summit of the Pennines ensures a saturated subsoil and a large degree of run-off. The geological structure determines the quality of the water. Its specific qualities afforded certain advantages for the development of a textile industry. The sandstones contain feldspars which when they decompose produce soluble alkaline silicates.² With the use of water containing these it was possible to economise on soap used in wool scouring and to prevent the formation of a crust on fibres when dyeing certain colours. The water from the run-off on the Coal Measures is harder but in some dye processes soft water can have detrimental effects.³

The soils overlying the Millstone Grit and the Coal Measures are acid and in some areas waterlogged. The agricultural potential of the area is therefore low. The best lands generated rents of only about 30s an acre in the late eighteenth century. Land in the greater part of the area yielded rents of only 15-20s per acre.⁴ Before the exploitation of the agricultural improvements of the nineteenth century became widespread the main staple food was oats. Night soil from the developing town helped to increase agricultural productivity so as to meet the demands of the expanding population. A limited agricultural base meant that livelihoods had to be made in other ways. The principal way adopted was the domestic manufacture of textiles.

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1. WOODHEAD, T. W. (1923) The Scenery of Huddersfield and its significance (Huddersfield)
 2. WOODHEAD, T. W. (1939) A History of Huddersfield Water Supplies (Huddersfield)
 3. WRAY, W. A. (1923) The Mining Industry in Huddersfield (Huddersfield)
 4. Ramsden Estate Rental Books. 1768-1844. H.P.L.

Water power potential in the area was high, for each valley has a step-like cross profile. As a major locational factor in the textile industry this was of transient significance only.¹ Indeed the development of the steam engine was encouraged because of uncertainty over power supplies during the summer months. On the other hand the importance of water supply during the early stages of the industrial revolution, both for industrial and commercial uses, should not be underestimated. Together with the availability of local coal, such resources certainly encouraged early small-scale manufactories to multiply.

Although the main supplies of coal by the mid nineteenth century came from mines around Flockton, there were a number of small mines in the immediate vicinity of Huddersfield. Whilst providing employment, these mines also created housing problems. A worked seam at Fartown was blamed for fissures in houses in 1855.² The geological structure also determined the type of local building material used. The Upper Millstone Grit forming Crosland Edge and Longwood Edge to the south-west of Huddersfield was conveniently located for quarries of building stone. Crosland Hill stone is even-grained and weathers well. Other types of stone were quarried at Marsh.³

Indirectly the availability of good building material and an efficient drainage pattern influenced the quality of life of the inhabitants of Huddersfield. A rapid run-off meant a decrease in the incidence of epidemics resulting from the inadequacies of Victorian civil engineering. This led to lower mortality figures

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1. SEWARD, D. (1973) "The wool textile industry 1750-1960." in JENKINS, J. G. The wool textile industry in Great Britain.
 2. Huddersfield Chronicle January 13 1855. H.P.L.
 3. WRAY, W. A. op cit.

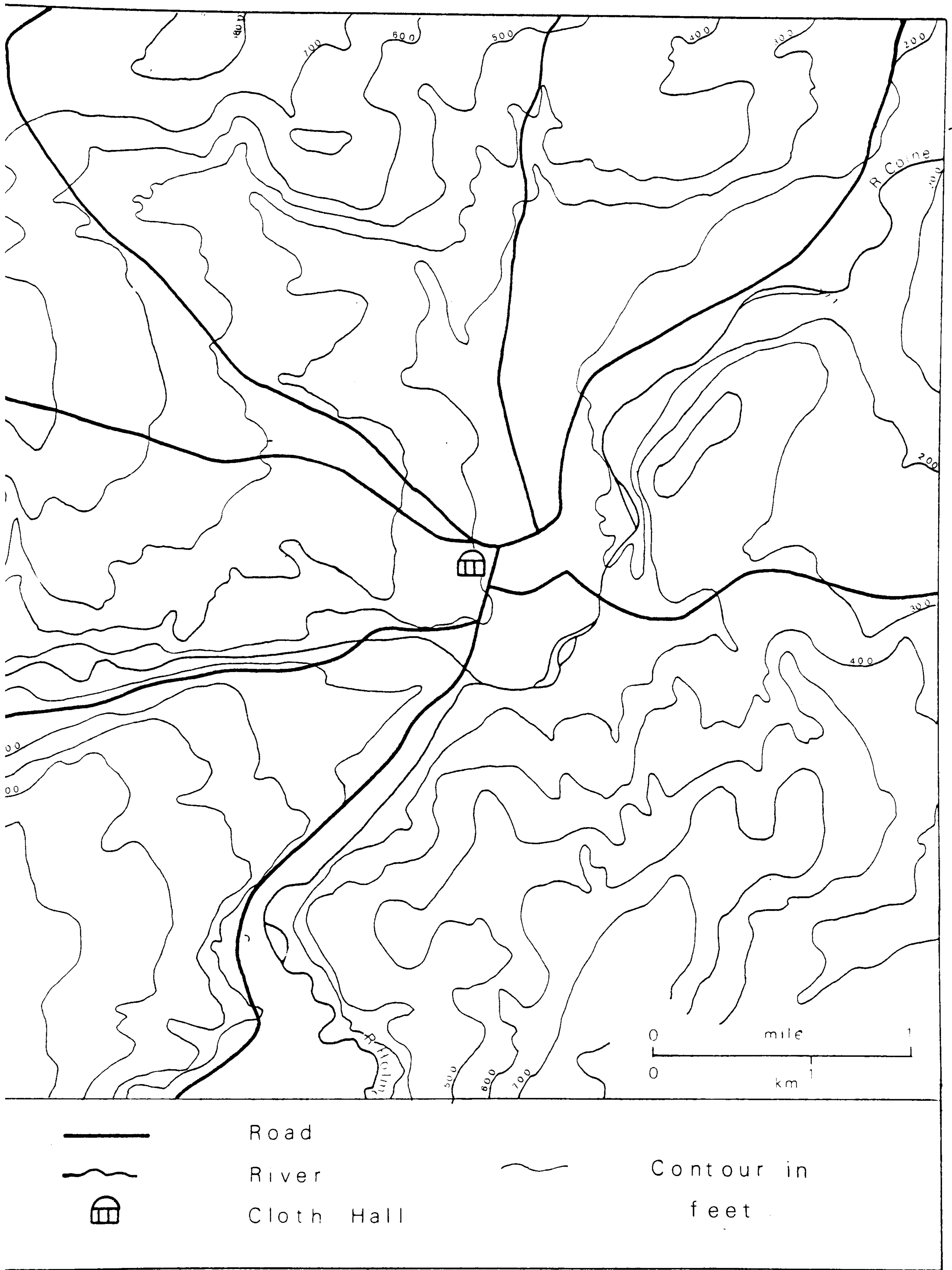


Figure 2.1 The Physical Relief of the Huddersfield Area

than in other towns in the region. The presence of good building stone meant that the houses were more substantially built than, for example, those built of 'potters clay' in Leeds.¹

Huddersfield is situated on the west bank of land rising from the valley of the river Colne at its confluence with the river Holme. In 1770 only a small part of the town reached as low as the river and the centre of the town at that date was 150 feet above the level of the river Colne. Today the built-up area rises gently to an altitude of about 400 feet in the north-west. The land rises more rapidly to the east and north-east with a particularly sharp scarp at Kilner Bank. Level land is in short supply save near the river and as a result the built-up area rises and falls with varying degrees of rapidity. (Figure 2.1)

Within the area which came to form the built-up area of Huddersfield the nature of the relief posed serious limitations on the nature of building. Where constraints of the journey to work limited the locational choice to steep slopes, house types had to be adapted to the terrain. Thus, for instance, there were houses which clung precariously to the steep east bank of the river Holme (Appdx H).

Undulating land could be used to advantage, especially that located favourably with respect to prevailing winds. Such rolling land in Lindley and Edgerton made admirable sites for villas. This area, with its easily worked and well drained soil, also contained the best agricultural land. A potential burial ground site at Sunny Bank, Lindley with similar qualities to the site finally chosen at Edgerton was rejected because it would obtain a greater price on the market because of its superior elevation.²

1. Leeds Mercury January 18, 1845.

2. Report of the General Board of Health on an Inquiry as to the state of Burial Grounds in the township of Huddersfield.
(1851), 22-23.

Roads were expensive to build on sloping land. Because of drainage problems their foundations rotted quickly if not reinforced. For a landowner who invested capital in roads on his estate, the nature of the ground was an important consideration. Thus the quality of a patch of land could be translated into cash value in terms of the amount of capital necessary for its development. Similar considerations applied to tram lines. In Huddersfield these were municipally owned because the tramlines were not considered a profitable undertaking for private enterprise. This was partly because of the fragmentation of the settlement pattern and partly because of steep inclines in several parts of the developing town.¹

The resource base of Huddersfield bore little resemblance to the flat 'plains' of urban models.² Variety in the landscape, and detailed change over short distances, meant small intimate communities and great variety in the urban fabric. The general nature of the terrain thus exerted an important influence on the development of Huddersfield.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT 1770-1850

Population Growth

The upturn in population growth at the end of the eighteenth century has been acknowledged as an independent dynamic element in the process of economic growth.³ This thesis is not concerned with the relationship between economic development and population growth.⁴

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1. Royal Commission on Labour (1892) Minutes of Group B: the evidence of Tom Walker.
 2. ROBSON, B. (1969) Urban Analysis: a study of city structure with special reference to Sunderland. (Cambridge)
 3. FLYNN, W. M. (1970) British Population Growth 1700-1850.
 4. DRAKE, M. ed (1969) Population in Industrialisation.

Nevertheless some attention will be given to the course and pace of population growth because it impinges on the development of Huddersfield.

In the absence of reliable statistics before 1801 it is only possible to provide an approximate indication of the scale of growth. Estimates for the whole of England suggest an acceleration from the past around 1780.¹ The only statistics readily available for Huddersfield are those given by Aiken (Table 2.1). From 1770 there was a marked increase in the incidence of births, marriages and deaths recorded in the parish register.

TABLE 2.1

The Incidence of Births, Marriages and Deaths
before 1800

Source J Aitken

Year	Marriages	Christenings	Burials
1710	30	113	112
1720	33	148	133
1730	48	178	149
1740	41	196	100
1750	39	235	120
1760	65	190	99
1770	100	283	132
1780	115	296	135
1790	113	377	267
1791	140	381	270
1792	119	395	274

In an area such as this where dissenters constituted a substantial proportion of the population, the parish register is an imperfect index of population trends. Nevertheless Aiken was confident of its applicability and ascribed the population increase to the healthiness of the district, 'plenty of employ, and high price of labour, encouraging to early matrimony and from warm clothing, good

1. TUCKER, G. S. L. (1963) 'English Pre-industrial Population Trends' Economic History Review 2nd Series 16, 205-218.

fare and abundant food'.¹

The steady growth of the central township from around 1770 can be discerned from the rental books of the Ramsden Estate.² The pace of development appears to have quickened from 1807. Census figures from 1801 indicate the rates of growth decennially both for Huddersfield as a whole and for its constituent townships.³ The period 1802-1851 was one of maximum growth during which the population quadrupled. Growth, however, was not even throughout the whole area (Table 2.2). Perhaps the most noticeable variations are those recorded for the years 1821-1831. Lockwood experienced a population increase of 66% whilst Huddersfield and Dalton respectively experienced increases of 43% and 33%. The Census Returns attribute the growth in Huddersfield to 'an influx of persons for extensive woollen and silk manufacture',⁴ but they give no reasons for the growth in Lockwood. A number of mills were built during this period both in Lockwood and Huddersfield. Thus a witness giving evidence to a parliamentary committee in 1833 could report as follows:

"I think that in the town of Huddersfield there are more new mills building than in any other part of Yorkshire ... several on the Manchester road ... two or three are very large mills."⁵

There was a decline in the rate of increase in Huddersfield township between 1831 and 1841. During this period the rate of increase in Lockwood was halved, but even so it still remained at a greater level than in the rest of Huddersfield. Thus it was claimed

1. AIKEN, J. (1800) A Descriptive account of the District forty miles around Manchester. 551-3.
2. Ramsden Estate Rental Books 1798, 1807-8, 1815. H.P.L.
3. ie the Borough of Huddersfield as it was in 1871.
4. British Parliamentary Papers. Census returns 1831.
5. Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Present State of Manufacturing, Commerce and Shipping (1833). 81; A number of leases were granted for mills on the Lockwood Proprietors' land at this time. Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Conveyancing Deed, 1954, C/T/2/42. H.P.L.

TABLE 2.2

Population Trends 1801-1851Numbers

<u>Date</u>	<u>Townships</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>Huddersfield</u>	<u>Almondbury</u>	<u>Dalton</u>	<u>Lockwood</u>	<u>Lindley</u>	
1801	7,268	3,751	1,222	1,253	1,377	14,871
1811	9,671	4,613	1,625	1,490	1,686	19,085
1821	13,284	5,679	2,289	1,881	2,040	25,173
1831	19,035	7,086	3,060	3,134	2,300	34,615
1841	22,744	8,828	3,906	4,182	2,881	42,541
1851	30,880	9,749	4,310	5,556	3,023	53,518

Percentage Increase

1801	-	-	-	-	-	-
1811	33.06	22.98	32.97	22.45	22.44	28.34 %
1821	37.36	23.11	29.00	25.24	20.99	31.90 %
1831	43.29	24.77	33.68	66.60	13.04	37.51 %
1841	19.49	24.58	27.64	10.34	32.85	22.90 %
1851	35.77	10.43	10.34	32.85	4.93	25.80 %

in 1835 that the Poor Rate was a much greater burden on outlying townships than in Huddersfield township because there were comparatively few workmen in the town. It was maintained that this was because the ground rents were too high and the land consequently too valuable to build upon; and so the poor were thrown into the different townships around.¹

The facility with which land could be obtained for development undoubtedly contributed to the differential rates of population increase amongst townships. This is revealed for Lindley township in the sharp contrast in population growth between 1841-51 and 1851-61. The percentage increase for the former period was 4.93% and for the latter was 40.89%.

The last period of rapid growth for Huddersfield township was during the decade 1841-51. A substantial influx of Irish in 1847 contributed to the increase.²

Economic Growth

The economic growth which accompanied the rapid population growth was based initially on the domestic production of textiles and on the role of Huddersfield as a market centre. Huddersfield's function as a market town had been encouraged by the charter of 1672 which permitted trade to be diverted from the older and more remote town of Almondbury. Unlike the latter, Huddersfield had the advantage of being situated at the confluence of several routes from

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1. Report of the Select Committee on Handloom Weavers (1835)
Evidence of William Stocks, 9994-100633.
 2. Following the Irish famine; Huddersfield had links with Ireland via its pig market. HEAD, Sir G. (1835) A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts in England in the Summer 1835.
In 1851 percentage of Irish in the population was the highest of the century, 6.32% of the population of Huddersfield township. It was reported in 1847 that there was an alarming influx of Irish. Leeds Mercury January 4, 1847.

the uplands. Apart from its obvious role as a distribution centre for food, Huddersfield was also a market centre for cloth produced in the surrounding district. Much of its commercial development reflected changes which occurred in the textile industry. The interrelationship between the industrial and commercial sectors of the local economy, the one feeding on the other, was also a characteristic of the relationship between central Huddersfield and its constituent villages. The villages were industrial nodes first for domestic manufacture and then for factory production. Huddersfield on the other hand served both commerce and industry. Even when factories were introduced in the vicinity of the town, the commercial function of Huddersfield remained dominant.

Changes in textile technology and in the organisational characteristics of the textile industry affected the location of population growth. The domestic manufacture of woollen cloth had been taking place since the fourteenth century. Clothiers would buy wool from a dealer and with the help of members of their family made it into undressed cloth. After the cloth had been fulled at a fulling mill it was stretched on tenters to dry and then taken to market for sale.¹ Subsequently it was finished and dyed in the dyehouses and dressing shops which were located in Huddersfield.² This was a hereditary industry in which each generation built on the investment and skill of the previous one. Indeed the descendants of earlier yeoman clothiers, the Beaumonts of Whitley, the Kayes of Woodsome, the Ramsdens of Longley, all became important landowners and by the nineteenth century were considered members of the gentry.

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1. HUDSON, F. S. (1965-6) 'The Wool Textile Industry in Huddersfield District' International Dyer and Textile Printer December 1965 and January 1966, 951.
 2. Ramsden Estate Survey 1778, H.P.L.

The fulling mill was an essential capital intensive part of the process. These mills were usually owned by local lords of the manor.¹ Excess power was available at these mills and thus they came to be used for the introduction of newly invented machines for carding and scribbling.² As a result the growing significance of valley sites for industry was further reinforced. Knowledge of new techniques was disseminated from the cotton area via clothiers from Saddleworth who visited the Huddersfield Cloth Market and then travelled throughout the West Riding.³

Increased demand from both at home and abroad helped the expansion of the textile industry in the eighteenth century. Both the markets for cloth and the sources of raw material widened. It was increasingly necessary for supply and demand to come under the control of a few entrepreneurs.⁴ Increased competition meant a search for more economical methods of production and encouraged the development of new types of cloth. In Huddersfield increased demand during the Napoleonic Wars led to the development of the fancy trade in which the keynote was flexibility in response to changes in fashion.

In fact, industrial change occurred only slowly in the woollen industry and for many years the domestic and factory systems existed side by side. The first large scale machines made use of water power, but by 1820 steam was being used for fulling and scribbling processes. Even in the 1830's a number of manufacturers, especially in the fancy trade, continued to "put out"

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1. As did Thomas Thornhill, Sir John Kaye and Sir John Ramsden in Huddersfield.
 2. CRUMP, W. and GORBAL, G. A History of Huddersfield Woollen Industry (1923) (Huddersfield).
 3. SEWARD op cit.
 4. Select Committee on Manufacture, Commerce and Shipping, op cit.

the bulk of their production. For example, J. C. Milner of Dalton "put out" to three hundred weavers within a radius of ten miles.¹

In 1806 there were only two mills in Huddersfield and both of these were finishing mills. Bradley Mill provides a good example of the gradual nature of the transition from domestic production during the industrial revolution. There the owner, Law Atkinson, had machines for scribbling, carding and slubbing which he let to domestic clothiers. Spare power was likewise leased. Atkinson also employed 17 handloom weavers under one roof, chiefly in order to prevent the theft of wool. He maintained that he had no desire to extend his business to making his own cloth, partly because of the capital involved and partly because he could obtain the credit with which to finance his activities from those domestic clothiers he served. This mixture of the domestic and factory system was matched by an almost family-like employer-employee relationship. Thus, whenever there was a boom in demand, employees would stay on at the mill and work overnight if required.²

The textile industry was dependent on credit and as the credit structure changed so did the industrial organisation.³

Entrepreneurs began to specialise in different aspects of the industry. Many acquired control over the finishing processes and finished their own cloth in their own mills. There was also a growing tendency for the manufacturer to market his own goods. By bringing different processes under one roof economies in time, transport and production control were achieved. Factory development

1. Report of the Select Committee on Handloom Weaving (1835)
op cit, 57-73, 394-702.
2. Report of the Committee of Woollen Manufacture of England
(1806), 253.
3. JENKINS. op cit.

in turn stimulated the introduction of new machinery so that the numbers of small factories declined. Increasingly factories were built along the canal sides as well as along the banks of the Colne, the Holme and their tributaries near Huddersfield. In such situations the entrepreneurs could take advantage of the relatively reliable water supplies. The bulk of factory construction occurred between 1820 and 1850 but the new factories were used largely for wool manufacture. The fancy trade on the other hand continued well into the 1850's largely on a domestic footing, relying on the skill and expertise of the handloom weaver. Only when the Jacquard loom had been fully developed and introduced by the 1850's was power loom weaving universal.¹

The development of the textile industry stimulated the expansion of the chemical and engineering industries. Traditionally jobbing smiths had supplied parts of looms for clothiers' shops and also fulling stocks in mills. These smiths now became machine makers. Soon machine making expanded beyond the immediate needs of the textile industry to include, amongst other trades, organ building and coach building. Local men like John Nowell and his pupil George Jarman were founders of the modern chemical industry. They experimented with new chemical dyes and their discoveries were further developed by Thomas Holliday. His son Read Holliday was successful in distilling ammonia from coal gas with the result that relatively cheap ammonia could now be used in place of urine for the scouring of wool. George Jarman developed methods of carbonising wool which made better use of lower grade wool. These and other advances meant an increasing competitive advantage for Huddersfield²

1. British Parliamentary Papers Census Returns 1861.

2. HUDSON, F. S. op cit.

in the textile industry. As was the case with engineering, so the chemical industry developed beyond the point at which it merely catered for the needs of the textile industry.

Commercial developments accompanied these changes. Shortly before the introduction of water-driven machinery in the Huddersfield area Sir John Ramsden opened a new Cloth Hall in 1766. Cloths for sale had previously been displayed on a churchyard wall. The new Hall, roughly contemporary with similar Halls in other towns, epitomised the small-scale nature of the woollen textile industry. Significantly, however, the Huddersfield Cloth Hall was enlarged in 1780.¹

The new fancy cloths introduced in the early nineteenth century were dependent for their success on secrecy rather than open competition because of the importance of design. Many of the dealers therefore began to rent private rooms in the numerous innyards of Huddersfield. Buyers from Leeds came directly to Huddersfield in order to place orders with the manufacturers. This development, coupled with the need to store wool and goods, resulted in the proliferation of warehouses in the centre of Huddersfield. A firm could overcome the disadvantages of an outlying factory location by having an office in the town for the purposes of marketing. This stimulated the development of accountancy firms, of banks and of other institutions catering for commercial needs. The growth of personal contacts with clients in central Huddersfield was further encouraged by the advent of the railway. Thus, by 1850 a distinct commercial district was being developed in the town centre adjacent to the new railway station.²

1. CRUMP and GORBAL op cit.

2. This came to be called the 'New Town of Huddersfield'.

The economic growth that was a consequence of these structural changes did not take place steadily. Huddersfield was subject to a number of fluctuations in its industrial activity. If a depression occurred in the textile industry its repercussions were usually felt throughout the urban economy, since people generally had less money to spend.¹ The woollen industry, however, was less subject than other industries to violent fluctuations because it was dependent on home demand which tended to be relatively constant throughout the year.² The woollen industry of Huddersfield was even less subject to fluctuations than that of the rest of the West Riding.³ Areas of real distress tended to be associated with particular groups of people like the handloom weavers.⁴

During the period two major depressions affected the entire industry. The first one occurred during the Napoleonic Wars because of the French blockade; the second took place during 1847, when general panic throughout the country accompanied a local reduction in the demand for labour because of the completion of the railways. Meanwhile 'signs of depression in the staple industry were becoming manifest and unemployed operatives were congregating on street corners'.⁵ The depression was shortlived and was not felt in other sectors of the economy because shop trade was reported to be flourishing and building was advancing apace.⁶

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1. Particularly on housing and retail goods.
 2. Leeds Mercury December 13, 1845.
 3. Leeds Mercury November 6, 1847.
 4. Report of the Select Committee on Handloom Weavers. op cit.
 5. Leeds Mercury May 15, 1847.
 6. Leeds Mercury October 4, 1845.

TABLE 2.3

Occupational Structure of Huddersfield
Source: Directories

Number of persons recorded in each Occupational Sector

	1797	1814	1822	1830	1837
Professions	8	15	70	79	96
Service Industries	54	110	242	533	438
Drinks	11	19	58	166	145
Buildings	3	15	37	97	95
Manufacturing Industry:					
Textile	6	144	168	323	163
Engineering				7	44
Chemicals				65	4
Others			51	43	23
Commerce	30	90	55	108	130

	1797	1814	1822	1830	1837
Professions	7.14	3.82	10.28	5.50	8.43
Service Industries	48.21	27.99	35.54	37.50	38.48
Drinks	9.82	4.83	8.52	11.68	12.74
Building	2.68	3.82	5.43	6.82	8.34
Manufacturing Industry:					
Textile	5.36	36.64	24.67	22.73	14.32
Engineering)			7.48	8.35	6.23
Chemicals)	-	-			
Others)					
Commerce	26.78	22.99	8.07	7.60	11.42
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Numbers and Percentage of Males employed in each
Sector in 1841
Source: 1841 Census Returns

	Nos	%
Agriculture	296	3.28
Mining	87	0.96
Building Sector	402	4.45
Manufacture	4,799	53.22
Transport	207	2.29
Dealing	777	8.61
Industrial Service	554	6.14
Public and Professional	192	2.12
Private Income	425	4.71
Domestic Service	1,278	14.17
Total	9,017	100.00

Evidence of the impact of these changes on the employment structure of Huddersfield is provided by the directories and the occupational tables of the Census (Table 2.3). The directories must be treated with caution. There were considerable errors and omissions.¹ Although the nature of the expansion of a particular industry can be traced from changes in the numbers of firms per trade, the directories give no real indication of the numbers of people employed. A single factory might well have as many workers as hundreds of work shops.

According to the directory for 1797, conspicuous amongst leading townspeople in that year were the providers of essential services like food and clothing.² Typical of these was Abraham Pilling³ who made shoes in Huddersfield and delivered them to surrounding districts. Although a number of merchants were listed, there was little mention of industry. Thus the directory records only 1 frizer, only 1 cloth dresser, and 1 dyer, but this is hardly the true state of affairs⁴, for by 1778 there were in Huddersfield no less than 7 dressing shops, 6 workshops, 8 brew-houses, 4 dyehouses and 1 mill.⁵ By 1814 the commercial and manufacturing sectors had increased in size and number.⁶ In that year there were in Huddersfield 22 fancy weavers, 39 cloth dressers, 4 calico printers, 10 dressers and 48 woollen manufacturers. The presence of 1 machine maker and 6 braziers indicates the growing importance of engineering.

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1. DAVIS, W. K. D., GRIGGS, J. A., HERBERT, D. T. (1968). 'Directories, ratebooks and the commercial structure of towns', Geography, 53, 41-54.
 2. 1797 Universal British Directory of Trade Commerce and Manufacture 2nd edition, vol 3, pp 296-302 (London).
 3. Report of the Court of Assizes York 1813. H.P.L.
 4. See Pollbook 1807 T.M.M.
 5. Ramsden Estate Survey 1778.
 6. PIGOT, T. & Co. (1814-5) The Commercial Directory for 1814-15 (London).

By 1822 the town showed more of the characteristics of urbanisation.¹ The business sectors had become divided and had multiplied in number. Insurance firms, banks and accounting firms were to be found in large numbers. This diversification was also the product of the refinement of the infrastructure of the town whereby when an effective demand developed for any trade or service the necessary skills were acquired in imitation of those which existed elsewhere.² The population increase which created this demand was also reflected in the expansion of the building industry.

Until 1841 the occupation tables of the Census were imprecise. Thus, for example, in 1801 only 11% of those in employment were assigned to particular occupations whilst 78-83% were classed as 'others'. The Census of 1841 provides the first reasonably precise indication of the actual numbers of people in different occupations. Within the manufacturing category there were still significant numbers of craftsmen but within the textile industry over 80% of the workers were employed in factories. The average numbers of employees per factory were as follows: cotton factories 18, woollen factories 35, silk factories 65.³ Overall, manufacturing accounted for about half the economic activity in Huddersfield. By 1850 the town had become a flourishing manufacturing centre with a leading role in the manufacture of woollen and worsted cloth in the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁴

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1. BAINES, Ed (1822) History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York, Vol 1, The West Riding. (Leeds)
 2. Amongst those which had appeared by 1822 were architects, accountants, a music teacher, gunsmiths, a watch and clock maker and a straw hat maker.
 3. Factory Inspectors' Report 1839. The number of occupied persons in Huddersfield Parish working in the three textile industries was 4,244. The number working in factories was 3,428. (Returns relating to Factories.)
 4. WHITE, W. (1853). Directory and Gazetteer of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield and the whole of the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire.

Transport

The competitive advantage of Huddersfield was augmented and maintained by a dynamic transport system. The relationship between the local community and the region was dependent on the ease and cost of transport rather than on distance, particularly since the transport of bulky goods like wool was involved. As Dyos and Aldcroft have demonstrated, there can be a highly elastic response to relatively small changes in the cost of transport.¹ In Huddersfield changes occurred at both the local and the regional level. In each case the existing pattern of transport was so deeply ingrained that subsequent development followed previous lines of movement.

During the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century the turnpike roads carried the bulk of the traffic. The stage coach provided the regional network of routes for passenger transport.² Carriers with packhorses and poorer people on foot were road users too. In 1720 Almondbury was a major route centre but by 1776 Huddersfield was supreme. Existing highways were repaired, widened and enlarged, and some new routes were established.³

The same turnpikes formed the main local road arteries along which the built-up area of Huddersfield developed. This local orientation was reinforced when the advent of the railways compelled the carrying trades concerned to abandon long distance activities and concentrate on local collection and delivery traffic, providing feeders for the rail system. Footpaths and secondary roads served

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1. DYOS, H. J. and ALDCROFT (1969). British Transport.
 2. DICKINSON, G. C. (1959). "Stage Coach Services in the West Riding between 1830 and 1840". Journal of Transport History, 4, 1-12.
 3. SYKES, D. F. E. (1912). The History of Huddersfield and Valleys of Colne, Holme and Deane (Huddersfield).

as linkages within the system. These were used primarily by those walking to work. When the domestic system was still in operation, clothiers walked up to 10 miles for yarn and cloth.¹ The advent of the factory system and the associated long and regulated hours made it more advantageous to live in proximity to the place of work, usually not more than a mile away, although people living in the outlying villages might walk up to three miles to work.² Within the radius of a mile in Huddersfield there was in the 1840's a wide variety of factories providing a range of employment opportunities.

Before the advent of the railways water carriage was the only means of transport capable of permitting the assemblage of materials, foodstuffs and finished products on the scale necessary for the continued growth of Huddersfield. The Sir John Ramsden canal, completed in 1778, served this purpose by linking the town with the Aire and Calder Navigation at Cooper Bridge.³ As a result there was a marked reduction in the cost of transporting goods from Cooper Bridge to the town centre. Thus in 1780 it had cost 4s a ton to transport lime by road, but despite the imposition of a toll of 8d it only cost 1s by canal.⁴ The success of the Ramsden Canal and the rapid growth of transpennine traffic prompted local landowners and manufacturers to press for a canal from Ashton-under-Lyne to Huddersfield, thus providing a link with Manchester and Liverpool. The Huddersfield canal was never as successful as the Ramsden canal. Inability to raise sufficient capital, together with the technical problems associated with the long tunnels, delayed the opening of the canal until 1811.⁵

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1. Report of Select Committee on Handloom Weaving (1835).
 2. Factory Inspector s'Report 1836.
 3. HADFIELD, C. (1972) The Canals of Yorkshire and North-East England, Volume 1.
 4. PHILLIPS, JOHN (1805) A General History of Inland Navigation Foreign and Domestic, 5th edition.
 5. HADFIELD, C. op cit.

Because the Huddersfield canal was only suitable for narrow boats, thus making transshipment necessary, it never made a profit. Besides, by the time the canal had been completed the bulk of the traffic in the area was towards the east rather than the west. Subsequently in the 1830s both canals were affected by competition from the railways.

The Huddersfield railway linking Huddersfield with the outside world was built relatively late in the history of railways.¹ To the contemporary businessman its chief advantage was the quick link it offered with the established commercial capital of London.² The increase in mobility revolutionised the organisation of business.³ Like the canals, the railway was planned and controlled by local landowners. Although many schemes were put forward, the one adopted was that supported by the Ramsden Estate Trustees. In addition the estate managed to sell to the railway company the increasingly unprofitable canal and was also successful in securing appropriate lines for loading and unloading goods at Newtown Mill, which they had recently purchased. The presence of one predominant landowner made it easier for the railway company to negotiate.⁴ The necessary Act was obtained in 1845 but the railway was not completed until 1849. It ran from Stalybridge to join the Leeds and Manchester Railway at Colne Bridge, thus providing a major link with Lancashire and Yorkshire. The line to London was provided by a branch line to Sheffield constructed at the same time. Contemporary observers saw the coming of the railway as a major factor in encouraging the movement of the centre of gravity

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1. SIMMONS, J. (1961) The Railways of Britain.
 2. STOCK, W. B. (1959) Pennine Journey. A History of Railways, Trams and Canals in the Huddersfield District (Huddersfield)
 3. PERKINS, H. (1970) The Age of the Railway.
 4. WHOMSLEY, D. (1974) "A landed estate and the Railway, Huddersfield 1844-54". Journal of Transport History, New Series, 2, 189-213.

in the textile industry from Leeds to Huddersfield.¹

Local Government

For the first half of the nineteenth century the growth of Huddersfield took place with very little interference from local government activities. Public intervention was restricted to the actions of numerous independent ad hoc Committees and Boards.

The Improvement Act of 1820 was the first local Act to set up any formalised system of Local Government.² The commissioners appointed, all wealthy men with estates of over £1,000 value, were to deal with lighting, cleansing and watching the streets of Huddersfield. The concentration of urban growth into the centre of Huddersfield at this time meant that jurisdiction was restricted to a circle of 1200 yards radius from the market cross. This limited area of jurisdiction was retained until Incorporation in 1868, but by 1850 it was becoming anachronistic.³ The effectiveness of the 1820 Improvement Commissioners was in any case limited by their continual quarrels with the Surveyors of Highways.⁴

The growth of Huddersfield prompted an attempt by local ratepayers, with the approval of the Trustees of the Ramsden Estate, to petition Parliament for incorporation in 1841. The attempt was unsuccessful.⁵ The 1840s witnessed the setting up of ad hoc committees of ratepayers and the holding of meetings conducted by

1. Isaac Horden's Notebook 1846-1911. L.P.L.
2. An Act for lighting and cleansing the Town of Huddersfield - the West Riding of the County of York 1820. 1 Geo Session 1820.
3. A large proportion of the built-up area was beyond this boundary.
4. C/T/TD/M/1-2. H.P.L.
5. Parliamentary Papers (1847-8). Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, Land, Revenue, Works and Public Buildings.

Joshua Hobson.¹ There was growing concern about the sanitary condition of Huddersfield. Those with vested interests, mainly owners of the worst cottages, made many attempts to disrupt these meetings and prevent the appointment of health inspectors.² The chief problem for those concerned with improvements was that the committees they set up had no real power. After an outbreak of typhus fever in 1846 a sub-committee was set up to look at Improvement Bills and to inform the public of their findings. A Bill was laid before the trustees of the Ramsden Estate in the hope of 'securing their co-operation for the obtainment of a measure so manifestly beneficial to the inhabitants in general and the owners of property in Huddersfield in particular.'³ This Bill received Royal Assent in 1848. It authorised the setting up of an Improvement Commission of 21 members. Three of its members were appointed by the Ramsden Estate. Membership qualifications were a £30 rating or £1,000 personalty. Rates were to be collected from occupiers of property worth over £10 per annum.⁴

The Improvement Act gave the Commissioners powers to make sewers, build streets and regulate the provision of sanitary facilities. It also gave them the power to raise the finance necessary to effect this improvement. All the activities of the Improvement Commission were confined to the area of jurisdiction within a radius of 1200 yards. The provision of similar facilities outside that area was dependent on the actions of the landowners.

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1. G/T/TJ/ma/1 et seq.
 2. Report of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, Land, Revenue, Works and Public Buildings. Manuscript Minutes. House of Lords Records Office.
 3. C/T/Tk/m/1-2 H.P.L.
 4. Huddersfield Improvement Act 1848.

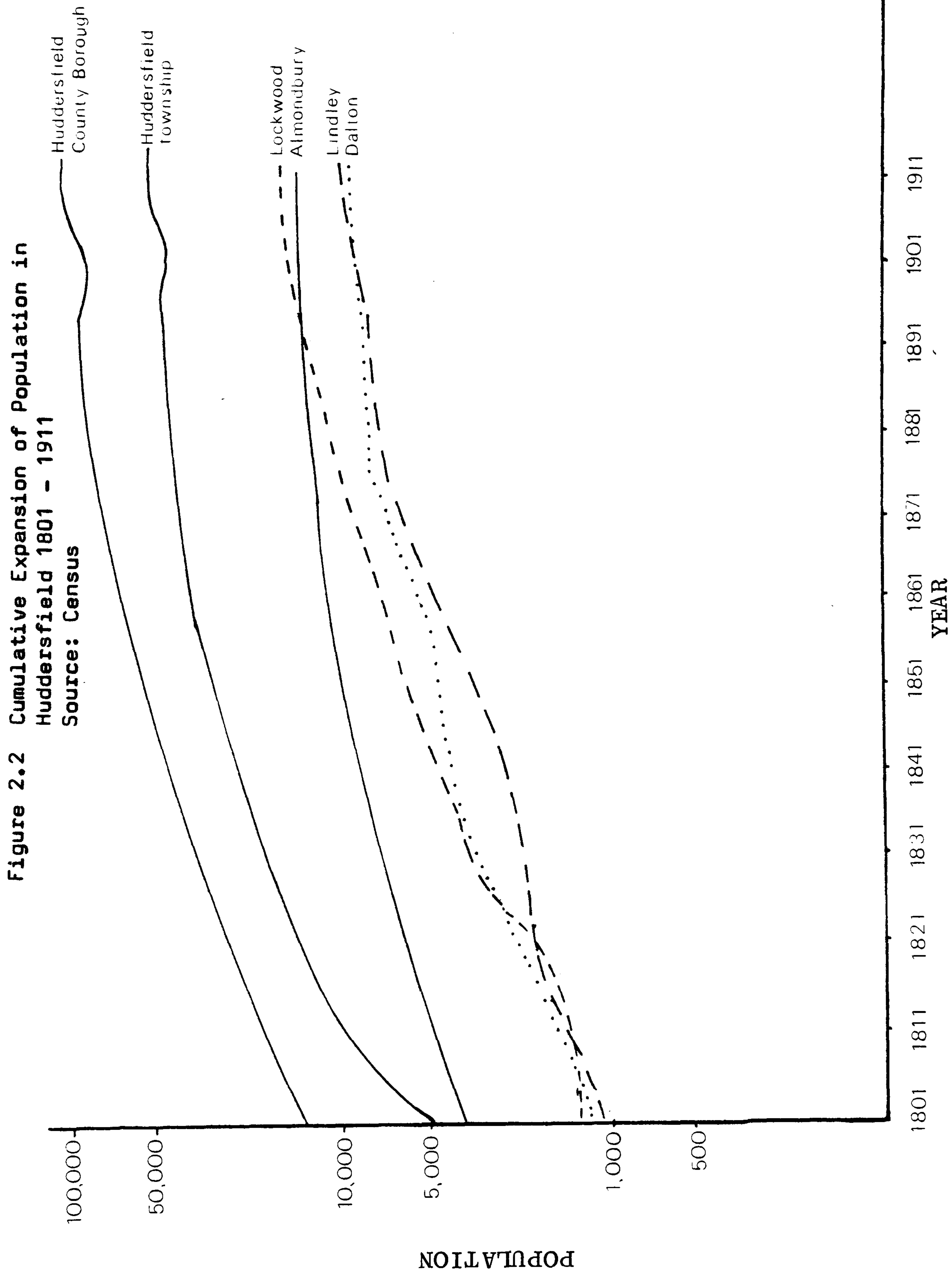
TABLE 2.4

Population Trends 1851-1911Numbers

	<u>Townships</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>Huddersfield</u>	<u>Almondbury</u>	<u>Dalton</u>	<u>Lockwood</u>	<u>Lindley</u>	
1851	30,880	9,749	4,310	5,556	3,023	53,518
1861	34,877	10,361	4,692	6,755	4,259	60,944
1871	38,654	11,669	6,170	8,270	5,490	70,253
1881	42,234	13,977	8,019	10,446	7,284	81,960
1891	46,098	14,855	8,413	13,075	8,573	90,014
1901	44,921	14,436	8,521	13,365	8,445	89,688
1911	51,264	15,485	9,249	16,641	9,345	101,984

Percentage Increase

1851	35.77	10.43	10.34	32.85	4.93	28.34 %
1861	12.94	6.28	8.86	21.58	40.89	13.87 %
1871	10.82	12.62	31.50	22.42	28.90	15.27 %
1881	9.26	19.77	29.96	26.31	32.67	16.66 %
1891	9.14	6.28	4.91	15.59	17.69	9.83 %
1901	-2.55	-2.82	1.28	10.68	-1.49	-0.36 %
1911	14.12	7.26	8.44	24.51	10.66	13.70 %



THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT 1850-1911

Population Growth

The population of Huddersfield nearly doubled between 1851 and 1911 (Table 2.4). The growth occurred at a decreasing rate (Figure 2.2). Indeed, in the decade 1891-1901 Huddersfield experienced an absolute decline in population of 326.¹

The pattern of population growth differed from township to township.² The trends in Almondbury and Huddersfield townships generally reflected those prevailing in the whole of Huddersfield. In Lockwood, Lindley and Dalton townships much faster rates of growth were experienced. In the years 1891-1901 Lockwood witnessed only a slight slackening in the rate of growth rather than an absolute decline in population. Population growth was more uneven in Dalton where the rate of growth was slow except for the period 1861-1881. The large increase at this time was attributed by the census to changes in land availability in that township. In Lindley the largest increase took place between 1851 and 1861 but the pace of growth was rapid until the last decade of the nineteenth century.³ The figures for all three of these townships reflect the increasing trend towards suburbanisation and population growth at the expense of Huddersfield township.

Economic Growth

The two main features of the period to 1911 were the diversification of industry and the growth of larger factory units.

1. This decline was a characteristic of a number of northern cities and generally attributed to out-migration coupled with a decline in the birth rate. A report of the Medical Officer of Health in Huddersfield referred to the exceptionally low rate of birth but also claimed that the decline in Huddersfield was due to a statistical quirk. The local regiment had been absent at the time of the census.
2. After 1881 the county borough also included the township of Longwood which is not included in the total.
3. It will be argued below that the 40% increase in 1861 was also due to an increase in land availability in Lindley. vide infra, pp. 131-35, 290

While the manufacture of textiles remained the most important industry, accounting for 34 per cent of the employed population, by 1911 there had occurred an increase in the share of chemicals and engineering. These industries no longer supplied only the indigenous textile trade. In 1904 the bulk of the textile manufacturing was carried out in 158 factories in Huddersfield. In most cases each factory was devoted to a specific activity within the industry.¹ Each process demanded a different size factory unit. In 1867 average factory sizes ranged from 19 people per factory for dyeing to 210 in wool manufacture.² This illustrates the great change in the organisation of industry which had taken place since 1839³ when domestic production still predominated. The increase in factory size largely took place in situ through additions to the original factories.⁴ By 1867 the location of industry was firmly established along the Holme, the Colne and their tributaries.⁵ As Table 2.5 shows, industrial production was a predominant source of employment, although a large number of people were employed in commerce and the service industries. Huddersfield continued to be the administrative centre for the surrounding area, a function which was confirmed by the presence of the railway.

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1. Parliamentary Paper (1904) LXXXVII, 1109, Return of Factories.
 2. Third Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the best means of preventing the pollution of rivers (Aire and Calder) (1967) Vol 2.
 3. Factory Inspectors' Report (1839) op cit.
 4. According to the leases on two Estates in Huddersfield, see Ramsden Estate Papers. Register of application for leases 1857-1883 and Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Estate Conveyance 1954. C/T/2/42 H.P.L.
 5. Rivers Commission op cit, Vol 1, Appendix.

TABLE 2.5

Occupational Structure in 1871 and 1911

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Adult Males employed</u>		<u>Source: Census</u>	
	<u>1871</u>		<u>1911</u>	
	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>%</u>
Agricultural	882	3.48	735	1.32
Mining	406	1.60	422	0.76
Building Sector	2,126	8.40	3,049	5.51
Manufacture	13,483	53.29	32,862	59.40
Transport	1,044	4.12	3,424	6.19
Dealing	2,696	10.65	6,086	11.00
Industrial Service	776	3.07	1,617	2.92
Public and Professional	885	3.49	1,842	3.33
Private Income	556	2.19	1,385	2.50
Domestic Service	2,442	9.57	3,886	6.98
Total	25,296	100.00	55,308	100.00

Proportion of Population gainfully employed
in Huddersfield Borough

1841	1871	1911
35.97%	36.00%	51.00%

The occupation figures also indicate a changing social and age structure. Despite the introduction in 1870 of compulsory education, there was an increase in the proportion of the population making up the labour force. Not only was there an increase in the proportion of adults in the working population but there was also an increase in the number of women working. By 1911, female labour outnumbered male labour by five per cent in the textile industry.¹ In view of Vance's findings on the

¹ Census Returns 1911. Tables of Occupations.

importance of the male occupation on the location of the residence in relation to work, this could have implications concerning the location of housing for the workforce. Male workers were now more mobile and possibly less restricted in their choice of workplace. The strong ties with the old village nuclei were relaxed, allowing the interplay of other urban forces like social segregation.¹

In common with other centres, trends in economic activity in Huddersfield began to depend less on local social forces and more on national pressures. The general depression of the early 1870s, however, did not greatly affect Huddersfield since its textile industry catered mainly for the home market.² Huddersfield did however suffer from the trade depression of the late 1880s and 1890s. Lower prices due to increased foreign competition reduced profits in general but particularly in the textile industry.³ Contemporaries were of the opinion that in Huddersfield the cause was local:

"After the Huddersfield and Manchester Railway opened, Huddersfield appeared to have put on a great spurt and until the Great Weavers Strike was going ahead. But the strike put a stop - some of the trade going to Halifax and Bradford and never came back."⁴

Certainly it would appear that several manufacturers left the town. The Chamber of Commerce claimed that upwards of 5,000 left. In 1895 letters to the Huddersfield Chronicle reported a number of unoccupied factories as well as a depleted population. Another letter argued that the factories were empty merely because their

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1. VANCE, J. E. (1966) "Housing the Workers: the employment linkage as a force in urban structure." Economic Geography, 42, 294-325.
 2. ROSTOW, W. (1949) The British Economy in the Nineteenth Century, 203.
 3. Ramsden Estate Paper RA/DD/C/27/5 H.P.L. and COURT, W. B. (1954). A Concise Economic History of Britain, Chapter 8.
 4. Isaac Hordern's Notebook 1846-1911 L.P.L.

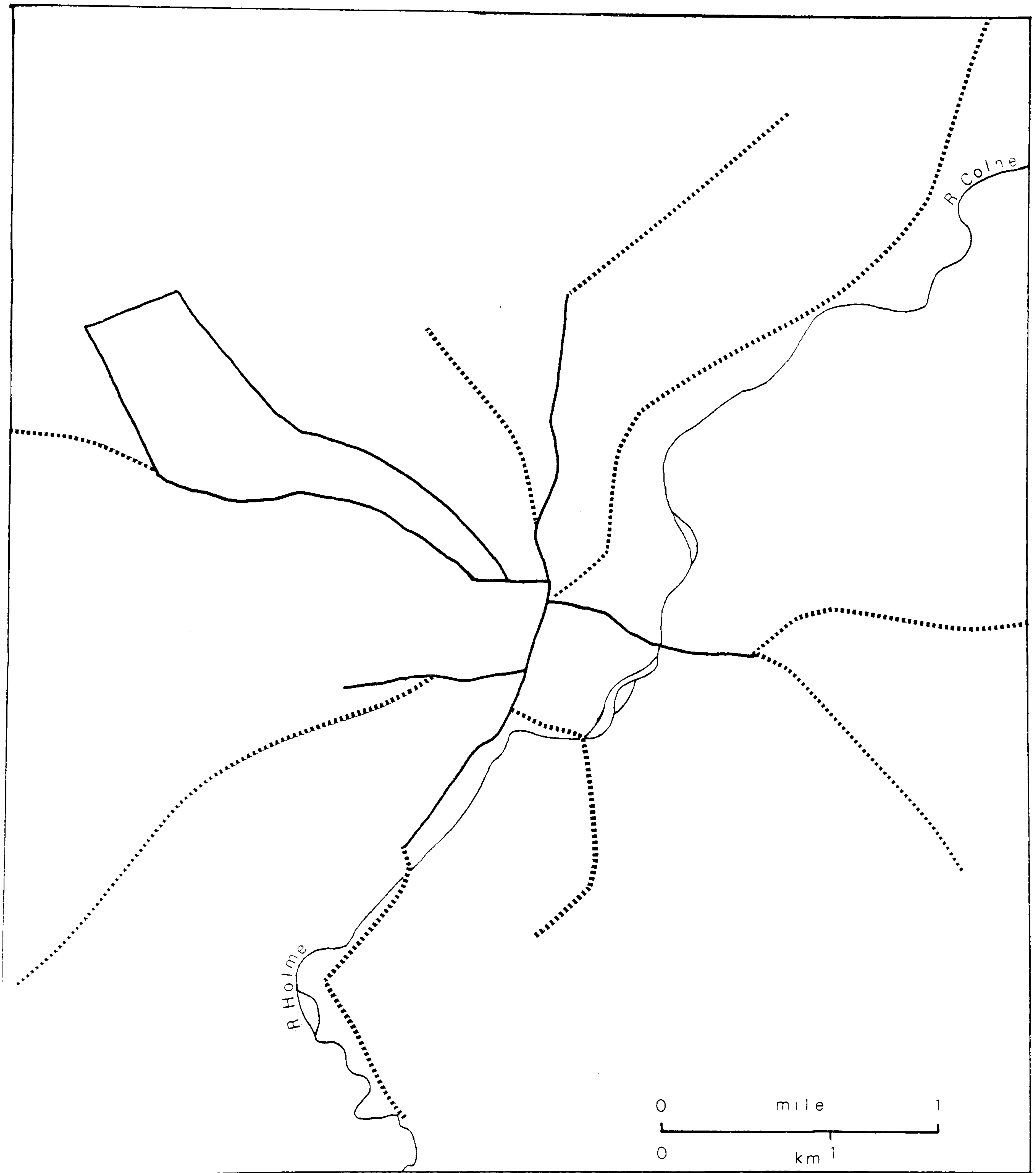
construction was obsolete and improvements in machinery had ensured that the same work could be done by fewer people.¹ Trade did not recover until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Transport

Railway traffic through Huddersfield increased steadily over the years. By 1867 no less than 140 passenger trains and 160 goods trains were arriving and departing every day.² In 1879 the line was widened at Hillhouse when the station was enlarged to provide more accommodation for goods.

The main transport changes during this period took place at the intraurban level. Initially developments were restricted to the gradual adoption of the horse-omnibus. Until the 1860s the horse-omnibus ran primarily on market day to outlying villages. Attempts to introduce the omnibus in the 1840s had failed because of lack of demand.³ The burgeoning middle class had not attained sufficient numbers and suburban living was not then widespread. Most omnibus trips were confined to occasional business visits and the daily journey to work continued to be made on foot or, in the case of the entrepreneurs, in a private horse and carriage. But, in due course, a threshold in income and numbers was reached in a number of villages which permitted the introduction of a regular omnibus service. By 1864 omnibuses left St George's Square every half hour for the developing middle class suburb of Upper Edgerton and the large villages of Fartown and Lockwood.⁴ This made it possible for some residents to continue living in the villages and yet to retain vital links with the centre of trade.

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1. Huddersfield Chronicle, November 1895.
 2. Huddersfield Chronicle, March 16, 1867.
 3. STOCKS, W. B. op cit.
 4. CHARLTON and ANDERSON (1864). Trade Directory of Leeds and the Surrounding Districts.



~ River

— Tram Routes opened 1883 - 1889

..... Tram Routes opened after 1890

Figure 2.3 Tram Routes in Huddersfield
Source: Brook (1958)

While the railway created the necessary psychological attitude towards mobility, the tram did much to free movement and increase the choice of residential areas available to the lower middle classes and upper working classes, for these groups had now attained improved standards of living and were therefore able to pay the fares.

The tram routes followed existing channels of movement and encouraged development between the existing villages and the town of Huddersfield. (Figure 2.3) As with other tram lines built in England, the routes were introduced after rather than before new building developments. Indeed, the earliest routes competed with the existing omnibuses which served the best residential areas. The first tram ran from Lockwood, through the town centre to Fartown in 1883. Both Lockwood and Fartown were mixed communities with some pockets of prosperity and were also the most populous villages. Three years later the Lindley and Edgerton routes were introduced.¹ These routes achieved a larger total income than the first tramway but the income per mile was less. Moreover, it would appear that the service was not particularly good. A local resident maintained that the tramcar would be no use on a wet day to the inhabitants of Edgerton because by the time it reached them it would be full of Lindley people.²

The tramways were owned and run by the corporation. A private company did endeavour to obtain authority to operate the trams in the first instance in 1877 but the Bill was opposed. In its own Act in 1880 the Corporation was given power to lease the tramway system but there were no takers. The area of the borough was so

1. BROOK R (1958) The Tramways of Huddersfield. (Huddersfield)

2. Huddersfield Examiner, November 12, 1877.

large and the population so widely scattered that with services only at long time intervals it was not thought profitable. The steep gradients of Huddersfield were an added drawback. Under the terms of the Tramway Act, if the Corporation made a profit in running the transport system it was obliged to sell it.¹ In fact a loss was made which amounted to about $\frac{1}{2}$ d in a pound on the rates. Thus the heavy rate paying districts of Edgerton and Lindley not only received a poor service in return but also bore the main burden of financial loss. The loss, however, did not particularly concern the residents of Huddersfield or the members of the Council, for the tramways served a wider purpose.² After 1895 the Corporation extended the tramways into developing districts and did not confine the network to well-established districts as would probably have been the case with profit-making private companies. Thus, for example, a three-mile line was built to Crosland Moor at a cost of £1,400. This ran at a serious loss of 11.9d a mile during the first few years but, as was explained in 1894 to a Royal Commission:

"A corporation can afford to look to the future better than a private company can ... The new tramway will develop considerably the property it is to run to, to the advantage of the owners of the property who are private individuals. But it is not run from that point of view but for the convenience of the district."³

Thus the tramline was extended to Belle Vue Road in Sheepridge because the steep hill which approached Woodhouse Church was difficult for the elderly to negotiate. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that frequently among the property owners who benefited from new tram lines were Council members.

Despite developments in transport technology, walking remained the chief means of transport until well into the early twentieth

1. Royal Commission on Labour op cit and Appendix CXXXI. Joshua Pogson maintained that outsiders were more worried about the loss than the inhabitants of Huddersfield.

2. Royal Commission on Labour Group B Minutes op cit.

3. Huddersfield Examiner, February 7, 1891.

century. Flexibility with respect to the journey to work was for a long period confined to the middle classes. For the average workman some change could only come about after the introduction of cheap fares in 1903.¹

Local Government

The Improvement Commission continued to operate until 1868. After the adoption of the Local Government Act 1858, Local Boards of Health were set up in the districts outside the 1200-yard radius.² Most of these Local Boards were ineffectual, but in this respect the Lockwood and Moldgreen Local Boards were exceptional. The former spent £2,400 on sewage disposal. The surveyor to the latter was simultaneously surveyor to the Improvement Commissioners and the Lockwood Proprietors Estate.³

Pressure for incorporation of the Borough of Huddersfield to include these outlying districts stemmed from the need to rationalise domestic water supplies. A number of Acts of Parliament to improve the water supply had already been passed, but the jurisdiction of the Huddersfield Waterworks Commission was limited to the circle of 1200 yards radius. Beyond this radius water was supplied to the suburbs and villages only intermittently. To cater for their needs these small communities formed sub-committees and raised subscriptions for the construction of wells and cisterns.⁴

After incorporation in 1868 a strong Borough Council prompted sometimes by national pressures and helped by a professional

1. Huddersfield Examiner, December 19, 1903.
2. DONNELLY, Capt. Report of the Proceedings of Public Inquiry held November 18 and 19, 1867 by the Privy Council Commission. Municipal Incorporation of Huddersfield. H.P.L.
3. John Abbey no doubt used his experience with these two to persuade the Local Board to spend the money.
4. WOODHEAD, T. W. (1939) op cit.

executive sought to extend its influence over every aspect of the quality of urban life. Its power came to include the provision of education facilities, the widening of streets and the provision of utilities like gas and trams. The policy of the local authority was to have significance in the development of land only after the passing in 1871 of the Improvement Act, whereby all plans of streets and houses had to be submitted to the council for approval. The byelaws set up by the 1871 Act did not change until the 1909 Town Planning Act prohibited the building of back to back houses whose construction had earlier been approved by the Council.¹

There is no evidence in the Building Committee minutes of attempts by councillors to use their powers in order to promote their own interests. On the contrary, a number of plans submitted by council members were actually rejected. On the whole most plans submitted to the council, once they had undergone minor alterations, were eventually accepted by the relevant committees.

Under the regulations laid down by the Improvement Act of 1871, most streets had to be 36 feet wide and back streets had to be a minimum width of 12 feet. In the setting of the building line the corporation would take into account adjacent buildings. When an application to build was made it had to be accompanied by a detailed plan and section. Walls were to be not less than 16 inches thick if of stone and not less than 9 inches if of brick; party walls of stone were to be 12 inches thick and those of brick 4 inches. The use of space also came under control. No new dwelling house was to be separated from another by a space of less than 8 yards and for

1. C/T/CK/m/1 et seq H.P.L.

any court the entrance passage was to be 3 feet wide. Back to back houses were not to be built in blocks of more than four and between each of these blocks there was to be a passage not less than 3 feet 6 inches wide and not less than one storey high. There was to be one back yard for each set of four houses and one privy and one ashpit for each house. Such rules were intended to ensure proper sanitation and through ventilation.¹

Many of the rules laid down followed those that had already been used on the Ramsden Estate in the area.² The criteria imposed by the 1871 Act were minimal by modern standards, but in many of the suburbs and villages of Huddersfield where the Ramsden Estate did not hold land, to have any legally enforceable standards at all marked an improvement. With these rules the corporation was able to influence town growth by determining the amount of land that was needed for each house and thus the density of development. The corporation also thereby brought about a standardisation of construction for most builders built strictly according to the rules and did not try to improve on them.³

Among the powers which the corporation applied for in subsequent Improvement Acts was the right to compulsorily purchase land for street improvements.⁴ Streets improvements did help to ensure the removal of older properties in Huddersfield and thus the redevelopment of the town centre. Many of the schemes proposed were not however put into operation until the 1930s.⁵ The implementation of street improvements at an earlier date would have

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1. Huddersfield Improvement Act 1871. Sections 7, 24, 68, 107. C/T/2/29. H.P.L.
 2. This was particularly true of the regulation of street width.
 3. As in many other towns, this produced monotonous "byelaw" housing. See BURNETT J (1978) A Social History of Housing 1815-70, Chapter 6.
 4. eg Huddersfield Corporation Act 1897.
 5. When the same schemes were proposed in Improvement Acts. See Borough Engineer's Plans, H.P.L.

removed the worst housing in the centre of Huddersfield. But the actions of the corporation were restricted by an Act of Parliament in 1897 which prevented the corporation from acquiring at any one time more than ten houses occupied by the working classes unless alternative accommodation was provided in the form of a new housing scheme, within one mile of the area of demolition or the place of employment of the inhabitants.¹ By 1880 only one such scheme had been undertaken by the corporation and this had proved to be an expensive project. The rents charged for the houses built were beyond the reach of most of the poorer inhabitants of the town.² Thus action with regard to poor property was confined to the condemnation of individual houses as being unfit for human habitation.

The period 1770 to 1911 was one of gradual and yet revolutionary change in Huddersfield. The greatest transformation occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century when the population of Huddersfield quadrupled and factory organisation was established in industry. After 1850 there were fewer changes in industry. Rather there was a consolidation of the earlier developments. Thus factory units became larger and different strata of the middle classes aped the occupants of mansion house estates and sought accommodation in the suburbs of Huddersfield. Increasingly the social and economic life of Huddersfield was influenced by national rather than local or regional forces. Local legislation took its cue from guidelines set by central government. Local trade depressions reflected national ones and local fashions mirrored national opinions. Nevertheless Huddersfield in 1911 still retained some individuality in its reactions to different

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1. Huddersfield Corporation Act 1897. This followed the restrictions laid down in the Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890.
 2. Huddersfield: Medical Officer of Health Report 1890. H.P.L.

circumstances. This was in part a reflection of the social and economic structure of the town.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT, 1770-1850

The Expansion of the Built-up Area

From the maps available¹ it is apparent that the expansion of the built-up area was restricted to the central township, save for some very limited development in the weaving villages.

In 1778 Huddersfield consisted almost entirely of one street, Kirkgate, running east to west with a jumble of buildings clustered at each end where the main regional routeways converged on the main street (Figure 2.4). Small clusters of houses were also found at the main bridging points on the River Colne. The church, the George Hotel and the market place were roughly at the midpoint of Kirkgate and these epitomised the main functions of the town as a spiritual and commercial centre. The demand for space in which to house industry and commerce or a residential use was met by intensifying the use made of existing buildings and by utilising the spare land. Additions to the built-up area were achieved by making inroads into crofts, building between and behind existing structures.²

Even so, elements of conscious planning are already apparent on the map of Huddersfield for 1778. Near the Cloth Hall at the western end of the town there was open land available for potential development, and here the lines to be followed by the new streets were marked out in former tenter crofts.

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1. Chiefly Ramsden Estate Maps. Collection at H.P.L.
 2. As in Conzen's "Burgage Cycle".
CONZEN, M. R. G. (1960). Alnwick, Northumberland. "A Study in Town Plan Analysis" Trans. I.B.G. Publication No. 27.

PLAN
OF
HUDDERSFIELD ESTATE
IN CONNECTION WITH BOOK OF REFERENCE OF
1780
4 Chains to an Inch

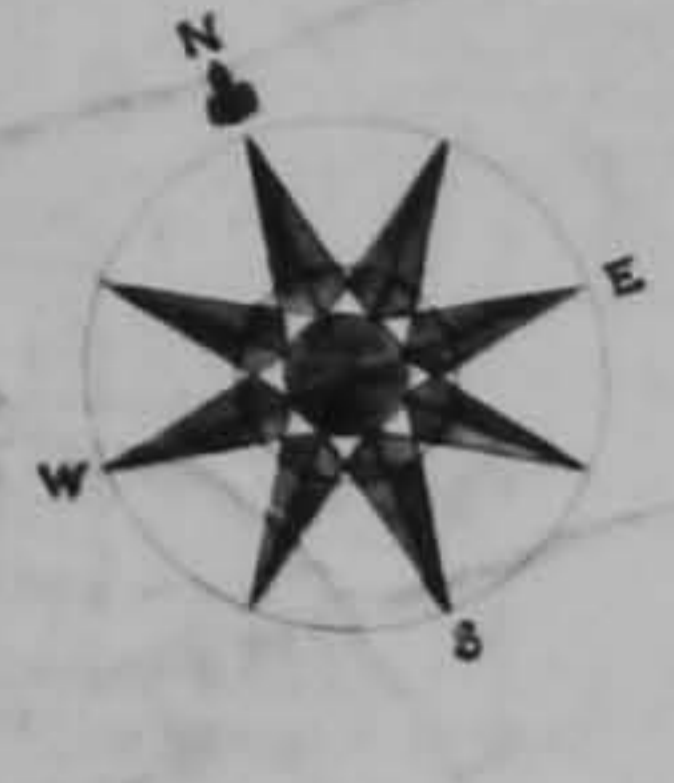


Figure 2.5:
Huddersfield
Township in
1780.
Source H.P.L.

Reference

- 1. Churches
- 2. Public Buildings
- 3. Schools
- 4. Hospitals
- 5. Asylums
- 6. Prisons
- 7. Almshouses
- 8. Workhouses
- 9. Poorhouses
- 10. Gaols
- 11. Barracks
- 12. Forts
- 13. Castles
- 14. Fortifications
- 15. Fortified Towns
- 16. Fortified Places
- 17. Fortified Positions
- 18. Fortified Sites
- 19. Fortified Grounds
- 20. Fortified Enclosures
- 21. Fortified Camps
- 22. Fortified Camps
- 23. Fortified Camps
- 24. Fortified Camps
- 25. Fortified Camps



440
yards

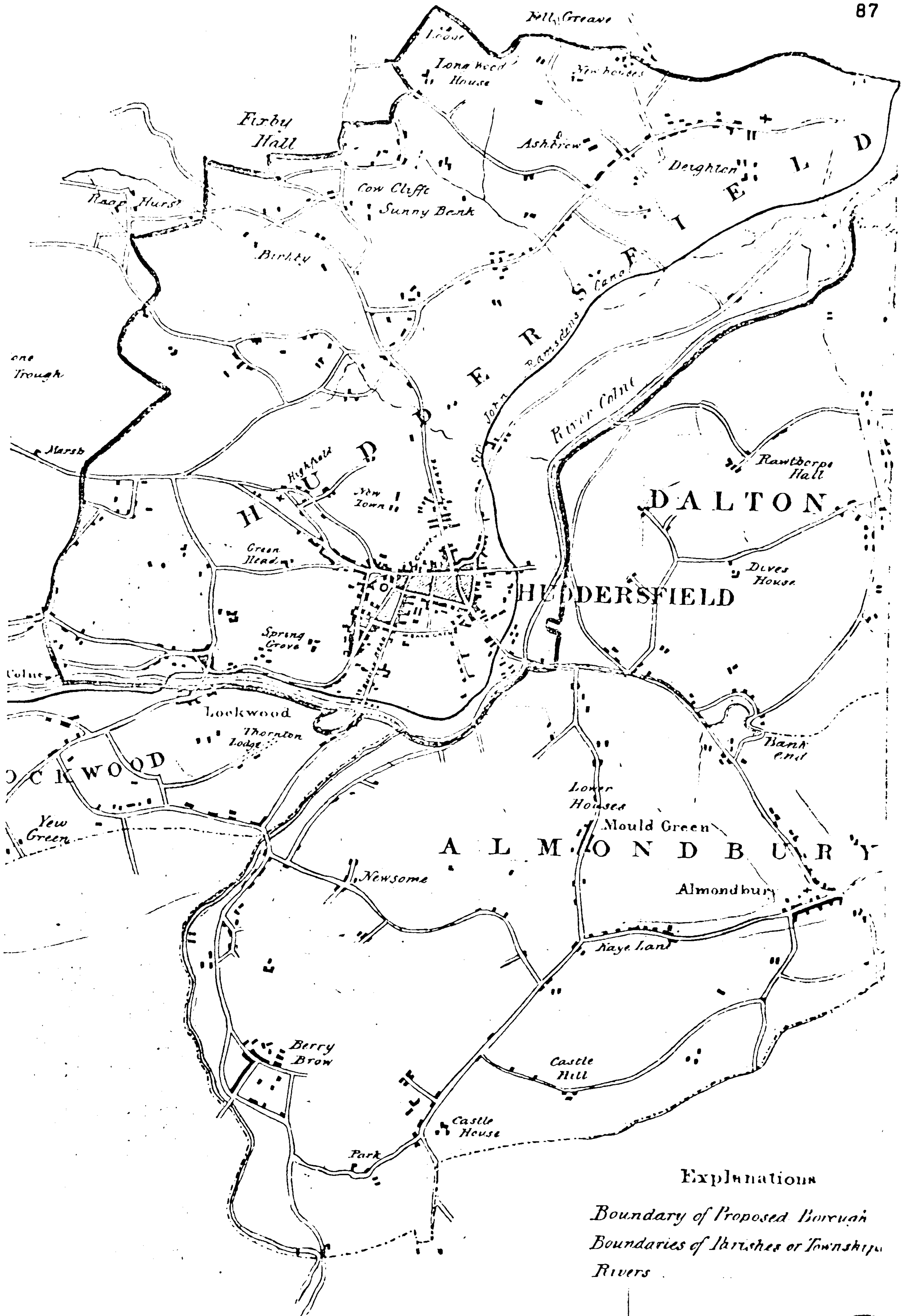
Figure 2.6:
Huddersfield in 1825
Source H.P.L.

Presented to
The Huddersfield Corporation
by
Messrs. Dobson & Sons
Publishers, 3 Market Place
Huddersfield Dec. 1825

Outside the main area of the town substantial communities were to be found at Paddock, Lockwood, Berry Brow and Almondbury. Here the pattern of development mirrored that found in Huddersfield. Building was haphazard and consisted mainly of infilling behind existing development on the main roads. Elsewhere settlement was confined to scattered hamlets, to isolated farms or to mansion houses (Figure 2.5).

By 1825 the central nucleus had expanded markedly (Figure 2.6). Development had continued along the lines already prescribed for the streets of 1778. The canal had attracted new industrial establishments, particularly dyehouses. The main expansion, however, was southwards and westwards between Back Green and Kirkgate. The Cloth Hall had retained its powers of attraction and was now surrounded by merchant houses and warehouses. The main street was King Street which focused on the Cloth Hall. Although the general grid iron pattern of 1825 reveals some traces of planning control, infill by this date had largely been on the basis of property units and differed little from infill in other towns. Back-to-back houses which apparently had not existed at all in 1778 were now prevalent. Courts were found in great numbers too. There were also varied forms of development, including Commercial Square, which housed the well-to-do, and Union Street which was a line of working-class houses. The tenter crofts were now found at the southern and northern extremities of the town.¹ There were more factories in evidence as well as market gardens. There was also some ribbon development along the routeways extending from the central grid towards the bridging points of the canal and the river. The town was moreover beginning to expand uphill along

1. Boundary Commission (1832). Report on the Borough of Huddersfield.



Furlongs 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 Scale 2 Inches to 1 Mile

Figure 2.7 Huddersfield in 1832
 ce: Boundary Commission

Greenside and Top Green towards the new Trinity Church on the New Hey Turnpike. Already there was a distinction between the top and bottom parts of the town. New North Road, as it was later called, was beginning to emerge as an area of high social status. This process was assisted by the establishment of Highfield Chapel in 1772 which attracted to itself a cluster of better houses. In addition a number of villas were built near Trinity Church.

Similar pockets of development had occurred on small parcels of freehold land which adjoined but were nevertheless distinct from the main built-up area at New-house, Dyke End and Longroyd Bridge.

The 1832 Map of the Parliamentary Borough provides the first over-view of relationships between the outlying settlements and the town (Figure 2.7). By 1832 the central nucleus had been consolidated to form a distinct grid surrounded by mansion-house estates such as those of Thornton Lodge and Rawthorpe Hall. The remainder of the population was scattered in numerous clusters of houses of varying sizes, forming an almost random pattern of settlement.

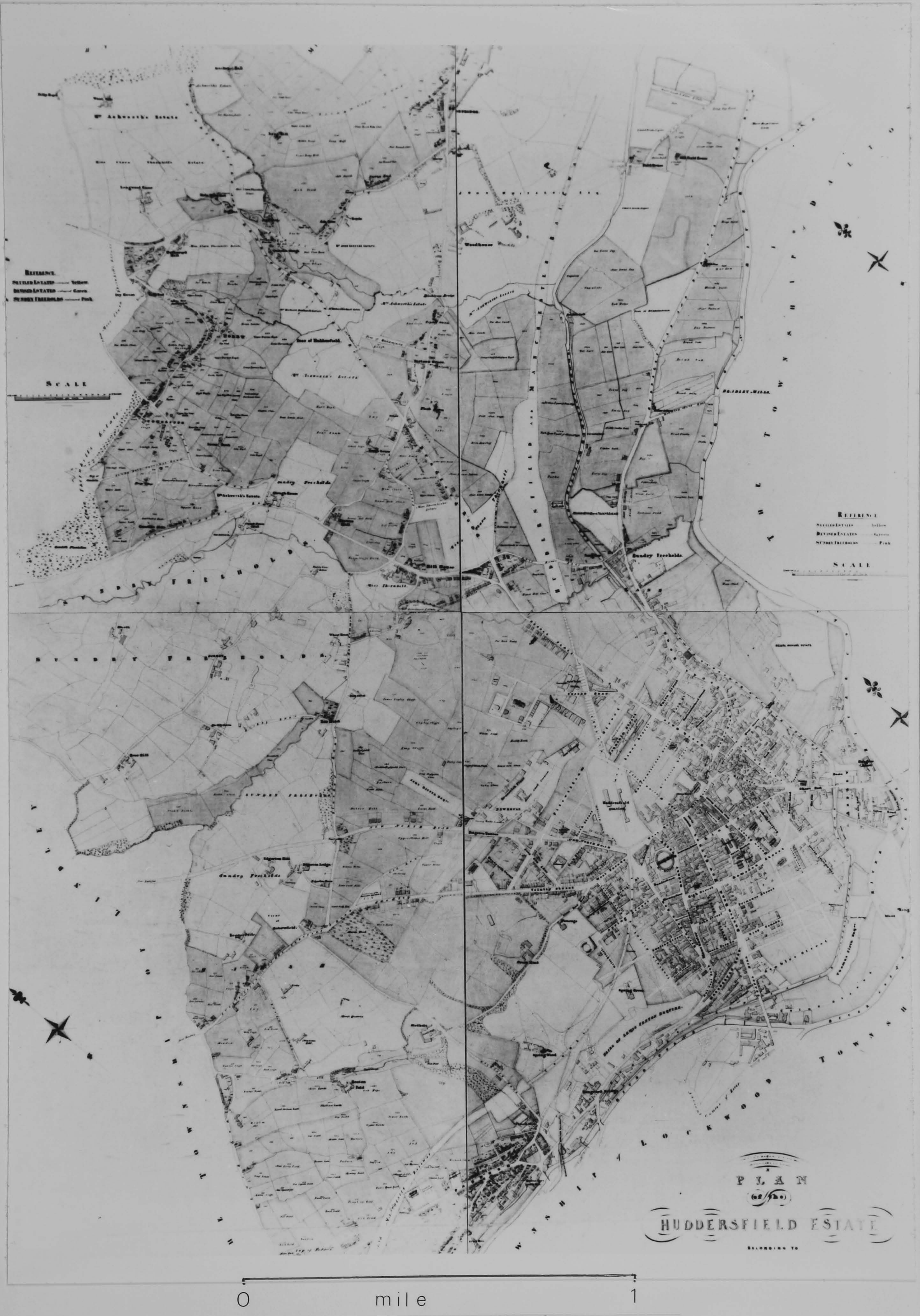
There was therefore a rather extensive urban fringe area.¹

By 1850 the railway had added a new element (Figure 2.8).

The main result of the advent of the railway was urban expansion at St George's Field, the site of the railway station. By 1850 a distinct industrial belt had developed along the canal and the rivers. Meanwhile the steady outward growth of the compact central nucleus had continued together with some ribbon development.

Within a mile of the centre of Huddersfield were the thriving hamlets of Lockwood, Moldgreen and Paddock. The dependence of such settlements on Huddersfield was demonstrated in 1847 when the inhabitants of Paddock agitated against the imposition of tolls in

1. HUDSON, op cit.



0 mile 1

Figure 2.8 : Huddersfield in 1850.
Source H.P.L.

that year, for these tolls would have increased the price of domestic fuel to households.¹

By 1850 Huddersfield had been transformed from an 'insignificant cluster of irregularly built lanes'² to a major industrial town. It was generally considered by contemporaries to be a well-built town. Even Engels, that arch-critic of the British city, remarked of Huddersfield:

'The charming situation and modern style of building in Huddersfield have made it the most beautiful of factory towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire.'³

Most of the change in this respect had been recent and the best buildings were found adjacent to the railway station:

'The first impression of a stranger in Huddersfield as he approaches the town from our noble railway station is that Huddersfield is one of the most splendid towns in the kingdom. The beautiful designs of the new erections for warehouses, shops, hotels etc which there meet the eye, the wide well-paved streets, the fine open square and the beautiful colour and quality of stone give to the vista a 'toute ensemble' rarely to be equalled, coupled with a feeling that all erections are sound reality not mere effects produced by plaster and paint. Even those who ten years ago possessed an intimate knowledge of Huddersfield are struck by the wonderful change which that short space of time has effected on the general appearance of the town and its rapid extension.'⁴

In contrast to these meritorious accounts of the town, other writers drew attention to the unhealthy districts that co-existed with the splendour of the public buildings:

'Huddersfield is by no means a well-built town. The houses inhabited by the working class, until very recently, have been constructed back-to-back or rather as double houses ... According to a Government report the new houses were built

1. Her Majesty's Woods and Forests etc. op cit.
2. PHILLIPS, G. S. (1848). Walks around Huddersfield.
3. Engels, F. (1845). Conditions of the Working Classes in England, Translated by HENDERSON, W. O. and CHALOMER, W. H. (1958). 49-50.
4. Huddersfield Chronicle, March 11 1854.

over ill-constructed sewers. In courts and alleys especially the abodes of the poor there can scarcely be any attempt at draining.¹

Such sanitary shortcomings were a characteristic of most Victorian towns. Huddersfield as a whole exhibited many of the general features of urban development, such as haphazard building and overcrowding which were to be found throughout British Victorian cities.

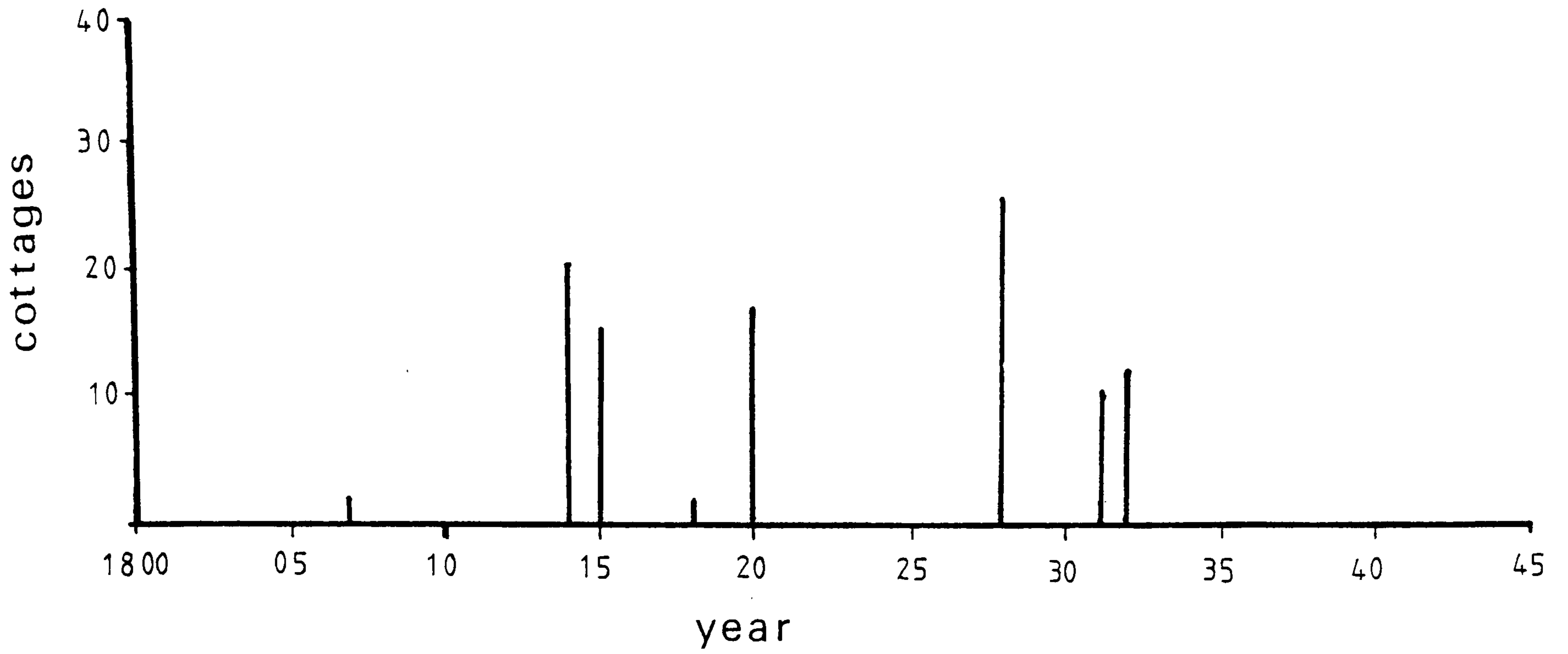
The Course of House Building

In common with other towns, building activity fluctuated in response to changing demographic and local economic conditions referred to previously.² Various data sources have been used to establish the pattern of activity in the period up to 1850. Because of the fragmentary nature of the data collected, it is difficult to obtain a complete picture of activity throughout Huddersfield. The figures that are available for different parts of the township, however, reveal certain common trends. The bulk of data relates to activity taking place on land belonging to the Ramsden Estate³ (Figure 2.9).

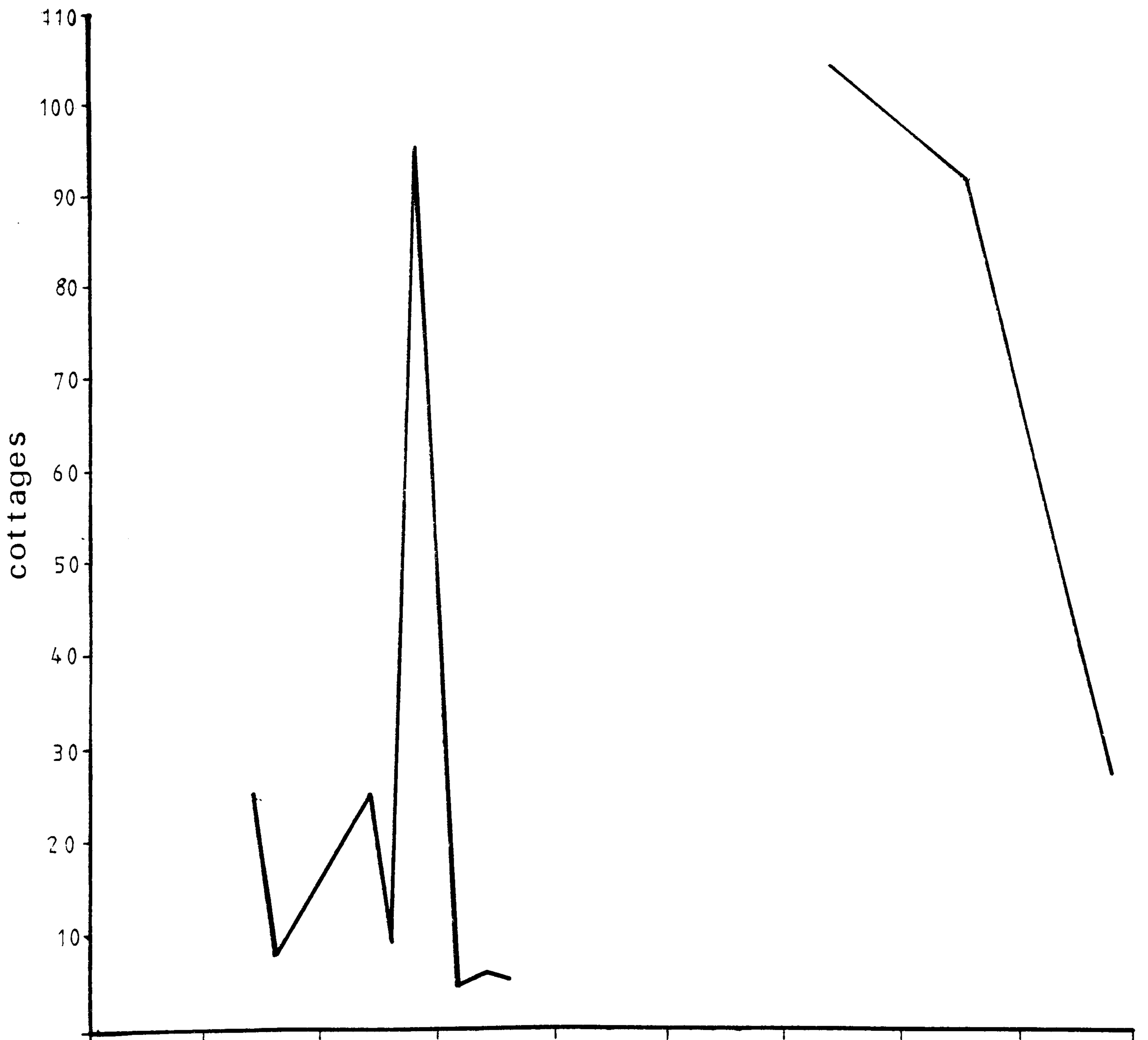
Building took place continually in Huddersfield town, but more sporadically in the surrounding districts (Table 2.6). In these areas no development took place at all in some of the trough years of the building cycle. Thus, for example, there was no building outside the town in 1844 when a national financial crisis halted building, but building continued in Huddersfield. On the whole, however, building activity did follow the national trend but with

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1. BETHUNE, A. (1849). "Letter to the Morning Chronicle December 3rd" in Aspin, C. (1975). The Yorkshire Textile Districts in 1849 (Helmshore).
 2. LEWIS, J. P. (1965). Building Cycles and Britain's Growth.
 3. See Appendix F.

1) Cottages entered with Building Clubs



2) New additions in Rentals



some minor deviations. For instance, a peak in activity occurred earlier in Huddersfield than nationally in the 1830s. In Huddersfield during that period an upsurge in factory building stimulated the production of housing.¹

TABLE 2.6

Incidence of Development in Outlying Areas 1797-1850
Source: Plots developed as extracted from deeds, WRRD

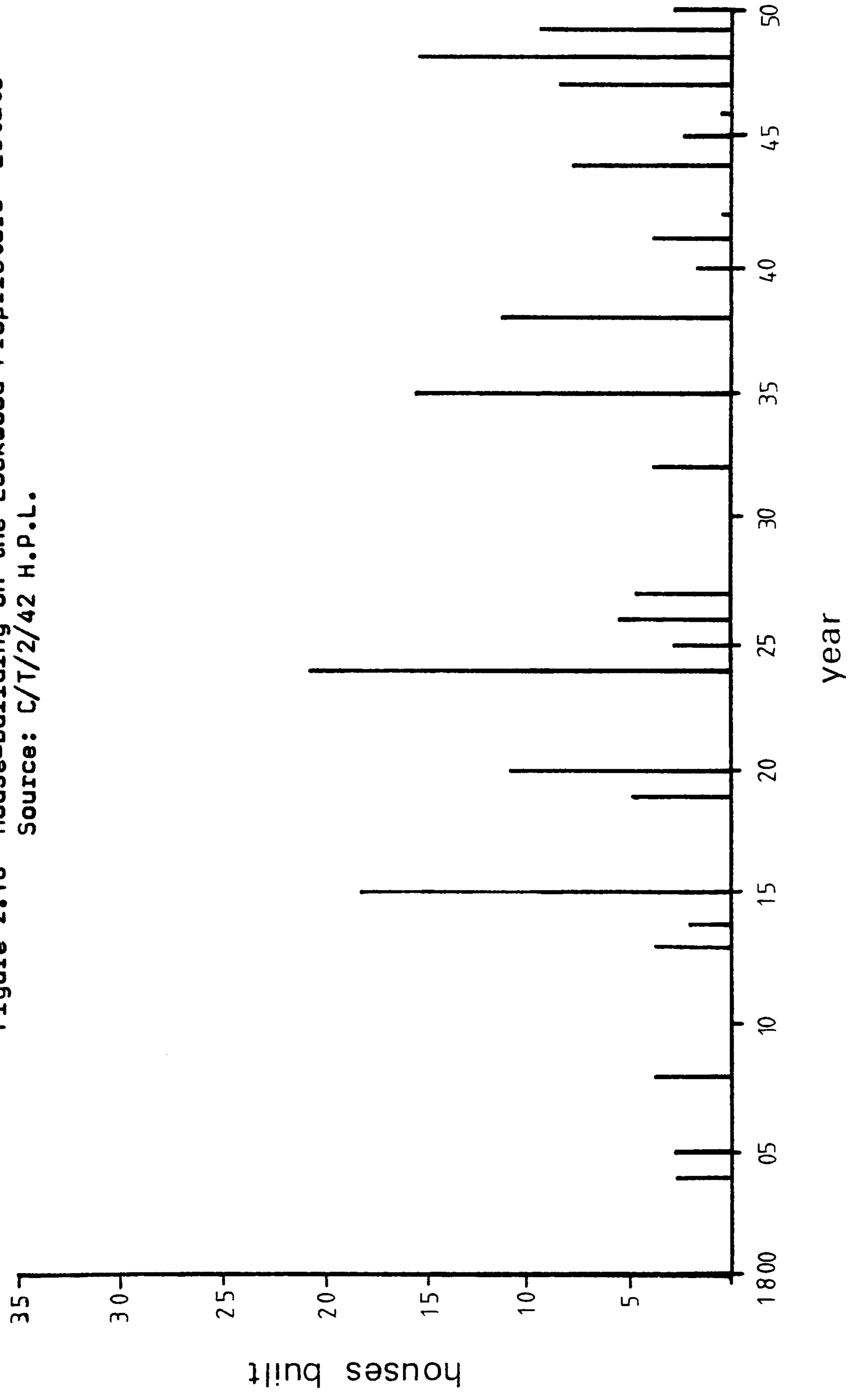
1797	1	1821	3	1833	10
1803	1	1822	1	1834	4
1806	1	1823	1	1835	3
1810	1	1825	2	1836	5
1813	1	1826	3	1837	3
1815	2	1827	7	1839	3
1816	5	1828	12	1840	5
1820	4	1830	1	1842	1
		1831	1	1844	1
		1832	5	1845	2
				1846	1
				1847	5
				1849	1
				1850	4

A similar discrepancy occurred during the years 1814-1816, particularly in Lockwood (Figure 2.10). Again the timing and location of activity coincided closely with the building and extension of factories in the villages of Lockwood and Rashcliffe. House building usually occurred in the years immediately preceding the completion of one or more factories.² Although new house building was concentrated in established streets, there were definite local concentrations associated with the extensions of specific factories. In 1815 building was restricted to Lockwood; in 1825 it occurred in both Rashcliffe and Lockwood but in 1834 it occurred in Rashcliffe only. There is no evidence that the houses were built by the factory masters themselves; instead, home-building was on a partially speculative basis in

1. Census Returns 1841.

2. Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Conveyancing Deed 1954. H.P.L.

Figure 2.10 House-building on the Lockwood Proprietors' Estate
Source: C/T/2/42 H.P.L.



order to cater for the expected demand for living space from the new factory workers.

In the more remote hamlets which were dominated by one factory owner the link between factory and house building was stronger. Here the housing for key workers was provided by the master himself. Thus, for instance, at Crosland Hill, George Crosland built a mill on land he had purchased in 1822. By 1847 he owned most of the cottages in the area.¹ Similarly there were 29 houses belonging to the mill owner adjacent to Bradley Mill.² Such mill communities were not uncommon in the early stages of the industrial revolution, especially where mills had to be located near a water source. Marshall has indicated that such mill communities existed not only in the more remote villages but also within towns, where they did not lose their identity when engulfed by the wider urban environment.³ Thus settlements like Lockwood perhaps reflected a transition stage in urban growth at which housing supply ceased to be occupation linked and moved towards a more generalised housing market, more responsive to changes in the capital market and the general state of trade rather than simply to the fate of one factory. Much depended on the structure of the industry concerned. In Mold green and Dalton there was less need for accommodation adjacent to the factory, since much of the work involved in fancy cloth manufacture continued to be performed by outworkers.⁴

Discrepancies between the national and local were also apparent in the late 1840s. This was not unusual for frequently regional variations in activity occurred at this time.⁵ In

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1. Lockwood Tithe Survey. WRRD.
 2. Huddersfield Township Ratebook 1847. H.P.L.
 3. MARSHALL, J. D. (1968) "Colonisation as a Factor in the Planning of Towns in North-West England", DYOS, H. J. The Study of Urban History, 221-230.
 4. Vide supra, 57JENKINS op cit.
 5. Lewis op cit.

Huddersfield there was a steady rise in activity with only a minor cut-back in 1850 and a major peak in 1851.¹ In Lockwood and elsewhere the trend mirrored the national one more closely although the main peak in activity occurred in 1847.²

A number of factors encouraged people to invest in building during the late 1840s. A major factor was the advent of the railway which was greeted with considerable enthusiasm in 1847. In succeeding years this enthusiasm was justified by the increase in trade that resulted from greater contacts with London. A change in management on the Ramsden Estate increased confidence in building especially when the area around the station was opened up. Further impetus came from the influx of large numbers of Irish into the already crowded inner city, thus increasing the overall demand for living space.³ There was a prevalence of building mania. No financial crisis or money shortage could deter people from building and the necessary money seems to have been provided come what may.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT 1850-1911

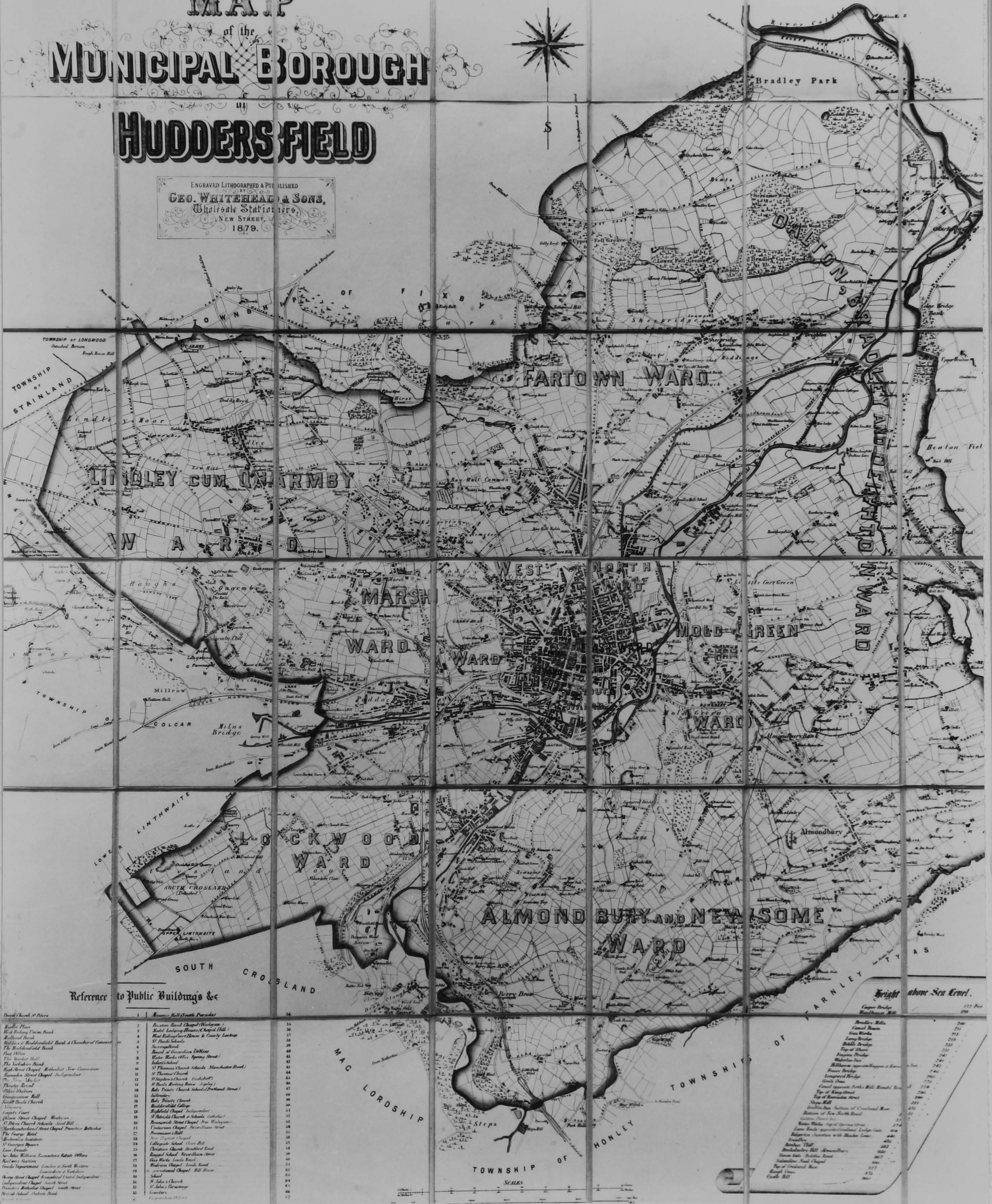
The Expansion of the Built-up Area

If expansion had continued on the same scale as that which took place in the period to 1850, surrounding villages would have been engulfed by the outward growth of the central nucleus. From 1850 to 1880, however, it was the villages that expanded most rapidly. Short streets of back-to-back houses, mills and factories were soon to be found on the fringes of villages, like Lindley,

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 70, H.P.L.
 2. Lockwood Conveyancing Deed, 1954, op cit.
 3. Vide supra.

WHITEHEADS MAP of the MUNICIPAL BOROUGH HUDDERSFIELD

ENGRAVED LITHOGRAPHED & PUBLISHED
BY
GEO. WHITEHEAD & SONS,
Wholesale Stationers,
NEW STREET,
1879.



Reference to Public Buildings &c

1	Market Place	35	Market Hall (South Parade)
2	West Railway Station	36	Market Hall (North Parade)
3	Millfield Road	37	Market Hall (East Parade)
4	Buildings of Huddersfield Bank & Chamber of Commerce	38	Market Hall (West Parade)
5	The Huddersfield Bank	39	Market Hall (Central)
6	The Market Hall	40	Market Hall (East)
7	The Yorkshire Bank	41	Market Hall (West)
8	Head Street Chapel, Methodist New Connexion	42	Market Hall (Central)
9	Head Street Chapel, Independent	43	Market Hall (East)
10	The Free School	44	Market Hall (West)
11	St. John's Church	45	Market Hall (Central)
12	St. Peter's Church	46	Market Hall (East)
13	St. Paul's Church	47	Market Hall (West)
14	St. James' Church	48	Market Hall (Central)
15	St. George's Church	49	Market Hall (East)
16	St. Andrew's Church	50	Market Hall (West)
17	St. Mary's Church	51	Market Hall (Central)
18	St. Elizabeth's Church	52	Market Hall (East)
19	St. James' Church	53	Market Hall (West)
20	St. George's Church	54	Market Hall (Central)
21	St. Andrew's Church	55	Market Hall (East)
22	St. Mary's Church	56	Market Hall (West)
23	St. Elizabeth's Church	57	Market Hall (Central)
24	St. James' Church	58	Market Hall (East)
25	St. George's Church	59	Market Hall (West)
26	St. Andrew's Church	60	Market Hall (Central)
27	St. Mary's Church	61	Market Hall (East)
28	St. Elizabeth's Church	62	Market Hall (West)
29	St. James' Church	63	Market Hall (Central)
30	St. George's Church	64	Market Hall (East)
31	St. Andrew's Church	65	Market Hall (West)
32	St. Mary's Church	66	Market Hall (Central)
33	St. Elizabeth's Church	67	Market Hall (East)
34	St. James' Church	68	Market Hall (West)
35	St. George's Church	69	Market Hall (Central)
36	St. Andrew's Church	70	Market Hall (East)
37	St. Mary's Church	71	Market Hall (West)
38	St. Elizabeth's Church	72	Market Hall (Central)
39	St. James' Church	73	Market Hall (East)
40	St. George's Church	74	Market Hall (West)
41	St. Andrew's Church	75	Market Hall (Central)
42	St. Mary's Church	76	Market Hall (East)
43	St. Elizabeth's Church	77	Market Hall (West)
44	St. James' Church	78	Market Hall (Central)
45	St. George's Church	79	Market Hall (East)
46	St. Andrew's Church	80	Market Hall (West)
47	St. Mary's Church	81	Market Hall (Central)
48	St. Elizabeth's Church	82	Market Hall (East)
49	St. James' Church	83	Market Hall (West)
50	St. George's Church	84	Market Hall (Central)
51	St. Andrew's Church	85	Market Hall (East)
52	St. Mary's Church	86	Market Hall (West)
53	St. Elizabeth's Church	87	Market Hall (Central)
54	St. James' Church	88	Market Hall (East)
55	St. George's Church	89	Market Hall (West)
56	St. Andrew's Church	90	Market Hall (Central)
57	St. Mary's Church	91	Market Hall (East)
58	St. Elizabeth's Church	92	Market Hall (West)
59	St. James' Church	93	Market Hall (Central)
60	St. George's Church	94	Market Hall (East)
61	St. Andrew's Church	95	Market Hall (West)
62	St. Mary's Church	96	Market Hall (Central)
63	St. Elizabeth's Church	97	Market Hall (East)
64	St. James' Church	98	Market Hall (West)
65	St. George's Church	99	Market Hall (Central)
66	St. Andrew's Church	100	Market Hall (East)

Height above Sea Level.

1	Bradley Park	200
2	Bradley Park	200
3	Bradley Park	200
4	Bradley Park	200
5	Bradley Park	200
6	Bradley Park	200
7	Bradley Park	200
8	Bradley Park	200
9	Bradley Park	200
10	Bradley Park	200
11	Bradley Park	200
12	Bradley Park	200
13	Bradley Park	200
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42	Bradley Park	200
43	Bradley Park	200
44	Bradley Park	200
45	Bradley Park	200
46	Bradley Park	200
47	Bradley Park	200
48	Bradley Park	200
49	Bradley Park	200
50	Bradley Park	200

Figure 2.11: Huddersfield in 1878

showing wards

Source H P I.

Newsome, Taylor Hill and Fartown.¹ But these outlying industrial communities were still very much separate entities. (Figure 2.11) Their consciousness was village-based rather than Huddersfield-based.² The development of localities other than the central township was so marked that it provoked comment in the local press in 1871:

'The other townships exhibit as high a ratio of increase as any other centre in England for the township proper the ungratifying fact of the absence of rigorous development has been noticed.'³

Such marked village development is not found in other towns of similar age and size in West Yorkshire. It must have been the result of factors peculiar to Huddersfield. Within Huddersfield development occurred chiefly along existing streets. In addition some limited development occurred in the north-west part of the town along New North Road on Clare Hill, and along Fitzwilliam Street.

Modern suburban development with its characteristic segregation of the classes into homogeneous areas was initiated by the upper middle classes. Large villas in extensive grounds were built during the period 1855 to 1875 at Upper Edgerton, whilst smaller semi-detached villas with rather less land were built in the 1870s in Gledholt alongside Greenhead Park.

From the 1880s there were large-scale developments of inferior terraced and back-to-back houses on the fringe of Huddersfield along the roads leading to the existing villages of Lockwood, Moldgreen and Fartown by 1900 (Figure 2.12). Smaller developments occurred at Marsh, Primrose Hill and Dalton. Thus, despite

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1. Based on a comparison of Ordnance Survey Map 6" 1st edition and Map of Huddersfield by J. Abbey 1878. H.P.L.
 2. DENNIS, R. (1975) Community and Interaction in the Victorian City 1850-1880 PhD thesis, Cambridge.
 3. Huddersfield Examiner, March 19 1871.



Figure 2.12 Huddersfield in 1911
Source: O.S. 1" 3rd Edition

a slower rate of population increase after 1850 the main expansion of Huddersfield in terms of land area occurred during the period 1850 to 1911.

The Course of Building

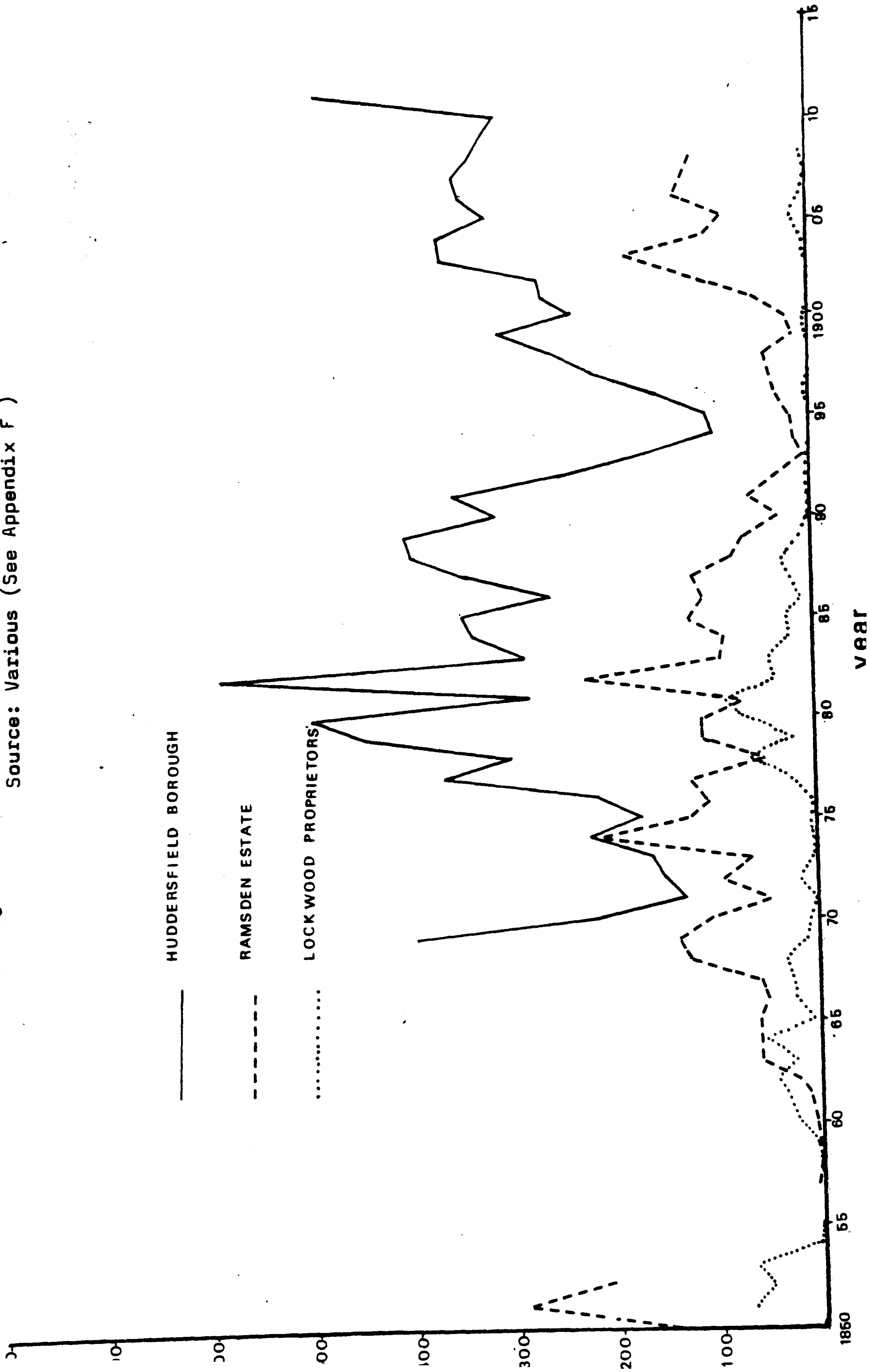
Nationally the major features of the building cycle after 1850 were the peaks in activity during the 1870s, the major slump in the early 1890s, followed by a recovery that was mirrored in the recovery of the British economy as a whole. The Weber index shows a generally low level of building during the mid 1850s with particularly marked slumps in 1857 and 1860 followed by a minor peak in 1863 and a general rise during the 1860s to peaks in 1872 and 1876.¹

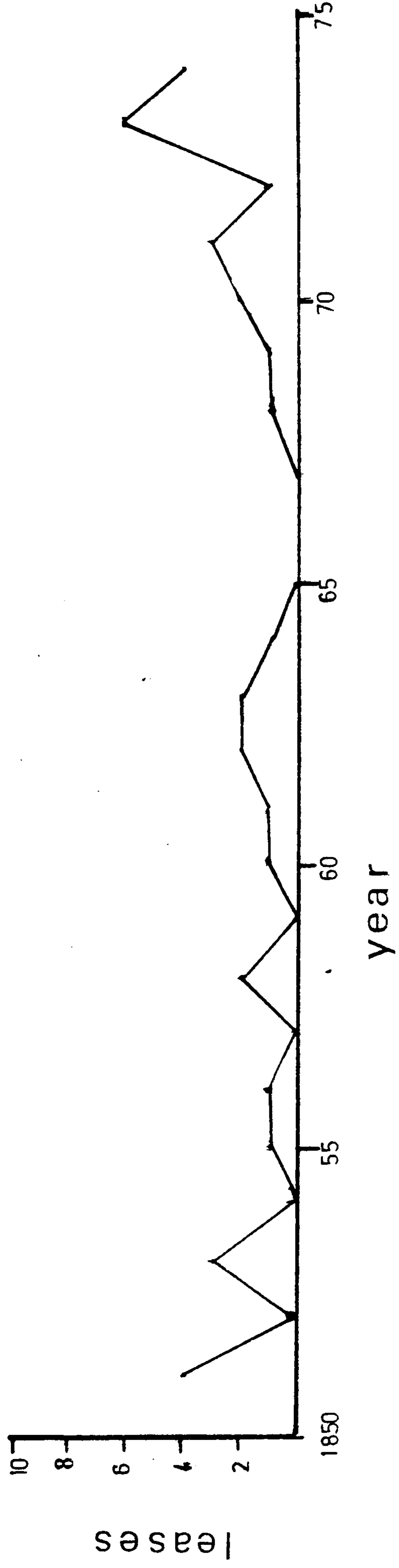
As both Lewis and Saul have shown, the market for housing was largely imperfect and the role of demand was such that the building industry was insensitive to marginal changes in the market conditions, although sensitivity was greater where the building industry operated in a small scale. Lewis points to a strong association of the building cycle with the state of trade in the principal industry of any area.² He illustrated his argument with reference to the cotton industry in Manchester. Saul argued more persuasively that building activity was internally and positively determined. Local circumstances could influence the lag in the response to a new wave of economic growth.³

In Huddersfield all the estates that were opened for development experienced a high level of building activity during the

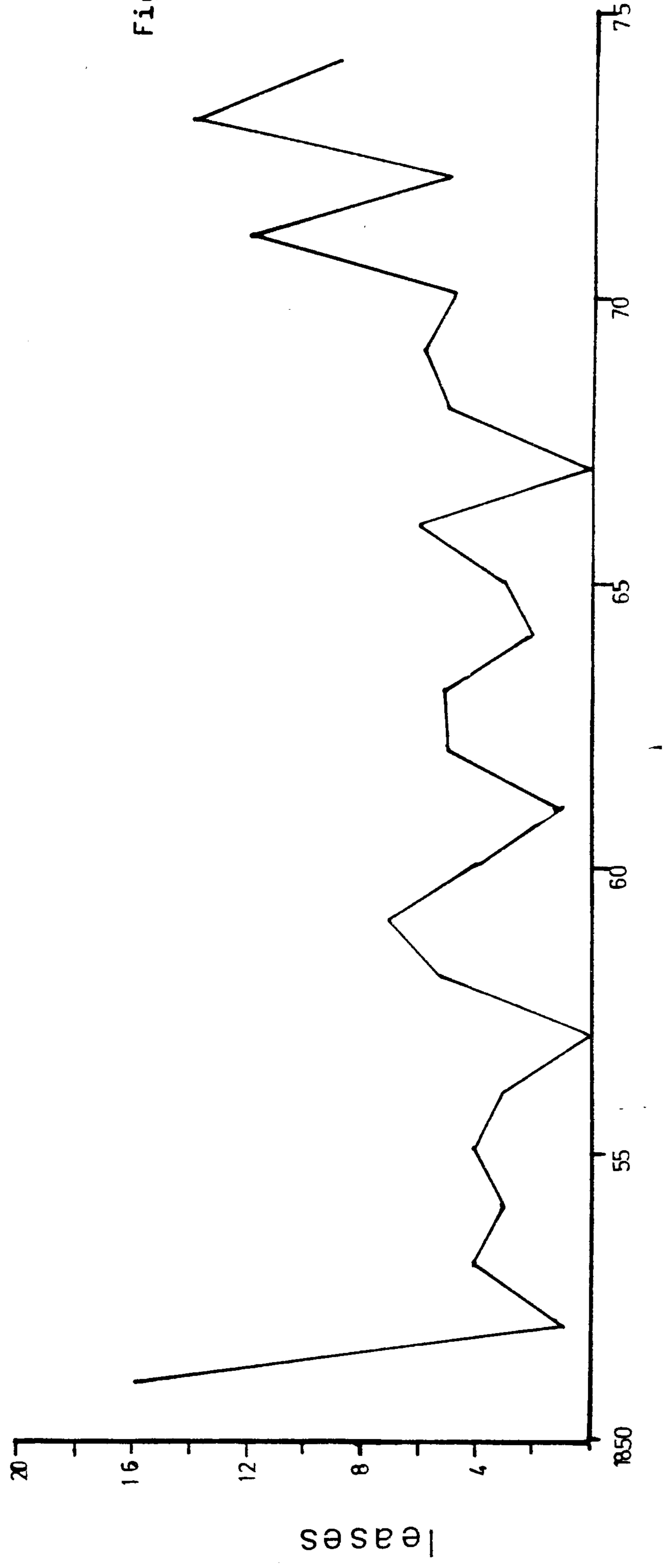
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1. WEBER, B. (1955) "A New Index of Residential Construction, 1838-1950. Scottish Journal of Political Economy, 2, 104-32.
MITCHELL, B. and DEANE, P. (1962) Abstract of British Historical Statistics, 236.
 2. Lewis, J. P. op cit.
 3. SAUL, S. B. (1962) "House Building in England 1890-1914". Economic History Review 2nd Series, 15, 117-157.

Figure 2.13 House-building in Huddersfield 1850 - 1911
Source: Various (See Appendix F)





2) West Yorkshire Estates



Leases granted on the Radcliffe Yorkshire Estates
Source: WRRD

Figure 2.14

period 1850-1852. (Figure 2.13) Such a high level of activity was experienced in common with other Yorkshire towns, for on the Radcliffe estate there was an increase in lease applications on all the estates which it held throughout West Yorkshire.¹

(Figure 2.14) The trend was primarily dictated by the state of industrial activity but local circumstances gave an additional impetus to the level of building activity. There was a general feeling of optimism following the traumatic years of the 1840s; the cholera epidemic had passed and in Huddersfield the benefits of the railway lines were being realised. On the Ramsden Estate applications for building land reached a peak in 1851 that was never again to be repeated. Comments in the correspondence indicate that the local agents of the estate were experiencing difficulty in coping with the amount of work generated.²

The gap in the evidence for the Ramsden Estate during the mid 1850s means that it is difficult to trace the course of the cycle in Huddersfield during this period. Analysis of the deeds indicates a general fall in activity with a pause in the decline in 1858. Subsequently activity followed the national trend with a minor peak in 1863-1865. The exact course of building varied from estate to estate but all estates suffered a reduction in building activity in 1857-1858 which coincided with the general trade depression in the textile industry as a result of the Crimean War.

With the availability of building plan registers the building

1. Radcliffe Estate Papers. L.C.A. and relevant deeds at West Riding Registry of Deeds.
2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence 1845-53. RA/DD/C/1-104. H.P.L.

cycle can be more clearly traced after 1869, given the availability of building plan registers.¹ (Figure 2.13) After an initial rise in activity there was a rapid fall off during the years 1870-1871. There are two possible explanations for this fall. First, as suggested by one contemporary observer, capital was diverted from house building to finance an upsurge in industrial and commercial activity. The agent of the Ramsden Estate wrote in 1876, during the later peak in activity, as follows:

"The condition of trade is affecting building in a much more favourable way than it has been for some time past. Building is always slack when the trade in the town is good, all capital can then be secured, being absorbed in maintaining and extending business; but when trade languishes and men are either unable to employ their money in business to ascertain profit or have certain capital at their disposal they turn to building both for the purpose of investment and also to provide either better dwellings for themselves or more suitable premises for their businesses. Trade, after being very good for a time, is now difficult and bad and material of all kinds and labour being very high are now very much low and likely to fall lower yet. Yet material and labour are dearer than they were a few years ago and building here does not present to the capitalists any particular inducement to lead them into speculative operations."²

Evidence put forward in this and in other studies suggests that those who invested in building were not typically industrialists and merchants.³ Thus the actual switching of capital from one source to another by individuals occurred only rarely. It seems more likely that there was a lag in the response of those who normally invested in housing to the demand for housing created by increased employment. The projected introduction of byelaws controlling the erection of houses under the 1871 Improvement Act must have deterred a number of builders especially those building working-class cottages. However, once the Act had proved to be less restrictive than anticipated, building continued apace.

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1. These appear as lists of submitted plans in the Ward Committee Minutes. C/T/CK/m/1 et seq. H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers RA/DD/27/5. H.P.L.
 3. CHALKLIN, C. W. op cit.

The high level of building activity continued throughout the late 1870s and early 1880s, reaching a peak in 1882. Very wide fluctuations in activity occurred at this time which suggests that it was of a highly speculative nature. This finding runs counter to the comments made by the Ramsden Estate agent. As will be shown, the situation on the estate differed from that obtaining in other parts of Huddersfield, because of the highly restrictive controls which were there placed on potential builders.¹

There was a national slump in building activity in 1890 followed by a slow recovery from 1895 to a peak 1898-9. Many areas experienced a continued increase in activity after 1903.² Such was the case in Huddersfield. Here, however, the earlier slump occurred later in 1894 and the upturn in the cycle did not accelerate until 1899. The form taken by the building cycle reflected the nature of population growth and the pace of economic activity at this time. Out-migration of the population and a fall in economic activity reduced the demand for new houses. By 1903, however, trade was reported as being more active than it had been for years.³ As a consequence, building activity was stimulated by the expectation of a rise in living standards.

According to Asa Briggs, the first effect of industrialisation was to differentiate communities rather than to standardise them.⁴ Nevertheless the form taken in general by the built environment in Huddersfield in the nineteenth century exhibited many of the features to be found in other industrial cities. The greatest

1. Vide Infra Chapter 4.

2. Lewis op cit.

3. Leeds Daily News, Friday, November 20 1903.

4. BRIGG, A. (1968). Victorian Cities (Middlesex), 33.

differences occurred not during early industrialisation but during the period between 1859 and 1880 when the villages surrounding Huddersfield expanded at the expense of the town. In constructional activity local conditions reinforced national trends and throughout the century the demand for housing rather than the availability of credit was a critical factor in determining the course of building.

It is in the context of the changing environments whose attributes have been outlined that the actions of the individuals must be viewed and the nature of their decisions gauged.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRE-DEVELOPMENT PATTERN OF LANDOWNERSHIP AND THE
FREEHOLD LAND MARKET

The structure of landownership¹ could set limits to the action taken by landowners, developers and builders. The choice of revenue-maximising tenure on which land was developed was constrained by the spatial pattern of landownership and the distribution of land amongst owners in the vicinity of towns. It will be argued in this chapter that the structure of landownership influenced the form of the urban land market in terms of the character and quantity of the commodity made available. It was one of the factors which influenced the relative bargaining position of the vendors and purchasers of the rights in land.² Moreover the marketability of a particular piece of land with its accompanying bundle of rights depended on the overall distribution and the nature of rights existing in one urban area. The chapter examines the spatial pattern of predevelopment landownership in Huddersfield and will show how freehold land units were exchanged prior to development. Changes in the market conditions will be investigated in order to establish in what way the freehold land market affected the actions of landowners, builders and developers.

Theoretically under free market conditions, as an urban area expanded, predevelopment land owners would sell their land to builders as a necessary preliminary to development. The sizes and shapes of landownership units prior to actual development were the product of historical circumstances and only by coincidence would approximate to the size required for building. But the predevelop-

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1. Unless otherwise stated the term landownership in this Chapter refers solely to freehold landownership.
 2. Amongst the other factors were the availability of credit, the pace and nature of population growth, and the level of economic activity.

ment landowners would either make the land available in suitable packages or alternatively a developer would assemble land by purchases so as to form the required land units. Sometimes a pre-development landowner would sell to a speculator who would perform a similar task.¹ Sales of land would take place when the price offered for the land exceeded the reserve price placed on the land by the landowner. The reserve price would be determined by the cost of holding the land and the landowner's expectation as to the future price of land.

In the period under study² circumstances existed which inhibited the development of such a freely organised market in land for development. First, the operation of the land market was constrained by the mores of a preindustrial age. A number of eighteenth century landowners through the terms of their wills and marriage settlements were able to impose their wishes, customs, practices, and even their institutions on their descendants.³ Such inherited restrictions limited the ability of some landowners to sell their land for development. Since agriculture was the basis of the pre-industrial economy, the distribution of landed property reflected the structure of that society. The social value of landholding overrode its economic value.⁴ Thus, although the land market was constantly active, the volume of transactions fluctuated only at a rather low level.⁵ This low level of activity

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1. This was common in America, see CLAWSON, M. (1962), "Urban Sprawl and Speculation in Suburban Land." Land Economics, 38, 99-111.
 2. 1770-1911.
 3. Habbakkuk op cit.
 4. Since the returns on land holding were less than those on other kinds of investment, vide supra. 31
 5. THOMPSON, F. M. L. (1957). "The land market in the nineteenth century". Oxford Economic Papers, 9, 286-308.

in the land market was accompanied by an increasing concentration of property in a few hands as individuals tried to build up consolidated estates.¹

Second, the market tended to operate on a personal level and there was a general lack of information about the state of the market.² Existing owners were advantageously placed over aspiring ones. They formed a close-knit sector of society linked by marriage and inheritance. Through these links knowledge of existing sales could be quickly disseminated. Rumour and gossip as well as fact determined the value of land. The price could change markedly as a result of demand from a particular type of land developer or landowner and consequently efforts were made to conceal the source of demand.³

Third, in any one area the turnover of land was extremely slow; not only did land come on the market at infrequent intervals, but it could take weeks and even years for a transaction to be completed. In the intervening period the demand for land could change⁴ and as a consequence so would the real value of the land.

While these factors alone could inhibit the development of a free market, they were compounded by the nature of land as a market commodity. No two plots of land are exactly interchangeable, since the most important consideration which contributes to the non-standardised nature of land is its location. This places all landowners in a peculiar monopoly position in the land market.

These remarks concerning the restrictions on the operation of the land market are equally applicable to the national land

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1. CLAY, C. (1974). "The Price of Freehold Land in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Economic History Review, Second Series, 27, 173-235.
 2. There was no local newspaper in Huddersfield until 1850. The Leeds Mercury and Yorkshire Gazette referred only to the more significant land sales.
 3. Evidence in Ramsden Estate correspondence indicates this occurred
 4. For instance a major financial crisis leading to a complete

market.¹ But they could have a particular significance for the local urban land market. In towns where a large number of individuals owned small pieces of land, alternative plots could more easily be found as substitutes for parcels that were not placed on the market.

In towns where only a few landowners held most of the land in the greater part of the potential urban development area, the monopoly position of the landowner was emphasised. Often something approaching an oligopoly existed - a few individuals offering differentiated products in a market where there was a high demand.² In such towns it was particularly apparent that the land market would operate on a personal level and be more responsive to the idiosyncrasies of the participants. The landowner was in a strong bargaining position. He could choose the type of tenure which would yield the greatest revenue to him instead of acquiescing totally in the demands of the building industry. The landowner, however, was never in a position to dictate completely the terms of contract. This was the opinion of the Select Committee on Town Holdings:

"A landowner desiring to develop his estate is practically obliged to dispose of his land on such terms as the public will accept and though the owner of a large extent of building land often possesses great power to dictate his own terms, yet even in those cases it would, we think, be going too far to regard the contract contained in the lease as one which the element of choice, or the characteristics of a free bargain, are altogether absent."³

In the same report evidence concerning a number of towns suggests that as the nineteenth century progressed the strength of the

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1. Thompson (1957) op cit.
 2. This resulted from the demand for building land because of a rapid increase in economic activity.
 3. Select Committee on Town Holdings 1889 Report, 23.

landowners' position in the urban land market diminished.¹ A number of landowners sought legal powers whereby they could sell their land on freehold or long leasehold terms. Increasing competition with adjacent landowners was often cited in the Acts of Parliament as the reason for these changes.² No doubt the territorial expansion of urban growth into areas containing larger numbers of landowners was a factor in this increased competition at an urban level. Transport innovations would contribute to the trend by increasing the area of potential urban development.³ The provisions of the Settled Land Act of 1882 also accelerated the process.⁴ These developments suggest the emergence of freer competition in the urban land market where the landowner supplied land in response to the demands of the building industry. The land market thus came to act more in the manner postulated in urban economic models for the present day.

In the light of these generalisations the changing pattern of freehold landownership in Huddersfield will be examined so as to establish the dimensions of the framework within which various landowners and builders made their decisions.

THE STRUCTURE OF PRE-DEVELOPMENT LANDOWNERSHIP IN 1780⁵

The main feature of the structure of landownership in all the townships which eventually were to form the town of Huddersfield was the dominance of the large landowner both in terms of the distribution of land and in the spatial pattern. According to a

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1. Select Committee on Town Holdings 1888 Appendix. Evidence for 217 towns supplied to the committee by Harrison indicates this trend.
 2. For example in Southampton. An Act in 1852 referred to problems of competition for the estate of John Fleming. S.C.T.H. 1888 Appendix, 701.
 3. An increase in accessibility of certain parcels on the outskirts of a town would increase the amount on the market.
 4. By enabling landowners to more easily release their land for development.
 5. The method of analysis is detailed in Appendix A.

survey made in 1780 some twenty-two people owned freehold land in Huddersfield township.¹ Fourteen of these were owner-occupiers who, as merchants² or local gentry, had established mansion-house estates partly in order to denote their social status.

The largest owner was an aristocrat, Sir John Ramsden Bt, whose ancestral seat was Longley Hall in the adjacent township of Almondbury. In addition to freehold land, Huddersfield also encompassed some 350 acres of common land. A small proportion of the Ramsden land in the town of Huddersfield was held on leasehold, and elsewhere Ramsden land for building was held on rack rent.³ Most of the agricultural land was held on various types of agricultural tenancies.

The spatial pattern of landownership was such that Sir John Ramsden owned most of the land immediately adjacent to the built-up area of Huddersfield (Figure 3.1). Most of the common land was located to the west of the town near the hamlets of Paddock, Cowcliffe and Sheepridge. There was a small area of common land at Bay Hall. Of the remaining estates, the larger ones were located to the north over a mile from the town centre. The only two exceptions were the estates belonging to Sir John Lister Kaye and J. Walker, immediately adjacent to the town at Greenhead and Bay Hall.

The enclosure of the common land in 1786 and 1789, by Act of Parliament, did little to alter the main features of the structure of landownership.

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1. Field book to the Ramsden Estate Survey. 1780. H.P.L.
 2. Formerly yeoman clothiers.
 3. Ramsden Estate Rentals. H.P.L.

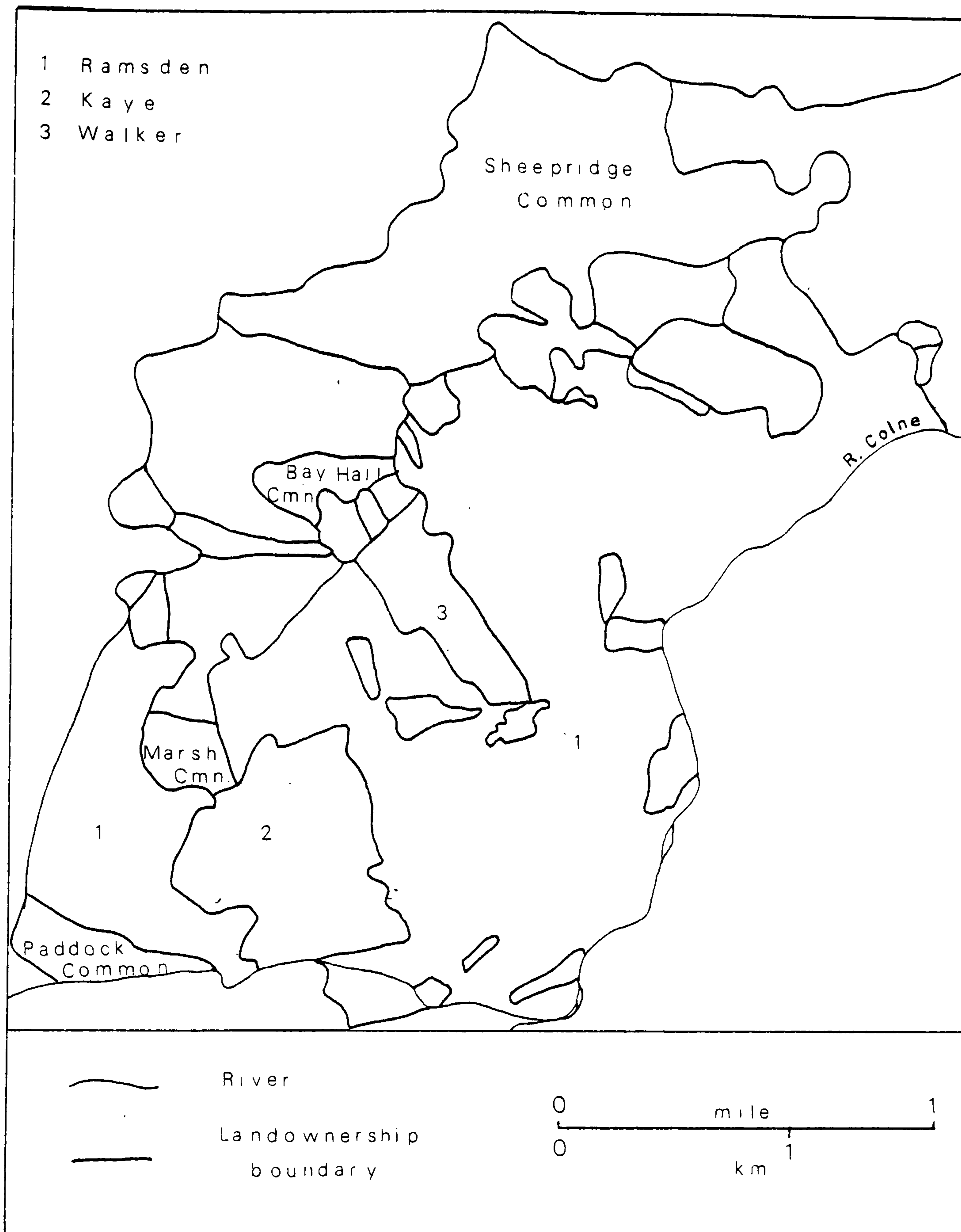


Figure 3.1 The Pattern of Landownership in Huddersfield Township 1780
Source: Ramsden Estate Survey H.P.L.

TABLE 3.1

Distribution of Land at Huddersfield Enclosure 1786

<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Area</u>			<u>Percentage of total area enclosed</u>
	a	r	p	
Sir John Ramsden	289	2	6	88.5%
Vicar of Huddersfield	8	1	8	2.5%
Thomas Thornhill	7	0	36	2.2%
Sara Nicholls	9	2	4	3.0%
John Whitacre	5	3	35	1.8%
Bramwell Dyson	1	0	20	0.3%
Thomas Holroyd	1	0	1	0.3%
William Fenton		3	20	0.2%
Joseph Walker		1	32	0.1%
Benjamin Walker			36	0.07%
Rev Sam Brook			16	0.05%
John and Thomas Haigh			16	0.05%
Joseph Armitage			12	0.02%
John Bradley and others			3	0.01%
Quarries	2	0	0	0.6%

As Lord of the Manor and chief landowner, Sir John Ramsden was granted a substantial part of the enclosed land (Table 3.1)¹. As a consequence the effect of enclosure was merely to confirm his dominance of the local land market. It increased his share of land to the north of Huddersfield and established his control over the developing district of Paddock.

Data relating to the other townships is scarce. If, however, one assumes that enclosure allotments were made on a legitimate basis and allocations reflect the overall distribution of land enclosure awards can be used to gauge the structure of landownership in eighteenth century Huddersfield.²

1. As lord of the manor he was entitled to 10% of the land in addition to a proportion calculated on the basis of his existing land holding. In 1789 Sir John obtained 39 acres in Paddock for loss of mining facilities.

2. See Appendix A.

TABLE 3.2

Structure of Landownership in North Crosland 1799
Source: North Crosland Enclosure

<u>Size of Estate</u>	<u>Landowners</u>		a	<u>Area occupied</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>		r	p	<u>Percentage</u>
Under one acre	24	34.2%	5	2	28	0.8%
1-5 acres	21	30.0%	52	1	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	7.3%
5-10 acres	10	14.2%	66	2	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	9.1%
10-25 acres	9	12.8%	96	3	6	13.3%
25-100 acres	5	7.4%	248	2	24	24.3%
Over 100 acres	1	1.4%	255	1	22	35.2%

An award for North Crosland was concerned with only a small portion of Lockwood township and may not be entirely representative of that township.¹ In this case 70 landowners were involved in the enclosure and the overall distribution of land showed a more even balance than in Huddersfield (Table 3.2).

The only enclosure awards relating to entire townships were those for Dalton and Lindley.²

TABLE 3.3

Distribution of Land to Landowners:
Lindley Enclosure 1798

<u>Size of Estate</u>	<u>Landowners</u>		a	<u>Area occupied</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>		r	p	<u>Percentage</u>
Under one acre	0	0	0			0
1-5 acres	0 ³	27.3%	11	3	19	4.73%
5-10 acres	3	27.3%	23	0	13	9.20%
10-12 acres	4	36.4%	61	3	22	24.68%
25 and under 100	0	0	0			0
100-1000	1	9.0%	152	0	20	60.39%

Distribution of Land to Landowners:
Lindley Enclosure 1817

Under one acre	26	63.5%	4	3	4	1.47%
1-5 acres	8	19.5%	17	2	32	5.48%
5-10 acres	3	7.11%	22	0	2	6.82%
10-25 acres	2	4.9%	28	3	18	8.93%
25 and under 100	1	2.5%	26	2	35	8.27%
100-1000 acres	1	2.5%	222	3	11	69.03%

1. North Crosland Enclosure Award 1799-1803. WRRD B21 271
Map Vol 3/10 1802.
2. Dalton Enclosure Award 1799 and 1811. WRRD B51; South
Lindley Enclosure Award WRRD 1798 B24. Map at T.M.M. T.E.P.45,
also Award 1812 and moors, commons and wastes, 1817, WRRD Cp24,

In Lindley the structure of landownership was dominated by Thomas Thornhill, the Lord of the Manor. Three enclosures took place. The first, in 1798, affected the open fields in Lindley. The awards of 1812 and 1817 were concerned with wastes and commons. The relative lateness of these awards would seem to indicate a reluctance on the part of the Lord of the Manor to come to terms with modern developments.¹ In 1798 only 12 people received reallocations of land. In 1817 41 people were involved but the dominance of Thomas Thornhill in the pattern of landownership was thereby confirmed. (Table 3.3)

If Lindley experienced the most revolutionary changes in the landscape as a result of enclosure, Dalton underwent the least. Its enclosure dealt merely with oddments, small parcels of commons along roads. Again the structure of landownership revealed a distribution skewed in favour of the larger landowner. (Table 3.4)

TABLE 3.4

Distribution of Land to Landowners:
Dalton Enclosure 1811

<u>Size of Estate</u>	<u>Landowners</u>		a	<u>Area occupied</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>		r	p	<u>Percentage</u>
Under one acre	8	50%	3	1	10	2.17%
1-5 acres	4	25%	5	2	27	3.71%
5-10 acres	2	12½%	15	0	29	9.92%
10-25 acres	0	0	0			0
25 and under 100	2	12½%	128	3	3	84.20%

Enclosure did not change the distribution of land; it merely confirmed the existing pattern. Whatever the stated purposes of enclosure², it was a necessary preliminary to land development. By placing land under private ownership it could make this land more

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1. An opinion which is supported by evidence that the award was sought only as a result of strong pressure from inhabitants of Lindley. Thornhill Estate Papers C/T/81. H.P.L.
 2. The enclosure in Huddersfield was for the purpose of reorganising the farms in the area, particularly on the Ramsden Estate. This took place in 1797.

readily available for the satisfaction of urban demand. Roadside sites such as enclosed at Dalton were at a premium when located along major roads leading from Huddersfield town. Indeed many plots subsequently sold for development in 1827 owed their origins as freehold plots to the Dalton enclosure.¹ In general the pattern of landownership and estate configuration that was confirmed by enclosure subsequently remained remarkably stable. Even where new estates were created they were usually formed from existing estates and established with reference to existing boundaries.

THE FREEHOLD LAND MARKET 1780-1850

The character of the freehold land market did little to upset the stability of the pattern and distribution of predevelopment landownership. Sales occurred only at irregular intervals and the prices recorded also indicate an irregular pattern.²

The small number of sales that took place means that it is difficult to make generalisations concerning reasons for the timing of the sales and location of the plots involved. According to Thompson the course of freehold land sales at the national level fluctuated at a low level over fairly long periods. Peaks in activity were more likely to coincide with peaks in new house building and also tended to accompany periods of agricultural prosperity rather than agricultural depression.³ These general trends are reflected in the local market at Huddersfield. Sales tended to occur when market trends were stable, active but neither at a peak nor in a trough. (Table 3.5)

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1. Many of the deeds referred to the original award enclosure.
 2. See Appendix B.
 3. THOMPSON (1957) op cit.

TABLE 3.5

Number of Freehold Land Transactions 1770-1850
Source: WRRD

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Estate Sales*</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Estate Sales*</u>
1778	1	1841	1
1791	1	1842	1
1806	1	1843	1
1811	1	1844	2
1812	1	1845	4 (3 in Lindley)
1820	1	1846	1
1822	1	1847	4
1823	2	1848	3
1825	2	1849	2
1826	1	1850	8 (5 in Lindley)
1827	1		
1828	2		
1832	1		
1833	1		
1839	1		

*Includes both large and small estates and does not take into account the division of an estate at a sale into individual lots.

Thompson also maintains that auctions were more probable in a depressed market.¹ The evidence for Huddersfield does not support this claim. Rather the type of sale was related to the reason for sale. Bankruptcy² tended to result in auction sales while small estates made available on death were usually sold by private contract. Thus, in considering the supply of land in the market, specific factors must be sought in the circumstances attached to each estate. Even so, it was rare for an estate to be placed on the market if demand was insufficiently high to generate a price above the reserve specified by the owner. It was often stipulated in wills that Trustees appointed to undertake the sale of land should hold that land until economic conditions were favourable.³ Exceptions to this rule arose when, in cases of bankruptcy, sales were made regardless of the market, or where a landowner's whim

1. THOMPSON (1957) op cit.

2. It could be argued that bankruptcy occurred more often in a depression; while this is probably true there is no indication that this was the case with the small sample of Huddersfield sales.

3. As was the case with Estate of Harriet Pownall. WRRD. LT/73/70/1834, LP/403/391 1833, MT/57/61/1837.

prompted the sale of land regardless of whether it was profitable to do so.¹ In general once personal circumstances had provided the catalyst, demand was the main factor determining the precise timing of a purchase.

The growing number of merchants who wished to display their wealth by building a mansion house thereby at the same time acquiring political advantage ensured a buoyant demand.² Prior to the 1832 Reform Act the entitlement to vote for borough representatives was dependent upon freehold property ownership. As has already been noted, most urban property in Huddersfield was leasehold. As a result, freehold land was at a premium not only for economic reasons but also for political reasons.³

Some freehold land came on the market during the building booms of the 1820s. While the majority of land sales of the 1780 to 1850 period were concerned with mansion-house estates, the sales of the 1820s served to meet the needs of a lower stratum of society. In 1820 the assignees of the estate of John Ikin placed his land at Newhouse on the market. John Ikin was a merchant banker of Mirfield and the sale was a consequence of his bank going bankrupt. His property comprised a small area of land previously

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1. An example of the former is the bankruptcy of Alexander forcing the sale of the mill and land to the Starkey Bros in 1818. WRRD GU/204/221 and Starkey Estate Papers DD SN LV/1/8 NCRO. In the latter case, an example is the sale of some of Lewis Fenton's estate on the marriage of his daughter in 1826. WRRD IM/446/427 1826, IM/447/429 1826, 10/193/197 1826, 10/194/198 1826, IM/446/428 1826, IP/467/472 1826, JN/174/161 1826, JN/176/162 1826.
 2. Mansion house estates consisted of a large house surrounded by parks and farmland. They were generally bought as farms and the houses rebuilt. Chief residents were yeoman clothiers, merchants and solicitors.
 3. Previous to the Reform Act it was necessary to own a freehold worth forty shillings per annum in order to vote at a County Level. After 1832 the Boroughs were able to elect representatives to Parliament based on a franchise of all "Ten pound householders". COLE, G. D. H. and POSTGATE, R. (1961). The Common People, 255.

part of John Bradley's Estate. Although situated beyond the built-up area of Huddersfield it was nevertheless within five minutes' walking distance of the Cloth Hall. With the added advantage of being elevated, it offered a healthy prospect and commanding views. Thus it was an ideal site for large villas for some less opulent members of the local merchant class. In 1823 the Trustees for the sale of the estate of Harriet Pownall placed her estate on the market under the terms of the will.¹ The estate consisted of land adjacent to the Ikin estate at Newhouse, together with various plots of land in Huddersfield town itself and other plots adjacent to the canal. The named Trustees were also responsible for the estate of Richard Kennett Dawson and this was also placed on the market.²

The majority of these plots were sold in the building boom of 1826-7. Not all the plots were destined to be purchased by the wealthy for residential purposes. Land within Huddersfield and adjacent to the canal was also purchased for industrial use.³

Other land sold at this time for building purposes was land belonging to Lewis Fenton near Bay Hall. The sale was a consequence of the marriage of Fenton's daughter Sophia to Mason Stanhope Kenny of Halifax. It was made in order to furnish her with a dowry. The estate was auctioned in small plots ranging in size from 299 to 1060 square yards. Again merchants and manufacturers were prominent

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1. Ramsden Estate Survey and Fieldbook 1780; WRRD ME/553/681 1820, HE 592/678 1820, HE 593/679 1820, HC 700/749 1820, HC 702/750 1820, HF 453/501 1820, HG 48/51 1820, HN 214/218 1821, GY 510/526 1821.
 2. It is difficult to distinguish in the deeds between these two estates because the Trustees of the estates were the same. There may have been a family connection. WRRD KN 189/196 1820.
 3. Sold to William Learoyd who built a large woollen mill on the land. IZ 587/562 1827; HG 154/166 1828.

amongst the purchasers. The dwellings subsequently built, however, consisted mainly of cottages.¹

Little or no evidence about the prices obtained at these sales has survived. Thus there is no indication as to the general level of demand obtaining in the 1820s. Nor is there any indication of the magnitude of the difference in price between land purchased in the built-up area of Huddersfield and that purchased in hamlets at a distance from the town.² Information as to the price at sales is only available for two of the estate sales. Both demonstrate the premium placed on freehold land whether for agricultural, residential or building purposes. In 1804^{the} Greenhead estate of 19½ acres belonging to the Kaye family was sold for £4,400, that is, for £226 per acre. This was at a rate of seventy years' purchase.³ The more usual rate for agricultural land was around twenty-five years' purchase. In fact the price obtained for the Greenhead Estate in 1804 was twice the national average according to A. Young's figures.⁴

In 1827 the Dalton portion of the Kaye Estate was placed on the market. The particulars of sale described it as follows:

"A valuable Estate situated in Dalton consisting of divers messuages, cottages, warehouse and buildings. 170 acres are divided into 204 lots. It is eligibly situated for building upon and for other purposes having a frontage of a mile and a quarter to the Wakefield and Austerlands Turnpike Road and being within a short distance of the improving town of Huddersfield."⁵

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1. Fn 1, 118 and Ordnance Survey 6" 1st edition. Stanhope Kenny was related to Sir John Lister Kaye, also a local landowner.
 2. And thus providing a measure of accessibility.
 3. In Chancery Elam versus Scott. Particulars of an Estate at Greenhead to be sold in 8 lots May 28 1804. Radcliffe Estate Papers RAD/C/9 L.C.A. Years' purchase was the usual means of expressing land prices in the nineteenth century. It was equal to the purchase price divided by the annual rental received from the property.
 4. YOUNG, A. (1812) An Inquiry into the Progressive Value of Money in England 1812, 99.
 5. Yorkshire Gazette 1827, August 30.

Of this estate, 102 acres were sold for £18,157 or £178 per acre. Agricultural land was worth around £2 per acre per annum or around £50 at twenty-five years' purchase.¹ Since the land sold included building land as well, it is not easy to determine the actual years purchase obtained for each category of land use. It is therefore difficult to compare the price obtained for agricultural land with that obtained at the Greenhead Estate sale. Individual building lots were sold for around 1s 6d a square yard or £363 per acre.² Not all the land was purchased in the lots laid out in the sale plan. Only a few building plots were bought. Those purchased were situated next to the turnpike road at Moldgreen and adjacent to a mill at Greenside. Plots intended for villa residences were amalgamated by purchasers so as to make up estates of around 8 acres. The small mansion houses of Ravensknowle, Birkhouse and Greenhead were built on such composite estates. Even if the overall demand for freehold plots was not great, competition in specific locations was sufficient to generate a large increase in its value. Much depended on the particular circumstances at a sale. In the case of the Dalton sale there were more eligible villa plots available closer to Huddersfield at Newhouse. In any case, the freehold market for building land was extremely localised, so that the plots purchased at Moldgreen were acquired by Moldgreen residents and by manufacturers.³

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1. Dalton Kaye Rental July 22 1835. Kaye Estate Papers MD 234 Y.A.S.
 2. Dalton Estate Sale Plan 1827 and Catalogue. The prices at the sale were pencilled on a copy now in T.M.M.
 3. For example, WRRD KP 149/52/1829, KQ 112/65/1829, KH/430/340/1829, KI/626/508/1829, KO 522/469/1829, KP/49/51/1829, KP 51/53/1829.

Lindley, in particular, had its own market for building land. The largest landowner in Lindley township was restricted by the terms of a settlement and was unable to sell or let his land for terms longer than 21 years.¹ However, an active market in land existed amongst the remaining owners. Of these none could dominate the market and consequently there was no imposition of leasehold. As a result there was an active land market in Lindley.

Freehold was the tenure on which land in the village was developed.

Activity in the land market increased in the 1840s, particularly in relation to small building lots. This involved the transfer of ownership from yeomen farmers to those who wished to build for residential and industrial purposes as a result of the upsurge in industrial activity in the area. While sales within Lindley village were made to members of the building profession and to shopkeepers looking for investment opportunities, in the more outlying parts of Lindley township land was sold to clothiers and cloth dressers who had expanded their activities to such an extent that they were justified in building a mill and housing for key workers.²

Access to water was an important consideration in determining the location of the plots sold. Water rights were an integral part of the terms on which land was conveyed for both mills and

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1. Thornhill Estate Act 1852. Thornhill Estate Papers H.P.L.
 2. For example; conveyance in 1844 from Thomas Mallinson to the Walkers, co-partners of a cloth and listing manufacturing firm, for the erection of such a mill and cottages, subsequently Plover Mills. WRRD OX/349/350 1844; PH/116/112 1845.

houses.¹ Piped water for domestic purposes was only available within the boundaries of the area subject to the Improvement Commission. The difficulty in supplying water must have been a serious hindrance to the development of land in outlying districts.

Near Huddersfield town land for building was considered to be worth around twenty years' purchase in 1845. Thus, the local agent of the Ramsden Estate reported as follows:

"It is worth less than any other land because once broken up for building purposes it becomes unfit. It may and often does happen that a person purchasing has some acres of land with tolerable frontages, but he may only be able to let a small portion for building for some years, at a price remunerative enough perhaps if the whole of the land were let. The price of land depends a good deal on the particular circumstances attending the sale. If it chanced to be divided into small lots and having plenty of purchasers it is more likely to be appropriated all at once."²

Plots of land sold by William Stocks in Bradford Road in 1845 were sold for prices ranging from 24 to 29 years' purchase. The cost per square yard for building plots ranged from 10s 0d to 12s 2d (£2,420-£2,944 per acre). Land on which cottage property was already erected fetched a price of between 7s 3d and 10s 8d per square yard (£1,754-£2,581 per acre). The Ramsden Estate bought around 8 acres of land from Stocks including some cottage property and paid £4,280 or £517 per acre for the total purchase.³ Because many of the estates purchased included some property, it is not possible to determine the cost of the land alone nor the variations in the price per acre. The Bay Hall Estate sold in

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1. WRRD IN/174/161 1826: conveyance from Lewis Fenton to Joseph Heywood, a builder of Huddersfield of 3r 25p of land at Bay Hall included stipulations as to the right of inhabitants to fetch water from a well in lot 24 in the particulars of sale. The importance of access to water as a factor increasing the value of land was also mentioned in the Report of the River Commission 1867 op cit. Evidence of F. R. Jones.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch February 11, 1845. DD/RE/C/19. H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch August 1845. DD/RE/C/27. H.P.L.

1848 included a number of mills and cottages as well as a large area of agricultural land considered to be of poor quality. The price obtained was £32,150 or £943 per acre. It is interesting to speculate whether the price obtained would have been higher still if the vendor had known that the purchaser was the Ramsden Estate Trustees.¹ In the same year the Greenhead and Gledholt Estate belonging to Haigh Allen was sold to the Ramsden Estate Trustees for £35,000 or £435 per acre. The rental on this estate was around £400, which suggests a year's purchase value of 83 years.²

Outside the influence of the urban area the value of land was related to the agricultural quality. Thus an estate at Cold Hill in Almondbury was sold for £168 per acre and an estate at Fartown sold for £145 per acre. But even in these more remote locations much depended on the location of the land and the nature of the demand. At a sale of land belonging to Miss Howarth in 1850 offers of 19s 6d per square yard (£4,719 per acre) were made for land at Bay Hall suitable for mill construction.³

The returns from the sale of land were often substantial. Thus it is surprising that more landowners did not follow the course pursued by Sir John Lister Kaye and sell the freehold of their estates for mansion-house estates or for other purposes. But, as has already been noted in the case of the Thornhill Estate in Lindley, during the early part of the nineteenth century many were restricted in their actions by the terms of wills and settlements.

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1. Care was taken not to reveal to the Solicitor of the Estate who the purchaser was. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence 1846: DD/RE/C/32-34. H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Schedule and Particulars of Purchased Estates. Box 36. H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch August 1849. DD/RE/C/68. H.P.L.

With most of the smaller estates no legal restrictions were imposed on the devisees or trustees as to the steps they could take in offering land for development. There were some exceptions; two concerning estates in close proximity to the development area of Huddersfield. The Haigh-Allen Estate was entailed until 1843.¹ The Fenton Estate was held in tail female. This meant that it was conveyed in trust for the three daughters of Captain Lewis Fenton in 1833. The trustees were to receive rents from the estate but there was no power of sale. No part of the estate was sold until after the passage of the Settled Lands Act in 1882.²

A third estate, also held in tail female, consisted of land at Crosland Moor and at Hillhouse. Under the will of Sara Nicholls in 1807 the estate was devised to Thomas and Abraham Thompson of Halifax for the natural life of her niece Ann and when she died to 'all and every children begotten forever to be equally divided between them if more than one share and share alike.' Ann had ten children each of whom received a tenth share of the estate on her death. The income derived from the agricultural property was only small and when divided amongst the various interested parties could not have amounted to much. The process of subdivision, however, was halted in 1868. When three of Ann's children died they left their shares to their brother Thomas Alfred. A further two made wills giving power of sale to trustees of their shares. Thomas Alfred was certified insane in 1864 and the administration of his estate passed into the hands of the Master of the Court in Chancery.

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Deeds relating to Estate purchases. GED 7/RA/19. H.P.L.
 2. WRRD 10/28/10 1885. Conveyance Fenton Trustees to Sir C. W. Sikes, 5 acres of land at Birkby.

A report recommending sale of the shares was made in 1868. When permission was granted the estate was auctioned.¹

The greatest impact on the nature of the freehold land market in the area stemmed from the restrictions on four of the five largest estates. The restrictions varied in detail but all placed some limitations on the sale of land.

Least restricted was the Lockwood Proprietors' Estate. The smallest of the larger estates, this estate nevertheless dominated the development of Lockwood. It comprised most of the land surrounding the villages of Lockwood and Rashcliffe as well as potential industrial sites along the Holme valley. Unlike the other estates, this estate contained a number of shareholders. As with any business these shares could be bought and sold, with the exception of two shareholders who were tenants in tail common. Their share in the Lockwood Estate as well as their sole freehold interests in an estate in Dalton were only disentailed by Private Act of Parliament in 1856.² There were no restrictions on the sale of the other shares. In fact the largest share, belonging to Timothy Bentley, was placed on the market under the terms of his will in 1843. Timothy Bentley was the only resident shareholder. As owner of Lockwood Brewery which had been established in 1795, he had a vested interest in the growth of the village of Lockwood.³

The estate owned by the Earl of Dartmouth was remote from the core of Huddersfield. It was separated physically from the town by Castle Hill and was cut off by poor communications. The estate

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1. WRDD ZN/759/858/1867. Macauley Estate Paper H.A.S. 731. Halifax Archives Dept.
 2. Ingham Estate Act 1856.
 3. PIKE, W. (1895). A Descriptive Account of Huddersfield. The importance of the Brewery to Lockwood is revealed in the numerous references made to it in J. W. Wilson's Diary 1800 - 67. H.P.L. Wilson was a tinsmith living in Lockwood.

was entailed under a number of settlements from 1828 to 1870. Under the later settlements the trustees were empowered with the right to sell provided the tenant for life gave his consent.¹

The Thornhill Estate was restricted by the terms of the will made by Thomas Thornhill in 1790. The pattern of inheritance for the estate was laid down in that will. The estate was conveyed in tail male but if there were no sons the estate would pass to any daughters of Thomas's sons. No power of sale was given and any leases made were to be restricted to 21 years. When the estate was inherited by Thomas Thornhill's grand-daughter, she was still a minor so that the administration of the estate passed into the jurisdiction of the Court in Chancery. In 1852 and 1854, on the instigation of the Court, Acts of Parliament were obtained giving the owner of the estate powers of sale and of leasing.²

During the first half of the nineteenth century the land market in Huddersfield was dominated by the Ramsden Estate. This supremacy arose not so much because of the size of the area of land owned by the Estate in the township as a whole, rather because of the strategic position occupied by the Estate in relation to the growing town.³ In 1780 the Estate was held in tail male. Under the terms of the original settlement any leases granted could not extend beyond the life of Sir John, the tenant for life. All the land obtained at the enclosures of 1786 and 1789 and purchased subsequent to the settlement was held in fee simple. In 1787 a marriage settlement created the Settled Estates. These were resettled on Sir John's son in 1814 and then on his grandson John William in 1839. These settlements could be broken when John

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Abstract of Title to purchased Estates. LAT/RA/10. H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers, particularly DD/T/336 H.P.L.
 3. i.e. owning most of the land immediately adjacent to the built-up area.

William came of age in 1853. There was no power of leasing at all on these lands and an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1848 to acquire this power.

In 1838 Sir John made a will in which he devised those estates not settled under the 1814 settlement to trustees with power to raise £42,000 for his three sons and £1,400 per annum for his daughter-in-law Isabella. The remainder of the estate was settled on his son for life and held in tail male. These lands came to be known as the Devised Estates. Under the will powers of sale and leasing for 99 years were given but only if the tenant for life was of age. On succeeding to the estate in 1839, the tenant for life, John William, was only 7, and as a result the power of sale or leasing was negated. Subsequently an Act of Parliament obtained in 1844 granted powers of sale and leasing for 60 years.¹

For most large estates, therefore, there existed during the years 1770-1850 constraints on the feasibility of executing freehold sales of land. Nevertheless it is apparent that if economic incentives had been sufficiently great the means would have been found whereby sales could have been made. The leasing of land rather than the sale of the freehold so as to provide money for investment in other ventures was often seen by the landowner as a viable economic proposition. Landowners could obtain a very adequate income from their land and their perceptions were coloured by early nineteenth century attitudes to land. The desire of aristocratic families for continuity and the maintenance of their estates on behalf of future generations tipped the balance in favour of land holding rather than sale wherever possible. No one

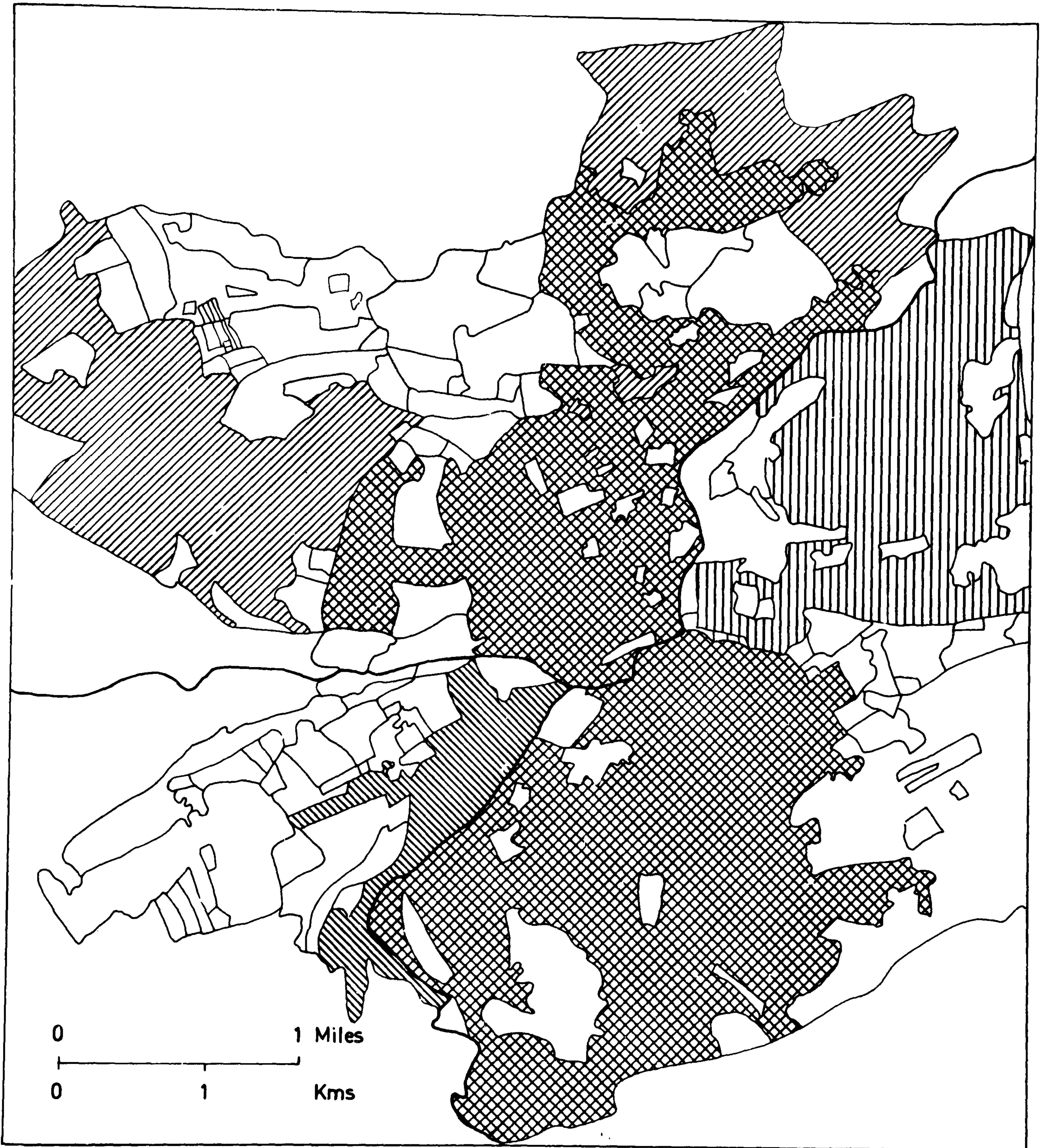
1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Box 24. H.P.L.

factor determined the decision to sell the freehold of land. Rather, a variety of influences were responsible. General factors included the location of land and the pattern of ownership. The specific factors were personal to individual owners. In Huddersfield the balance of factors was in favour of retaining land rather than selling it. In their attitudes, however, land-owners placed a value on freehold land which probably exceeded its true value in economic and spatial terms.

By the 1840s there were signs that changes were taking place in the market. This was a response to the increasing pressure on the market as Huddersfield and its surrounding villages expanded territorially as a result of industrial growth. In Lindley this was reflected in an increase in the number of transactions taking place and representations were made to the managers of the Thornhill Estate asking for land to be made available for longer terms than hitherto available.¹

In Huddersfield the advent of the railway engendered a high expectation of the benefits that would be derived from a linkage with the national railway network. This in turn encouraged an upsurge in building activity.² At the same time the Ramsden Estate Trustees embarked on a policy of estate expansion. In an effort to reduce competition and retain their monopoly of the urban land market, they sought to acquire freehold estates in the immediate vicinity of Huddersfield where building was thought to be likely to occur in the future. Between 1843 and 1849 the estate purchased six freehold estates totalling 140 acres 3r 38p for a

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1. Bill of Petition filed in Chancery July 4, 1851. Thornhill Estate Papers H.P.L.
 2. See Chapter 2. The excitement which prevailed is revealed in the local newspapers at the time, particularly the Leeds Mercury.




- | | |
|---|--|
|  Thornhill Estate |  Kaye Estate |
|  Lockwood Proprietors Estate |  Ramsden Estate |

Figure 3.2 The Pattern of Landownership in Huddersfield 1850
Source: Tithe and Estate Surveys

sum of £74,490.¹

THE PATTERN OF FREEHOLD LANDOWNERSHIP IN 1850

The low level of activity in the land market meant that the pattern and distribution of freehold landownership had only changed marginally since 1770. This stability is even apparent in Lockwood when the tithe returns are compared with the information given in the North Crosland enclosure award. In Lindley the township was still dominated by the Thornhill Estate while in Almondbury the Ramsden Estate was increasing its share of land. In 1850 the town of Huddersfield was surrounded by mansion-house estates as well as tenanted farms. The greatest changes were those which had occurred in Dalton as a result of the Kaye sales in 1827.² (Figure 3.2)

THE FREEHOLD LAND MARKET 1850-1911

The upsurge in building activity continued until it reached a peak in 1852 and the freehold land market responded accordingly. (Table 3.6). There was a widespread feeling of optimism and confidence in industry and commerce. Expectations about the movement in income which investments would produce in the foreseeable future tended to encourage some freehold land purchase for building and following the introduction of the railway more merchants and industrialists had money available for investment in housing.³ In accordance with contemporary fashion they sought suburban sites for their own residences. Their search was aided by the establishment of a local newspaper. With the demand for housing at a high level it was inevitable that those landowners with land within reasonable distance of both Huddersfield and its villages would

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1. Schedule and Particulars of Purchased Estates from 1843-1844. Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 36, H.P.L.
 2. Information derived from Tithe Plans and Surveys of Lockwood and Almondbury supplemented with plans from the Ramsden Estate Papers and Information derived from deeds registered at WRDD.
 3. They no longer needed to invest in substantial stocks. See LEWIS (1965) op cit, 9.

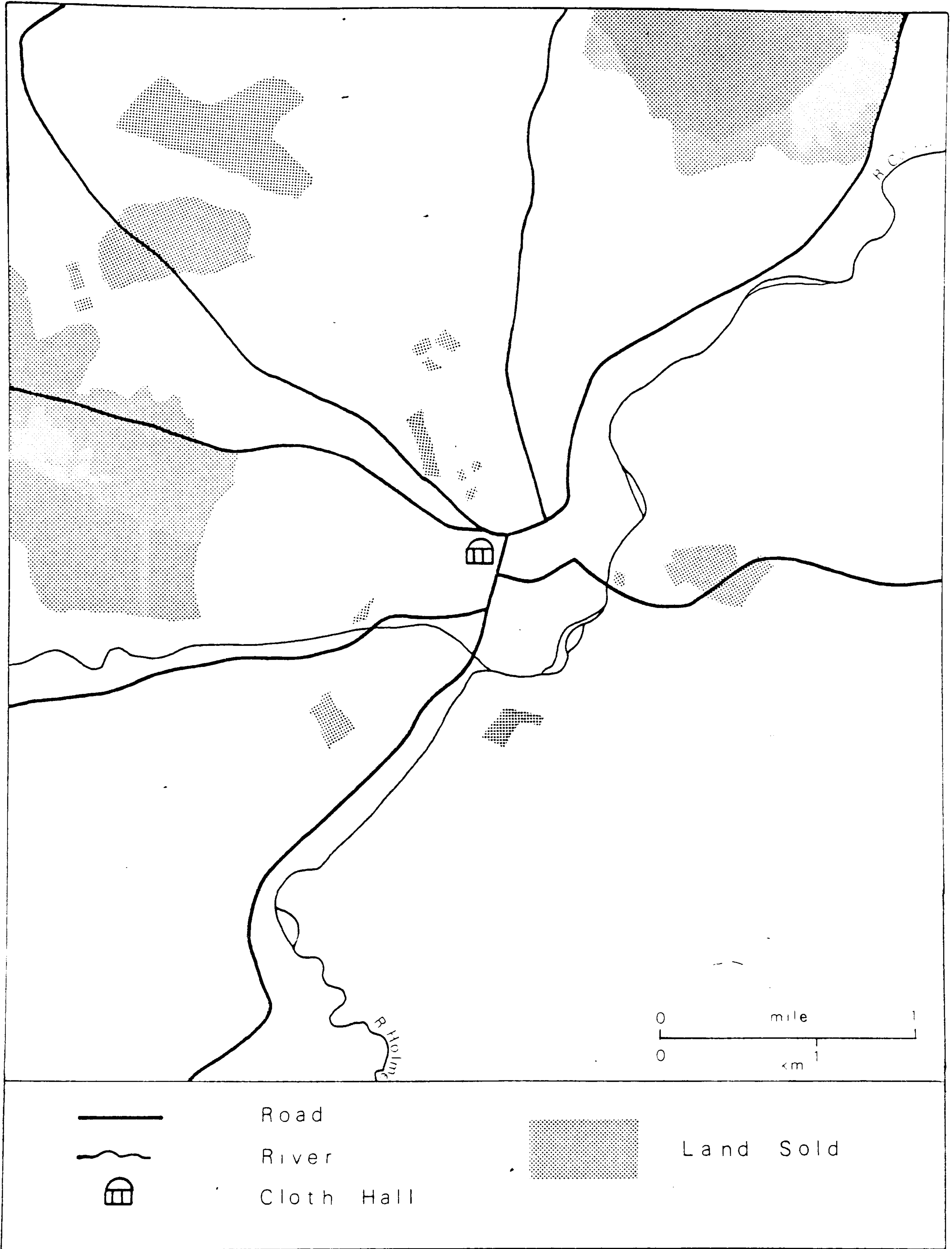


Figure 3.3 Land Sales 1850 - 1855
Source: WRRD

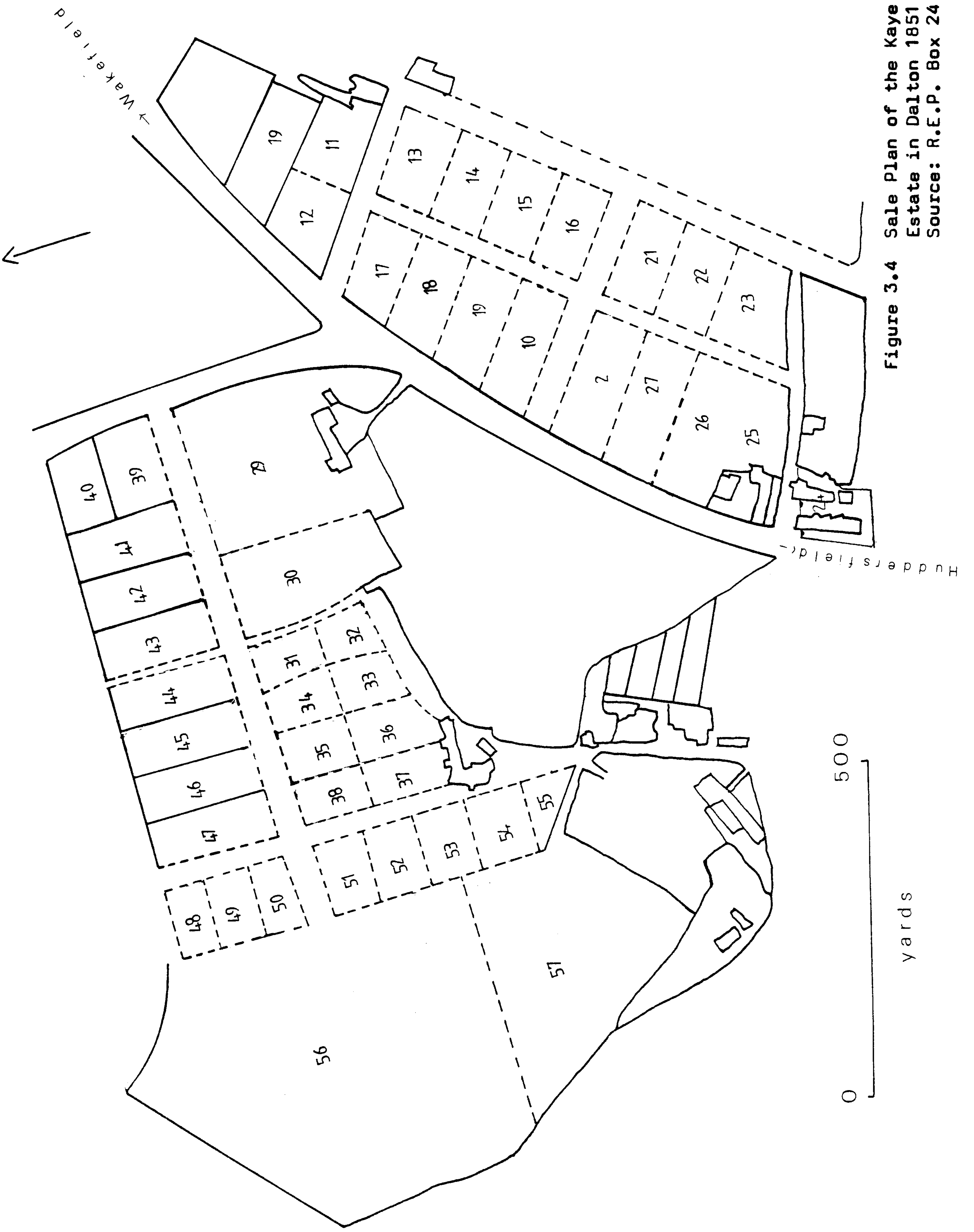


Figure 3.4 Sale Plan of the Kaye Estate in Dalton 1851
Source: R.E.P. Box 24

attempt to lay it out in house plots so as to be able to enter the land market. A wide area was covered by land sales during the years 1850-1855. (Figure 3.3) Nevertheless the supply of freehold land far exceeded the demand. Land put for auction at Birkby in 1852 had to be withdrawn because demand was insufficient to yield a satisfactory price.¹ Only a small section of the community seems to have been capable of land purchase. In 1851 when the remainder of the Dalton Kaye Estate was reauctioned most of the lots on offer went to one person.² (Figure 3.4) The exception was the sale of the Thornhill Estate in 1854-5 when all the lots were sold and were reported to have fetched very high prices. In this latter case most of the lots were sold to former tenants of the estate.³ The demand for building land was, however, artificially inflated because of a shortage of land during the 1840s. This demand was therefore strictly the result of local circumstances.

The general increased activity in the freehold land market in 1854 and 1855 after the building boom points to the unresponsiveness of the market. Urban lots continued to be provided in the main by the leasehold land market because the building industry had by now become accustomed to operating against a background of such tenures. Moreover, few builders could afford to pay upwards of 7s 0d per square yard for a plot of land.⁴ Even lots purchased at the Thornhill and Kaye sales were ultimately let on leasehold terms for building. Only a few purchasers resold the freehold in

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. DD/RE/C/68.
 2. Richard Brook described as a yeoman of Moldgreen. RO 284/305 1852; WP 635/683 1862.
 3. Register of Estate Sales 1854-5. Thornhill Estate Office. Permission to use this document was kindly given by Mr G. Crowther, the Thornhill Estate Agent.
 4. Ramsden Estate Papers DD/RB/C/96 ibid H.P.L.

a developed state and still fewer sold the land undeveloped.

There is moreover little evidence for any speculation in land.¹

That there was 'no general disposition to buy freehold land'² became patently clear in 1858. The national economy was depressed and this was reflected in the general state of the building industry. In Huddersfield another dimension was added. On the Ramsden Estate there was general uncertainty as to the nature of future leasehold terms and in anticipation of change development had halted completely.³ In the same year land belonging to Benjamin Haigh Allen was placed on the market. The sale arose because of a marriage settlement made in that year. Only five of the thirty-five lots were sold; two were sold to a solicitor and an auctioneer but the rest were withdrawn because the offers made were well below the reserve price.⁴

The uncertainty concerning tenure on the Ramsden Estate should have been resolved by the Ramsden Estate Leasing Act 1859 which introduced 99-year leases.⁵ This Act was, however, challenged and the ensuing litigation lasted until 1862. As a result, many would-be builders were increasingly reluctant to build on the Estate. The freehold land market was slow to respond and the increased demand for building lots after the depression was met from other leasehold estates around Huddersfield.⁶

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1. i.e. the purchase of land, holding of it for the sole reason of benefiting from its increase in value and the selling it without development.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Nelson 1858. DD/RA/28/2. H.P.L.
 3. This is developed in Chapter 4.
 4. DD/RA/28/2 ibid. H.P.L.
 5. Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 24, H.P.L.
 6. Evidence from deeds registered at WRRD; Register of Leases, Thornhill Estate Papers; Lockwood, Little Royd and Rashcliffe conveyancing deed 1954.

The difficulties of the Ramsden Estate did encourage some owners to put their land up for sale. An advertisement for a small estate in Dalton, typical of others in that period, laid special emphasis on the freehold nature of the land:

"Being freehold and not subject to ground rent or chief rent or the expenses and trouble consequent on the renewal of a lease or term of years."¹

Opportunist estate agents were quick to use this selling point. Such a point had not been emphasised in earlier advertisements nor was it stressed in later ones. These concentrated on the more qualitative aspects of suburban living.

The period of six years between 1857 and 1863, which saw such a drastic reduction in the taking up of leases on the Ramsden Estate, must have disturbed the building industry. It is from this time onwards that the changes in the structure of the building industry began to emerge. The changes were gradual but came to fruition in the late 1890s, by which time the freehold and leasehold land markets were in more direct competition.²

The freehold land market after 1860 continued to reflect the course of the building cycle and also followed the trends in the national land market. (Table 3.6) Although some variations did occur, there was a general scarcity of land for sale throughout England in the late 1860s and as a result the price increased to the equivalent of 33 years' purchase.³

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1. Huddersfield Chronicle, February 9 1860.
 2. Vide infra. Sometimes adjacent building plots were offered on differing terms, some on freehold, others on leasehold.
 3. THOMPSON (1957) op cit.

TABLE 3.6

Estate Sales 1851-1911*

Source: WRRD

<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>
1851	3	1871	0	1891	0
1852	3	1872	2	1892	2
1853	0	1873	0	1893	0
1854	4	1874	1	1894	0
1855	1	1875	2	1895	0
1856	1	1876	1	1896	1
1857	3	1877	2	1897	2
1858	0	1878	1	1898	1
1859	2	1879	0	1899	1
1860	3	1880	1	1900	1
1861	1	1881	1	1901	3
1862	0	1882	2	1902	1
1863	4	1883	0	1903	0
1864	0	1884	2	1904	0
1865	0	1885	4	1905	1
1866	1	1886	0	1906	3
1867	1	1887	1	1907	0
1868	1	1888	3	1908	0
1869	0	1889	2	1909	0
1870	2	1890	1	1910	0
				1911	2

* Does not include sales to Ramsden Estate nor individual plots sold as alternative to leasehold.

A peak in national land sales occurred between 1874 and 1877 but was not apparent in Huddersfield although a building boom had occurred here in 1872. Activity in the freehold market seems to have been sustained at a relatively steady level during the 1860s and 1870s. In 1859 the years' purchase price was anything from 18 to 33 years. In 1870 the mean was still around 25 years' purchase. This level of prices was not exceeded until 1911 when the years' purchase was around 27.¹ Although freehold land was available for urban development, it did not prevent strong competition within the leasehold market for land in the 1860s and 1870s. The greater part of freehold land placed on the market was purchased by the Ramsden

1. WRRD 35/360/366 1911; 48/782/299 1911; 51/415/516 1911; 3/970/359 1911; 22/285/117 1911; 29/365/331 1911; 43/892/343 1911. It was also 27½ years purchase in 1900: 13/287/136 1900.

Estate. Since the owner of the Estate maintained he would never pay a 'fancy price' for land, one must assume that it was a deficiency of other purchasers which enabled the Ramsden Estate to have such a dominant role in the market.¹

The table listing Huddersfield land sales indicates a prolonged depression from 1878 to 1895 (Table 3.6). According to Thompson, after 1878 an abundant supply of land was generally available because of the depression in agriculture and the provisions of the Settled Land Act. Yet there was also a reduced level of sales, the result of a failure in demand rather than supply, mainly because of the fears of landlord legislation.² This lack of demand was reflected in the low level of sales in Huddersfield during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century. In 1898 when the Starkey Estate sold off their property in Huddersfield their local agent explained to Lewis Starkey that:

"There is not much competition and it was difficult to get the biddings to go up to the reserves."³

Nineteen years' purchase was all that could be obtained at this sale of an estate near the centre of Huddersfield. The situation was the same for rural estates. In 1900 the view was expressed that land on the Ramsden Almondbury Estate was worth less than the cost price in 1874.⁴

Freehold estates were being bought and sold in the suburbs of Huddersfield in the last decades of the century (Figure 3.5).

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1. However, 414 acres of the land purchased at this time was located in rural Almondbury. Ramsden Estate Papers. Particulars of Sales Box 36, H.P.L.
 2. THOMPSON, F. M. L. (1963). English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century.
 3. Starkey Estate Papers Ivd/2/23. N.C.R.O.
 4. Starkey Estate Papers. Letters Lewis Starkey to local agent, IVb/4/8 N.C.R.O.

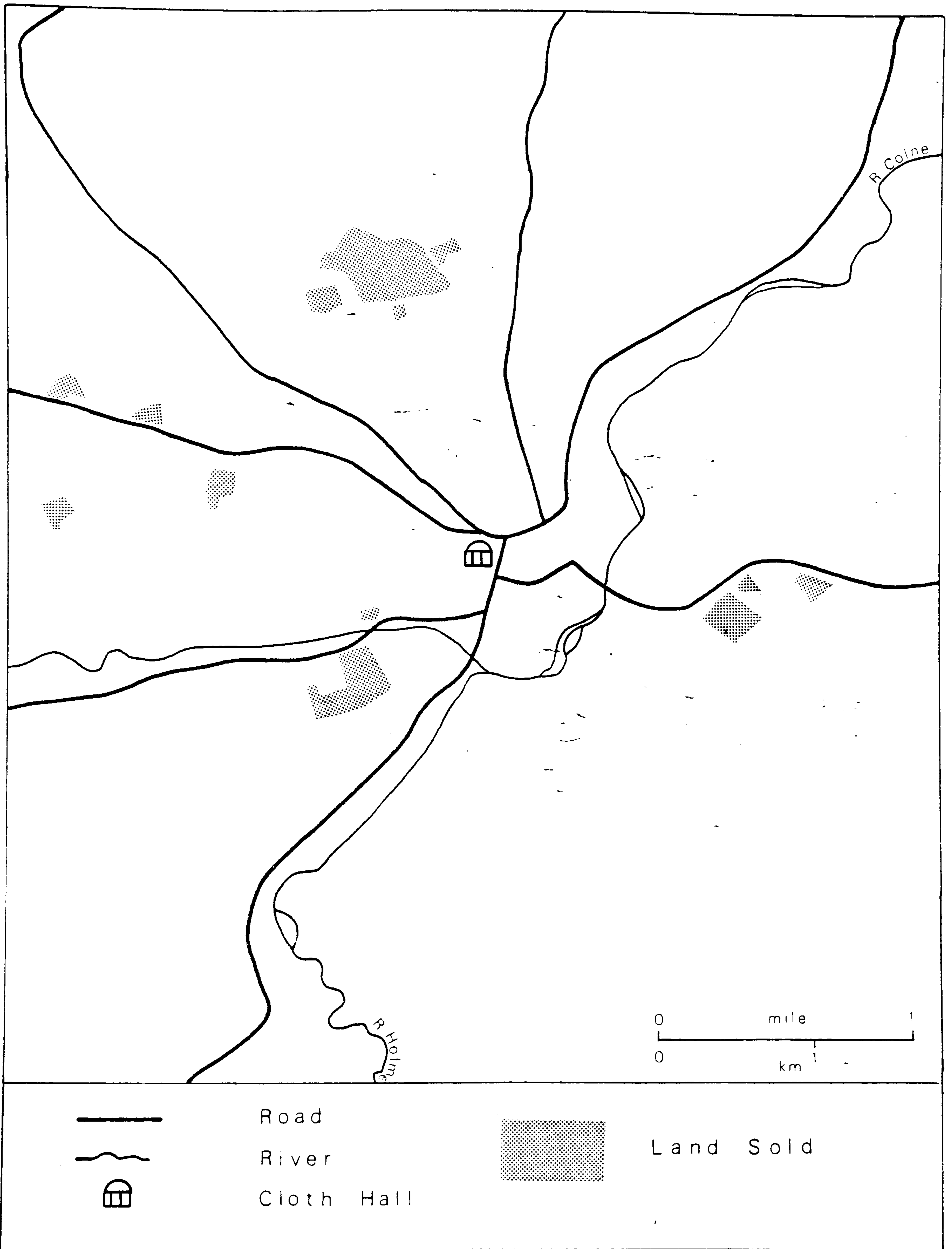


Figure 3.5 Freehold Estates Sold 1880 - 1911
Source: WRRD

Many of those sold were former mansion-house estates¹, acquired directly for urban development. The pressures to sell came from factors operating on the demand and supply sides. In the mid-nineteenth century land still had an element of 'family hold'. Mr Laycock, solicitor to the Trustees of Lewis Fenton, offered the Wheathouse Estate to Sir John William Ramsden and was subsequently reprimanded by a relative for creating a situation whereby the property might pass out of the control of the family.² By the end of the century pecuniary, political and social circumstances had reduced this family commitment to the perpetuation of estates. Many of the former owner-occupiers were dead³ and increasingly more insistent calls for land nationalisation made the future seem uncertain. The larger estates were able to stave off disaster by selling parcels of land, but many of the smaller owners were eager to sell all their land.

At this time a new type of buyer emerged - the professional land developer - a man who bought land, opened it out for development and made it available to builders in lots, all within a short space of time. Rows of back-to-back houses and through terraces destined for the lower middle classes quickly filled the fields of the mansion-house estates of Springwood, Thornton Lodge, Birkhouse and Birkby. Moreover, there was direct competition between land offered on leasehold terms and land offered on freehold. Consumers were able to choose directly between the two tenures because they were less restricted spatially in their choices. On many of the new housing estates houses next door to each other could be of

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1. eg Thornton Lodge Estate in 1889 and Springdale Estate, Lockwood in 1890; Birkhouse Estate Moldgreen in 1890.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers DD/RE/C32-4 1846. H.P.L.
 3. The Springdale Estate was only sold after the death of the resident owner, Edward Fisher.

different tenures. Nearly all the newly-opened estates gave the option of freehold or a 999-year lease to builders.¹

The change in the structure of the urban land market towards direct competition between leasehold and freehold was aided by the wider availability of information on the state of the market. From 1897 onwards the Huddersfield Examiner carried a weekly property column. This gave prices obtained at recent sales, and the names of purchasers. Forty years earlier, purchasers had been keen to maintain secrecy about their identities and also about the prices they paid.²

Despite evidence of increased competition within the market, there persisted a polarisation in the structure of freehold land-ownership between large and small owners. To a large extent this was the product of Ramsden Estate expansion during the latter half of the nineteenth century in an effort to gain monopoly of the market and to protect the estate from 'injurious competition'.³ The estate expanded territorially by purchasing those areas of freehold land that projected into the bounds of the Estate and also by extending its interests towards the north in the Huddersfield township. This expansion was possible in the absence of a strong demand for freehold land either for building or for agricultural investment in the 1850s and 1860s.

Land coming on the market was often offered to the Ramsden Estate before being put up for auction. This custom of first refusal meant that some land never reached the open market. The estate management also put pressure on owners within the area to

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1. For instance on estates developed by J. A. Armitage. WRRD 26/1029/448 1890; 27/822/419 1890.
 2. As was the case with most of the Ramsden Estate purchases.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers Halthorn to Loch op cit. DD/RE/C/32 H.P.L.

sell. For instance it was recommended that the Trustees should purchase the Haigh Allen Estate at Greenhead because the introduction of the Improvement Act would confer on 'any third parties facilities for opening up in competition with the trustees.' As a result the local solicitor of the Haigh Allen Estate was approached.¹

Collusion amongst solicitors acting for the various estates was a major feature of the market. Even if an estate was auctioned, the outcome of the auction was often predetermined by deals between other parties and the Ramsden Estate. In 1858 Nelson, as solicitor and steward of the Ramsden Estate, agreed with Edward Brook that the latter should buy two particular lots at a sale, leaving Nelson to bid for the rest.² Mr Halthorn, the Ramsden Estate Agent, when negotiating for a number of freeholds at Newhouse, was warned not to let one party know that the other was selling for fear it would put up the price.³ There was also collusion over estate development. The Vicar of Huddersfield, whose prebend depended upon the good will of the Ramsden Estate, wrote to the estate requesting permission to develop his own land at Marsh. After careful consideration permission was given, since it was felt that it would benefit the Estate in that part of Huddersfield provided the houses were of good quality.⁴

Although sustained by the operation of the market, the Ramsden Estate monopoly was never absolute. It was dependent upon the capacity of the estate to pay the price which was determined by

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Halthorn to Loch op cit. DD/RE/C/32 H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Nelson to Halthorn 1858 DD/RE/28/2 H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn 1857. DD/RE/C/97. H.P.L.
 4. Ramsden Estate Papers. DD/RE/C/76. H.P.L.

the demand for housing. To some degree the purchase money could have been raised by mortgages. The ability of the Estate to raise money in this way was limited by the Will and Settlement and by various Acts of Parliament relating to the Estate.¹ Finance could also come from the rental, and in the 1840s and 1850s from the sale of land and the sale of the canal to the railway company.²

The potential urban development area widened with the introduction of trams in 1880, with changes in the income and tastes of the middle classes and the ensuing territorial expansion of the built-up area. This widening served to increase the amount of land on the market, thus stimulating the competition amongst landowners, as a result undermining the monopoly of the Ramsden Estate. Since the Estate was reluctant to pay the price which freehold land attained when divided into small lots, it was unable to buy out its competitors. Little information is available about the actual increase in the value of land which resulted from division into lots at different dates.³

There is, however, some information available for three locations at the turn of the century. This reveals that wide variations were possible. In Crosland Moor Bottom in 1897 land without buildings was sold for £302.5 per acre and land with newly-built houses was sold for £847 per acre - an increase of nearly three-fold.⁴ In 1905 the Rose Hill Estate was sold as building

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1. John Beasley's Report 1867. Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 24, and DD/RA/26/4 H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Abstract of Receipts and Expenditure 1845-63. Box 36. Halthorn to Loch Correspondence 1846. DD/RE/C/82. H.P.L.
 3. Prices were rarely given in the Deeds registered at WRRD. None at all were stated before 1885. For the problems associated with this source see ARCHER, C. A. and WILKINSON, R. K. (1977). "The Yorkshire Registries of Deeds as Sources of Historical Data on the Housing Market", Urban History Yearbook, 40-47.
 4. WRRD 20/218/111 1887.

TABLE 3.7

Freehold Land Prices 1885-1911

Source: WRRD

(Details not available for every year)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Plot Size</u> <u>(Sq yards)</u>	<u>Price/</u> <u>yard in</u> <u>pence(d)</u>	<u>Price/</u> <u>acre</u> <u>£</u>	<u>Status of</u> <u>land</u>
1887	Moor End Road, Lindley	9,149.00	4.08	82.28	Land only
1894	Lindley in Turnpike	14,943.50	4.50	90.75	Land only
1894	Crosland Lane, Quarmby	17,938.25	43.00	867.16	Developed land
	Yews Lane, Lockwood	1,540.00	32.00	645.33	Developed land
1895	Wellington St, Lindley	172.00	88.00	1,774.66	Including house
1897	Crosland Moor	180.00	42.00	847.00	Developed land
	School St, Moldgreen	1,586.00	25.00	504.16	Developed land
	Birkhouse Lane, Moldgreen	500.00	25.00	504.16	Developed land
	School Street, Moldgreen	2,380.00	29.00	584.83	Developed land
1898	Crosland Moor	8,320.00	15.00	302.50	Developed land
1900	Fartown	1,084.00	81.00	1,633.50	Including house
	Birkby	215.00	79.25	1,598.20	Developed land
	Fartown	1,687.00	78.00	1,573.00	Developed land
1901	Plover Road	1,843.00	27.00	544.50	Developed land
	" "	18,755.00	73.00	1,472.16	Including house
1902	Raw Nook Road	212.50	30.00	605.00	Developed land
	" " "	624.00	30.00	605.00	Developed land
1905	Bradford Road	289.00	66.00	1,331.00	With house
	Rose Hill	1,720.00	56.00	1,028.50	With house
	Oakfield Road	20,504.00		80.66	Land only
	Springdale St, Lockwood	180.00	98.00	1,976.30	With house

TABLE 3.7 (continued)

1907	Wellfield Marsh	1,618.00	20.00	403.33	With old cottage
1908	Oaks Road, Lindley	1,612.00	42.00	847.00	Developed land
	Allinson Drive, Fartown	151,855.00	7.80	157.30	Land only
	" "	312.00	60.00	1,210.00	With house
1909	Long Lane, Dalton	1,817.00	14.00	282.30	Development land
	Frederick St, Lindley	182.00	53.00	1,068.80	With house
	Beechfield, Birkby	590.00	51.00	1,028.50	With house
	"	416.00	54.00	1,089.00	With house
	Crosland St	136.00	78.00	1,573.00	With house

land for £80.66,¹ while land on the adjacent Oakfield Road was sold as a building plot plus a new house on it for £1,028.5 per acre - almost a thirteen-fold increase.² In 1911 building land in Allison Drive, Fartown was sold for £157.3 per acre while a small plot with a house in the same street was sold for £1,210 - an increase of nearly eight-fold.³ Most other data available for this period related to land on which houses were already built or about to be built. Larger plots sold to builders tended to be cheaper per unit area but the main variation was related to location. (Table 3.7)

For the years prior to 1887 the only data available refers to the price paid by the Ramsden Trustees for land purchased between 1850 and 1884. The information is available only on an estate-by-estate basis and therefore relates to a wide variety of property and also large areas of land. Some of the prices included a large element for property, the extent depending on the age of the house concerned. The data does give some indication of spatial variation in land prices with location, although no account can be taken of the time factor since information on estate rentals is not available. A regression analysis indicates that there was no correlation between the size of plot and the price charged.⁴

(Table 3.8)

CONCLUSIONS

At the outset of urban growth in Huddersfield a freely organised market for urban land did not exist. The spatial pattern and the distribution of freehold land meant that a small number of individual owners had a monopoly of the supply for urban development and were thus able to choose the tenure on which they

1. WRRD 16/234/37 1905.

2. WRRD 20/678/313 1905.

3. WRRD 23/657/292 1908.

4. Particulars of Estate Sales, Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 36, op cit. $r = 0.189$. See Appendix C.

TABLE 3.8

COST OF RAMSDEN ESTATE PURCHASES 1850-1884

SOURCE: R.E.P. BOX 36

Date	Location	Area a r p	Price £	Value/ square yard £	Value/ acre £	Straight line distance from Cloth Hall miles
1850	King Street	1 1 1	7,000	1.151	5,570.00	0
1850	Kaye Lane	23 3 8	1,680	.016	77.44	1.6
1851	Kirkgate	15	211	.465	2,250.60	0
1851	Bay Hall	38	602	.524	2,536.16	0.8
*1855	Clare Hill	9	450	1.650	7,999.60	0.4
1855	Hillhouse	53 1 22	9,050	.035	169.40	0.9
1855	Deighton	366 0 28	40,308	.023	111.32	2.0
*1855	Bath Bldgs	1 20	1,500	.826	3,997.84	0.4
*1855	Newtown	36	465	.427	2,066.68	0.2
*1855	Newtown	3 24	2,450	.562	2,720.00	0.2
*1855	Newtown	1 34	1,118	.499	2,415.16	0.2
1855	Deadmanstone	32 0 38	3,190	.020	96.80	0.6
1857	Deighton	3 1 15	103	.006	29.04	2.0
1859	Leeds Rd	9 1 7	2,879	.064	309.76	0.6
1859	Lane	5 2 6	3,591	.134	648.56	0.8
1861	Springwood	31 1 6	20,000	.132	638.88	0.3
1863	Bridgend	3 11	1,600	.404	1,955.36	0.6
1864	Tollbar	13	81	.206	997.04	1.5
*1864	Highfield	3 1 0	3,600	.229	1,108.36	0.4
*1865	Newhouse Ln	1 32	1,676	.770	3,728.80	0.4
1866	Kilner Bk	3 34	220	.047	227.48	0.7
1867	Edgerton	11	128	.385	1,863.40	0.8
1867	Berry Brow	2 30	418	.126	609.84	2.0
1867	Cold Hill	15 3 12	1,600	.021	101.64	2.0
1867	Cold Hill	5 0 36	500	.020	96.80	2.0
1867	Hall Bower	6 0 29	1,200	.040	193.60	1.7
1867	Berry Brow	4 3 19	25	.001	4.84	2.0
1868	Newsome Cr	17 0 24	903	.026	125.84	1.3
1868	Leeds Road	7 2 21	2,500	.068	329.12	0.6
1868	Kaye Lane	2 38	320	.090	435.60	1.6
*1869	Newhouse	1 20	3,300	1.818	8,799.12	0.4
1869	Deadmanstone	4 0 0	336	.017	82.28	0.6
1870	Henpickle	3 1 3	817	.052	251.68	1.2
*1870	Clarehill	1 34	2,900	1.296	6,272.64	0.4
1870	Bradley Mill	3	30	.331	1,602.04	1.0
1871	Wood Lane	65 3 4	27,000	.085	411.40	1.6
*1871	Wood Lane	9 1 2	19,000	.424	2,052.16	1.6
1871	Berry Brow	3 2 18	505	.029	140.36	2.0
1871	Trinity St	2	120	1.983	9,597.70	0.2
1872	Marsh	2 2 17	1,134	.090	435.60	0.8
1872	Lane End	13 0 13	1,617	.026	125.84	2.2
1873	Dalton	9 3 14	1,225	.026	125.84	1.8
1873	Spring Gr	6 0 2	5,000	.172	832.48	0.6
1873	Woodside	15 0 4	25,000	.344	1,664.96	2.4
	Fellgreave					

- continued

TABLE 3.8 (continued)

Date	Location	Area a r p	Price £	Value/ square yard £	Value/ acre £	Straight line distance from Cloth Hall miles
1873	Primrose Hill	1 21	500	.091	440.44	0.8
1874	Almondbury	124 2 6	13,000	.022	106.48	2.0
1874	Paddock	1 0 2	3,750	.765	3,902.60	1.2
1874	Quarry Hill	39 1 13	5,725	.030	145.20	2.2
1874	Thorpe Alm	50 3 14	5,250	.021	101.64	2.1
1874	Berry Brow	3 2 18	578	.033	159.72	2.0
1875	Bradley Toll	3	40	.441	2,134.44	2.8
1875	Fartown	5	70	.463	2,240.92	1.2
1875	Bay Hall	2 21	2,800	.916	4,433.44	0.8
1876	Shorehead	21	421	.663	3,208.92	0.2
1876	Almondbury	7 18	250	.142	687.28	2.0
*1876	Bent Cott	30	1,300	1.433	6,935.72	0.4
1876	Broken Cross	5	150	.992	4,801.28	1.5
1876	Moldgreen	10 2 30	14,500	.280	1,355.20	1.0
1877	Newsome	14	500	1.181	5,716.04	1.2
1877	St Andrews Rd	1 2 14	3,210	0.418	2,023.12	0.4
1877	Cowcliffe	13	40	.102	493.68	1.6
1878	Bath Bldgs	2 31	2,000	.596	2,884.64	0.4
1878	Newsome	2 23	1,200	.385	1,863.40	1.2
1878	Hillhouse	1 32	544	.250	1,210.00	0.9
1878	Castle Hill	3 0 26	316	.021	101.64	2.0
1879	Hall Bower	3 35	425	.091	440.44	1.7
1879	Paddock Cl	1 32	227	.104	503.36	1.6
1879	Paddock	3	10	.110	532.40	1.2
1879	Paddock	5	10	.066	319.44	1.2
1879	Fieldhouse	12 3 6	6,643	.107	517.88	1.6
1879	Netheroyd H	5	60	.397	1,921.48	2.4
1880	Dalton	399 1 25	63,650	.033	159.72	1.8
1880	Oakes Hill	14 1 34	1,856	.027	130.68	2.2
1881	Benthomley	21 3 3	2,829	.027	130.68	1.5
1881	Lord St	33	5,000	5.009	24,243.56	0.1
1881	Finthorpe	34 3 9	5,000	.030	145.20	2.6
1883	Bath Bldgs	32	2,000	2.006	9,709.04	0.4
1884	Sheepridge	20 0 0	6,000	.062	300.08	1.7

* Land which includes a large amount of property

made land available for building. The restriction on the supply of land, the character of the demand and the actual mechanics of the market contributed to the perpetuation of this monopoly. The operations of developers and builders thus evolved against the background of an imperfect land market. As the century progressed there were changes in attitudes and circumstances which encouraged the sale of land. Once the building industry had become adapted to a leasehold system of land tenure, it did not respond immediately to any increase in the availability of freehold land. By 1911 a freer market in land was emerging. At the start of the nineteenth century the supply of land was dictated by eighteenth century thinking and the whims of landowners; a hundred years later economic realities had necessitated the development of a freehold land market that supplied land in response to the demands of the building industry. Even so, conditions prevailing at the start of urban growth had a profound effect on the nature of the urban land market that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century. The decisions and actions of landowners must be viewed against the background of a changing freehold land market.

CHAPTER 4

THE RAMSDEN ESTATE

The wealth of information available for the Ramsden Estate makes possible a detailed examination of the factors which influenced the decision to make land available for development and also an analysis of the methods used. The decision-making process will be viewed in the light of the changing role of the Ramsden Estate in the Huddersfield land market.¹

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS 1770-1850

Legal Constraints on Decision-making

The Ramsden Estate in Huddersfield had originally been acquired by William Ramsden, a yeoman clothier, in the sixteenth century. It was subsequently augmented through purchase and judicious marriage by members of the Ramsden family.² In 1770 the enlarged Estate was owned by Sir John Ramsden, the fourth baronet, a minor of 15 years of age, together with a large country seat at Byram near Ferrybridge in Yorkshire. Sir John had inherited the Estate as tenant for life in 1769 and thus was restricted in the action he could take in the disposal of the estate for urban development. Under the terms of the original settlement he could not grant any leases on his coming of age that extended beyond the end of his own life. Effectively this meant he was legally entitled to grant only short term leases of 60 years' duration to any prospective builder on his estate.

To keep the Estate intact Sir John himself also imposed legal sanctions on the actions of his heirs. Two marriage settlements were made, one on the occasion of Sir John's own marriage in 1787

1. Vide Chapter 3.

2. WHOMSLEY, D. (1967). "William Ramsden of Longley, gentleman, 1514-1580". Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 42, 165-8.

and one on the occasion of his son's in 1814. These two settlements ensured the passing of a portion of the estate to Sir John's grandson who was entitled to break the settlement when he came of age. The land to which these settlements were attached came to be known as the 'Settled Estates' and consisted chiefly of agricultural land in the vicinity of Huddersfield and Almondbury. The rest of the Huddersfield Estate was entailed under Sir John's will of 1838 and came to be known as the 'Devised Estates'. Under the terms of the will it was devised to trustees during the life of Sir John's grandson, John William. Thus the 'Devised Estates' were held by the trustees for the use of John William while he lived and then for the use of his male heirs successively.¹

Apart from the general limitations on the disposal of the Estate which such measures imposed, the distinction between the Settled and Devised Estates was to create special problems of estate management during the years immediately after the death of Sir John Ramsden in 1839. When he inherited the Estate, the heir Sir John William Ramsden was only a minor of 7 years and therefore the administration of the estate passed directly into the hands of the trustees. The trustees had no power to grant leases on either of the two estates since under the terms of the will they had been given power only to improve the estate and raise money on the land to this end. Nor did the trustees have any powers to renew existing leases or to sell, to enfranchise or to exchange land until the tenant for life was of full age. Eventually this situation was rectified by an Act of Parliament in 1844.² Under this Act the trustees were given powers to lease land on the Devised Estates

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers, Correspondence Loch to Halthorn 1844 DD/RE/C/11. Mr Tinny's opinion on Huddersfield Leases September 10, 1840. Bundle 10, Box 12, H.P.L.
 2. *ibid.*

for terms of sixty years. Four years later they were given the same powers for the Settled Estates.¹

Financial Circumstances

It was from the Huddersfield Estates that the Ramsden family acquired the greater part of their income. The building of the Cloth Hall and of the Ramsden Canal demonstrates both a willingness and an ability to invest large amounts of capital in estate improvement with a view to future income. It is not clear where the capital was obtained, although no doubt there was some contribution from the rents obtained from the Estate. Usually owners of land whose activities were circumscribed by settlements were obliged to obtain money for estate improvements from independent sources and this may have been the case with Sir John Ramsden.² Sir John's will of 1838 gave the trustees power to spend up to £20,000 on improving the Devised Estates and the Act of 1848 gave them further powers to raise £25,000 for improving the Settled Estates. In both instances the bulk of the money was used to finance substantial land purchases during the 1840s. The proceeds from the sale of land and the canal in 1846 to the railway company were also used to improve the Estate. It provided the bulk of the money required for the laying out of streets in the area around the new railway station.³

This position of underlying financial solvency indicates that the actions taken by the estate managers were rarely restricted

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers, Correspondence Halthorn to Loch 1848 DD/RE/C/41 H.P.L. This was made particularly necessary since the area adjacent to the new railway station was included in the 'Settled Estates'.
 2. The only indication of Sir John Ramsden's financial position is that given in a few pencilled notes at the end of the Rental Books.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Abstracts of Receipts and Expenditure 1845-63, Box 36; Correspondence Halthorn to Loch 1847. DD/RE/C/32 H.P.L.

because of financial considerations. The accounts show that, with the development of the Estate following the rapid growth of population in Huddersfield, expenditure did not exceed income in any year.¹

The Attitude of the Landowner

Despite the important contribution made by the Huddersfield Estate to the finances of the Ramsden family, Sir John Ramsden displayed little interest in either the management of the estate or in Huddersfield. He only visited the town twice during his lifetime of 86 years. The first occasion was in 1800 to settle a dispute about property in Paddock. The second visit was in 1822 to settle a dispute about the style of building to be used for a row of working class houses in Union Row. The houses were to be built by a group of working men who had clubbed together to raise the money for their erection. The style advocated by the agent was said by the men to be too expensive. Sir John resolved the issue by acceding to the men's demands. With these two exceptions, as long as his interests were not completely undermined and the income from rents continued to increase, Sir John was content to leave the management of the estate entirely in the hands of stewards.²

The Trustees in whose hands the Devised Estates were placed in 1839 were obliged by the terms of the will to show a greater interest in their fate.³ The problem posed by the prevention of leases and the possible advent of a railway to Huddersfield gave them an added incentive. Moreover the chief trustees involved, Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Zetland, both had large urban estates of their own and as

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1. Extract of Receipts and Expenditure op cit.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Loch's Notebook on his visit to Huddersfield May 26-30 1844. Box 24; Miscellaneous bundle of exhibits associated with the tenant-right case, Box 12, H.P.L.
 3. Under the terms of the will they were required to protect the interests of the estate against impediment of waste.

a result took a personal interest in the affairs of the Ramsden Estate.¹ Their closer scrutiny of the affairs of the Estate when attempting to maximise benefits from railway developments led to an increased concern for the overall management of the estate, with the result that fundamental administrative changes were made in due course.

Administration

It has been suggested that the policies and practices on large estates tended to resemble those of a public administrative body.² In public administration there is usually a strong relationship between the administrative structure of an organisation and its objectives. The greater the degree of control required the more likely it is that the administrative structure of the organisation will be formal, with each individual having a well-defined task and degree of responsibility.³ Thus changes in the attitude and objectives of an owner of land were likely to be followed by changes in the administrative structure. The ability of any estate to call on resources and skills was limited by the financial circumstances of the estate and the knowledge and contacts of the landowner. Landowners and stewards of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had considerably greater knowledge about the management of agricultural land than the management of urban development.⁴ But once urbanisation had become established they were able to benefit by their experience of the early development of their estates and

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1. They were brothers of Isabella Ramsden, Sir John William's mother - Lord Fitzwilliam owned land in Sheffield and Lord Zetland owned land in Workington.
 2. OLSEN, D. (1963). Town Planning in London.
 3. KAST, F. E. and ROSENWEIG, J. E. (1972). "Organisation Structure", Beishon, J. and Peters, G. Systems Behaviour, 247-269.
 4. SPRING, D. (1963). The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: its administration.

In Lindley the structure of landownership was dominated by Thomas Thornhill, the Lord of the Manor. Three enclosures took place. The first, in 1798, affected the open fields in Lindley. The awards of 1812 and 1817 were concerned with wastes and commons. The relative lateness of these awards would seem to indicate a reluctance on the part of the Lord of the Manor to come to terms with modern developments.¹ In 1798 only 12 people received reallocations of land. In 1817 41 people were involved but the dominance of Thomas Thornhill in the pattern of landownership was thereby confirmed. (Table 3.3)

If Lindley experienced the most revolutionary changes in the landscape as a result of enclosure, Dalton underwent the least. Its enclosure dealt merely with oddments, small parcels of commons along roads. Again the structure of landownership revealed a distribution skewed in favour of the larger landowner. (Table 3.4)

TABLE 3.4

Distribution of Land to Landowners:
Dalton Enclosure 1811

<u>Size of Estate</u>	<u>Landowners</u>		a	<u>Area occupied</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>		r	p	<u>Percentage</u>
Under one acre	8	50%	3	1	10	2.17%
1-5 acres	4	25%	5	2	27	3.71%
5-10 acres	2	12½%	15	0	29	9.92%
10-25 acres	0	0	0			0
25 and under 100	2	12½%	128	3	3	84.20%

Enclosure did not change the distribution of land; it merely confirmed the existing pattern. Whatever the stated purposes of enclosure², it was a necessary preliminary to land development. By placing land under private ownership it could make this land more

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1. An opinion which is supported by evidence that the award was sought only as a result of strong pressure from inhabitants of Lindley. Thornhill Estate Papers C/T/81. H.P.L.
 2. The enclosure in Huddersfield was for the purpose of reorganising the farms in the area, particularly on the Ramsden Estate. This took place in 1797.

this system were considerable, Mr Bower attempted to do no more than was possible for him to execute, had he confined himself to the general control and superintendence leaving details to an active local agent, he might have managed, but it was not in his power to give attention to details which they deserved while at the same time the attention as he could give them were calculated to interfere with his judging correctly as to the general course followed."¹

This general inefficiency resulted in a considerable amount of corruption and connivance, particularly on the part of Joseph Brook.² People frequently erected buildings on the Ramsden land without asking permission, and many who did so were not subsequently held liable for arrears. When the trustees took over management in 1839 a number of the names of tenants were not entered in the estate rentals.

The trustees appointed George Loch as steward of the estate in place of John Bower. Loch had been sub-agent to his father, James Loch, who had been involved in the affairs of the Duke of Bridgewater, the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Carlisle.³ His appointment was urged by Mrs Isabella Ramsden who had previously engaged Loch to administer matters concerning opposition to a Bill which proposed laying a railway across the Byram Estate.⁴ Concerning the Trustees' affairs she wrote to her brother Lord Fitzwilliam:

"I wish to have George Loch appointed to manage them and the affair of the Act of Parliament. We have found his business-like proceeding supported by Lord Cottenham quite invaluable in bringing matters to a satisfactory conclusion ... So Lord Zetland, Charles Ramsden and myself wish you to concur in appointing him. He felt very great delicacy in doing anything

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. George Loch's Report on the Huddersfield Estates 1844. H.P.L.
 2. For example - a prospective tenant would first have to treat Joseph Brook to a drink in his public house, the Star Inn, before any application was favourably received.
 3. MATHER, F. E. (1970). After the Canal Duke: A Study of the Industrial Estates administered by the Trustees of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater in the Age of Railway Building 1825-52 (Oxford).
 4. WHOMSLEY, D. (1974), "A Landed Estate and the Railway, Huddersfield, 1844-1854." Journal of Transport History, 189-213.

in the way of management while concurrence was wanting ... The loose way in which of late years the Huddersfield business has been managed is in Tom's view quite unsuitable to Trust affairs, so much so that if they were to continue to be conducted or rather left in haphazard, he would have nothing to do with it."¹

Loch's correspondence shows him to have been extremely efficient and a hard taskmaster.² On his advice major changes were made in the administrative structure of the Estate. He maintained that:

"In the management of all considerable affairs, it is useful to keep the arrangement of local details in separate hands from those to which the general supervision should be entrusted."³

Accordingly, a full-time local agent, Alexander Halthorn, was appointed and he was to be assisted by a full-time surveyor, Thomas Brook. Halthorn and Brook were expected to devote themselves exclusively to estate affairs.⁴ The activities of the local agents were closely monitored. Thomas Brook was instructed to send weekly reports of his activities to Loch, and Halthorn wrote daily letters to Loch on estate matters. George Loch retained overall control of management but the final word in policymaking lay with Lord Fitzwilliam, who consulted Mrs Ramsden and the other Trustees.⁵

When a plot of land was requested it was surveyed by Brook and a plan prepared for the approval of the Steward, Loch. After approval was obtained the land was staked out and the applicant built the specified building. Subsequently a lease was drawn up

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Letter Isabella Ramsden to Lord Fitzwilliam July 1841. DD/RE/4/1.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence DD/RE/C/1-104 and DD/RE/C/4. H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Rough Draft of Report to Ramsden Trustees June 1, 1844. George Loch. Box 24.
 4. Indeed Thomas Brook was severely reprimanded by Loch for buying land at the sale of an adjacent Estate.
 5. Ramsden Estate Papers, DD/RE/C/6. H.P.L.

and signed by Loch. Loch made all the decisions concerning the location of new roads, the type of buildings that were to be allowed and the rents to be charged. It was the task of the local agents to be constantly vigilant over the progress of building to ensure that the general plan laid down by Loch was being put into practice. A system of registration and recording of leases and tenancies at will¹ was devised to aid the decision-making process. Printed forms were introduced and books of reference and registers of leases kept. An estate survey was commissioned and the plots as they were developed were marked on the accompanying map by lease number. In addition an architect was employed to produce a large-scale isometrical drawing of Huddersfield.

Thus, backed by an efficient supporting clerical system and with the aid of such reference tools as a map, Loch could devise an overall strategy and in the light of this strategy could decide whether to accept or reject any application for land.

Urban Land Policy 1770-1850

The first recorded lease was that granted in 1780 to John Hirst, a cordwainer, for 261 square yards in New Street; it was for 60 years at a rent of £2 per annum. The majority of leases that were subsequently granted by the Estate were renewable after 20 years or 40 years. The first renewable lease was that granted to John Holt in 1762; this was for 60 years renewable on payment of a certain fine and at a rent of £5. 5s per annum 'in consideration of the expense he had incurred in building a house'.³

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1. Vide infra. Tenancy at will was the other means by which land was made available for building on the Ramsden Estate.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn 1848, DD/RE/C/48.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Miscellaneous bundle of old leases, Box 12 H.P.L.. Also referred to in Case filed in Chancery June 6, 1862 between Joseph Thornton and Lee Dyson, plaintiffs and Sir John William Ramsden. H.P.L.

Various covenants were included in this renewable lease. Thus the lessee was to take out an insurance premium, he was to perform suit (i.e. attend) at the Court Baron of the Manor of Huddersfield and he was required to grind his corn at the Lord's Mill. Such covenants indicate the nature of the former landlord-tenant relationships on agricultural land in Huddersfield but in their perpetuation of traditional obligations they also record the novelty of the building lease. The granting of building leases was a response, within the terms of the existing legal settlement, to the desire on the part of tenants to invest their capital in property. Understandably tenants were not prepared to do this without some form of legal security. Thus, although the wishes of the tenants and the demands of the building industry were met, it was on terms acceptable to the Estate Managers. With commendable foresight clauses were included in the leases to allow Sir John to acquire any building already erected should street improvements subsequently prove necessary. In such cases the value of the building and the compensation payable was to be fixed by arbitration.

Land was also taken for development on tenancy at will. No written agreement or lease was involved. An individual would build his property and then surrender it up to the landowner; he thus became a tenant at will of the landowner from year to year at a nominal rent in the full knowledge that he could be given notice to quit at any time. This system of tenure was usually associated with agricultural land and had emerged following the commutation of services to money rents during the medieval period.¹ Tenancy at

1. SIMPSON, A. W. B. (1961). An Introduction to the History of Land Law, 148-151.

will was similar to copyhold. In the case of the latter the copyholder's right to the land was registered in the Court Rolls. The copyholder, however, was at a considerable advantage over the common law tenant at will because he was tenant by the will of the Manorial Court whereas the ordinary tenant at will had no certain or sure estate because the 'lessor' could remove him at any time he pleased.¹ It is not clear why or when such a system was adopted in Huddersfield for letting land for building. It was not only used on the Ramsden Estate but also used on the Kaye Estate in Dalton which was also unable to let land on long term building leases.² Certainly Brook and Bower did their best to promote this kind of development, inculcating a feeling amongst the tenants that they were unlikely to be disturbed. Both Brook and Bower were property developers and had vested interests in obtaining land as cheaply as possible. In the event few tenants were ever evicted at the will of the landowner. Thus the system became accepted as a customary tenure and money for house-building was advanced simply on the strength of the inclusion of a tenant's name in the Estate rental book. A great deal of the building which took place in Huddersfield in the first half of the nineteenth century was built on this tenure. Most tenants appear to have viewed tenancy at will as a cut-price perpetual lease for which there was no renewal fine to pay.³

By the time the Trustees became responsible for the Estate, the system of tenancy at will had become so well-established that they were unwilling to disturb it lest they should undermine the

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1. SIMPSON op cit 152, 157. ADKIN, B. W. (1907) Copyhold and Other Tenures of England, 63.
 2. There were also buildings on tenancies at will on the Duke of Devonshire's Estate in Dungarvan, Ireland.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch 1846 DD/RE/C/20, H.P.L.

confidence which the inhabitants of Huddersfield had in the Estate management. Indeed when negotiating with the railway company the Trustees insisted that the tenants at will holding land on the route to be followed by the railway should be given leases so that they might receive the same compensation as leasehold tenants. They were also offered alternative sites on the estate.¹ Although the legal position of tenants at will was in doubt, Loch's only other action was to create a more formal approach than hitherto had been followed with respect to 'at will' applications. He insisted that each prospective tenant should apply for land in a manner similar to that adopted by applicants for leases. Accordingly a plan would be drawn up for approval by the tenant and the agreement would be signed.²

Between 1844 and 1850 the estate management gradually assumed a stronger role with a view to controlling development on the estate. Since the demand for building land was increasing in this period, the management was in a position to dictate terms. Although the Trustees were concerned primarily with obtaining the best possible return from the land, building was strictly supervised. Indeed Loch urged that Halthorn should display no eagerness over the letting of land. Instead he should merely state the rent at which it would be let and give no reason.³ By such action it was hoped to discourage tenants from demanding lower rents. For their part, prospective tenants preferred to make their deals in private and directly with the landowner on a person to person basis. When the decision had been taken to lay out the area around the station for commercial development, the Estate attempted to auction the lots.

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch June 1846. DD/RE/C/24.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Exhibits associated with tenant-right case, Box 12, H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn

Unfortunately, however, there were no bidders and the Estate was thus forced to revert to the old system of letting land.¹

Usually it was possible to steer a middle course between the desire to control development and the need to preserve a feeling of confidence which would encourage building in general. In their actions the managers attempted to direct demand broadly in accordance with their plans so that account was taken of issues wider than the wishes of individuals. In addition the Estate Managers saw their role as one of facilitating the provision of public amenities such as churches, schools and parks not only to satisfy growing needs but also with a view to stimulating the demand for development land. Thus land was made available in Marsh at a peppercorn rent for the erection of a school. And in 1850 Halthorn suggested that the recently-acquired Gledholt Estate be set aside as a park so as to encourage the erection of villas on adjacent land.²

Initially the most positive measures taken to direct expansion to specific areas were confined to the clearing of land and the staking out of plots and streets as demand dictated. In time, however, it was decided that some encouragement should be given to the first tenants to build in an area by the provision of roads.

Thus:

"people are very shy at building in a situation having no road to their premises when ready for habitation ... the opening up and formation of new streets on the part of the Trustees may be looked upon as a private speculation with the object of improving and increasing the value of the Estate."³

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch August 1846. DD/RE/C/27.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch September 1850. DD/RE/C/76.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn December 1848. DD/RE/C/55.

Builders were not allowed to build where they liked. An application to build a warehouse near New North Road was rejected because it was the opinion of Loch that this sector of the town was likely to improve considerably in the future. Thus a smoke nuisance could not be permitted and the applicant was directed to more suitable land near the canal.¹ The Estate managers were also hesitant about leasing land to large builders. Consent was reluctantly given when an application was made for a plot of 4000 square yards for the construction of workmen's cottages in Spring Street. Lord Fitzwilliam in particular was opposed to the granting of leases for large plots of land. In Sheffield such practice had led to the erection of substandard housing by so-called 'jerry builders' and had contributed to a great deal of speculation in such leases by 'land jobbers'.²

In the supervision of building quality a compromise had to be made between the ideal of high quality building and the all too common reality of slip-shod workmanship - the one was so expensive as to deter the builder and the other was contrary to Estate principles. It was through the regulation of individual leases that quality was maintained. Each application was dealt with on its own merits. Loch, however, was continually reminding Halthorn of the need to abide by the plan and to levy the land rents actually agreed for different parts of the estate.³ By 1850 two general principles had been established. Firstly that there should be no provision for cellar dwellings in any building, and secondly that back-to-back house building should be discouraged.⁴

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch July 1846. DD/RE/C/26.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch March 1852. DD/RE/C/94.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn June 1845. DD/RE/C/13.
 4. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn March 12, 1853. DD/RE/C/104.

These two principles with respect to building type were a product of the Estate managers' evolving attitude towards provisions for health and sanitation. Under the management of Bower little had been done to control land use in this respect nor to provide adequate sewers. The Trustees on the other hand ensured that no main street should be built without a main sewer. By the terms of the separate leases they also insisted that any new courts built should be well-paved and drained and also that the houses within the courts should be well-ventilated. Such measures, however, did little to solve housing problems which had arisen because of inadequate controls in earlier periods.¹ Nevertheless the managers both by precept and by example did encourage property owners to rectify adverse conditions. Brook conducted a survey of the sanitary condition of Berry Brow in 1849. Little notice had previously been taken of the problems of Berry Brow because it did not come under the jurisdiction of the 1848 Improvement Act. There, not only were sewerage facilities inadequate, but the property was in poor condition. This was attributed to the way the land had been developed in the early nineteenth century. Pig sties and privies had subsequently been built in front of the houses. The houses themselves had been built in such a way that the exits for the drains running from the higher cottages were in the floors of those lower down the hill.² With respect to building generally on the Estate Halthorn wrote to Loch in 1845:

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch January 1849. DD/RE/C/56.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Brook to Loch. Report on the Sanitary Condition of Berry Brow September 1849. DD/RE/C/64.

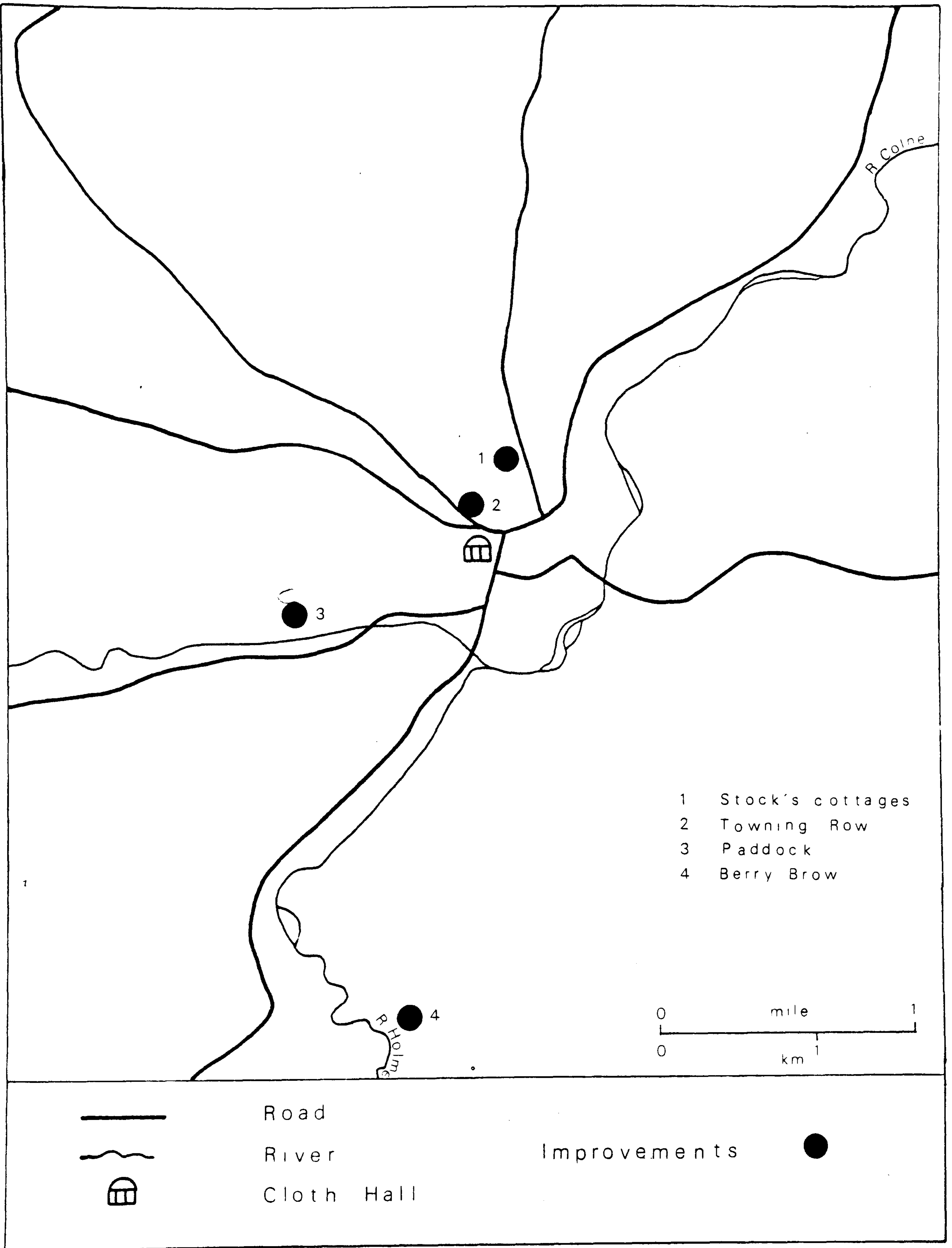


Figure 4.1 Location of Improvements undertaken by the Ramsden Estate 1845 - 1850

"The proprietors of houses here are singularly indifferent, arising no doubt from the importance of a better system of drainage never having passing upon their attention and from them being permitted to please themselves as to the manner and extent of draining their premises."¹

Since it was impracticable to remove the houses themselves, the managers attempted to organise the removal of the pig sties and privies and their rebuilding on more appropriate sites. Unfortunately, however, although there was general agreement amongst cottage occupants and their landlords that this should be done, they maintained that neither had sufficient money. To obviate this problem the Estate made some contribution towards the costs involved in effecting such improvements.² To demonstrate the possibilities, the cottage property owned by the Estate in Huddersfield and Berry Brow was improved and additional privies were provided. (Figure 4.1) Thus four privies at Stock's cottages were replaced by two groups of seven privies built to a design suggested by the cashier of the Ramsden Estate, Isaac Horder.³ Care had to be taken to ensure that although the tenant should be made more conscious of the need for sanitation, they were not at the same time driven away. Thus

"Innovation for future comfort and ultimate good should be conducted in a kindly and conciliatory yet firm spirit, too much authoriativeness will get a spirit of resistance unfavourable to the perfect carrying out of objectives."⁴

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch October 1845. DD/RE/C/17.
 2. This had also been done in Towing Row in Huddersfield Town Centre in 1845. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch. DD/RE/C/29.
 3. A copy of this design appears in the correspondence of September 1849. At least one privy of this design was built. Until 1977 one of similar design existed in Kirk's Place off Trinity Street, Huddersfield.
 4. Ramsden Estate Papers. Halthorn to Loch October 1845. DD/RE/C/17. H.P.L.

The manager's task was made easier after an outbreak of cholera in Paddock in 1849. Yet the co-operation of the tenants quickly evaporated as the disease receded and they were soon 'lulled into their former apathy and lamentable indifference'.¹

Conclusion

The period 1780-1850 was one of rapid growth in Huddersfield and the strategic location of the Ramsden Estate placed its owner and managers in a strong position both to benefit financially and to play some part in directing urban growth. Initially, however, because of the landowner's indifference to his Estate and inefficient management little use was made of these opportunities. The level of demand for building land was such that the landowner would have been in a strong bargaining position throughout the period and thus able to impose his wishes on prospective tenants. But it was not until changes in ownership and management of the Estate took place in the 1840s that a trend towards closer supervision of new building was initiated. The changes in decision agent characteristics that took place therefore were a major factor in the changing nature and the outcome of the decision-making process in land development.

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS 1850-1911

In 1853, Sir John William Ramsden came of age and became the decision maker for the land he owned.² In the same year he was elected M.P. for Taunton so that he did not immediately play a major part in estate management. Instead he placed the affairs

1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch November 1849. DD/RE/C/65.
2. The Trustees continued to have a monetary interest in the Estate as Sir John William Ramsden was only a tenant for life. Sir John William nevertheless considered himself to be the chief decision maker.

of his Estate in the hands of a London solicitor, a Mr Nelson. George Loch resigned and subsequently Halthorn referred all matters concerning the Estate to Nelson. Much of the correspondence for 1853-1858 is lost however, and thus recourse must be made to references in documents of a later period in order to assess the extent and nature of Nelson's jurisdiction.¹ The impression gained from these documents and from subsequent events suggests that Nelson was largely insensitive to the needs and problems of the tenants of the Estate. Loch, in a long letter to Sir John William on his 21st birthday, had pointed out how the firm confidence reposed by the people of Huddersfield in the Ramsden Estate was an important factor in its development.² Unfortunately, however, those of Nelson's letters that have survived betray his very aloof approach to Estate affairs, an approach which tended to undermine confidence in the Ramsden family.

Not surprisingly, therefore, in 1859 Sir John William decided to relieve Mr Nelson of his duties and to undertake a greater role for himself in the management of his Estate. The motivation for this change in attitude is illustrated in a letter he wrote to Nelson in 1859:

"During my recent stay at Huddersfield I became painfully conscious of the manner in which I hitherto neglected my duties there and of the injurious extent to which it had reacted on my own character and interests.

As absentee I was very ignorant of my own property and as a very ignorant and careless proprietor I had delegated to you a vast amount of business which ought properly to have been discharged to myself, and so far from saving myself trouble by this, my want of knowledge had led to a dependence on you which necessitated protracted interviews which seriously interfered with my other duties ...

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1. Chiefly, Case filed Thornton v Ramsden op cit, 1862.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Letter Loch to Sir John William Ramsden July 1853. DD/RE/C/109.

Many circumstances brought this forcibly to my mind at Huddersfield and showed that I had relied too exclusively on my agents instead of acting for myself. I determined therefore to adopt an entirely new course, to take the management of my own affairs as in duty bound, into my own hands and in all local matters to carry on ordinary business by direct instruction to Mr Halthorn as my resident and local agent and referring to you for advice and assistance on more special and important matters properly falling under your functions and out of which you would never have been dragged but for my own want of activity in the performance of my own duties ... my intention is to dispense as much as possible with the intervention of agents and cultivating a more direct personal intercourse on all business matters with the town of Huddersfield."¹

Thus, from 1859 Sir John William took a more active role in Estate development by becoming the major decision maker, visiting Huddersfield regularly and participating in local activities. He undertook many of the tasks that George Loch had performed in the 1840s, viz determining the areas which were to be opened for development, what form leases should take and the type and character of the building. After 1880 the more detailed work in relation to individual leases reverted to the local agent and Sir John William's concern focussed on main policy decisions. Nevertheless, up until 1910 he continued to take an active interest in the development of the Estate.²

Administration

The administrative structure established by Loch in the 1840s remained unchanged throughout this period. After the retirement of Halthorn in 1861 three local agents succeeded each other. Mr Noble was local agent from 1861 to 1863. Major Graham was agent from 1863 to 1885 and Col. Beadon was agent for the rest of the period. All had previous experience in managing large Estates. Only rarely were outside experts consulted and then only at the

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Sir John William Ramsden to Mr Nelson November 6, 1859. Box 28, H.P.L.
 2. In 1910 the management of the Estate was undertaken by his son, Mr John Frecheville Ramsden.

instigation of Sir John William.

After the incorporation of Huddersfield in 1868, the interests of the Corporation, particularly with regard to matters of urban expansion, increasingly impinged on those of the Ramsden Estate. Confrontation often occurred when the Corporation acquired land by means of newly acquired powers of compulsory purchase.¹ Such powers of compulsory purchase were a direct threat to the hitherto unchallenged rights of private landowners. Occasionally the Estate and the Corporation would work together towards an agreed end.² In either case the continual dialogue necessary between Estate management and the Council was an additional dimension in the administrative tasks of the Estate managers.

Finance

As before, any financing of the Estate's development had to be met either from the rental income or by mortgaging the assets of the Estate. In seeking long term rather than short term profits, the Estate required large amounts of working capital which would not yield an immediate return as an investment. Most of this capital would be used in opening up land for development by the formation of roads or the purchase of more land. As has been shown, the Estate chose to pursue a policy of territorial expansion by the acquisition of land in order to reduce competition; by the end of the nineteenth century a large proportion of the Estate was mortgaged to individuals and to insurance companies. Thus a considerable amount of rental income was siphoned off to pay the interest on the loans.³ (Table 4.1)

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1. In 1889 the Corporation told Sir John William to complete Claremont Street. In retaliation Sir John erected "private" notices at the end of the street and prevented all but residents from using it. DD/RA/21/7.
 2. For instance to redevelop the Westgate-Kirkgate area 1876. Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 27, H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Miscellaneous Documents deposited 1973 including Mortgage Co Indentures, Notices by London Assurance Co and notes on property mortgaged. Box 18. Also RA/GED/2. Abstract of Net Rentals, Box 70, H.P.L.

TABLE 4.1

Mortgages charged on the Estate in 1890

Source: RA/GED 2, H.P.L.

<u>Mortgagor</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Sarah Martha Grove Grady	£35,000
J. Wm. Rhodes	20,000
Bery Hemsworth	10,000
Thomas Brooke	20,000
Ellen Walker	5,000
Trustees of Ramsden Estate	10,075
Prudential Assurance Co	135,000
	100,000
	539,000
London Assurance Co	30,000
Unspecified	75,000
	30,000
	<hr/>
Total	£1,009,075

Net Rental 1890 = £58,910 19s 11d

Usually mortgages were charged at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$
per annum

∴ the total interest payable in
1890 was £35,317 12s 6d

The strains were already apparent in 1873; thus when referring to the purchase of the Thorpe Estate in Almondbury, Sir John William commented that the debts that he had recently been incurring in the purchase of land made him more reluctant to acquire the Thorpe Estate than he would otherwise have been.¹ The true extent of the problem was revealed in 1885 when an Act of Parliament was sought giving powers to raise up to £100,000. This money was needed mainly to pay debts incurred on street improvement and construction.²

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William Ramsden to Major Graham 1873. DD/RA/36/4.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Notes on Ramsden Estate Act 1885. Box 24, H.P.L.

Usually streetage charges were expected to repay the initial outlay.¹ Thus the sum of £4,389 expended on Firth Street, Aspley Street, Queen Street South, Stables Street and Colne Road in 1861 was reimbursed from charges made on the builders of the factories that subsequently lined the streets.² If, however, as often became the case, a street in whole or part remained devoid of buildings for several years, problems were bound to arise. The most serious problems involved expenditure incurred in making St Andrew's Road. In addition to the cost of making the road, a freehold had to be purchased at a cost of £3,200 to complete the project. The total expenditure amounted to £11,163. The Estate expected to be reimbursed from streetage charges on any new building and by receiving some contribution towards the cost from the Corporation.³ Although the Corporation agreed to make such a payment for St Andrew's Road within five years, the obligation was never fulfilled. Thus when the Corporation requested the building of St Thomas's Road for the relief of traffic congestion, they were asked by the Estate owner to lease a large part of the land along the road themselves so as to obviate any problems posed by such failure to fulfil obligations.⁴

By the end of the nineteenth century Sir John William was complaining that he had to draw on his own independent income in order to reduce mortgages on the estate.⁵ In default of adequate

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1. Streetage was an additional sum charged by the landowner to the builder/lessee for the formation of a street adjacent to property built.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Receipts and Expenditure 1845-1863. Box 36, H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence between Mr Graham and Sir John William 1875. DD/RA/27/7.
 4. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence between Col Beadon and Sir John William 1885. DD/RA/20/10.
 5. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William to Col Beadon 1894. DD/RA/14/5.

documentation little is known about the nature and extent of Sir John William's income from other sources.¹ Cannadine has recently shown that most landowners were suffering from the consequences of similar debts in the nineteenth century. The greater and more diverse the sources of income of a landowner, the more likely he was to survive into the twentieth century.² The apparent dependence of the Ramsden family on their Huddersfield Estates for income suggests that the management had less room for manoeuvre. They were unable to diversify their assets, as other landowners did, through the sale of land for the purchase of stocks. Despite an increase in rental from £121. 0s 7d in 1771 to £63,797 19s 8d in 1907,³ ownership of their Huddersfield lands by the Ramsden family survived only for the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1920 the Estate was sold to Huddersfield Corporation for £1,350,000.⁴

Estate Policy towards Land Development

Building Land Tenure

As Loch had indicated to Sir John William, the continuance of building on the Ramsden Estate was dependent on the confidence shown by the inhabitants of Huddersfield in the system of tenure on which they could take land for development. Thus the tenancies at will had been tolerated by the Estate managers, albeit reluctantly. When Nelson took over management of the Estate he instituted measures aimed at the abolition of such tenancies. From 1854

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1. Details of Income and Expenditure only exist for period 1845-63.
 2. CANNADINE, D. (1977). "Aristocratic Indebtness in the Nineteenth Century: the Case Reopened" Economic History Review 30, 624-650.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Rental Book 1771 and Abstract of Net Rentals 1908, Box 70.
 4. The Dawson File, H.P.L.

prospective tenants were only permitted to build at a fixed rent in accordance with the value of the plot as building land. In 1855 a test case was brought against a man called Swift who had been served notice to quit for default of payment of rent. During the court case the degree of security enjoyed by tenants at will was called into question. Subsequently in 1855 it was decided to discontinue entirely the practice of letting land except on leases, and that no transactions as to sale or transfer involving tenancies at will were to be allowed. Finally, in 1859 under the terms of the Ramsden Estate Leasing Act, it was proposed to grant 99-year leases to the existing tenants at will and to all subsequent builders. Thereafter notices to quit were issued to all the tenants at will who did not apply for the necessary 99-year lease.¹

Given the desire of the Estate managers to exercise greater control over its land, it was probably inevitable that the tenancies at will would be abolished. The resentment engendered by their action must be attributed in part to Nelson's lack of sensitivity in handling the matter.² In the nineteenth century when paternalism was acceptable the blow could have been softened if Sir John himself had given a personal explanation. Several tenants led by Joseph Thornton, a mill manager, and encouraged by local solicitors, challenged Ramsden's powers by refusing to apply for a lease. This challenge led to a court case which finally reached the House of Lords in 1862. In their evidence to the House of Lords the plaintiffs claimed that the system was one of tenant

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1. Case filed Thornton v Ramsden op cit; also Exhibits associated with tenant-right case. Papers received from Mr Nelson 1874, Box 12, H.P.L.
 2. Such lack of sensitivity was remarked on by Isaac Hordern, cashier to the Estate in his Notebook and Notes 1846-1911. Ramsden Estate Papers, Box 5, H.P.L.

right and that they were therefore entitled to compensation. Nevertheless in the event the verdict was that the tenants had no such rights, and thus the case was won by Sir John William.¹

Despite this successful outcome, the damage done by this House of Lords Inquiry to the Estate's credibility was serious. The effect was to compound the developing slump in the building industry. For the four years between 1858 and 1862 no one was willing to build on the Ramsden Estate because of the uncertainty created about all leases by this Inquiry. Moreover, the new 99-year leases compared unfavourably with those issued on adjacent Estates. As a result, what building there was in Huddersfield tended to occur on adjacent rather than on Ramsden land. So serious were the problems generated by this lack of development on the Ramsden Estate that Sir John William was forced in 1867 to seek further powers in a private Act of Parliament to enable him to let land on 999-year leases.² These long term leases subsequently became the standard tenure for new building on the Ramsden Estate.

Promoting Land Development

Because of the problems encountered in letting land during and after the House of Lords case, the decision was made to attempt active land promotion. This was tantamount to speculation, an activity to which Sir John William was in general opposed. The essence of the scheme was that architects and builders should be employed by the Estate to build villas and houses which would be sold and that the land on which these residences stood was to be leased, directly by Sir John, to potential purchasers.

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1. Case filed Thornton v Ramsden 1862 op cit.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Mr Beasley's Report on the Huddersfield Estates 1866-1867, Box 24, H.P.L.

The main part of the scheme was entrusted to a Mr Habenshon, a London architect. He in turn instructed a number of builders, among them William Cubitt, to study the project.¹ Habenshon himself visited Huddersfield and assessed the possibilities for the development of various areas. Three main areas were selected for this scheme. There were sites for seven villas in New North Road and Greenhead Road, while plots in South Street, Spring Grove St, Prospect Street and Grove Street were chosen for houses of a lower quality. Habenshon also investigated the possibility of building a further extension of Fitzwilliam Street. On his assessment three types of building were required in Huddersfield - villas, houses of a value £20-30 per annum, and smaller houses suitable for railway porters and superior mechanics. Habenshon maintained that the last of these types was the most profitable, both in terms of ground rent and because the builders were more eager to build these smaller houses. He provided a variety of sketches of each type to illustrate the kinds of dwelling he envisaged.² In order to reduce the expense for the estate, the only land chosen was that adjacent to existing roads. The actual letting of the land was to be undertaken by the regular agents in accordance with the usual practice of receiving a proposed plan and preparing a lease. Once the builder had spent 40% of the cost, Sir John would provide, by instalments, an advance amounting to a further 50% of the cost.³ Habenshon advocated a policy of maximum publicity. In accordance

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1. Son of the master builder of London, Thomas Cubbitt, who built a large number of good quality middle class houses.
HOBHOUSE, H, (1971) Thomas Cubbitt, master builder.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence between Habenshon and Sir John William Ramsden 1861-63. DD/RA/20/10; DD/RA/9/3; DD/RA/28/3; DD/RA/41/1; DD/RA/37/3.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Draft of letter to be sent to Habenshon, comments by Sir John William Ramsden 1861. DD/RA/41/1.

with this, a letter was circulated to London builders inviting them to undertake building in Huddersfield. Habenshon felt that once such builders started projects, other builders would follow suit. He considered that a combination of full-scale architectural management and secure finance would attract a greater response from the building profession than hitherto.¹ As part of this scheme the parsonage of St John's Church was built to illustrate how a model villa of 'gothic style' could be built at minimal costs and also to show how attractive such a villa would be as an investment.

Within two years of the introduction of the first scheme, houses were being built in the areas selected by Habenshon. The most successful schemes were those in Spring Grove Street. The success of the scheme encouraged Sir John to commission Habenshon to undertake a survey of an additional 20 acres with a view to developing Greenwood and Springwood Parks and land to the west of New North Road. Habenshon declared his intention of creating villas 'in harmony with the landscape making best use of vistas and slopes.'²

The response of builders to this later project was mixed, since only 99-year leases were granted. Thus prospective builders sought sites on the Thornhill Estate in Edgerton where 999-year leases were available. By 1863 Edgerton had already been established as an area of high status in the town. By the time 999-year leases were granted on the Ramsden Estate in 1867 this part of the market had already been lost. In due course the entire project

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence between Sir John William Ramsden and Mr Habenshon 1862. DD/RA/28/2, H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Habenshon to Sir John William Ramsden 1862. DD/RA/9/3, H.P.L.

was abandoned because it was proving too expensive.

The promotion of land development elsewhere on the Estate in later periods was confined to the provision of roads in developing areas. In the centre of Huddersfield where the demand for land was highest, other measures were used to guide development. Because these measures were in concert with market forces they proved more successful. Thus, it was decided to build the wholesale and retail markets at opposite ends of Byram Street since the segregation of the two would generate traffic and stimulate further commercial development of the street.¹

Some redevelopment was also attempted. In 1876 the Ramsden Estate, in co-operation with the Corporation, undertook a comprehensive remodelling of the Kirkgate-Castlegate area. Situated on the fringe of the commercial centre of Huddersfield this area exhibited all the features identified in urban models as being characteristic of the zone of transition.² The incentive for redevelopment was the prospect of improved rents from any new commercial buildings. The actual cost of the redevelopment and the rentals obtained in later years were as follows:

TABLE 4.2³

Compensation to leaseholders and law expenses	£46,680 16s 0d
Cost of building	£48,146 12s 6d
Net Rental 1919 (gross less outgoings averaged over three years)	£1,371 0s 3d

1. This idea was originally advocated by Hordern while he was standing in for the local agent. Letter Hordern to Sir John William Ramsden 1885. DD/RA/22/7.
2. GRIFFIN, D. W. and PRESTON, R. E. (1966) "A restatement of the transition zone concept." AAAG, 56. 339-350.
3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Miscellaneous documents relating to Finance. Box 18, H.P.L.

The return on the original capital was therefore only 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ % per annum whereas a return of 15-20% had been expected.¹ Once again this demonstrates that with regard to long term and short term profits alike Estate development projects on the Ramsden Estate were unsuccessful.

Control of Building

The Estate management continued the policy established under Loch's administration of detailed perusal of plans and applications for leases and subsequently the supervision of building. The leases contained wide-ranging restrictive covenants which, for example, specified the building materials to be used and the use of the building when completed. The covenants provided adequate scope for the Estate managers to exercise detailed control. Noxious uses were only allowed in cases where a licence had been obtained from Sir John William. Thus Sir John William Ramsden was closely involved in decisions about the location of industry so as to ensure that industrial development did not prejudice the future extension of the Estate. Even then approval was usually only given with reluctance since Sir John was of the opinion that the rents received from factories such as chemical works were more than outweighed by the depreciation in the value of the surrounding land.² Nevertheless in a manufacturing town like Huddersfield, noxious trades had to be housed somewhere. Thus every effort was made to confine chemical factories to the extremities of the Estate. Occasionally

1. Correspondence Mr Graham to Sir John William Ramsden 1878. DD/RA/26/4.

2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William Ramsden to Graham 1872. DD/RA/26/2.

even purchases were made of parts of rival Estates so as to prevent the establishment of chemical factories near the centre of the town.¹

Sir John William also vigorously pursued a policy of prohibiting the erection of cellar dwellings and back-to-back houses on his land. This policy, however, did not prevent their erection elsewhere in Huddersfield. Under the Improvement Act 1871 back-to-back houses built in sets of four were permitted by the Corporation. Builders wishing to construct such houses, therefore, acquired the necessary land from other landowners. In a memorandum book of 1899 Sir John William recalled a visit in that year to Fartown where the Dewhirst Estate abutted on his own. New roads had been laid down on both Estates and land was available from both Estates on 999-year leases. The Dewhirst Estate, however, was being rapidly covered with back-to-back houses while not one house had been built on the Ramsden Estate. He commented as follows:

"Wherever there is a bit of freehold, it is getting covered with houses, while hardly any building is in progress on my Estate. The Corporation approves these houses and all the working class houses are now being built on this system. He (Col Beadon) urges that I have stood against them long enough and now is the time to give way, that the public demand these cheap little houses and will have no others and that the only sound policy is to meet the public's wish. Sorely against my wish, I am constrained to admit he is right. What I have now seen of the buildings in progress proves that my refusal is no good. It does not prevent these objectionable little houses being built, but only gives a fictitious value to the small freeholds scattered about the town, over which I have no control."²

The Policy Responses to Changing Market Conditions

The above quotation is just one illustration of the policy

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1. For example Dodgson's freehold in Moldgreen. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Sir John William Ramsden 1861. DD/RA/9/1.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Sir John William Ramsden's Interview and Memorandum Book, vol 7, 1899-1909. Box 5, H.P.L.

changes which occurred towards the end of the century in the response of the Ramsden Estate's changing role in the land market from a position of near monopoly to one of equal competition with other estates.¹ Financial constraints on the actions of the Estate managers and the trend towards increasing suburbanisation encouraged by the introduction of tramways forced Sir John William to seek short term rather than long term economic gains. The policy of seeking short term profit was, however, only pursued with extreme caution. The correspondence reveals that adjustment to market forces took place only gradually because of the reluctance of Sir John William to abandon long-established notions of Estate management.

The reactions of Sir John William Ramsden to changing circumstances were akin to those of other contemporary large landowners forced by economic reality to succumb to the dictates of the market. Moreover, Sir John William was well aware of the courses pursued by his contemporaries. He wrote to his solicitor about selling parts of his Estate as follows:

"Mr Beadon tells me that other landowners, Lord Dartmouth especially, have tried selling land for building purposes, instead of leasing it with the result of greatly hastening the development and consequently enhancing the value of the estate. Various reasons combine to bring me to the conclusion that it would be good policy for me to do the same."²

In fact the only areas to be sold were small pieces of land on the edge of the Estate. This was mainly so as to accommodate small proprietors on adjacent land. Sales of similar pieces of land to large proprietors were deliberately avoided.³

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1. Vide Supra. Chapter 3.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William and Mr Wynne 1889. DD/RA/21/9.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William and Mr Beadon 1894. DD/RA/C/14/1.

During the 1890s there was a slump in building activity and the Ramsden Estate, along with other Estates, suffered a reduction in the take-up of plots. After 1897, however, when the pace of building in Huddersfield increased, the take-up of plots on the Ramsden Estate was comparatively slow. The reason advanced was that the rents charged for Ramsden land were higher than those charged on other Estates. To alleviate this problem the reserve prices on various parts of the Estate were reduced, particularly in the developing suburbs of Marsh, Fartown and Almondbury. Additional reductions were made when a builder took larger tracts of land.¹ The Estate was thus responding positively to the increased demand for land from professional speculative builders. In earlier policy decisions the small builder seeking small plots of land had been favoured at the expense of larger developers. Rents from industrial land were also reduced so as to encourage industrial entrepreneurs to remain in their existing factories instead of moving to new sites in the suburbs. Thus, for example, there was the firm of Broadbent who wished to expand their factory in Queen Street South in 1889. The ground rent in that area was 1s per square yard. The firm agreed to remain in situ rather than move to the suburbs when Sir John William reduced the rent to 6d per square yard.² The Estate also released smaller fractions of the Estate for development each year in order to obtain a quicker return on the capital employed. Sir John, in suggesting this to his agents, wrote as follows:

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Mr Beadon and Sir John William 1904-10. Box 10.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Beadon to Sir John William Ramsden 1897. DD/RA/C/21/9. H.P.L.

"The mistake of the estate is always to open up far more land than has been required, making a large amount of money dead for many years."¹

On the other hand, during the slump of the 1890s he refused to reduce rents in general to levels comparable to those obtaining on other Estates. He considered that such reduced rents did not cover the costs of roads and sewers and that in any case there was no point in encouraging the creation of new premises when many were standing empty.²

The Ramsden Estate and the Land Development Process

The Ramsden Estate was often quoted in Parliamentary reports as a good example of the beneficial effects of urban land monopoly. Although it exerted a substantial influence on the development of Huddersfield, the extent of its control over land development was often exaggerated. By the time Estate managers were beginning to exercise control over the development process, the land monopoly which had made this control possible was already being undermined by changing fashion and market forces. Thus the Select Committee on Town Holdings could conclude in its report in 1889 that

"A man desiring to develop his estate is practically obliged to dispose of his estate on such terms as the public will accept."³

The veracity of these words is well illustrated by the record of Sir John William Ramsden's enlightened capitalist approach to Estate management.

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William to Mr Beadon 1907. DD/RA/8/1. H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William Ramsden to Beadon. DD/RA/C/21/9. H.P.L.
 3. Select Committee on Town Holdings. Summary of Report 1889 op cit.

CHAPTER 5DECISION-MAKING BY OTHER LANDOWNERSIntroduction

The response of different landowners to the demand for urban land was very varied. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the factors which influenced the nature of decision-making on the remaining estates in Huddersfield. The analysis is limited for other Huddersfield landowners by the lack of data comparable with that which has survived for the Ramsden Estate. In particular few of the surviving papers provide an insight into the decision-making process similar to that which can be achieved for the Ramsden Estate.¹ To a large extent the evidence available for other estates is indirect and on the whole reflects only those decisions that produced positive results. Data from deeds, the main source used here, relates only to land actually developed.² The discussion below will therefore be less detailed than that for the Ramsden Estate. It unavoidably leaves unanswered questions, particularly those relating to economic issues.³

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS 1770-1850

Up until 1850 few of the other estates came under the same pressure to develop their land as was the case with the Ramsden Estate. Those which did either contained land within a distance

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1. Papers relating directly to estate administration are available for the Thornhill estate and that solely for the period after 1844. More limited evidence is available for the Radcliffe, Kaye and Macauley Estates.
 2. Full details of deeds consulted at the West Riding Registry of Deeds appear in Appendix F.
 3. For instance, criteria for choosing specific ground rents and the money available for capital expenditure.

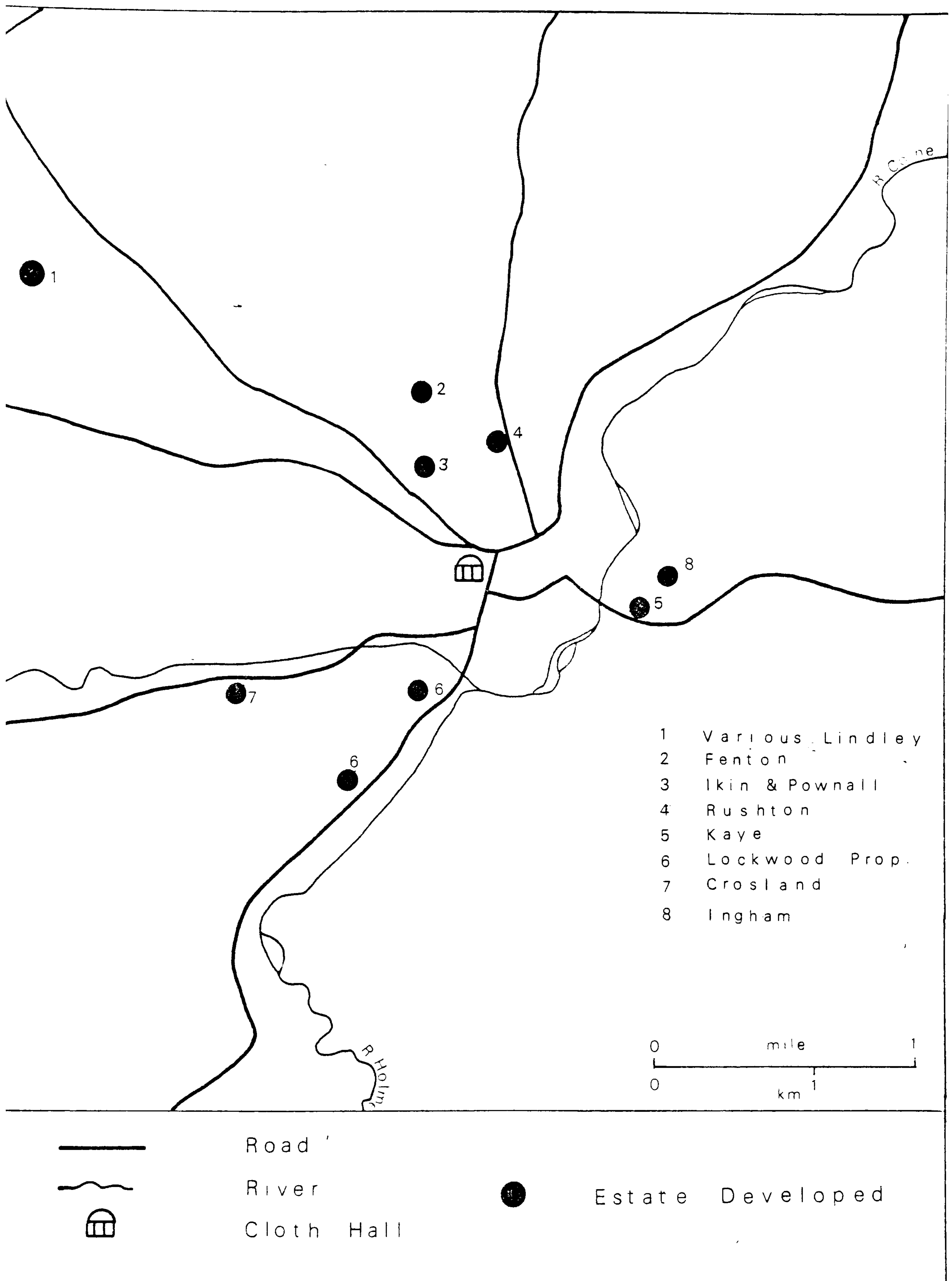


Figure 5.1 Location of Estates Developed 1770 -1850
Source: WRRD

of little more than half a mile from the centre of Huddersfield or land adjacent to expanding industrial villages such as Lockwood, where the availability of water encouraged the siting of new factories during the 1820s and 1830s. A little later during the 1840s land in the vicinity of Lindley came under similar pressure. (Figure 5.1)

Legal Constraints on Decision-making

Under these circumstances the response of landowners who owned only small areas of land was to sell this land for development. The actual timing of the sale usually coincided with a building boom but also was often determined by personal considerations. Occasionally a landowner was prevented from selling his land because of legal constraints. In this event the only course open was for him to let his land on leasehold.¹ In a few important cases the landowner was prevented from choosing the type of lease and was only able to let land for building on short term agricultural leases of 21 years.² Alternatively he could provide any necessary mill building or cottage accommodation himself and let these on rack rent. Thus, inherited legal constraints which restricted the operation of a freehold land market also influenced internal decision-making on individual estates. A legal restriction, however, while often an impediment to rational choice, was rarely a major determining factor in policy formulation and estate operation. Given sufficient economic incentive the legal requirements of wills and settlements could be altered by Act of Parliament.³ Legal matters attain greater importance only when combined with other factors such as a landowner's financial position.

1. For details see Chapter 3.

2. This was the situation on the Thornhill and Kaye Estates.

3. Vide infra on the Thornhill Estate.

Financial Considerations

A combination of inherited legal constraints and financial problems accounted for the decision of the Kaye estate in the 1820s to place land at Dalton on the market in 1827 rather than to follow the policy adopted by other large landowners in Huddersfield of leasing land for long terms. Under the terms of a will made in 1752 the trustees for the tenant for life of the estate were unable to let land on lease beyond a term of 21 years. They did however have power to sell portions of the estate. In addition the tenant for life had inherited considerable debts which had first been incurred during the eighteenth century. In order to defray these debts, the successive owners of the estate had from time to time sold land in the Huddersfield area.¹ The Kaye estate was extensive so that the choice of the Dalton area for sale was no doubt taken because of the proximity of the land to the growing town of Huddersfield.² Indeed, the particulars of sale placed great emphasis on the suitability of the land both for industrial and for residential development. In none of the sales, however, was the greater part of the land purchased from the Kaye estate used directly for development as had been hoped. Land at Greenhead sold in 1804 was formed into three mansion-house estates, whereas land sold in North Crosland in 1822 was absorbed into the estates of existing landowners in the area.³

In contrast to these two sales, that of the land in Dalton was preceded by careful preparation. The land was divided into

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1. Kaye Estate Papers, Correspondence and Deeds 1702-1835. M.D. 234 Y.A.S. Also Ramsden Estate Papers, Abstract of Title No. 21 of land purchased from Hirst Trustees; Abstract of Title No. 7 of land purchased from Sir J. L. Kaye. RA/DD12 H.P.L
 2. Which also included land at Kirkburton, Lepton, Upper Whitely, Nether Whitely, Brestwell, Flockton, Honley, Farnley Tyas, Slaithwaite and Denby Grange.
 3. Radcliffe Estate Papers in Chancery Elam versus Scott, sale at Greenhead 1804. RAD/84/46. L.C.A. Sale List and Map of the Manor of North Crosland 1822. D116. T.M.M. Lockwood Township Tithe and Map 1847.

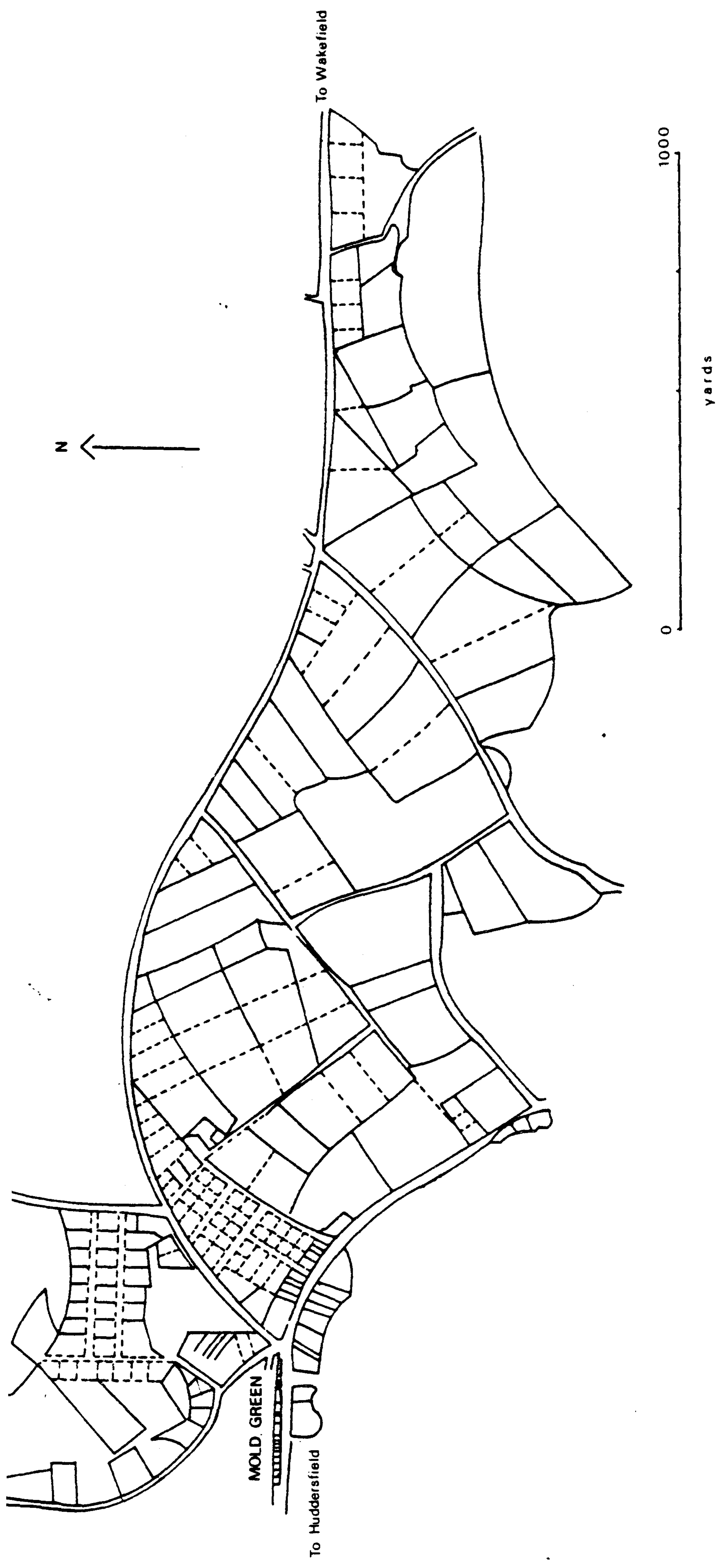


Figure 5.2 Sale Plan of the Kaye Estate in Dalton 1827
Source: T.M.M.

lots of varying sizes which could serve specific purposes. Most of the building lots delimited lay near the village of Moldgreen and aligned along streets. The lots to the north of the turnpike road had a mean area of 1028 square yards and a standard deviation of 272 square yards. The lots to the south of the turnpike road had a mean area of 661.7 square yards with a standard deviation of 191 square yards. Thirteen larger lots were laid out along the turnpike road for use as the sites of villa residences. These larger lots had a mean area of 1940 square yards and a standard deviation of 460 square yards.¹ (Figure 5.2) For all these plots, however, the demand for such land had been overestimated. The factory system had not developed sufficiently in the Moldgreen area to justify any full-scale housing development.² Instead the larger lots were amalgamated by the purchasers and used for farming purposes or developed as mansion-house estates. Most of the other building lots remained unsold.³

For the other estates developed in the Huddersfield area there is no evidence of similar financial difficulties. Mere sale of land was often the easiest and the cheapest course of action open to a landowner. No capital would be involved in the layout of streets and no administration was required beyond that associated with the completion of the sale. Thus, provided there was a demand for freehold development land, sale would be the most desirable course of action for the smaller landowner. On the other hand, for the

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1. Descriptive particulars of Estate at Dalton 1827. T.M.M.
 2. Evidence to Select Committee on Handloom Weavers, see Chapter 2.
 3. They were placed on the market again in 1850. Ramsden Estate Papers. Particulars of Sale of Freehold Estate in Dalton. Box 5.

larger landowner with capital resources a wider choice was available. Long-term leasing on 999-year terms offered a flexible alternative, enabling the landowner to respond to the changing nature of demand but at the same time offering the builder long-term security. The Radcliffe Estate leased land for building on these terms and so did the Lockwood Proprietors, as well as the Inghams in Dalton.¹ None of these estate owners appear to have taken out mortgages on their land. It may be assumed, therefore, that all of them had sufficient capital available with which to finance development.²

The Attitude of Landowners towards Estate Administration

There was little involvement by landowners in estate administration. The larger landowners normally employed a permanent steward who delegated specific tasks to peripatetic professionals. The smaller landowners engaged directly as required the necessary local professional skills for sales or for leasing. This usually meant the services of a solicitor.³

On the Kaye Estate overall stewardship was undertaken by an agent named Wilson, who resided at the family seat of Denby Grange. For the sale of 1827 a local surveyor, Thomas Dinsley, was employed. A local publican undertook to show the lots to any prospective purchasers, while a Leeds solicitor was employed for legal matters. For the rest of the time the estate was managed from day to day by a local tenant farmer, Thomas Newhill. He dealt with repairs and any complaints made by tenants. The rents were collected by John

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1. Radcliffe Estate Papers. Register of Deeds c 1800, RAD 115/5; L.C.A. Lockwood, Radcliffe and Little Royd Conveyancing Deed 1954, C/T/2/42 H.P.L; Ingham Estate Act, House of Lords. WRRD MH/311/801 1836.
 2. According to Deeds registered at WRRD in this period. The Radcliffe estate did take out a large mortgage of £15,000 in 1834 for the purchase of Rudding Park. R.A.D. 54/82 L.C.A.
 3. Since a solicitor was always required to draw up the deeds. See for example Macauley Estate Papers HAS/731. Halifax Archives Dept.

Abbey, otherwise employed as the land agent by the Lockwood Estate Proprietors. No one person served as a part-time agent on the Kaye Estate for any length of time, and continuity was provided by the steward at Denby Grange.¹ The limited correspondence that survives indicates that Sir John Lister Kaye was not involved in the minutiae of estate management, nor had he any coherent development policy. Decisions on estate matters were in the hands of the creditors and trustees of the estate in London and elsewhere. The steward was employed simply to put into effect their decisions and played no part as an adviser. The lack of an adequate administrative structure was probably due to the adverse financial circumstances of the estate but, paradoxically, the administrative structure of the estate was so inefficient that it did little to alleviate the financial problems of the estate. This alleviation might have been possible given the adoption of a more comprehensive approach to estate development.²

Until 1844 the management of the Thornhill Estate in Lindley was left in the hands of a steward who resided at the family seat at Fixby.³ Thomas Thornhill's interest in the estate was negligible and it was reported in 1857 that he:

"regularly milked the estate dry, timber had been cut to a fearful extent and buildings on the whole of the estate were in a frightful state of repair."⁴

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1. This impression of inefficiency is gained both from the extant estate papers and comments made by Sir John William Ramsden concerning the Kaye Estate when he purchased land belonging to Sir John Lister Kaye in 1872. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence 1872, Box 12, H.P.L.
 2. Kaye Estate Papers. Correspondence, various to J. Wilson 1827-1841, MD.234, Y.A.S.
 3. Thornhill Estate Papers. Miscellaneous Correspondence, Agreements and Deeds deposited 15 December 1972. DD/T H.P.L.
 4. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief Petition for the Transfer of Funds in Court and Other Purposes. Notes on the back. Anon 26 June 1857. DD/T/351. H.P.L.

Thus, for example, 150 oak trees were sold from Lindley in 1803.¹ Again when the tenants living in Lindley village requested help in 1836 in order to obtain a piped water supply for the village from land belonging to Thornhill, their request was brusquely refused although no request for money had been made.²

The steward to whom was entrusted such limited management as occurred on the estate was the social reformer Richard Oastler, and he devoted a large proportion of his time to his political interests or to social reform.³ Most of the practical work of management was undertaken by Saville Crowther. The result was that little attention was paid to the changes taking place in Lindley and the estate continued to be regarded as merely an agricultural asset.⁴

Sir Joseph Radcliffe, who owned land in Crosland Moor Bottom in Lockwood township as part of a larger estate in the Upper Colne Valley, was much more concerned about the prospects of obtaining a return from any potential urban land. Sir Joseph Radcliffe had been resident in the Huddersfield area at Milnesbridge until he purchased Rudding Park near Harrogate.⁵ As a result he was more aware of the potential of his land. He employed a single professional agent, Frederick Robert Jones of Birkhouse in Lockwood township, who undertook all aspects of comprehensive land management and was entirely responsible for policy. Jones, however, was

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers deposited 15 December 1972. Correspondence Robert Oastler to James Milnes 1803.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers deposited 15 December 1972. Correspondence concerning water at Lindley, October 8 1836. DD/T HPL.
 3. Oastler was particularly concerned about Factory Reform. In 1831 he published a "manifesto to the working classes of the West Riding" BRIGGS, A. (1959), The Age of Improvement, 247, 281, 306, 326.
 4. Particularly the development of the factory system and the associated demand for land, vide supra.
 5. Rudding Park was purchased in 1834.

entirely at liberty to undertake work for other employers if he so wished.¹ Provided an adequate return from the land was obtained, Sir Joseph Radcliffe and his successors were unconcerned as to the method of development used. The land was in fact developed on 999-year leasehold terms.²

The Lockwood Estate Proprietors had a similar attitude towards their estate as Sir Joseph Radcliffe. Timothy Bentley, one of the Proprietors, because of his business interests was closely involved in the development of Lockwood³, but the other shareholders were concerned only with maximising their income from their investment in land. To this end, therefore, as with the Radcliffe estate, a single resident professional land agent was given responsibility for policy concerning the management and development of the estate.⁴ Again, the estate was developed on leasehold tenure of 999 years' term.

In 1844 there were changes in management on the Thornhill estate following the death of Thomas Thornhill and the involvement of the Court in Chancery in the administration of estate affairs. Under the terms of Thomas's will his widow could continue to receive rents and profits from the estate but was given insufficient

1. F. R. Jones had a very successful land agency business and was employed by the Thornhill Estate in the execution of the estate sale 1854-5.
2. Surviving papers and accounts indicate that building leases were granted from c 1797. Radcliffe Estate Papers. Account Book 1831-36. R.A.D. 292/B/28; Register of Leases c 1800 R.A.D. 115/5. L.C.A.
3. The Brewery was built in 1795 and employed a large proportion of the population of the village of Lockwood until the factory boom of the 1820s and 1830s. PIKE, W. (1895). A Descriptive Account of Huddersfield. The importance of the brewery to the village can be seen from the entries in the Diary of J. W. Wilson & Co., tinsmiths. 1827-66. H.P.L.
4. Mallinson Abbey and his son John Abbey, the agent for the Lockwood Proprietors, also undertook general surveying and performed duties for the Highway Surveyors and the Kaye Estate.

powers for actual estate management.¹ As the result of a petition to the Court it was decided to appoint a salaried receiver who would be accountable to the Court. Dr Ramsbotham was appointed as receiver and also as steward of the estate.² On his recommendation a survey was made of the estate by the local architect, James Radcliffe. The aim of the survey was to assess the costs of putting the buildings on the estate into good repair. On the basis of the information provided the Court authorised the expenditure of £5,000.³

Although there had been no change in the overall structure of administration, the assumption of responsibility for estate affairs by the Master of the Court in Chancery had repercussions on the style of management. The Court's concern was that there should be no reduction in the value of the estate by the time it was passed to Clara Thornhill, the owner, when she came of age in 1857.⁴ There was, as a result, a greater concern for the economic fate of the estate, leading to a change in personnel thereby ensuring more efficient management. As in the case of the Ramsden Estate management the assumption of control by an outside interest on behalf of a minor led to a re-evaluation of existing land use policy.

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Report as to the maintenance of Clara Thornhill in Chancery. 1844. H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers. DD/T/351 op cit.
 3. Thornhill Estate Papers, Bills and Chancery Vouchers 1845-6; Survey of Jas Radcliffe in Chancery, January 12, 1849. H.P.L.
 4. Which was the task given to the Chancery Division of the High Court under an Act in 1833. 3 & 4 William 4C 104.

Urban Land Policy, 1770-1850

On the lesser estates of Huddersfield where land was not sold for development, it was let on leasehold terms of nine hundred and ninety-nine years. The rents ranged from 1d to 2d per square yard. This was an equivalent of £20-£40 per acre, a considerable improvement on the agricultural rent of between £1.5s and £2.0s per acre hitherto obtained from the land.¹ To avoid the loss of too much agricultural land, building plots were laid out in streets, and at any one time offered for sale. Only a few streets were opened for development at a time and thereby the return from land was maximised.

There were few restrictive covenants attached to the leases offered by these estates. The landowner would reserve his right to mineral extraction from beneath any building and occasionally he stipulated that no 'noisome use' should be undertaken without his sanction. Otherwise there was no stipulation about land use nor was there a reference to any plan of the building to be erected. Other covenants concerned the preservation of traditional practices and the provision of access to important water resources. Thus in 1844 a lease from the estate of Joseph Pickup in Lindley indicated that the lessees could:

"fetch water from the well in the croft for use and hang clothes on the hedge ... without any interruption or disturbance."²

Where land sales took place the land was staked out into plots in the manner thought by the surveyor to be required by the market. Actual purchasers often combined lots to suit their own requirements.

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1. Kaye Estate Papers. Rental Dalton Estate 1885. MD.234 V.A.S. Radcliffe Estate Papers Register of Leases 1808; Sir Joseph Perceival Pickford Radcliffe's Will 1907. RAD. LCA. Lockwood, Radcliffe and Little Royd Estate Conveyancing Deed 1954. C/T/2/42 H.P.L.
 2. WRRD OY/95/91 1844.

In the case of most sales after 1820 some attempt was made to ensure reasonable access to any one lot by also staking out the location of the relevant road. The actual forming of the street was left to the purchasers of the lot and provision for this was made in the contract of sale. The result was that subsequent developments tended to reflect the pattern of the original lots as laid out at the time of sale.

Changes in Policy on the Thornhill Estate

The problems met by Dr Ramsbotham in the day-to-day administration of the estate indicated that there was an urgent need for building leases to be adopted in Lindley. A number of tenants were expanding their businesses and had applied for mill sites on the streams of pure water which flowed across the estate.¹ Under the available short-term leases for 21 years they had to rely on the landowner to supply the necessary buildings. This particular problem was highlighted in a survey of reforms necessary on the estate. Radcliffe indicated in his report that one prominent industrialist, Benjamin Crosland, had already spent £1,000 on industrial building and was willing to spend a further £1,400. He also offered to pay 7% of any outlay made by the landowner. The court had authorised the building of the mill as part of the outlay of £5,000 sanctioned for repairs.²

An increasing number of other tenants sought to follow suit by applying for expenditure on industrial building. Ramsbotham felt that if their demands were not met these men of "great energy and enterprise" would move to other estates in the area, namely those of Sir John Ramsden and Joseph Radcliffe, where building leases could

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief for Petition in Chancery July 4, 1851. H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers. Survey of James Radcliffe 1849 op cit. H.P.L.

be obtained. Indeed, it became apparent that Miss Thornhill's inability to grant building leases enhanced the value of these rival estates. Ramsbotham argued to the Court in Chancery that if powers to let land on long leases were granted, the restriction on the supply of building land would be broken and the hidden demand could be exploited to the positive advantage of the Thornhill Estate.¹

The Court was reluctant to seek an Act of Parliament for this purpose because of the expense involved. It preferred to leave the matter until Clara came of age. Clara's guardian, Honoria Hungerford and the family solicitor, Christopher White, also petitioned the Court to request that the provision of building leases be deferred.² Ramsbotham, however, had more knowledge of the situation in Huddersfield and felt that such action was shortsighted and detrimental to the Court's aims of preserving the value of the estate. To wait would mean a considerable loss of opportunity and would possibly reduce the value of the estate in the long term. In the evidence presented to the Court he argued:

"Constant applications are made to me for sites for building and if we had the power for granting leases we would soon see large portions of the property covered with buildings paying considerable rents. You are already aware Miss Thornhill is in receipt of a considerable sum for rents of buildings for the holding of which the builders have no security but the good feeling of the owner of the soil; that although in many cases they expended large sums they have implicit faith in the honour of the family and feel sure they will never be dispossessed. Notwithstanding this tenure is unsatisfactory and I have no doubt most of them would gladly pay a fine of two or three years rent in order to have a lease renewable every twenty years on the payment of a double rent every twenty-first year ... As to the future applications for building sites I have no doubt whatsoever the cost of an Act would at once be met by the fines that would immediately fall in and Miss Thornhill's Estates would be immensely improved during the remaining years of her minority."³

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief of Petition in Chancery 1851
op cit. H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief of Petition, affidavit Christopher White, December 17, 1851. H.P.L.
 3. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief of Petition in Chancery, December 17, 1851. H.P.L.

Dr Ramsbotham was supported in his pleas by two local land surveyors, Frederick Robert Jones and George Crowther. They reported that:

"... if the said petitioner does not obtain powers to grant building leases there can be no doubt that her estate (ie Miss Thornhill's) will eventually deteriorate in value as some of the most prosperous persevering and wealthy of the inhabitants will be driven to other localities where they could obtain the very facilities which are at present not obtainable on the petitioner's estate."¹

Two unrelated events persuaded the Court in Chancery to change its attitude. In 1850 the illegitimate son of Thomas Thornhill brought a suit against Clara for some leasehold land which was held in trust for her but which he claimed was personal estate and therefore belonged to him. During the case the judge referred to the need for an Act of Parliament and once again brought the issue to the notice of the Court in Chancery.² In the same year Messrs Hall and Hattersley, members of a family who had been tenants of the estate for generations, requested the building of a mill at Quarmby on terms similar to those offered when Crosland's mill was built. The estimated cost was £2,400 and Messrs Hall and Hattersley undertook to instal machinery worth £1,200 and, like Crosland, offered to pay 7% of the landowner's outlay on the mill. The petition before the Court argued that the site chosen was unproductive farmland and that the building of the mill would stimulate further development by making necessary the provision of cottages for workers in the mill.³

The Master of the Court felt unable to sanction the expenditure of £2,400 unless there was some provision for recouping the personal

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief of Petition in Chancery. Affidavit of Geo Crowther and F. R. Jones. December 17, 1851. H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers. Case in the Queen's Bench, York Spring Assizes. Brief for the Defendant with notes on the Case. Order made April 23, 1850. H.P.L.
 3. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief Petition in Chancery, July 4, 1851. H.P.L.

estate of Clara if she were to die before coming of age. For these reasons the decision was made to seek an Act of Parliament so as to permit the granting of 999-year building leases.¹

The role of the landowner in the period up to 1850 was essentially a passive one. Even where owners of estates like the Lockwood Proprietors and Sir Joseph Radcliffe decided to lease rather than sell land, their interference in the development process was minimal. The change in attitude to management which took place on the Thornhill Estate, following its transference to disinterested parties, to some extent mirrors the change which took place on the Ramsden Estate after 1844. The similarity however was only superficial. The response of the managers of the Thornhill Estate to the development land market was dictated solely by economic considerations.

Factors influencing Landowner Decision-making 1850-1911

After 1850 an increasing number of landowners participated in land development in Huddersfield. As the trend towards suburbanisation increased many attempted to take advantage of middle class demand for villa sites. The greatest pressure for such sites was felt to the north-west of the town in Edgerton and Birkby. Other landowners exploited the demand for housing generated by the establishment of mills and factories in Lindley (Oakes), Moldgreen, Newsome, Bay Hall and Lockwood. Most of the successful estate developments were found within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the town centre. Estates destined for the lower end of the middle-class market tended to be closer to the centre of Huddersfield. (Figure 5.3) Usually the landowner acted as a developer and leased building sites on long-term leases of 999 years. From 1890 onwards a number of landowners also offered the option of freehold purchase.

1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief Petition for the transfer of Funds in Court and other Papers. Observations on the back. Anon - DD/T/351. H.P.L.

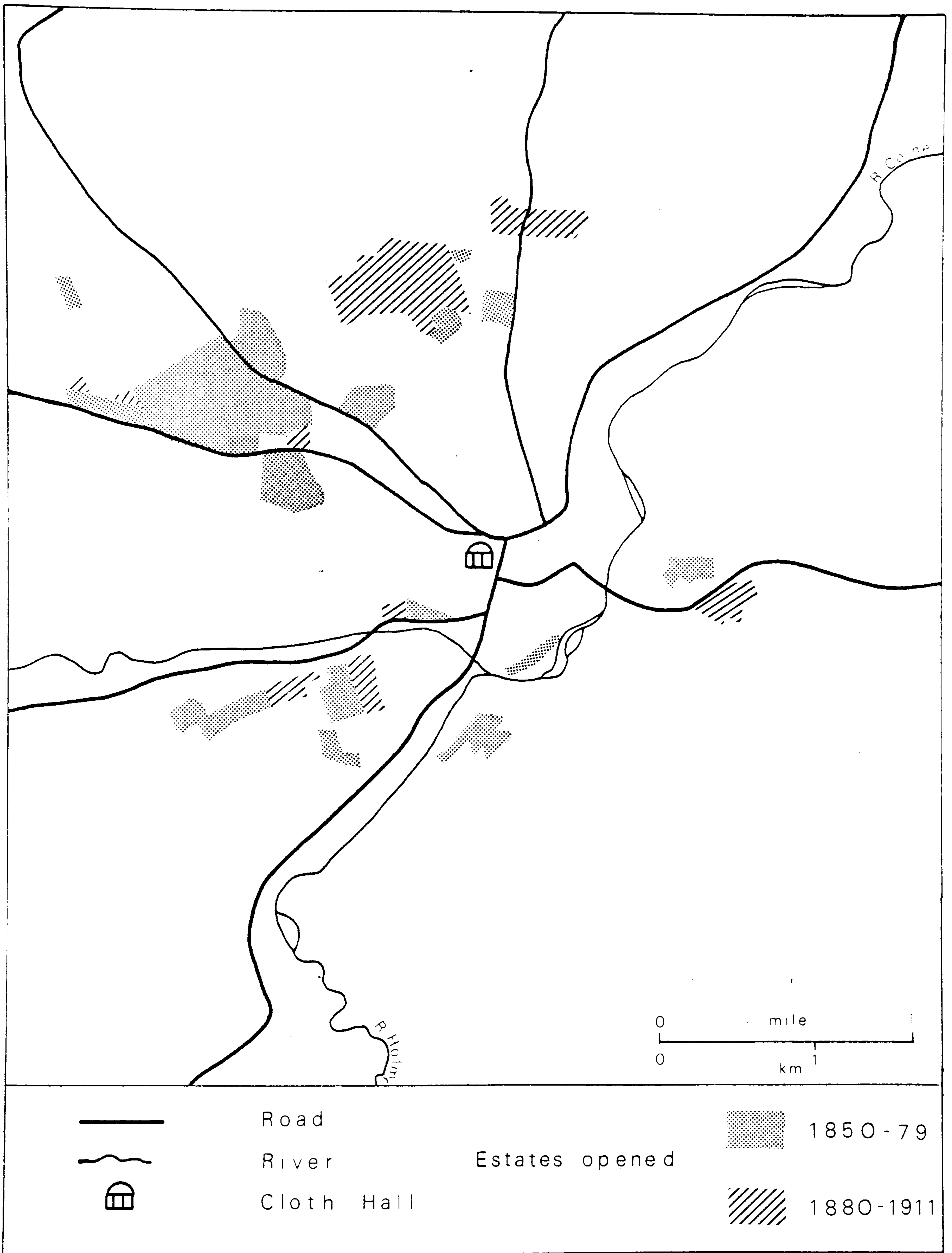


Figure 5.3 Location of Estates Developed 1850 - 1911
Source: WRRD

Financial Considerations

If the landowner was to undertake development himself some immediate capital was required for forming streets and providing sewerage facilities. Where capital was not immediately available it could be obtained by mortgaging the land to be developed. The rate of return on any capital investment depended on the rate of uptake of plots on the estate.

The cost of providing streets could be quite considerable. In 1863 three roads were built on the Thornhill estate at Edgerton at a cost of £1,498 12s 3d.¹ On an upper middle class estate of this kind road provision was necessary if suitable tenants were to be attracted. Usually streetage was charged in order to recoup the money.² On estates destined for the lower middle classes such charges would have deterred most prospective builders. In these instances the landowner often felt able to avoid the expense of roads and sewers entirely and the tenants were unable to force him to provide them.³ After 1868, however, all new streets and developments had to be sanctioned by the corporation and landowners were obliged to provide roads and sewerage facilities to a specific standard. This effectively increased the capital cost of developing such estates because the landowner was unable to recoup his expenditure through streetage charges.⁴ At the same time competition between landowners became more intense. Progressively more land was made

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Outlay and Income 1858-68. DD/T/33. H.P.L.
 2. Levied from the first lessees for the formation of the street.
 3. In 1869, tenants on the estate of Richard Brook in Moldgreen complained to the Council for the lack of roads and services on that estate. Huddersfield Council Minutes. Central Wards Committee. C/T/cf/m/1. H.P.L.
 4. Because such charges would deter any builder. In the Depression of the 1890s even the Thornhill Estate stopped streetage charges. Sir John William Ramsden commented that the rent for land on the Thornhill Estate barely repaid the cost of roads and sewers. Ramsden Estate Papers DD/RA/21/9. H.P.L.

available for building at any one time and the demand for middle class housing was limited.¹ One response to such trends was to charge a lower ground rent in the hope that this would encourage more rapid building on an estate. Alternatively the land could be offered for sale on freehold terms thus generating an immediate return on the capital. The landowners who chose the former course were mostly the owners of established estates such as the Radcliffe, Thornhill and Lockwood Estates. The landowners who chose the latter course, or a combination of both courses, were mainly the owners of estates such as the newly-opened Thornton Lodge and Dewhurst Estates, who offered the builders the option of either freehold or long-term leases after 1900.² The emergence of large-scale speculative builders at this time meant that the market was ready to respond to such an offer.³

Landowner Attitudes

While economic considerations were of paramount importance, the attitude of the landowner to his land tempered any rational decision concerning its development. Heirs of long-established landowning families displayed a greater attachment to their traditional source of wealth than new recruits into the landowning class. The heir of a long-established family would normally be particularly concerned about the retention of the 'capital message'. Thus, despite the financial problems of the Kaye Estate, the owners never considered selling Denby Grange. The owners

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1. An increasing number of estates were opened up. Since none were filled up each new estate opened up increased competition between landowners to attract builders to their land. In a town the size of Huddersfield the relative and absolute number of middle class was bound to be small.
 2. WRRD 39/957/452 1900; 34/452/188 1904.
 3. Vide infra Chapter 7 for evidence of this.

of the Thornhill estate could not sell the Fixby estate and were required to let land there on short leases only. Fixby Hall was nonetheless thought too inferior a residence for Clara Thornhill because:

"so much of Fixby is affected by smoke of the surrounding locality that the sheep turned out in the park get perfectly brown in a few weeks."¹

Unlike the Thornhill estate the landed estate of the Radcliffe family was of only recent origin.² The owner displayed a much less sentimental attachment to the original family seat. Thus, Milnesbridge House was demolished to make way for terraced housing and its grounds became a public park.³

Amongst the smaller landowners the attitudes of those who were resident on their estates differed from those who were absentees. Resident landowners were often reluctant to open their estates for development, no matter how great the pressure to do so. The Fisher estate at Springdale was opened for development only after the death of Edward Fisher, the resident owner.⁴ Land adjacent to Henry Dewhirst's home in Fartown was not opened for development until after Henry Dewhirst had been certified insane and the estate had passed into the hands of trustees.⁵ Landowners resident in Huddersfield who did develop their land also showed a great concern for the character of development, and often enforced extensive

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief in support of Annexed Notice of Motion. 1855. H.P.L.
 2. Radcliffe Estate Papers. Deeds RAD/1/1; RAD 3/53; RAD 4/2 L.C.A.
 3. Ordnance Survey 6" Map 2nd Edition 1894 Sheet 246.
 4. WRRD 34/47/29 1891; 42/879/372 1902. Edward Fisher died 1888.
 5. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Sir John William Ramsden to Mr Beadon Jan to June 1885. RA/DD 21/8 H.P.L.
WRRD 16/547/326 1890; Ramsden Estate Papers Correspondence Col Broden to Sir John William Ramsden 1893. RA/DD/14/1 H.P.L.

restrictive covenants, although it is true to say that enforcing such covenants was not confined to these estates.¹

An even sharper distinction must be drawn between the landowner-developer and the embryonic developer-landowners of the 1880s and 1890s.² Whereas the former already owned the land and used it for development, forming streets and letting land, the latter was merely an entrepreneur who purchased an estate solely for the purpose of developing it immediately. Before 1870 there were few examples of developers purchasing land solely for the purpose of immediate development. One possible developer was Richard Brook of Moldgreen, who purchased a block of lots from the Kaye Estate in 1857. Having built a house for himself on some of the land, he leased the remainder in small lots to builders. A plot was also laid aside for a new church. Much of the finance for the building came from the Moldgreen Permanent Benefit Building Society, of which Brook was secretary. However, he did nothing to provide road or sewerage facilities for the houses built on the small lots thus leased. In 1880 after Brook's death steps were taken to dispose of the entire estate, including Brook's former home.³

More typical of the kind of developer to emerge at the end of the nineteenth century was J. A. Armitage, who initially gained experience in land development as trustee of an estate in Crosland Hill in 1879.⁴ He entered into partnership with John Henry Hanson

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1. George Lockwood who developed land adjacent to his mansion home in Edgerton had no restrictive covenants attached to the leases he granted. WRDD PT/296/150 1847; XY/854/663 1864. For examples of some of the more restrictive covenants see Appendix D.
 2. The latter term refers to persons purchasing estates solely for the purpose of opening it immediately for development.
 3. WRRD WG 453/485/1861; 42 58/62 1865; 844/80/87/1880.
 4. WRRD 834/376/446 1879.

of the local firm of surveyors, Armitage & Hanson.¹ In 1887 Armitage and Hanson purchased the Thornton Lodge Estate from Elizabeth Marsden. Immediately, streets and main drains were laid and the land was made available for building on 999-year leases. No streetage charges were imposed and the ground rent was only 1d a square yard.² As a consequence, most of the plots of land were taken up at a rapid rate. Ten years later a greater part of the 20 acres originally purchased had been used for housing.³ In 1890 Armitage collaborated with Sarah Martha Grove Grady in the purchase and development of an estate in Moldgreen. This estate was divided into building lots almost immediately after purchase. Some lots were subsequently sold and some were leased on terms of 999 years.⁴ In 1897, again in partnership with Hanson, Armitage acquired forty-five acres of land at Clough House. The land was subsequently developed in successive stages.⁵ Here too a choice between freehold and leasehold terms was offered. (Figure 5.3)

The principal role of Armitage in these developments was the provision of capital. The expertise was supplied by Hanson.

Capital and expertise were provided by one person in the case of the developments undertaken by George Crowther, another local land surveyor. From 1880 onwards Crowther gradually acquired the various shares in the Ashworth Estate at Row. In 1893 the estate, laid out in streets, was opened for development on leasehold terms

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1. WHITE, W. (1881) Directory of the Clothing Districts.
 2. WRRD 32/275/148 1887; 13/287/149 1888.
 3. Huddersfield Corporation Map of the Borough of Huddersfield, 20" to mile 1899. Kirklees Directorate of Architecture and Planning.
 4. WRRD 27/822/419 1890; 26/1029/488 1890; 25/426/223 1890; 26/1041/492 1890; 28/653/313 1891.
 5. WRRD 2/44/208 1897; 2/436/206 1898; 2/439/207 1898.

of 999 years.¹ Crowther's venture was on a small scale compared with the ventures of Armitage and Hanson, but all these projects were characterised by a new approach to land development, at once more professional and conceived in more realistic economic terms than the approach usually adopted by original landowners.

Administration and Estate Management

Little change took place in the way in which estates were administered during the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the larger estates management was usually left in the hands of a permanent local agent and the smaller landowners employed the services of local professional men as required.

On the Thornhill Estate, following the passage of the Thornhill Estate Act in 1852, three trustees were appointed to exercise responsibility for the daily management of the estate. They were Dr Ramsbotham, Christopher White and the Reverend Alfred Brown, Vicar of Calverley. The Court in Chancery acted in the capacity of treasurer only, paying the necessary costs incurred for the work sanctioned by the Act. The actual choice of trustees was deemed to be unusual because none of them were members of the gentry or aristocracy. The choice was based on the known ability of the persons concerned and their intimate knowledge of Thornhill Estate affairs.² Indeed, Dr Ramsbotham was praised by the Court in 1857 for his "intellect of great power ... kindness of disposition and general good feeling which must be felt on the estate for years to come."³

1. WRRD 898/419/489 1881; 36/667/353 1888; 20/284/157 1889; 14/821/426 1890.

2. Christopher White was a solicitor of the estate and Alfred Brown resided in the area in Yorkshire where the Thornhill Estate also had land.

3. Thornhill Estate Papers. Brief Petition for Transfer of Funds etc. June 26, 1857. DD/T/351. H.P.L. op cit.

On his appointment as one of the trustees, Dr Ramsbotham gave up his responsibilities as estate steward, and this post was filled by Frederick Holroyd. For specific tasks the services of various professions were engaged. George Crowther, whose family had long-standing links with the Thornhill Estate, was usually employed for any survey work. Road construction work was contracted to Edward Crowther.¹ For the important task of deciding on the best estate layout and the means of development, Frederick Robert Jones was engaged. Christopher White, one of the trustees, considered him to be:

"the most eminent land agent in the West Riding of York" and one on whose judgment the trustees could safely rely.² Jones was employed for laying out both the leasehold land, and also the land sold in 1854 and 1855, under the terms of the 1854 Thornhill Estate Act. His services were far from cheap and for the estate sales alone he was paid £942. This considerable expenditure, however, was thought to have been more than justified:

"I have every reason to believe that the judicious manner in which he lotted the property and met the claims of the tenantry (a most difficult task) he has secured for Miss Thornhill an addition of £20,000 over and above what would have been realised had the matter been placed as usual in the hands of a London firm of eminence."³

After Clara Thornhill had come of age in 1857 the ownership of the estate passed to the hands of the trustees of a marriage settlement made in 1855.⁴ Effective decision-making became the responsibility of Clara's husband, Thomas Clarke Thornhill, who

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Certificate of Works in Chancery, July 18, 1854. H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers. Affidavit of Christopher White, January 2, 1853. H.P.L.
 3. Thornhill Estate Papers. Affidavit of Christopher White, 1855, op cit.
 4. Thornhill Estate Papers. Petition for transfer and payment to the Trustees of the Settlement of Funds 1857. DD/T/315. H.P.L.

for this purpose was advised by London solicitors, In 1868 local management was placed in the hands of the firm of George Crowther and Sons.¹ By this date the estate had passed to the son, William Clarke Thornhill, and financial matters and any disputes were discussed with him when he attended the rent audit. In all other matters the Crowthers were at liberty, within the terms laid down by the Thornhill Estate Act 1852², to proceed as they thought best in the interests of the estate. When, in 1882, William Clarke Thornhill decided that he would sell some of the less lucrative ground rents in Huddersfield in order to repay the mortgage on the Rushton Estate, the Crowthers dealt with the valuation and detail of the sale.³ Even when Thomas Bryan Clark Thornhill had inherited the Estate and took a greater interest in its day-to-day running, the correspondence shows that he relied entirely on the discretion of George Crowther in all matters, even when additional capital outlay was required.⁴

The existence of a family concern such as that of the Crowthers instilled in the management of the Thornhill Estate a continuity and stability that was not experienced on the other estates in Huddersfield.⁵ An intimate knowledge of the Huddersfield estate, together with the skills acquired in the general course of business, was probably of great benefit to the Estate both in interpreting the nature of the market and in applying the interpretation to the provision of parcels of land in such a way as to best benefit the income of the Estate.

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Appointment of Geo Crowther May 12, 1868, Box 2 H.P.L.
 2. Thornhill Estate Papers. Correspondence of G Crowther with W. C. C. Thornhill 1875. DD/T/338. H.P.L.
 3. Thornhill Estate Papers. Documents relating to Rushton Estate Sale DD/T/333. H.P.L. The estate was purchased in 1855. It was in Northamptonshire. Vide infra.
 4. Thornhill Estate Papers. Box 2 of letters Thos Bryan Clarke Thornhill to Geo Crowther 1901-1910.
 5. Which has continued to the present day. The firm of Crowther still manages the Thornhill Estate affairs.

As was the case with other land agents, the Crowthers undertook tasks for a number of landowners. Indeed Crowther's business correspondence and the limited evidence available from other sources indicates that land surveyors and solicitors were crucial supporting decision agents who played a vital part in the land development process.¹ Through the actions of these parties the disparate requirements of housing demand and land supply came together. The surveyor and the solicitor, because of their skills, were involved in nearly every land transaction.

Solicitors, in drawing up deeds, were in a position to advise clients as to the requirements of the market and could influence the choice of covenants and leases used.² They were also in a position to take advantage of their knowledge and capitalise on a vested interest. As has already been noted, there was little land speculation, but in the few instances where it occurred a solicitor was involved. Thus, for instance, William Barker purchased land at the Thornhill Estate sales in 1855 when acting in the sales as a solicitor. He sold this land in 1856 before it had been developed. He also purchased land while involved in the sale of land belonging to Joseph Armitage, a gardener, at Birkby Commonside.³

The landowner was even more dependent on the skills of the land surveyor. His judgment was required for an accurate assessment of the requirements of customers in such respects as the layout of plots for lease or sale. Typical of the advice a land surveyor would give is that of George Crowther in a letter to the solicitors of the Haigh Allen Estate which was to be placed on the market in 1858:

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Box of letters associated with the business of George Crowther not relating to Thornhill Estate, June 1858 to April 1860. H.P.L.
 2. They also were a common source of finance for prospective builders.
 3. WRRD, TK/427/522/1856; TK/439/533/1856; TK/446/839/1856, QT 90/119 1850.

"The property at Lane will sell judging by what has been done there in bygone days and the great amount of improvement made by the Learoyds and others. I expect to obtain good prices, some of the present inviting sites for mills and I have arranged it so in the laying out that access may be had to the canal from which water can be taken ... mill sites are much sought after and I need only instance what has been done near Ravensthorpe in Mirfield by the Dewsberians and their neighbours and in dividing the Leeds Road property, I have had my attention directed to such a class of customers and hope to obtain the prices fixed."¹

The tasks undertaken by such an agent depended on the terms of reference he was given. If a decision to sell was taken at an unfavourable time as in the above case,² the land agent had to meet the requirements as well as he could. In the same year while acting for a buyer Crowther was able to be more realistic in his advice:

"Looking at its somewhat central position and proximity to the Railway station and the best position in the town it is and probably become very valuable, but bearing in mind the important interests, now apparently jeopardised and the uncertainty and doubt which the public of this neighbourhood feel, with respect to the tenant right property, and the future granting of leases, the more I have grappled with the consideration of this question and the more difficult it becomes to advise you safely ..."³

Thus the surveyor often had to perform a number of roles in the same market. Ultimately the land agent was no more than his title suggests and he was bound by the wishes of the landowner.

Nevertheless, the close knit group, as the correspondence indicates such professionals formed, probably facilitated the development process. A very small group of individuals undertook the major part of estate administration on all of the estates in Huddersfield.⁴

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1. Thornhill Estate Papers. Crowther business letters op cit letter George Crowther to Messrs Russell, Solicitors, York, June 11, 1858. H.P.L.
 2. During a building slump vide supra Chapter 2.
 3. T.E.P. Crowther business letters op cit. Letter George Crowther to President and Committee of the Mechanics Institute.
 4. The character of the close-knit group is indicated in a letter written by George Crowther to F. D. Fenton Esq in New Zealand about local people in Huddersfield. T.E.P. October 11 1858 H.P.L.

Members of the same group of individuals themselves became developers.¹ Moreover it cannot have been purely a coincidence that a number of estates chose the same moment in 1890 to offer a choice of either freehold or leasehold to builders.

Urban Land Policy 1850-1911

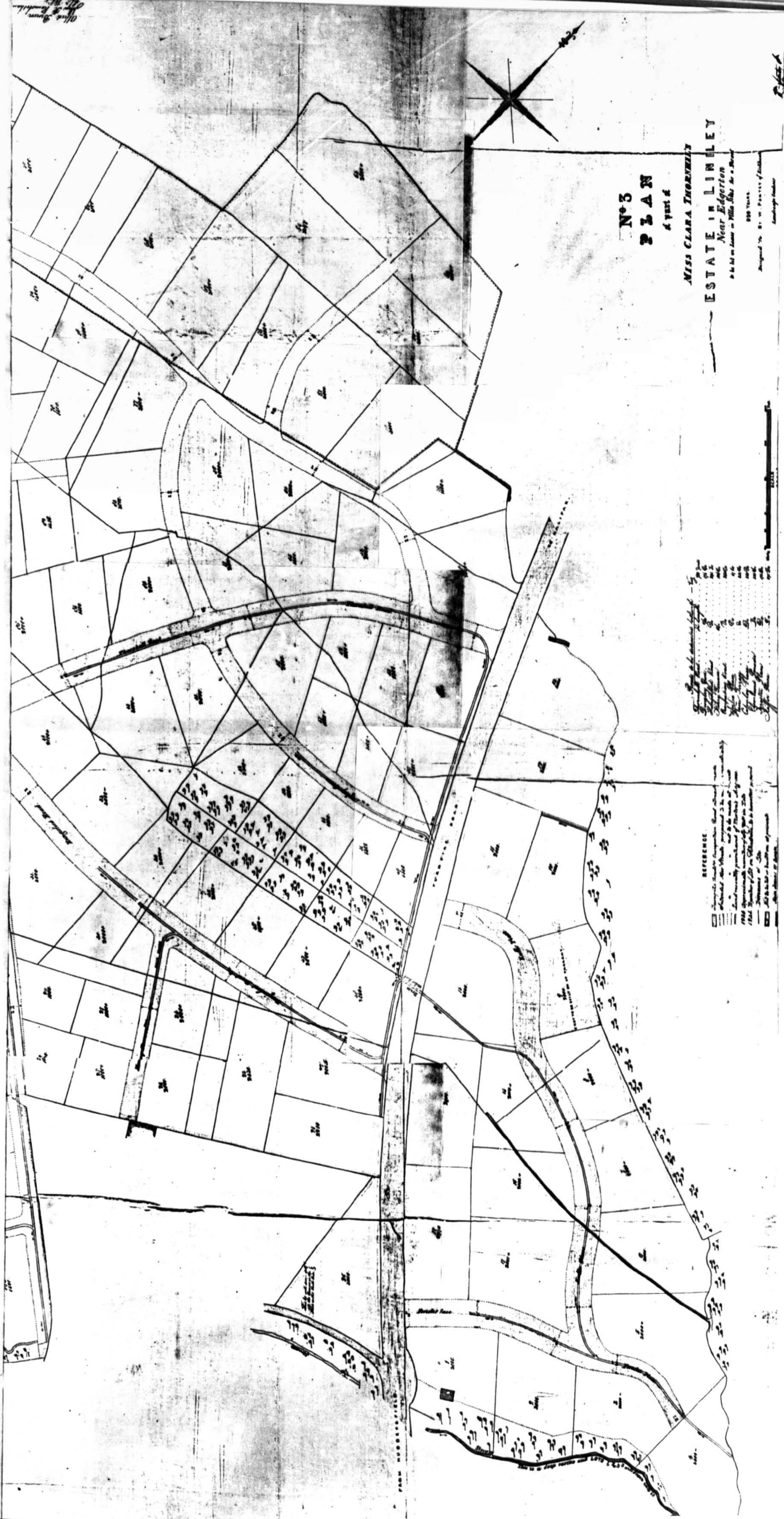
Most landowners chose to develop their land themselves and let the land on long-term leases of 999 years. Letting land on leases with a yearly ground rent enabled the landowner to respond to changing demand rather than have to anticipate its character as was necessary in the case of an outright sale of an estate in lots at an auction. Having decided to open their land for development, most landowners attempted to influence the type of development that would take place. This was done in two ways; by means of controlling the estate layout, and by the use of restrictive covenants. Usually landowners concentrated on one type of development only, unless the development sites were sufficiently distant from each other for the one not to prejudice the other development plan.

The owners of the Thornhill Estate opened three areas for development. Each area was intended for quite different classes of housing. That in Edgerton was laid out for villa residences; the land at Hillhouse was intended for lower middle class terraced houses, and the land in the village of Lindley was laid out in streets suitable for working class cottages.² (Figs 5.4, 5.5, 5.6) The owners of the Fenton Estate opened two contrasting areas for development. The portion of the estate near Edgerton was advertised as:

1. For example, Hanson and Crowther.

2. Thornhill Estate Papers. Deed of Dedication relating to Thornhill Estate Act 1852. H.P.L. Plan: Court in Chancery Records, P.R.O.

Figure 5.4 Portion of the Thornhill Estate Laid Out for Development at Edgerton
 Source Thornhill Estate Act 1852



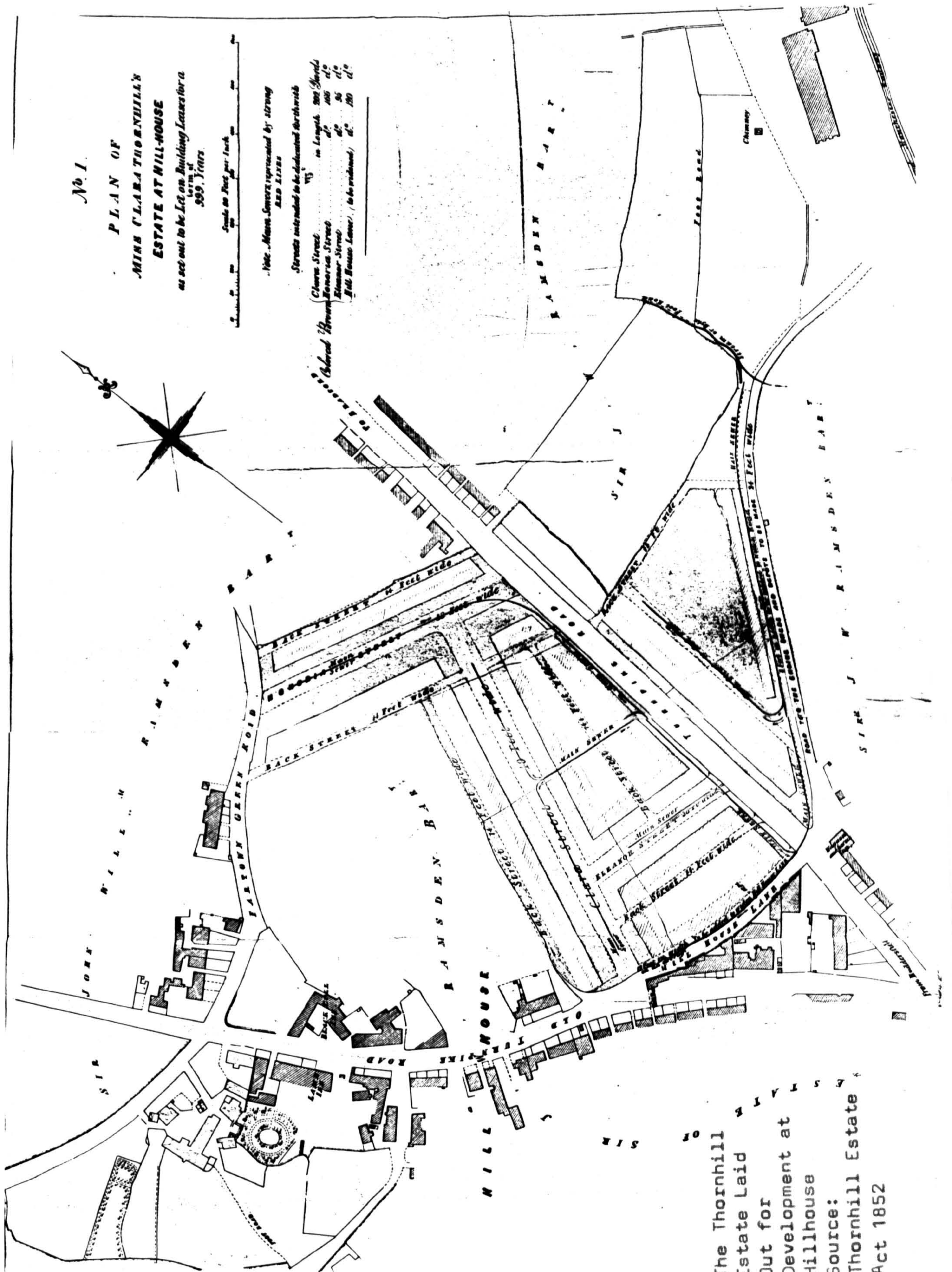


Figure 5.5 The Thornhill Estate Laid Out for Development at Hillhouse
 Source: Thornhill Estate Act 1852

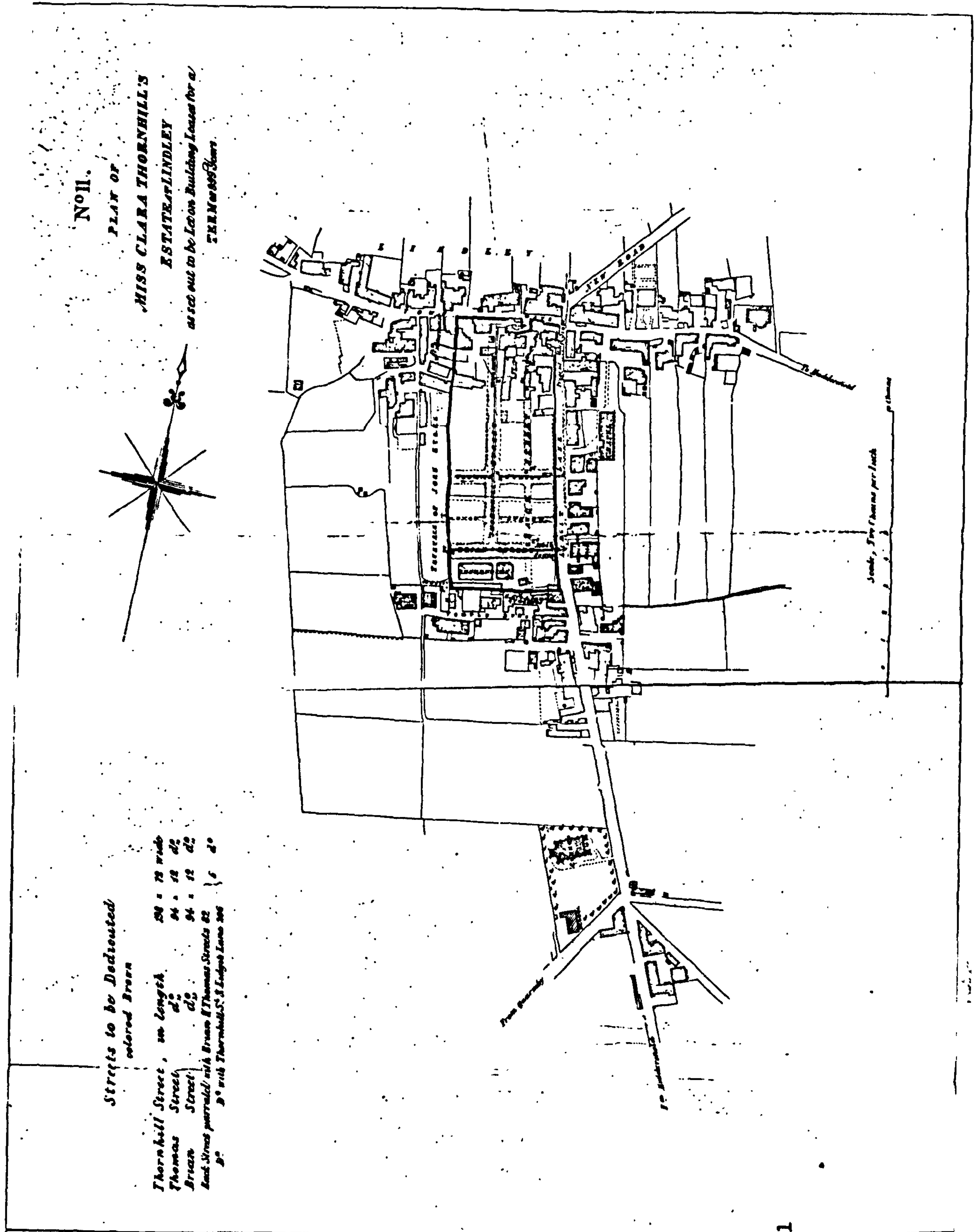


Figure 5.6 The Thornhill Estate Laid Out for Development at Lindley
Source: Thornhill Estate Act 1852

"First class villa land commanding fine views over the valley of the Colne and in the distance the picturesque and well wooded scenes of the domains of Fixby and Whitley-Beaumont."

By contrast the area opened at Spring Grove was:

"very eligible land for building first class cottages having frontage to the Wakefield and Austerlands Turnpike Road and an intended middle road to the northern side of St Thomas's church adjoining which are several attractive sites for the erection of a superior class of houses."

It was then indicated that:

"the above estates will be disposed of in lots to suit the lessees where the same can be done compatible with the general plan prepared for the protection and guidance of all parties concerned."¹

Such considerations induced stability in the market but also fostered the trend towards increasing social segregation in late Victorian urban society. A landowner who ignored this trend and made no attempt to safeguard the interests of the middle classes did so at a risk to his future income. Frances Battye found it increasingly difficult to let land on her estate for superior villas after she had attempted to exploit the potential of land adjacent to Marsh nearby for terraced houses. Tenants on her estate petitioned the council about the terraced houses being built behind their properties.² Most landowners were like Fenton and had a pre-determined fixed plan for future development. They used the layout of the streets to give a preliminary indication to builders of the kind of development they expected. Straight streets were for lower class terraced houses and curved streets were for middle class dwellings. To ensure the erection of the latter housing type, the landowner would also have to resort to the use of restricted covenants.

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1. Huddersfield Chronicle, October 8, 1864.
 2. Huddersfield Council Minutes, Committee for Marsh Ward, June 4, 1889.

The nature and content of covenants varied from estate to estate. All had a similar purpose, to determine and control the present and future use of land and to ensure the upkeep of the property.¹ The existence of a restrictive covenant also provided a reassurance to the builder that the status of an area or street would be maintained. Restrictive covenants, however, were not used for all land destined for the middle classes. Conversely not all working class houses were built on land without any restrictive covenants at all. Examples of the former occurrence were the leases for land belonging to George Lockwood in Edgerton, developed in the 1850s and 1860s, which contained nothing more than a stipulation to build one or more dwelling houses. More wide-ranging covenants restricting use to residential only and stipulating a defined level of maintenance were attached to leases granted by the Fisher trustees on land at Springdale on which small terraced houses were built. The existence of covenants seems to have reflected the degree to which a landowner wished to manage the development on his estate.²

The easiest method of controlling house type was to stipulate the value of any house to be built. Back-to-back houses were prevented by clauses specifying the location of windows or 'lights'. Sometimes specific types of houses were excluded. Thus leases granted on land belonging to G. W. Shaw in Marsh specifically stipulated that no cottage with one room only on the ground floor should be built.³ Other leases merely excluded all save residential uses and left the choice of house type exclusively to the builder. Those landowners who required detailed control stipulated that the

1. See Appendix D.

2. Vide supra page 201 note 1; Fisher Estate: WRRD 24/442/202 1902.

3. WRRD 37/88/49/894.

building erected should be in accordance with a plan deposited with and approved by the agent of the estate.

The closest control of development was undertaken by the managers of the Thornhill Estate. Under a deed of dedication attached to the 1852 Thornhill Estate Act detailed covenants were laid down for the leases granted in each of the three areas of development. This ensured that their use followed the course stipulated by the Act. All the plans and elevations were subject to close scrutiny by the agents of the Trustees and any change in use or ownership was with their consent.

For the Edgerton area the covenants stipulated that no trade of any kind would be allowed and the only properties erected were to be villas. In the other two areas no offensive trade was to be allowed unless first sanctioned by the lessor; and a penalty of £10 was to be exacted if such a trade was practised without consent. Villas on the Edgerton Estate were to be erected only when their exact location and architectural quality had been agreed with the agents of the estate. Walls surrounding the grounds were only to be three feet high. In Hillhouse the forecourt of each house was to be kept 'entirely as a garden', thus ensuring that a superior type of terraced house would be built. No such restrictions were placed on properties built in Lindley village but the exact details were laid down for the construction of cellars which effectively prevented the use of any cellars for residential purposes.¹ The success of a covenant depended on its enforcement by the agents of the estate and continued surveillance of building was usually necessary.

It became increasingly difficult to impose covenants which were designed to ensure that only middle class housing was

1. Thornhill Estate Act 1852. Deed of Dedication op cit.

constructed on an estate. Estates which had a predetermined plan and on which extensive covenants were imposed found it difficult to let land. The more successful estates were those which were less concerned with the character of development and more concerned with an immediate return on their capital. Moreover, the growing practice of offering land on either leasehold or freehold terms reduced the effectiveness of any covenant which might be imposed on freehold land once it had been conveyed; the possibility of supervision by a landowner or his agent was limited.¹

The ability of landowners to take an active role in the development of land was only shortlived. As the competition between landowners seeking to attract builders to their land increased, so their actions were confined, by the end of the nineteenth century, to supplying land in accordance with the terms and dictates of the building industry.

1. Although it is possible for restrictive covenants to be attached to freehold conveyances, it is more difficult to enforce them legally. Also, once a landowner conveys his land he ceases to have any interest in it.

CHAPTER 6THE MECHANICS OF BUILDING 1770-1850Introduction

The decision of the landowner to release land for development in whatever form he might choose was a response to an equally important decision by another set of decision-makers - the builders. In contrast, however, the decision to build was made by hundreds of individuals rather than a small minority. The builder or building undertaker¹ was the person who obtained a site either on leasehold or freehold, who arranged finance and contracted workers to build houses, shops and factories, and who then sold them, let them or even occupied the property himself. The erection of a building was largely an investment decision and as such concerned with economic matters such as capital availability, profit and income. Thus, like the landowner, the building undertaker was influenced by considerations such as the availability of capital, the cost of building materials and the increasing demand for accommodation by an ever-expanding population. But since the housing market was very imperfect, as Saul has demonstrated², building would often take place when rents were low and capital generally scarce.

The decision to build also involved a locational decision, and it is this which will be the central focus here. Consideration will be given to those factors which influenced the locational decision in the development of land, including the characteristics of the building undertakers, the size of the building unit and land

1. Builder in this context does not necessarily mean a member of the building profession.
2. SAUL, S. B. (1962) "House-building in England, 1890-1914", Economic History Review, 2nd series, 15, 119-37.

costs. Matters such as interest rates and the supply of capital will be examined where they bear directly on the locational decision to build.

The Decision-makers: Building Undertakers

According to Vance, during the industrial revolution the worker was increasingly forced to rent house accommodation in a generalised housing market, rather than housing directly provided by the employer.¹ The exhaustive researches of Chalklin reveal that in most large towns in the eighteenth century, housing was provided by numerous small capitalists.² It would appear that the existence of a generalised housing market was related to the size of the local labour force rather than to any perceived stage in the development of capitalism. The participation of the millowner in the provision of housing was the exception rather than the rule. It was related to the encouragement of key workers only. The types of profession and traders who undertook building varied considerably from town to town, as did the active participation in the building profession in the market.³ Chalklin maintains that there was no significant difference between leasehold and freehold towns in the types of persons involved.⁴ Nevertheless evidence from the Select Committee on Town Holdings suggests that in the nineteenth century at least, the prevailing type of tenure did affect the structure and size of building undertakings.⁵

A variety of sources have been used to establish the nature of

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1. VANCE, J. E. (1966) "Housing the worker: The Employment Linkage as a Force in Urban Structure", Economic Geography, 42, 294-325.
 2. CHALKLIN, C. W. (1974) The Provincial Towns of Georgian England, 167-174.
 3. CHALKLIN, C. W. op cit, 186.
 4. CHALKLIN, C. W. op cit, 157-187.
 5. Report of the Select Committee on Town Holdings 1889, 22-3.

TABLE 6.1 - SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF BUILDING UNDERTAKERS 1770-1850

Source	Industrialist/ Manufacturer	Merchant	Small Traders/ Services	Building Trades	Prof/ Annuitants	Workers/ Unknown	Total
LEASEHOLD/RENTAL							
1780 Ramsden Survey	15.86	7.58	28.27	9.65	20.85	17.93	100%
Ramsden Rentals	11.25	7.44	11.25	4.17	3.26	62.61	100%
Ramsden v Thornton case tenancies at will	4.43	2.04	22.18	13.65	12.28	45.39	100%
Lockwood Estate Prop conveyance	24.24	16.66	10.60	6.06	21.12	21.12	100%
Ingham/Dyson Deeds WRRD	57.40	0	35.71	0	7.142	28.57	100%
Miscellaneous Deeds WRRD	40.00	0	30.00	10.00	10.00	20.00	100%
FREEHOLD SALES Source: Deeds WRRD							
Kaye Estate	28.57	10.20	24.48	10.20	10.24	12.24	100%
Lindley township	46.15	7.69	17.30	15.38	7.69	3.80	100%
Fenton Estate	25.00	33.33	8.33	25.00	8.33	0	100%
Ikin Estate	15.15	30.33	18.18	12.12	24.24	0	100%
Miscellaneous sales Lockwood township	87.75	0	12.50	0	0	0	100%

FRIEDMAN TWO-MAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	Test Results	at 5df Kr = 11.07	SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE	NO SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
COMPARISON				
Kaye, Lindley and Fenton sales	Xr	6.9047		x
Ramsden Rentals and all leaseholds		27.3928	x	
Leasehold (Ramsden) and tenancy at will		54.19047	x	
All leasehold		11.238	x (marginal)	

the building decision in Huddersfield.¹ (Table 6.1) In using these sources it was possible to group the building undertakers into six clearly identifiable broad categories. Two categories consisted of the more prominent manufacturers and merchants. One category consisted of several small self-employed industrialists and tradesmen such as clothiers, cloth dressers, blacksmiths, shopkeepers and cabinet makers. Also forming a separate category were the members of the building industry itself - stone masons, plasterers, joiners, glaziers, plumbers and painters. A fifth category included members of the professional classes such as doctors and solicitors. It also comprised those labelled as annuitants and gentlemen, all of whom were likely to be people of independent means. The remaining category was composed of rather a miscellaneous mixture of industrial workers, yeoman farmers and people whose occupations were not recorded.

The deeds of conveyance registered at the Registry of Deeds usually noted the name, occupation and residence of the purchaser of a lot. For the Lockwood Estate the name was extracted and assigned to a category on the basis of information derived from the appropriate directory. The same procedure was used for lessees listed in the Ramsden Estate survey of 1778 and the rentals. In a few cases the occupation was listed in the rental. No locational data could be derived from the Ramsden rentals. Further information on building undertakers was obtained from a court case brought against Sir John William Ramsden by Joseph Thornton in 1862. The papers relating to the case as presented in the House of Lords refer to the case histories of a number of

1. Ramsden Estate Survey 1780, Ramsden Estate Rentals 1768-1844, Case filed in Chancery June 6, 1862 between Joseph Thornton and Lee Dyson, plaintiffs and Sir John William Ramsden. Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Estate Conveyancing Deed 1954, H.P.L. Relevant Deeds registered at West Riding Registry of Deeds 1770-1850.

tenants of the estate during the period before 1850. The occupations of 293 tenants at will were given but as a sample it is extremely biased. There were political overtones attached to the whole case. Joseph Thornton was a mill manager by profession who saw himself as championing the cause of the working classes against 'the Tyranny of the aristocracy who are exploiting them'.

Thornton argued that the decision of the owners to change the terms of tenure from the less secure tenancies at will to the more secure but more expensive leases was detrimental to the interests of the working classes. These people who, having saved for many years in order to invest in a house, would be unable to pay the increased rent and so lose their life savings. To support his case he collected evidence from as many such people as possible. The Ramsden Estate also collected a large amount of evidence to illustrate the contrary.¹

A Friedman Two-way analysis of variance test was carried out on the occupational distribution of the 293 tenants given in the House of Lords' case and the results derived from the rentals.² A value of $X_r = 7.2142$ was obtained which at 99% confidence limits was less than 11.07 at 5 degrees of freedom. (Table 6.1) Thus the samples could be said to have been derived from the same population. The analysis was based on the assumption that all the persons assigned to the category of unknown in the rentals were probably employees. To verify this those persons whose occupation was known from another source were checked against an appropriate

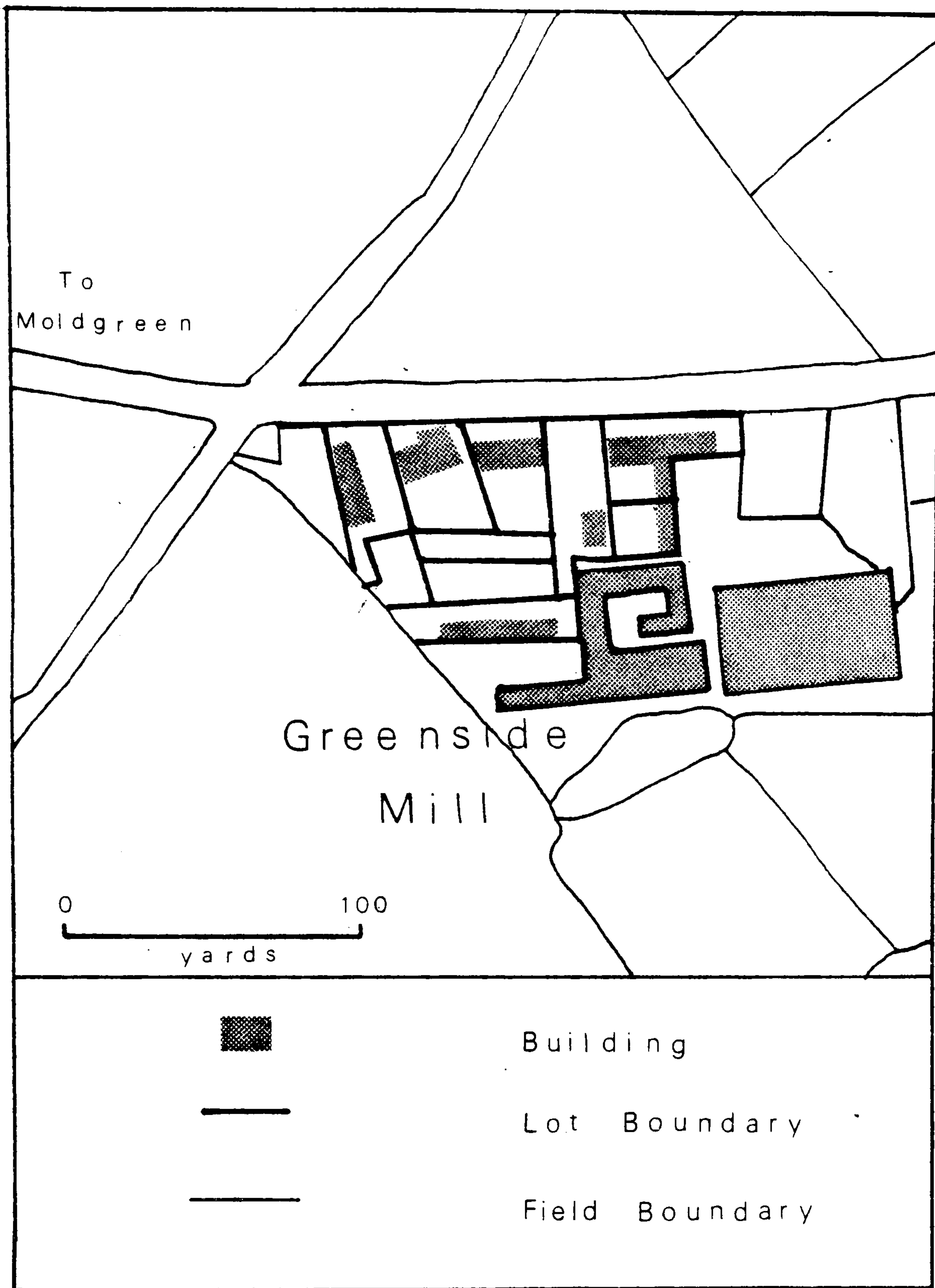
-
1. Thornton v Ramsden Case 1862 op cit. There is also a collection of papers relating to the evidence given in the case, including a number of old leases, tenant at will applications and various affidavits. Ramsden Estate Papers, Papers received from Mr Nelson 1874, Box 12, H.P.L.
 2. Appendix E.

directory. It was found that at this stage the directories gave full coverage of masters and professions in Huddersfield and district.

The results of analysis of all sources are given in the Table. Since categories have been combined it was difficult to interpret a statistical test based on χ^2 so the Friedman Two-way analysis of variance test was applied to the data to see if there was any significant difference between different tenures. The results indicate that the characteristics of building undertakers did vary between different types of tenure and to a lesser degree between different areas in Huddersfield. The greatest differences occurred between tenancies at will and leasehold property. This difference can be attributed to the unusual nature of the tenure on which land was taken for development on the Ramsden Estate.¹

Within categories of building undertakers the role of particular trades and professions reflected the industrial and commercial structure of the town. Of note is the prominent part played by innkeepers in early property development. According to the Ramsden Estate rentals they accounted for some nine per cent of the building. Before the advent of factory production the commercial activities of yeoman clothiers centred on the inns of Huddersfield. Widows and spinsters also played an important role in house-building; it was one of the means by which they could obtain a regular income and remain independent. In the Ramsden Estate survey of 1778, 16.55% of building owners were widows. On the Lockwood proprietors' Estate they accounted for 12.12% of the builders between 1800 and 1850. According to the 1851 Census enumerators' returns there were 32 people who recorded their occupation as 'proprietor of houses'; of these 24 were women.

1. Tenant at will. Vide Supra. Chapter 4.



**Figure 6.1 Land Developed at Greenside
by Hesp
Source: WRRD**

Between categories, the various tenures differ in the nature of the participation of three groups of people in building - the building trade, the industrialists and the small savers. The building trade contributed on average to about 10% of the direct involvement in actual decision-making regarding the location and development of housing. The percentage was higher amongst sales than leaseholds. It was particularly high amongst the Bay Hall sales. The low percentage on the Kaye Estate masks an underlying reality in 1827, since 20 of the properties were already built on when sold. A further 29 were developed subsequent to the sale and 17 of those were sold by Hesp who acted as the developer at the time.¹ On these 29 properties the share of the building industry amounted to 13.79%, all on Hesp's land. The intervention of Hesp also increased the share of building undertaken by workers; thus 5 weavers built houses on his land. (Figure 6.1)

Industrialists also exhibited different behaviour on different tenures. Their role was strong throughout all tenures but was particularly so on freehold purchases. An explanation can be sought in the financial circumstances of this group. As industrialists they had more capital available from which to finance a purchase. The role of the industrialist was also strongest on property in outlying villages like Lindley. It is probable that in such areas manufacturers undertook the building of houses in order to attract key workers to these more remote locations. At the sale of the Ikin Estate in 1820 the merchant and gentry classes were well represented². This reflects the nature of the property built, chiefly for the members of those classes; but

1. He subsequently divided the land he purchased into smaller lots and sold it for housing in the 1830s. Vide infra.

2. For deed reference numbers vide supra , 119 fn. 1

also reflects the desire of these classes to acquire votes in the county elections before the Reform Act of 1832. Thus, although it was mainly cottages which were purchased at Bay Hall, in 1826 merchants figured prominently there too. In Huddersfield as a whole, on the other hand, merchants played but a limited role in providing housing.

Perhaps the most striking difference between tenures is in the participation of the small saver in the provision of housing. Workers played a very important part in providing housing on the Ramsden Estate. This was unusual even in towns of the eighteenth century and even more so in the nineteenth century.¹ Thus it elicited a comment from a government visitor as follows:

"There is a peculiarity observed in Huddersfield that workmen pride themselves in being able to build and have a house of their own. More cottage dwellings belong to workmen than in any other town."²

The advantage to the small builder in such circumstances would be the low cost of the land element in the housing package. The larger capital sum necessary for the purchase of land was sufficient to deter the small saver. Land belonging to Sir Joseph Radcliffe, to George Crosland and to the Lockwood Proprietors was let on 999-year leases at a ground rent of 1d or 2d per square yard depending on the location.³ For new cottages built in 1834 on the Ramsden Estate the price per square yard ranged from 1d to 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁴ Tenancies at will were much less expensive than leases at the equivalent location. In 1846 tenants were granted expectation leases whereby the lessees might obtain maximum compensation from

1. CHALKLIN op cit, 157-187.

2. Minutes of Commissioner of Inquiry into Huddersfield Improvement Bill. May 3rd, 1847. House of Lords Record Office.

3. WRRD 14/606/257 1909; ZB 220/404 1866; Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Conveyancing Deed op cit.

4. Ramsden Estate Rentals 1834 and 1835. H.P.L.

the railway company when the railway was routed through the tenants' property.¹ From these it is possible to compare the cost of land on freehold, leasehold and tenancy at will. (Table 6.2)

TABLE 6.2

<u>Location</u>	<u>Leasehold</u>		<u>Tenancy at will</u>		<u>Freehold</u>	
	<u>RENT</u>		<u>RENT</u>		<u>SALE PRICE</u>	
	<u>per</u> <u>sq yd</u>	<u>per</u> <u>annum</u>	<u>per</u> <u>sq yd</u>	<u>per</u> <u>annum</u>	<u>per</u> <u>sq yd</u>	<u>total</u> <u>per plot</u>
Spring Street	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	£3.12.10d	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	£1.16.7d	7s.0d	£87.7s.0d
Snoddle Hill Marsh	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	£2.19.11d	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	£1.11.3d	4s.2d	£52.0s.0d

Houses in Spring Street were let at £30 per annum and the average plot size was 250 square yards. In outlying areas tenants were only paying rents of 3s per cottage per annum.² These differences were hypothetical but there is firm evidence for actual sales which occurred on adjacent property. In Moldgreen at the Kaye sales in 1829 Matthew Hirst purchased a plot 1440 square yards at 1s 6d per square yard and thus a total cost of £104.³ An equivalent plot of 1440 square yards held on tenancy at will on the Ramsden Estate in Moldgreen would have cost around £6 per annum. In reality there was no direct choice between a number of tenures in one locality. However the existence of a cheap form of land for renting fostered the development of a building industry which was organised on a small scale and as a result involved a wider section of the community than was normal at this time.

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Halthorn to Loch DD/RE/C/21 - 3; Railway Expectation Leases 1846. Miscellaneous Bundle 1, Box 12, H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers, Huddersfield Estate Survey July 17, 1849. Valuation by Thomas Brook, H.P.L.
 3. Particulars of sale at Dalton 1827. T.M.M. WRRD K 1/627/509, 1829.

The Building Industry

The corollary of the participation of a large number of small individuals in the building process was that the building industry itself was dominated by small jobbing builders who were the agents of the decision-makers rather than direct participants themselves. As has been seen, some did build their own houses. No record remains, however, of the activities of the majority. As far as can be judged there were master builders within the building profession. George Scarlett gave evidence to the House of Lords in 1862 that he had been a builder in Huddersfield for over 30 years and that he employed 20-30 men in different trades.¹ The largest master builder in the district was one Joseph Kaye, who undertook work on both public buildings and small houses. He reported to a Royal Commission in 1842 that he had built about a third of Huddersfield and employed at any one time between 250 and 1100 men.² According to Isaac Horder, cashier to the Ramsden Estate:

"Joseph Kaye was a funny old man. He was known to say that after taking a contract for a church, that he forgotten the estimate for the tower end. I never heard of him getting paid extra."³

This observation shows that most builders worked by rule of thumb methods and certainly not on well-thought-out economic lines. It is not surprising, therefore, that many went bankrupt. Analysis of the directories reveals that there was a large turnover in members of the trade even within a short 4-year period. (Table 6.3)

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1. Thornton v Ramsden case 1862. Affidavit of George Scarlett, H.P.L.
 2. Appendix of the First Report of 1844 Commission of Inquiry into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts, 177-8. Evidence of Joseph Kaye.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Isaac Horder's Notebook 1846-1911.

TABLE 6.3¹

	<u>1843</u>	<u>Gone</u>	<u>1847</u> <u>Added</u>
Joiners	24	7	0
Stone masons	26	6	13

Until 1850 no builders as such were recorded and even then the only three were Thomas Armytage, Joseph Kaye and George Scarlett.² Each trade had its own master and anyone intending to build had to engage each trade separately. Occasionally the architect of a large house acted as contractor. Thus Joseph Thornton's house in Paddock was built by Beaumont and Haigh of Paddock, with James Leech, the managing clerk for Joseph, acting as architect.³

The combination of small building undertaker and jobbing builder often resulted in poorly built property as owners tried to cut costs. Thus the houses had

"scarce a sash or pane that will open and ventilation flues for cottages are almost unknown."⁴

Sanitary provision was also poor, thus when the building undertakers had

"accumulated perhaps fifty pounds, they will go and build a house that costs perhaps seventy or eighty pounds but are unable to complete it ... The privies are the last things erected and they are generally very badly done. They have no capital to get on farther."⁵

Building Project Size

The involvement of a number of working people and small capitalists in the building process also meant that the unit of development was likely to be small. Three criteria can be used to

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1. WHITE, W. (1843 and 1847) History, Directory and Gazetteer of the West Riding of Yorkshire.
 2. Nixon's Map and Directory of Huddersfield 1850, H.P.L.
 3. Thornton v Ramsden case 1862. Affidavit of Joseph Thornton.
 4. Inquiry into the State of Towns op cit, 177.
 5. Inquiry into the State of Towns ibid.

measure building lot size, namely plot size, the number of houses built and the total rental paid. Ideally data should be available that would indicate house type, intensity of plot development and the relationship between land values and building costs.

Unfortunately much of this information is lacking and it is difficult to make comparisons between different parts of Huddersfield as each source of data lacks one or more of the items required. The Ramsden Estate rental refers only to the total rent paid by each tenant. The Lockwood Estate Conveyancing Deed records the rent paid and the number of houses in existence in 1954 but does not indicate the area taken on lease. The Radcliffe Estate deeds refer only to plot size and rent but give no information on the number of houses built on each plot or whether the lease was for a mill or a house. Deeds relating to freehold sales yield no information on price and rarely indicate the number of houses built or to be built. Lists of tenancies at will and leases after 1845 on the Ramsden Estate give data only on numbers of houses and rent per yard and not yardage taken. Nevertheless this information culled from diverse sources has been classified as far as possible into comparable categories. (Table 6.4)

The rental classes chosen approximate broadly to the house number categories in spite of the possible variation in price charged per yard. This was checked by taking a random sample which contained information on both criteria and comparing the class boundaries. The rental classes were delimited in terms of guineas since rents paid on the Ramsden Estate were usually rounded up or down to guineas. To test the class boundaries of the plot sizes a frequency distribution was constructed for the Radcliffe Estate where the rents and the area of plots were given for each development. The classes were reasonably comparable

despite a variation in the size of a single plot from a mere 25 square yards to 250 square yards. It is admitted, however, that the division into comparable categories is probably unsatisfactory. Thus it was decided that a statistical test comparing the different tenures and areas would not be valid and comparisons would have to be made on the basis of apparent percentage differences alone.

The most striking result that emerges from the breakdown of the figures into size categories is the very small-scale nature of development on the Ramsden Estate both on leasehold and tenancies at will as compared with other estates. Only rarely did a single project consist of more than six houses. On the long leasehold estates the size distribution of projects was more even but tended to be polarised between small projects of up to six houses and much larger projects of 10 or more houses. The result was a greater concentration of property ownership in Lockwood. Of the 10 people that built more than 10 houses, 3 were woollen manufacturers building housing adjacent to their mills. John Brook built 10 cottages in 1815 in Lockwood. Godfrey Berry built a factory and 24 houses in Rashcliffe including one for his own occupation in 1824.¹ George Crosland built a factory and 19 dwelling houses at Lockwood Mills in 1847. The other large builders were 3 members of the building trade, 2 were shopkeepers, one was a tailor and one a widow. All the projects were undertaken by professional builders, were started during a peak in the building cycle and were single projects; John Greenwood built 23 houses in 1834, John Kaye built 16 houses at Providence Place in 1824 and John Rushworth built 14 in 1848. It was extremely rare for more than one large

1. According to the Census Enumerators' Returns 1851 he was still in occupation in 1851.

TABLE 6.4 - HOUSE OWNERSHIP

Comparison of Categories : Radcliffe Estate

1. SIZE	up to 299 sq yds 8	300-599 sq yds 18	600-1000 sq yds 3	over 1000 sq yds 6
2. VALUE	up to 2 gns 8	2-4 gns 18	4-8 gns 3	over 8 gns 6

HOUSES BUILT	1-3		4-6		7-9		10+		Total
	% of owners	houses owned	% of owners	houses owned	% of owners	houses owned	% of owners	houses owned	
Source									
Lockwood conveyance 1800-50	30.90	11.00	36.70	26.70	14.70	17.70	17.40	44.60	100%
Ramsden leasehold 1845-50	90.80	70.90	9.20	20.01	-	-	-	-	100%
Ramsden tenant at will 1845-50	96.70	90.20	3.30	9.80	-	-	-	-	100%
Ramsden rental 1844	93.00	74.30	5.00	20.00	1.00	5.70	-	-	100%
<u>HOUSES OWNED</u>									
Huddersfield ratebook	62.00	33.93	28.10	32.00	4.00	8.20	5.20	25.70	100%
Lockwood tithe award	45.50	15.60	30.60	26.10	14.50	22.20	10.70	36.90	100%

HOUSES BUILT BY VALUE CATEGORIES (GROUND RENT)

Source	up to 2 gns	2-4 gns	4-8 gns	over 8 gns
Ramsden Rental	52.00	13.50	12.80	21.73
Radcliffe Papers	33.22	51.42	8.57	17.14

PILOT DEVELOPMENT : SIZE CATEGORIES ACCORDING TO YARDAGE

Source	up to 299 sq yds	300-599 sq yds	600-1000 sq yds	1000+ sq yds	Total
<u>Leasehold</u>					
Radcliffe Estate	33.22	51.44	8.57	17.14	100%
Dyson Estate	18.20	72.70	9.10	0	100%
<u>Freehold Plots Developed</u>					
<u>Ikin/Pownall Estates</u>					
Newhouse	0	5.80	53.80	40.40	100%
<u>Fenton Estate</u>					
Bay Hall	14.30	35.70	35.70	14.30	100%
Lindley	38.50	51.30	5.10	5.10	100%
<u>Kaye Estate</u>					
a. developed already	14.30	28.60	0	57.10	100%
b. all land and farm-land sold for development	27.30	13.60	27.30	31.80	100%

building project to be undertaken in the lifetime of any one of the building undertakers on the Lockwood Estate.

Analysis of the tithe award gives some indication of property in the whole of the township as distinct from the immediate vicinity of the two main villages of Lockwood and Rashcliffe.¹ The distribution is similar to that of house-building; however the ownership of property does not necessarily mean that the houses were built in the same manner. In time large property units could be fragmented through sale and the amalgamation of small properties. On the whole the composition of property ownership was stable over time. The largest owner recorded in the Lockwood tithe was the manufacturer George Crosland who owned 36 acres of land on Crosland Moor, 32 houses, a shop and a mill. The land was purchased in 1822 and the houses and the mill built subsequently.² According to the Census in 1851 he employed 186 men and 156 women so that he built houses for only a few of his workers.

In Huddersfield the largest property owner who held land on the Ramsden Estate was Joseph Lockwood, who was also a manufacturer. Although he owned the mill which he built on the site of his workshop, the 24 houses and 6 cellar dwellings he owned in 1847 had been purchased from other builders. Similarly the mill and 26 houses owned by James Crosland in 1847 were bought in 1820. This contrasts with freehold land in the vicinity of Huddersfield. William Learoyd purchased land in 1826 and 1844. On it he built a mill and workers' cottages. In addition he leased land on the Ramsden Estate for a total rent of £35 14s. In 1847 William Learoyd owned 41 cottages and 2 cellar dwellings as well as a mill.

1. Lockwood Tithe Award 1847. WRRD.

2. WRRD IP/721/742 1826.

His sons owned another mill, a residence and four cottages.¹

Most of the development undertaken on freehold land in Huddersfield was on land purchased in the 1820s. To some extent the size of the lots was determined by that of the parcels in which it was originally made available. There was a wide variation in lot size. The smallest variation was amongst lots purchased from the Fenton Estate where lots were of a medium size ranging from 400 to 1000 square yards. Only one person purchased more than one lot when Joseph Heywood, builder, purchased 4 lots totalling 1,654 square yards.² Despite the large size of the plots taken at the Ikin and Pownell sales, a number of speculative builders bought more than one lot.

In Lindley the active market in freehold land throughout the period was in medium-sized lots of 400 to 600 square yards. This generated developments in units of 3 or 4 houses. The smallest of these lots built on was a mere 81 square yards taken for building in 1844.³ There was only a limited demand for housing in Lindley. Industrial units were small and development here took place in a piecemeal manner. It is doubtful whether an economically determined market in housing was fully developed in Lindley for it was still an isolated village.

The data analysed so far refers to single projects only. Occasionally on the Ramsden Estate additional buildings were added to existing ones after a considerable interval. Table 6.5 lists a sample of entries in the rentals which show the intervals at which building took place.

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1. Ramsden Estate Rentals 1815-1844. Huddersfield Township Ratebook 1847.
 2. WRRD IN/174/160 1826.
 3. WRRD PC/611/610 1845.

TABLE 6.5

Evidence of Additions to Property
from the Ramsden Rental

Initial Date of Entry	No. of years after addition made	Initial Unit Size No. of cottages or houses	Size of Addition	Location
1798	30	1	1	?
1798	8 and 10	1	1+1	New Hey Rd
1798	22	1	2	?
1798	17	1	1	?
1807	13	2	1	Castlegate
1807	13	1	2	Paddock
1807	23	3	1	Castlegate
1815	5	1	1	?
1815	10	1	1	Paddock
1815	5	1	1	Paddock
1820	5	1	5	?
1820	10	1	2	?
1820	10	2	2	?
1820	10	1	1	?
1820	10	1	1	Castlegate
1820	10+15	1	2+1	Paddock
1820	8+15	1	2	Dock St
1820	5+10	1	5+5	nr Greehead
1825	2+10	1	1+1	Paddock
1825	5	2	1	Outcote Bent
1825	5	1	1	Paddock
1825	5	1	1	?

It does not include those proprietors who purchased houses already built and then built additional houses. Members of the building profession were amongst those who retained a continuing interest in the property they had erected. On very rare occasions the building was sold immediately after completion. If this did occur it was because the original building undertaker had run up debts that he was unable to meet and the house was transferred to the mortgage lender.¹ More usually the interest in a building if sold at all was sold within 5 or 10 years. The entries in the rental reveal a continual changeover of property alongside the continuing existence of a number of names which indicate the retention of

1. Ramsden Estate Rentals 1815-1844. H.P.L.

property within a family over a number of generations.¹

Capital

Within Huddersfield much of the capital which supported the small-scale nature of the building process came from building clubs.

In 1846 it was reported in response to a Government Inquiry that:

"There is a large proportion of building societies to the population ... they put their savings in clubs."²

These building clubs displayed many of the features of similar clubs in other parts of the West Riding.³ As elsewhere in the Riding,

they were based in local inns where local workmen were apt to congregate. As a result many such clubs bore the name of an inn.

According to Gosden building societies such as these attracted most of their support from tradesmen and the lower middle classes.⁴

Unfortunately no detailed records have survived which relate to these societies and clubs since a large number were only temporary in nature.

Evidence given to the House of Lords in 1862 can give some insight into the working of the clubs. According to that document much of the tenant at will property was built by:

"Frugal men who have for the most part been members of building clubs and thus been able to promote each other's savings in providing homes for themselves."⁵

Such a man was Joseph Moore, a cloth finisher of Paddock, who:

"having saved money by my labours entered the King's Head Club and Tam o'Shanters at £50 each drew out a £100 for a piece of building ground but he refused to let me have the field I wanted unless others would also build. I found two others James Barber and Abraham Beaumont both working men and both who had saved a little money. Brook marked out the sites but said he would not fix the rents until he knew how much land was occupied."⁶

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1. or survival as Ramsden Estate tenants.
 2. Minutes of Commissioners of Inquiry into Huddersfield Improvement Bill 1846 op cit.
 3. GOSDEN, P. H. J. H. (1978) Self-Help Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth Century Britain. 144-147.
 4. GOSDEN op cit., 143.
 5. Thornton v Ramsden case 1862. op cit. Affidavit of F. R. Jones.
 6. ibid. Affidavit of Joseph Moore.

Joseph Moore was a working-class man and although there is evidence that members of the lower middle class also saved in clubs and often acted as their secretaries, he was typical of a large section of small builders.

Many of the men who built two or more cottages could not read or write. On their affidavits to the House of Lords they gave only their marks. Thus there was Edmund Holt, a weaver, who was reported as having saved for over 20 years before applying for a lot to build a house. In 1849 he borrowed £50 and joined a club for £100; he then applied for a site on which to build an additional cottage let at a yearly rental of 16s and finally bought another cottage from a widow for £55. Another example is George Singleton, a weaver described as being 'frugal and industrious', one who went 'without victuals'. After putting his money into clubs for 20 years and accumulating £150, he built two cottages and then added a third at a cost of £82.¹ Twenty years seems the most usual length of time over which money was saved. The average amount of money saved in a club was £100. Women were also allowed to enter building clubs. Mary Ann Hanson built two houses in South Street and having saved some money built a third. Some clubs were not always successful in their choice of those allowed to become members. It was reported that Martin Collis, who started building a cottage in Upperhead Row, had run away after drawing out £25 from the clubs:

"Mr Marshall and Jo Heywood have found wood stone and workmanship for the same and drawn £75 more making £100 from the club. Lindley Moor Club must therefore stand tenants for the same and pay all bills against the building."²

More typical of the clubs was that named after the Angel Inn in Paddock with its 120 members including Abraham Ellam. Joseph

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1. Thornton v Ramsden case 1862. Affidavit of Joseph Thornton et al.
 2. Ramsden Estate Rental 1812-3. H.P.L.

Brook staked out the site for the houses and kept a private register with the name of the builder against each property which served as security. The club existed for 14 years until the money each member had expended reached a total of £90. In this and most clubs a member saved 4s a month in the winter and 8s in the summer.¹ Such sums were considerably less than those quoted as being normal for building societies.² Their small size perhaps would account for the more active participation of the working classes in the building process.

Most of the cottages built on this system in Huddersfield range in value from £50 to £200 only. The first record of a club was in the 1798 rental where an entry was made for Paddock club houses. The next club to be entered was the Cherry Tree club in 1807. By 1815 a number of people had the name of a club or a club secretary entered alongside their name in the rental book. It is evident that the local stewards of the Ramsden Estate did much to encourage the development of such clubs. Joseph Brook was secretary of the Star Inn club and his eldest son John was secretary of the Woolpack club.³

On the whole the activities of any club in financing the erection of houses was not restricted to a particular location. Thus the entries for the New Inn club run by J. Pollard reveals a variety of locational choices for the houses being built by its members. (Table 6.6) Only exceptionally were they formed to assist in the erection of property in one specific street in the

1. Thornton v Ramsden case op cit. Affidavit of John Brook.

2. GOSDEN, op cit, 147.

3. Ramsden Estate Rentals 1798-1820.

TABLE 6.6Entries in Ramsden Rentals relating to Building Clubs

1815		New Inn	J Pollard's
<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Sum</u>	
		£	
Mr Butteroyd	Longley	100	
Richard Dransfield	Mold Green	250	
Wm and Sam Sykes	Upper Longley	100	
Mr Crowther	Cloth Hall	50	
Mr Hellowell	Sheepridge	50	
Wm Kaye	Smithy Lane	100	
Matthew Garside	Lower Houses	50	
Jno Rawcliffe	Paddock	50	
Jno Illingworth	Upperhead Row	100	
Wm Shaw	Lower Houses	50	
Thomas Brook	Sheepridge	100	
Wm Johnson	end of Castlegate	200	

1816/17 Star Inn Club James Brook

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>houses</u>
Thos Ambler	1
Edward Brooke	4
Jas Armitage	1
Thos Wood	1
John Starkey	1
Geo Sykes	4
Jas Blakey	1
Samuel Sykes	1
Geo Berry	1
Wm Kaye	1 large dyehouse
Thos Kershaw	1
S Frost	1 dyehouse
Benj Hutchinson	1
Thos Rushworth	1
Joseph Ramsden	1

manner found in other parts of the West Riding.¹ There is only one known example in Huddersfield. In 1822 the Union Row club was formed to build houses in Union Street. More houses were built on this street at a later date but the property is clearly identifiable in the Rate Book for 1847 when it consisted chiefly of 30 pairs of back-to-back houses. Most of the houses can be traced in the rentals of 1830 and 1835. Of the 15 owners listed in the ratebook, 10 were original owners and builders and 2 were residents. Each of the 15 owners recorded in 1847 owned between 2 and 8 houses each.²

It is difficult to determine whether building clubs financed development on other estates. In the more remote villages like Lindley it is apparent from the deeds that the local merchant clothiers acted as the main money lenders for building purposes. In Lindley itself Abraham Hepworth, who was a local landowner as well as a clothier, financed most of the building that was undertaken.³ Elsewhere money appears to have come from a variety of local prominent individuals including doctors, solicitors and gentlemen of independent means. On the whole it was rare for a builder to seek finance from outside his immediate district for there was usually some local resident who was willing to lend money. The lack of social segregation may well have been a factor contributing to this. Certainly at no time does there appear to have been a shortage of capital.

1. BERESFORD, M.W.(1971). "The Back to Back House in Leeds 1787-1937" in S. D. Chapman (ed), The History of Working Class Housing, 102.

2. Poor Law Commissioners, Huddersfield Township Ratebook 1847, H.P.L.

3. For examples see WRRD G.Z. 251/283 1819; HG 552/563 1821, JU 195/179 1826; NE 20/21 1839, OR 57/46 1843; EJ 395/539 1802; FE 387/545 1808.

Locational Behaviour and the Mechanics of Development

With the lack of any direction from the landowner or his management in the greater part of Huddersfield, land development proceeded in an ad hoc and spontaneous manner of the kind that characterised many other towns in the early stages of the industrial revolution. Numerous individuals acted independently without reference to others, aiming to cater for their own needs only. In addition most builders were operating on an unsound financial basis and were anxious to cut costs as much as possible. Most builders made the decision to build only once. Thus in view of the large numbers of individuals participating in the building process it is difficult to be specific about the factors which determined choices. Moreover the data available does not make it possible to select specific case studies as representative of the way decisions were made. To a great extent decisions appear to have been of a highly personal nature. A builder might choose a location because it was near his own workshop or near other members of the family. It is however possible to isolate certain common factors which influenced individual choices.

The Pattern of Development

Data on locational decisions is lacking; in particular for much of the township of Huddersfield because only vague references to location were made in the Ramsden rentals. On the back of the 1834 rental notes list the cottages newly built in that year. Location, size, numbers of houses and rental are all given. Similar locational details are given in the back of the 1837-41 rental but the validity of the date is uncertain.¹ The pattern revealed is one of both

1. It was revealed subsequently that a number of persons building at this time were never entered in the rental. Vide supra, 156

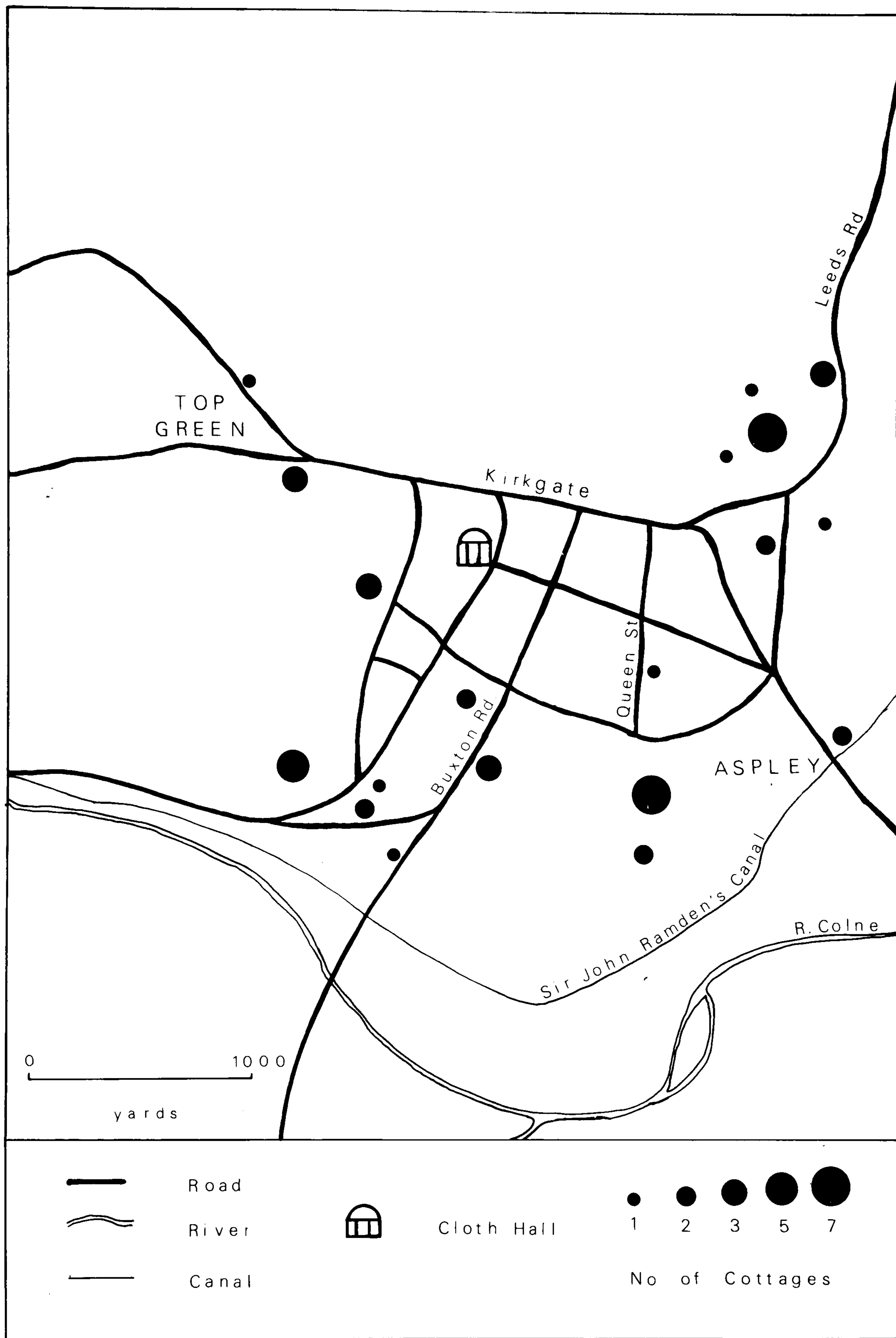


Figure 6.2 Location of Cottages built 1834
Source: Ramsden Rental 1834

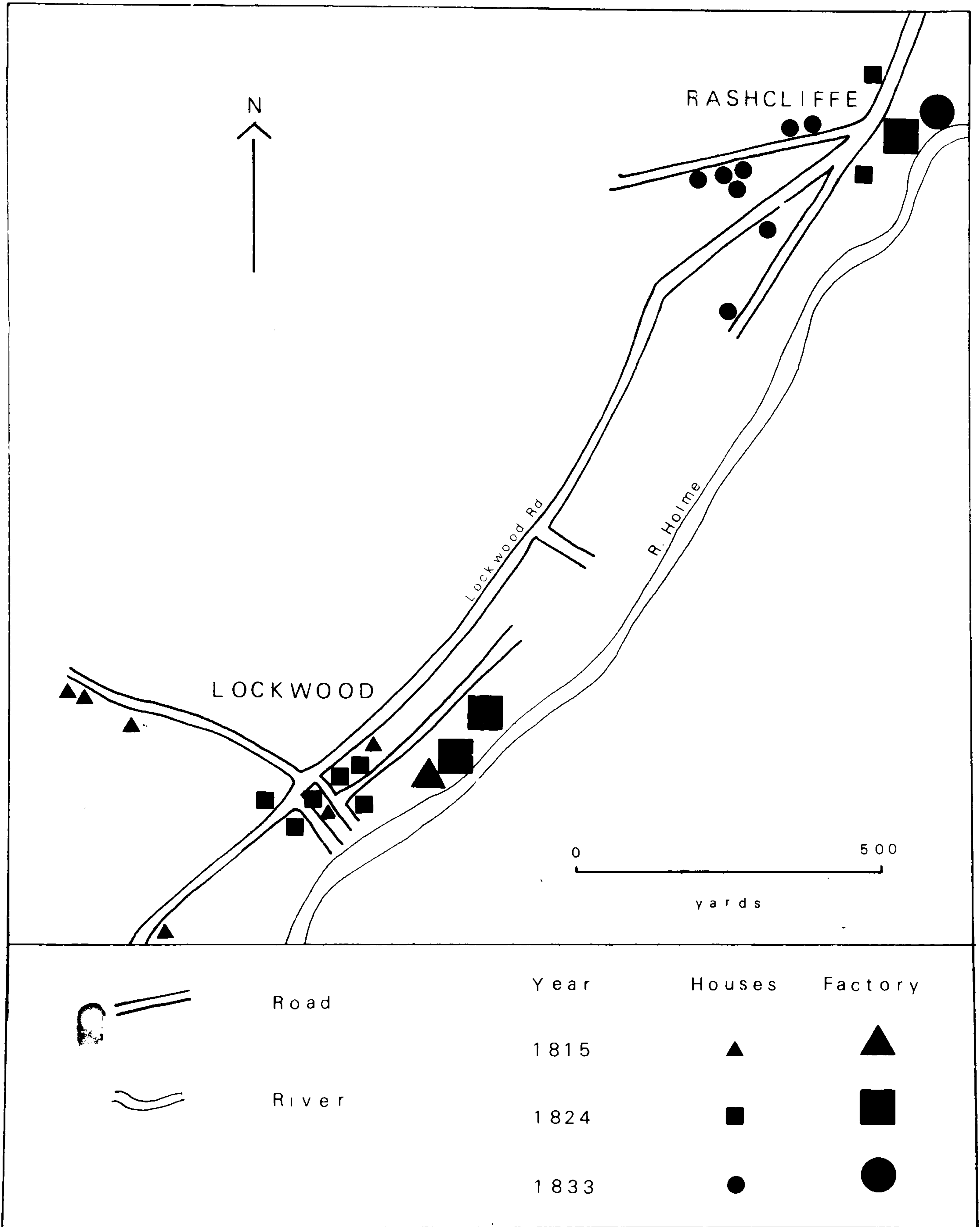


Figure 6.3 Location of Houses and Factories built in Lockwood in the years 1815, 1824, and 1833.

Source: C/T/2/42, C/T/2/43. H.P.L.

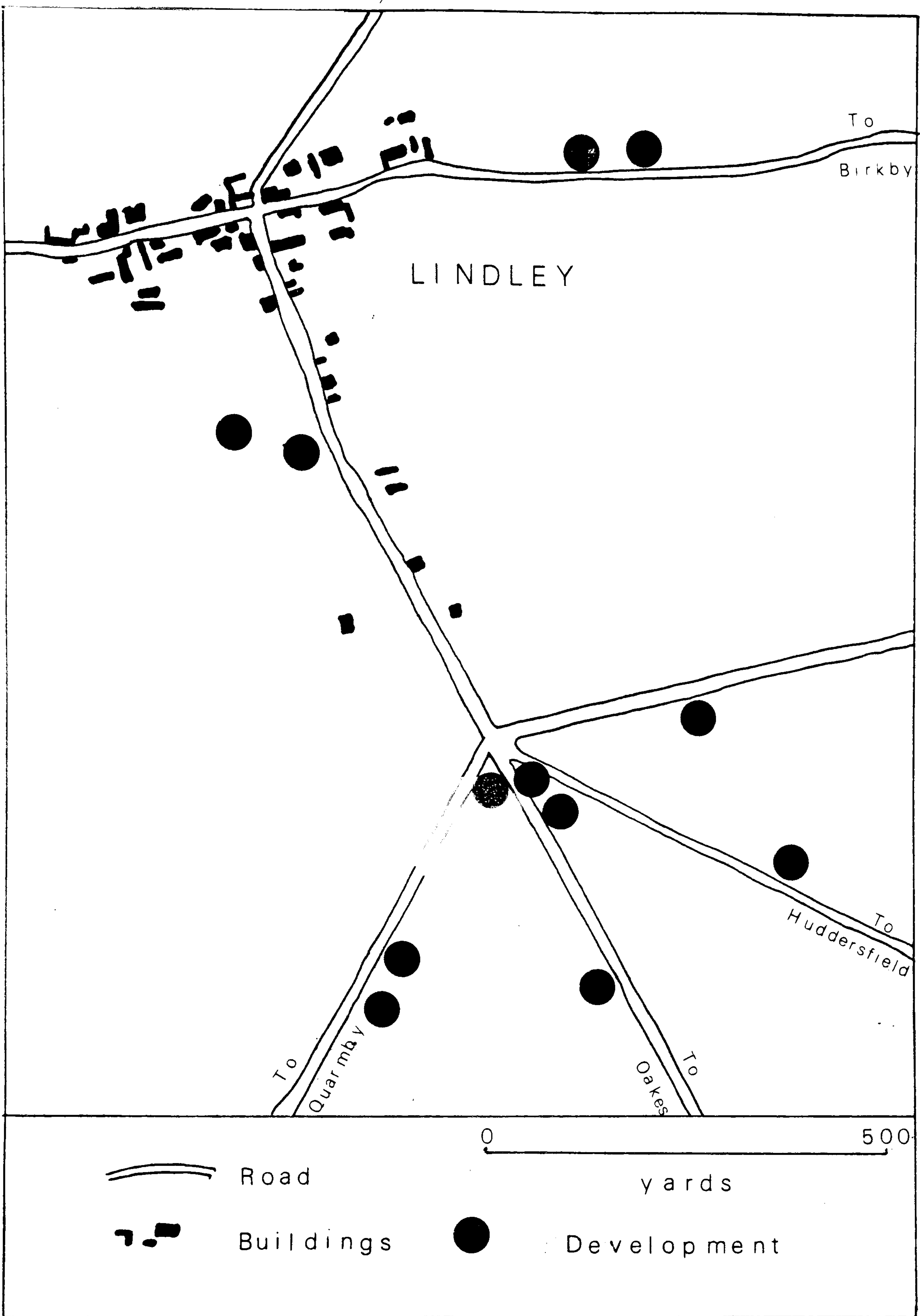


Figure 6.4 Location of Development in Lindley 1770 - 1850
Source: WRRD

scattered and more concentrated development. (Figure 6.2) There appears to be a tendency for the choices to increase with time, probably because the number of streets with lots still vacant increased with time.

The pattern of development in Lockwood is more fully documented in any one year. The sites chosen were in already existing streets and the construction of cottages was usually associated with the expansion of a mill. (Figure 6.3) In Lindley on the other hand, deeds reveal a more scattered pattern of development towards cottages built on the new roads laid down when the common was enclosed. (Figure 6.4)

The Availability of Land as a Factor influencing Locational Choice

Although all land in the immediate vicinity of the expanding built-up area was occupied as either farmland, as tentergarths or as market gardens, there was no shortage of building land. The prevailing systems of tenure accelerated the development process and widened the choice available to any builder. It was not necessary to be a tenant of a particular plot in order to build there. Evidence in the Ramsden rentals indicates that tenants who already occupied land in semi-urban uses usually received compensation if the land was taken for building. Thus entries appear to the effect that the rent had been reduced for building:

"1829 Wm Batley's widow £1 allowed for building" and

"John Tine Paddock reduced for building"¹

On the Ramsden Estate in the interests of securing the confidence necessary for the continuance of investment, the tenant of any plot of land with potential for development was given first refusal when an offer of building was made. To take advantage of this practice

1. Ramsden Estate Rental 1831. H.P.L.

of first refusal, tenants often took more land than they needed in the first instance.

To some extent it can be said that the system of tenure evolved on the Ramsden Estate was in itself the product of the type of development process that was taking place in the early years of urban growth. Property listed in the 1778 survey of the Ramsden Estate was chiefly held at rack rent. Comparison of a map made in 1825 with a map of 1780 shows that much of the building evident at the earlier date had in fact been knocked down either to be rebuilt or to allow for street widening. Reminiscences as to the state of the town by residents writing in the 1860s suggest also that the property was generally insubstantial.¹ The desire to build more substantial dwellings generated a demand for leasehold tenure. Thus a lease was granted to John Holt in 1782 'in view of the considerable sums outlaid in building his house'.² Up to 1816 no less than 138 such building leases were granted. After that date there was a marked decline in the number of leases granted so that up to 1840 there were only 38 taken out.³ This trend reflects the ascendancy of tenancy at will as the chief mode of taking land for development. It also reflects the decision of the landowner to derive some benefit from the increase in property values brought about by industrial and urban growth. From that date, on any renewal of the lease the landowner required an uncertain fine of the improved value of one year after 20 years or an improved value of 10 years if the lease was renewed after 40 years. This added considerably to the cost of a lease and probably deterred a number

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1. ANON (1860). A Short History of Folly Hall and Huddersfield 80 years ago. H.P.L.
 2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Bundle of Miscellaneous Old Leases: Papers received from Mr Nelson 1874, Box 12, H.P.L.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Draft of answer in Thornton v Ramsden case n.d. Box 24, H.P.L.

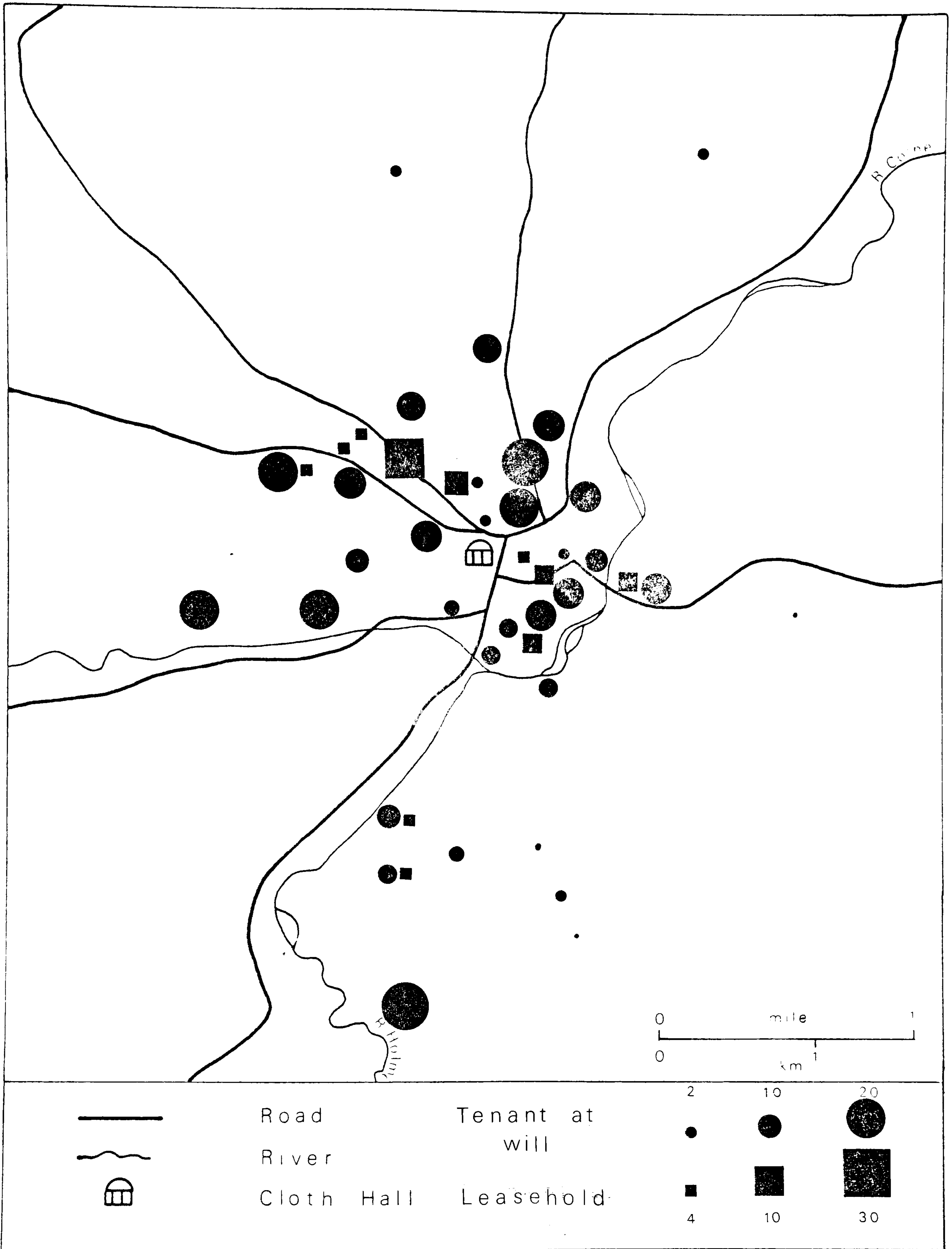


Figure 6.5 Location of Housing Developments 1846 -1849
Source: R.E.P. DD/R H.P.L.

of would-be lessees from taking a lease. In 1845 this uncertain fine was removed and renewal was on certain fine only.¹ The system of tenancy at will evolved out of an inherent need for some way to develop land given the inability of the landowner to lease land on the Settled Estates.² Once it had fostered a particular form of building process it became self-justifying.

The distinction between leasehold and tenancy at will was important in relation to the pattern of development as recorded during the period from 1846 to 1850. (Figure 6.5) It reveals a distinct difference in the pattern of decisions on each tenure. This contrast is in accord with the tendency at this time for some members of the population to segregate according to class and income.³ The two systems of tenure generated in effect a two-tier pricing system for land. Land tended to be taken on lease rather than tenancy at will if it was intended for the building of middle class rather than working class houses. Thus leases were taken in New North Road and Fitzwilliam Street, then in the process of development, as well as around the commercial core. Holdings by tenancy at will had a far more scattered pattern, they were generally concentrated at the east end of the town and in the villages near to the main areas of industry and commercial employment.

In Lockwood the choices of the builder were restricted to the streets that the estate proprietors had laid out in the villages of Rashcliffe and Lockwood. There, therefore, the pattern of development was closely defined. By contrast, the extremely sporadic

1. Leeds Mercury, April 18, 1846.

2. Vide Supra, 159-160

3. DENNIS, R. (1975). Community and Interaction in the Victorian City 1850-1880. Ph D Thesis, Cambridge.

pattern alike in space and time at Lindley was probably related to the nature of the freehold land market there. The enclosure of Lindley fields in 1799 had not only opened up the land market but also had laid down the framework of roads used for subsequent developments.

Figure 6.4 shows the location of developments recorded in deeds. Most of Lindley village had been built before the late eighteenth century and development tended to be restricted to infill behind existing property. Thus the property of Richard Fawcett in a deed^{of} 1832 is described as consisting of:

"an ancient dwelling house north of Town Street two on the east end and two on the south side with two cottages standing further out."¹

The demand for housing during this period was limited. The census returns for 1841 show that 58 houses were uninhabited. In 1831 there were 60 houses uninhabited. Developments associated with mill building did occur on lines similar to those discussed for Lockwood but in Lindley related specifically to land availability. In 1822 John Sykes, card maker, purchased part of Marshfield from Thomas Firth and built Temple Mill. George Crosland also built part of the mill on land purchased from Thomas Firth. John Sykes had already been leasing adjacent land from Sir Joseph Radcliffe. In 1823 Thomas Firth sold the rest of Marshfield in lots and Sykes and Crosland built cottages.² Similar small-scale residential building occurred in association with the construction of Plover Mill in the 1840s. Plover Mill was built on the site of a dyehouse built on land purchased at the auction of Stephen Fawcett's land in 1832.³ The only speculative developments were apparently Providence

1. WRRD LD 456/347 1832.

2. WRRD HQ 185/150 1822; HQ 187/151 1822; HQ 188/152 1822; HQ 550/512 1822; HP 672/430 1823; HP 636/603 1823; HZ 140/134 1823; HN 519/488 1821.

3. WRRD LH 220/229 1832.

buildings on Dyson's land.¹ On the whole building in Lindley displayed all the features of a rural village.

Competition and Land Values as Factors influencing Locational Choice

Within the urban area of Huddersfield, because the landowner did not fix the land rents for any one locality, the level of land values was determined by competition for land in the market. Under the accepted theory of land values it is assumed that each use will bid for land in accordance with the utility derived. The theory also assumes that perfect competition for land exists.² In Huddersfield direct competition for land did not occur immediately after the pace of development had increased. It was only with the passage of time that there was active competition for the same piece of land. The first indications of the occurrence of competition are given in the 1808 Rental, where it was noted that William Cooper, woolstapler, had applied for land 'wanted by Pontey below Jack Kaye's'. In the same year a note was made that Thomas Kilner 'bid 3d' and 'requires an answer'. Potential builders had to compete with each other; they also had to negotiate with the landowner. When there was no apparent competition for a particular piece of land the landowner would establish a minimum rent. Thus, for example, in 1815 James Lockwood, who had built 2 cottages in Castle Street, sought a lease for this property and offered 4d per square yard for the plot. A note in the rental indicates that nothing below 5d per square yard with uncertain fine was acceptable.

In general the market operated in an extremely imperfect manner for individuals rarely knew what other offers were being made for the land in question. In reality they negotiated with the landowner

1. WRRD NK 750/397 1840; NT 437/354 1841.

2. ALONSO, W. (1960) "A theory of the urban land market". Papers and proceedings of the Regional Science Association's sixth annual meeting. 6. 149-157.

alone. The result was an uneven land value surface as can be illustrated from the pattern of ground rents for cottages listed in the 1834 rental. (Table 6.7) There was considerable variation within a single street.

TABLE 6.7

Ground Rents charged for New Cottages built 1834

<u>Location</u>	<u>Mean in pence</u>	<u>St. dev.</u>	<u>Coefficient of Variation</u>
Halifax Road	2.5	-	-
Top Green	1.625	.1777	16.87%
Spring Street	2.083	.1443	6.92%
Sheep Close	1.5	.35	23.57%
Manchester Street	1.625	.1767	10.87%
South Parade	2		
Chapel Hill	3		
Buxton Road	3.416	.5773	16.9%
Albion Street	2.875	.5303	18.44%
Clegg Lane	1.892	.4970	26.26%
Aspley	1.875		
Castlegate	2.625		
Northgate	1.885	.3108	16.49%
Leeds Road	1.75		
Quay Street	2.5		
Queen Street	4		

This pattern was compounded by the informal procedure for taking land for development on the Ramsden Estate, which included the frequent use of bribes. A person wishing to build would select a plot and then go to Joseph Brook at the Star Inn and report the choice. Brook would stake out the plot and agree provisional ground rent. When Mr Bower paid his annual visit for the rent audit he would inspect the land and approve the agreed rent. Meanwhile the applicant had already arranged the capital and engaged builders in anticipation of a successful agreement. As the pace of development increased and the agents grew older, many years would often elapse before the plot was inspected and the rental fixed.¹

1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Mr Loch's Notebook, Box 24. Correspondence Halthorn to Brook, DD/RA/C/20.

On other leasehold estates the procedure was more formalised and followed the pattern observed in other leasehold towns.¹ Initially the potential builder would take a building agreement. On the basis of this agreement he would assemble the necessary capital and personnel and then build the houses. When the houses had been built, a lease was signed and backdated to the completion of the property. Provided no covenants had been inserted in the lease, additions to the property could be made subsequently,² at the wish of the leaseholder. Rents tended to be fixed for certain locations and the builder would be well aware of these before committing himself to building.

To acquire freehold land often through purchase at auction, it was necessary to have accumulated some cash beforehand. The price obtained depended very much on the state of the market on the day of the auction. In Lindley short-term borrowing took place in order to facilitate purchase.³ The actual transfer of land occurred after the house had been built. In one instance in Dalton building was made possible by the intervention of a developer. Hesp purchased lots 7 to 9 in 1834 and 33 to 36 in 1841 from the Kaye family, a total of 10 acres. The former lots were located adjacent to Greenside Mills and were subsequently conveyed for building. Hesp laid out a street 6 yards wide and organised the capital, making possible house building for workers at the mill.⁴

Changes following the Reform of the Management of the Ramsden Estate

A more careful assessment of ground rents was introduced by

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1. Select Committee on Town Holdings 1887. Evidence of William Matthews of Birmingham.
 2. Radcliffe Estate Papers. L.C.A. Thornhill Estate Papers H.P.L.
 3. WRRD F//387/545 1808; IN 164/152/1826; IN 195/179 1826
 4. WRRD LS 66/71 1834; LT 66/62 1834; LT 67/64 1834; LT 70/66 1834; LS 692/698 1834; OD 666/500 1841; OD 667/501 1841; OF 84/84 1841.

Loch and as a result a more comprehensive rental surface developed in due course. At first the differentiation between sites was comparatively small. Land at Hillhouse and Paddock was let at 1d per square yard whilst land in Commercial Street, much closer to the centre of Huddersfield, went for 2d per square yard.

Inevitably, however, as the expansion of the built-up area led to an increase in property values particularly in the commercial core increasingly it was felt by estate managers that the differentiation between sectors of the town was too small. Therefore both the general level of rents was raised and the differences between different parts of the town were increased. The builders had no say in these rent increases and as Loch wrote:

"if they don't like it they will have to lump it"¹

As his comment indicates, in fixing of land values the landowner still had the upper hand at this time. Some of the more articulate members of the community did attempt to negotiate the terms by which they held land but they were unsuccessful. Generally the tenants themselves preferred "the businesslike principle of fair agreement between landlord and tenant"² to open competition in the fixing of ground rents.

In 1846 the Ramsden Estate attempted to auction leases for the land surrounding the new railway station, thereby hoping to gain maximum market value from a prime location. There was no response to the sale at all, and prices of lots had to be fixed in the usual manner.³ The highest rents were imposed on land between the Market

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence Loch to Halthorn, DD/RE/C 107.
 2. Leeds Mercury, August 26 1846.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers . Correspondance Halthorn and Loch' , DD/RE/C/27

Place and Westgate; there the estate would not accept offers below a fixed threshold but welcomed offers above this level. In the case of lot 1 the value was raised from 1s 6d to 2s.¹ It is not clear whether such practices actively raised the general level of prices higher than those which could have been obtained under free competition. The fact that the tenants were opposed to free competition would suggest that this was not the case.

The period 1846-1850 was one of high demand for land and of falling house rents. During this period the builder found himself under increasing restrictions both as to what he built and where he built. Agreement about the plan and elevation of the building had to be obtained before the tenant could proceed with building. All tenants at will had to sign a building agreement and to obtain a certificate before they could commence work. Drainage systems were fully determined and the estate surveyor kept an eye on the progress of work.² Even with such scrutiny the desire to build heavily outweighed the probable increase in costs resulting from such restrictions. Thus, for example, John Tindall proposed that he should build a court of 9 cottages set around a well-paved and drained yard. In addition he wished to include 4 cellar dwellings. He maintained that if he were not allowed to do so he would not build at all. Loch declared his opposition to such cellar dwellings. Despite his threat, Tindall omitted the cellar dwellings and built a 'respectable and well regulated pile of working men's cottages'.³ Similar pressure was brought to bear on builders proposing to erect back-to-back houses. When William Brook made a proposal for a set of back-to-back houses in Bradford Road, Halthorn persuaded him to change his mind and 'convinced him of the disadvantages

1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence between Halthorn and Loch. DD/RE/C/76.

2. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence between Halthorn and Loch. DD/RE/C/26; DD/RE/72.

3. Ramsden Estate Papers. -do- DD/RE/C/94-5.

of the plan', instead he built single cottages each with a garden and a back yard.¹

The decision to build remained the prerogative of the building undertaker and so did the locational choice. In both activities, however, the estate managers were able to influence the choices made. In any one year builders did not restrict themselves to one sector of the town for:

"It was generally understood that people might have a house stand wherever they liked that was vacant. They asked for and was set out in the middle of a field if they pleased. But the steward always made them drain them and when another man built he had to put into the nearest drain and pay towards the cost."²

This meant that for economic reasons people preferred to build near existing property. Thus development, where possible, tended to take place in newly-formed streets. Halthorn observed this tendency and wrote:

"I find all people shy at building in a situation having no road to their premises when ready for habitation."³

By the provision of new streets the Ramsden Estate managers guided development to the locations desired by the landowner. Thus:

"The opening up and formation of new streets on the part of the Trustees may be looked upon as a private speculation with the object of improving and increasing the value of the estate."⁴

Builders were also under pressure as to the type of dwelling they erected in any one street. Earlier developments had led to a very heterogeneous admixture of house types. It came to be Ramsden Estate policy, however, to encourage the segregation of different house types. The depth of the building plots were fixed and an

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1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence. DD/RE/C/87.
 2. Thornton v Ramsden case. op cit.
 3. Ramsden Estate Correspondence DD/RE/C/34.
 4. ibid.

applicant could only use his discretion in determining the frontage.¹ In some cases a proposed development was refused outright if it was not likely to conform to the type expected. This was especially true of middle class areas like New North Road.²

Personal Perceptions and Preferences in the Locational Decision

A factor which contributed to the imperfect nature of the house building process and housing market was the very limited spatial horizon of the majority of the building undertakers.

A major feature of the period 1770 to 1850 is the extent to which the activity of individuals was restricted to the immediate vicinity of their village or town of residence. Thus it was rare for anyone who undertook building in Huddersfield also to build in Lockwood. There are only two examples of this recorded. In 1815 Robert Firth, a drysalter of Huddersfield, built dwelling houses in Swan Lane, Lockwood. At that time he was entered in the Ramsden rental as leasing one property in the Cornmarket together with a tenant at will property for a total rental of £6. Firth had only a passing interest in Lockwood property. Therefore by 1847 the property was listed in the Lockwood tithe award as consisting of four houses all owned and occupied by Joseph Burrans, tea dealer. The second example concerns the property of J. R. Machan, a tea dealer, whose property was again leased from the Lockwood Estate Proprietors. He built dwelling houses at Mount Pleasant in 1838. The original construction consisted of one large dwelling house with a small cottage attached. In 1851 the large dwelling house housed a cloth finisher employing 37 people and the cottage housed a solicitor clerk. Machin was the secretary of one of the building

1. Ramsden Estate Correspondence DD/RE/C/73.

2. Ramsden Estate Correspondence DD/RE/C/54.

clubs in Huddersfield but also owned in his own right 20 cottages on Union Street.¹

There are two further examples of building undertakers in Huddersfield who came from outside the immediate neighbourhood but nevertheless from adjacent districts. In 1837 Samuel Stockwell, a victualler of Upper Whitely, leased from the Ingham Estate in Dalton 278 square yards of land for housing.² In 1827 James Roberts of Linthwaite purchased land from Richard Kennet Dawson at Newhouse.³

In some cases the activities of builders were even more confined. According to the 1847 ratebook, 248 of property owners listed in the book as holding more than one house lived near to their other houses. These 248 owners owned 29.7% of the houses in Huddersfield township. There was a high degree of inertia in this type of building ownership. It has been possible to trace 216 of these owners to their first mention in the Estate rentals. A large number had built their houses between 10 and 20 years previously. The person resident in 1847 was not always the original builder but sometimes a relation, often the husband or father of the occupant and owner in 1847.

The influence of personal preference was probably strongest when a building undertaker built for his own occupation. Only 10.57% of property owners in 1847 were owner occupiers.⁴ Owner occupancy was not restricted, however, to one class of house nor to one part of the town. Using the Huddersfield township Ratebook

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1. Huddersfield Township Poor Ratebook 1847. C/F/TH/r/7.
Ramsden Estate Rental 1830. H.P.L.
 2. WRRD MO 565/581, 1837.
 3. WRRD IW 438/402, 1827.
 4. Huddersfield township Ratebook 1847. This showed the gross rental value for each house. Comparison of this data with scattered references to rents in a variety of documents indicated that the values in the ratebook were reasonably representative of the true annual rent charged at that time.

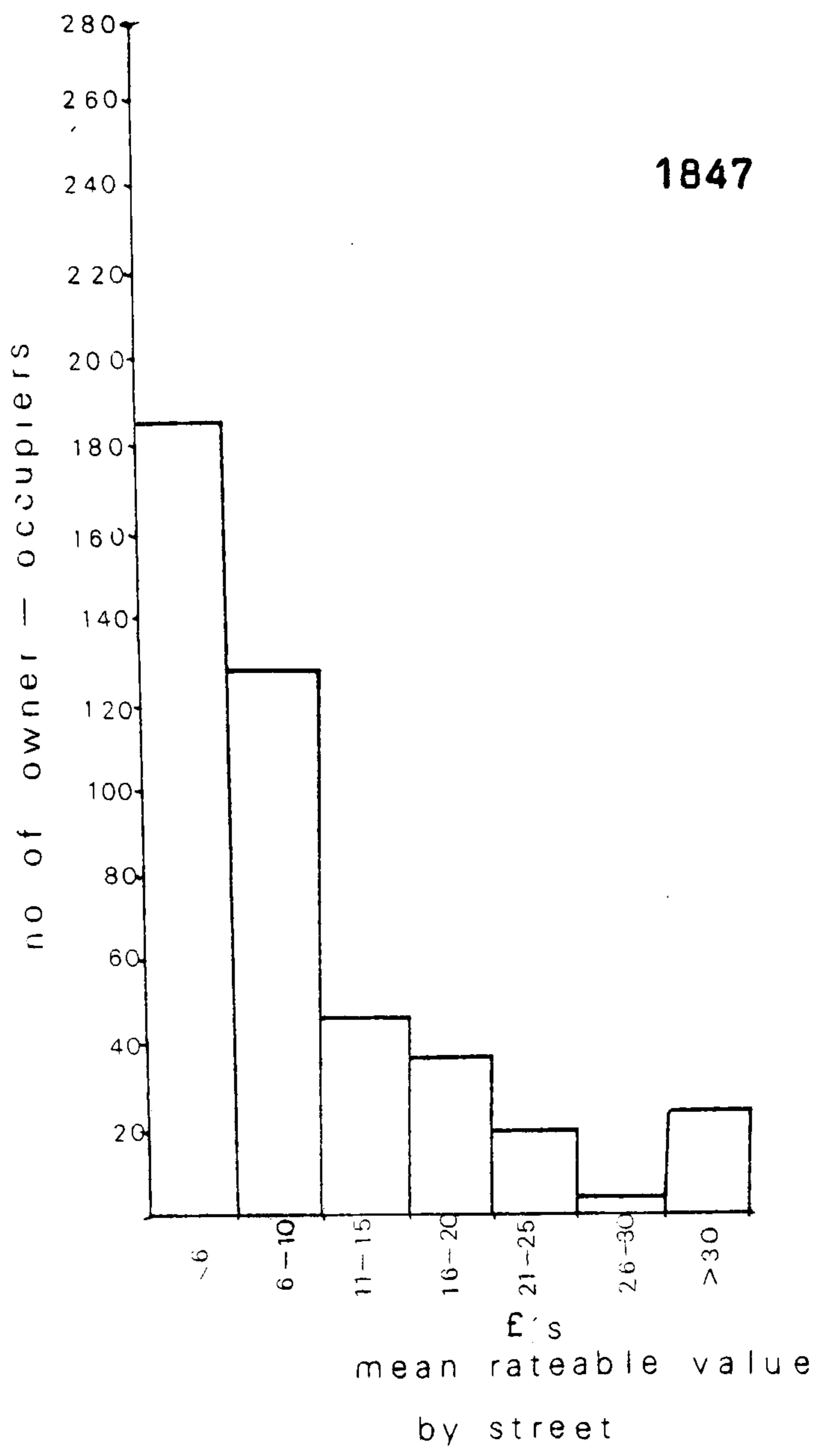
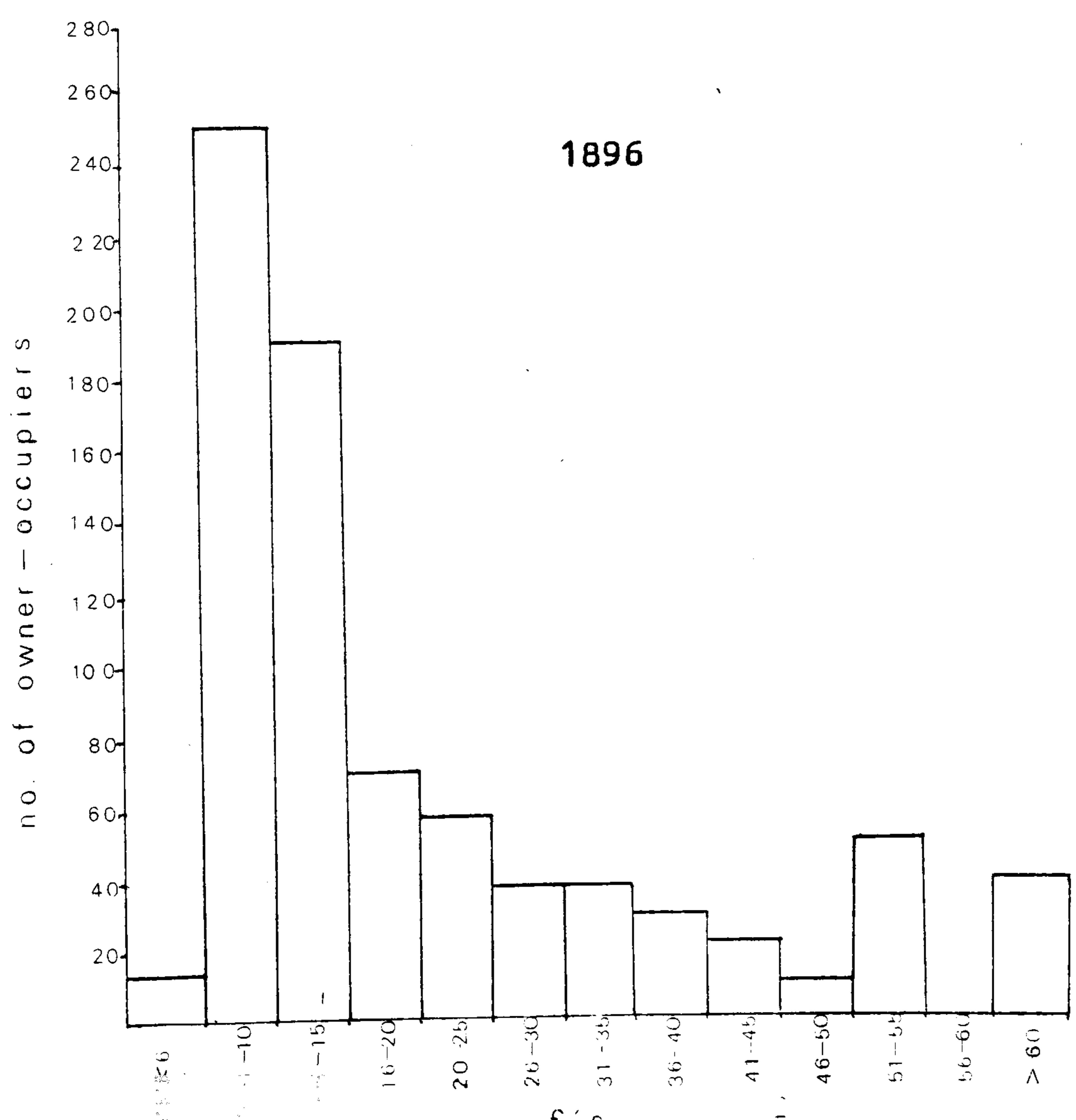


Figure 6.6 Distribution of owner-occupancy by house-rent in 1847 and 1896
 Source: Ratebooks
 (See also p. 336)



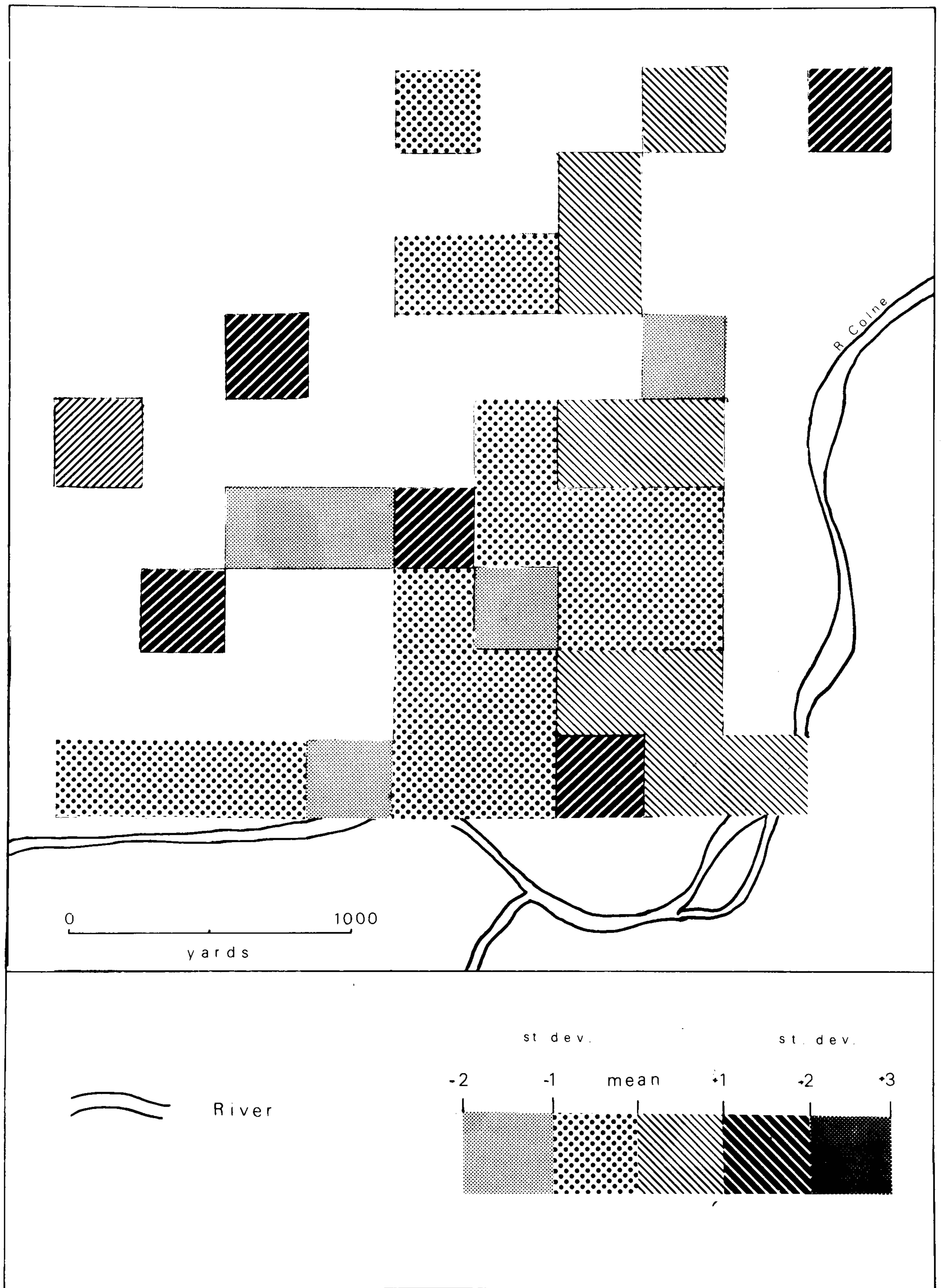


Figure 6.7 Pattern of Owner-occupancy 1847
Source: Ratebook

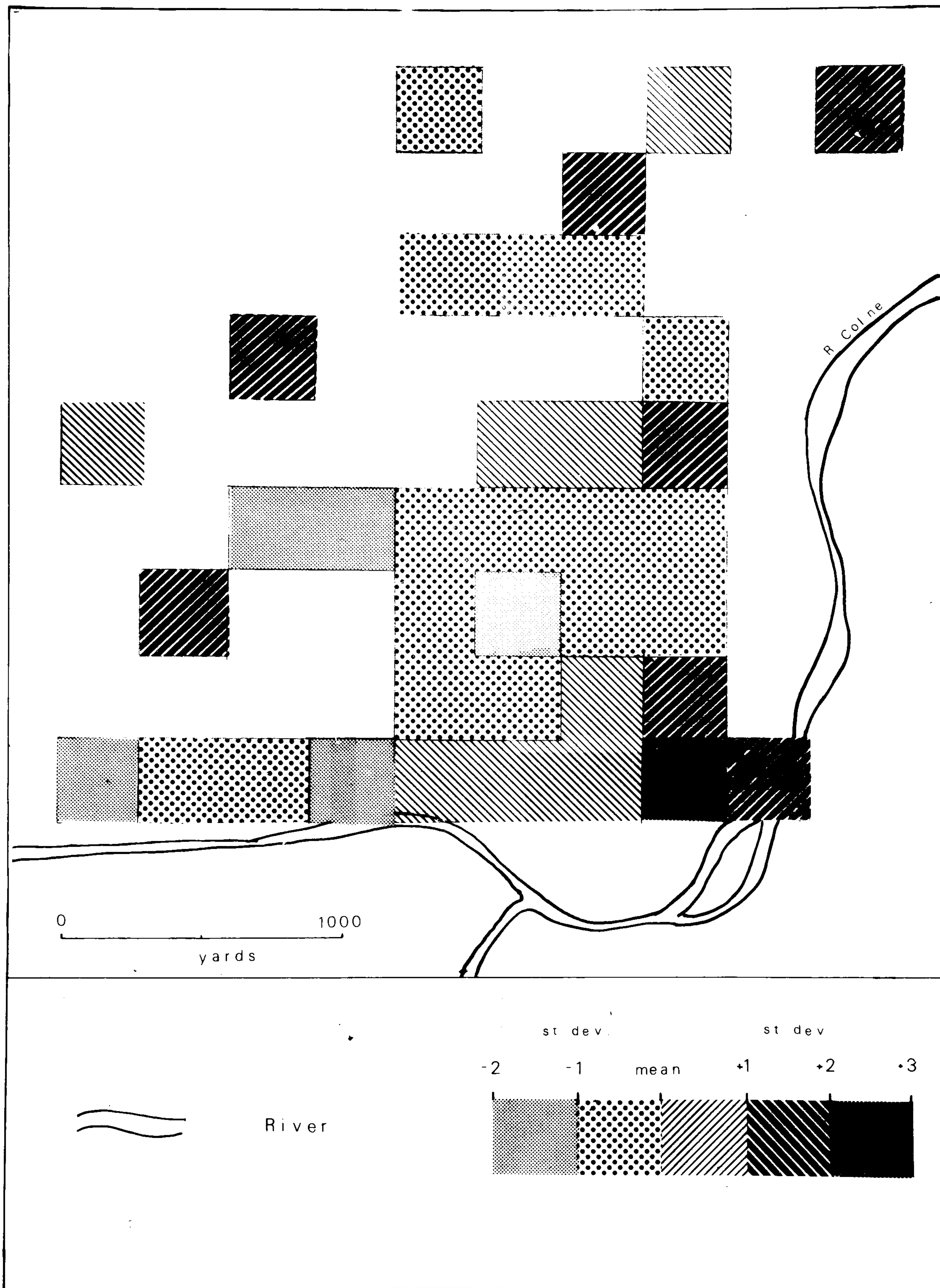


Figure 6.8 Houseownership and Residential Location 1847
Source: Ratebook

the percentage of owner-occupancy was determined for each street and compared with the mean house rent for that street. (Figure 6.6) Although figures compiled in this manner mask a high degree of variation in house types and value, they do reveal that owner-occupancy was more prevalent amongst the lower middle classes. The distribution of owner-occupancy was calculated, using this data on a grid square basis for Huddersfield township. (Figure 6.7) Each square is equivalent to 0.027 square miles and the data represents the deviation from the mean percentage of owner occupation for Huddersfield township as a whole.

The lowest level of owner occupancy was found in the oldest parts of the town, Fartown Green, Longroyd Bridge, the town centre and Marsh. The highest levels were found in the newly developing districts, namely Hillhouse, Gledholt, Edgerton, New North Road and the south-east sector of the town around Commercial Street, Zetland Street, Ramsden Street and Buxton Road. There is some indication of the beginnings of the separation of the population into distinctly segregated districts. Evidence from the rentals implies that owner occupancy was most characteristic of the newest districts and that it declined over time.¹

The distribution of owners resident near the property they owned was also plotted on a grid square basis. (Figure 6.8) The pattern accords with that pertaining to owner-occupancy but some minor differences are revealed. Persons owning houses adjacent to their own were particularly prevalent in the south-east and southern sector of the town, in Gledholt, Leeds Road, Hebble Terrace and Hillhouse, all with a larger proportion of better class dwellings. In these areas personal choice played a large part in determining location of new building. In time such areas would probably have

1. As indicated by changes in tenancy.

TABLE 6.8

Houses Built 1801-1851

Year	No. of houses	Persons per house	Persons per inhabited house	Families per house	Houses building	Houses uninhabited
HUDDERSFIELD TOWNSHIP						
1801	1396	5.20	5.28	1.06	n/a	22
1811	1922	5.03	5.16	1.005	22	29
1821	2547	5.21	5.26	1.00	15	11
1831	3836	4.96	5.26	1.006	32	192
1841	4926	5.08	5.36	n/a	53	202
1851	5955	5.18	5.38	n/a	105	111
LINDLEY TOWNSHIP						
1801	310	4.44	4.76	1.006	n/a	21
1811	350	4.81	5.01	1.005	n/a	14
1821	443	4.60	5.19	1.078	4	46
1831	507	4.54	5.18	1.004	2	60
1841	623	4.62	5.11	n/a	2	58
1851	712	5.03	5.16	n/a	6	12
LOCKWOOD TOWNSHIP						
1801	240	5.22	5.47	1.05	n/a	11
1811	292	5.10	5.26	1.07	1	8
1821	386	4.87	5.12	1.065	7	12
1831	656	4.77	5.15	1.009	3	44
1841	836	5.02	5.21	n/a	2	32
1851	1191	4.69	5.02	n/a	45	32
DALTON TOWNSHIP						
1801	225	5.43	5.47	1.03	n/a	2
1811	311	5.22	5.39	1.02	6	4
1821	420	5.45	5.66	1.04	2	14
1831	624	4.90	5.23	1.04	2	37
1841	785	4.98	5.20	n/a	4	30
1851	889	4.85	5.55	n/a	8	28

come to revert to the pattern found elsewhere in Huddersfield as owners died and their property was distributed amongst their heirs.

Conclusion

Most of the houses built in Huddersfield during the first half of the nineteenth century were built by numerous small-scale building undertakers, all acting independently. Not only was their activity limited in scale but it was also limited in space and rarely were decisions made based on exact economic calculations. Moreover, it was the more thrifty members of the working classes who provided most of the accommodation for themselves and others of their class rather than rich industrialists and capitalists. This was facilitated by the ability of building undertakers to obtain land on very cheap annual ground rents and to obtain capital from building clubs. The result, however, was that, although on the whole, sufficient numbers of houses were provided (Table 6.8), their standard of construction was of poor quality.

CHAPTER 7

THE MECHANICS OF BUILDING 1850-1911

Introduction

A major feature of the late Victorian city was the increasing trend towards suburbanisation. This was accompanied by the development of a segregated social pattern. In Huddersfield, although some members of the wealthier classes were already living separated from the rest of the population in 1847¹, segregation amongst other socio-economic groups did not fully develop until after 1880². Gradual changes also took place in the nature of the building process and this had an impact on the form taken by the processes of segregation and suburbanisation.

The Building Undertakers

The social class of those undertaking building on freehold land in Huddersfield has been abstracted from the deeds registered at the West Riding Registry of Deeds. Information about builders on the Ramsden Estate was obtained from the Lease Registers pertaining to that Estate.³ The Building Plan lists available in the Council Minutes from 1868 proved to be an unsatisfactory source of data. The builder actually performing the task of building was recorded rather than the building undertaker who employed him.⁴ Thus, in 1903 Ann Lunn is recorded in the Ramsden Estate Lease applications as applying for permission to build 28 dwelling houses in Tanfield Road, but there is no record of her name in the Council lists of building applications, although Samuel Jury is recorded in the

1. Vide supra, 88, 262.

2. DENNIS, R. (1975). Community and Interaction in the Victorian City 1850-1880, Ph D thesis (Cambridge).

3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Register of Application for Leases 1859-1883, 1883-1897; Vol 9 Leases under 1859 Leasing Act 1861-1879; List of Leases for execution 1897-1909; Statement of Application for Lease 1896-1911; Box 70, H.P.L. Appendix F.

4. A list of such plans followed the minutes of the District Highways and Improvement Committees. C/T/CF/m/et seq.

TABLE 7.1Extract of Notes on Division of Leases in the
Ramsden Estate Lease Register

1885	J. Whiteley	Carlton Street etc (ref page 19)	divided into 6 leases						
									<u>sq yds</u>
	Eliz Palling	Carlton St and Willow Lane							154
	Daniel Hirst	Willow Lane East							98
	Harriet Rayner	" " "							101
	A. Stephenson	" " "							105
	E. Hirst	" " "							111
	M. A. Smithson	" " "							105
1887	page 40	lease 993	South St Paddock,	Ramsden et al					
	Josh. Woodhouse	1 house	105						
	J. Ramsden	1 house	105						
	Benj. Shaw)							
	Wm Swindlehurst) 4 houses	423	compl. 1888					
	Jos Hanson)							
	Allen Haigh	1 house	105						
	Thos Slater	1 house	105						
1888	lease 1008	R. Calans,	Buckrose Street						
		divided into							
	W. Harris	Buckrose St	1 house	126					
	H. Skelton	" "	1 house	126					
	R. Calam	" "	1 house	126					
	R. Calam	" " and Wasp Nest Rd	2 houses						
									and a shop 422
		at 3d	all finished	1890					
1891	Dawson and Jones	lease in Manor Street,	Damside						
	E. Haigh	Manor Street	1 house	228	1893				
	A. Haigh	" "	1 house	239	"				
	Fred Hirst	1891	lease 1141						
		divided into							
	Fred Hirst	Cecil and Springwood St	2 houses	223	4d				
	W. Hirst	Springwood St	3 houses	230	4d				
									finished 1893

latter as applying to build 12 back-to-back houses in the same road. In 1905 he applied to build a further 16 houses in Tanfield Road. There were no other developments of equivalent size built during those years in that street. Occasionally a builder would erect houses under a building agreement and then request the Ramsden Estate to transfer his interest and grant a final lease or leases to a prospective purchaser of the property. (Table 7.1) Evidence from other studies suggests that in other towns this occurred frequently¹ but on the Ramsden Estate in Huddersfield, such transfers were infrequent, occurring only once or twice a year. In each case it was noted in the register.²

A major feature of the period after 1850 was the increasing participation of the building industry, although never its dominance, in the building process. (Table 7.2) The industry was mostly involved in the provision of back-to-back houses in the areas of Crosland Moor Bottom, Thornton Lodge, Moldgreen and Lindley. All these houses were built on land held on leasehold tenure. Most of

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1. DAUNTON, M. J. (1977) Coal Metropolis, Cardiff 1870-1914, 73-88. ASPINALL, P. (1978) The Evolution of Urban Tenure Systems in 19th Century Cities, C.U.R.S. Birmingham. Research Memorandum 63. OLSEN, D. J. (1973) "House upon House", in Dyos, H. J. and Wolf, M. The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Vol 1, 333-357.
 2. If such cases were infrequent and if the names in the Council records were not always those of building undertakers but rather actual builders, then the findings of other studies particularly those on Cardiff and Sheffield, based as they are on Council Records, need reinterpretation. Both studies argue for a major contribution of the building industry to the decision-making process. This was not the case to the same extent in Huddersfield. It may well be that differences of tenure and land rights, as well as other local circumstances, can explain these differences. Certainly Huddersfield has shown itself different in other respects. However it can be tentatively suggested that the part played by the building industry in the towns mentioned was more apparent than real. DAUNTON op cit 94-197. ASPINALL, P. (1977) The Size Structure of the House-Building Industry in Victorian Sheffield, Working Paper, 49. C.U.R.S. Birmingham.

TABLE 7.2
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF BUILDING UNDERTAKERS 1850-1905

Area/Estate	Merchants/ Wholesalers	Manufacts.	Professions/ Annuitants	Builders	Small Trades/ Shopkeepers	Others/ Industrials	Clerks Cashiers
<u>1850-75</u>							
Primrose Hill (freehold)	11.11	11.11	8.33	0	30.55	38.88	-
Bay Hall (freehold)	13.79	10.34	31.03	17.24	27.58	-	-
Lindley (leasehold)	7.54	15.09	-	24.53	22.63	30.08	-
Crosland Moor	2.94	17.64	-	11.76	8.82	58.82	-
North Green	0	45.45	18.18	9.09	27.27	-	-
Armitage Lockwood	0	16.66	4.76	33.33	19.04	26.19	-
Brook, Moldgreen	42.85	9.52	38.09	0	9.52	-	-
Edgerton	8.69	0	21.73	4.34	65.21	-	-
Marsh							
<u>1875-1905</u>							
Crosland Moor Bottom	1.36	1.36	4.08	36.73	29.25	18.36	7.78
Thornton Lodge/Springdale	0	1.75	1.75	21.05	42.10	31.57	1.75
Yew Green/Lockwood	5.55	0	2.77	18.05	48.61	16.66	8.33
Marsh	3.37	2.24	14.60	19.10	49.94	21.34	1.12
Birkby	10.00	0	7.50	7.50	43.75	16.12	12.50
Fartown							

these firms operated on a small scale and were also short-lived. In fact they were so short-lived that many were never recorded as an entry in any of the trade directories. The more permanent firms listed in the directories rarely undertook building for themselves, preferring to be employed as jobbing builders and undertaking contracts for other building initiators. Only 7 building firms can be identified as being more than transitory in nature and having more than one small independent building operation. Of these 7 only one operated over a long period of time. This was the firm of Dawson and Jones operating in the Moldgreen area. The rest submitted projects over a length of time ranging from one to six years and all were listed in directories as being builders for a much longer period than this. Although builders were responsible for a few of the larger projects undertaken, the scale of building operations had yet to reach the proportions found in other cities. Very large projects were only undertaken after 1901. The largest project undertaken by a single building firm was a project for a total of 69 back-to-back houses by Garforth and Day in Aspley in 1902.¹

The other feature revealed by the analysis of the deeds available for Huddersfield is that merchants, manufacturers and the professions played a decreasing role as the century progressed. This probably resulted from the unattractiveness of housing investment as compared with other forms of investment, and also from the development of a generalised housing market.² It was no longer necessary for merchants and manufacturers to supply houses for their workers. In contrast the role of the lower middle classes as providers of houses increased and to their ranks were added clerks

1. Ramsden Estate Papers. List of Leases for Execution 1897-1909. Box 70, H.P.L.

2. VANCE, J. E. Jnr (1977). This Scene of Man, 305-307.

and cashiers. The role of shopkeepers also continued to be significant. Where modern suburbs rather than expanding village nuclei were developed, such as Marsh, Yew Green, Birkby and Fartow, this sector of society with the building industry dominated decision-making about building. In seeking to understand this domination it could be argued that since most of these suburbs adjoined upper middle class areas, shopkeepers and tradesmen were seeking to emulate their superiors by obtaining a suburban residence. In making that decision they were significantly altering the character of the building process. If, however, they actually lived in these suburbs, one would have expected a higher owner-occupation ratio in these areas than was recorded in 1896.¹ It may be that 1896 was too early a date at which to discern the full effects of the process of social segregation since large-scale suburban growth did not fully emerge until a later date. The process was certainly encouraged by the introduction to these areas of tram services, whose timing and fare-levels were ideal for shop and office workers employed in the town centre. It can perhaps be argued instead that the participation of this sector of society in the decision to build in these locations was a reflection of the desire of members of the class to disassociate themselves from the working class. Indeed, certain members of the lower middle classes used their economic power in the housing market to ensure that such segregation took place by providing rented accommodation for members of the same class who were financially less well endowed. The extent to which such action was deliberate is a matter of debate and there is insufficient evidence on the decision-making activities of individuals to provide substantial proof either way.

1. Huddersfield Township Poor Ratebook. C/F/TH/r/8. H.P.L.

The Decisions of the Starkey Family - A Case Study

For the increasing reluctance of the wealthier classes to invest in housing firm evidence is available in the case of the Starkey family and the policy they adopted for their property in Huddersfield.

The firm of Starkey Bros. had operated at Longroyd Bridge since 1818 when John Starkey purchased a mill from Alexander Alexander, a bankrupt.¹ By the 1840s the firm, consisting of three brothers - John, Thomas and Joseph - was fully established and for the first time able to invest money in interests other than the business. In 1845 they purchased land near the mill on which they built a school for the education of the children of their workers. By 1859 all three brothers had died and Lewis Randle Starkey, the son of John Starkey, took over the management of the firm². By 1867 the firm could be described as 'one of the most flourishing businesses in England' and at that date employed no less than 700 people.³

John, Thomas and Joseph Starkey all resided in Huddersfield and John's widow continued to live at Springwood near the mill until her death in 1884. Lewis Randle Starkey moved from Huddersfield in 1846 to nearby Denby Grange, the seat of the Kaye Estate. Later he moved to Becca Hall near Leeds and finally took up residence at Norwood House, a property in Nottinghamshire, which he had acquired.

Despite his move away from the Huddersfield area, the family retained a lasting interest in local property. In 1870 they purchased Spring Lodge in order to provide a vicarage attached to the church which the

1. WRRD GU 204/221 1818.

2. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/IVa/1/3, DD/Sn/IVa/2/1, DD/Sn/IVa/4/1, DD/Sn/Vd/2/1, DD/Sn/Vd/2/22. N.C.R.O.

3. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/IVb/4/1. Rivers Commission (1867) Report of John Abbey Q 3119.

TABLE 7.3

Starkey Estate Extracts from Accounts relating to
Huddersfield Property

Source: DD/3n/Vc/2 DD/3n/IVd/2/11. N.C.R.O.

Woodthorpe Terrace

1. List of accounts for the erection of 13 dwelling houses near Bankfield Terrace for L. R. Starkey, J.P. John Kirk and Sons, Architects, Huddersfield and Dewsbury. October 1888.

<u>Trade</u>	<u>Builder's Name</u>	<u>Account</u>
Masons	J. Radcliffe and Sons	£2,733 10 5d
Joiners	Hampshire and Armitage	£914 1 2d
Plasterers	D. Tunnacliffe and Sons	£225 0 0d
Plumbers	J. H. Taylor and Co	£192 10 7d
Painter	Joseph Preston	£42 16 4d
Slater	Pickles Bros	£128 14 0d
Whitesmith	T. A. Heaps and Co	£188 0 6d
Water Service	Huddersfield Corpn	£30 19 3d
Gas Works and Fittings	" "	£18 15 10d
Sanitary	" "	£9 15 0d
	Total:	£4,484 3 1d
Architects	J. Kirk and Sons	£185 12 3d
		<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>
		£4,669 15 4d

2. Rental charged

10 x £16 10s, 2 x £22, 1 x £19 10s per annum = total £128 per annum

3. Rental collected

1888	£101	13	3d
1889	£94	16	6d
1890	£98	17	10d
1891	£84	18	2d
1892	£92	16	5d
1893	£85	13	8d
1894	£70	7	0d
1895	£58	13	5d
1896	£26	0	2d

Residents of Property in 1890 (Extracted from Directory)

Commercial Traveller	Designer
Manufacturer	Designer
Superintendent of Police	Engineer
Tea and Sugar Merchant	Gentleman
Minister	Warehouseman
Widow	Manager

family had endowed and built in 1859.¹ In 1881 Fenton Shades was acquired as a replacement for the old school.² Two further plots were purchased from the Trustees of Lewis Fenton, including a row of houses called Bankfield Terrace. In 1885 the entire Estate was consolidated as a result of the purchase of Springwood Lodge and Cottage.³ (Figure 7.1)

In 1884 the decision was taken to enter the housing market and 13 houses, which made up Woodthorpe Terrace, were built at a cost of £4,669 15s 4d. (Table 7.3) For their erection Lewis Starkey chose local architects, John Kirk and Sons, as well as local masons, Joseph Radcliffe and Sons. Both firms had connections with a local building society. J. Radcliffe hired all the necessary tradesmen, plasterers, plumbers, a painter, a whitesmith and a gas fitter. The water services and sanitary services were undertaken by the Corporation under contract.⁴ The houses were subsequently occupied by lower middle class tenants, including designers, a foreman and some widows. Woodthorpe Terrace, together with Fenton Square, formed a middle class enclave in the shadow of St Thomas's Church, contrasting strongly with nearby Bankfield Terrace which housed mainly members of the working class.

By the mid 1890s suburban growth had led to a decline in property values near the centre of the town. There was also an overproduction of houses in Huddersfield as a whole.⁵ Both factors contributed to a decline in rents obtained from the Starkey property. On the other hand the cost of upkeep was rising.⁶ Thus

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1. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/IVd/2/11 N.C.R.O.
 2. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/IX/6-7 N.C.R.O.
 3. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/IVd/2/11 N.C.R.O.
 4. *ibid.*
 5. Huddersfield Chronicle, February 16, 1895.
 6. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/IVd/2/11 op cit N.C.R.O.

in 1898 the houses in Woodthorpe, Bankfield Terrace and Fenton Square were placed on the market. Demand was limited and came chiefly from small investors.¹ But even some of these saw little virtue in investment in house property at this time. One such small investor was a gas worker who gave evidence to the Labour Commission in 1894. He claimed to have erected a number of houses in Huddersfield which in his reckoning yielded a reasonable return, paying the interest on the money borrowed and contributing to a sinking fund. He nevertheless argued against house ownership on practical grounds:

"I do not think it desirable for a workman to erect a house for himself. A workman who has to work has frequently got to change his residence and the result is that the house he has erected for himself becomes useless and burdens him. He has not the same facilities for letting a house as a municipal authority, he has no officials to keep an eye on the property."²

Such difficulties do not seem to have deterred numerous members of the lower middle classes from building houses to rent.

Capital

During the 1850s the building clubs continued to be a major source of capital for building. In 1859,³ ^{it was stated that:} "1794 members of 41 clubs subscribed £531,589 with £232,449 paid."³ Although a number of these money clubs did survive to about 1879, they were gradually replaced by permanent building societies.⁴ These building societies also operated at a local level. Richard Brook, who developed land which he purchased from the Kaye Estate in Moldgreen, was Trustee of the Moldgreen Freehold and Leasehold Benefit Building Society. This

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1. Starkey Papers DD/Sn/Vc/3, N.C.R.O.
 2. Royal Commission on Labour (1894). Group C Minutes. Q 23530.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Miscellaneous material relating to the Thornton v Ramsden Case, Box 12, H.P.L.
 4. Appendix G. Ramsden Estate Leasing Act 1859; Volume 9 Leases under 1859 Leasing Act 1861-1879. Box 70, H.P.L.

society financed most of the building on his Estate.¹ In 1864 the Huddersfield Equitable Benefit Building Society was constituted and along with local agents of the Halifax Building Society took over the business of many such local societies. In its first year the Huddersfield Society lent a mere £3,953 14s 10d to 6 members. By 1866 the amount lent rose to £8,701 14s 4d and in 1897 record advances of £69,000 were made. Mortgagees were allowed to repay their loans over a generous 24 years at an interest rate of 5%, reduced to 4% in 1883 and 3½% in 1895. The extent of the Society's operations in the area can be judged from the fact that during the depression year of 1894 mortgage lending dropped by over £10,000. Most of the property involved in these transactions was of a value of less than £500. In 1904, of 1423 mortgages, 1215 were of a value of less than £500. Provided the borrower could pay the interest charges the society would allow anyone to borrow, and prided itself on a humanitarian attitude towards defaulters who were in ill health. It tended to be wary of speculative builders and the society's surveyor was instructed to withhold a sum in such cases until streetage charges had been paid.

Members of the building industry had close contacts with the society. In 1870 Joseph Radcliffe, of the firm John Radcliffe and Sons, was made director of the society. It was noted in 1877 that John Birk, the society's surveyor, had created a substantial amount of business for the society through his building activities in the firm of John Radcliffe and Sons. In such ways the society had an impact on the character of the building process and thus was able in 1906 to bring pressure to bear on the Ramsden Estate asking it to convert all the 99-year leases into 999-year leases.²

1. WRRD YT/270/297 1865; YT/268/296 1865; YP 413/477 1865.

2. HALL, Trevor H. (1974) The Early Years of the Huddersfield Building Society, 1864-1928. (Huddersfield)

The Role of Co-operative Societies

Another way the small investor participated in the building process was through the Co-operative Societies and other self-help societies. These societies, although formed initially for retail purposes, increasingly undertook house building. Those active in the Huddersfield area were the Huddersfield Industrial Society, the Close Hill Co-operative Society and the Lane Dyehouse and Flour Provision Society. The operations of the Huddersfield Society were district-wide and closely associated with the location of their retail and banking activities. The smaller societies concentrated on the immediate district from which they took their name. The self-help and Friendly Societies included the Halifax and Huddersfield Property Association and the more usual trade associations such as the Forresters' Lodge, Royal Strangers, Refuge Lodge, Victory Lodge and the Oddfellows.¹

The Huddersfield Industrial Society was first established in 1860. In 1872, as part of its expansion policy, it purchased freehold land at Primrose Hill and in the following year opened a retail outlet at nearby Wood Top, followed by a Penny Bank in 1875. In 1877 house-building was begun in earnest and tenders were invited for building houses at Primrose Hill. Tenders amounting to £2,000 were accepted. A further 18 houses were built on leasehold land in Paddock whilst 1148 square yards of land were purchased in Lockwood. Six houses were built on this land in the following year. In 1879 20 houses were built at Royd's Mount, Paddock, 4 built behind the store at Rashcliffe and a further 14 on leasehold land obtained from the Lockwood Estate Proprietors. Some land was purchased in Baker Street, Lindley and 8 houses were erected on it. In 1880, 5 houses were built in Bland Street and the Society purchased more freehold land at Deadwaters. In 1882, 32 houses were built there. In all

1. Appendix G. Ramsden Estate Papers. Register of Applications for Leases 1859-1883. Box 70 H.P.L.

these cases the houses were either rented or sold to members of the Society.¹

Although the Society built both on leasehold and freehold land, it had a decided preference for the latter. Leasehold was only taken when in a specific location no alternative was available. Confirmation that this preference was justified came in 1891 when the solicitor to the Society applied for the renewal of a lease on its property in Buxton Road and had to pay out £815 fine on renewal. It was commented in 1910:

"This fact furnishes a useful object lesson on the working of the land system in this country. The site had undoubtedly improved in value but the actual question arises did the landlord or the community create its improved value? Ought not the community have received the reward?"²

Not surprisingly, building activities in the years after 1891 were concentrated even more on the freehold land in the area although retail activity in the burgeoning suburbs continued to be the main buttress for the Co-operative Society's house-building activity. The timing of any house-building depended on the existence of a surplus in the Society's annual accounts. The activities of the Society were such that in 1910 it held 200 houses and various buildings to the value of £86,647.³

Building Project Size

The unprecedented boom of the early 1850s was characterised by a rapid increase in the numbers of people building rather than any general increase in building project size. (Table 7.4)

Builders on the Ramsden Estate

continued to operate principally on projects consisting of one to four houses. Elsewhere, however, as

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1. Jubilee History of Huddersfield Industrial Society (1910)
Huddersfield.
 2. *ibid.*
 3. *ibid.*

TABLE 7.4

Building Project Size 1850-1875

	Project Size in Houses						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more
RAMSDEN ESTATE							
1851-53							
% of builders	69.65	22.06	3.44	1.83	0.45	2.06	0.45
% of houses built	46.47	29.44	6.90	4.90	1.53	8.28	2.45
1858-1867							
% of builders	67.83	22.22	3.50	2.33	0.58	2.30	1.16
% of houses built	41.87	27.43	6.49	5.77	1.80	8.66	7.94
1867-1875							
% of builders	53.89	31.13	2.69	3.59	0	3.59	5.08
% of houses built	23.90	27.62	3.58	6.37	0	9.56	28.95
LOCKWOOD PROPRIETORS' ESTATE							
1851-1857							
% of builders	7.69	7.69	0	23.07	7.69	11.53	42.30
% of houses built	0.98	1.97	0	11.82	4.92	8.86	71.42
1858-1867							
% of builders	6.00	12.00	6.00	42.00	4.00	8.00	22.00
% of houses built	1.20	4.93	3.70	34.56	4.11	9.87	41.56
1867-1875							
% of builders	11.11	38.88	0	16.66	11.11	5.55	16.66
% of houses built	2.73	19.17	0	16.43	13.69	8.21	38.72

TABLE 7.5Building Unit Project 1876-1911 Ramsden EstateSize of Project in Houses

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more	
Builders	54.87	21.95	6.09	7.92	2.43	1.82	4.87	1876-1880 %
Houses	25.00	20.00	8.33	14.44	5.55	5.00	21.66	%
Builders	66.44	17.10	3.94	5.26	0.65	2.63	3.94	1881-1885 %
Houses	34.58	17.80	6.16	10.95	1.17	8.21	20.54	%
Builders	65.07	17.98	4.23	3.70	0.52	4.23	4.22	1886-1890 %
Houses	31.94	17.66	6.23	7.27	1.29	12.46	23.11	%
Builders	68.05	12.50	6.94	8.33	0	2.77	1.38	1891-1895 %
Houses	37.69	13.84	11.53	18.46	0	9.23	9.23	%
Builders	69.64	19.64	1.78	1.78	0	1.78	5.35	1896-1900 %
Houses	34.82	19.64	2.67	3.57	0	5.35	33.92	%
Builders	39.79	26.88	0	30.10	0	0	3.22	1901-1905 %
Houses	14.97	20.24	0	45.34	0	0	19.43	%
Builders	59.34	14.28	2.19	17.03	1.09	1.09	4.94	1906-1911 %
Houses	25.96	12.50	2.88	29.80	2.40	2.88	23.55	%

All Building Applications 1869-1911Project Size in Houses

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more
% of builders	43.44	27.93	9.82	8.10	3.10	1.03	6.55
% of houses built	17.30	22.25	11.73	12.91	6.18	2.47	27.12

in the case of the Lockwood Estate, the building boom encouraged builders to undertake building in projects larger than previously. At least seven builders undertook projects of over twelve houses and late in the boom in 1853 one was involved in an unprecedented development of twenty-two houses. The subsequent low level of building activity led to a cut-back in project size although throughout the 1860s building project size on the 999-year leases of the Lockwood Estate Proprietors was larger than on the 99-year leases of the Ramsden Estate. The introduction of 999-year leases on the Ramsden Estate in 1867, however, was paralleled by an increase in the number of larger building projects. Nevertheless the projects on that Estate were still smaller than those undertaken elsewhere in the Huddersfield area.

From 1867 onwards 999-year leases were available on all land made available for building. Nevertheless there was still some differentiation in type of lease offered from which a builder could choose; thus on the Ramsden Estate there were restrictions as to the type of dwelling that could be erected, including the prohibition of back-to-back houses. Therefore, tenure and land rights can only partially explain the differences in the scale of building. Other factors need to be considered. Much depended on the confidence of the building industry and its creditors both about the prevailing system of tenure and about the economic condition of the town. Thus, during the so-called great depression of the 1890s the size of building projects was greatly reduced, particularly from 1891 to 1895. (Table 7.5)

Throughout Huddersfield the trend in building project size was upwards because of the advent of large scale building contractors. Some explanation for this tendency can be sought in the increasing costs of building. According to Maiwald's index, the

cost of building materials remained steady throughout the century and the tendency was for costs to decrease rather than increase.¹ Amongst the indices used for this index was the cost of brick-making, and bricks were not used in Huddersfield. The building of houses in stone required the skill of experienced stonemasons and stone dressers and the wages of these craftsmen increased, particularly after unionisation.² Local observations on the cost of building indicate that increases were already taking place in the 1870s at a time when the general momentum of building was upwards.³ Builders appear to have compensated for the increase in costs by increasing their project size, while some of the smaller firms, less able to meet the increased costs by obtaining the necessary credit, withdrew from building altogether. Despite this, small projects continued to contribute to a large proportion of the total building undertaken. The ability of the small building undertaker to continue participating in the building process was due both to the continued availability of credit and to the prevalence of the leasehold system which permitted the acquisition of small parcels of land rights at a low initial cost.

Even where freehold land was available for purchase, a middleman had to intervene as developer or land speculator to make land available in small parcels more suitable for the small-scale character of the building process. This is revealed by the fate of the land purchased at the Thornhill Estate sales in 1854 and 1855. (Figure 7.2) As Table 7.6 shows, only one builder was

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1. MAIWALD, K. (1954) "An Index of Building Costs in the United Kingdom 1845-1938" Economic History Review, 7, 187.
 2. GAULDIE, E. (1974) Cruel Habitations, A History of Working Class Housing 1780-1918, 178.
 3. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence December 3, 1872. DD/RA/26/2 H.P.L.

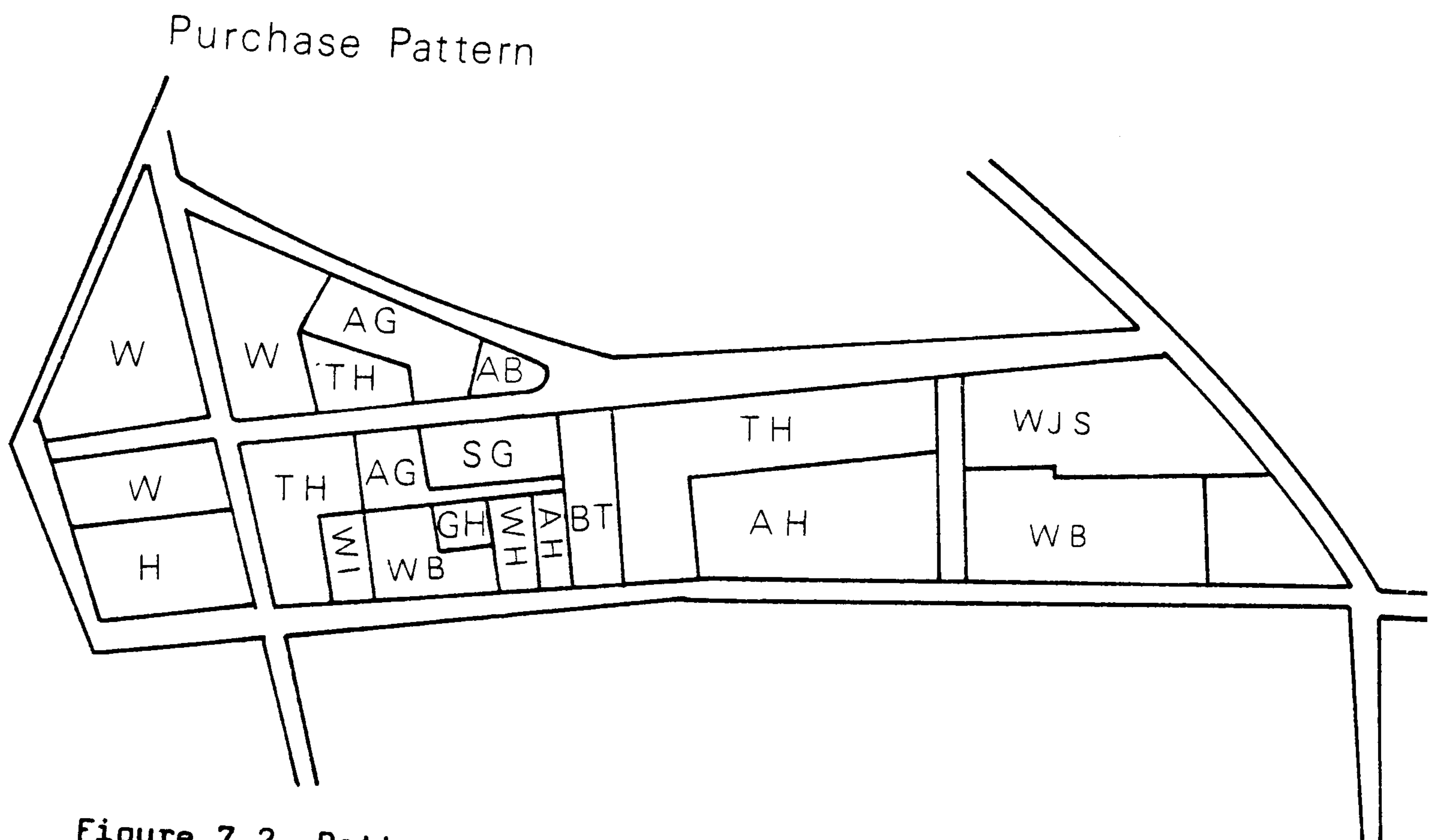
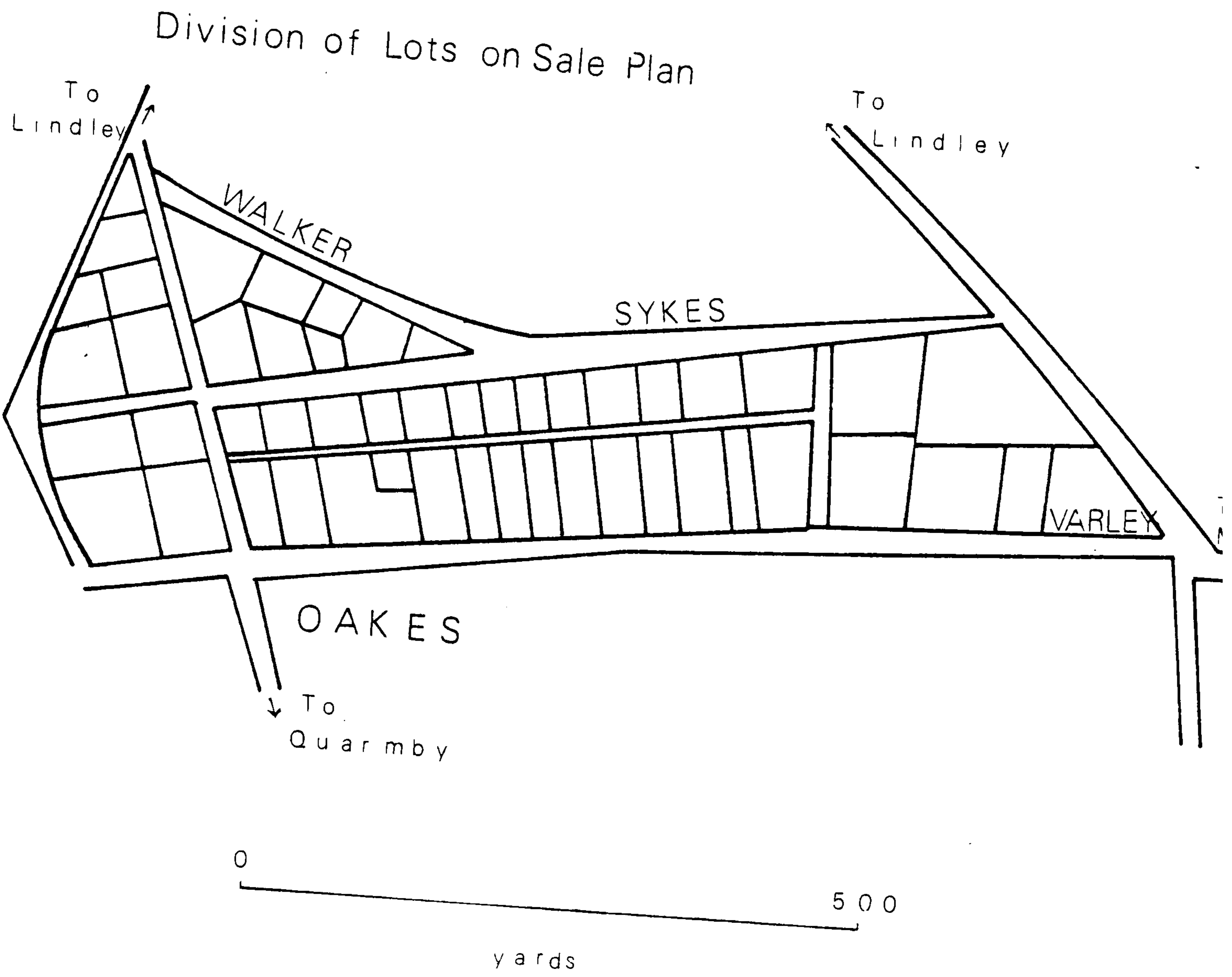


Figure 7.2 Pattern of Land Purchase at the Thornhill Estate Sales 1855
 Source: Register of Sales, Thornhill Estate Office

TABLE 7.6

Subsequent Ownership of Land bought at Lindley
Thornhill Sales 1855

<u>Initial Purchaser</u>	<u>Year sold</u>	<u>Subsequent Purchaser</u>	<u>Yards</u>	
Wm Barker	1856	Stonemason	430	
		Weaver	500	
		Widow	?	
		Clothdresser		
		Clothdrawer		
		Geo Pilling		
		" "		
Wm Hepworth	1856	Spinner	130	
	1869	Cotton waste dealer	1 dh	
Thomas Hall	1858	Delver	600	
	1859	Stonemason	338	
	1861	Slubber	328	
	1863	Manufacturer	220	
	1864	Stone delver	246	
	1864	Painter	270	
		Gentleman	549	
Geo Hepworth		Delver	196	
	1860	Widow	1,170	
	1868	Weaver	123 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Andrew Wilkinson	1862	Tailor	280	
	1863	Manufacturer	840	
Abraham Hepworth	1867	Dyer	1,170	
Geo Scarlett	1864	Butcher	338	
Rowland Hall	1864	Mungo and shoddy dealer	2,832)	
		Shopkeeper	1,224)	
		Linen draper	9,320)	
		Manchester warehouseman	1,356)	
		Innkeeper	3,388	
Ab. Hall	1865	Woollen scribbler	2,500	
	1867	Various	1,050	
Benj. Thornton	1865	Plumber	900	
J. Walker	1867	Cloth finisher	128 $\frac{1}{2}$	
		Cloth finisher	128 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Thomas Hall	1865	Widow	208	
		Manufacturer	280	
		Slubber	280	
		Slubber	140	
		Grocer	330	
		Weaver	280	
	1868	Innkeeper	1,280	
	1869	Woollen manufacturer	1,032	
	1871	Grocer	368	
Ben Hall	1868	Potter	920	

SOURCE: WRRD

directly involved in the purchase of land; the remainder was purchased by local businessmen and sold in small lots to building undertakers in the 1860s.

Intensity of Development

According to Whitehand, there is a relationship between the intensity of development of a piece of land and the state of the building cycle. He argues that land values on the urban fringe increase during a building boom because of the increased demand for land and that accordingly a builder would compensate for a higher land price by increasing the intensity of site development.¹ On leasehold land, rents did not fluctuate from year to year but were fixed by the landowner for a number of years. On such land the intensity of land use would vary according to the availability of capital and with the choice of house type depending on the builder's assessment of the nature of the demand for housing and his estimate of building costs.

Information on the relationship between plot size and number of houses built is available from the register of leases from the Ramsden Estate.

TABLE 7.7

Intensity of Site Development: Ramsden Estate

<u>Year</u>	<u>Stage of Building Cycle</u>		<u>Av. sq yardage per house</u>
	<u>Ramsden</u>	<u>Huddersfield</u>	
1852	boom	nk	211.00
1867	low level of activity	nk	285.02
1874	peak	low level	228.88
1878	minor slump	minor slump in general ascent	321.40
1882	peak	peak	382.66
1886	fall off in level	minor slump in high level	193.39
1892	slump	slump	174.47
1898	minor recovery	recovery	264.51
1903	peak	peak	126.04
1907	steady at medium level	steady at medium level	115.54

1. WHITEHAND, J. W. R. (1972) "Building Cycles and the Spatial Pattern of Urban Growth". Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 56, 39-55.

The average yardage developed was established for different stages of the building cycle. (Table 7.7) If consecutive slumps and peaks are compared, less land was taken for development during a peak than a slump. The picture, however, is by no means clear cut; thus in the high peak year of 1882 more land was taken per house than in any other year. Even more noteworthy is the difference between 1898 and 1903 before and after the decision of the Estate to allow back-to-back houses. This resulted in a halving of the average yardage per house. With the exception of 1898 the general trend in the final two decades of the nineteenth century was towards site intensification, despite a general fall in land values at that time.¹

Evidence for land developed on other estates is less conclusive. The only data available is that on plot size. (Table 7.8)

TABLE 7.8

Variation in Plot Size

Source: WRRD

Average Plot Size 1850-64

<u>Date</u>	<u>Units in sq yds</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Units in sq yds</u>
1850	465.65	1857	265.66
1851	361.21	1858	273.00
1852	423.75	1859	615.40
1853	351.25	1860	599.33
1854	762.28	1861	520.875
1855	439.20	1862	658.85
1856	340.84	1863	646.88
		1864	945.18

Average Plot Size 1877-1911

Source: WRRD

(NB: no developments recorded for 1876)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Units in sq yds</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Units in sq yds</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Units in sq yds</u>
1877	794.71	1889	642.30	1901	541.00
1878	762.40	1890	601.30	1902	497.48
1879	1681.00	1891	751.70	1903	317.03
1880	734.40	1892	476.06	1904	330.10
1881	688.20	1893	680.94	1905	899.40
1882	500.40	1894	746.11	1906	660.22
1883	652.20	1895	455.26	1907	384.48
1884	598.86	1896	508.70	1908	349.50
1885	1253.50	1897	787.00	1909	326.09
1886	426.00	1898	2006.40	1910	308.28
1887	640.00	1899	415.80	1911	614.78
1888	546.14	1900	565.70		

1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Correspondence 1893-94. DD/RE/14/1
H.P.L. and vide infra. 333

The amount of land taken for development fluctuated dramatically each year, as did the number of developments and the average size per development unit in square yards. The overall trend, however, was towards an intensification of development with regard to plot size taken for development, from a peak during the 1870s. Nevertheless, according to the limited data available for specific locations, the average area taken per house did not vary over time in individual streets. (Table 7.9) Indeed there was considerable variation by street in any one year and at any one location on the urban fringe.

TABLE 7.9

Average Area per House in Square Yards

Source: Deeds where available

<u>Area</u>	<u>Square Yards per house</u>	<u>Date</u>
Rothwell Street, Moldgreen	93.33	1886
Trevelyan Street, Moldgreen	146	1886, 1910
Gledholt	860	1878
Marsh Grove	920	1889
Imperial Road	303	1890
Stanley Street/Acre Street/King Street, Lindley	129	1895, 1905
Springdale	183	1892
Elmfield Road, Birkby	436	1890, 1908
Birkby Hall Road	135	1893
Forest Avenue, Marsh	279.5	1894
Glebe Street, Marsh	324	1894, 1905
Abbot Street, Marsh	103	1902
Brook Street, Marsh	198	1903
Grasmere Road, Marsh	323	1904
Richmond Avenue, Fartown	220	1899
Dewhirst Road, Fartown	103	1902
North Street, Lockwood	142	1904
Fenton Road, Lockwood	246	1903
Crosland Moor Bottom	129	1895, 1907

House Type

The argument so far has considered all house types at all locations. A high plot size average in any one year could merely reflect the building of a large number of villas in that year. It is possible to separate houses designed for the working classes from houses meant for the middle classes. In the Ramsden Estate registers, as in the

Council building plan lists, a clear distinction is drawn between cottages, houses and villas. These categories were roughly equivalent to dwellings destined for the working classes, lower middle classes and upper middle classes respectively. If such differences are assumed then it is possible to obtain a clearer picture of the types of development and how they changed, in relation to type of builder, the nature of the demand and the location of development (Table 7.10).

TABLE 7.10

Ratio of Houses to Cottages

Ramsden Estate only

1851	.60 : 1	1864	1.24 : 1
1852	.33 : 1	1865	5.00 : 1
1853	.47 : 1	1866	12.60 : 1
1860	.25 : 1	1867	4.60 : 1
1861	1.00 : 1	1868	7.75 : 1
1862	4.30 : 1	1870	3.52 : 1
1863	1.94 : 1	1875	1.93 : 1

Building Plan Applications

1870	.5466 : 1
1875	1.76 : 1
1880	1.70 : 1
1885-1895	not distinguishable
1900	1.39:1 (refers to the ratio between through
1905	1.83:1 (and back-to-back houses

In the 1850s the cottage was overwhelmingly the main type of building undertaken. By the 1860s few cottages were being built on the Ramsden Estate but they continued to be built elsewhere and this pattern continued even after long term leasing had been introduced on the Ramsden Estate. Changes only occurred after the introduction of back-to-back housing on the Estate.

In general throughout Huddersfield, houses were increasingly built for the lower middle classes. The real turning point came after the introduction of byelaws in 1872. The changeover from a preference for cottages to one for houses was quite dramatic. In 1870 the ratio between houses and cottages was 0.5 : 1. In 1872

it was 0.46 : 1 but after the new restrictive regulations were introduced in that year the ratio moved in favour of houses to a ratio of 1.12 : 1 and by 1876 to 1.76 : 1. After 1882 no distinction was drawn between houses and cottages at all. After 1900 the distinction drawn was that between through houses and back-to-backs and in that year the ratio of through houses to back-to-backs was 1.83 : 1.

This trend towards the building of houses for better paid artisans rather than the poorer classes was observed by contemporaries in Huddersfield. A correspondent to the Huddersfield Chronicle in 1877 noted that:

"Houses of a superior class increase rapidly; the effect is that overcrowding is almost beyond control; the difficulty is serious because it is well-known in Huddersfield that the outlay upon good dwelling-houses for the poor does not yield an adequate return to the owner."¹

Gauldie has noted this same tendency in other towns for builders to concentrate on building for better paid artisans than the poorer classes. Using the Weber index of residential construction she demonstrated the effect of the Public Health Act on the increase in housing stock when the purchasing power of the working classes was steadily declining.²

Gauldie attributes the increase in building after 1898 to the erection of large numbers of suburban villas for the middle classes.³ The upsurge in building in Huddersfield, however, cannot be attributed to an increase in villa construction. The main phases of villa building occurred in the mid 1860s and 1870s and in fact it declined after 1890. Most of this villa development took place in

1. Huddersfield Chronicle, April 28, 1877.

2. GAULDIE, op cit, 177.

3. GAULDIE, op cit, 167.

Edgerton, Marsh and Gledholt, in particular on the Thornhill Estate.

TABLE 7.11

Villa Development on the Thornhill Estate

		<u>Numbers of Villas built per annum</u>		
1854	1)	1882	1)	
1855	2)	1886	1)	
1860	3)	1887	10)	
1861	1)	1888	5)	
1863	5)	1890	9)	Average yardage
1864	1)	1891	4)	per villa 400-
1865	1)	1892	3)	1500 square yards
1866	3)	1893	2)	
1868	2)	1897	4)	
1869	2)	1900	1)	
1871	1)	1910	1)	
1872	2)			
1874	2)			
1875	2)			
1876	2)			
1877	1)			
1881	1)			

Table 7.11 shows the pace of development on the relevant part of the Thornhill Estate, by indicating the rate at which leases were taken up. After 1886 the land was leased in parcels of less than 1000 square yards, indicating that the type of villa being built was of second class only. The building of second class villas went on apace in the 1860s and also during the building boom of the late 1870s on the Ramsden and Battye Estates. The upsurge in activity in 1898 was based on increased building of back-to-back houses and through terraces for the upper working classes and the lower middle classes rather than in the building of villa residences for the rich.

The Influence of Housing Demand on the Decision-making Process

1) Income Constraints

It can be argued that the building sector was very insensitive to changes in demand since it was largely speculative and small scale

TABLE 7.12

Houses Built 1851-1901
Source: Census Returns

Year	No. of houses	Persons per house	Persons per inhabited house	Families per house	Houses building	Houses uninhabited
HUDDERSFIELD TOWNSHIP						
1851	5,955	5.18	5.38	n/a	105	111
1861	7,076	4.92	5.01	n/a	22	99
1871	8,268	4.48	4.62	n/a	99	228
1881	9,410	4.43	4.91	n/a	217	602
1891	10,421	4.42	4.66	n/a	39	506
1901	11,056	4.06	4.36	1.002	88	685
LINDLEY TOWNSHIP						
1851	712	5.03	5.16	n/a	6	12
1861	929	4.58	4.86	n/a	17	36
1871	1,232	4.45	4.89	n/a	18	92
1881	1,547	4.70	4.97	n/a	30	54
1891	1,889	4.53	4.70	n/a	28	38
1901	2,060	4.09	4.29	1.001	17	75
LOCKWOOD TOWNSHIP						
1851	1,191	4.69	5.02	n/a	45	32
1861	1,493	4.52	4.67	n/a	5	41
1871	1,881	4.36	4.57	n/a	9	63
1881	2,218	4.71	4.79	n/a	50	60
1891	2,805	4.30	4.53	n/a	3	134
1901	3,275	4.08	4.25	1.001	15	119
DALTON TOWNSHIP						
1851	889	4.85	5.05	n/a	8	28
1861	1,002	4.68	4.78	n/a	8	14
1871	1,507	4.09	4.62	n/a	24	148
1881	1,774	4.52	4.73	n/a	0	79
1891	1,994	4.22	4.44	n/a	10	90
1901	2,178	4.14	3.91	1.002	1	119

in nature.¹ It gauged the likely course of demand from the numbers of vacant houses and the level of rents. Even if, however, the response to demand was largely erratic, the decennial figures for housing in the census returns show that builders more than kept pace with the overall demand for housing in quantity if not in quality. (Table 7.12) In all the four parishes shown in the table between 1851 and 1911 there was a decline in the numbers of persons per inhabited house from five persons to four persons, while there was a general rise in the numbers of uninhabited houses.

In terms of house-type too, the building industry naturally took its lead from the nature of the demand for housing. That was determined by the ability of the house tenant to pay a rent that offered a reasonable return of an average of 5% per annum for the builder and owner.² As the above evidence indicates, it became increasingly apparent that it was the lower middle classes whose demands dictated the nature of the housing market for new houses. Thus, the poorer classes had to rely on the filtering down of old housing stock to supply their needs.

The average family spent about 10% of its income on housing. The average for the working classes was about 16% of income whilst for the middle classes the average was about 8%.³ There was, however, a wide variation in income within each class and, in terms of income, the dividing line between the lower middle classes and the upper working classes is extremely difficult to draw.⁴

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1. DAUNTON, M. J. (1978) "The Building Cycle and the Urban Fringe in Victorian Cities: A Comment" Journal of Historical Geography, 4, 177.
 2. GAULDIE, op cit, 182. TARN, J. N. (1973). Five per cent Philanthropy. An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914.
 3. BURNETT, J. (1969) A History of the Cost of Living, 218-9.
 4. BURNETT, op cit, 232.

That sector of society that came to be known as middle class in Victorian times covered a wide spectrum of the population from the wealthy mill owner down to the small shopkeeper and clerk. It was this sector of society which benefited most from the rising standard of living and the rise of real wages which took place during the period 1850 to 1875.¹ This rise was accompanied by an increase in expenditure on housing. In the country as a whole incomes for this class ranged from £150 to £4000.² Within a town like Huddersfield the range was far less. Houses were rented by the middle class for between £15 and £60 per annum, figures which suggest annual income of between £120 and £500.³

Not only was this sector of society increasing in wealth but it was also increasing in size. Moreover it was changing in structure, especially towards its lower end. After 1875 increasing local government involvement in daily living and the development of commerce swelled the ranks of the middle classes. Commercial travellers, salesmen, administrators, clerks and cashiers joined managers, school teachers, doctors and designers whose numbers were also increasing. Salesmen, designers and clerks probably earned less than foremen in industry but they aspired to middle class status in terms of their standards and styles of living. Yet despite signs that this sector was increasing, the professional and commercial classes even by 1901 still only formed 17 - 20,000 of the population.⁴ It was, however, this

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1. BURNETT, op cit, 203.
 2. For example, in one profession, that of land surveyors and land agents, income per annum could range from £50-£800.
 3. As indicated by rents for houses advertised in local newspapers.
 4. Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices. ^{1908, Cmd 364} Town Report: Huddersfield, 223.

very minority status within society, in conjunction with their aspirations to set themselves apart from the 'masses', which spurred them to seek residences set well apart from those of lower orders.

The working class likewise were characterised by considerable diversity. There was a small elite whose members also aspired to the ideals of middle class living. Believing firmly in the gospel of Samuel Smiles, through frugal living they acquired some of the outward symbols of success adopted by the middle classes. Not the least of these symbols was a new house in the right street and preferably one in owner-occupancy.¹ This elitest segment would have included pattern designers, machine makers and builders. Even within the textile industry itself there was a strict social hierarchy based on income. From the wage statistics available for Huddersfield it is possible to make a three-fold division of textile workers into the skilled, the semi-skilled and the unskilled. Table 7.13 shows that with the passage of time earnings in some trades increased relative to others. There were great differences between different groups of workers and within any group the foremen earned most. Thus, for instance, in 1859 dyers earned a mere 17s 6d a week whilst the foremen dyers could take home 40s a week. The workers who most improved their lot were pattern weavers, the warehousemen, the enginemen and the scribblers. In engineering, the other main industry in Huddersfield, employees earned consistently higher wages than textile workers. The common feature of working class earnings was their susceptibility to downswings in the business cycle and the ever-present threat of

1. THOMPSON, F. M. L. (1977) "Hampstead, 1830-1914" in Simpson, M. A. and Lloyd, T. H. Middle Class Housing in Britain, 86.

TABLE 7.13

Wage Statistics Source: Labour Statistics
Cmd. 5172. 1887.

<u>Selected Grades</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1866</u>	<u>1880</u>
Warehousemen	20s	24s	22-39s	25s
Woolsorters	22s	22s 6d	22-32s	24s
Slubbers	24s	24s	22-28s	25s
Overlookers	30s	30s	-	40s
Dyers	17/6	17s 6d	15-22s	22s
Dyer Foremen	36s	40s	22-36s	46s
Warpers	18s	20s	15-26s	25s
Weavers	10/9	18s	18-23/6	25s
Pattern Designers	37/6	65s	30-50s	60s

Average Rates, Engineering and Foundry Work, 1859

Pattern Makers	26s 6d
Smiths	26s
Planers	21s
Turners	27s
Brassfounders	30s
Fitters	28s
Labourers	16s
Moulders	26s 6d
Millwrights	28s

Building Trade

		<u>1849</u>		<u>1859</u>	
		<u>rate</u>	<u>hours</u>	<u>rate</u>	<u>hours</u>
Stonemason	Summer	27s	57½	24s	57½
	Winter	25s	n/a	22s	n/a
Mason's Lbr	Summer	15s	57½	16s	57½
	Winter	14s	n/a	15s	n/a
Carpenter and Joiner		23s	58½	24s	57½
Plasterer		21s	59½	24s	59½
Plumber and Glazier		22s	58	24s	58
Painter		22s	60	24s	60

unemployment. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century such downswings reduced the ability of any member of the working classes to rent the better class houses being built.

On the basis of wage rates recorded, and assuming an allocation of 10% of income to housing, it is likely that the working class of Huddersfield could have rented houses for between 1s 6d and 2s 6d a week, except of course in periods of unemployment. If 16% were allocated to housing and other members of the family made some additional contribution, the average weekly rental a typical working man could afford was from 2s 6d to 4s. The pattern designer could afford a house rented at around 5s to 6s per week. At the lower end of the working class there were families not even earning enough to pay rents of 1s 6d per week.

The only substantive data available on actual working class house rents is that for the year 1908.¹ Earlier information can only be obtained from press advertisements. A survey of such advertisements for 1875 revealed that the type of property advertised in local papers with a reported circulation of 1000 was an annual rent of £12 or more, and thus obviously meant for the middle classes.

Occasionally property which housed the lower classes was put up for sale as an investment for the small capitalist and in some cases the rental income was quoted. In 1859 13 houses, including 3 cellar dwellings in Hawke Street and York Street, were said to yield an annual rent of £79 16s. Nearby there were 3 other houses and 5 cellar dwellings which brought an average rent per dwelling of £5 per annum or 2s per week.² In the same year 10 houses at

1. BOARD OF TRADE Report op cit.

2. Huddersfield Chronicle, March 12 1859.

Hillhouse were said to yield a total rent of £54 per annum again around £5 per annum.¹ All of these houses had been built in the 1830s and 1840s. Property of a similar age in Oldfield Square, Lockwood, providing slightly better accommodation, yielded a rent of £6 10s per annum in 1853. Such houses had cost around £100 each to build.²

By 1908 wage rates had risen and in a report in that year the wage of a labourer was given as 24s 9d, that of a brickman 37s 2d and that of an engineer as 30-32s. Rents however had also risen substantially. In fact, according to the Board of Inquiry no through house could be obtained for less than £17 per annum.

TABLE 7.14

House Rents - 1908

2 rooms	3s 0d to 3s 9d
3 rooms	4s 6d to 5s 6d
4 rooms	5s 0d to 5s 9d
5 rooms	7s 0d to 9s 0d

The cheapest accommodation was found in the inner city yards where there were dwellings of two or three rooms and perhaps a scullery. In 1847 such cottages had cost between 1s 9d and 2s 3d to rent and the cellar beneath 1s 3d to 1s 6d.³

In 1910 Dair Moir investigated 318 dwellings in Huddersfield and discovered that rents for back-to-back houses were higher than those of through houses.⁴

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1. Huddersfield Chronicle September 12 1859.
 2. Huddersfield Chronicle May 28 1853.
 3. Huddersfield Improvement Bill. Commission of Inquiry 1848.
Huddersfield Township Poor Ratebook 1847.
 4. DAIR MOIR, L. W. (1910) Report on Back-to-Back Houses.
Parliamentary Papers Cmnd 5314, Appendix.

TABLE 7.15House Rents - 1910

187 through houses	6s 0d
21 back-to-back with side vents	6s 8d
109 without side vents	4s 11d

Unfortunately no indication is given in the report as to the location of these houses so that their date of construction cannot be determined. Back-to-backs with side vents were built after the introduction of the byelaws in 1872 so it would seem likely that these were of a more recent erection than the through houses and because of their newness that they were able to attract higher rents. Alternatively it is possible it was a more favoured location that added to their attractiveness. Certainly their high rents would suggest a high demand for this type of dwelling in this price range. To rent property at this price the family income would have to be at least 60s a week. Not only were house rents high in general but in Huddersfield they were higher in relation to real wages than elsewhere in the West Riding, thus suggesting that there was a relative scarcity of comparable housing in Huddersfield.¹

That such a scarcity existed has already been noted.² It was local scarcity that was repeatedly noted throughout the second half of the century. In 1867 the Rivers Commission commented that:

"There is a great lack of dwelling houses for the labouring classes in this neighbourhood with two or three families to one house."³

As the 1871 Census shows, this overcrowding tended to be confined to the inner districts (Table 7.16). The central, east and south wards all show high levels of house occupancy. In the case of both

1. BOARD OF TRADE Inquiry op cit.

2. Vide supra, 288

3. Rivers Commission 1867 op cit.

TABLE 7.16

Housing Statistics by Ward 1871

Source: Census Returns

For Wards see Figure 2.7

	<u>Pop'n</u>	<u>Inhab. houses</u>	<u>Uninhab. Bldg</u>		<u>Pop./inhab. houses</u>	<u>Pop/Total No. of houses</u>	<u>*Index of overcrowding</u>
Almondbury & Newsome	9,896	2,142	118	4	4.62	4.37	0.25
Bradley	770	174	13	0	4.42	4.11	0.31
Central	1,839	318	1	0	5.78	5.76	0.02
Dalton	1,687	357	44	1	4.72	4.19	0.53
Deighton	1,074	232	8	3	4.62	4.41	0.21
East	3,069	612	4	2	5.01	4.96	0.05
Fartown	7,194	1,477	65	7	4.87	4.94	0.23
Lindley	5,490	1,122	92	18	4.89	3.83	1.06
Lockwood	8,270	1,809	63	9	4.57	4.39	0.18
Marsh	6,881	1,474	54	34	4.67	4.40	0.27
Moldgreen	5,256	1,367	116	56	4.57	4.06	0.51
North	7,317	1,507	41	33	4.85	4.62	0.23
South	2,571	500	16	4	5.14	4.94	0.20
West	7,939	1,647	26	16	4.82	4.70	0.12

* pop/total houses minus

pop/inhabited houses = degree of compensation
by houses built and
uninhabited to overcrowding

the east and central wards there was no new building taking place which might have altered this overcrowding. In the more suburban districts such as Lindley, new building and the numbers of uninhabited houses more than counterbalance houses with multiple occupancy.

The lack of cheap housing was blamed for the continuing existence of some 355 cellar dwellings in Huddersfield. The Report of the Medical Officer of Health in 1899 revealed that there was a general shortage of cheap housing and that what was required was a house of two rooms at a rent for 2s to 2s 6d.¹

The Artisan houses built by the Huddersfield Corporation in 1880 in St Andrews Road did nothing to improve living conditions of the poorer classes. According to the report of the Medical Officer of Health for 1890 these houses

"since their erection have been constantly occupied, but unfortunately by a class of people in a grade of society above those for which they were intended."²

This was not surprising since the rents were on average 3s to 4s a week. The Council felt impelled to charge such rents in order to pay back the money borrowed for the erection of the houses. In addition the Council paid a yearly ground rent of £190 2s 6d to the Ramsden Estate, as well as for water, rates and repairs.³

TABLE 7.17

Income and Expenditure, 1890

Income: £1,905 11s 7d	Expenditure:
	Ground Rent £190 2s 6d
	Rates £296 6s 0d
	Water £116 14s 9d
	Repairs £70 10s 2d
	Total: £665 13s 5d

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1. Report of Medical Officer of Health, Huddersfield Council Proceedings Minutes 1899, H.P.L.
 2. Report of Medical Officer of Health, Huddersfield Council Proceedings Minutes 1890. H.P.L. Huddersfield Examiner September 19 1891.
 3. *ibid.*

For the builder and owner of working class cottages the chief consideration was the return on the building investment. In advertisements of such property the emphasis was placed on such considerations as the proximity of a newly-built property to a manufacturing establishment or the location of cottages in a prosperous and thriving part of the town; both considerations meant that rents were more likely to be paid. It was claimed in some areas that returns of 6% and 7½% could be obtained from newly-built working class housing.¹ But most of the working classes had to rely on the filtering down of housing stock. Such houses were found on the Starkey Estate or in Commercial Street and New North Road. There was already evidence of filtering with these houses in the late 1850s for they were then advertised as consisting of apartments.²

The trend towards a pricing out of the working classes from the market for new houses was a common characteristic of most late Victorian cities³, but within Huddersfield this trend was exacerbated by local circumstances. The policy of the Ramsden Estate in restricting the supply of back-to-back houses, far from helping the workers, as was Sir John Ramsden's stated intention⁴, in fact accentuated the trend towards building solely for the middle classes. Those who, because of the nature of their employment were unable to move to cheaper accommodation on the outskirts of the town, were forced to seek accommodation in dwellings already built before 1853 including cellar dwellings. Halthorn, the local agent for the Ramsden Estate in the 1850s, observed the impact of

1. Huddersfield Chronicle, January 1908.

2. Huddersfield Chronicle, 1857.

3. GAULDIE, E. op cit, 174. DAUNTON, M. J. (1977) op cit 97-100.

4. Most explicitly stated in a letter August 1908. DD/RA/8/1, H.P.L.

Sir John's decision at first hand. He wrote:

"When a builder takes a piece of land in that way he will build a certain number of houses for the poorest classes. What they do is build the first two and then a back house ... However in the last three years ... I have ... refused in many cases a back house and made sure I only accept sites that provide through ventilation and separate outlets.¹ However it has meant rents rose to £12 rather than £6.¹

Nevertheless the Ramsden Estate cannot be blamed entirely for the continued use of cellar dwellings. Large numbers of such dwellings existed in those sectors of the town where house building had not been subject to such restrictions. In these areas, however, builders were restricted in their building activities by the bye-law of 1872,² which influenced the type of houses being built, thus reducing the supply of cheap houses for the working classes. In 1910 a report of the Inspector of Nuisances revealed the existence of 74 occupied cellar dwellings in Lockwood and Rashcliffe.³

2) The Housing Preferences of the Middle Classes

Whereas the tenants and thus the builders of working class housing were restricted both in terms of cost and of location, the builders of middle class housing could offer a wider choice to prospective tenants. What was actually supplied depended as much on consumer choice as on the builder's perception of consumer preference. Nevertheless, competition amongst builders for tenants was greater for middle class housing than for working class housing because the membership of the middle class and thus the potential market was limited. Yet the level of return from

1. Ramsden Estate Papers. Halthorn to Loch 1853. DD/RE/C/102 H.P.L.

2. vide supra. p 79-80

3. Huddersfield Council Proceedings. Minutes of Health Committee October 12, 1910. H.P.L.

housing investment depended on the ability of the builder to attract good tenants.¹

In the absence of documentation relating to individual building firms it is difficult to evaluate the nature of builders' perceptions. Some indication, however, can be obtained from advertisements in the local press. It would seem likely that building owners in such advertisements would stress those points which they considered prospective tenants would think important when acquiring a house. Thus, in the mid-century emphasis in advertisements was placed on the basic accoutrements and standards of construction of a house rather than its location and the rents charged reflected this emphasis. In 1854 for £16 per annum it was possible to rent a house with three bedrooms in Lockwood Crescent, Upperhead Row and Zetland Street. For £30 a better house could be obtained in West Parade, South Parade or at Edgerton Villas. Still further up the scale, £40 would rent a house in Chapel Hill, New North Road and Belgrave Terrace. Adjacent to the last-mentioned house it was possible to purchase an eight-bedroomed house for £70. In the villages the houses were cheaper and in Temple Street, Lindley there was a house consisting of four bedrooms available for a mere £15.²

Location assumed more importance as the century progressed. Two considerations predominated. First, there was a great emphasis on the need to escape the noise and smoke of the inner urban area for reasons of health as well as aesthetic considerations. Second, there was an emphasis on the need for reasonable accessibility to the railway station. Thus, as early as 1851,

1. SIMPSON, M. A. and LLOYD, T. H. (1977) Middle Class Housing in Britain, 10.

2. Huddersfield Chronicle, 1854.

York House was advertised to let^{as} being only five minutes away from the railway station:

"The situation though so near to the heart of the town is free from the annoyances from smoke and heavy traffic."¹

In 1857 a mansion house in Edgerton was described as being located where 'the scenery around' was 'enchanting' and yet 'far away from the smoke'. By 1863 Edgerton had become known as a 'salubrious and fashionable locality.'² Less select was Primrose Hill, described in 1860 as a 'pleasant and healthy situation.'³

There was general agreement amongst advertisers that the maximum distance people were prepared to move out of the centre was some 15 minutes' walk from the railway station. They did disagree, however, on the exact distance this entailed. Some quite extravagant claims were made. In 1863 two houses of two bedrooms each and one house of three bedrooms were advertised as 'pleasantly situated' at King's Cliffe in a 'salubrious rural and suburban district' said to be 15 minutes' walk from St George's Square. King's Cliffe was in fact at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant.⁴ In some cases the existence of a horse-bus was thought to be an added incentive for people to move out. In 1860 this was used for the first time as a selling point for a four-bedroomed dwelling house within a mile of Huddersfield on the Thornhill Estate at Hillhouse. The advertisement included a statement about the horse omnibus 'passing from Fartown to Lockwood every hour of the day'. An advertisement for Westfield Terrace, Marsh, later in the same year, referred to the fact that the Lindley horse-bus went past this row

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1. Huddersfield Chronicle, April 26 1851.
 2. Huddersfield Chronicle, January 17 1857; Huddersfield Chronicle, March 14 1863.
 3. Huddersfield Chronicle, May 26 1860.
 4. Huddersfield Chronicle, May 10 1863.

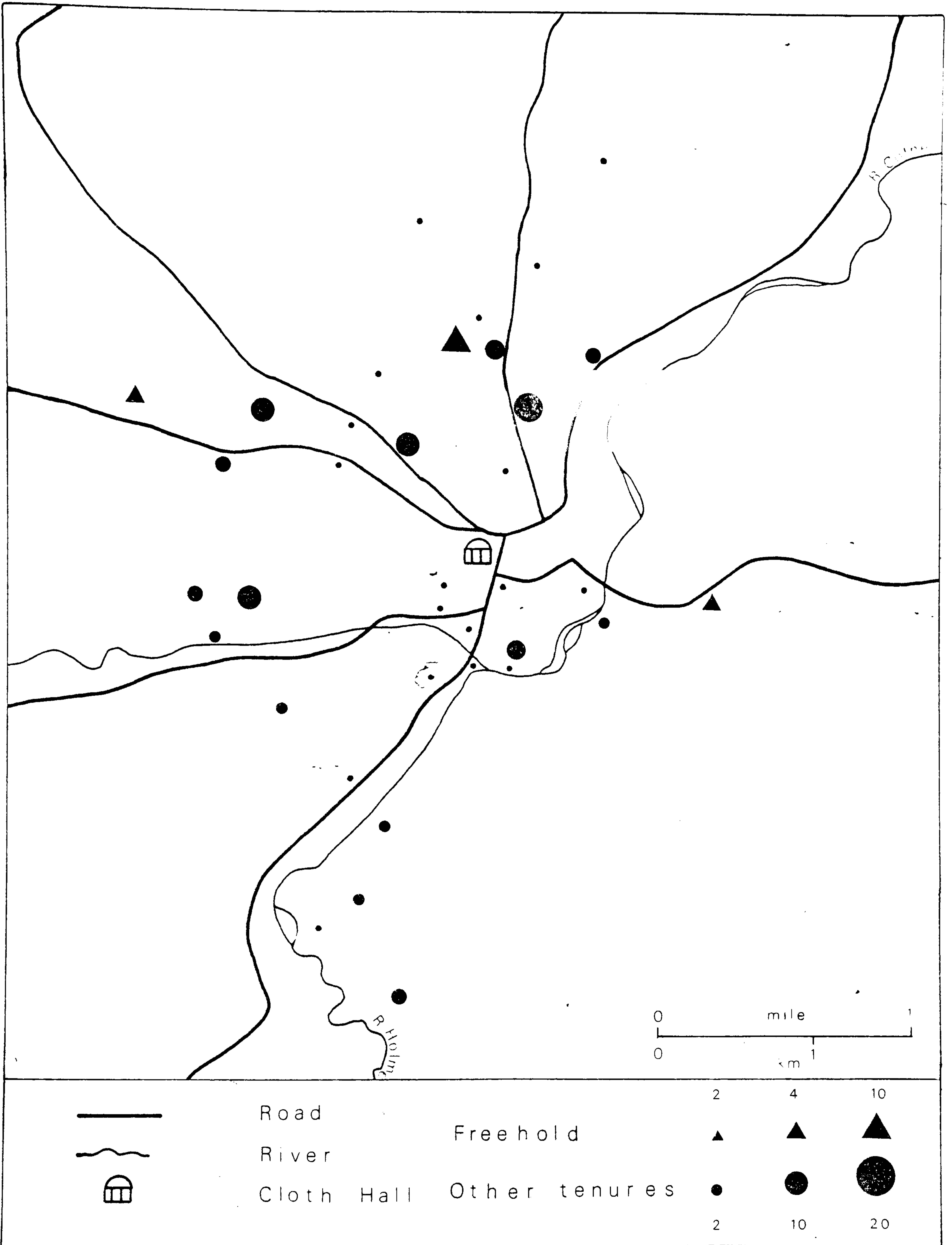


Figure 7.3 Location of Housing Developments 1850
 Source: R.E.P. H.P.L.; WRRD.

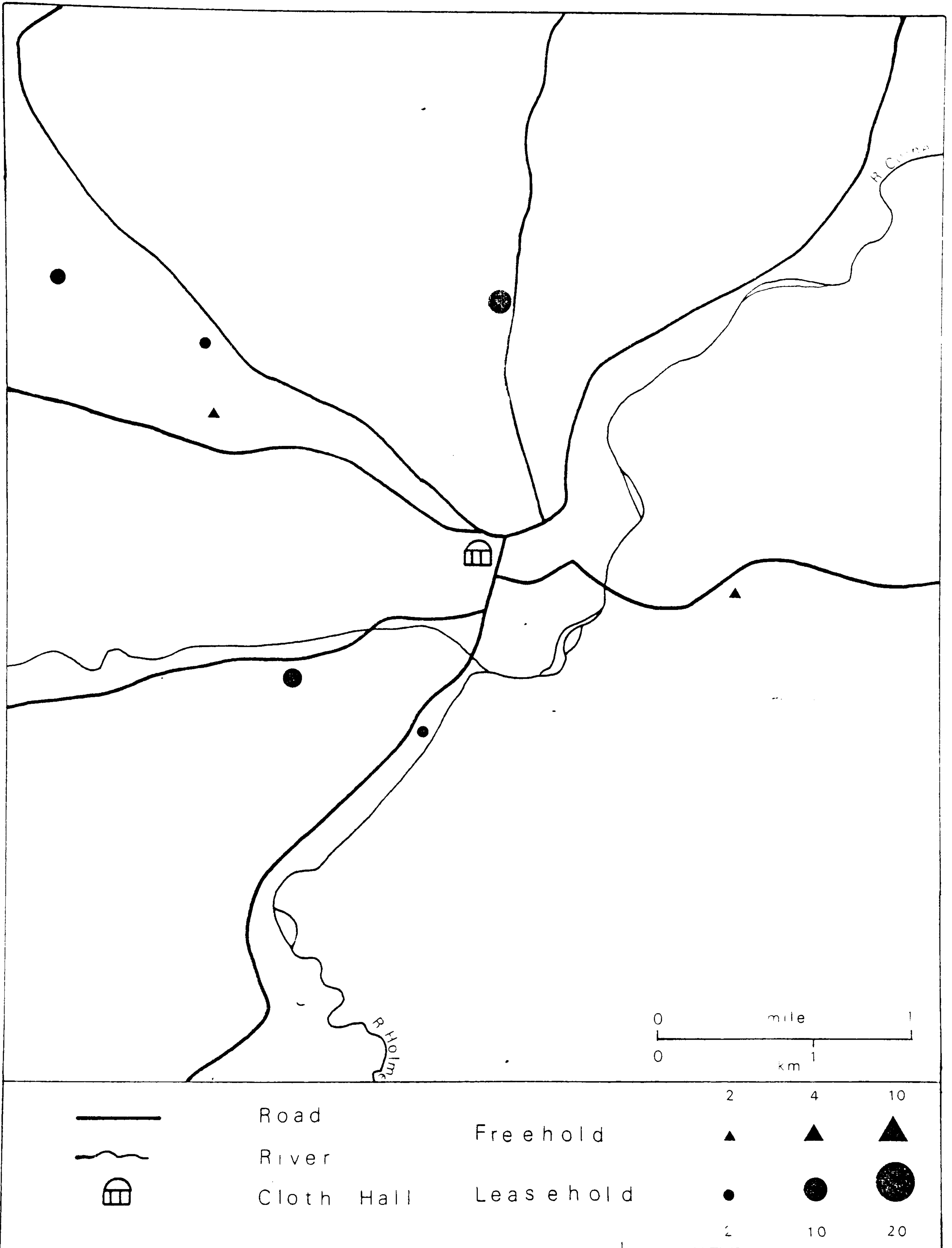


Figure 7.4 Location of Housing Developments 1855
 Source: WRRD

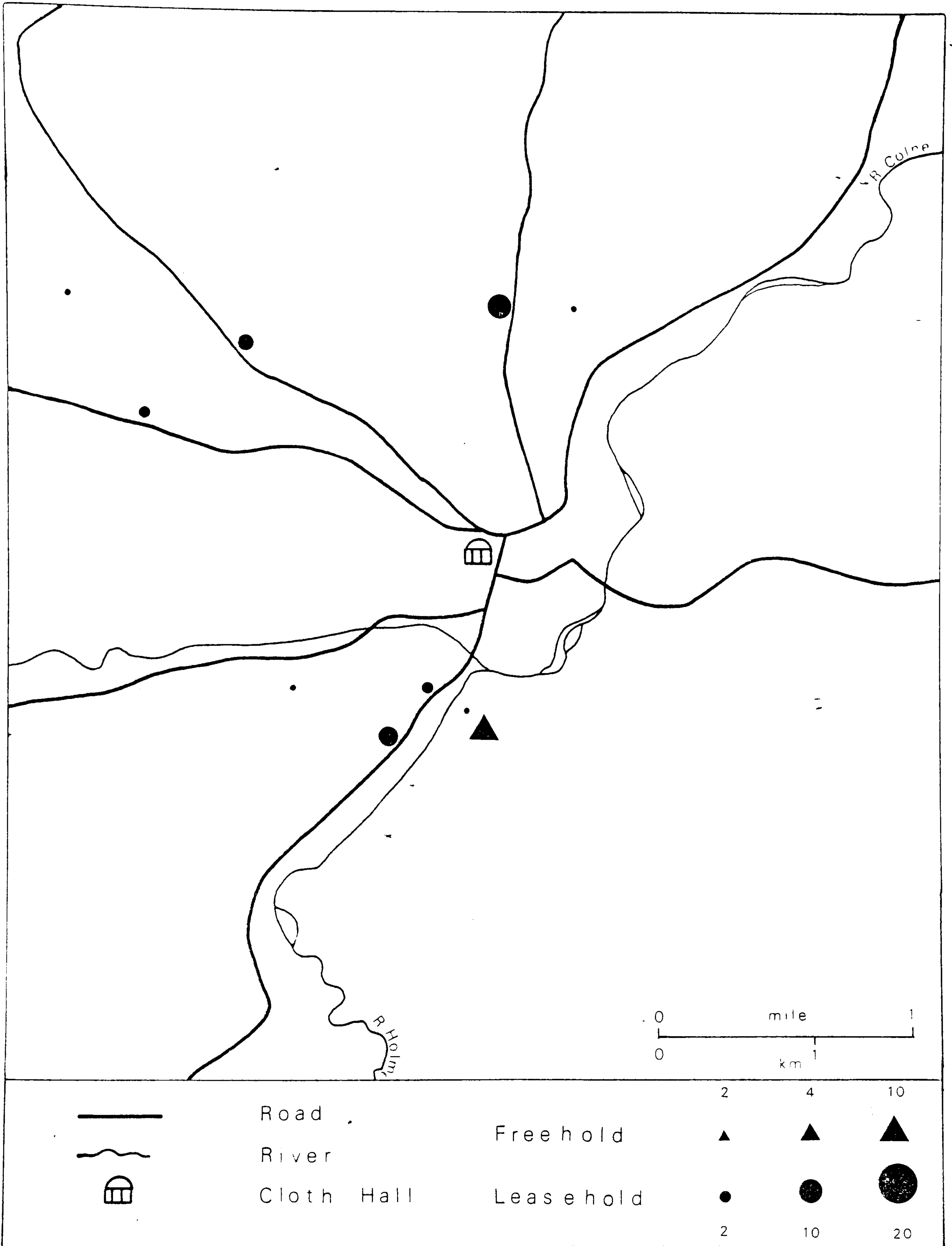


Figure 7.5 Location of Housing Developments 1860
 Source R.E.P.,H.P.L.; WRRD

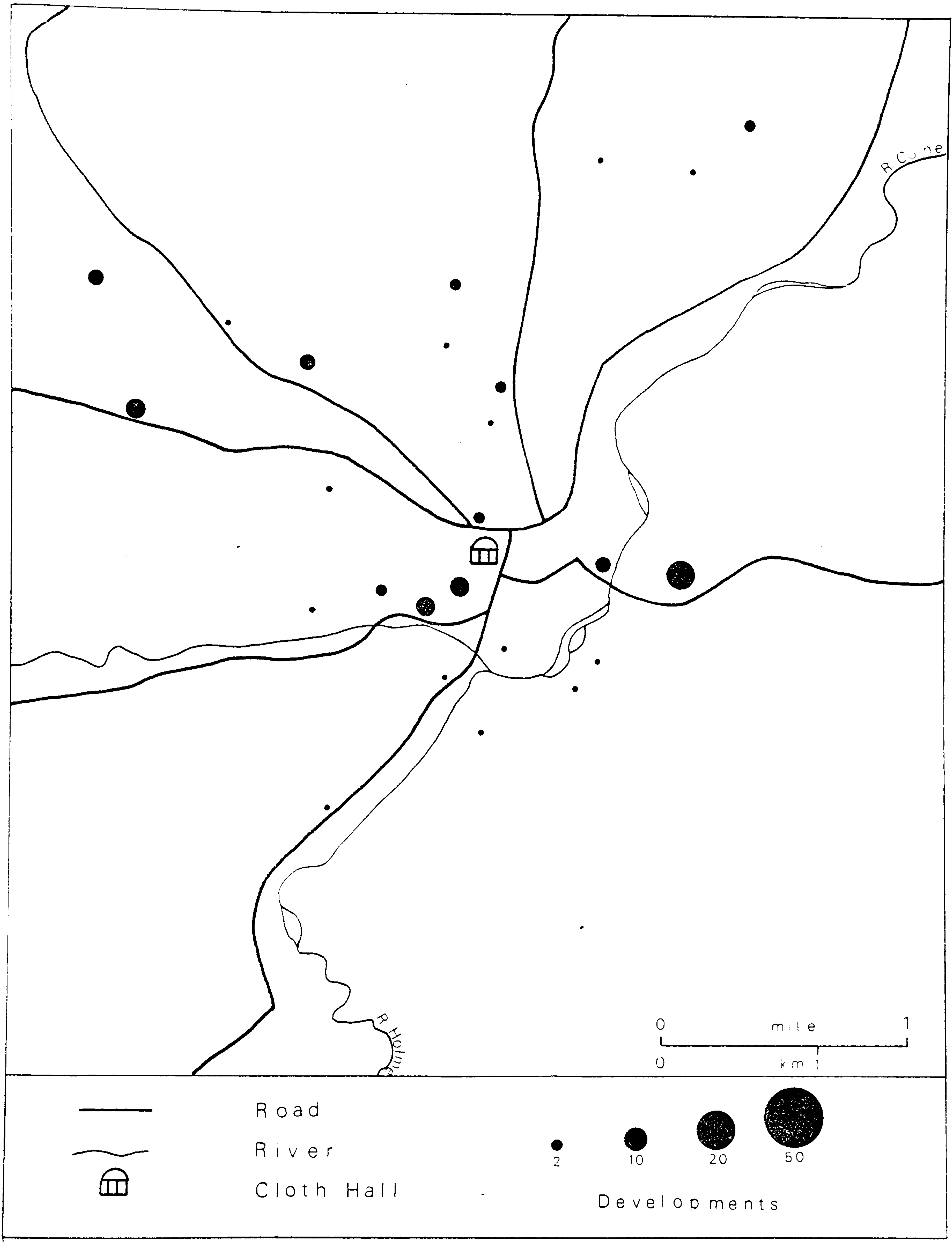


Figure 7.6 Location of Housing Developments 1865
Source: R.E.P.,H.P.L.; WRRD

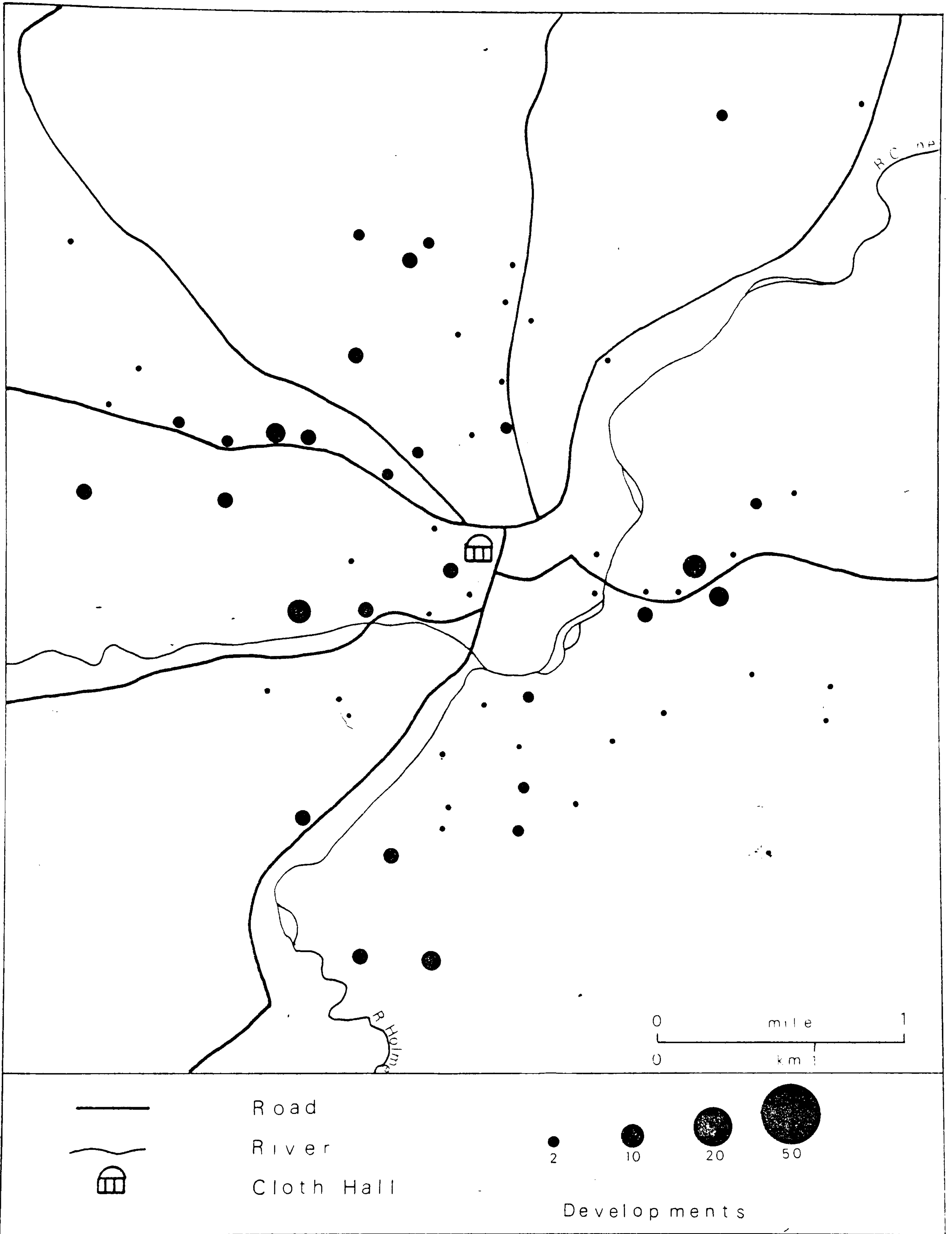


Figure 7.7. Location of Housing Developments 1870
Source: Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes

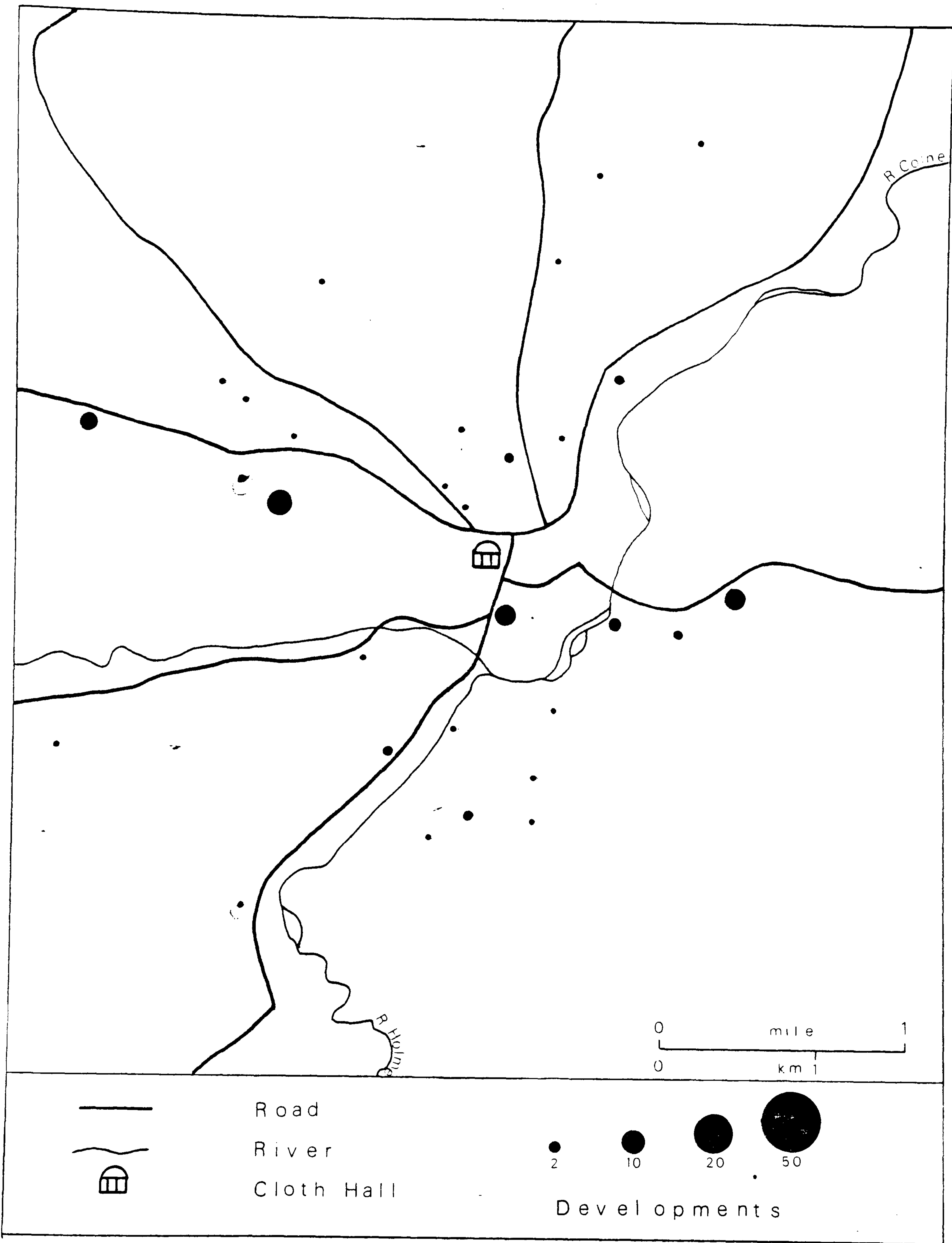


Figure 7.8 Location of Housing Developments 1875
Source: Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes

of houses several times a day.¹ After the introduction of trams in the 1880s suburban living appears to have become so usual amongst the middle classes that it ceased to be emphasised in advertisements.

Locational Choices of Builders: The Spatial Pattern

The choices of builders for the location of houses are recorded in a variety of sources, including deeds, lease registers and Council Minutes. With the aid of these sources it has proved possible to demonstrate the outcome of the locational decisions of builders at five-year intervals over the period 1850-1875.

(Figures 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8) For this purpose account has been taken only of the numbers of developments involving houses at any one location since, in the case of data extracted from the deeds, the actual numbers of properties built were not recorded. It should be noted that the picture for 1855 is distorted because it excludes any Ramsden Estate developments that might have taken place. There is evidence of a rapid decline in the number of leases granted from 1853 on the Ramsden Estate and it is known that no new tenancies at will were granted after 1855. Thus the general impression given cannot be altogether inaccurate.²

A major feature of the period 1850-1875 is the very scattered nature of development throughout the Huddersfield area. There are some concentrations, particularly adjacent to the outlying villages of Moldgreen, Lockwood, Lindley, Marsh, Hillhouse and Paddock. Urban fringe development in the strictest sense was not a dominant feature of the period except in the years 1865 and 1870.

For the period 1880-1905 similar maps have been compiled from

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1. Huddersfield Chronicle, May 12 1860.
 2. Thornton v Ramsden case 1862 op cit. Evidence presented by Thornton's counsel included a list of renewable leases 1854-7 and a number of 'at will' agreements after 1853.

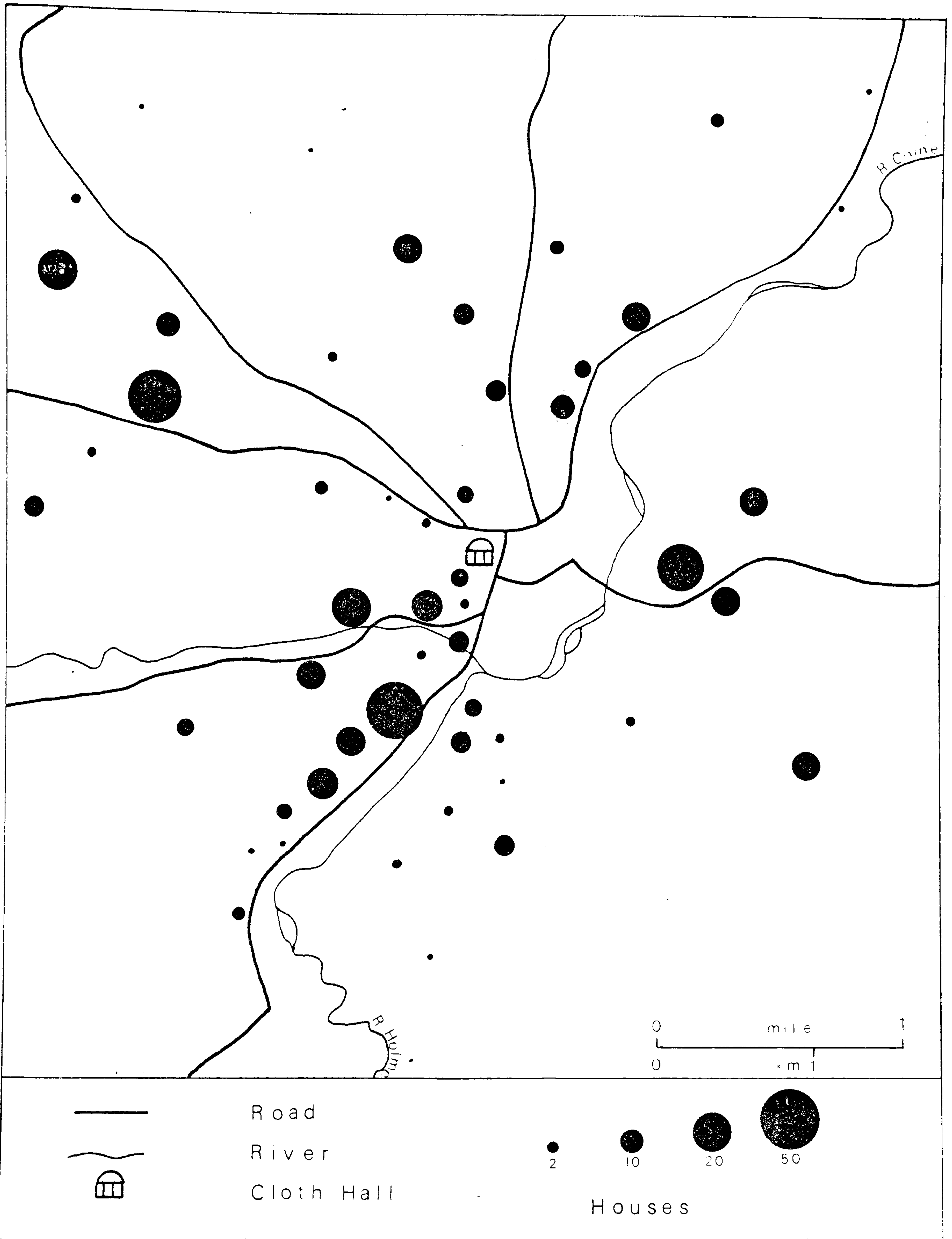


Figure 7.9 Location of Houses Built 1880
Source Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes

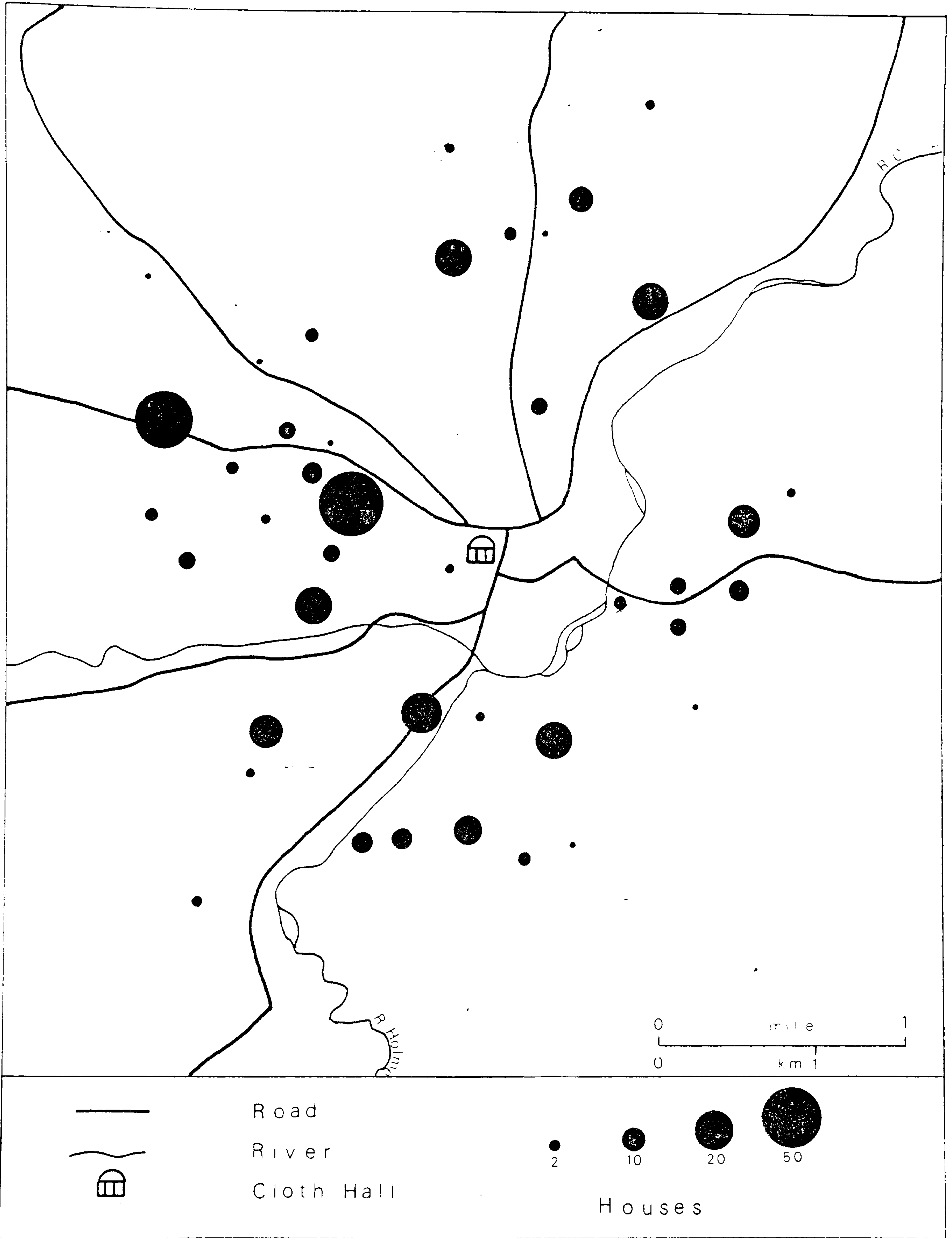


Figure 7.10 Location of Houses Built 1885
Source: Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes.

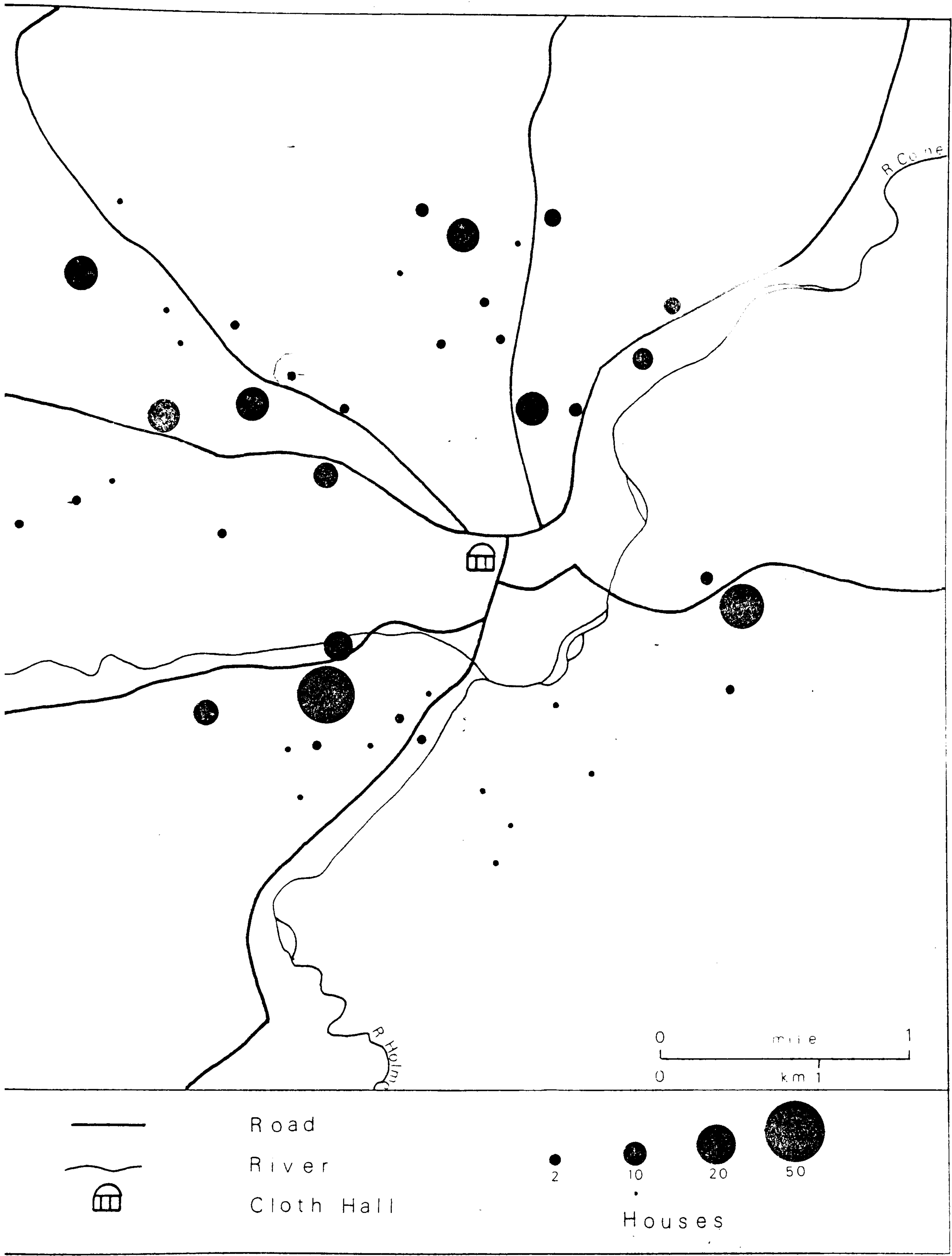


Figure 7.11 Location of Houses Built 1890
Source: Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes

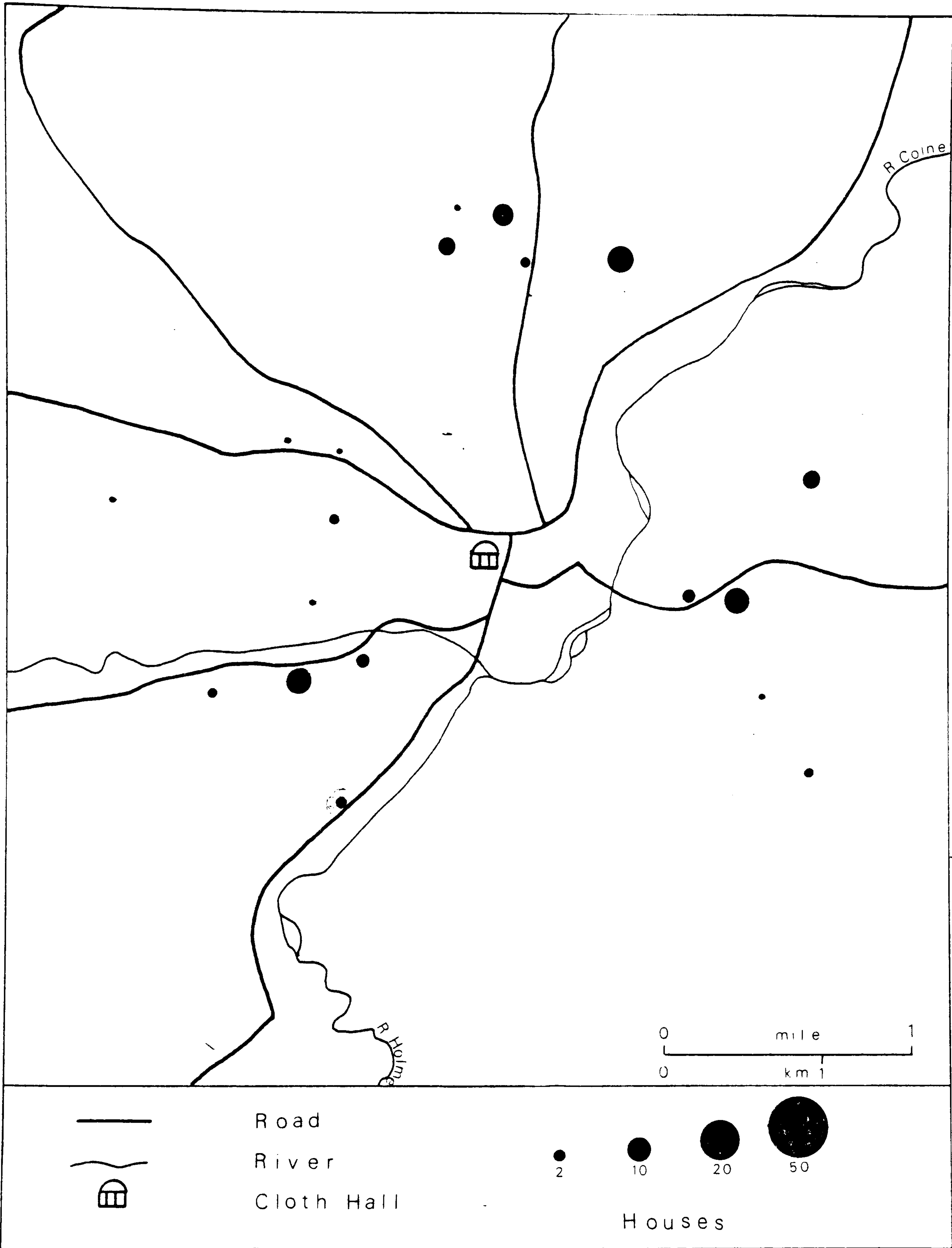


Figure 7.12 Location of Houses Built 1895
Source: Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes

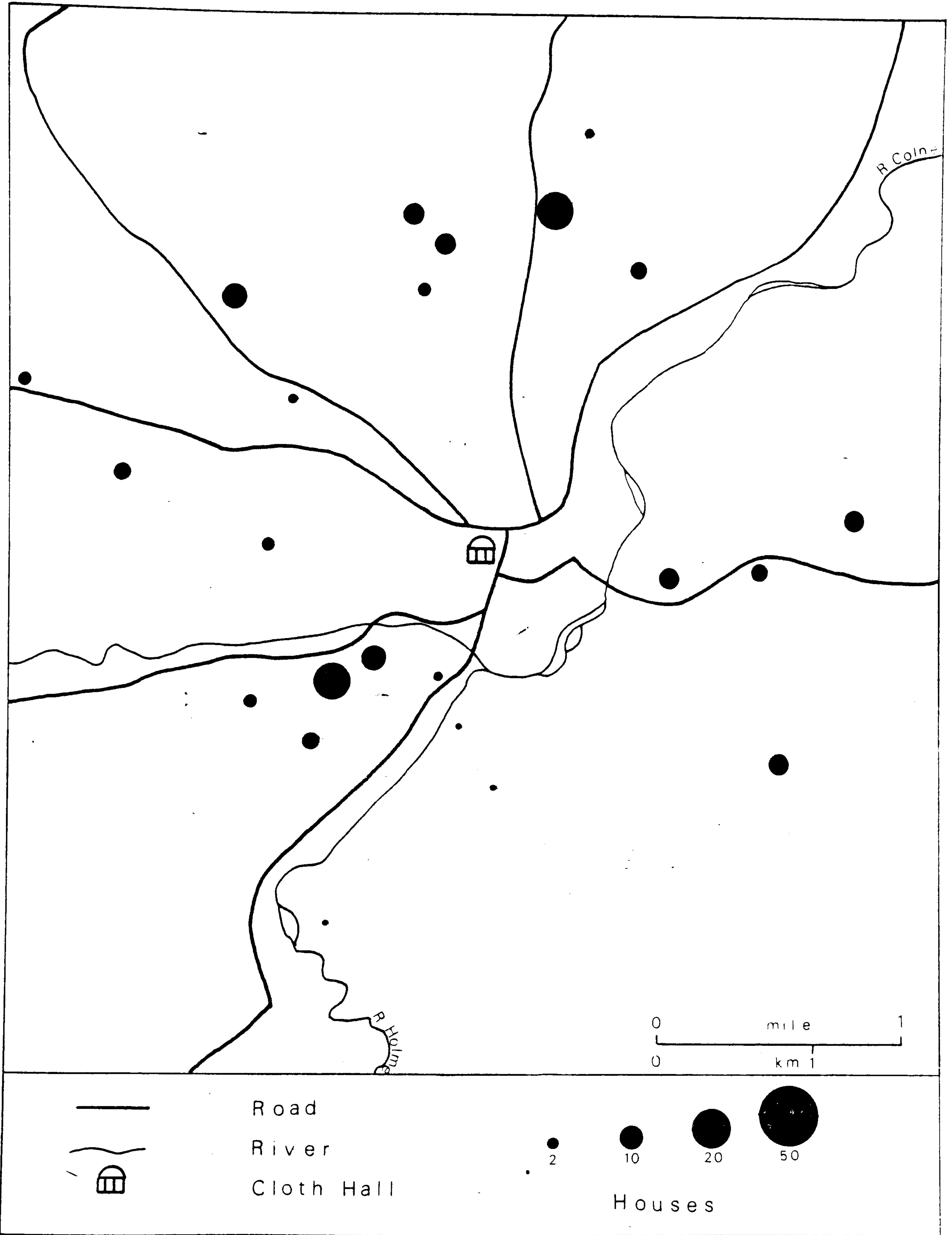


Figure 7.13 Location of Houses Built 1900
Source: Building Applications
Huddersfield Council Minutes

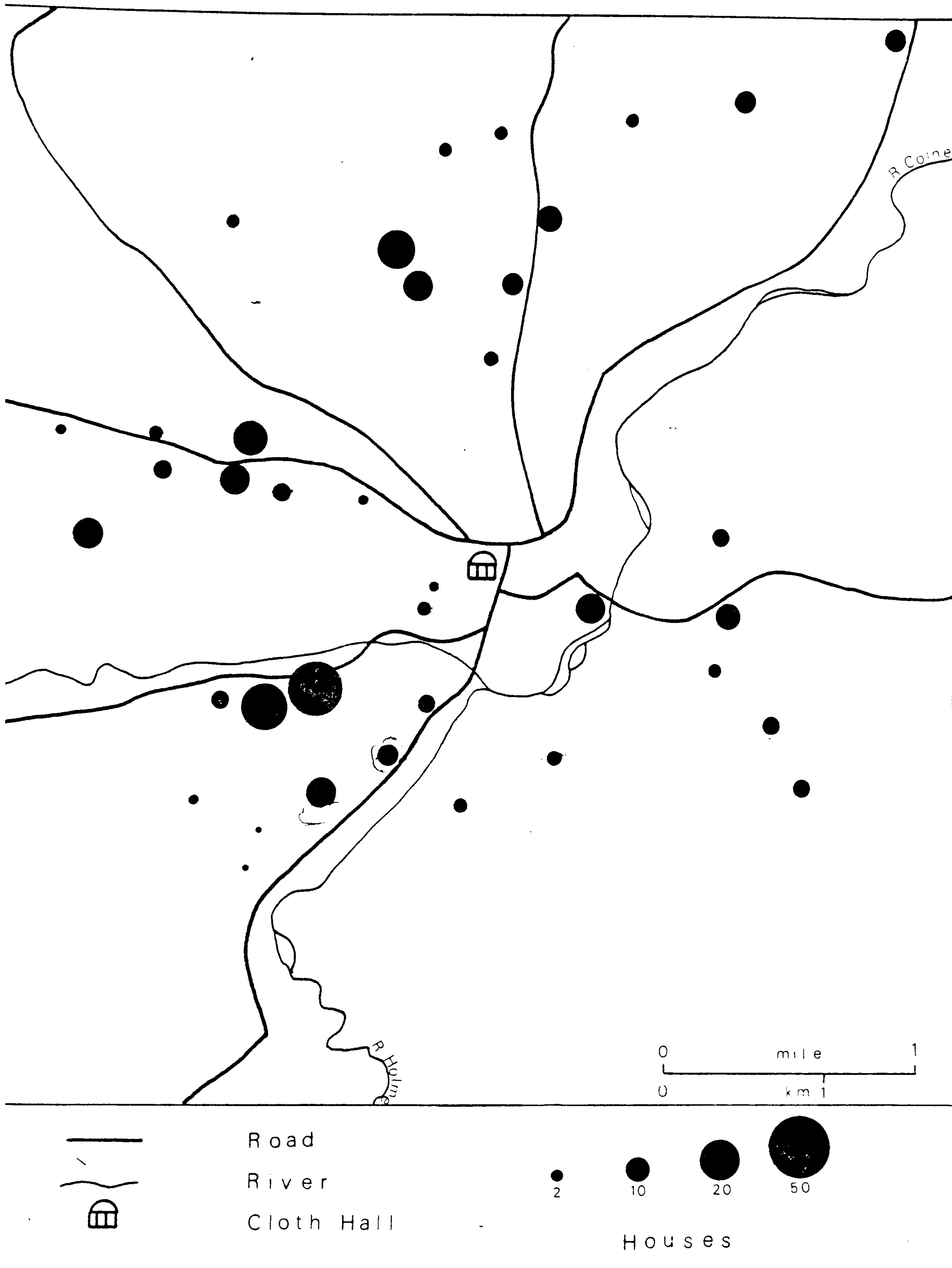


Figure 7.14 Location of Houses Built 1905
 Source: Building Applications
 Huddersfield Council Minutes

building applications to the Council. (Figures 7.9, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.14) Since this data was available for the whole of Huddersfield on a comparable basis, it has been possible to show the number of houses built in each location. No distinction is drawn between leasehold land and freehold land, since long-term leasehold was the principal tenure available throughout the area.

As the maps indicate a major feature of this later period was an increasing concentration of new building in suburban locations to the exclusion of areas closer to the town centre. House building in 1880 was concentrated in the south-west part of Huddersfield, Lindley and Moldgreen, with some building still taking place within half a mile of the town centre. By 1885 a change towards predominantly suburban house building had been initiated and this trend accelerated during the 1890s. By 1900 a distinctly sectoral pattern of development had emerged with the numerous suburban houses being built along the radial routes from the town centre.

Factors Influencing Locational Choice: Land Availability and Land Tenure

It is now well-established that, in general, in any one town, the availability of land at any one time had a decisive effect on the locational choice of the builder.¹ In the case of freehold land, development depended on incidence of sale. In the case of leasehold land the builder depended on the landowners' decision to lay out the necessary line of the streets. At any one time, however, not only were new estates being opened up for development but there was also usually leasehold land available on estates or parts of estates already opened up. Thus, until any one area was completely built up there was a cumulative increase in the

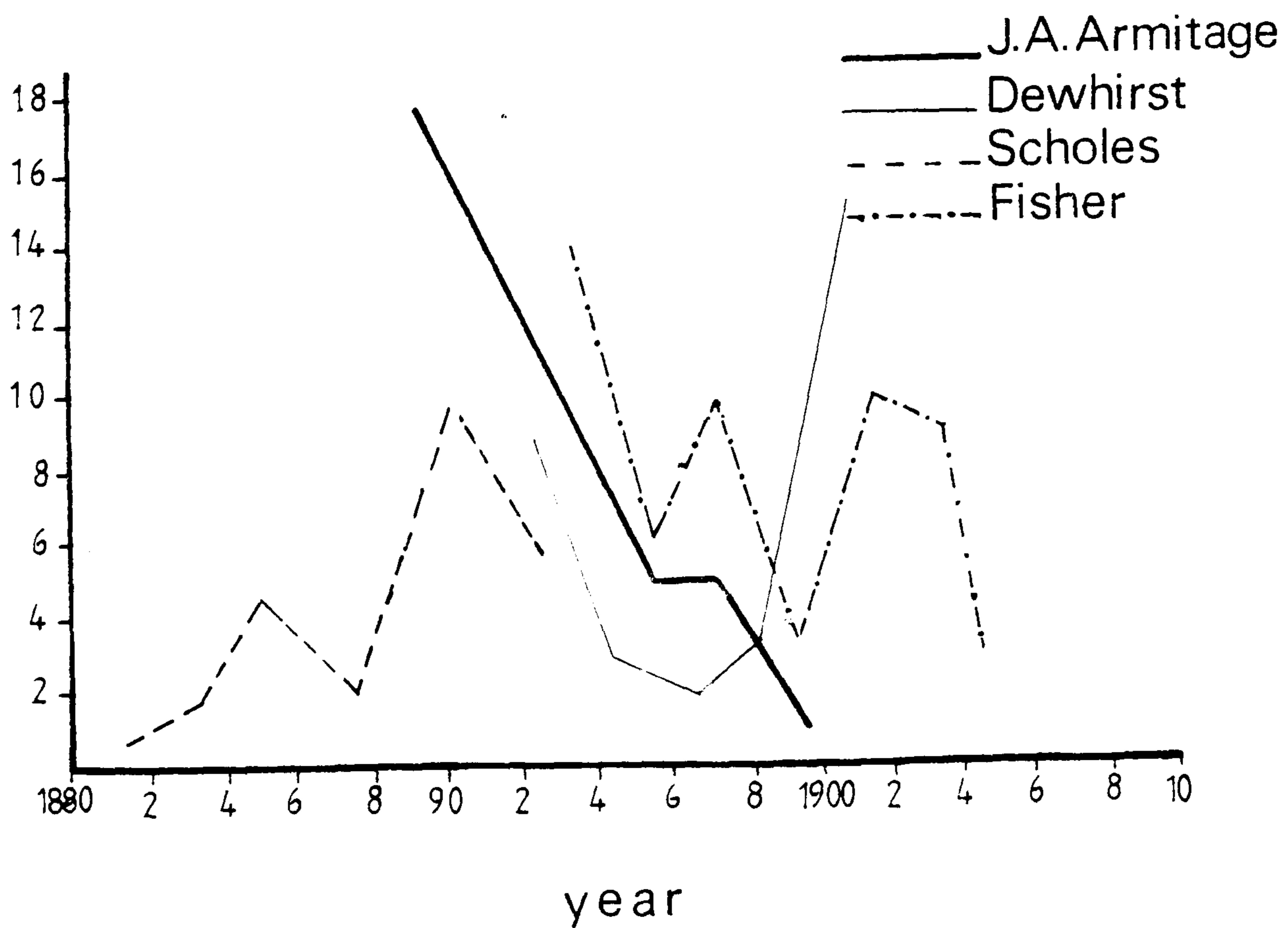
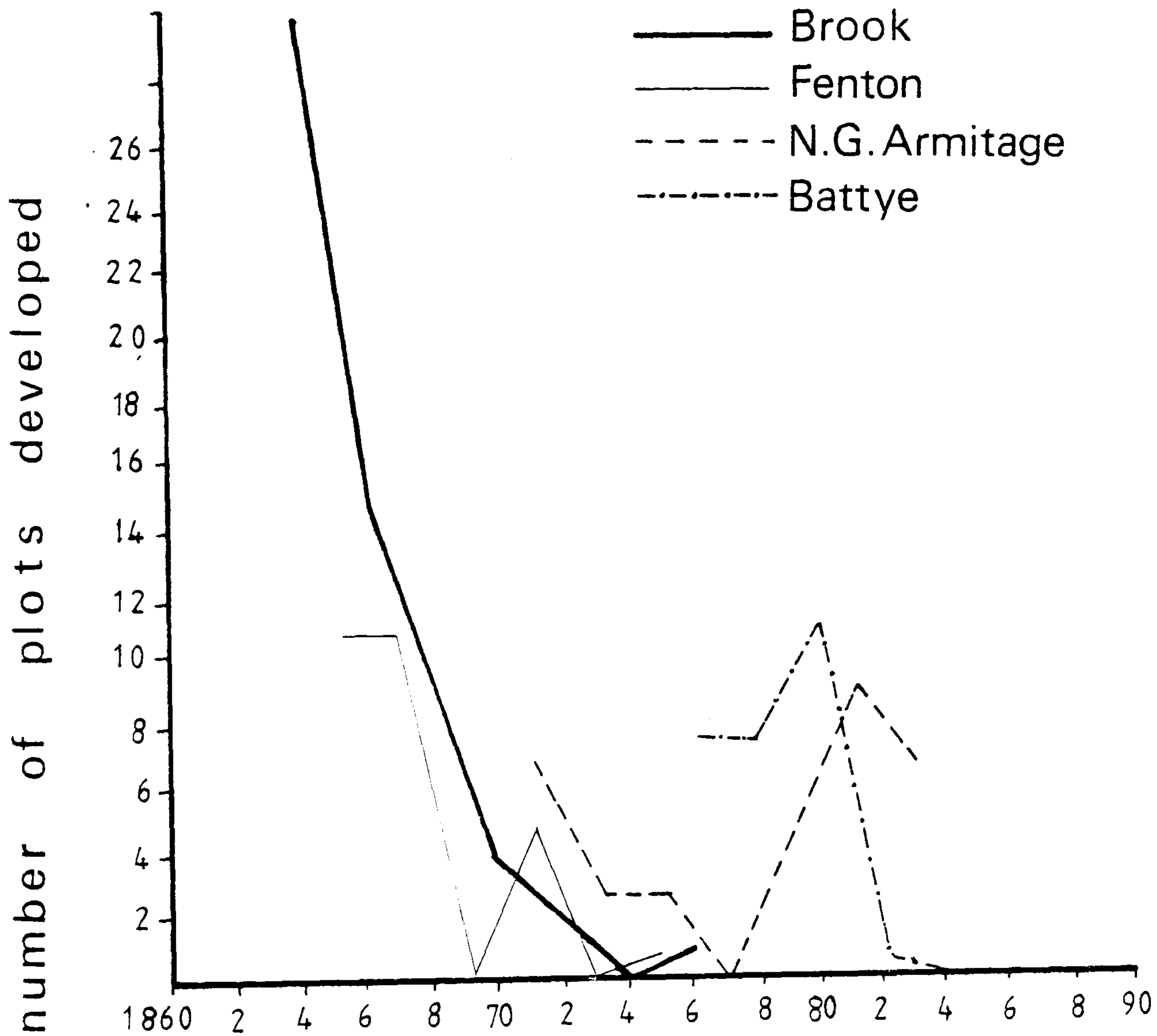
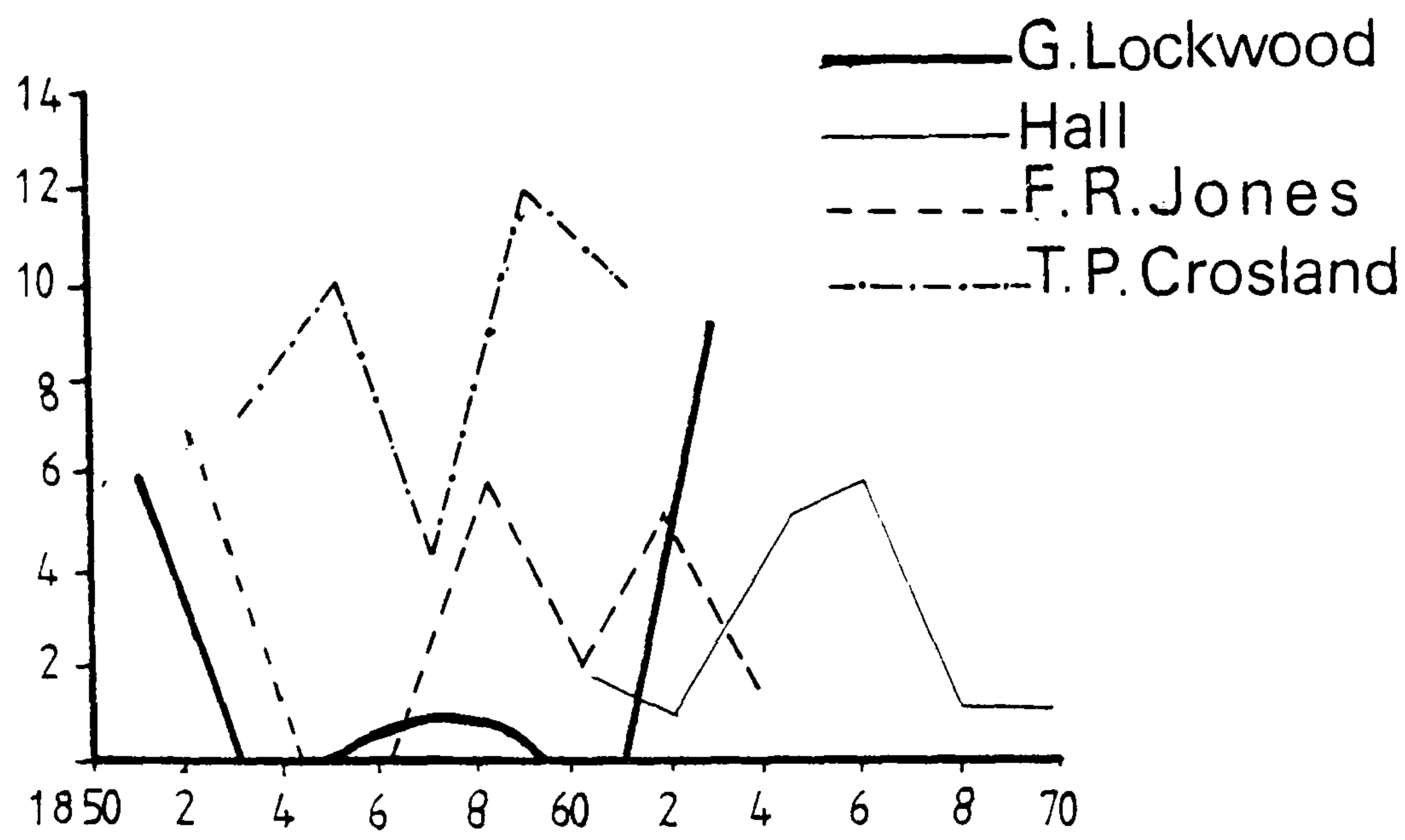
1. WARD, D. (1962) "The Pre-urban Cadaster and the Urban Pattern of Leeds". AAAG, 52, 151-165.

choices of sites available to the builder. The greater the choice the more likely the pattern of development in any one year would be scattered over a wide area of the town. This would be particularly true of towns where the building industry was organised on a small scale.

From the maps of developments in the period 1850-1905 it is apparent that house building tended to be concentrated into a few areas and that the trend throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century was towards increasing concentration of house building to specific locations. To some extent this pattern can be attributed to the location of newly opened up estates. Thus the concentration of development in 1865 at Moldgreen and adjacent to the town centre at Springwood resulted from the laying out of those areas for development in the course of the preceding year.¹ Usually in the years immediately following the opening up of an estate there was a rapid uptake of plots. (Figure 7.15) Subsequently there was a decrease in the number of plots leased each year followed by a renewed acceleration during an upturn in the Huddersfield building cycle.² The stage attained in the building cycle does not appear to have had any influence on the rate of plot uptake immediately after the opening of an estate. In the first two years at least there was usually a large amount of land leased. Thus, although the estate belonging to the Fisher Trustees was opened during a slump in the building cycle in 1894 a large number of plots were immediately taken up. Occasionally a landowner did overestimate the demand for land. This was particularly the case immediately after the introduction of trams in 1882, as was apparent on the estate of John Scholes. This estate was peripherally

1. WRRD XY/3/4 1863; XS 696 816 1864.

2. Vide supra. p 101



located in Birkby and the initial uptake of plots was slow and did not increase until the tram network was fully established.

An additional factor which any builder had to consider was on what land tenure he should build and the choice of tenures varied with time and space. Confidence in the prevailing system of tenure was a factor of major significance in determining this choice. The crisis of confidence in the system of tenure on the Ramsden Estate, a crisis which coincided with the trade depression in 1857¹, had an impact on the attitude of builders to leasehold land in general. This led builders to concentrate their efforts on freehold land only during the period 1855-1863, hence the peak on the graphs for the estates of T. P. Crosland in Primrose Hill and F. R. Jones at Bay Hall. This is not to say, however, that specific builders actually changed the locations of their activities. This never happened. Instead what took place was that those able to build on freehold land did so whilst those who usually built on leasehold land desisted from building.

Differences in tenure affected the choice of detailed location in the same way. From 1857 to 1867, in some areas it was possible for builders to consciously choose between short-term leases of 99 years and long-term leases for 999 years. This is best illustrated in the case of Hillhouse (Table 7.18). Under the Thornhill Estate Act 1852, land in the Hillhouse area was opened for development on long-term leases by managers of the Thornhill Estate in plots suitable for terraced dwelling houses.

1. Huddersfield Chronicle, April 28 1858. An advertisement called for a meeting "to take into consideration the best means of endeavouring to relieve ourselves from the present depression in the building branch resulting not only on account of the late monetary crisis but exceedingly allayed by the alienation in the mode of leasing building lots in Huddersfield."

TABLE 7.18Development on the Thornhill and Ramsden Estates
at Hillhouse

	<u>No. of Developments</u>	
	<u>Thornhill</u>	<u>Ramsden</u>
1853	1	4
1854	5	0
1855	8	0
1856	4	0
1857	0	0
1858	1	0
1859	0	0
1860	9	0
1861	3	0
1862	1	0
1863	5	2 (2 houses)
1864	4	2 (3 houses)
1865	0	2 (2 houses)
1866	2	0
1867	0	0
1868	0	0
1869	0	1 (12 houses)
1870	0	2 (12 houses and 10 houses)

Immediately following the passage of the Act a number of plots were taken up. Little development took place from 1857 to 1860 but development continued apace subsequently. On adjacent parts of the Ramsden Estate there was a large amount of land available for development on short-term leases. This land lay nearer the main urban area than the Thornhill land. Yet little building occurred on the Ramsden Estate land until after the introduction of 999-year leases on that Estate in 1867. Similarly at Bay Hall plots of land on freehold and long-term leasehold were used for building in preference to land on the Ramsden Estate before 1867. (Table 7.19)

TABLE 7.19Development at Bay Hall

	<u>Sundry Estates</u>	<u>Ramsden</u>	
1850	10	4	
1851	2	4	
1852	6	1	
1853	1	1	
1854	-	-	
1855	-	-	
1856	-	-	
1857	-	-	
1858	5	-	
1859	1	-	
1860	-	1	
1861	2	-	
1862	1	-	
1863	4	-	
1864	-	-	
1865	-	1	
1866	-	-	
1867	-	-	
1868	-	2	
1869	-	1	(10 houses)
1870	-	2	

If particular house types are considered then the Ramsden Estate was also found to be at a significant disadvantage in attracting potential builders. This can be demonstrated with respect to villa developments in the north-western sector of the town. (Table 7.20)

TABLE 7.20Villa Development in North-West Sector of HuddersfieldOther Estates -(excludes Thornhill)Ramsden Estate

-	8	1850
-	4	1851
-	1	1852
1	-	1854
2	-	1855
3	-	1860
2	-	1861
-	1	1862
7	1	1863
1	2	1864
1	-	1865
3	-	1866
-	2	1867
1	5	1868
2	4	1869

TABLE 7.20 (continued)

1	6	1870
2	1	1871
-	1	1872
1	-	1873
4	-	1874
17	-	1875
16	-	1877
1	-	1878
2	-	1879
1	-	1881

As the table shows, although some villas were built on the Ramsden Estate during the 1860s, significantly more were built on adjacent estates. After 1867 more villas were erected on Ramsden land but the situation soon changed in 1874 after the opening up of the Battye Estate in 1872.¹ The covenants imposed by Frances Battye on lessees were far less restrictive than those imposed by the Ramsden Estate and this may have been a factor in builder choice. Most of these villas were small detached and semi-detached dwelling houses. The best villas, those built in their own grounds like small mansion houses, were built on land further away from the main built-up area of the town in Edgerton on the Thornhill Estate, opened in 1853.² The comprehensive restrictive covenants attached to the long-term leases of this Estate were very attractive to builders of this type of dwelling, a superiority no doubt emphasised by the absence of long-term leases on similar land adjacent to Greenhead Park on the Ramsden Estate until 1867. By that time Edgerton had been established as the unrivalled elite area of Huddersfield. Indeed it could be argued that the difficulties over tenure encouraged the premature migration of the upper middle classes to an area some distance from Huddersfield.

1. At Gledholt near Marsh. WRRD 711/452/531, 1874.

2. Thornhill Estate Act 1852. vide supra. p 211

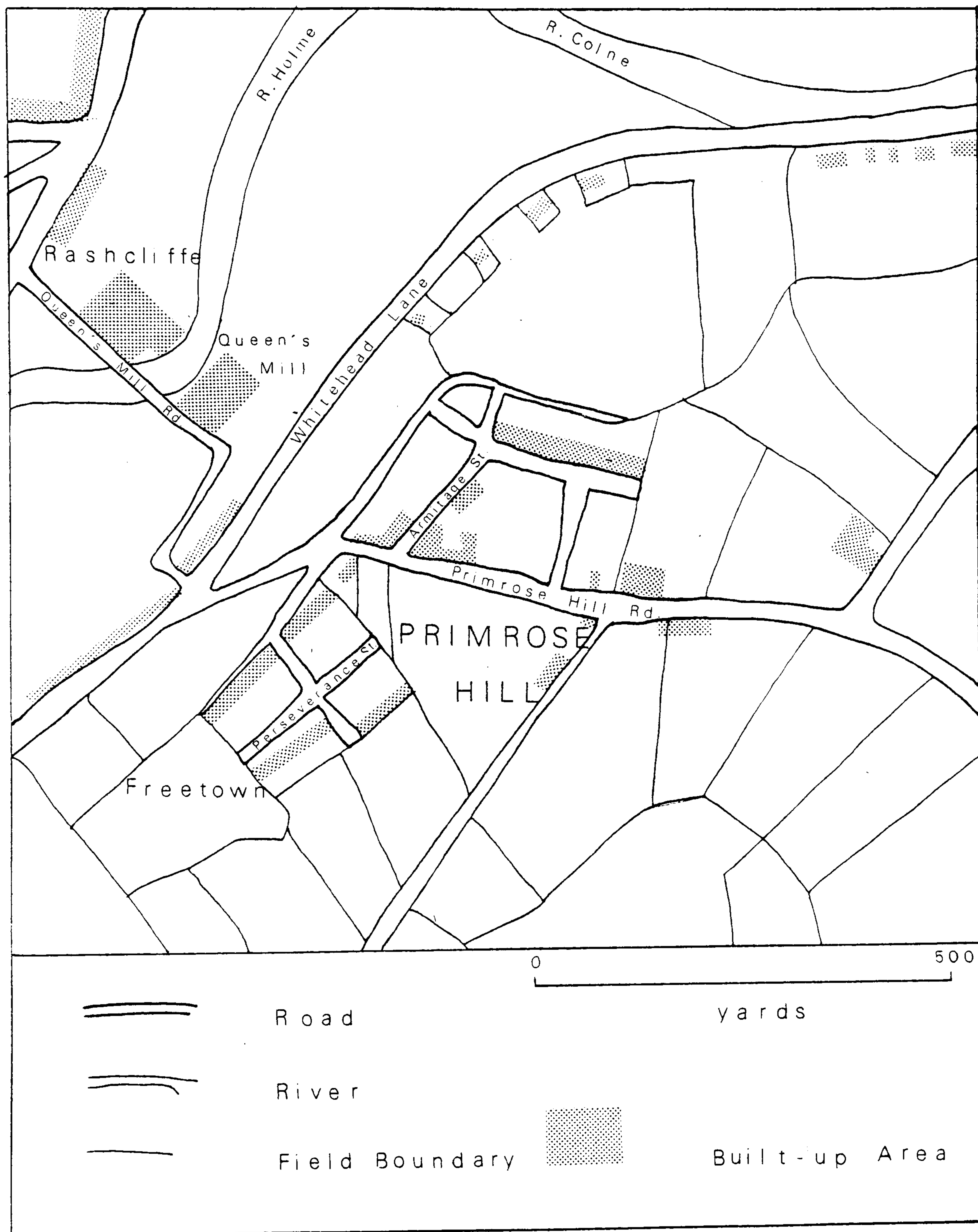


Figure 7.16 Primrose Hill in 1878
Source: Whitehead's Map H.P.L.

At the other end of the scale in house building the impact of land rights on urban development is even more evident in the case of back-to-back houses. The policy adopted towards these houses until 1899 placed restrictions on the locational choice for builders of this type of housing. A detailed example of the impact of tenure and land rights on such ordinary house building can best be illustrated by reference to the Primrose Hill area of Huddersfield. (Figure 7.16) Originally part of Newsome Common, this area was acquired by a number of owners - Sir John William Ramsden, John Liversedge, the Lockwood Estate Proprietors and three members of the Heppenstall family, Enos, Booth and William.¹ The three Heppenstalls and Liversedge all resided in the area in 1851.²

The first major impetus to development was the building boom of the early 1850s. Taking advantage of the prevailing demand, John Liversedge went into partnership with a solicitor, Thomas Pearson Crosland, and together they opened land at Primrose Hill for development on freehold tenure.³ The area came to be known, appropriately enough, as Freetown. It consisted of Perseverance Street, Armitage Street, Primrose Street and the well-named Freehold Street. The downswing in the building cycle in 1857 slowed development to some extent but it did not cease as was the case with development on land elsewhere in Huddersfield.

In 1861 David Marsden built Queens Mill alongside the River Holme on land belonging to the Lockwood Proprietors. The building of the factory necessitated the building of a bridge across the river and reduced the walking distance to factories in Rashcliffe.

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1. Almondbury Tithe Award and Survey 1848. E/A. H.P.L.
 2. Census Enumerators' Returns 1851.
 3. WRRD/QX/425/496 1851; RC 247/278 1851; RC 248/279 1851; RL/77/97 1851; RL/78/98 1851.

In 1860 Allen Crowe submitted an application to build a shop, an inn and 7 houses on the Primrose Hill side of the river, immediately above the mill. From 1864 a total of 12 building undertakers submitted plans for leases for a total of 28 houses along Whitehead Lane.¹ The Ramsden Estate also held land along this Road but by comparison building on Ramsden Land proceeded at a slow pace. The houses built on the Lockwood Proprietors' land were of a type of back-to-earth adapted to the steep slopes in that area.² Like back-to-back houses, back-to-earth houses were prohibited at that date on the Ramsden Estate.³ Moreover, although on both the Ramsden Estate and the Lockwood Proprietors' Estate houses were built to form a terrace, those on the latter Estate were built in larger units. The differences in tenure type and house type resulted in a contrast in overall housing density. On the Lockwood Proprietors' Estate the average area of land per house was around 64.5 square yards but 157 square yards per house on the Ramsden Estate. One wonders indeed why any land was taken at all on the Ramsden Estate. The rent charged for the Lockwood Estate land was 1.65d per square yard but on the Ramsden Estate it ranged from 1.75d to 2.25d and rose to no less than 3d per yard after the introduction of 999-year leases.⁴ Perhaps considerations other than the cost of the land determined the decision.

Factors influencing Locational Decisions: Land Rents

Usually the ground rent was the one certain factor which the builder had to consider. Under the leasehold system of tenure,

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1. Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Conveyancing Deed 1954, H.P.L.
 2. Appendix H. Field Survey March 1976; the area is currently being demolished.
 3. Vide supra, 180
 4. Lockwood Conveyancing Deed op cit; Sale Plan of Auction of the Lockwood, Rashcliffe and Little Royd Estates 1898; Ramsden Estate Papers, Register of Application for Leases op cit.



Figure 7.17 Rental Surface in 1850
Source: R.E.P., H.P.L.

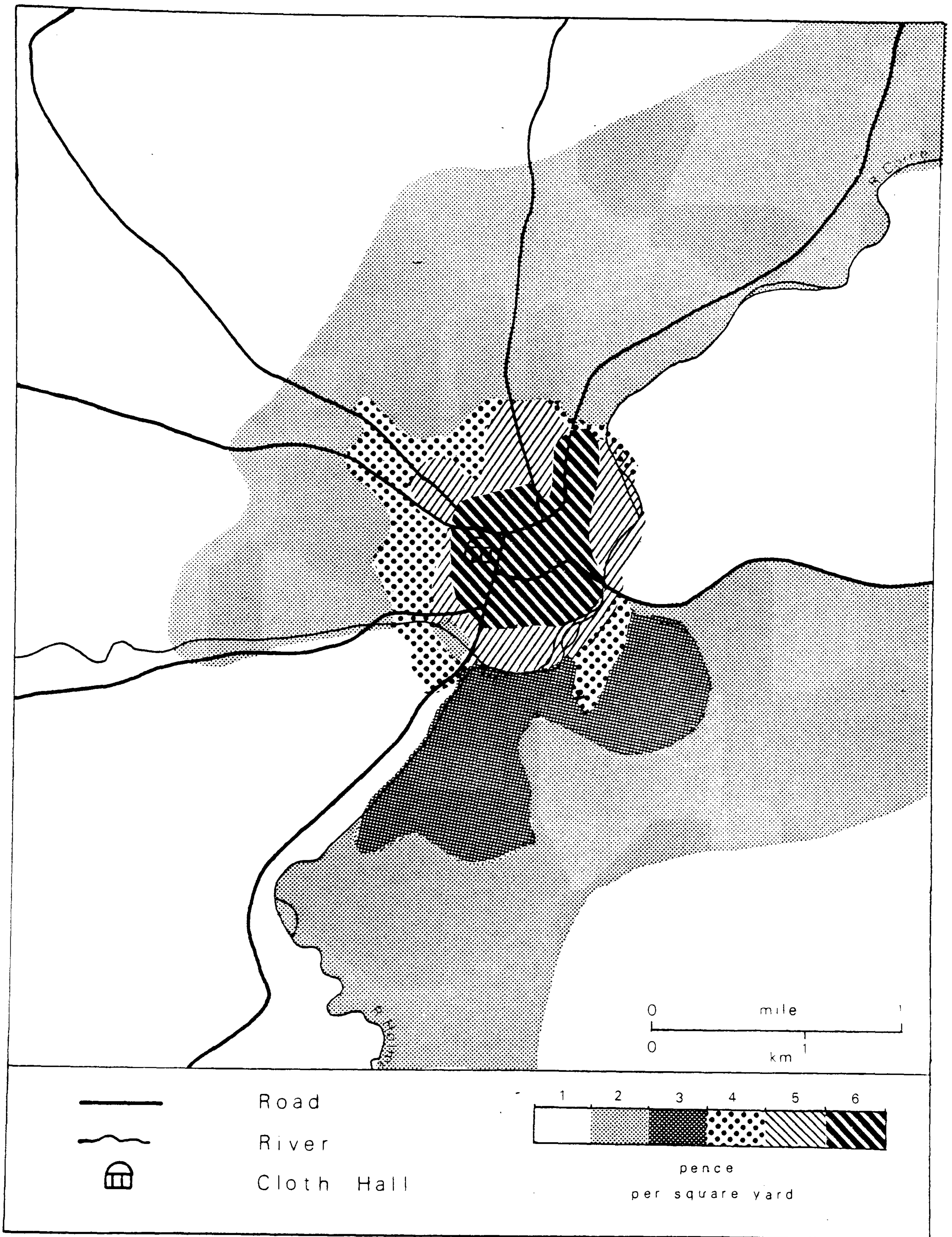


Figure 7.18 Rental Surface in 1870
 Source: R.E.P., C/T/2/42, C/T/2/43,
 H.P.L.; WRRD.

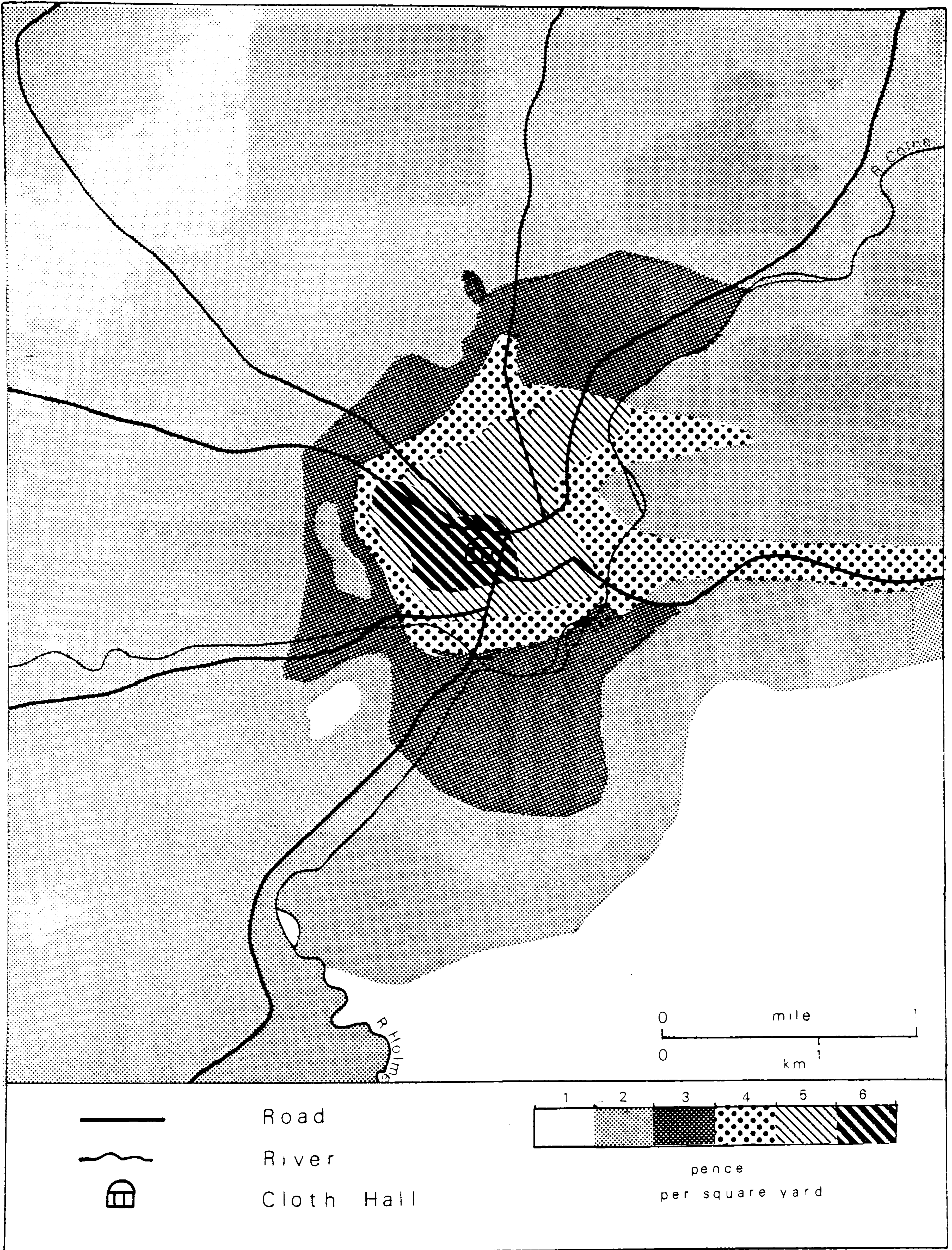


Figure 7.19 Rental Surface after 1880
Source: WRRD; R.E.P.Box 70 H.P.L.

the rent of a particular location was fixed for many years. An opportunity to raise the rents only occurred if additional land in an area was opened up for development by a landowner. By contrast the price of freehold land fluctuated a great deal.

Even if land value cannot be equated with land rent or ground rent¹, the rental charged for a piece of land must have been a factor which the building owner took into consideration when deciding on a location. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the rents charged for land leased from the Ramsden Estate were consistently higher than those on other estates. But, as the example of Primrose Hill shows, a higher land rent did not always deter a builder from building on a particular piece of land.

Using information derived from the Ramsden registers of leases and sporadic references to rents and land prices in deeds after 1885, it is possible to map a ground rental surface for Huddersfield. (Figures 7.17, 7.18, 7.19) This, however, should be regarded as only an approximation to reality because of the sporadic nature of the data.

Three factors are worthy of note. First, as one might expect, there was a general distance decline in land rents, particularly to the west ^{on land} belonging to owners other than the Ramsden Estate. Second, the decline was more uneven in 1850 than in the period after 1880. Third, although rents in the centre of Huddersfield increased significantly over time, the rents throughout Huddersfield were low especially as compared with those quoted for larger towns elsewhere.² Real savings in ground rent could only be achieved if a tenant required a large plot of land for his houses perhaps as a

1. WHITEHAND, J. W. R. (1978) "The Building Cycle and the Urban Fringe in Victorian Cities: a reply." Journal of Historical Geography, 4, 186.

2. Select Committee on Town Holdings 1886-8. DAUNTON (1977)

pleasure ground. Thus if a plot comprised 3000 square yards and the rent was 2d a square yard, as on the Thornhill Estate, the annual rent would be £25 per annum. The house would probably be valued at around £80 per annum so that land costs amounted to about a quarter of the total cost of the property. A site closer to Huddersfield on Ramsden Estate land would command a rental of at least 4d per square yard, thus raising the cost of the land component to one-third of the total. On smaller plots the cost of the land component would be less and differences between sites correspondingly small. For the builder of large middle class houses the trade off between accessibility and land costs was a significant element in the locational decision and this alone would have been an incentive to build on the Thornhill Estate in Edgerton without the added advantages on that estate of extensive restrictive covenants and long-term leases.

Builders of smaller houses became more sensitive to land rents at the end of the century, particularly during the slump of 1895. With the development of a comprehensive tram system and the use made of this by the lower middle classes, there was a growing tendency on the part of members of this class to seek suburban housing on which rents were lower than near the town centre. On more expensive land nearer the centre, builders increased housing density by building back-to-back houses. Such houses were built on land rented from 2d to 3d per square yard at Springdale, Fartown and Crosland Moor.¹ On the Ramsden Estate, however, it was not possible thus to compensate for high rents until the removal of restrictions on the building of back-to-back houses. Pressure on

1. WRRD, 39/930/449 1897; 17/934/423 1903; 19/244/117 1906.

the market was also increased with the adoption on some estates of selling freehold land as well as leasehold land.¹ This was done where a landowner was making a quick turnover so as to defray the expense incurred in laying out streets. Freehold land at this time was extremely cheap with an equivalent rent, at 25 years' purchase, of $\frac{3}{4}$ d to $2\frac{3}{4}$ d per square yard.

The reduction in rent that was forced on the Ramsden Estate management as a consequence of this market pressure is revealed in the map for the period after 1880. (Figure 7.19) This map shows a decrease in the size of area covered by rents of 4d per square yard and over, together with islands of lower ground rents within high rental areas. These islands are the exceptionally low ground rents of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d per square yard charged on the Thornton Lodge Estate and in the old village centre of Lockwood, and the ground rents of 2-3d per square yard charged on the Battye Estate at Gledholt.²

Factors influencing Locational Choice: Demand Constraints

1) The Journey to Work

Even if a builder wished to obtain land on cheaper ground rents his choice was limited by the distance people were able and willing to travel to work.

In the case of working class housing the need to live near to existing factories or a new factory was both a limiting and a determining factor in locational choice.³ By 1867 a distinct industrial belt had been established along the River Colne and Holme and their tributaries. Most of the factories established

1. This was done on the Dewhurst Estate in Fartown and also on the land developed by J. A. Armitage at Thornton Lodge. vide supra.

2. This might account for the very rapid uptake of plots on both Estates soon after opening.

3. VANCE, J. E. (1966) "Housing the Worker: the employment linkage as a force in urban structure. "Economic Geography", 42, 294-325.

after this date were located within this belt. New cottages for the working classes built in the 1870s and 1880s tended to be built within easy walking distance of this belt and also adjacent to the old village nuclei where mills already existed. In the period 1861 to 1863 additions were made to Brown's Mill at Bay Hall.¹ During the course of 1863 a number of freehold lots were placed on the market in the vicinity and these were soon purchased for the erection of working class housing. In the same year Samuel Booth erected working class housing on land at Bay Hall which he had purchased some 10 years earlier.² Because of the generalised nature of the housing market in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, it is difficult to pinpoint other examples of a direct link between specific mill expansion and cottage building. Any cottage building that took place during this period, however, was closely associated with the industrial belt, with specific concentrations in Lockwood and Moldgreen. Indeed, at a time when building for the lower classes was on the decline a distinctly sectoral pattern was beginning to emerge in this belt.

The restrictions on the location of working class dwellings must have been an added incentive to the builder to concentrate his efforts on the more mobile middle class market. The introduction of a comprehensive tramway system in the 1880s can be seen as a liberating influence, increasing the distance it was possible to cover within the specified maximum travelling time of 15 minutes.³ Nevertheless there is evidence to show that even

1. Ramsden Estate Papers, Register of Application for Leases
op cit.

2. WRRD XY/6/9/1863.

3. Vide supra. p. 304

before that date the average journey to work was increasing. On the basis of information available in the 1864 trade directory it has been possible to calculate the journey to work of 233 people; some 68% of those listed as principally members of the middle class. The same has been done for 247 people, 57% of those listed in the directory for 1881, and largely members of the middle class.¹

TABLE 7.21

Journey to Work of Middle Classes

Date	Distance in miles								
	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	2	
1864	17.16	17.59	15.87	21.03	9.44	11.15	0.53	6.93	%
1881	2.35	31.31	3.03	21.21	18.51	13.80	1.68	8.08	%

In 1864 the average journey to work was 0.9 miles but in 1881 it had risen to 1.4 miles. In 1864 50.62% of the middle class people recorded were living within one mile of their place of work; by 1881 this proportion had declined to 36.69%. There had been a substantial decline in the number of people living within $\frac{1}{4}$ mile of their workplace. Unfortunately similar data are not available for a later period. It is probable that the existence of the tramways did not have a substantial impact on the overall length of the journey to work until after the introduction of cheap fares in 1903. Even if no firm correlation between transport improvements and an increase in the journey to work can be established, some linkage between suburban living and the existence of a tram route was almost certainly perceived by the developer and builder and must have stimulated development adjacent to them.² Tram routes

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1. CHARLTON, R. J. and ANDERSON, C. (1864). Directory of the Woollen Districts of Leeds, Huddersfield, Dewsbury and the surrounding villages. WHITE, W. (1881). History, Directory and Gazetteer of the West Riding of Yorkshire.
 2. An impression gained from miscellaneous comments in the correspondence of the Ramsden Estate.

and services linking the settlement of Fartown, Crosland Moor and Birkby with the centre of Huddersfield were established in 1833, 1890, 1892 respectively. In the area between these settlements and Huddersfield there was considerable sectoral development along the tram route as is shown by comparing the maps for 1890, 1900 and 1905.

b) The Owner-Occupier

A surviving Poor Rate book for Huddersfield township in 1896 permits an estimate of owner occupation and its changing distribution.¹ In 1847 10.68% of all houses were in the possession of owner-occupiers but by 1896 this had declined to 9.27%.² More significant were the changes between these two dates which had occurred in the distribution of houses of various gross rental values as given in the ratebooks.³

TABLE 7.22

Distribution of House Values

<u>Gross Rental Value</u> £	1847 %	1896 %
< 6	43.12	2.40
6-10	29.83	33.09
11-15	10.48	18.09
16-20	8.66	11.94
21-25	1.86	4.97
26-30	3.49	5.53
> 30	2.56	23.98
	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

In Huddersfield township as a whole there was an increase in the level of owner occupancy in the middle rental groups and in

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1. Huddersfield Township Poor Ratebook 1897 op cit.
 2. A similar decline in owner occupancy was found in Cardiff. DAUNTON (1977) op cit., 108.
 3. The gross rental value entered in the Ratebook was the same as the rent actually charged for houses on the Starkey Estate at Bankfield Road and Woodthorpe Terrace. Starkey Estate Papers NCRO op.cit. They were therefore taken as being a reasonable index for actual rents.

particular amongst houses normally belonging to the lower middle classes. There was, however, a high level of owner occupancy in 1896 amongst the most expensive householders reflecting the development after 1850 of Edgerton, where the majority of these houses were found. With this exception the main impression given by the evidence is of a building process increasingly dominated by the whims of the lower middle classes. The evidence for Huddersfield accords with that revealed in the Report of the Select Committee on Town Holdings in which it was maintained that in a number of towns the proportion of owner occupancy was greater with the better class houses than with poorer class houses. The proportion of owner occupancy was also said to be greater where building was more recent.¹ Confirmation of these assessments is provided by the level of owner occupancy in different parts of Huddersfield in 1896. (Figure 7.20) Areas showing a level of owner occupancy considerably greater than the mean include the more desirable areas of Greenhead and Edgerton. Those areas showing a level between 1 and 2 standard deviations from the mean include the newly-developing lower middle class districts of Gledholt, Birkby and Fartown. An exception is provided by the New North area, an older more established sector of the town which nevertheless retains its high level of owner occupancy, apparently a reflection of its middle class status. Other areas of the town, the village nuclei of Marsh, Birkby, Hillhouse, and the belt of houses adjacent to the industrial sector of the town, had a level of owner occupancy less than the mean. This probably reflects the reduction in opportunities for owner occupation amongst the working classes and the consequent filtering down of

1. S.C.T.H. 1889. op cit.

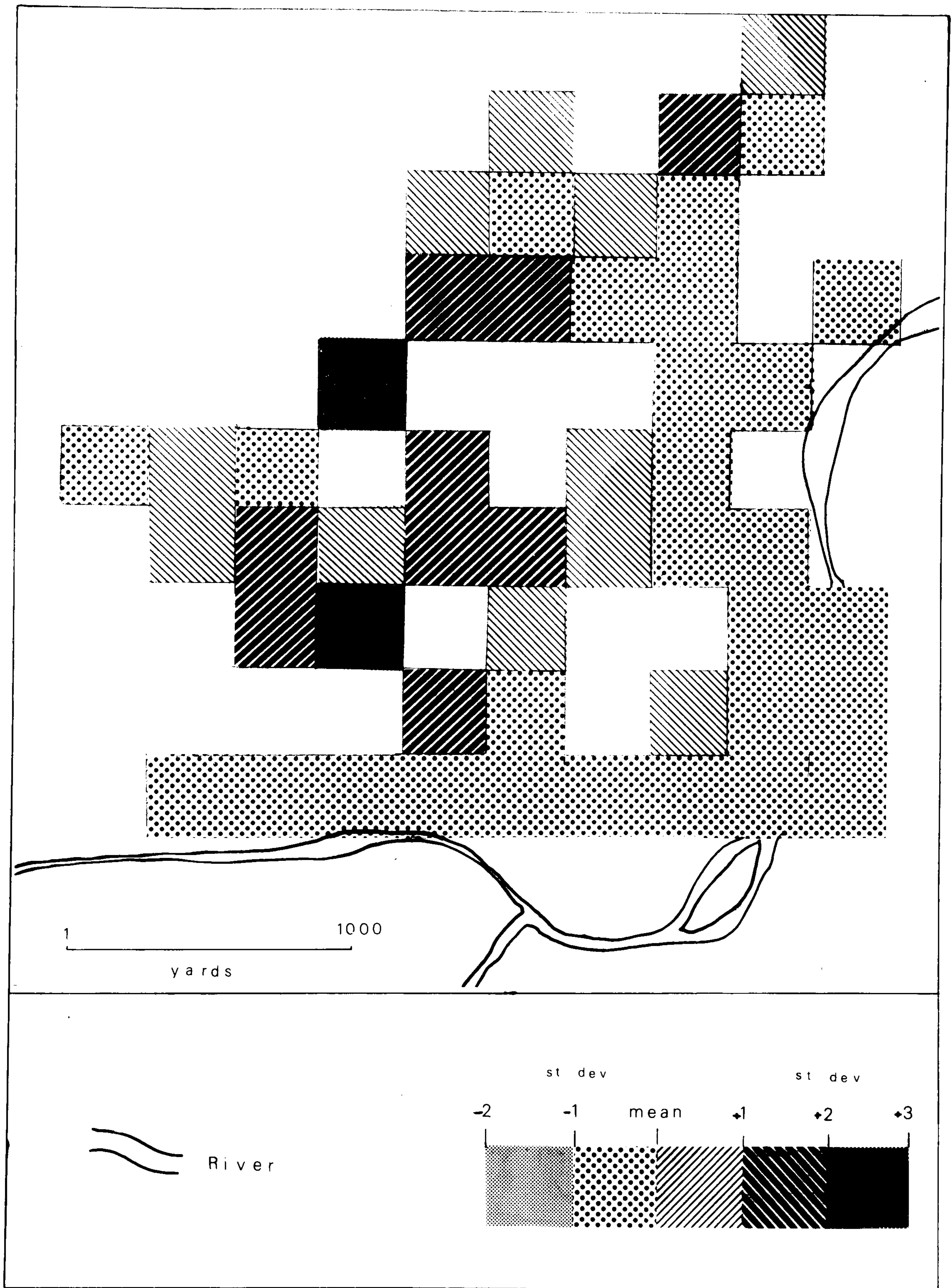


Figure 7.20 Pattern of Owner-occupancy in 1896
Source:Ratebook

old property for their occupation and use instead.

Conclusion

A number of changes took place in the nature of the building process during the latter half of the nineteenth century with the result that the character of building and its locational pattern were both considerably altered by the twentieth century.

Increasingly the nature of new building was determined by the decisions of the middle classes and in particular those of the lower middle classes, whose desire for a suburban home came to dominate the process of urban development.

Until 1867, when long-term leases of 999 years became general throughout Huddersfield, differences in tenure were a significant factor in determining the locational choice of a builder. After that date factors such as land costs and covenantal restrictions assumed greater importance than differences between types of tenure. Increased building cost, byelaw restrictions and the shrinking potential market for new houses, so that it reacted to only a limited sector of society, led to increased competition and thus contributed to an increase in the scale of the average building project. In addition speculative building contractors increased in importance. The result of these trends was increasing uniformity in the types of houses being built by the early twentieth century both in terms of price range and in the locations in which the new developments were found.

CHAPTER 8Summary and Conclusion

This thesis has examined the character of urban land development in Huddersfield between 1770 and 1911. Particular attention has been paid to the nature of decision-making by land owners and builders in response to the changing socio-economic forces which were operating in the local urban environment and which created the demand for land.

The main features of the contextual factors were established in Chapter 2. Rapid population growth during the early nineteenth century accompanied the emergence of a factory-based textile industry producing wool and worsted cloth. Most of this population growth was accommodated by the compact physical expansion of Huddersfield town accompanied by more limited growth in the villages of Paddock, Lockwood and Berry Brow. After 1850 industry became more diversified with the development of engineering and chemicals. Although economic growth continued, Huddersfield, in common with the rest of the West Riding, suffered from a trade depression in the 1890s. However, throughout the period covered by this thesis, Huddersfield remained an important commercial centre for the surrounding region, a function which was demonstrated and reinforced in 1847 by the advent of a railway linking Huddersfield with London. The period after 1850 saw other changes in transport technology with the adoption of horse-omnibus services in the 1860s and of tram services in the 1880s and 1890s.

Population growth slackened during the second half of the nineteenth century but major changes took place in its spatial distribution. Although growth continued on the urban fringe of Huddersfield during the period 1850 to 1870, a greater part of the growth was concentrated in the villages surrounding Huddersfield.

In addition, members of the upper middle classes sought residences in locations segregated from the rest of the urban community, particularly in the suburb of Edgerton. By the end of the nineteenth century the lower middle classes were also seeking suburban homes and the trend towards suburbanisation was reinforced. Development took place cyclically, on the whole reflecting national building trends, but with local variations. Thus, in common with national trends major slumps in building occurred in 1857 and the mid-1890s. Peaks in 1851-2 and another in the late 1870s and early 1880s constituted local deviations.

In Chapter 3 it was argued that the structure of landownership in the vicinity of Huddersfield and the form of the predevelopment land market were important features of the framework within which landowners and builders made their decisions. Legal and administrative constraints on the supply of freehold land inhibited the development of an active organised market in freehold land. The imperfect market was reinforced by the distribution of landownership whereby it was concentrated in a few hands and by the strategic location of the large area of land owned by the Ramsden family immediately adjacent to the growing town of Huddersfield. After 1850, however, the near monopoly of potential development land which the Ramsden Estate had enjoyed was increasingly undermined. As the socio-economic constraints which had limited urban growth to the immediate vicinity of Huddersfield were loosened, more landowners came within the area of potential urban growth. Thus legal difficulties were overcome as landowners sought to maximise the revenue from their land assets. As the century progressed, increasing amounts of land were placed on the market. Much of this land was purchased by the Ramsden Estate as it tried to maintain its position. This policy was not successful and was

eventually abandoned. A new type of buyer emerged - the land developer who bought and developed land in quick succession. As competition increased the price of freehold land fell, and by the beginning of the twentieth century parcels of freehold land were being sold directly to builders as an alternative to leasehold land on individual Estates. In short, a more demand-orientated market in freehold land had evolved.

The first decision-making process studied was that of the landowners. Because of the dominance of the Ramsden Estate in the land market for a greater part of the period the next chapter concentrated on this Estate. A detailed study was facilitated by the survival of considerable documentation pertaining to that Estate. It was established that the Ramsden Estate management did not take advantage of the apparent opportunities present to control the nature of the land development process. Estate management was generally inefficient and corrupt, being in the hands of part-time local agents who attempted to further their own interests. Yet this very inefficiency in itself did influence the mechanics of land development. Because of legal constraints land was initially let on short-term renewable leases of 60 years. The local agents, however, encouraged builders to develop the land on tenancy at will at very low ground rents, thus offering extremely cheap land for potential builders.

After 1839 there was a change in the ownership of the estate and estate management was reorganised during the period 1844 to 1853. A more formal approach was introduced and building was strictly regulated as the management sought to control the nature of the land development process while maximising the economic gain. But even as this was taking place market conditions were changing, undermining the ability of the landowner to enforce

policies. The Ramsden Estate was slow to respond as it came into increasing competition with other landowners in the supply of urban development land. Indeed, mistaken decisions on the part of the management increased the competitive advantage of other landowners. It was not until 1867 that measures were taken to introduce long-term leases of 999 years similar to those offered by other landowners in the area. Between 1857 and 1867 only limited development took place on Ramsden land despite attempts by the owner, Sir John William Ramsden, to promote development by bringing in outside expertise. The pattern of decision-making on the Ramsden Estate after 1867 was one of gradual adjustment to changing market conditions and a reduction in the length of the economic horizon within which decisions were based. Increasingly, in order to develop the land at all, the policies that attempted to influence the character of development were relaxed, culminating in the withdrawal of the prohibition of back-to-back houses in 1899.

The limited documentation surviving with regard to other landowners in Huddersfield made similar detailed examinations of policy difficult. A particular problem was the lack of evidence giving some indication of the economic criteria on which landowners based their decisions. The only exception was the survival of documents referring to the Thornhill Estate affairs between 1846 and 1857. Therefore, to a large extent the analysis presented in Chapter 5 is derived from inferences made from the final development strategy pursued rather than from any detailed insight into the decision-making steps taken to achieve it.

The development strategies of other landowners in Huddersfield varied considerably. During the early period from 1770 to 1850 many of the larger landowners were restricted in the choice of strategy by conditions laid down in the wills of their predecessors.

This was particularly true of the large Thornhill and Kaye Estates, both of which were unable to let their land on leases beyond 21 years, and the latter was forced by inherited debts to sell the freehold of much of the Estate outright. Those landowners not so constrained usually made their land available for development on long-term leasehold with few restrictions, as demonstrated by the Radcliffe and Lockwood Proprietors' Estates who also employed resident land agents to conduct their estate management. The few smaller landowners who came within the influence of urban growth chose to dispose of the freehold outright. After 1850 an increasing number of landowners were able to exploit the potential of their land. In part this was due to the increasing trend towards suburbanisation which encouraged landowners to seek measures to rid themselves of any legal constraints so that they might realise the full economic potential of the asset. Nearly all landowners appear to have felt this could best be achieved by letting land on long-term 999-year leases, although they did vary in their opinion as to the need to control the character of the development on their land and the extent to which covenants were required for this purpose. Generally it was those landowners who saw their land as being destined for middle-class houses who enforced the most restrictive covenants in their leases. The most consistent attempt to regulate development was undertaken by the management of the Thornhill Estate in Lindley, Edgerton and Hillhouse. This Estate also sold some of its land in Lindley in the 1850s in order to realise sufficient cash to purchase a country seat for its owner in Northamptonshire.

Whichever development option was chosen, the landowners depended heavily upon the expertise of land agents and surveyors they employed for the realisation of the demand potential of their

land. There was a tendency to follow a single development option once it had been chosen, despite changing market conditions. Those landowners who followed this course of action came under increasing threat as the nineteenth century drew to a close. With the development of trams and the fall in building, landowners were under increasing competition with each other to attract development to their land. The most successful landowners were the new landowner-developers who bought land and developed it very quickly by offering the land on very low ground rents with few restrictions. The response of some landowners was to make their land available for development on freehold as well as leasehold and by ceasing to charge streetage. Thus, as with the Ramsden Estate, changing market conditions forced landowners to take a more short-term economic view in the way they realised the potential of their land. Some landowners were more ready to take this path than others, and generally it was the older more established landowners who continued to develop their land in the manner they had hitherto.

In Chapters 6 and 7 the decision-making role of builders was examined. There was no direct evidence of the nature of decision-making undertaken by any individual builder of houses. As with many of the landowners, the only data available was derivative based on the successful projects undertaken. Thus the analysis of the building process is less than satisfactory, being derived from the tangible results of the decisions of numerous builders. Building was chiefly undertaken on a contractual basis: a building undertaker or initiator employing the necessary skills as required and obtaining the capital. A characteristic feature of the period 1770 to 1850 was the small-scale and ad hoc basis on which building in this manner was undertaken. There was some variation between areas. The number of small-scale building

projects was higher on the Ramsden Estate than elsewhere in Huddersfield. This was mainly because land was far cheaper on that Estate under the tenancy at will tenure and also because of the existence of numerous building clubs which financed building there. But even on other leasehold land builders only undertook one project in a lifetime and large projects were only undertaken during a peak of a building cycle. In general the type of building undertaker varied according to the tenure on which land was developed. For instance, members of the building profession were more directly involved in the building decision where building was undertaken on freehold land. This was also true of the industrialists and merchants, no doubt reflecting the ability of both to obtain the necessary security for the capital required in the purchase of land. Small self-employed industrialists and tradesmen were more prominent on land taken for building under leasehold tenure. On the cheap tenancies at will even members of the working classes undertook building. On the Ramsden Estate, because of the informal nature of the building process it was possible to erect additional houses over a number of years as the necessary money was saved. The locational decision to build was restricted by the need to provide houses in proximity to places of work. Most builders chose to build either adjacent to their own residence or close to a new factory. About 10% of houses were built for owner occupation. Aside from these factors, competition for land was limited and builders had a wide range of sites from which to choose. In the 1840s, competition in the centre of Huddersfield increased and land rents began to rise. The situation ^{was} compounded by the introduction of more rigorous management by the Ramsden Estate which forced builders to adopt higher standards of building. By this time a distinction had arisen between those building for the

working classes and those building for the middle classes. The latter builder preferred the security of a lease despite the higher ground rent charged.

In 1851 building reached an all-time peak. A number of large building projects were initiated during this period, particularly on the Lockwood Estate, and a number of builders purchased freehold land at Bay Hall and Primrose Hill. A major cutback in building took place in the late 1850s, accompanied by a reduction in the size of building projects. When the upturn in the building cycle commenced a number of changes took place in the building process. Tenancy at will tenure was no longer available and builders showed a strong preference for long-term leasehold. By 1867 this became the standard tenure on which land was developed throughout Huddersfield. As the century progressed there was a reduction in the number of small-scale projects undertaken with a compensating increase in medium-sized and large projects. This trend was accompanied by an increase in the participation of the building profession directly in the building process. Some building contractors at the beginning of the twentieth century were building on a speculative rather than contractual basis, nevertheless the latter method of building continued to account for the bulk of houses erected. Two other changes also became increasingly apparent, each reinforcing the other. The lower middle classes came to dominate those taking the decision to build and it was mostly lower middle class houses that were built. The trends were most marked after the introduction of bylaws regulating house building in 1872. After the introduction of tram services in the 1880s, builders were able to choose more suburban locations for such houses and by the beginning of the twentieth century with the option of either leasehold or freehold terms, many for the first

time chose the latter.

The period 1770-1911 saw a number of changes in the methods by which land was developed in Huddersfield. Yet, throughout the period no one set of decision-makers could be said to have determined the nature of that process. Rather, the character of the land development process was derived from the combination of decisions taken by landowners and builders through mutual adjustment in response to changing market forces. Thus, this thesis supports the recent arguments against placing undue emphasis on the role of the landowner in the development process.¹ But, even if the landowner was not the major determining factor in urban development, decisions made by the landowners did have an impact on the methods of land development. Thus the early lax management of the Ramsden Estate encouraged the establishment of an extremely small-scale informal land development process involving wide sections of the community, including the working classes. This influence was due in a large part to the spatial constraints imposed both by fashion and necessity on the character of urban growth and the near monopoly in the supply of development land enjoyed by that Estate. Potential builders, therefore, were unable to exercise a wide choice as to type of building land. On the other hand, landowners, in order to exploit any return possible from urban land, had to offer land on terms acceptable to builders. This meant terms which could give the building owner a reasonable return from his property during his lifetime. Thus builders considered the 21-year leases that some landowners offered them as unacceptable.

1. RODGER, R. G. (1979) "The building cycle and the urban fringe in Victorian Cities: another comment." Journal of Historical Geography, 5, 72-78. CANNADINE, D. (1978). "How much mark did aristocratic landowners leave on the Victorian City?", unpublished paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Urban History Group March 1978.

While explanations of urban development based on free market behaviour may well be applicable to the late nineteenth century, the evidence from Huddersfield shows that the market was far from developed or perfect during the early stages of urban growth. The period of transition towards more freely organised market conditions occurred during the mid-nineteenth century as some of the spatial constraints on urban expansion were gradually relaxed and competition for land in the vicinity of the centre of Huddersfield increased with a consequential increase in land prices. Builders were seemingly quicker to respond to new conditions than some landowners, although the cyclical nature of building demonstrates that builders were apt to over-react to changes in the nature and level of demand for new houses. The picture would be clearer if more were known about failure as well as successes amongst builders. It is not reasonable to assume, however, that either builders or landowners always made rational economic decisions in response to market forces. Builders employed rule of thumb methods as demonstrated in Chapter 6, while the vacillations of the Ramsden Estate following the withdrawal of tenancies at will shows that even large landowners with considerable expertise at their disposal could fail to recognise immediately the changes taking place in the market. Indeed, the lagged response to market forces on the part of the Ramsden Estate meant a 10-year period of adjustment which had repercussions on the pattern of development in Huddersfield as a whole.

By the beginning of the twentieth century circumstances were forcing both builders and landowners to adopt a more economically sensitive approach to urban land development. The trend towards suburbanisation increased the spatial choice available to builders and more landowners found themselves competing with each other as

the potential supply of urban development land increased, even to a point where supply exceeded demand. Builders, on the other hand, were competing to capture a market now restricted chiefly to the lower middle classes in the face of rising construction costs and slackening population growth. As a consequence the character of the land development process was moving towards a state in which building firms undertook large-scale speculative building projects on freehold development land made available by professional land developers.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the features pertaining to the variation in the nature of the land development process in Huddersfield were products of forces unique to that town or reflected one outcome of general trends also operating in other towns. With the exception of Chalklin's work on Georgian towns and Daunton's study of Cardiff, most studies have tended to concentrate on one aspect of the land development process, the role of a particular landowner or the nature of the building process.¹ Moreover, land development studies of the nineteenth century city have focussed on the final years of the century when, if the evidence for Huddersfield is any indication, free market forces were being felt in leasehold towns for the first time.

Generalisations concerning the land development process may well hinge on a major theme in this present study, the influence of land rights in the land development process. It has been demonstrated that in Huddersfield variations in the land development process were associated with differences in the land tenure on which land was developed. During the early phases of

1. CHALKLIN, C. W. (1974). The Provincial Towns of Georgian England. The Study of the Building Process 1740-1820.
 DAUNTON, M. J. (1977). Coal Metropolis, Cardiff, 1870-1914.

554

urbanisation the spatial distribution of land ownership and the operation of the land market enabled landowners to choose the terms on which they made their land available for development. Certain types of people were attracted by particular land rights and the characteristics of building undertakers, including the capital resources on which they called, in turn affected the type of building package undertaken. The chief effect of different packages of land rights was to vary the spread of the short-term land cost element of development. In the case of leasehold land, the landowner bore a greater proportion of the immediate cost of development but anticipated a greater long-term return. In order to maximise that return, where possible, a landowner would impose restrictive covenants or other measures of control to maintain standards so that he might obtain optimum benefit from the property erected on the land which reverted to him at the termination of a lease. An alternative approach, and one normally adopted with long-term leases, was to make land available without restrictive covenants so as to maximise the quantity of development in the short term, with the minimum of effort. Where freehold land was made available to builders the landowner obtained an immediate return on his land but at the cost of losing the asset. However, in order for the development process to proceed, the land had to be purchased by building undertakers who had access to capital for immediate outlay on the purchase of land as well as initial development costs. Thus, land developed on freehold tenure tended to be developed in larger packages by more substantial building undertakers. Where such builders were not available, in order for the land development process to proceed a developer had to intervene and bear the costs of development by making the land available in packages of leasehold rights.

As the nineteenth century progressed the position of the supplier of land in the market changed and the landowner was less able to dictate the terms on which land should be made available for development. Consequently long-term leases, which were favoured by building undertakers, were adopted throughout Huddersfield. The building industry was by that time fully adapted to operating in the context of widespread leasing. Restrictive covenants, where they were imposed, tended to be adopted by landowners as a means for attracting builders of middle-class houses. Their existence served as a demonstration that the status quo of an area would be maintained. Increasingly, more large-scale capital was available for building houses and this encouraged larger-sized building firms to develop in the building industry. By the beginning of the twentieth century these changes were reflected in the emergence of more widespread freehold development in Huddersfield, as the marketability of freehold rights increased.

Thus, the situation prevailing at the beginning of the twentieth century was substantially different from that obtaining during the early stages of urban growth. The caprices of the individual had a greater impact on the nature of the land development process at the beginning of the nineteenth century than at the end when competitive market forces dominated the decisions of landowners and builders. However, the decisions made at the onset of urban growth had a substantial impact on the land development process that emerged in Huddersfield at the end of the nineteenth century. In order to determine whether the processes apparent in Huddersfield are of general application, similar studies at the intra-urban level covering the same span of time need to be undertaken.

APPENDIX A

Constructing the Spatial Pattern of Landownership:
Notes on Sources

Three main sources of data were used to determine the spatial pattern of landownership in Huddersfield:

- a. Enclosure award maps,
- b. Tithe apportionments and surveys,
- c. Ramsden Estate Maps and Surveys.

None of these sources alone provided adequate coverage for the whole of the chosen area of study and the data available from each is described briefly in the following paragraphs.

Enclosure Award Maps

Enclosure award maps survive for all or part of three townships: (The dates of the awards to which the maps refer are shown in parenthesis.)

- a. North Crosland township - this comprised the north part of Lockwood township and the adjacent Linthwaite township (1799),
- b. Dalton township (1799 and 1811),
- c. Lindley township (1798, 1812 and 1817).

In the first two cases all of the original award maps are available for examination at the West Riding Registry of Deeds. Although there are plans accompanying the 1812 and 1817 Lindley awards, it is not clear that the original map illustrating the 1798 enclosure has survived. However, there is a map dated 1798 and entitled 'The Division of Lindley Fields' located at the Tolson Memorial Museum and if this is not a facsimile of the original plan it certainly gives an indication of the location of the land referred to in the award.

These maps are a valuable source of information on the relatively small areas that they cover, but none of the enclosure awards cover sufficient areas of land to make it possible to delimit extensive units of landownership.

Tithe Apportionments and Plans

The areas covered by tithe apportionments and plans and the information available in each case is summarised below:

Township	Available Information
Dalton	Only contains references to woods and forests.
Huddersfield	Concerned only with land in the far north of the area around Bradley and Deighton.
Almondbury and Lockwood	The schedules and plans give the name of the owner and occupier and the location of the land and property.

In no case is the picture entirely clear as the tithe commission treated 999-year building leases as equivalent to freehold with the result that the two cannot be distinguished in the award, and in these cases the name of the original freehold landowner had to be sought elsewhere. This was done either by tracing the property concerned through the name of the lessee in the West Riding Registry of Deeds or from the Lockwood Proprietors Estate Conveyancing Deed for 1954, in which the names of the original lessees are given together with the location of the property. As far as could be ascertained there were no long-term building leases granted in Almondbury township.

Ramsden Estate Surveys and Maps

These proved to be the most fruitful sources of data on land-ownership in Huddersfield township. The Estate Survey of 1780 listed the names of tenants, the names of tenants, the area of land and property they rented, together with a number which referred to the location of the property on the map. Although the survey was primarily concerned with the extent of land which the tenants held, it also included details of the extent of land owned by landowners who abutted the Ramsden Estate. In some cases the entire boundary of the adjacent estate could be established. A map of the estate in 1850 also exists; unfortunately the accompanying survey book has not survived. Nevertheless again the boundaries of adjacent estates can be established using this map and tracing the names of the owners in deeds registered at the West Riding Registry of Deeds.

The information from these three categories of sources was combined to construct maps of the pattern of landownership in 1780 and 1850. This was possible only for Huddersfield township in 1780, but when supplemented by data from miscellaneous sale plans surviving in the Ramsden Estate Papers a map could be compiled for the whole of the Huddersfield area in 1850.

APPENDIX BThe West Riding Registry of Deeds

The West Riding Registry of Deeds was established in 1704 for the registration of all deeds concerned with changes in the ownership of land in that county. The practice of registering such deeds was not compulsory, only customary, but nevertheless the majority of landowners and their solicitors appear to have taken advantage of the system. Deeds could be registered in two ways - either as a memorial, which merely contained an extract of the deed, or as a copy. In the latter case a complete replica of the original deed was recorded. A memorial contained the minimal information concerning the names of the parties involved and perhaps their occupations, the location of the parcel of land involved

and its size in square yards or acres. A copy contained the above information together with more detailed dimensions of the plot of land, its location and its past history. It also recorded any covenants to be observed, the nature of the property built or to be built on the land, the names of any occupiers or tenants, and occasionally the ground rent to be charged. This last item of information was always included in a copy after 1885 and from the same date, the copies recorded the price obtained in any freehold transactions.

There are six broad categories of deeds registered:

1. Conveyances - transfer of freehold land. Before the mid-nineteenth century reform these were usually prefixed with the words "lease and release".

2. Leases - conveyance of leasehold rights for a specified term of years but not including short-term leases of twenty-one years or less.
3. Assignments - the transfer of a partially expired leasehold.
4. Mortgages - whereby some of the interests in the land were transferred to the mortgagor.
5. Legal Charges - the settlements of debts.
6. Wills and settlements - concerned with the transfer of ownership on death.

Unfortunately the exact nature of the deed was not always made clear because of the practice of registering deeds under the general title of "Indenture". Under these circumstances the nature of the deed could often be verified in deeds relating to subsequent transactions concerning the land.

The deeds were registered chronologically in large volumes according to the date and time of day they were received. Up until 1885 the entries were hand-written and many of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century deeds are difficult to read. The deeds were also indexed by name. Up until 1801 merely the name of the parties and the location of the land according to township was recorded. For the period 1801-1849 the names were listed alphabetically in the Index. Against each name there is a list of deeds specified according to date, type of deed and location of the land together with the reference number of the volume in which the deed can be found. After 1849 the Indexes of Names were compiled in a similar manner on a five-yearly basis. There was also a chronological Index of Deeds or Book of Reference available for the period after 1885 which was compiled daily and

in which the type of deed, the location of the land and the parties involved, were recorded together with the deed's location in the Registry.

To use the Registry of Deeds for the purpose of collecting information concerning the nature of the land development process in one particular town it is necessary to know the names of the landowners in the district at some point during the period under study. For Huddersfield the names were derived from the sources referred to in Appendix A. Once a landowner's name had been obtained then the fate of the parcel of land he owned could be traced in the deeds by searching backwards and forwards through the transfers in ownership. A Card Index was built up containing the reference numbers to all deeds and landowners which needed to be consulted. Unfortunately, because of the practice of calling deeds indentures rather than specifying the nature of the transaction, the relevance of the deed listed could not be ascertained until the original had been consulted. Also, because not all deeds were registered at the Registry sometimes gaps would appear in the record.

APPENDIX CRamsden Estate Purchases: Regression Analysis

A least square linear regression analysis was performed using data relating to Ramsden Estate purchases between 1850 and 1881.

With x = size of land unit purchased

y = value per square yard

The calculated linear regression curve was:

$$y = 2.81 \times 10^{-7} + 0.357$$

The correlation coefficient $r = 0.189$

A least square linear regression analysis was performed on the same data:

With x = value per square yard

y = straight line distance from Cloth Hall of land purchased

The calculated regression curve was:

$$y = -0.4932x + 1.4$$

The correlation coefficient $r = -0.4789$

APPENDIX DExamples of Covenants in Leases

1. Lease granted by Rev. Noth Green Armitage to Jacob Schofield of Fitzwilliam Street, Mason, Land in North Street, Lockwood. WRRD 20/218/111 1887

... And also liberty for the lessor and surveyor and agents twice or oftener in each year to enter into and upon the demised premises for the purpose of examining the state or condition thereof of any building for the time being thereon. To hold the premises unto the lessee for 999 years from the 29th September 1887, yielding and paying for the said term £6 4s 6d by two half-yearly payments on 25th March and 29th September. And also yielding and paying in event of and immediately upon the said term being determined by re-entry under the proviso hereinafter contained a proportionate part of the said rent for the fraction of the current half-year up to the day of such re-entry. And the lessee doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors and assignees in the manner following that is to say that the lessee will pay to the lessor the said rent ... and will also pay and discharge all taxes, rates and assessments ... and will pay the lessor a proportionate part of monies expended on forming and sewerage, macadamising and completing North Street and keep in good repair such proportionate part as ascertained by the lessor's Agent and surveyor's decision. And also to the satisfaction of the lessor's agent or surveyor set out and lay land intended to be a footway with good and substantial flags and bind the same with good and sufficient kerb and at all times require well and sufficiently repair and amend the same and not permit to be obstructed in any manner whatsoever. And also will within the space of two years from the date thereof erect upon the demised premises up to the frontage line indicated

two good and substantial dwelling houses in conformity with the elevation plans and detailed drawings which have been signed by the lessee and deposited at the offices of the Agent of the lessor and of such materials and in such a manner as shall be reasonably required by the lessor's architect, surveyor or agent and such buildings so erected thereon shall be at all times during the said term kept up to the annual value of £12 at least. And also that the lessee will not erect or build or suffer to be erected or built upon any part of the said demised premises any erection or building whatsoever otherwise than in accordance with a plan or design previously approved of in writing by the lessor or his architect, surveyor or agent and shall not build on that part of the said demised premises which lies between the said frontage line and North Street aforesaid. And also that the lessee shall whenever required by the lessor and his architect, surveyor or agent construct and shall during the continuance of this demise maintain a good and substantial limed wall of not less than 4 feet 6 inches in height coextensive with the north side of the said premises. And also will not at any time during the said term put out or use any window, light, door or any other opening on the north or south side of any erection for the time being standing on the said demised premises without the consent in writing by the lessor. And also that it shall be lawful for the lessor at all times during the said term to build and maintain or authorise other persons to build and maintain any erection or building upon any of the land adjoining or near to the demised premises notwithstanding any obstruction of light and access to the demised premises may be caused ... or any liability to compensate the lessee for such obstruction. And also will at times during the said term uphold maintain and keep in repair all buildings for the time being

standing on the said demised premises with their appurtenances and at the end or sooner determination of the said term peaceably leave and deliver up the premises with all new fixtures and additions thereto in complete repair unto the lessor. And also in case any want of reparation of the premises shall be found by the lessor or surveyor or agent that the lessee will upon notice given in writing to him forthwith cause the same premises to be well and effectively repaired. And further that the lessee will not at any time during the said term exercise or carry on or suffer to be exercised and carried on in the premises the trade or business of innkeeper, licensed victualler, beershop keeper of warehouseman, maker of seller of spirits, wine, beer and other intoxicating liquors or use or suffer to be used for the purpose of storing or holding any spirits, wine of intoxicating liquors for sale or other than domestic purposes or exercise or suffer to be exercised or carried on on the demised premises the trade or business of blacksmith, farrier, tanner, skinner, coach maker, manufacturing chemist, slaughterman and maker of pots, tobacco pipes, glue, sizing, soap or candles or any other noisesome, noisy or dangerous trade or business, erect or use any steam engine or gas engine upon the said premises without the previous consent in writing of the lessor and also will forthwith insure and during the continuance of the said lease keep insured the buildings for the time being standing upon the land demised against loss or damage by fire to the amount of £200 at least in the Alliance or some other respectable insurance office from time to time approved of in writing by the lessor and upon request produce the policy. And also will as often as any building upon the said land be burnt down or damaged by fire reinstate the same within twelve months to the satisfaction of the lessor or agent and these presents are on this condition

that if the said yearly rent shall be unpaid for a space of 60 days or if the lessor fails to perform covenants ... re-enter absolute ...

2. Lease granted by George Henry Crowther to Mary Hannah Ainley of 10, Stanley Street, Lindley, wife of Norris Townend Ainley for land in George Street, Crosland Moor for 999 years from the 1st November 1905. Rent £4 7s 6s. WRRD 15/365/162 1906.

... and before 1st May 1906 in good substantial and workmanlike manner with materials to the satisfaction of the lessor and agent the building together with boundary walls, and fences on the south and west sides intended to be erected on the said plot. And will at the like expense, construct and finish off such house or other drains that may be necessary for the proper draining of premises and will pay a proportion of expenses hereafter incurred by the lessor from time to time in macadamising, paving, flagging and channelling George Street in accordance with the frontage of the said plot of land, such proportionate part to be ascertained and fixed as hereafter mentioned and will at her own expense flag and kerb the footway on George Street coextensive with the said premises in a proper manner and to the satisfaction of Huddersfield Corporation and keep the said George Street and the footway and the sewer and drains thereunder coextensive with the said premises in good repair and good condition and free from rubbish ... Also lawful for the lessor to restrain the public from using George Street until the same shall be adopted by the Corporation. Also the lessee will substantially keep in good repair and maintain the same buildings and any other building erected and drains and fences ... and will insure in the British Mercantile Assurance three-quarters of the value and produce a receipt if required ... shall not erect except in accordance with plans and specifications submitted to the lessor nor alter the plan, elevation, party wall without the lessor's consent nor put out on the west side. The

lease does not contain any right by contained uses and the lessor has full power to allow workmen to enter notwithstanding length of use. The lessee will not carry on any noisy or offensive trade or manufacture or permit use for illegal or immoral purposes or do anything to the annoyance of the lessor ... will use for a dwelling house and no other purpose ... And any assignment shall within six months be noted at the office and registered in the books of the Estate and provided always that if the lessees shall be desirous of purchasing the reversion in fee simple of the premises hereby demised at the price of £113 15s 0d and shall at any time six months previous to 1st November 1911 give to the lessor or leave for him at his last known address on six months' notice to the effect at the expiration of notice shall pay the purchase money and all arrears of rent and apportionment and also fulfilled the covenants as to the erection of buildings the lessor in such case shall convey to the lessee with the covenant of the lessee to observe covenants concerning streets and footways, sewers, drains and rights and purposes for which the said premises shall be used ...

APPENDIX EFriedman Two-way Analysis of Variance

A Non-Parametric Test for comparing matched variables.

<u>Sets</u>	<u>Groups</u>			
	1	2	3	...k
1	X ₁	X ₁		
2	X ₂	X ₂		
3	X ₃	X ₃		
⋮	⋮	⋮		
⋮	⋮	⋮		
⋮	⋮	⋮		
n	X _n	X _n		

n = number of matched sets of scores

k = number of groups

X = rankable scores

Procedure

1. For each matched set rank the scores within the set from 1 to k.
2. Calculate the sum of the ranks of each group = R.
3. Calculate the sum of the squares of the rank totals
 $H = \epsilon R^2$
4. Calculate χ^2 using the following equation:

$$= \frac{12H}{nk(k+1)} - 3n(k+1)$$

The hypothesis that there is no significant difference is rejected if the value of the calculated χ^2 exceeds the tabulated value of χ^2 with k-1 degrees of freedom at the chosen significance level. In the analysis presented in Table 6.1 the tabulated $\chi^2 = 11.05$ with 5 degrees of freedom at a 99% level of significance.

APPENDIX FThe Building Process: Notes on Sources

No one source covered the whole of the Huddersfield area or the entire period; thus data from a variety of sources had to be combined in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the building process over time. The same sources were used to establish the nature of the building cycle in Huddersfield.

1770-1850Ramsden Estate Rentals

The Rental books which have survived cover a period from 1770 to 1844. The early books were compiled annually but by the late 1820s the same rental book was used for two or more years and contained a number of alterations and additions. The rental books recorded the names of the tenants in alphabetical order, the location of the property, and the ground rent paid. Occasionally the type of property was indicated and it was usually shown if the tenant held the land on leasehold. It did not, however, record the location of holdings. Additional cottages built in the previous year were noted separately in the back of the rental book, although in the later rental books additions were often made at the bottom of a page in the main part of the book. By comparing the names in consecutive rental books it was possible to distinguish those who ceased to be tenants of the Estate, new tenants and those who continued to be tenants. This also was taken as an indication of whether any new building had been undertaken since the last rental. Often divisions or changes in tenancy were noted in the rental book so it was possible to trace the transfer of property between individuals. In these cases the presence of the new tenant was no indication that additional building had taken place. In the case of existing tenants any

increase in ground rental was taken as an indication that some development had taken place. An index of property size was derived from those instances where both the nature of the property and the ground rent were known. It was found that rent size was a reasonable indicator of the number of houses built on a plot, although no account could be taken of house-type. The following rental classes and housing unit sizes were obtained:

3 or less houses	=	£2 2s 0d or less
4 to 6 houses	=	£2 2s 0d to £4 4s 0d
7 to 9 houses	=	£4 4s 0d to £8 8s 0d
over 10 houses	=	over £8 8s 0d

If any industrial or commercial property was included in a holding it was usually recorded as such in the rental. Few of the rental entries indicated the occupation of the tenant, although it was often noted where the tenants were widows. The socio-economic status of tenants was derived by comparing the names with those entered in the directories and pollbooks of the period. Where there was more than one tenant with the same name the rental often distinguished between the entries by indicating his occupation or residence.

Ramsden Estate Surveys 1778 and 1780

The Ramsden Estate undertook a survey of the town of Huddersfield and surrounding Estate in 1778 and 1780 respectively. These contained similar information to the rentals with the advantage that the actual holdings could be located on the accompanying plans. In addition more tenants had their occupation recorded. The surveys provided a useful supplement to the rentals.

Lockwood Proprietors' Estate Conveyancing Deed 1954

This deed refers to the conveyance of the Lockwood, Rashcliffe

and Little Royd Estates by the R. J. Bentley Estates Company to Huddersfield Corporation in 1954. It records all the leases granted by that Estate. As well as the name of the original lessee, it also indicates the location of the property built on a street-by-street basis and the number of houses and shops that existed in 1954. The deeds also contain details of the ground rent paid and the date from which the lease ran. Although some minor changes had taken place in the intervening years, such as the conversion of houses to shops, comparison with the 1847 tithe survey and map shows that most of the property existing in 1954 was the same as that originally built in the nineteenth century. No details of the socio-economic status of the original lessee were given and this had to be obtained by comparing the names in the Deed with those in an appropriate directory or pollbook. The Conveyancing Deed covers the entire period from 1801 to 1911.

Thornton versus Ramsden Legal Case 1862

The evidence presented by the plaintiffs and appellants in this case is contained in two printed volumes. In addition, many of the original documents referred to in the printed volumes have survived amongst the Ramsden Estate papers. Together these two sources provide a wealth of information concerning that part of Huddersfield which was developed on tenancy at will. The sources record both the size and nature of the holdings as well as the socio-economic characteristics of those who undertook the building. The greater part of the material that has survived relates to the period before 1855. In 1859 there were 1874 such tenants on the Ramsden Estate. Thus the data obtained from these documents represent a sample of around 14% of the tenants at will.

Ramsden Estate Trustees Documents

After the 1844 Ramsden Estate Act had been passed, the agents to the Ramsden Estate were able to receive applications for leases and tenancies at will and these were recorded in a number of lists which have survived. Each list contains the date of an application, the name of the applicant, the location of the property by street, the area of land taken, the nature of the property to be built and the rent per square yard to be charged. To help George Loch decide whether or not to accept an application, various remarks concerning the nature and location of the property were made alongside each entry. As with the rentals, the socio-economic status of an applicant had to be obtained by using a directory. Neither do the lists indicate whether the buildings recorded actually were constructed and thus can only be taken as an indication of the type of activity taking place.

Deeds registered at the West Riding Registry of Deeds

The problems involved in using these deeds have already been indicated in Appendix B. Because of these problems, data relating to the building process could only be derived on an estate-by-estate basis. Details were taken from the deeds pertaining to the Fenton, Ikin and Kaye Estate sales of the 1820s and the leasehold development that took place on the Ingham Estate in Dalton. In the case of freehold land sales there is no evidence in the deed as to what kind of building the land has been taken for, although some indication can be obtained from maps. However, the occupation of the purchaser of a lot was usually given as well as the size of the lot purchased. In the case of leasehold property the nature of the building to be erected on the land was sometimes recorded.

1850-1911
Ramsden Estate Lease Registers

There is no record of the lease and tenancy at will applications made during the period 1853 to 1859. During this period the responsibilities previously undertaken by George Loch were passed to a Mr Nelson, a London solicitor. Although some of the documents which he kept were returned to the Estate office in 1874, the registers of application for leases were not included. After the passing of the Ramsden Estate Act 1859 a new register of applications for leases was opened and this survives for the period 1859-1883. After 1883 the only source of information is a number of separate lists of applications for leases which were sent to Sir John William Ramsden. These cover the period to 1910. In the register and the lists the date of the application is recorded together with the date from which the lease was to run, usually when the property was completed. Notes attached indicate those leases which were not taken up, thus the data reflects the actual construction which took place. Alongside each prospective lessee's name were details concerning the location of the property to be built, the rent per square yard to be paid and the type and number of houses and the size of plot taken.

Building Plan Lists

These provided data on the course of building after 1868 in the whole of Huddersfield. These lists are found in the Minutes of the District Highway Sub-Committees. They contained the description of the development to be undertaken, its location and the name of the person applying for building approval. The decision of the committee was also recorded. After 1900 the lists also contained a number which referred to the original plan deposited in the Borough Engineer's office. The main disadvantage

in using these lists is that they do not indicate if the building was actually completed. Also it is not clear whether the person submitting the plan was the actual building undertaker, the builder or the architect.

Deeds registered at the West Riding Registry of Deeds

Data from these were compiled on an estate-by-estate basis according to location. The deeds contained information concerning the location of building, the type of building, size of plot taken for development and the occupational characteristics of the lessee or purchaser of the plot. In a few cases, particularly after 1885, the ground rent or purchase price was recorded. Sometimes a building contractor would enter into a building agreement with a landowner and on the completion and sale of a house within a specified time the landowner would lease the land directly to the building owner. Such an occurrence is not easily detected from the Deeds. There is a possibility that this occurred in Huddersfield, late in the nineteenth century. For instance, a number of terraced houses were leased to Thomas Larder, a builder on the Thornton Estate, in 1889 and 1890. Intervening houses in the row were leased to other building owners but the houses they owned could well have been erected initially by and at the instigation of Thomas Larder.

APPENDIX GBuilding Clubs and Societies advancing money
for building in Huddersfield from 1859 to 1879Source: Applications for Leases under the Ramsden Estate Leasing Acts

Huddersfield and Upper Agbrigg Building Society
 Cherry Tree Inn Club
 White Lion Club
 Huddersfield and West Riding Benefit Building Society
 New Inn Benefit Building Society
 New Inn Club
 Huddersfield and West Yorkshire Equitable Building Society
 White Swan Money Club
 Huddersfield and West Riding Building Society
 Huddersfield and West Riding Union Building Society
 Huddersfield Equitable Building Society
 Ramsden Arms Club
 Kaye Arms Club
 Cherry Tree Inn Quarterly Club
 Green Dragon Working Man's Building Society
 Albion Street Building Society
 Bowkers' New Temperance Hotel Club
 Sir John Falstaff Building Society
 Royds Hall Building Commercial and Investment Building Society
 Ancient Order of Oddfellows
 White Hart Inn Commercial and Building Club
 Lion Inn Old Club
 Fleece Inn Club
 Star Inn Club
 John Fawcett's West Yorkshire Benefit Building Society
 Railway Hotel Club
 Albion Street and Quarterly Building Society
 Wellington Inn Club
 Cherry Tree Inn Monthly Club
 Halifax and Huddersfield Building Club
 Green Dragon Quarterly Building Club
 Robin Hood Club
 Zetland Hotel Club
 Working Man's Building Society
 Royal Forresters' Club No. 9
 Wild's Temperance Hotel Club

Equitable Building and Commercial Society
Black Bull Club
West Yorkshire Benefit Building Society
Huddersfield Permanent and Equitable Benefit Building Society
Nag Head Club
Boy and Barrel Club
Queen's Hotel Club
Highfield Friendly Association
Red Lion Club
Albert Cherry Tree Orchard Club
Hillhouse Industrial Co-operative Society
Moldgreen Leasehold and Freehold Building Society
Almondbury Club
Packhorse Club
Bull and Mouth Club
Brown Cow Money Club
Accommodation Club
Hall Bower School Club

APPENDIX HExamples of Housing in Huddersfield

Sources:

- | | | | |
|------------|----|--------|-------------------------------|
| Photograph | 1 | H.P.L. | Ye 1896 BC. |
| | 2 | H.P.L. | Borough Engineer's File p.13. |
| | 3 | H.P.L. | Ye 1962 BC. |
| | 4 | H.P.L. | Borough Engineer's File p.54. |
| | 5 | H.P.L. | Ye 1935 BC. |
| | 6 | H.P.L. | Issac Hordern's Album Vol. 1. |
| | 7 | H.P.L. | Ye 196 BC. |
| | 8 | H.P.L. | Ye 185 BC. |
| | 9 | H.P.L. | Issac Hordern's Album. |
| | 10 | H.P.L. | Ye 197 BC. |
| | 11 | H.P.L. | Issac Hordern's Album Vol. 1. |
| | 12 | H.P.L. | Issac Hordern's Album Vol. 1. |
| | 13 | H.P.L. | Ye 196 BVK. |
| | 14 | H.P.L. | Ye 196 BVK. |
| | 15 | H.P.L. | Ye 196 BVK. |
| | 16 | H.P.L. | Ye 196 BVK. |
| | 17 | | Fieldwork 1975. |
| | 18 | | Fieldwork 1975. |
| | 19 | | Fieldwork 1975. |
| | 20 | | Fieldwork 1975. |
| | 21 | H.P.L. | Ye 197 BVK. |



1. Broad Tenter King St (1896)
Late eighteenth century houses
built on 60-year leases granted
by Sir John Ramsden.



2. King's Head Yard
Typical of early
inn yards in which
clothiers from
surrounding dis-
tricts transacted
their business.



3. Crosland Ct, Paddock (1962)
 One- and two-storey cottages
 built on tenancy-at-will tenure
 c. 1820 by James Crosland.



4. 10, Bradley Buildings (1935)
 Typical of early nineteenth
 century court housing in the
 centre of Huddersfield built
 c. 1820



5. Jowitts Court (1935). Like many courts built at that time (1830s) it contained a number of cellar dwellings. Cited in Government reports - 1847 and 1906 - as having amongst the worst insanitary conditions.



6. Cooke's Buildings, Ramsden St (pulled down in 1876) Built earlier in the century, illustrates the lack of competition for land during the early stages of growth and proximity of



7. Colne Terrace (1966)
 Lower middle class terraces
 built in the 1840s. The houses
 were built on 66-year leases,
 the garden land was tenancy
 at will.



8. New North Road (pulled down
 1876)
 Early middle class houses
 built at Top Green in the
 1800s



9. West Parade (1880) Built in late 1840s by George Scarlett, builder and others; already showing signs of greater opulence characteristic of mid-century middle class housing, but nevertheless within 5 minutes of the railway station.



10. Edward's Buildings, Bradford Road (1971) Better quality through terraced working class housing built on tenancy at will after change in management on ~~the~~ msden Estate.



11. Water St (1870) Built during the 1860s following promotion of this area by the Ramsden Estate and the introduction of 999-year leases in 1867.



12. Arthur St and Fitzwilliam St (1880) Middle class villas built during the building boom of the 1870s. Wide streets were a regular characteristic of



13. Freehold Street, Primrose Hill
(1968) Upper/middle working
class houses built on freehold
land bought from John
Liversedge in 1850s.



14. Armitage Square, Primrose Hill
(1968)
Back-to-back houses built on
freehold land.



15. Orchard St (1968) The top position of terrace of back-to-back houses built on Lockwood Proprietors land. A tunnel every 4 houses conformed with byelaw regulations.



16. Back Orchard St (1968) The bottom portion of a terrace built on 999-year leases from Lockwood Proprietors in early 1880s boom. ~~There are~~ of back-to-back houses.



17. Thornhill St, Lindley (1975)
 Back-to-back houses. Leasehold
 development on Thornhill Estate,
 strictly adhering to design
 principles laid down by Thornhill
 Estate Act 1852.



18. Eleanor St, Hillhouse (1975)
 Built in 1860s on 999-year leases
 from Thornhill Estate when no
 building was taking place on
 adjacent land belonging to the
 Ramsden Estate. Some through
 some back-to-backs.



19. Carlton St (1975) Through terrace houses. The only large building project undertaken on the Ramsden Estate; built between 1874 and 1879 on a lease granted to Halifax and Huddersfield Property Association.



20. Hill St, Marsh (1975) Byelaw cottages built in 1870s on leases granted by Frances Battye. Occupants of villas in adjacent Gledholt Rd, also on Battye land, protested to the council about their erection by George Lawrence, quarry owner.



21. Treveleyan St, Moldgreen
Mixed late nineteenth century
terraced housing built on a
mixture of freehold and lease-
hold land in 1890s and early
1900s.

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