



RESEARCH AGENDA

HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN WEST YORKSHIRE (Medieval & Post-Medieval to 1914)

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Colum Giles

Colum Giles Historic Buildings Consultant
St Peter's Farmhouse, Main Street, Knapton, York YO26 6QG

columgiles@gmail.com

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Introduction

This review of research priorities for historic buildings in West Yorkshire is one of a number of reviews of the archaeology of the county undertaken or commissioned by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service (WYAAS) (see website reference, Bibliography, below). Similar documents have been produced or are planned for different archaeological periods or subjects such as Industrial Archaeology and when completed are publicly available on the Service's web pages.

The purpose of the document is two-fold. The more general objective is to set out the state of knowledge relating to historic buildings in West Yorkshire and to identify the priorities for future research which will advance scholarship and understanding. The document will, it is hoped, therefore be useful to the research community. 'Priorities' are defined in the present review in an academic sense: that is, they identify which areas of research will lead to significant advances in knowledge and understanding of West Yorkshire's history. They are not, therefore, based on the degree of threat or risk faced by different categories of building. Thus, while there is a great deal to be discovered about, for example, country houses, it is not likely that research in this subject area will be driven by a perceived threat to this type of building. A second exercise to assess priorities on the basis of vulnerability would be necessary to match the 'academic' priorities identified in the present document with threat: this would indicate where action (that is, research) is most urgently needed to protect the historic environment. The more specific objective is to guide WYAAS in its monitoring of the planning system and to inform the advice which it gives to owners and occupiers of historic buildings and to local authorities, specifically in relation to the need for recording of buildings for which some degree of change is proposed. This advice will benefit from knowledge of the areas where, on the one hand, understanding of a building type is well established and, on the other, of where key questions remain to be answered and where, therefore, further recording can add significantly to understanding and ultimately to better protection.

The review was a desk-based exercise undertaken in the first half of 2013. The method employed in the review was to take building categories in turn for discussion and analysis. The state of existing knowledge was assessed through examination of published and unpublished research and of the holdings of the Historic Environment Record (HER) relating to each category of building. Records in the HER were identified using the database, which permits searches by period, building type and location, and the index of building reports, which is less searchable but which largely duplicates the HER database. The identification of research priorities was based upon the assessment of the adequacy of the HER and published and unpublished literature in providing good knowledge of each building type. This assessment indicated where further research has potential to enhance understanding.

This document includes a review of all medieval and post-medieval (to 1914) building types apart from medieval parish churches, which will be covered by a

forthcoming review of medieval archaeology in the county, and industrial buildings, the subject of an existing research agenda (Gomersal 2005). The document is arranged by building type, grouped into major categories such as Institutional, Places of Worship and Commercial buildings. For each type, a brief introduction describes the subject; moves on to discuss the state of knowledge relating to it; indicates the degree of vulnerability experienced by it; and finally proposes directions for future research. A select bibliography is provided for each main building category: fuller bibliographies will be found in many of the works cited. Most broad categories (for example, Places of Worship) are clearly defined but some building types could fit into more than one of the broad categories adopted in this review. Libraries, for example, could be considered under Educational institutions or under Cultural Institutions. The list of contents is designed to allow easy identification of the section in which each building type is discussed. The omission of consideration of twentieth-century (or post-1914) buildings is pragmatic: a separate review of this subject area is required so that conservation and protection of modern buildings are informed by the latest thinking on their significance.

When viewed on a national, or even an international scale, West Yorkshire's historic buildings, collectively and cumulatively, are of exceptional importance and interest. They tell the story of a society which developed an industrial economy, beginning in the Middle Ages and represented in the form of buildings by substantial timberframed aisled houses; continuing in the post-medieval period with the expansion of manufacturing and mercantile activity, represented by, among many other buildings, cloth halls in the major towns; and culminating in the nineteenth century with fullscale production in a diverse range of industries, represented most characteristically by the hundreds of textile mills found in town and country. The county has important cities which demonstrate the development of an urban society and the governmental and institutional infrastructure which served it: Leeds Town Hall is the symbol of the corporate and commercial power of Victorian industrial cities. The county thus played a significant role in the nation's history and its historic buildings both constitute a major resource for research and provide it with its distinctive character. Any loss of historic buildings destroys part of this national and regional story and diminishes the county's unique character.

West Yorkshire is fortunate in having an extensive literature on its history and architecture. This gives a firm foundation for future research. Antiquarian historians like H P Kendall from the early twentieth century distilled much evidence from documentary sources such as deeds and leases. Museums have long recognised the importance of historic buildings in defining the culture of localities, and multitudes of local historians have produced masses of important evidence of places across the county: the scope of George Sheeran's work over the decades is particularly remarkable. The publications of local and county societies are valuable outlets for research of high quality: the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* covers the historic county of Yorkshire, and the *Publications of the Thoresby Society* demonstrate the good fortune of anyone studying the history of Leeds. Derek Linstrum's review of the county's architectural character (1978) is authoritative, broad-ranging and a gold mine

of ideas and information, and recent *Buildings of England* volumes, on Leeds and West Riding North, contain a huge amount of valuable information. Finally, the thematic surveys undertaken for the Archaeology Service since the late 1970s have taken major categories of buildings for study and resulted in important synthetic volumes. Lying behind much published research is the West Yorkshire Historic Environment Record comprising (currently) over twelve thousand records of archaeological sites in the county, a significant proportion of which relate to historic buildings. Together these sources provide a strong starting point for the present review.

It is appropriate in this Introduction to make some general observations about the Historic Environment Record. First, it must be said that the HER is, as a whole, a resource of great value containing much unique material. It is well ordered and maintained, and it can be conveniently interrogated through the HER database, which provides an index to the building records in the collection. At present (July 2013), the database is incomplete, having covered about three-quarters of the county's townships, but work is progressing to give a full county-wide digital index to existing holdings. The HER will, of course, grow continuously as new records are added. It is important that links should be developed which ensures that building records produced by independent research, through the work of voluntary recording groups such as the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group and through research conducted in higher education, are added to the HER to give the archive the fullest possible coverage of the county's historic buildings.

The HER operates on two levels: it comprises a vital management tool for the monitoring of the planning system and for identifying recording needs; and it constitutes an archive with great potential for research. For heritage management purposes, the existence of a record in the HER provides a degree of protection, for Unitary Development Plans produced by District Councils recognise that a building or site with such a record has a degree of historic or archaeological significance. Proposed development, therefore, should in theory take this fact into consideration, giving a valuable opportunity for conservation issues to shape change.

The records within the HER are diverse in nature and origin. Many contain information drawn from English Heritage's National Heritage List of buildings and sites enjoying statutory protection (<http://www.englishheritage.org.uk/professional/protection/process/national-heritage-list-for-england>). Others were compiled during thematic research projects on different aspects of the county's historic environment. A major means of generating new records is the provision made for developer-funded recording through the planning system under the terms of the 1990 Planning Act and subsequent legislation. Usually produced as a condition of consent for altering or demolishing a protected building, these records commonly provide a descriptive account of individual structures supplemented by graphic and photographic recording. In some cases, the records provide evidence of features which will be lost following development; in other cases, they give

information which may be used for conservation and protection in future development.

The archive of building records held by the HER has the potential to contribute to new, broad, contextual understanding of building types and historic places and landscapes. Each new record adds evidence of how the county has evolved socially, economically and culturally. The appropriate level of recording of individual buildings or sites is determined by the research objectives relevant to the exercise. Recording driven by research aims and objectives may focus on particular aspects of a building, for example its plan or structure, or its form at a particular stage in its evolution. The resulting record will, therefore, be partial but will be designed to provide information relevant to the subject of the research exercise. Developer-funded recording, on the other hand, lacks this research framework. It is focused on individual structures rather than broader themes. Because it has the long-term objectives of providing evidence related both to immediate conservation purposes and to unspecified research topics, recording tends to be fuller than is the case when it is driven by a specific research question. Nevertheless, developer-funded recording can provide information which, when analysed in bulk, is capable of contributing to the development of new understanding of building types and of the county's character and history. It is better able to do this if records are designed to set the building in its historical and architectural context; indicate and explain the significance of structures in local, regional and national contexts; and comment explicitly on the key research questions identified in the present review or by other research agendas. To focus attention on key aspects of a building, this review identifies the significant features of most building categories which recording should address and where appropriate make specific comment about in a written report. Most of these features and aspects comprise the routine means of studying and analysing buildings, but it is useful to set them out so that important evidence which might be vulnerable to change and which forms the essential elements of a building's character and significance is captured in the record.

The development of the HER should have the objective of providing extensive coverage of different building types. The coverage should include records of a significant proportion of buildings in each category so that rarity, typicality and variety can be assessed. For categories of building which are readily identifiable on historic maps (for example, town halls), use of the Historic Landscape Characterisation database might provide evidence for how many buildings existed in different eras, although there are many issues concerning the reliability of this information. Good quantitative knowledge would help in identifying when the HER could be said to have a representative sample of buildings in each category. The capturing of a sufficiently broad range of records for each category will highlight the significance of both individual buildings and building types or sub-types and provide a strong evidence base for addressing present and future research questions relating to both the evolution of building types and their relationship to wider historical themes.

In the identification of buildings which merit recording, the significance of a structure must be a primary consideration: the aspiration must be that the HER should hold a record of the county's most important buildings. English Heritage's National Heritage List provides the most comprehensive view of which buildings can be regarded as of special architectural or historic interest. Each building on the List is deemed to be of national importance: this includes all those listed at Grade II as well as the more obviously important buildings listed at the higher grades. The selection criteria for assessing national significance are, however, very demanding, and as a result many buildings of interest are omitted from the List for various reasons. For the HER to properly represent the range of historic buildings in West Yorkshire it should include records of structures which, while falling below English Heritage's standard of national importance, nevertheless have a significance at regional or local levels.

The goal of achieving better understanding of West Yorkshire's historic buildings depends upon analysis and synthesis. West Yorkshire has benefited from a number of thematic research projects undertaken either in-house or in partnership: rural houses, workers' housing, medieval churches, historic towns and textile mills have all been the subject of major thematic surveys, most of which have resulted in publications providing valuable overviews. Current funding of the archaeological profession in local authorities makes it unlikely that similar projects will be undertaken in the near future. Nevertheless, it is important that other means of conducting thematic research should be explored. The creation of closer links and collaborative working between heritage and conservation interests, on the one hand, and the voluntary sector and the academic community on the other (represented principally by History and Archaeology departments in universities) offers mutual benefit: there is a huge potential for well-defined research projects which will assist universities in training students, and the resulting products of research will feed back into conservation and protection. The example of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland's 'Linking Communities to Historic Environments' project may offer ideas for how best to engage aspects of the voluntary sector in enhancing the HER and thereby of contributing to longer-term research aims

<http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/rcahms-projects/linking-communities-to-historicenvironments>).

The format of this document – a discussion of each building type in turn – should not be taken to imply that research should follow this typological approach or that research should be narrowly 'architectural' in character. Links between building types are important: houses and warehouses or charitable institutions, country houses and farmsteads, and many other associations merit consideration together since they may be different aspects of the same social, economic or cultural phenomena. In addition, buildings provide powerful evidence for the evolution of landscapes and communities, and the study of settlements demands an approach which examines all relevant or significant aspects of the built environment. Thus, while each building category might have specific research issues, all are capable of contributing to wider discussion of place.

A question must be asked about the usefulness of 'West Yorkshire' as a vehicle for research. On the one hand, it is a very large area with a huge wealth of historic buildings, and for some research purposes it may be too formidable a block to tackle as a whole. It is, however, capable of subdivision defined by the distribution and character of building types within the county. It would, for example, be possible to focus on upland agricultural buildings, the scope of study being determined by natural regions rather than by administrative boundaries. Conversely, West Yorkshire is not a naturally or historically-defined entity: it was formed as part of a re-organisation of local government in the 1970s. Its diverse landscape and historic character areas are not contained within its boundaries, extending in all directions into adjacent counties: the Pennine belt, for example, continues to north and south of West Yorkshire, and the agricultural east runs into the vale of York. Research into building types might, therefore, take account of wider natural or historic character than that contained within the county. This would have the benefit of placing West Yorkshire evidence in a broader context.

Future research will be conducted at various levels of detail, from studies of single buildings to wide-ranging reviews of categories of buildings or of landscapes. The findings of research will have a correspondingly wide range of impacts. Some will relate solely to a building or place with few (but never no) wider implications. Others may have significance on a county, regional, national or indeed international scale (for aspects of the coal mining and textile industries, for instance) contributing to much broader appreciation of important historical themes. These themes can relate simply to the history and development of different building types, that is, as a 'closed' or internalised subject of study: or they can embrace social, economic and cultural history to which the evidence of buildings can contribute. Research on the county's historic buildings has the potential to test accepted ideas on these themes against the local evidence, and it is likely that new research will continue to demonstrate that West Yorkshire's peculiar history, with its early development of an industrial economy and society, resulted in special architectural expression, already known to us, for example, in its vernacular buildings and in its urban development. West Yorkshire's place in the national story and the national pattern of building, with its similarities and significant differences, is a theme underlying all new research. In this review attention will be drawn to where study of different building categories has a clear potential to contribute to this bigger picture.

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(<http://www.archaeology.wyjs.org.uk/documents/archaeology/Industrial%20Archaeology.pdf>)

<http://www.archaeology.wyjs.org.uk/wyjs-archaeology-research.asp>

Places of worship

Post-medieval Anglican churches

Introduction

For most of the period since the Reformation, the established Church of England contended with Nonconformity for the allegiance of the population of West Yorkshire. The county was a stronghold of Dissent, but Anglicanism remained a powerful presence. It benefited by its inheritance of medieval churches and an established parochial system, and it responded, belatedly perhaps, to demographic changes with periodic campaigns of new church building and parochial reorganisations. As a result, Anglican churches are an important category of historic building in the county.

History of Anglican church building in West Yorkshire

The post-medieval period saw the continuing use of medieval churches, but with frequent additions, alterations and significant restorations - often due to dilapidation. Many new churches were also built, however. The church of St John in Leeds, built in 1632-4, is of outstanding importance as one of the few complete churches of the seventeenth century. Some new churches were constructed primarily for private worship (St James, Tong, 1727 for Sir George Tempest of Tong Hall; St John the Evangelist, North Bierley, built in 1766 for the Richardson family of Bierley Hall).

Others served expanding urban populations. In Leeds, St John the Evangelist, New Briggate (1634), and Holy Trinity, Boar Lane (1722-7), were early indications of the town's expansion and prosperity. Some churches formed part of planned urban expansion; St John's, Wakefield (1791-5), and St Paul, Park Square, Leeds (1793), are examples.

The massive population increase of the nineteenth century presented the Anglican church with a challenge. The established church was hampered by institutional lethargy and by a rigid parochial system, a contrast to the nonconformist sects which were dynamic and unhindered by a rigid and legalistic organisational structure. The Anglican response to changing demographics was delayed, but when it came it was dramatic. The First Church Building Act of 1818 provided funds for the construction of 'proper accommodation for the largest number of persons at the least expense' (Linstrum 1978, 209), and hundreds of new churches were built across the country

(Port 1961). Many new churches were built in West Yorkshire under the terms of the Act in the decades after the passing of the Act, usually in newly developed parts of the county's expanding towns (see Port 1961, Appendix, for details of more than seventy new churches in West Yorkshire). Limited funds, however, meant that most of these new churches were carried out with great economy using the simplest gothic styles, usually with lancet windows. Leeds did not take advantage of the Act and remained a single parish despite its growth, but

from the 1830s Dean Hook created a new parochial structure, involving the construction of a number of new churches (Dalton 1999, 27-9; Dalton 2002).

The revival of interest in medieval architecture and doctrinal developments, promoted by the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiological Society, brought change to Anglican church design in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. From the 1830s, beginning in West Yorkshire perhaps with St Peter's, Leeds (1837-41), a more elaborate Gothic was adopted (Webster 1992; Webster 2010). High Church proponents argued for a revival of a medieval plan, with a long chancel, screens and aisles, all designed to enhance the mystery of the ritual and to counter the auditory church designs which emphasised the importance of the spoken word. Many Victorian churches were built to conform to the new ideas (Webster 2011 for Leeds churches). Some of these churches were built by architects with a national reputation. All Souls', Haley Hill, Halifax (1856), by Sir George Gilbert Scott, has been called 'the outstanding High Victorian church in West Yorkshire' (Linstrum 1978, 227). Many local architectural practices, however, developed a specialism in Anglican church design: Chantrell in Leeds, Mallinson and Healey, who built twenty-five churches, and W H Crosland, who built ten (Webster 1992; Linstrum 1978, 226). Mallinson and Healey's All Saints', Little Horton, Bradford (1861-4), is large and has very rich fittings including ironwork by Skidmore and Co of Coventry and stained glass by Clayton and Bell. All Saints' had a wealthy benefactor and lay in a prosperous suburb of the city. Many other churches, however, lacked this financial support and were much plainer in their architecture.

The result of the campaigns of church building to keep abreast of demographic changes was that the centres and suburbs of West Yorkshire's towns and cities were studded with new 19th-century Anglican churches: twenty-six are described in the inner and outer suburbs of Bradford, for example, in a recent publication, and this probably omits some which have been lost through demolition (Leach and Pevsner 2009, 170-204). The 20th century, however, brought further demographic change: the new outer suburbs were often generously provided with places of worship, but many inner-city parishes saw a serious decline in their congregations. Most towns and cities came to be regarded as 'over-churched', and churches were abandoned, demolished or converted to new uses. Even those that flourish today face problems of maintenance: for the Established Church, critical choices have to be made between expenditure on repairing historic fabric and support of the congregation and community.

The state of knowledge

The history of church architecture has been studied exhaustively. Recent decades have seen a growing interest in the post-medieval church, with authoritative national studies of church building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Fincham and Tyacke 2007) and in the eighteenth century (Friedman 2004; Friedman 2011). The relationship between changing

liturgical practice and church design is well understood (Yates 1991; Yates 1999), as is the progression of architectural style over the postmedieval period as a whole. The great architectural debates of the 19th century leading to the triumph of Gothic revival design have been extensively studied, as have the works of the major national architects.

In a West Yorkshire context, church architecture is prominent in published works.

The Buildings of England volumes (Pevsner 1967 and Leach and Pevsner 2009) provide more or less detailed descriptions of all historic Anglican churches and record changes made in the post-medieval period to early churches. Linstrum (1978) places Anglican architecture in a broader context, relating it to the architecture of Nonconformity and highlighting buildings of special significance; and Ryder (1993) has useful information on the post-medieval alterations to the county's medieval churches. The development of religion and Anglican church architecture in Leeds is particularly well researched; Mason (1994) provides a broad-ranging, multid denominational account of developments from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century; Friedman (1997) tells the story of Anglican church building in the 18th century (but notes that only one building survives from this period); Webster (2011) includes discussion of many Victorian churches and architects: and Minnis (2007) discusses Leeds churches, although with an emphasis on post-1918 developments.

The buildings of the Church of England are well (although not comprehensively) documented in diocesan and other archives. Faculty records include many original architects' plans. Many original church plans (and sometimes associated documents) are available online (www.churchplansonline.org). The British Institute of Organ

Studies maintains a list of historic organs in British churches (<http://www.bios.org.uk/>), a valuable resource when assessing the importance of a church.

The condition of the resource

Anglican churches and chapels in West Yorkshire vary considerably in the condition of their fabric. Many are well maintained and cannot be considered to be under threat. The future of even these, however, depends upon constant expenditure on expensive maintenance. A large number of Anglican churches are, however, in a vulnerable condition: over twenty appear on English Heritage's Buildings at Risk Register 2012. Theft of roof lead has increased in recent years, and internal reordering can remove important evidence of early seating and liturgical arrangements. Some churches have been declared redundant and have been converted to new uses, but others - including All Souls', Haley Hill, Halifax, by George Gilbert Scott, listed at Grade I - lie empty.

Research priorities

Because they are significant in landscape, architectural and social terms, Anglican churches of the post-medieval period should all be considered for recording when they come to attention through the planning process. They are, however, relatively numerous, and not all are of the same value or interest. Selection for recording should be made on the basis of significance and vulnerability and the capacity to increase understanding.

Because they are uncommon, all 17th and 18th century churches are of significance. Ryder (1993) called this period 'the missing centuries', a neglected aspect of the study of church architecture, but many of the works cited above have done a huge amount to fill the gap in knowledge. The churches' importance is reflected in their listing grade: Holy Trinity, Leeds, and John Carr's St Peter and St Leonard in Horbury are Grade I, and St John, Wakefield, is Grade 2*. More detailed evidence of these buildings has the potential to deepen understanding of an important episode in Anglican church building.

Churches of the period 1815-1914 are much more numerous and offer great potential for further research. It is unlikely that detailed recording of individual churches will radically alter our understanding of architectural form and style and of changing liturgical practice: the main lines of development on a national scale have been well established, and more recording is likely only to add further examples of known phenomena. There may, however, be West Yorkshire peculiarities, variations on national themes, and significant correlations between patronage, the availability of funding and the design of churches, with expected contrasts between High Church and Low Church approaches to architectural form.

As well as relating to national architectural and liturgical developments, churches always play a significant part in local life. Their study can make an important contribution to the understanding of the history of local communities and places, especially when considered in the context of the existence of dissenting chapels or the buildings of other faiths. The siting of churches is often prominent in suburban landscapes, but other churches are modestly treated and are deeply embedded within areas of working-class housing. The provision of places of worship for new communities, sometimes of uncertain permanence, resulted in a few places in the construction of 'tin churches', of prefabricated iron and corrugated iron cladding. These are now rare: St Peter's, New Fryston, survived into the 1990s (Thornes 1994, 96-7). Research could indicate how many of such churches were built, where, and how long they lasted.

The principal research questions to be addressed of nineteenth-century churches are as follows:

- What were the liturgical arrangements in the original building and how did these reflect the division between ritualists (followers of the Oxford

Movement) and non-ritualists, who emphasized the importance of the spoken word.

- What influence did patronage have on church design and architectural quality?
- How were churches funded and who chose architects, whether local or national, general or specialist?
- How did restorations of earlier churches relate to contemporary ideas on design and liturgical practice? Did the existence of early fabric necessitate a different approach with a resulting difference in form? What was the effect of restoration on individual churches?
- What evidence is there of the playing of music in a church?

Apart from the fabric evidence contained in nineteenth-century churches, a number of useful sources exist to assist research. Churches in the larger towns were depicted with seating plans on large-scale Ordnance Survey maps (5ft: 1 mile, 10ft: 1 mile) and copies of many original architects' plans can be downloaded from a very valuable online resource (www.churchplansonline.org.uk). William Glynne's notes on Yorkshire churches are particularly useful evidence of the condition of churches in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when so much restoration was taking place (Butler 2008). Diocesan records are likely to contain important evidence of the construction of churches and of subsequent changes reflecting changing ideas on liturgy. English Heritage has issued guidance on how to undertake area-based reviews of places of worship (see website reference below to the Taking Stock project).

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, including position of features such as screens, pulpit, altar, seating, sight lines
- Commemorative features
- Decorative features: ironwork, glass, woodwork
- Technology: heating, lighting, music

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Nonconformist chapels and churches and meeting houses

Introduction

Nonconformist chapels and churches are one of the characteristic categories of building in West Yorkshire. The county was one of the strongholds of Nonconformity from the 17th century onwards, and chapel buildings have been central to the lives of local communities for much of the subsequent centuries. The landscape of West Yorkshire's cities, towns, villages and rural areas is punctuated with chapels, often architecturally prominent, rising above neighbouring buildings and displaying impressive facades in either Classical or Gothic styles.

The history of dissent

Nonconformity began in the 16th century as a movement within the established Church of England before splintering off to form independent denominations. Early dissenting movements included the Baptist church (which split from the Church of England in 1607), the Congregational church (first founded in 1616), the Society of

Friends (formed in 1647) and the Unitarians (who left the Church of England in 1774). Methodism, the dominant nonconformist sect, began as a movement of revival and renewal within the church: John Wesley (1703-91) was an ordained clergyman. By the late 18th century, however, Methodism had established a separate identity outside the Church of England. Over many decades, Methodism fragmented into a number of branches: the New Connexion (1797), the Independents (1805), the Primitive Methodists (1811), the Bible Christians

(1815), the Wesleyan Methodist Association (1835), the Wesleyan Reformers (1849). In the second half of 19th century and in the 20th century, many of these groups coalesced once more until in 1932 the Methodist Church was established through the merger of the United Methodist Church, the Wesleyans and the Primitive Methodists. In that year, the Methodist movement maintained over 14000 chapels across the country.

Chapel architecture in West Yorkshire

Chapel architecture within West Yorkshire shows considerable variety. Early chapels

(the Presbyterian chapel at Bramhope, 1649; Friends' Meeting House, Farfield, Addingham, 1689) are plain buildings in vernacular style and had simple interior furnishings. From the mid 18th century many denominations (though not the Quakers) adopted the 'preaching box' style: an emphasis on the spoken word rather than ritual and procession meant that the basic design principle was to ensure that the preacher could be seen and heard clearly by all the congregation. Although this could be achieved using the nave, aisles and chancel plan of the traditional church, Nonconformist chapels of this early period are often characterised by clear unobstructed internal spaces. In terms of style, Classical was preferred, its use representing a distancing from the Gothic which was dominant in the buildings of the Established Church. John Wesley favoured the octagon plan form, and West Yorkshire retains one chapel – that at Heptonstall (1764) – with this feature. The design of Methodist chapels was supervised by a central committee (from 1846, the Model Plan Committee), and this ensured a degree of uniformity in Methodist chapel architecture.

Most 18th and 19th century chapels have an ornate façade and windows either spanning two storeys or at two levels. Internally, the focus was on the pulpit from where the word of God was conveyed. Seating was arranged around the pulpit, often on three sides and very commonly at two levels, a gallery providing additional space on one or more sides. The interiors were treated plainly, with a minimum of decoration or elaboration: the fittings (panelling, pulpit, pews, etc) can be simple in design but of excellent craftsmanship. Some seating was paid for from pew rents, other seating was 'free'. The survival of early seating arrangements, often with numbered box pews, can strongly convey the atmosphere of nonconformist worship (Chapels Society 2012). For some denominations, music was at first provided by singers or instrumentalists located in a gallery, but from the late-18th century organs were introduced and became increasingly common, often being housed in an extension to an earlier building and being dominant features of the internal space. By the nineteenth century, a 'rostrum', a raised platform seating the elders and from where the word of God was delivered to the congregation, was often preferred to the pulpit, inserted to replace the pulpit in early chapels but incorporated as part of the design in later ones. Most denominations performed baptism using a font, but the Baptists used full immersion in a tank, sometimes outside the chapel

but sometimes within, often centrally sited and normally floored over when not in use.

The emphasis in nonconformist sects on community and education found architectural expression in the provision of rooms for schools (Day and Sunday), meetings and social gatherings. At the Quaker Meeting House in Woodhouse Lane, Leeds (PRN 10621) a substantial library was provided for society members. A manse was commonly provided, often with stabling. A burial ground was sometimes included but where this was not the case it is important to establish where adherents were interred. The chapel itself, therefore, should be seen, where appropriate, as the central element in a complex of inter-related structures serving a community.

Chapel architecture underwent a transformation in the mid 19th century (Wakeling 2007). Before then, sometimes considerations of economy, but perhaps more commonly the wish to mark Nonconformity out from the Established church, had made the Classical style overwhelmingly dominant in chapel design: the simple rectangular boxes were dressed up on the main façade with Classical features such as round-headed windows, a pediment and perhaps a porch with Classical columns and a Venetian window over (for example, Square Chapel, Halifax, 1772 PRN 8962; Queen Street Wesleyan Chapel, Huddersfield, 1819). The Classical style continued to be strongly represented in post-1850 chapels: the Upper Independent Chapel, Heckmondwike (1890), has a striking Baroque façade. In 1846, however, the Methodist Model Plan Committee invited designs for chapels in both Classical and Gothic styles. Gothic was formally advocated as appropriate for Methodist buildings, with a new emphasis on seeking beauty in the service of God. The informal massing of Gothic architecture was suited to the nonconformist need for ancillary structures around the chapel. In many Gothic chapels, the style was a mere veneer designed to make an impact in an urban landscape: the external impression of aisles was not carried through to the plan, which continued in many cases to retain as far as possible the auditory arrangement of unobstructed space. The Congregational Square Chapel, Halifax (1856-9), appeared externally to be an aisled building, but the interior was one large open space spanned by cast-iron beams. For some denominations, however, the Anglican Gothic design was adopted: the Unitarian chapel at Millhill, Leeds (1847-8) has been described as 'no longer essentially different from buildings for the Established Church' and its design was seen as highly controversial at the time (Leach and Pevsner 2009, 409). The Unitarian church at Todmorden (1865-69), with its nave, aisles and chancel, shows how radically ideas had changed for some denominations (Hague 1986; Petford 2010).

An important development in Methodist architecture in the early 20th century was the construction in major cities of a 'Central Hall', a complex which included a chapel, offices, meeting rooms, halls, kitchens and commercial premises, the last providing an income to maintain the congregation. West Yorkshire examples include Oxford Place Methodist Church, Leeds (1896-1903) and Eastbrook Methodist Hall, Bradford (1902-4).

Nonconformist churches and chapels continued to be built in West Yorkshire after 1918, in some cases to serve congregations in new suburbs. A few are works of high architectural quality: the Arts and Crafts Lidgett Park Methodist Chapel, Leeds (1916, Arthur Brocklehurst and Co) has a hammerbeam roof and Arts and Crafts stained glass (Minnis 2007, 34-5). Much new work in the 20th century, however, has involved changes to the internal spaces within chapels.

One dissenting denomination, the Society of Friends (Quakers), followed a very distinctive path in terms of both its structure and its architecture. It eschewed any ostentatious display in its buildings, which are characterised by simplicity and plainness. Seating sometimes reflected hierarchy and gender but there was little or no accommodation for ritual. The interior space therefore lacked a strong focal point such as an altar or a pulpit. Within West Yorkshire, early Quaker meeting houses survive at Addingham (1689) and Rawdon (1697), and the village of Ackworth is dominated by the Quaker school founded in 1779.

An aspect of Nonconformity unique within West Yorkshire is the Moravian settlement at Fulneck, Pudsey. The Moravian community, originally from Fulneck in what is now the Czech Republic, settled in Pudsey in 1744 and built a substantial village including the chapel (1748), school (1784-5), accommodation for community members (1749-52), workshops (1758) and cottages. The community aimed to be self-sufficient but the scale and grandeur of their buildings indicates that it had substantial resources (Stead 1999).

State of knowledge

There is an extensive literature on the history of Nonconformity and on the architecture of dissent. The architectural aspects of the subject have been studied at many levels of detail. The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England published a national inventory of mainly pre-1850 chapels in four volumes (the relevant volume for West Yorkshire being Stell 1994); SAVE Britain's Heritage produced a useful introduction to northern chapel architecture as part of a campaigning document highlighting conservation issues (Powell 1980); Cornwall has been the subject of a more synthetic study at a county level (Lake, Cox and Berry 2001); and there are a very large number of local publications dealing with the history of individual chapels in the county or of Nonconformity in a particular settlement (for example, Dews 1981, 1985). The subject is, therefore, well understood at different levels although the outstanding need is for synthesis at a regional, county or landscape scale to bring out variations between nonconformist sects, local characteristics and chronological and typological development. This approach has been adopted in an important study of chapels in part of Wales (Jones 2004).

The condition of the resource

Shrinking congregations throughout the 20th century placed many chapels under threat. The number of Methodist chapels in the country fell from over

14000 in 1932 to just over 5300 in 2006, and West Yorkshire shares this picture of decline. Some congregations continue to thrive, but others cannot fill the space provided by the chapels and find maintenance difficult. A very large number of chapels have been declared redundant: some have been empty for many decades. When stripped of their fittings, many chapels offer potential for easy conversion to low-grade uses such as warehousing. In most cases, conversion has destroyed the character of the buildings externally and internally. Much of the interest and importance of chapel architecture resides in internal fixtures and fittings, and these are commonly removed to clear space for new uses. Many chapels have statutory protection (about 10% of Methodist chapels across the country are listed), but this is no guarantee of survival when buildings fall out of use. Chapels are, therefore, a highly threatened and vulnerable category of building within West Yorkshire. English Heritage has published guidance on the conservation of chapels in acknowledgement of the severe threat which they face (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/guidancemethodist-nonconformist-chapels-cornwall>).

Research priorities

As with all categories of building, research questions relating to chapels can be resolved not through the evidence of individual buildings but through synthesis of the evidence drawn from numerous relevant sites. The recording of individual structures therefore has a dual purpose: to provide a record of an individual building or complex and to contribute through targeted recording and investigation to wider research questions. The long-term goal of further recording should be the production of a county-wide synthesis of chapel architecture in West Yorkshire. Stell's work is largely descriptive and, after a brief introduction, presented as an inventory of individual sites. It provides much evidence which relates to key research questions but does not address these directly. The most important outstanding need in the study of the county's chapel architecture is for an overview which explains development, makes clear the characteristic features of different denominations and relates chapel features to liturgy. In this way, a broad context can be established which will allow the significance of individual buildings to be assessed: without this context and overall understanding, the importance of individual chapels can only be indicated by whether or not they are listed. A county-wide overview would make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the national development of Nonconformity.

The key questions which might be asked of architectural evidence by historians of Nonconformity in West Yorkshire include the following.

- Does chapel architecture (style, plan, fittings, etc) vary according to the denomination responsible for construction?
- How is liturgy reflected in the fixtures and fittings within chapels?
- What is the evidence for circulation, gender segregation and hierarchy within chapel architecture?

- How common was the provision of schools, community space and housing for the minister, and does this vary according to denomination?
- What is the evidence for change (fittings, size, plan, seating, music, etc) in individual chapels?
- Can a typology of chapels be developed taking account of size, plan, date, etc?

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, including position of features such as pulpit, altar, seating, sight lines
- Decorative features: ironwork, glass, woodwork
- Commemorative features
- Technology: heating, lighting, music

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Roman Catholic Churches

Introduction

Roman Catholicism, although it can be defined in one sense as Nonconformist, is treated here separately as it shows a clearly differentiated history and architectural character. Unlike chapels, Roman Catholic churches in West Yorkshire dating from before 1914 are not numerous: a survey in 1972 identified thirty-three churches in the county (Chappell 1972). Like chapels, however, they are prominent in the lives of local communities and have strong social importance.

The history of Roman Catholicism in West Yorkshire

The English Reformation, part of a wider European movement seeking reform within the Catholic Church, culminated in the reign of Henry VIII in a split from Rome and the authority of the Pope and the establishment of the Church of England, the head of which was the monarch of England. The history of the subsequent centuries was marked by religious persecution: Catholic worship and the building of Catholic churches were illegal until 1791. However, Catholicism was never expunged and increasingly Catholic worship was tolerated, although its adherents were excluded from important aspects of national life. Early Catholic churches tended to be inconspicuous, sometimes domestic in appearance, perhaps due to funding difficulties and to the fear of reprisals: periodic bouts of anti-Catholic rioting took their toll on Catholic communities. The 1791 Catholic Relief Act, however, marked a turning point: Roman Catholicism was accepted not as a threat to the state and the Anglican church but as a part of national life. The Act allowed the building of Catholic churches under licence (but no towers or bells were permitted) along with greater freedom within society, and over the country a considerable number of new churches were built, mostly modest in scale. The next landmark came in 1829 with the Catholic Emancipation Act: this gave Catholics equal civil rights and enabled them to hold public office. The prejudice against Catholics was revived once more in the 1840s when the Irish Potato Famine prompted the influx of huge numbers of poor, destitute Irish families, most of them faithful to Rome.

The swelling of the Catholic population prompted a radical reorganisation of the Catholic Church in England. The 'Restoration of the Hierarchy' of 1850 created twelve new dioceses and with them a new organizational structure. At first, West Yorkshire lay within the diocese of Beverley, but in 1878 this was split into two, the dioceses of Middlesbrough to the north and of Leeds to the south: the Leeds diocese included virtually all the old West Riding and all of modern West Yorkshire. At a later date, the southern part of the old West Riding (mainly modern South Yorkshire) was removed to another diocese.

The way in which the Catholic Church in West Yorkshire developed in the 19th century is of interest. Early churches, usually in the major centres of population,

acted as 'mother churches' (like minsters) supporting the creation of daughter chapels, which might ultimately become independent parishes. Thus Halifax chapel, built in 1836, supported missions at Luddenden Foot (1870) and Hebden Bridge (1888). New churches were built here in the 1890s and a new parish was also created in Halifax in 1895 (Chappell 1972, 187).

The Leeds diocese has its cathedral, St Anne's, in Leeds. The first St Anne's church, built in 1838, was compulsorily purchased by Leeds Corporation in 1900 as part of a traffic improvement scheme. A new site was provided in Great George Street and the new St Anne's was opened in 1904 (Chappell 1972, 212-7).

The architecture of Roman Catholic churches in West Yorkshire

Between 1793 and 1916 73 churches and more than 50 chapels or school chapels were built in the diocese of Leeds (similar in extent to the old West Riding). The earliest chapels were plain in style, with perhaps simple Gothic windows the only suggestion of religious use. In this, they resemble some early Nonconformist places of worship.

The chapel at Aberford, built in 1793, is a simple box lit by round-headed windows.

In the early 19th century Catholic churches became larger and more conspicuous. Before 1840 a pared-down Gothic style was common for reasons of economy.

Few West Yorkshire Catholic churches built after 1840 can be held up as models of Gothic revival architecture as advocated by AWN Pugin, who, when funds were available, gloried in a polychromatic revival of medieval architecture with rich and elaborate interiors: his reredos for the first St Anne's church in Leeds, designed in 1842 and retained in the second church of the same name, gives an idea of his vision of the perfect medieval church. The most striking Catholic church of the period in the county was the large and impressive St Edward King and Confessor, Clifford, of 1848, and this rejected Pugin's Gothic in favour of a sturdy Romanesque.

Most of West Yorkshire's urban Catholic churches built after the Restoration of the Hierarchy were provided to serve poor, largely immigrant communities. Funds were often difficult to secure, and some churches were begun before the full costs had been secured and were completed in stages as money became available. At St Mary's, Bradford, the church, begun in 1876, was not paid for until 1925 and a planned tower was never built (Chappell 1972, 191-2). At Mount St Mary's church, Leeds, shortage of funds is evident in the unfinished state of the stonework details, capitals to columns, for example, remaining as square-cut blocks. Catholic churches are, therefore, often austere in appearance. Accommodation, that is, space, was often placed ahead of architectural splendour. There was, however, a converse school of thought which advocated that it was churches in the poorest areas which were most in need of rich architectural treatment to provide the poor with a vision of paradise

(see, for example, St Mary of the Angels, Everton, Liverpool, built by a wealthy patroness in 1907 and filled with treasures brought from Italy (Brown and de Figueiredo 2008, 42). In West Yorkshire, when funds were available Roman Catholic churches could impress by their scale and internal treatment. The showpiece of the diocese, the rebuilt St Anne's Cathedral, Leeds (1901-4), was carried out in Arts and Crafts style with rich fittings, re-using Pugin's reredos.

Catholic churches show distinctive features which distinguish them from contemporary Anglican places of worship. Entrance was commonly through a narthex at the west end of the church rather than through a south porch, and when housed internally rather than externally the narthex could provide support for a gallery for the choir: the provision of such a gallery meant that the church's west window had to be placed high in the elevation. Internally, once Pugin's ideas on mystery and ritual had been rejected, sight lines were of primary importance. As a result, naves tend to be broad, allowing the seated congregation to participate in the ceremonies focused on the high altar without the obstruction of aisle arcades. Chancels tend to be very short because, in contrast to High Church Anglican practice which placed the choir in the chancel, the choir was placed at the west end, in a gallery. The effect was to bring the altar forward to make it much more visible than was the case in Anglican churches. The east end of Catholic churches is often apsidal or polygonal in contrast to the square plan of most Anglican churches. Multiple altars, shrines and side chapels added to the complexity of Catholic church plans: projections off the nave housed chapels, sometimes roofed under gables rising above the aisle roofs, and chapels could be clustered at the liturgically significant east end of the church, an arrangement which gave rise to interesting architectural massing (Chappell 1972, 279-83).

A feature of Catholic churches is their frequent association with related buildings. The emphasis of the Roman Catholic Church in the mid 19th century was on education and care, and in some cases a school was built before the church. The priests' house (the presbytery) often adjoined the church. House, church, school and a meeting hall provided spiritual, social and intellectual nourishment for often deprived communities and helped the Church to sustain faith.

As inner city populations were relocated to new suburbs in the post-1918 period, older churches lost their congregations and many went into decline. They were replaced in many cases by distinctive new churches in suburban locations: the churches are marked by tall campanili and the use of brick. One church, Our Lady and the First Martyrs, Heaton (1935), has an innovative octagonal plan with a central altar.

State of knowledge

The architecture of the Roman Catholic Church in England was for long a neglected subject but has been brought to prominence recently by the publication of a national study (Martin 2009). This provides an overview of the

faith and its architectural achievement, with an emphasis on descriptions of major churches by prominent architects such as AWN Pugin. A pioneering thesis covering the Catholic churches of the diocese of Leeds (and therefore of all West Yorkshire) provides an extensive account of the history of Catholic church building in West Yorkshire, with details of dates of construction, architects, evolving styles, diocesan organization, patronage, and the characteristic features of these places of worship and the way in which Catholic churches differed from contemporary Anglican churches (Chappell 1972). The thesis is heavily illustrated with black and white photographs, copies of documents including architects' plans, and the author's sketch plans. The latest volume in the Pevsner Architectural Guides (covering the northern part of West Yorkshire only) provides brief descriptions of twenty pre-1939 Catholic churches (Leach and Pevsner 2009). John Minnis's study of Leeds places of worship provides useful context, but the focus of its text is on the post-1918 period, beyond the scope of this review (Minnis 2007).

The most recent addition to knowledge is a review prepared in 2008 by the Architectural History Practice for English Heritage and the Diocese of Leeds on the churches in the diocese, including all of modern West Yorkshire (AHP 2008). The first part of the review contains a brief history of Roman Catholicism since the Reformation. It also briefly describes the architectural development of Roman Catholic churches in the diocese, assesses their historical and architectural significance and makes recommendations for protection through listing. The second part of the review contains detailed reports on the individual churches, with a description, an assessment of significance, a report on condition and an assessment of each building's potential for adaptation.

The condition of the resource

Chappell provided a list of Catholic churches in the diocese of Leeds. Thirty-nine churches are listed in West Yorkshire, from St Wilfrid in Aberford (1793) to St Joseph in Pudsey (1913). In 1972, six of these churches had been demolished, sometimes to make way for a bigger church nearby, sometimes because inner-city clearance had led to the dispersal of the congregation.

It is not known how many of Chappell's 33 surviving West Yorkshire churches survive, although correlation with the AHP report of 2008 would indicate the survival at that date. It is likely that most churches are still in use, but some at least are in serious danger. Mount St Mary, Leeds (1853-7) was recorded in 2007 after closure and much of the interior had been stripped out (PRN10640), and another church, Holy Spirit, Heckmondwike (PRN11534), was on the English Heritage Heritage at Risk Register in 2012, its condition described as 'poor'.

Research priorities

Chappell's thesis provides a thorough overview and much detail of the Catholic churches of West Yorkshire. It is particularly useful in summarizing how

Catholic churches differ from contemporary Anglican buildings. New recording of Catholic churches should be informed by Chappell's analysis of their special features and should highlight these features through appropriate levels of record. The AHP report on individual churches provides further evidence of the architectural character of the buildings. Together Chappell's thesis, with its extensive contextual approach, and the AHP review, with a brief overview and detail on individual churches, provide complementary sources which can inform the direction of future research.

Chappell's thesis has strengths and weaknesses. It uses original architects' plans where available and also contains sketch plans of some churches. Its discussion highlights documentary sources relevant to individual buildings. In no case, however, does Chappell's work constitute a full and adequate record in the modern sense: the photographs, in particular, while useful in showing the condition and features of the churches in the 1970s, are small format, and the HER holds them in only faded photocopy form. The AHP review provides further detail of individual churches and its diocesan-wide analysis provides excellent assessment of importance, this assessment being primarily related to conservation policy.

Despite the existence of Chappell's thesis and the recent AHP review, there is still scope for more architectural and historical research addressing specific issues. The principal research questions to be addressed through new recording and synthesis concern:

- The mechanisms by which new Catholic churches were built and funded, testing the idea that, in contrast to Nonconformist practice, in which individual congregations were the prime movers, the Catholic programme was driven by central authority.
- The evidence for Catholic church building policy, testing the idea that accommodation came before architectural splendour: were there exceptions to the rule, and if so what explains these? The example of St Edward King and Confessor, Clifford-cum-Boston, built 1845-67, would be a starting point for research.

It should be noted that the incorporation into the HER of the records of churches produced by the AHP review should be a priority for the development of the HER as a research resource.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, including position of features such as screens, pulpit, altar, seating, sight lines, chapels, confessionals
- Decorative features: ironwork, glass, woodwork, statuary
- Technology: heating, lighting, music

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Cemeteries, burial grounds and commemorative structures

Although not formally considered as historic buildings, cemeteries, burial grounds and commemorative structures such as war memorials are important aspects of the historic and natural environments. They contain a huge amount of information about the history of towns and villages and have unique monumental and architectural interest. They lie outside the scope of the present review, but their potential for research should be noted and it is recommended that, due to their historic importance and extreme vulnerability, a research agenda should be drawn up for these categories. A useful introduction to a very large subject is provided in English Heritage's selection guide to commemorative structures

(http://www.englishheritage.org.uk/publications/dlsg-commemorativestructures/commemorative_structures_final.pdf).

See also English Heritage's publications on cemeteries:

<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/registered-cemeteries>

<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/paradise-preserved>

Institutional buildings

The law and Government Buildings

Introduction

The architecture of government and law and order is both prominent and historically significant. It includes buildings for county, town, borough and urban and rural district administration, courts dealing with different types of legal cases, and other buildings connected with the maintenance of law, order and public safety. Following the English Heritage Listing Selection Guide, Law and Government Buildings, this section of the research review covers town halls, law courts, police stations, prisons, and fire stations. Because the buildings in these categories were often multifunctional, there will be inevitable overlap with discussion of other building types such as assembly rooms and exchanges.

Town halls

History of the building type in West Yorkshire

In the medieval and sub-medieval periods, towns were governed by corporations or manorial lords. A restricted range of activities was conducted either from rooms in a building constructed for other purposes or from small structures such as the Leeds Moot Hall, first built in 1615, rebuilt in 1710, and comprising a meeting room (doubling as a court room) over an open ground floor used as a corn exchange.

The first significant development, at least in terms of scale, from this situation is represented by Pontefract Town Hall, built in 1785 to replace an earlier Moot Hall. The new building was not primarily used for town administration. Instead, it provided space for market trading on the ground floor and a large assembly room on the first floor, the latter used for the administration of justice as well as for public meetings. An attached range accommodated cells for defendants awaiting trial.

The massive expansion of West Yorkshire's towns in the first half of the 19th century revealed the deficiencies of the existing mode of government. Problems of health, overcrowding, unregulated expansion and the pressures of a growing population on an inadequate infrastructure lay outside the powers of local administration to address. Perceptions of the proper role of local government also hindered progress: a common concern was on the effect on the rates of tackling these issues. Legislation at first permitted and later obliged local authorities to improve the state of their towns. This led to the creation of a more professionalised system of local government and an increase in local government staffing in specialist departments.

The old form of town hall could not cope with the expansion in the role of local government, and a new type was developed in the middle decades of the 19th

century, a type that came to act as the symbol of civic pride. Sir Charles Barry, architect of Halifax Town Hall, expressed this aspect of the purpose of the new sort of town hall, saying that 'a town hall should...be the means of giving due expression to public feelings upon all national and municipal events of importance...[and should serve]...as the exponent of the life and soul of the city' (Cunningham 1981, 89). The new town halls of the nineteenth century were often buildings with a dual function, responding to two very different needs. On the one hand, many fast-growing towns (and older ones as well) lacked a large hall for public meetings; and on the other, the new scale of public administration demanded accommodation for both officers and elected members. Leeds Town Hall (1853-8) is often taken as the first building to combine a large public hall with accommodation for council meetings and officers and the administration of justice, in the form of courts and a police station. Halifax Town Hall (1859-63) followed a slightly different path: a mayor's parlour and council chamber, a newsroom, rooms for council departments (rates, engineer, etc), a courtroom and a police station with cells were all accommodated, grouped around a large hall rising through the complete height of the building, but the hall was not envisaged as a public meeting space: instead it has the character of a ceremonial space and one which provides access to the rooms arranged around it. The town hall, however, provided, at least initially, accommodation for all the functions deemed essential to the effective running of the town. Some of the lesser town halls were little more than public halls akin to assembly rooms: they provided, under the jurisdiction of the local authority, a place where the community could meet for special occasions. Elland Town Hall (PRN9563), for example, had no space for civic administration.

Other West Yorkshire towns followed the lead of Leeds and Halifax. Bradford (1873), Todmorden (1875), Wakefield (1877-80) Dewsbury (1888-9) and Morley (1895) were all provided with new town halls for local administration by the end of the 19th century. As the responsibilities of local government expanded, further specialist buildings were required: in Leeds, the School Board offices and Municipal Offices were built in 1878-81, a public library formed part of the same complex, and an Art Gallery was built in 1886. With the Town Hall, these formed a distinctive municipal quarter, strengthened by the addition of a new Civic Hall in 1933. In Halifax, the cramped conditions provided for the police force and the courts in Barry's Town Hall led in 1889 to the construction of a separate larger police station and a new and larger court nearby.

The construction of buildings for local administration was often occasioned by changes to the structure of local government. This is evident in West Yorkshire, where a new tier of county government, the County Council, was created in 1888. This created a need for a new County hall for the West Riding, built on a palatial scale in Wakefield in 1892-4. At the other end of the administrative scale, Urban District Councils and Rural District Councils were created in 1894 to provide government for areas outside the large boroughs, and a number of town halls were built to house the new bodies: the Town Hall at Hebden Bridge

(for Hebden Royd RDC) was built in 1897, combining rooms for council administration with a fire station.

The state of knowledge

A national context for the development of town halls is provided by Cunningham (1981), who, as well as providing an analytical account of development, also includes a chronological list (perhaps not definitive?) of town halls in England 1820-1914: twenty-five public offices are listed for West Yorkshire, from Holmfirth's town hall of 1842 to Pudsey's of 1910 (Cunningham 1981, Appendix 252-99). London's town halls have been the subject of a study which traces development from the mid nineteenth century to the late twentieth century and emphasizes the rapidly changing needs of local government (Smith 1999). The history of the principal town halls in West Yorkshire is well known in architectural terms and the buildings are invariably protected by listing, often at a high grade: Leeds Town Hall and Wakefield Town Hall are both Grade 1. At an individual level, the major town halls are less well understood from the perspective of the accommodation which they provided:

provision varied over time and according to the needs and means of the local authority and the existence of complementary buildings in the town at the time of construction.

The lesser town halls are less thoroughly studied as a group. West Yorkshire had town halls in relatively minor towns (Brighouse, Mirfield, Yeadon and Otley among others), and the buildings here are less grand and imposing, most lacking the tower that distinguishes the town halls in larger cities. Their functions vary widely. The town hall at Guiseley, opened in 1866, had a hall, library, reading room and school as well as council offices, but that at Elland appears to have been more of a public meeting hall than the seat of local administration (Cunningham 1981, 79). Hebden Bridge Town Hall, however, was used for local government. The combination of local government offices with other functions (in the case of Hebden Bridge with a fire station) gives the class an interesting variety that is perhaps not fully mapped out.

The condition of the resource

The major town halls of West Yorkshire are still in use for civil purposes although many of their original functions are now carried out in newer, larger buildings: in Wakefield, for example, new council offices were built in 2012 and in other towns council departments have for many decades been housed outside the principal town hall. The loss of an administrative role has led to the town halls being used for ceremonial functions and public events and perpetuating what was originally envisaged for them, acting as the symbol of the community and of the place. Leeds and Halifax Town Halls certainly perform this function. The high listing grades which buildings in this category enjoy mean that they have strong statutory protection. They are, however, subject to continual change: the clearest example of this is the experience of the West Riding County Hall, Wakefield, from 1974 the headquarters of the new

West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council and from 1986, on the latter's abolition, housing offices of the local district council, Wakefield. Loss of function also represents a threat: Todmorden's town hall is only partly occupied and as a result has been placed on English Heritage's Heritage at Risk register 2012. All major town hall demand expensive maintenance, but they are not threatened with demolition or dereliction.

The same is not universally true of lesser town halls. In 2007 Elland Town Hall was the subject of an application to convert it into apartments and offices. Loss of its original function is not always detrimental to the integrity of a historic building: in 2010, ownership of Hebden Bridge Town Hall was transferred from the local council to a community association, and the building now houses offices for local administrative purposes and for support of local businesses and the community. The change of use was accompanied by the restoration of the building.

In summary, because most town halls remain at the centre of local life they are not a highly threatened category of building although they are subject to change of use as administrative and community needs evolve.

Research priorities

The municipal buildings of the major towns and cities are well known in a general sense and Cunningham's national overview provides a broad context within which they can be set. Cunningham's work, however, is primarily concerned with architectural style. It pays less attention to the workings and functions of the buildings and to how those functions were arranged internally. Because the larger town halls varied so much in what they contained, there is scope for analysis of the range of building types that the term 'town hall' could comprehend.

Lesser town halls are less fully studied and again there is considerable scope for new recording which brings out the variety of accommodation which they provided and relates this to the size of the settlements which they served and to the existence of complementary buildings in those settlements.

Research questions to be addressed of individual town halls and associated municipal buildings include:

- How was the building funded?
- How does its construction relate to the development of municipal government and to the facilities available in the town?
- How does its architectural style fit into the context of stylistic development outlined by Cunningham?
- Was the design the result of a competition or was it designed 'in-house'?

- Which architects were employed in its design; how does this building fit into the corpus of their work?
- What functions did the building provide (civil administration, ceremonial, public meetings, law and order, etc)?
- How were these functions planned?
- How have its functions changed and how are these changes reflected in the development of the building?
- Is there any architectural decoration, externally and/or internally and does it relate to the purpose and status of the building (sculptural embellishment, stained glass, murals, commemorative tablets etc)?
- Does the interior preserve any original fittings and furniture?
- What materials and methods were used in its construction (sometimes these buildings can be structurally innovative)?
- How is the building sited and how does it relate to the surrounding buildings? Is it part of a larger municipal complex?

Addressing questions such as these will assist in the development of a county-wide synthesis of the development of town halls and municipal buildings. This will lead to a better understanding of the evolution of civil society and local government and of associated functions such as provision for public meetings. A county-wide synthesis would also make a significant contribution to knowledge of the development of the building type at a national scale.

Features to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Structural form (eg, roof trusses, use of steel, etc)
- Plan: function of different areas, circulation
- Commemorative features
- Decorative schemes
- Fittings and furniture (eg Mayor's Parlour)
- Music
- Dining & Feasting

Law courts

History of the building type

Law courts are a varied and highly significant building type, being central to public and private lives for over a thousand years. For centuries courts might be held in buildings constructed primarily for other purposes (manorial halls or the great halls of castles, for example) and as a result used movable or impermanent fittings. Specialist court buildings developed in the 18th century: the earliest example is the Worcester Guildhall (1721-4), and later in the century John Carr designed the York Assize Courts (1773-7). These specialist buildings housed the Criminal Courts held at

Assizes and Quarter Sessions. Lesser cases were dealt with by justices of the peace at Petty Sessions and these, even more than the Assizes, were originally held in buildings used for other purposes. Kildwick Hall, Kildwick, a 17th-century gentry house, has at one corner of its walled garden a free-standing building of c.1700 popularly known as 'the Justice Room', and inns were often pressed into service: the Black Bull, Birstall, West Yorkshire, retains a first-floor courtroom with boxes for the magistrates and defendants. Purpose-built courts, both criminal and civil, were often combined with other functions, as in Leeds Town Hall, where the criminal courts are set at the corners of the great public building. Many magistrates courts, dealing with the lesser cases, were combined with police stations. Some specialist court buildings, however, were exclusively devoted to the administration of justice: the Victoria Law Courts, Birmingham (1887-91) contained both criminal and civil courts.

Because they are official in character, law courts are often designed to impress both externally and internally with the power and majesty of the law. The architect Thomas Harrison employed both Gothic (Lancaster Castle, from the 1780s) and

Greek Revival Classical (Chester Castle, finished 1802) styles: the Crown Court at Wakefield (1810) employs a heavy Doric style similar to Harrison's work at Chester. Later, Gothic and Italianate designs predominated. Internally, the chief requirements in the plan were the segregation of the different groups - the judge and court officials, the legal profession, the defendants, witnesses and the public - in the interests of security. This could lead to intricate patterns of circulation. Inside the courtrooms, especially those dealing with the more serious cases, the space was arranged to emphasise the authority of the law, with a raised bench for the judge and a display of the royal arms.

The state of knowledge

The development of courts as a building type is the subject of a definitive study by Clare Graham (Graham 2003). This provides a national overview and extensive discussion of how and why court architecture varied according to the type of justice administered and to the date of construction.

Because they were very often constructed by architects of wide renown, courts are usually described in architectural guides such as the Pevsner Buildings of England series. The history and peculiarities of individual courts may be less well known, although general details of dates of construction are usually included in town histories. English Heritage conducted a national survey of court buildings and its archive contains a large amount of information about individual courts. A report to the Courts Service was prepared as a synthesis of the information collected during the survey (Brodie, Winter and Porter 2000).

The condition of the resource

The English Heritage survey (Brodie et al, 2000) was conducted because significant changes in the administration of justice placed many historic court

buildings at risk of full or partial redundancy. The class of building was, therefore, regarded as highly threatened. This is still the case. Because many courthouses are works of great architectural quality, they enjoy a high degree of protection in the form of listing. A very important part of their interest, however, lies in the internal fixtures and fittings. These are designed for a highly specific purpose, that of the administration of justice, and are very difficult to convert to new uses without damaging their integrity and therefore the character of the building as a whole. Not all historic courts can be used as film sets for legal dramas. So, although protected by high-grade listing, historic courts must be regarded as a very vulnerable building type. The Crown Court, Wakefield, has been boarded up and empty since it ceased to operate as a court and was sold in 1996.

Research priorities

Courts, whether discrete buildings or contained within larger complexes, are not a numerous category of building in West Yorkshire. They are, however, important in terms of their function and often also of their architectural character. The existence of courts, and the date of their construction, is almost invariably known from documentary sources, as is, generally, the type of justice dispensed in them. Close analysis of the architecture of courts will do little to further understanding of these aspects of the subject.

What building recording (as distinct from further documentary work) can do, however, is to establish the impact that architectural form and style had on the setting of courts and on the participants in the working of the legal system. Informed recording of courts can provide important evidence of how design reflected the development of the legal system.

The key considerations in the study of courts are:

- What type of justice was administered (criminal, civil, etc)?
- How does the architecture of the courthouse reflect the importance of its function? What role does the courthouse play in the urban landscape?
- How does the courthouse relate to other structures or components of a larger building (for example, town hall or police station)?
- How did different users of the court gain access to the building and move around it? Is there evidence of a clear segregation between different users?
- How do the fixtures and fittings of the courtroom demonstrate the workings of justice?

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

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- Architectural style
- Plan, functional divisions and circulation
- Decorative features
- Fixtures and fittings

Prisons and lock-ups

Prisons are prominent buildings, often of high architectural quality and interest, demonstrating changing policies in relation to the detention of criminals. They are, however, inaccessible for security reasons. Special dispensation for the former Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in the 1990s allowed records to be made of prisons across the country, and the results of the survey were published in 2002. This sets out the national context for the development of prisons. The preface states that the RCHME survey provided photographic coverage of every working prison at the time that the project operated (late 1990s) and that 'at each prison the team visited every major part of the site, recording the current appearance of the buildings and identifying how they have evolved' (Brodie, Croom and Davies 2002, vi).

The published work includes a gazetteer of all sites for which a record was made: five extant prisons in West Yorkshire are listed in the gazetteer (Armley, Dial Wood, Wakefield, Wetherby and Wetherby YO1).

Research priorities

The existence of the national synthesis and of the accompanying archive held by English Heritage Archives in Swindon suggests that further recording will add little to understanding of the main lines of architectural development of this building type.

Lock-ups were small buildings used for the secure detention of offenders guilty of minor offences. They usually pre-date the construction of police stations, which often included a cell block used for the same purpose. Because of their rarity and because they demonstrate an almost forgotten aspect of early law enforcement, they are often listed. The HER contains three records of lock-ups in West Yorkshire (PRN 3707, 7662, 9437), all listed (one at II*). Three further listed examples exist in the county.

The former existence of further lock-ups is known from documentary sources (for example, there was one at Haworth), but there is no comprehensive list of extant lockups in the county.

The interest of the building type suggests that examples should be considered for recording. Gain in knowledge will comprise:

- Knowledge of location
- Knowledge of dates of construction
- Knowledge of organisational structure (that is, which institution did it serve?)
- Knowledge of variant plan forms and security arrangements

Police stations

History

Before the 19th century, local policing was undertaken by constables appointed by the parish and there was little need for buildings to house local policing functions. The 1835 Municipal Corporations Act allowed the appointment of paid local constables in towns, and in 1839 the County Police Act extended this provision to rural areas through the establishment of County Police Forces. The passing of the County and Borough Police Act in 1856 placed the system on a firm footing and led to the construction of a large number of new police stations, some built under the supervision of a Surveyor of County Courts, responsible across the country for the design and building of police stations, others by municipal architects.

The West Riding Constabulary was established in 1856 and had thirty-one police districts. These complemented a number of Borough police forces, some set up, as in Leeds (1833), significantly before the 1856 Act. Halifax and Wakefield created their borough force on the grant of royal charters in 1848, and Dewsbury police force came into existence when the town received its charter of incorporation in 1862. The dual system of county and borough forces continued until 1974, when Leeds and Bradford, the last of the boroughs to lose their independence, merged with the West Riding Constabulary to form the West Yorkshire Police.

Police stations generally have four components: at the front of the building was an administrative area; to the rear was a cell block; on the first floor accommodation for the staff could be located; and a drill room or yard provided space for training. Stables, kennels and, later, motor houses, might form part of the complex.

Police stations in West Yorkshire

Because staffing of early police forces was limited, accommodation was sometimes found within buildings with other uses. The town halls at Leeds (1852-8) and Halifax (1859-62) were both multi-purpose buildings which squeezed police accommodation into inconspicuous accommodation at the sides and rear. Later police stations might be free standing, as in the new station in Halifax (1889, PRN8898) and that at Featherstone (PRN10038), or combined with other local authority or official buildings, as at Castleford (PRN9779) and Keighley (PRN9955), both with a courthouse; Chapel Allerton (PRN8762) and Hunslet (PRN10358), both with a library; and Woodhouse Lane, Leeds (PRN10931), combined with a library and fire station. The police station at Castleford, built in 1987, is claimed to be the oldest operational police station in the country.

State of knowledge

There has been no national study of police stations, partly perhaps due to difficulties of access while in operational use. Redundancy has changed this situation, however, and in acknowledgement of the threat faced by the building type English Heritage undertook a survey of police stations in London: the results are summarised in Barson 2010.

Condition of the resource

Changes in technology, staffing and police organisation have made most early police stations redundant. Many have found new uses unconnected with the police force. Pre-1914 police stations must be regarded as a vulnerable building type. The internal features, including the plan, fixtures and fittings, of the building are especially vulnerable on change of use, but in these reside the essential character of the building type, revealing the way in which it functioned.

Research priorities

It is not known with any degree of accuracy how many pre-1914 police stations remain in West Yorkshire. Using documentary sources it should be possible to identify how many police stations were built, and fieldwork would demonstrate how many survive in use or in recognisable form. Further building recording will help to build up a picture of the development of policing in the county and establish typological developments reflecting changing functions.

Where sufficient evidence survives, the key questions to be addressed in the recording of police stations and forming the substance of a written report are:

- Was the police station housed within a complex with other functions? If so, how does the police station fit into this complex and relate to the other parts?
- What is the architecture of the police station? Does it employ symbols denoting its function?
- What are the components of the police station?
- Does the building retain fixtures and fittings illustrative of its former uses (for example, charge room counter, cell fittings, heating, ventilation, etc)?
- What evidence is there of change to the original building? What caused these changes?

The workings of the police station, where good evidence survives, is best demonstrated in graphic form through the production of a measured survey plan. In some cases, it may be possible to use original architect's plans as a basis or indeed as a substitute if few significant changes have taken place.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan and room function

- Fixtures and fittings (eg cells)
Ventilation system

Fire stations

Fire stations are a relatively modern building type. Before 1800, fires were dealt with by fire crews maintained by insurance companies. Edinburgh was the first local authority to establish a public service (in 1824) and in 1833 the London Fire Engine Establishment was founded to deal with fire in the capital. In the provinces, local brigades were formed from the middle decades of the 19th century. In 1941 the National Fire Service was created but in 1948 local authority control was reestablished.

Early (pre-motorised) fire stations tended to be small. Early fire appliances (engines) were horse-drawn and operated by hand pump. Steam-powered fire engines were introduced in the 1850s, allowing the pumping of greater quantities of water. Fire engines became larger, especially after the introduction of motorised appliances in the early 20th century.

Historic fire stations had a number of distinct areas. Most clearly expressed externally was the fire engine house for the appliances, opening out through large doorways to the public highway. Offices and accommodation for staff was provided beside and over the fire engine house. A rear yard could be used for training. A prominent tower could be used for drying hoses.

State of knowledge

Fire stations have not been the subject of a dedicated study, but the subject of fire fighting, especially in London, has received more attention (Ingham 1978; Holloway 1992). The architectural character of fire stations is described briefly in English Heritage's listing selection guide (English Heritage 2011).

It is not known how many historic fire stations remain in West Yorkshire.

Condition of the resource

Most pre-1914 fire stations have been converted to new uses or replaced, being unable to accommodate the larger equipment in use today. Others have fallen out of use on the reorganisation of the fire service. Modernisation continues to affect the provision of fire services: in 2011, the closure of ten fire stations in West Yorkshire was announced. The stations, at Gipton, Stanks, Rawdon, Otley, Brighouse, Elland, Hemsworth, South Elmsall, Batley and Dewsbury, will be replaced by five new 'super stations' at Killingbeck, Menston, Rastrick, South Kirkby and Batley Carr (BBC website). The announcement emphasises that all fire stations, including those built after 1914, are vulnerable to change.

Research priorities

The early history of fire fighting in West Yorkshire remains largely unstudied. Identification of the numbers and locations of fire stations built to protect life and property, mostly by local authorities but also by industrialists such as millowners, would be a useful way of tracing how protection was extended from the major cities to smaller settlements. It is not known whether any pre-1900 fire stations exist in West Yorkshire. A county-wide survey of fire stations would provide useful evidence of the development of the fire service and the evolution of the building type.

The development of fire stations is largely concerned with technological and organisational change. The growing size of fire fighting appliances required larger openings to the engine house, and changes in the way fire stations were manned meant that living provision varied. Analysis of early fire stations across the county would allow these developments to be charted. Records of fire stations should place emphasis on the way in which design reflects the status of the service (in terms of architectural embellishment) and the way in which the buildings illustrate contemporary technology and staffing.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan and functional divisions
- Hose towers

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Hospitals, workhouses and charitable institutions

History and background

The post-medieval period witnessed the development of new types of building designed to support vulnerable members of the community. An expanding population crowded into towns suffered poor living conditions and the fluctuations of the economic cycle. Rich and poor were subject to diseases such as typhus and cholera, and the poorer levels of society were often left without employment and, therefore, the means of support. Before reforms of the 19th century, the consequent health and welfare problems were dealt with in two ways: parishes provided poor relief through the levying of a poor rate, but for the rest the needy were dependent on the response of charities for relief. Only from the middle decades of the 19th century did the perception of the proper role of the state expand to allow the provision of services funded by the public purse. This public provision came to complement, but never entirely to replace, the efforts of a large number of charities to provide care and alleviate hardship.

Hospitals for the care of the sick have a long history in England. Before the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s, many religious communities cared for the sick in substantial infirmaries. In the post-medieval period, hospitals were at first provided through philanthropic and charitable effort. Guy's Hospital and St Bartholemew's Hospital in London were opened in 1724 and 1730 respectively, and Liverpool Infirmary in 1743. The first Leeds Infirmary opened in 1771. Hospitals continued to be funded by charitable and private subscription until a late date. During the 19th century, new ideas on planning, in particular the use of the pavilion plan, and the development of specialist types of hospital (lunatic asylums, infectious diseases, convalescence, cottage, eye and ear, etc) led to the construction of a large number of sometimes huge new complexes. Many towns came to have a number of hospitals: Halifax had a General Hospital, an Infirmary, and a Royal Infirmary. The nationalisation of a very diverse health service in 1948 brought most of the country's hospitals into a single system, with free care at the point of delivery.

Poor relief was administered in a number of ways and changed over time. Before 1834, a mixed system of outdoor relief and accommodation within **workhouses** was operated. Early workhouses could be domestic in scale, especially in rural areas. The landmark change in provision for the poor came in 1834 with the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act. This, theoretically at least, replaced the earlier system of outdoor relief and compelled the indigent to enter a workhouses. Townships or parishes were grouped into Unions, some of which were able to take over existing workhouses, but others of which built a new workhouse to serve the union. Workhouses varied from the small, with an accommodation block and yards, to vast complexes in the main urban centres: that in Liverpool Brownlow Hill accommodated 3000 inmates. The administration of the poor law was deeply unpopular, in particular in the way that it split up families into male and female, adult and juvenile. Living

conditions within the workhouse were harsh, partly to discourage the system being abused and partly to reduce the financial burden on the ratepayers. Able-bodied inmates were expected to work in return for their place in the institution. Workhouses were in use well into the twentieth century, until and after the Government introduced a compulsory system of national unemployment insurance in 1911. The infirmaries attached to workhouses were very often taken over as public hospitals, and as different forms of support became available the workhouse buildings came in many cases to be used as institutions for housing the elderly and mentally handicapped. Modernisation of the health and social services in the middle decades of the 20th century led to the abandonment of many workhouses. Some have been converted to other uses, but many have been demolished.

Charitable institutions extended well beyond the provision of hospitals and provided support for the needy in a wide variety of ways. Dispensaries made medication available to the poorer levels of society, and sheltered accommodation was provided for different vulnerable groups such as prostitutes, orphans, the aged (in almshouses) and the homeless. Some form of education and moral instruction was provided for children in institutions like ragged schools, boys' and girls' clubs and industrial schools and for adults in the Young Men's Christian Association (founded in London in 1844) and the Young Women's Christian Association (founded in 1855). Some basic facilities like public laundries were also provided for the poor as an attempt to improve urban living conditions and prevent disease. Institutions for the blind and deaf were also built in some towns. The buildings of charitable institutions are sometimes large and impressive, but others are less conspicuous. Most have lost their original use and have been converted to new uses or demolished.

State of knowledge

The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England published two national surveys, of hospitals and workhouses, in the late 1990s (Richardson 1998 and Morrison 1999). These provide a national overview of architectural and design development and include sites in West Yorkshire. The archives underpinning the surveys are listed in the published volumes: records of 86 hospitals and 23 workhouses are held in the English Heritage Archive. The development of the two building types can, therefore, be regarded as being thoroughly understood. Information on individual workhouses and on the workings of the Poor Law is available online at www.workhouses.org.uk.

Charitable institutions are less well studied. Individual examples have attracted attention from historians as they are often copiously documented, and the relevant buildings are often illustrated in historical accounts. The number and location of institutional buildings, and the full range of the types which provided support for vulnerable sections of the community, was the subject of a study of Liverpool's charitable institutions (Giles 2008), but similar work has not been carried out in West Yorkshire. The closest which the county comes to an overview is Kevin Grady's work on Georgian public buildings, but this is both

far more wide ranging in its coverage and more restricted in its chronological coverage, largely leaving out the developments of the period of greatest urban growth (Grady 1989). There remains a lot to be learned about the functions and architecture of charitable institutions in West Yorkshire.

Condition of the resource

Technological, social and organisational changes have made historic hospitals, workhouses and charitable institutions very vulnerable. Continuing use over more than a century has brought many alterations and replacements, and survival of complete complexes is rare. Large hospital and workhouse complexes are favoured sites for redevelopment for housing or alternative institutional use: High Royds Hospital, Menston, has retained some hospital buildings, but the rest of the site has been used for new housing, and Storrs Hall Hospital, Kirkburton, has been converted to student accommodation. Few charitable institutions are used for their original purpose, and many have been converted to new uses or demolished.

Research priorities

The two published studies of what were, or rapidly came to be, relatively standard building types, with designs such as the pavilion plan becoming almost invariable across the country for some types of hospital, means that little new understanding about the broad lines of development is likely to emerge from further detailed recording of hospitals and workhouses. New research and recording will help to illustrate the place of individual institutions in the local landscape and in local life and build up a picture of county-wide provision for the sick and poor, but detailed building recording seems unlikely to change the established view of architectural development. Advice from the former RCHME, however, pointed to the potential interest of three hospital sites: Stanley Royd, Wakefield; Clayton Hospital, Bradford; and Castleford Cottage Hospital. Recording of these sites would fill gaps in knowledge and place these complexes within a national context. The technology employed in hospitals and workhouses, in heating, lighting, cooking and laundering, may offer scope for interesting research, especially when seen in the context of similar developments in different building types. A great deal of information on individual workhouses is available online at www.workhouses.org.uk.

Charitable institutions leave more scope for new research. The numbers, location and range of types have not been studied systematically on a county-wide or even town or city basis. Use of historic maps can identify locations and uses, and trade directories and local histories often provide detail of benefactors. Recording of individual buildings and of buildings within a study area can demonstrate their impact on the landscape and on the community at the time of their construction; the perceived need for institutional support; the role and purpose of different charitable organisations in improving welfare; and the social history of the area. The size of the buildings can also give an indication of the perceived scale of social problems, and architectural features

may illustrate paternalistic attitudes or empathy with the poor or sick. Research into charitable institutions, at a county scale or in the major towns and cities, would provide evidence important at a national scale for these themes.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Commemorative features

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Education

The institutions formed to advance education and provide social facilities are numerous and diverse. They were housed in a variety of building types: schools of different types, libraries, Mechanics' Institutes, assembly room and clubs. There is some overlap between this group and the buildings constructed by charitable institutions: for example, many early schools were maintained by charities and many charities such as the YMCA and YWCA provided educational facilities. A judgment has been made about the proper place to discuss such categories, although a case can be made for including some under alternative headings.

Schools and higher education buildings

Schools form the largest and most important category in this group of institutional buildings. The major towns of the early post-medieval period in West Yorkshire, as elsewhere, had grammar schools from the 16th century: Leeds Grammar School was founded in 1552, Heath Grammar School, Halifax, in 1585, and Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Wakefield, in 1591. Blue Coat and Green Coat charity schools were established in Leeds (1705) and Wakefield (1707) respectively, and religious denominations provided education for their adherents: the Quakers at Ackworth (1779) and the Moravians at Fulneck (1784-5) ran large and impressive schools. Wealthy benefactors could also fund schools: Lady Hastings of Ledston Hall built a school for girls in the village of Ledsham in the early 18th century.

Such charitable efforts were unable to satisfy the needs of an ever expanding population, and in the early 19th century the National and Lancasterian [should this be spelt "Lancastrian"] (later British) Societies were formed to extend basic education much more widely. The former promoted education according to the teachings of the Church of England, but the latter was non-denominational. In 1833 the Government provided grants to the two societies, with the result that across the country hundreds of new schools were built. They are found widely in West Yorkshire: the National School at Oldfield, Honley, was built in 1843, and the more famous one at Haworth, associated with the Bronte family, was built in 1832.

An important development in major cities in the mid-19th century was the establishment of 'Industrial' and 'Ragged Schools' run by charities and intended to provide education for the poorest and most vulnerable children, often with the purpose of training young people in a trade to reduce the danger of them resorting to crime for a livelihood. The same purpose was pursued by later institutions such as Boys Clubs' and Girls' Clubs. In Liverpool, at least four such clubs, funded by charitable donation, existed in the poorest parts of the city (Giles 2008, 000). Reformatory schools also existed, designed to keep child offenders out of prison and offer them a chance of learning a skill.

The most radical change to the system of publicly-funded education came with the Education Act of 1870. This authorised the establishment of School Boards for the construction and running of new schools where existing provision was deemed inadequate. In rural areas, the Boards might cover a single parish, but in the growing cities they could be responsible for the whole of the urban area. Some boards (Leeds) employed a salaried architect for the design of schools, but others (Bradford) used a number of different architects in private practice. Board schools, dating from the 1870s to 1902, thus show variety of style within a fairly standard set of functional needs. The template for school design was laid down as early as 1874 by E R Robson, Chief Architect for the London School Board, who published his ideas in *School Architecture*. Most Boards provided elementary education, but some also constructed 'Higher Grade' schools for more advanced schooling: in Bradford, the Feversham Street School was built to designs of Lockwood and Mawson in 1873, and in Leeds the Central Higher Grade School was opened in 1889 to designs by Birchall and Kelly.

Board Schools were taken over by local authorities in 1902. The main thrust of policy in the years before 1914 was the provision of secondary education, and the number of secondary schools almost quadrupled in these years in the country as a whole. With the expansion of education, a shortage of properly trained teachers rapidly became apparent, and local authorities began to found teachers' training colleges in the early years of the 20th century. The City of Leeds Training College was established in 1907 and moved to extensive new premises at Beckett Park in 1912. In the interwar period large numbers of new schools were built to serve the populations of the growing suburbs, a process that continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the designs of schools in this period reflecting the ever-changing ideas on education and new methods of low-cost design and construction.

A significant development in the provision of education in the late 19th century was the construction of technical colleges, in West Yorkshire intended to train the engineers and technicians required by local industry. In Leeds, the Yorkshire College, founded in 1874, had the aim of supplying 'an urgent and recognised want, viz. instruction in those sciences which are applicable to the industrial arts' (Linstrum 1978, 262). Bradford (1880-2), Huddersfield (1881-4) and Halifax (1895) all followed Leeds' example and built technical schools. For the Leeds College, it became just a short step to attain university status, formerly granted by charter in 1904. The buildings of the technical colleges and of the incipient university are among the largest and most impressive structures of the age.

State of knowledge

The development of school architecture is well understood at a national level. The most comprehensive studies are those by Seaborne (1971) and Seaborne and Lowe (1977), and an authoritative summary account is provided in Harwood 2010.

Histories of many individual schools, especially the larger and more prestigious like Leeds Grammar School, have been published (see Linstrum 1978, notes). A lavish publication celebrating the centenary of the City of Leeds Training College at Beckett Park was published in 2007 (Beckett 2007).

The variety in school provision and design is less well studied. Harwood makes clear that School Boards differed in their approach, with the result that, within an area such as West Yorkshire, and often within the area of a single School Board, different architectural styles and designs can be found. Some are very clearly identified with a particular town or Board area. Linstrum (1978, 237-68) provides an excellent overview of school architecture in West Yorkshire, noting the differences within the county, but his study is not comprehensive.

Condition of the resource

Historic schools are a highly vulnerable category of building. If still in educational use, they are subject to alteration to accommodate the latest technical and educational needs. The most recent manifestations of this were the *Building Schools for the Future* programme introduced in 2005 and the *Primary Capital Programme* begun in 2007. Both schemes have now been abandoned, but the drive to provide the most modern educational facilities, often in new schools at both primary and secondary level, will continue, albeit at a less concerted level. This raises the question about the future of historic school buildings. English Heritage has provided guidance on how historic schools might be sensitively converted, either for modern educational uses or to new purposes: the existence of the guidance is an indication of the level of threat to this category of building.

Research priorities

Although the broad lines of the architectural development of schools are well understood, there is potential for further research. Linstrum's county-wide discussion (1978) is broad ranging and full of ideas but is necessarily highly selective in its coverage, leaving scope for the development of some of his themes in greater detail. The provision of education before 1870 can be studied through the schools of the period, with contrasts between the Church of England National Schools and the nondenominational British Schools, and between these schools and the more exclusive establishments built by the established and Nonconformist churches and by major wealthy charities. The architectural evidence for the provision of education for the very poorest children in Industrial, Ragged and reformatory schools in West Yorkshire remains to be studied, and this is an important aspect of the social history of the county's major towns.

The incidence of denominational school building after 1870 demonstrates the efforts of the different faiths to obviate the need for a non-denominational school board. The planning of different types of school, from the simple early grammar schools and National schools to the more complex arrangements at the later

grammar schools and larger Board schools, has not been extensively studied at a county level. Study of the relationship between the design of the larger 19th century grammar schools and that of English public schools would demonstrate the image that the schools wished to project to attract pupils. For the Board schools, the relationship of school plans to nationally accepted norms would be a useful means of gauging the effectiveness of central influence on local policy. A comparative study of the policy of the local boards within West Yorkshire would illustrate how boards adopted different forms and styles and assess the extent to which each board strove to create a distinct identity.

In summary, there is great scope for the study of the variety of schools within West Yorkshire over the centuries (but particularly in the 19th century) and for study of the relationship between West Yorkshire's school buildings and those of the country as a whole. Authoritative material exists to allow this comparative approach, but West Yorkshire's evidence has yet to be set extensively within a national context.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Fenestration
- Play facilities

Mechanics' Institutes

Mechanics' Institutes were constructed in the major towns of the county in the middle decades of the 19th century. They were intended to provide education for working people, and offered lectures, courses on different subjects, a library and a meeting room. Some were founded by philanthropic industrialists, but others were established by working people acting on their own initiative and seeking a means of selfimprovement (and social advancement) through education (Linstrum 1978, 252-6). All of West Yorkshire's major towns came to have a Mechanics' Institute. Some were very impressive buildings: that at Halifax (1857) was designed by Lockwood and Mawson and funded by John Crossley, the wealthy carpet manufacturer; the huge institute in Leeds (1865-8) was designed by Cuthbert Broderick, architect of the nearby Town Hall; and at Saltaire, the Institute, funded by Sir Titus Salt, was another Lockwood and Mawson design. The last building contained a reading room, a library, a hall seating 800, a lecture room, two art rooms, a laboratory and a gymnasium (Linstrum 1978, 256). Smaller settlements might also have an Institute: at Haworth, for example, the Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1848-9.

State of knowledge

No comprehensive county-wide study of West Yorkshire's Mechanics' Institutes has been undertaken. The pioneering history of the movement, Mable Tylecote's 1951 publication, focuses on Lancashire and Yorkshire but takes the story only up to 1851. Linstrum (1978, 252-6) gives details of the major buildings but provides little detail about what facilities they contained. It is not known how many Mechanics' Institutes existed and remain today in West Yorkshire. The Images of England online database includes ten listed Mechanics' Institutes in the county, most being free-standing dedicated structures both some being contained within other buildings (for example, Batley Town Hall). There are certainly more than this number in the county, some no longer identified as Mechanics' Institutes (Leeds Civic Hall) and therefore escaping detection, others, like Haworth's, unlisted.

Well-known as a phenomenon and individually as prominent features of the urban scene, their number, dates of construction and internal accommodation are not fully understood.

Condition of the resource

Mechanics' Institutes have long ceased to function for their original purpose but many have found new uses. Broderick's Institute is now the home of Leeds City Museum, Wakefield's (built originally as a Library and Newsroom) housed Wakefield Museum for many years, and Guiseley's is now used as a public library. As substantial buildings in town and city centres, alternative uses have generally been found, but internal features such as plan and fittings may be at risk on conversion.

Research priorities

This historically important building type offers potential for new research. It includes buildings of different dates and different degrees of complexity, and the size and elaboration of the buildings are an indication of the status afforded to the institution. Internal change will in all likelihood make it difficult to reconstruct the precise function of some rooms, but the general level of accommodation may be used as an indication of an Institute's facilities. Recording of the buildings should be accompanied by documentary research to establish dates of construction, the initiators of the project, facilities offered, and operational history. The overall aims of new research should be to expand and if necessary modify the story told by Tylecote for the pre-1851 period, extending this both chronologically and in depth of coverage, and to add an architectural component to the evidence by establishing the range of forms and facilities offered by the county's Institutes. Such research would make a major contribution to the national story of this building type.

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Cultural and social buildings

This is a diverse category of building, including libraries, both private and public; museums and galleries; places of entertainment such as assembly rooms and concert halls; and associational buildings such as political clubs and masonic halls.

Libraries

Libraries are an ancient building type, being known from the Classical world. In England, libraries were generated and maintained by religious institutions in the Middle Ages and by the early university colleges. The country's earliest surviving public library is that at Chethams, Manchester, founded in 1653 by a wealthy textiles merchant and forming part of Chetham's School. Provision of libraries for the public increased in the 18th century with the development of circulating and subscription libraries, catering for an increasingly literate middle-class market. Some were private institutions, others were run on commercial lines and could be used by the public. The Leeds Library was founded in 1768 as a private subscription library, and Halifax had two libraries, founded in 1769 and 1823 (Hargreaves 1999, 85). The increasingly numerous learned societies founded to advance knowledge commonly maintained libraries for members: the Yorkshire Archaeological Society was formed in 1863, and the Thoresby Society in 1889, and both collected books from their earliest years. The establishment of colleges and universities created the need for more libraries: at the University of Leeds, a large library was included in the new buildings of 1884, and provision was expanded in 1936 with the opening of the circular Brotherton Library. Some denominations maintained libraries for their members: the Society of Friends built a library behind their meeting house in Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, in 1860 (PRN10621).

Access to libraries by the public was extended after the passing of the Public Libraries Acts of 1850, 1855 and 1867, which progressively empowered local authorities to establish facilities free of charge to the public. The Acts resulted in the construction of public libraries in all towns: the service came to be accepted as the proper responsibility of local government. In Leeds, the palatial public library of 1878-84 shares the Municipal Buildings with municipal offices. Smaller branch libraries were sometimes housed within multi-purpose municipal buildings: that at Chapel Allerton (PRN8762) shares a building with a police station, that at Woodhouse Lane, Leeds (PRN10931) with a police and fire station, and that at York Road, Leeds (PRN10926) with public baths. A major impetus to library construction was the charitable assistance rendered by Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), the Scottish-American steel magnate, who used his wealth to promote literacy by assisting in the costs of building libraries. Over 600 'Carnegie Libraries' were built in Britain and Ireland: seven are known in West Yorkshire.

Library construction continued throughout the 20th century to provide facilities for the populations of new suburbs.

State of knowledge

The general development of library architecture has been set out in Black, Pepper and Bradshaw 2009. What is less well known at a more local level is the history of library services within West Yorkshire. Uncharacteristically, Linstrum (1978) has little discussion of the building type within the county. The foundation of early private libraries is usually mentioned in individual town histories as indications of the development of a literate and cultured society and as ornaments to the urban scene. Similarly, the construction of central libraries in the major towns is commonly recorded in town histories. The architecture of these buildings, however, has not been systematically studied at a general level within the county, so its relationship to national trends has not been clearly articulated. This is even more the case with the smaller branch libraries of the major towns and of libraries in the smaller towns. Again, the fact of construction may be known in many cases, but a general view of the progress of library building and of the associated architecture in the smaller settlements across the county has not been studied.

Condition of the resource

The surviving private libraries are often housed in accommodation adapted from other uses: the YAS library, for example, occupies part of a suburban villa in Leeds. Leeds Library occupies a purpose-built Georgian building in Commercial Street and is not considered to be under threat. Higher education libraries are responding to new technology and may be altered or extended to take account of this and of changing needs. The main threat to libraries is faced by public libraries, both in central locations and in suburban areas of towns and cities. The library service as a whole is facing severe financial difficulties and local authority funding cuts threaten the continued operation of many facilities. Some communities have maintained their libraries by voluntary effort. Where investment has taken place, changes to libraries often involve the loss of fixtures and fittings.

Research priorities

There is scope for further research on West Yorkshire's libraries. No library is known to survive in the county from before 1800: the Leeds Library (PRN10776) is the earliest library here, dating from 1808. It is likely that research into early private libraries will be undertaken using documentary rather than architectural evidence, although any surviving buildings of this type may yield important evidence of the date of construction, the styles employed, the impact on the urban scene and on cultural life, and of the facilities provided for members.

Public libraries offer more opportunities to harness architectural evidence to the study of the provision of library services in the county's towns and cities. The

existence or former existence of branch libraries will offer insights into the development of local communities and of municipal responsibility for free library services. The degree to which different authorities adopted different styles would emerge from comparative study, and examination of symbolism and decoration in public libraries would indicate the purpose of the architect and authorities in the design and analysis of building plans would help to illuminate changing strategies of control and access. Although original furniture and fittings are unlikely to survive in municipal branch libraries, early photographs (often held by the libraries themselves) can establish how the library was used by both staff and the public. Original architect's plans for libraries will often be located in archive collections of building plans submitted to local authorities for approval. Memorial plaques in the library buildings are sometimes the most straightforward means of establishing dates of construction and the role of benefactors such as Andrew Carnegie. Alterations to library buildings will illustrate changing perceptions about access and the range of facilities on offer to the public.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Original or early fixtures and fittings (shelving, control desks, etc)
- Commemorative features

Public and associational meeting halls: assembly rooms, concert halls, museums and galleries, clubs

The growth of towns in the post-medieval period and the increasing wealth and sophistication of the urban elite led to what has been called an 'urban renaissance' (Borsay 1991). This renaissance found expression in the flourishing of culture and polite entertainment and in the foundation of learned societies and associations. Wider political engagement, especially in the 19th century, created the demand for public meeting halls where the burning issues of the age could be debated (Peers 2012). Some of the finest buildings of the age were constructed to accommodate these new cultural manifestations: these buildings often formed the image of the town, expressing the civic pride of the increasingly powerful commercial and industrial plutocracy.

For centuries, public entertainment had been accommodated in large rooms in inns. The Talbot Inn, Halifax, had an assembly room in the 18th century, used for theatrical performances: other inns in the town put on plays in the inn yards (Hargreaves 1999, 83). In Leeds, the first White Cloth Hall in Kirkgate, opened in 1711, was used for assemblies. During the 18th and early 19th centuries, however, large numbers of special-purpose buildings were constructed in West Yorkshire's towns. Leeds and Wakefield led the way. In Leeds, assembly rooms (1726), a concert hall (1767), another assembly room (1775-7), a music hall (1792-3), a commercial newsroom (1806), a Philosophical Hall (1819) and

another concert hall and newsroom (1826-9) were new adornments to the town. Wakefield had assembly rooms (1727, 1793) and a public hall and music room (1821) (Grady 1989, 161-79, Linstrum 1978, 332). Other towns followed close behind: in Halifax, New Assembly and Concert Rooms were built in 1828 to replace the facilities at the Talbot, and a Literary and Philosophical Hall was built in 1834 (Hargreaves 1999, 84; Grady 1989, 157). The scale of public buildings changed in the middle of the 19th century. Bradford's St George's Hall (1851-3) accommodated over 3000 people in its concert room, and Leeds matched that in Broderick's Town Hall, the largest part of which comprised a meeting or concert hall.

The role of local government in cultural education expanded in the mid-19th century when they were empowered to build museums and galleries. This led to the construction of new buildings, the most striking being the Art Gallery which forms part of the Municipal Buildings in Leeds (1888), and Cartwright Hall, Manningham (1900-04), funded by Samuel Cunliffe Lister but operated by the Corporation (Wrathmell 2005, 78-9; Leach and Pevsner 2009, 172).

Late in the century, the principal political parties (Conservative and Liberal) built clubs in the major towns: in Leeds, the Liberal Club, Quebec Street (1890), is a palatial structure, and Bradford's equivalent (1876-7, Lockwood and Mawson), in Kirkgate, has been described as 'a festive but still restrained Italianate' (Wrathmell 2005, 109-10; Leach and Pevsner 2009, 157). Working men's clubs developed to provide social facilities for the industrial workforce. Dewsbury Club and Institute (PRN9481) was built in 1883 and provided a billiard room, coffee room, bar and committee room. Sometimes funded by employers, working men's clubs tend to be small in scale and modest in architectural pretension.

The chosen style for almost all public buildings in this category was Classical. The buildings provided a show of sophistication and the largest had a grandeur which captured the contemporary spirit of confidence.

State of knowledge

Most buildings in this category have attracted considerable amounts of research by virtue of the importance of both the functions and institutions which they housed and their architecture. Both individually and as a group, their history is well researched. For Georgian buildings, Grady's work (1989) provides extensive discussion and a Gazetteer of sites in West Yorkshire's towns. Linstrum (1978, 329-68) sets many of the individual buildings in a broader context and discusses the design and construction of some of the principal structures. Descriptions of many of the buildings is included in the recent volumes in the Pevsner Architectural Guides and Buildings of England series (Wrathmell 2005; Leach and Pevsner 2009).

Condition of the resource

Many early assembly rooms and associational buildings fell out of use in the 19th and 20th centuries and have been lost and are known only through documentary evidence.

The earliest surviving buildings in this category are the First White Cloth Hall in Kirkgate, Leeds, used as an assembly room; the assembly room which formed part of

Leeds' Third White Cloth Hall (1776-7); and Wakefield's Assembly Room, Crown Street, dating from 1798-1801 (Wrathmell 2005, 104: ASWYAS report 2065). These and later buildings in this category have generally high levels of protection through listing, but few are now used for their original purpose. Alteration represents the major threat to these buildings.

Research priorities

Grady (1989) provides an extensive gazetteer of Georgian public buildings in the county and can be used as an introduction to the subject as a whole in the Georgian period and as a guide to what is known about individual buildings. No buildings dating from after 1840 are included, however, although Linstrum (1978), Wrathmell

(2005) and Leach and Pevsner (2009) identify and describe most of the later structures. There is scope for more detailed analysis of the buildings as a group rather than as individual structures.

The emphasis within published work is on architectural style. Detailed study of individual buildings would help to build up a better understanding of how they were used and of what functions they housed. Research might therefore usefully focus on circulation patterns and the relationship between 'public' and 'service' elements within a building. There is also scope for studying how different local authorities responded to the opportunities made available to them by the extension of their powers from the mid-19th century: how commonly was provision made for public meeting and cultural education?

One building type - the political club - has received little specific attention and would merit further research into affiliations, dates of construction, and facilities provided. These buildings were the power bases of the political elites, and are important in the development of political activity and of networks of influence in West Yorkshire's towns. Masonic lodges have the same potential for study.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Decorative schemes
- Commemorative features

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Military buildings (pre-1914): barracks and drill halls

This is a minor category of building in West Yorkshire: there were army barracks at Bradford, Wetherby and Leeds before 1850, and barracks at Pontefract and Halifax were founded as part the Cardwell 'localization' reforms of the 1870s (Douet 1998, 117, 168).

Drill halls were built in the late 19th century in many West Yorkshire towns to provide training facilities for reserve forces. The larger buildings provide office and social facilities as well as a main training hall. Most drill halls are substantially constructed with a modest degree of architectural distinction. One of the earliest is the gatehouse in Pontefract, which was the entrance to the depot of the Pontefract Corps of the West Yorkshire Rifle Volunteers.

West Yorkshire has many landscape features connected with post-medieval military activity, including Civil War battlefields and defences and 20th century training grounds. Buildings associated with military activity and civil defence during the 20th century are listed on the Defence of Britain database and are not considered here.

State of knowledge

Douet's national survey (1998) provides detailed understanding of the development of barracks. Drill halls are less well studied as a group, being smaller, more difficult to identify and much more numerous, but the Drill Hall Project has compiled a database of known examples throughout the country. West Yorkshire figures prominently in the database, with both simple buildings (Haworth) and large and elaborate structures (Halifax Prescott Street). Leeds had seven drill halls.

Condition of the resource

Only small parts of the Pontefract barracks survive, but the Wellesley Barracks at Halifax retains substantial parts of the Cardwell phase of construction. The barracks at Wetherby (in fact, Micklethwaite township) remains as a single large pedimented building, thought to have contained stables and barracks accommodation, of c.1800.

Many drill halls have been demolished or converted to new uses. They are adaptable to a wide range of other purposes, from light industrial to office to meeting hall to apartments. When they occupy sites with development potential, their small scale makes them vulnerable. Their post-1840 date means that they rarely meet the criteria for listing: the Prescott Street, Halifax, drill hall has statutory protection as has the Pontefract gatehouse.

Research priorities

Douet's work on barracks has provided a good understanding of national developments, and the West Yorkshire localization-period barracks at Halifax and Pontefract fit well within this general context, exhibiting typical features of planning and design. The barracks at Micklethwaite, however, lacks a good context, and it would be interesting to understand more about this building: it is an early barracks building, and its purpose appears not to be fully understood. Leach and Pevsner (752) describe it as the former stables to Wetherby Grange, perhaps by James Wyatt, 1793, but the list entry describes it as a stables block and barracks.

Drill halls are generally simple buildings in form but the details of interior arrangements are often unclear. Recording of drill halls should attempt to establish the uses of the different areas within the building. The existence of the continuing Drill Halls Project, with its online database, suggests that the lead in research should remain with this project. Development of the subject of drill halls could take two forms: firstly, records made under the terms of planning conditions should be incorporated within the Drill Hall Project's database; and, secondly, the HER could be enhanced by adding the records of the Drill Halls Project to the archive.

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Leisure, sport and entertainment

This category of site is diverse, including theatres, music halls, cinemas, sporting facilities, pubs and temperance buildings. There is some overlap between some building types within this category and those within the Cultural Institutions category: for example, theatres and temperance buildings might fit appropriately in either category but have been placed within the current category to give a better overview of this subject area.

Theatres, music halls and cinemas

Early theatrical performances were held in inns, either in the open yards or in a large room, or in other buildings capable of providing space for the audience and the actors. Purpose-built theatres began to be constructed in West Yorkshire in the last decades of the eighteenth century: at Leeds in 1771, at Wakefield in 1775-6 and at Halifax in 1789-90. The Leeds building could accommodate 600-700 people, Wakefield's capacity was said to be 1000, but Halifax's appears to have been smaller. Theatres were peculiarly subject to destruction by fire, but the better construction techniques in use after about 1860 has allowed later buildings to survive. The earliest theatre (more properly, music hall) in the county may be the City Varieties, Leeds, of 1865: the Leeds Grand Theatre dates from the following decade. The 1890s saw many new theatres being built (Opera House, Wakefield, 1894; Queen's, Leeds, 1898; Empire Palace, Bradford, 1899, etc), with the leading theatre architect of the period, Frank

Matcham, providing designs for a number of them (in Wakefield, Keighley and Leeds). Matcham's most ambitious development was the Empire Palace, Leeds, of 1903: as well as the theatre, this included a restaurant, shops and the County Arcade.

Cinemas came to rival theatres and music halls as a venue for entertainment in the first decade of the 20th century. Over 4000 were built in England before 1914. Early (pre-1914) cinemas rarely survive, however, although West Yorkshire has a number of important examples. Construction continued after the First World War, both in town centres and in the growing suburbs. The central cinemas could be very large, but those in the suburbs were often much smaller.

State of knowledge

The history and architectural development of theatres and cinemas nationally are well understood (see Bibliography in the English Heritage Listing selection guide, website below). For theatres in West Yorkshire, Linstrum (1978, 269-80) provides an excellent overview of the architecture of some of the county's major buildings, although his coverage is selective. Lesser theatres tend to be more poorly documented, although their important role in local cultural life, and sometimes their architectural qualities, are likely to have attracted research into individual structures. Cinemas are similarly well covered, with detailed studies of the architecture of the main cinema companies for the period from the 1930s on. As with theatres, however, attention has focused on the major works of architecture rather than on the less prominent smaller cinemas. The Cinema-Theatres Association maintains an archive of cinemas across the country and publishes a journal (*Picture House*) containing new research into cinema history and individual cinemas.

Condition of the resource

Theatres and cinemas struggled to survive in the post-World War Two period, the advent of television and reduced funding for the arts causing many to close. Conversion to new uses, such as bingo halls, can involve the removal of important internal fixtures and fittings and the loss of original character. Where buildings survive in their original use, the retention of original features adds to the experience of attending a play or film showing.

The conservation of theatres and cinemas has become a cause promoted by special interest groups, The Theatres Trust and The Cinema Theatre Association, both of which have websites.

Research priorities

The architectural development of theatres and cinemas is well understood at a general level and the leading theatre architect, Frank Matcham, has been the subject of two publications (Walker 1980; Wilmore 2008). Planning and decoration have received attention, but the technological aspects of performing plays and showing films may have scope for further study. For both theatres and cinemas, more detailed knowledge of the dates, numbers and locations of buildings within West Yorkshire would help to build up a picture of how the entertainment industry developed and of how it contributed to local cultural life. The architectural impact of the buildings on the local scene is also worthy of study, for theatres and, especially, cinemas could introduce the exotic or extravagant in otherwise mundane environments.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Decorative schemes
- Technology: lighting, heating, stage mechanics, projection

Sporting facilities

Special-purpose buildings for sports are a relatively modern phenomenon. Open air sports at first required no buildings for spectators or participants. Racecourses may have been the first to provide buildings, in the form of grandstands and stables. The growth of towns and cities in the 19th century encouraged mass attendance at sporting events, and stadia were provided for football, rugby and cricket clubs. Individual participation in sport or exercise was facilitated by the construction of swimming baths. An Act of 1846 'to encourage the establishment of Public Baths and Washhouses' empowered local authorities to use public funds for the provision of baths, but municipal investment was not the only means of providing this facility, for private companies took on the responsibility where the local authority declined to take

up the powers conferred by the Act. By the late 19th century, however, most municipal authorities had made some provision, persuaded by the demonstrable health benefits which resulted from a fitter, cleaner population. The late-19th century public swimming baths were often complex in design and in the range of facilities which they offered: separate baths and changing rooms for men and women; wash-rooms for clothes; and luxury services such as Turkish baths.

State of knowledge

In recent years English Heritage has recognised the significance of sporting facilities in the lives of communities and has published a number of studies of football stadia and other sporting facilities (see Played in Britain website, below). Swimming baths have been the subject of a recent published study (Gordon and Inglis 2009): this lists 23 historic swimming baths in West Yorkshire, all but four dating from the pre-1914 period.

Condition of the resource

As a result of changing regulations and the desire for better facilities, most early (pre-1914) stadia have been replaced by more modern structures. The fire at Bradford City's Valley Parade ground in 1985 took hold in a stand built in 1911: the stand had timber floorboards and roof, and fire spread quickly, killing fifty-six spectators. The Hillsborough disaster of 1989, when 96 Liverpool supporters were crushed to death, led to the introduction of all-seater stadia in place of the traditional open terraces. Most stadia of professional clubs are, therefore, likely to retain little early fabric.

Municipal swimming baths have become a highly vulnerable building type in recent decades. Outdated facilities and expensive maintenance of sometimes large and elaborate buildings have made them targets for replacement by modern buildings. The list of West Yorkshire swimming baths in Gordon and Inglis 2009 includes many which are noted as closed, converted to new uses, scheduled for closure, 'future under discussion', 'to be demolished', or derelict.

Research priorities

The HER does not allow the extent of municipal provision of swimming baths in West Yorkshire to be established: the directory of sites published in Gordon and Inglis (2009), with its twenty-three sites in the county, is likely to be incomplete. Nor does the HER provide any detail of the types of facilities provided by swimming baths. Gordon and Inglis include case studies of four West Yorkshire baths (Halifax; Crossley Heath School; Batley; Bramley). It would be interesting to place these in a broader context by further research into the building type in the county. It is likely that research at a county level will provide a great deal more detailed information and understanding of the facilities offered in both public and private baths and that more will be learned about funding

mechanisms (including philanthropy) and the policies of different local authorities in reaction to the 1846 Act and later enabling measure. Comparison of West Yorkshire evidence with wider national developments will allow the local evidence to be seen in a broader context.

It is not likely that research into the fabric of the major sporting stadia in West Yorkshire will produce a great deal of evidence, in terms of standing buildings, of pre-1914 facilities for clubs and spectators. It is possible, however, that stadia belonging to smaller clubs retain pre-1914 structures.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Commemorative features
- Decorative features
- Technology: heating, lighting

Public parks

Public parks are important parts of the historic and natural environments. They should be considered as designed landscapes and lie outside the scope of this review of historic buildings, although of course parks usually contain buildings such as pavilions, bandstands and lodges. The following brief review is intended to highlight the need for the development of a more detailed research agenda for West Yorkshire's parks.

As towns grew in the nineteenth century, access to open space and clean air became more restricted, especially to the poorer members of urban society. The threat of diseases such as cholera and typhus prompted speculative, philanthropic and official action to provide parks where the urban population could get exercise and fresh air. The first public park in the country was in Birkenhead, opened in 1847 and designed by Joseph Paxton, and most northern industrial towns followed this example in the middle and later decades of the century. The provision of parks by municipal authorities was often part of a wider scheme of urban development, with prestigious housing planned around the park perimeter in new green suburbs, profits from the sale of house plots helping to finance the laying out of the park.

State of knowledge

The study of public parks and designed landscapes has increased significantly in recent decades. An overview of the state of knowledge, nationally and internationally, and of research priorities in England has been produced by Dr Katy Layton-Jones for English Heritage, and this provides a detailed account of

research drivers and needs, academic approaches, and research directions (Layton-Jones 2013). In terms of published literature, Hazel Conway's national overview of public park development (1991) remains the standard and most accessible work on the subject. The history of parks in Liverpool was the subject of a recent publication (Layton-Jones and Lee 2008), and numerous parks have been the subject of dedicated studies. There is no published or unpublished overview of the history of public park provision in West Yorkshire, although Linstrom (1978) includes discussion of individual parks such as Roundhay Park, Leeds, and McGill has provided a detailed study of public park provision in Keighley (MacGill 2007).

Condition of the resource

Public parks have become a major conservation issue in recent decades due in part to funding difficulties on the part of local authorities. National schemes such as 'Green Flag' have helped to raise awareness of the importance of parks and considerable efforts have been made to change the perception of parks as unsafe environments. The cause of public parks is promoted vigorously by national societies such as the Garden History Society.

Research priorities

Because parks are an important aspect of the historic environment, they merit research attention. The research priorities identified at a national scale by Dr Katy Layton-Jones for English Heritage include the following:

- Develop a typology of parks and open spaces
- Investigate the changing use of parks and public attitudes towards them
- Widen the coverage of research to redress the London-centric imbalance in research and in the English Heritage Register of Historic Parks
- Investigate the 20th-century history of parks, especially that of the post-World War Two era, using a regional pilot to set out the major issues

An overview of the history of public park provision in West Yorkshire would be of great value in contributing new evidence relating to these priorities and would provide contextual understanding of individual parks within the county. The design of parks & the provision of facilities can be related to an underlying ethos. At Saltaire Park there were two bowling greens, a croquet lawn as well as a cricket ground. The educational function of the park is described in a book of 1995, which includes that the plants were labelled with the intention of encouraging the "acquisition of botanical knowledge." (Anon, 1895, pp24, 29)

Using these priorities as a starting point, research into West Yorkshire's parks should establish:

- Where and when parks were laid out
- The different types of park and open space provided in the county's towns

- The philosophy and funding mechanisms behind their provision
- The landscape architects responsible for design
- The changes of use represented by evolving provision of facilities
- Maintenance regimes, policing and nursery provision
- The significance of individual parks based on their design, origin and special features.

Public houses and temperance halls and hotels

Provision of facilities for drinking alcohol changed in the nineteenth century following the passing of the Beer Act in 1830. This sought to reduce the consumption of gin by promoting beer as an alternative, and many public houses were established to cater for demand. Licensing of premises provided a measure of control and pubs became a very common feature of the English landscape, both in towns and the countryside. Many pubs were tied to or owned by the large brewing companies which developed in the nineteenth century: some companies adopted a distinct house style in the architecture of their pubs. Temperance halls and hotels were a reaction to the problem of excessive drinking and were designed to offer an alternative venue for socializing for the working man through the provision of a meeting room, sometimes with a library or reading room. In this, they replicated the facilities of Mechanics' Institutes (see Institutions: education). Developing first in the 1830s, the temperance movement saw the need to offer refreshment, and non-alcoholic drinks were served in coffee houses or 'coffee pubs' and cocoa houses. Temperance hotels allowed the travelling public to stay in premises where alcohol was not served.

State of knowledge

The history of the architecture of pubs and the temperance movement has been extensively studied in recent years and is well understood at a national level through publications by Brandwood (2011) and Davison (2010). The Campaign for Real Ale maintains a website with a database of historic pubs. A study of Yorkshire 'real heritage' pubs provides brief details of 51 historic pubs in West Yorkshire (Gamston 2011).

Condition of the resource

Pubs are a highly threatened category of building due to changes in society and the brewing industry. Pub closures have become very common, and changing marketing has caused the refurbishment of many traditional pubs to meet the perceived tastes of a mainly young clientele (including those with surviving compartmentalized interiors. The different rooms within the pub were aimed at different groups of people, with subtle variations in the social status of those who drank there. Skilled workers might drink in the better rooms and historically the price of drinks might vary according to the room in which they were served. The use of obscured glass, both externally and within the different spaces in the bar, offered privacy for those drinking there.). CAMRA's promotion of

historic pubs has helped to increase appreciation of pub architecture and has led to better protection through listing, but this protection extends only to a small proportion of buildings which display important historic features. Buildings of the temperance movement are equally threatened by social and economic change. Few now serve their original purpose: that in Keighley is now a pub, and many halls and coffee houses have been turned to other uses, their former purpose often forgotten.

Research priorities

The existence of a definitive national study (Brandwood 2011) and of a considerable archive of West Yorkshire material generated by the CAMRA survey demonstrates that public houses are well understood as a building type both locally and more widely. The potential exists to use existing archive material and new research to explore aspects of the subject of pub architecture such as the demise of on-site brewing or the different uses of space within compartmentalized public houses.. Gamston (2011) raises some interesting questions: why did Yorkshire brewers not produce grand pubs on the scale of some found elsewhere; and how does the chronology of pub building in West Yorkshire compare to wider patterns? The architectural styles employed by different brewery companies might also be a fruitful topic for research.

Despite the existence of an excellent overview of the subject (Davison 2010), temperance buildings are less well-known. Their numbers, distribution, dates and types within West Yorkshire could form an important subject for study, especially as West Yorkshire was one of the pioneering areas for the movement.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Decorative schemes
- Cellar technology
- Associated brewing facilities (for some public houses)

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Commercial buildings

This is a diverse category of building, including cloth halls, exchanges, warehouses, market halls, shops, banks, offices and inns and hotels.

Cloth halls and wool exchanges

Cloth halls lay at the centre of West Yorkshire's commercial life for many centuries, from the date of the earliest known halls - those of the mid 16th century in Heptonstall and Halifax - to their demise in the mid 19th century. Leeds (4), Wakefield (2), Gomersal, Huddersfield and Bradford all provided themselves with cloth halls before the end of the 18th century. Leeds had the largest, the Third White Cloth Hall of 1774 having over 1200 stalls for local woollen manufacturers and, in an upper storey on one side of the trapezoidal plan, a large assembly room. The Halifax Piece Hall, opened in 1779, was built by worsted manufacturers and had 315 rooms arranged in two and three-storeyed ranges around a quadrangle.

Changes in marketing of woollen and worsted cloth in the mid 19th century caused the abandonment of the cloth halls in favour of direct sales from warehouses. Most of the cloth halls found a new use for a period, but intense pressure on urban space ultimately caused their demolition in Huddersfield, Wakefield and Bradford, the entrance of that from Huddersfield being re-erected in a public park as a monument. Leeds retains its First White Cloth Hall, rediscovered in the 1980s in a much altered complex of buildings in Kirkgate, and a small part of the Third White Cloth Hall, but the only complete survival of the building type is the Piece Hall of Halifax, probably the most architecturally distinguished building in the group.

The marketing of wool developed in the course of the 19th century. For centuries, Wakefield and Leeds had been the main centres for the buying and selling of wool, but the immense demands of the Bradford industry by the mid-19th century justified the construction of the Wool Exchange building in 1864-7. The principal component of the building is a large hall used for trading.

State of knowledge

As buildings of central importance in the economy of the county, cloth halls have been extensively researched and figure prominently in publications on the county's textile industry and architecture (for example, Linstrum 1978, 281-308). A publication on Halifax's Piece Hall (Smithies 1988) provides a history of the building type in West Yorkshire and discussion of most of the major buildings. Further detailed study of the construction of the Piece Hall has been undertaken as a preliminary to redevelopment, and this has provided in-depth discussion of the building process.

Research priorities

The architectural character, function and wider context of West Yorkshire's surviving cloth halls are generally well known but there is scope for more detailed fabric analysis of and documentary research into the First and Third White Cloth Halls in Leeds, especially considering the relationship between the trading spaces and the associated accommodation for assemblies. Similarly, more detailed research into the plan and workings of the Bradford Wool Exchange would illuminate mid-19th century ideas on what was required for the buying and selling of raw materials.

Warehouses (excluding warehouses in mills, factories and transport infrastructure: see industrial research strategy)

Warehouses are a very prominent feature of West Yorkshire towns, largely but not exclusively serving the region's textile industry. Surviving warehouses cover a wide date range: some timber-framed warehouses in Leeds (Lambert's Arcade, PRN10628; Packhorse Inn, PRN 10811) may date to the 16th century, warehouses in the yards off Westgate in Wakefield may date from the 18th century, but the main period of construction was the mid and late 19th century. The West Yorkshire textile towns often have warehouse quarters, with dense clusters of buildings, sometimes close to the railway station (Batley, Dewsbury, Huddersfield, Little Germany) but elsewhere a little distance away (Bradford Road, Dewsbury).

Warehouses have the simple function of storing goods. Their design is correspondingly simple: the requirements are clear areas for storage and access for loading and unloading through taking-in doors on each floor. There is therefore little change to design over the centuries, but structural forms and architectural dressing evolve according to date and location. Early warehouses in Leeds, hidden in yards off the central streets, are timber-framed and utilitarian. Association with a house, of a merchant or tradesman, is an important aspect of early urban warehouses: the house might form a frontage to a principal street, with the warehouse relegated either to a rear yard or to the back of the plot, where it might be accessed from a back lane or minor street. Even the most prestigious developments showed this mixed character: the Park Row and Park Square area of Leeds, developed in the late 18th century, had warehouses behind the town houses on the principal frontages (Beresford 1988, 15961). Later warehouses lack this domestic association and generally stand alone on their plot. They are stone or brick-built and, if in a prominent location and advertising the company, elaborate in architectural treatment: the apogee of this development is reached in Little Germany, Bradford, and at St Paul's House, St Paul's Square, Leeds, the latter built in brick for John Barran in 1878 in Hispano-Moorish style (Linstrum 1978, 298-308). Timber-floored construction continued to be the habitual structural form: fireproof construction

is rare. A key feature of design is the introduction of fireproof stair compartments providing a safe means of egress in case of fire: this is a feature of many warehouses in Little Germany of the middle decades of the 19th century. Another innovation was the introduction of lifts: this was especially important in warehouses designed to be occupied by multiple users, perhaps one to each floor.

State of knowledge

There is no specialist study of the evolution of warehouses in West Yorkshire comparable to that conducted by English Heritage in Liverpool (Giles and Hawkins 2005). Warehouses are described in architectural accounts but the focus is generally on style rather than on structural forms or on how the buildings were used.

Condition of the resource

Few if any warehouses remain in their original use. Many have been converted to new uses, but a large number are under-used or empty. They are, therefore, vulnerable to decay. They often occupy central urban sites, with consequent pressure for redevelopment. The building form, however, lends itself to open-plan office working and can be successfully converted to domestic accommodation.

Research priorities

The warehouse is a significant building type in West Yorkshire and merits further study. Its typological development has not been set out, and the potential exists to examine evolution from the early warehouses in Leeds through to the early 20th century. Location, associations (with a house or other buildings), ownership and occupation, structural development, use of space, links with transport and architectural style could form the focus of an examination of the building type. Evidence from research will illuminate the scale and nature of business practice over the course of centuries. A rapid extensive survey establishing the range of types and approximate numbers would be a useful foundation for more detailed research into particular aspects of the subject such as structural development.

Little Germany has received the most attention from architectural and local historians (Roberts 1977). Further important groups of warehouses exist in Huddersfield, Batley and Dewsbury, all close to the railway stations, and on Bradford Road, Dewsbury, where a significant grouping of warehouses built by rag merchants lines both sides of the road. From an earlier period, the large warehouses, possibly used for storage of corn by corn merchants, in the yards off Westgate, Wakefield, have not been studied or recorded, or at least little has been published on their history. Research into these extensive buildings should consider them in the context of the development of the burgage plots as a whole rather than in isolation as special-purpose buildings.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Technology: hoist mechanisms
- Security features: control of access, etc
- Features associated with fire retardation (stone stair wells, metal window fittings, etc)

Corn exchanges and market halls

Corn exchanges were usually built by private companies to consolidate a town's position as a market centre, providing facilities for corn factors and buyers. The growth of towns and cities in the first half of the 19th century brought with it a new scale of operation in the corn trade, and new buildings were constructed to accommodate the dealings in grain. In West Yorkshire, Leeds and Wakefield were the major exchange centres. In Leeds, a small exchange was built in Briggate in 1827-8, and Wakefield responded with a large new corn exchange in 1836-7, replacing an earlier building. This, however, was overshadowed, in architectural terms, in 1861-2 when Broderick's elliptical Corn Exchange was built in Leeds (Linstrum 1978, 334, 337, 347-50). As far as is known, no other towns in West Yorkshire had a corn exchange.

Market halls are a more common building type. Markets were originally held in the open air in the street, the place sometimes marked by a market cross. These assumed more substantial form when small covered 'crosses' were built to shelter traders. Market halls or market crosses were built in many towns during the 17th and 18th centuries: in West Yorkshire, Leeds, Halifax and Wakefield (1707) are all known to have had a market cross and those at Pontefract (1734, Bingley (18th century, with a butter cross of 1754) and Otley (early 19th century) survive, Bingley's re-erected on a new site to ease traffic congestion. Shambles ranges for butchers were built in a number of towns in West Yorkshire: that in Wetherby, built in the early 19th century by the Devonshire estate, survives.

The growth of towns in the 19th century created a new level of demand for market facilities. In some towns, different commodities - meat, fish, butter and so on - were traded in different locations. The new municipal authorities, created during the middle decades of the 19th century, sought to bring these functions together in new market halls: Leeds (1857), Bradford (1871-8), Huddersfield (1878-80 and 1887-8), Castleford (1880) and Dewsbury (1904) all had new market halls, using the prefabricated cast-iron and glass structures which allowed large trading spaces to be covered. The Borough Market in Halifax (1891-8) and Kirkgate Market in Leeds (1903-4) represent the full development of the structural form: top-lit and with clear trading space enabled

by the use of light iron roof trusses, these market halls were hidden behind shops with accommodation over, providing additional rental income to the corporation.

State of knowledge

As prominent public buildings, market halls have attracted considerable research as a building type (Schmiechen and Carls 1999). Their dates and architects are generally well known, as is the overall story of development. Linstrum (1978, 311-27) provides an excellent overview of market buildings in West Yorkshire.

Condition of the resource

Few historic corn exchanges and market halls remain in West Yorkshire. Never numerous building types, they are now represented only by Broderick's Corn Exchange in Leeds (PRN10653), the Borough Market in Halifax (PRN8960), the Byram Street Market, Huddersfield (PRN7078), Kirkgate Market in Leeds and Dewsbury Market Hall. Most remain in use for markets: the Corn Exchange, Leeds, is now 'the home of boutique shopping'.

Research priorities

The principal interest of market halls as works of architecture concerns their structural form, specifically the means by which large clear trading spaces were roofed and lit. Detailed structural analysis of the buildings, focusing on the use of iron, would help to relate them to other building types like railway station sheds which have similar structural forms. The different forms of market hall found in West Yorkshire, with a distinction between free-standing halls and those combined with shops and residential accommodation, would also deserve attention.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Commemorative features

Shops, banks and offices

Retail shops have been features of the urban scene since the Middle Ages (Clark 2000). Best known of medieval shops are those in Lavenham, Suffolk, where a number of buildings show the characteristic wide shuttered window openings. Smallpaned glazed windows were a feature of shops in the 18th century, but the introduction of plate glass after 1840 created greater potential for the attractive display of shop goods. Distinct shop types emerged, with features closely related to the goods for sale: tobacconists and chemists required shelves for jars, drapers needed drawers for the storage of cloth, and butchers needed clean, hygienic premises. The 19th century saw the development of elaborate shop fronts with eye-catching displays and lettering. Late in the century, department stores were introduced selling a wide range of goods from open-plan floors linked first by stairs and, from 1898, by escalators. In the 20th century, chain stores became a feature of the High Street, and retailers like Boots the Chemist and Burtons adopted distinctive architectural styles recognised across the country.

Banks were at first contained within private houses, often those of merchants offering basic banking services to customers. In West Yorkshire, John Royds was both a merchant and a banker: he built the palatial Somerset House in Halifax in c.1766, and this contained not only his residence but also a warehouse and a bank. Beckett's Bank, Leeds, was founded by John Beckett, woollen merchant, in c.1774. The growing scale and complexity of business and the need for greater security led in the early 19th century to the construction of purpose-built banks, and these became increasingly prominent features of the urban landscape, with showy frontages and impressive public banking halls. In the 20th century the numerous mergers of banking companies removed many familiar names from the High Street and led to less variety in architectural styles, with branding being seen as an essential element in promotion.

Like banks, offices were at first contained within houses, the scale of business allowing this and the desirability of dissociating domestic life and work not being part of contemporary attitudes. Chambers were known in London in the 17th century, especially in the legal profession, but the commercial office building offering space for rent emerged as a distinct building type only in the middle decades of the 19th century. The type demanded flexibility in the use of space to satisfy the needs of different tenants, clear circulation patterns to facilitate use by multiple occupiers, and, sometimes, ingenious solutions to both structural issues and the need for good light in often congested urban environments. Since the mid-19th century, the office building has become one of the dominant building types in the central business districts of our cities and towns. The largest and most successful companies developed distinctive styles of architecture for prestigious office buildings: the most recognisable buildings are probably those of the Prudential Assurance Company, which employed the architect Alfred Waterhouse to design some of their principal offices. Redevelopment of urban space in the late 19th and early 20th century usually provided large amounts of chambers for rent: the late 19th century expansion

and rebuilding of Keighley, for example, was largely made up of three and four-storey blocks, with shops on the ground floor and offices over (see, for example, Burlington Buildings, North Street, of 1891 PRN10394). When Leeds came to redevelop the Headrow in the 1920s, Reginald Blomfield's monumental scheme was based on the provision of office space for the expanding city.

State of knowledge

The development of shop architecture has been well covered at a national scale in a recent monograph (Morrison 2003) as has the architecture of banks (Booker 1990). The detailed local evolution of both building types is, however, beyond the scope of these works. Shop fronts have been the subject of a useful publication (Powers 1989), and garages and car showrooms, almost all built after 1914 and therefore beyond the scope of this review, have received attention in an important recent publication (Minnis 2012). Offices have been less fully studied, although academic interest in the development of the central business districts of cities is growing: London and Leeds have been studied (Keene 1997; Beresford and Unsworth 2007) ; the commercial architecture of the central area of Leeds is described in the recent Pevsner City Guide (Wrathmell 2005); and the development of Huddersfield's commercial centre is described in the published history of the town (Thompson 1992). The office buildings of Liverpool have been the subject of a recent publication (Sharples 2008), the focus of which is on the plan and innovative structural forms adopted for office buildings during the 19th century.

Condition of the resource

As largely urban building types, found in their most elaborate forms in town centres, shops, banks and offices have been subject to continuous change. For shops, successive changes in ownership and in styles of retailing lead to frequent refurbishment: as a result, survival of 19th-century shop frontages and shop interiors is extremely rare. Town-centre shops are gravely threatened by developments in retail, including the rise of edge-of-town shopping centres and online shopping. Banks have been subject to numerous changes in business organisation, leading to the closure of branches and successive campaigns of re-branding. This led, in the postwar period, to the loss or obscuring of much of the grandeur of public banking halls, some opened up when banks have found a new and different use. Offices have, perhaps, been least affected, although public areas are often remodelled to meet changing needs. The development of new technology has necessitated alterations to fabric, although these are often minimal in their impact on historic character. Offices left empty due to recession may in coming years be the subject of conversion to residential use, without 'change of use' approval being required: this has been suggested recently as a way of re-invigorating town centres. Perhaps the most serious issue affecting the condition of town-centre commercial buildings, especially in smaller towns, is the lack of use of upper storeys, with high vacancy rates and therefore low income, leading to poor maintenance.

Research priorities

Shops, banks and offices form the central business districts of our towns and cities and produce distinctive and often architecturally grand commercial landscapes. They represent the development of a sophisticated business structure in the 19th century and demonstrate how towns, both large and small, served their hinterlands. For these and other reasons, they are important elements within the historic environment.

Commercial buildings transformed the face of West Yorkshire's towns in the 19th century. The development of central business districts in major towns has been a subject of recent research, but much remains to be done in West Yorkshire in terms of area study to understand the process. Beresford and Unsworth (2007) have studied Leeds' transition to a modern business centre in the middle decades of the 19th century but this could be taken forward to cover the late 19th century and the early 20th century to take account of the major redevelopment programmes of these periods. The same approach could be applied to Bradford, building on the work of Holmes (1998) to establish the city's emergence as a major commercial centre.

Huddersfield's commercial development has been studied (Thompson 1992), but Halifax and Keighley also have prominent commercial areas which would repay detailed study of the timing of their formation, the speculative mechanisms responsible for development, the original uses of the buildings (and therefore the services which the area offered) and the architectural expression of commercial activity in terms of planning and decorative treatment. Such research would make a significant contribution to the national story of the development of the central business districts in our major towns.

There is some scope for establishing the development of individual building types. National syntheses (Morrison 2003 and Booker 1990) provide a context for the architecture of shops and banks, but local variation is possible, especially in the era before national chain stores and banks came to dominate the High Street. Returns from investigation of buildings are, however, likely to be limited due to the poor survival rate of external and internal features which can demonstrate original means of display, sale and dealing with customers. It is possible that the smaller retail centres, perhaps those which declined due to competition from larger towns and which therefore had less pressure to renew their commercial buildings, have better survival rates: Haworth's Main Street, for example, not only retains a (reconstructed) chemist's shop front and interior of the late 19th century, but also has small buildings retaining what were clearly originally large shop windows.

The office is the least thoroughly studied building type in this category of commercial buildings. The contrast between single-occupation offices, where prestige may have been important, and offices designed for multiple occupation merits investigation. The timing of the construction of purpose-built offices will throw light on the development of a business culture, and study of plan will demonstrate the architectural requirements of the building type, including the

need for flexibility in accommodation, access, services for multiple occupiers, and the degree and location of decorative treatment. There is potential for new research to make an important contribution to our knowledge of office architecture nationally.

Shops, banks and offices sometimes demonstrate innovative structural techniques such as the use of cast iron, glass and steel, and identifying the dates at which these techniques were adopted will help to illuminate the development of the building trades and of engineering.

The development of the Co-operative movement in West Yorkshire would repay study. Its buildings are often prominent and its reach was extensive, covering not only the large towns and their suburbs but also smaller settlements: Haworth Industrial Cooperative Society built a large store in the village in 1897. A comprehensive view of Cooperative Society building would demonstrate its architectural impact on different types of settlement within the county and illuminate the development of the retail trade in the county. It would also provide important evidence of the very diverse ways in which the Co-operative movement played a role in local society through the provision of educational facilities, meeting rooms and direct engagement in food production.

For buildings constructed in the second half of the 19th century, building plans may prove to be an essential source. The plans were submitted to local councils for approval, and substantial collections of these documents survive in West Yorkshire's archives offices. They provide important evidence of structural techniques, original uses of rooms, and the architectural profession.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Display windows and early internal shop fittings

Inns and hotels

Inns and hotels were sometimes among the largest buildings in a town (Beresford 1988, 23), but they were also features of rural landscapes, lying in villages on the principal roads. The earlier type, the inn, could comprise a principal building for accommodation and refreshment, one or more rooms for assemblies, lodging ranges, and stabling. It was, therefore, something like a public building, although run on commercial lines. In the post-medieval period, inns performed a vital function in the transport of mail by coach and in serving travellers on the increasingly busy turnpike road network (Chartres 1977 and Chartres 1993). Hotels, a term in use as early as the 1780s, continued this range of functions. The most significant development in the history of the hotel was the advent of the railway. This increased passenger traffic between towns

and created a new level of demand for accommodation for those travelling on business and pleasure. Many towns have a large hotel immediately beside the railway station, often built by the original railway company. In West Yorkshire, the George Hotel was built in Huddersfield in 1851, by the Ramsden family, next to the newly completed station, and in Bradford the Midland Hotel and the Victoria Hotel lie immediately outside the two railway stations. An even closer association between hotel and railway is found at Leeds, where the Queen's Hotel (1937) was built at the head of a re-configured station complex by the London,

Midland and Scottish Railway. Perhaps the most architecturally elaborate hotel in

West Yorkshire is the Hotel Metropole in Leeds, built in 1897-9 in an 'undisciplined French Loire taste' (Wrathmell 2005, 110-11). A few years later, hotels were one of the first types of commercial premises to provide garages for customers, an interesting adjustment to the transition from public to private transport (Morrison and Minnis 2012).

State of knowledge

Despite their prominence in the urban landscape and their important social role, inns and hotels have not been the subject of serious synthetic study. Pantin (1961) established a typology for medieval inns, and individual medieval inns have been studied and are well known (for example, the New Inn, Gloucester, and the George Inn, Glastonbury). Less appears to be known in general about inns in the postmedieval period, although this was the period of their greatest importance. Hotels have been studied on a global scale (Denby 1998) and railway hotels within Britain have attracted attention (Carter 1990), but there has been little substantial work on the building type as a whole at either a national or regional scale.

Condition of the resource

Like many other commercial building types, inns and hotels have been subject to continual change as facilities were modernised to meet evolving standards, demands and fashions. The main public rooms always received the grandest architectural treatment, but early interiors tend to survive only when their interest and importance are valued more highly than the desire for change and a modern image. The original use of outbuildings such as stabling and lodging ranges is likely to be obscured by later conversion, although external features might be enough to establish their former functions.

Research priorities

While it is unlikely that many inns will retain extensive early fabric and original features, nevertheless they are worthy of further synthetic study. The number and size of inns can serve to indicate the relative importance of West Yorkshire's towns and the existence of rural inns can demonstrate the development of a service industry catering for the travelling public on the long

distance road network. Investigation of the buildings may reveal the former functions of inns: particularly important are public rooms for meetings, and outbuildings including lodging ranges and stabling. There is scope for archaeological excavation of inn sites to establish the existence and function of buildings both on the street frontage and in yards at the rear.

The study of hotels should focus on their architectural and structural character; the facilities which they offered to residents and the public; the agencies responsible for their construction; and their numbers in different settlements. The chronology of hotel construction and the location of hotels should be related to contemporary developments in transport and in the growth of trade and leisure.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Decorative schemes
- Outbuildings, including service buildings, lodging ranges, stabling, garages

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Agricultural buildings

Historic farm buildings were long neglected as a serious subject for study but the 1960s saw growing interest. A major survey of farm buildings in Staffordshire was published in 1969 (Peters 1969), and a pioneering national study followed in 1970 (Harvey 1970): these publications established farm buildings as an important source for the development of agricultural practice. Since then, the published literature has grown considerably, with further national studies (for example, Lake 1989; Barnwell and Giles 1997), regional or local investigations (for example, Denyer 1991; Martin and Martin 1982; William 1982), and detailed local studies of estates or local farm building types (Wade Martins 1980; Hayfield 1991). The establishment of the Historic Farm Buildings Group in 1985 'for those concerned with the past, present and future of historic farm buildings' promoted further study of the subject. The Group published an annual journal before 2003 to disseminate findings of new research and has held important conferences highlighting both academic and conservation issues. Much of the latest work has concerned the conversion and conservation of farm buildings, with research into the state of the resource nationally and into government and local authority policy on the rural historic environment (Gaskell 2005; English Heritage 2006). Both national and local agencies have published guidance on the conversion of farm buildings (for example, English Heritage, nd).

West Yorkshire's agriculture

Despite the widespread perception of West Yorkshire as a predominantly industrial area, agriculture was and remains an important element in the regional economy. The nature of farming in the county has been determined by two principal factors. Natural conditions, including geology, topography and soils, has always been a strong influence on the type of agriculture that could be practiced; and the developing local economy offered opportunities to supply an increasingly urbanised industrial society. Already by the early 18th century some parts of the county had developed a specialised economy in which agriculture played only a subordinate part: writing of the Halifax area, Daniel Defoe observed that the local population 'scarce sow corn enough to feed their cocks and hens' and were dependent on other parts of the county for the bulk of their staple supplies (Rogers 1971, 490-7). This dependence accelerated as the county's towns and cities grew during the 19th century.

West Yorkshire is not a single homogeneous agricultural region. The variety in recent farming practice was the subject of a survey of the whole county of Yorkshire, published in 1969 (Harwood Long). Dodd (1979) studied the same variety in an examination of mid-nineteenth century crop returns for the West Riding. These studies make it clear that West Yorkshire has a number of distinct farming regions each of which stretches far beyond the modern county boundaries. The best agricultural land lies in the east and centre of the county, overlying the limestone and coal measures belts. Here are found farmsteads which demonstrate mixed agriculture, with arable farming represented by barns

for the storage and threshing of corn crops (the latter sometimes using the power of horses) and by stables for horses which provided the motive power on the land, and livestock farming evidenced by cow houses. The buildings of the farmstead are sometimes grouped into a formal courtyard plan. The largest scale farmsteads were built by the great estates such as Temple Newsam and Nostell Priory: the most important farmstead grouping in the county is that at Kirklees Home Farm, which has barns, a malthouse and other buildings dating from as early as the 17th century. Many early barns, often aisled, survive in these parts of the county, but most farm buildings are later in date, predominantly of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The west of the county is dominated by upland terrain cut by principal and tributary river valleys. The evidence of farm buildings suggests that not all land was poor, for many of the largest aisled barns are located in this area: the barns at East Riddlesden Hall, Morton (PRN2080), and Clay House, Elland cum Geetland (PRN9097), are of considerable size. The aisled barn, however, is generally taken to be designed to serve both arable and livestock agriculture: opposed doors facilitated the threshing of crops, the large capacity of many of the barns offered considerable storage space, and the aisles, or one end of the barn, was often used to house cattle. Some upland farmsteads have smaller versions of the aisled barn: Greenwood Lee, Heptonstall (PRN10974), and Lower Wat Ing, Norland (PRN11298), are good examples. A preliminary typology of aisled barns was published some decades ago but has not been systematically re-examined since then (Michelmores 1974).

A characteristic building type in the West Yorkshire Pennines is the *laithe* house, an all-purpose linear structure providing a house (usually of modest size) and an attached *laithe*, a local dialect term for a barn for crop processing and storage and the housing of a small number of cattle. The building type enters into the built record in the mid 17th century (Bankhouse, Warley is dated 1650) and becomes very common in the 19th century, especially on the upland moors and valley sides. The type has many variant forms in terms of precise plan and the relative size of the two main elements (house and *laithe*). It was current until the late 19th century (Catherine Slack, Midgley, is dated 1880) and was a particularly appropriate building for small upland farms specialising in the production of dairy and meat products for the growing industrial towns (Stell 1965).

Another interesting specialised form of agriculture is the cultivation of rhubarb. This is concentrated in the Wakefield/Ossett/Rothwell area in the east of the county and is associated with the availability of cheap coal to heat forcing sheds. The low brick sheds, usually of late 19th century date or later, is the characteristic building type and can be found isolated in the countryside surrounded by fields that formerly were devoted to the cultivation of rhubarb. The industry reached its peak in the early 20th century and is unique in the country, the product of a peculiar combination of economic circumstances (Goodchild 1998; Harwood Long 1969, 135; website: Morley archives, see Bibliography).

State of knowledge

Surprisingly little has been published on either the agriculture or the farm buildings of West Yorkshire. For agriculture, the work of Harwood Long and Dodd has been referred to above. Accounts of Yorkshire's agriculture were published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the Board of Agriculture and the Royal Agricultural Society of England and provide important evidence for contemporary farming practice (and occasional comments on farm buildings) (Rennie et al, 1794; JRASE 1848). The role of great landowners in the exploitation of mineral resources has received rather more attention (Cliffe 1969, 49-66 for the early post-medieval period; Cross 2009 and Roebuck 1980 for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Roebuck also traces the not very impressive contribution to agricultural improvement on the part of a small number of aristocratic families). For farm buildings, a comprehensive view of West Yorkshire's farmsteads and farm buildings does not exist. Despite the county's well recognised wealth, there is a dearth of information in published form. Stell, Michelmore and Goodchild have published important, although limited, studies; a small amount of information relevant to West Yorkshire is included in Whitworth's study of Yorkshire dovecotes (1993); and more recently, a Ph.D research project has taken the estate buildings of the Harewood estate for detailed study, and a claimed new approach to the study of buildings (through 'biographies of places') was manifested in a publication resulting from the research (Tatlioglu 2010a; Tatlioglu 2010b). Taken together, these contributions, while valuable, do not begin to provide an authoritative account of the county's agricultural buildings. An important collection of records of agricultural buildings has been produced over the last forty years by the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group, and this could provide a useful starting point for research which addresses some of the research priorities set out below.

Condition of the resource

Very few historic farm buildings remain in agricultural use and their redundancy has led in recent decades to their conversion, to dwellings or light industrial uses, and often to dereliction. The large number of affected buildings has presented major issues to local and national conservation agencies. Poor standards of conversion in the past have destroyed both the valuable historical evidence contained in farm buildings but also the character of the farmstead setting, and conservation guidance has been developed to encourage more sensitive treatment of buildings during conversion (for example, English Heritage, nd; Yorkshire Dales National Park, website). Increasingly the character of farm buildings is seen as an important aspect of a valued local distinctiveness and has become the concern not only of English Heritage but also of Natural England, which is developing national character areas 'defined by landscape, biodiversity, geodiversity and cultural and economic cultural activity' (see website reference). Despite these initiatives, traditional farm

buildings must still be regarded as a highly vulnerable building type, both nationally and within West Yorkshire.

Research priorities

An important analysis of research priorities for historic farm buildings was published in 2002 (Wade Martins 2002). Written from the perspective of the agricultural historian, it nevertheless contains ideas relevant to architectural and conservation approaches to the subject. The article was intended to be a first step in constructing a national framework for future research and it provides a useful overview for the identification of research priorities in West Yorkshire.

The most relevant aspects of Wade Martins' framework may be summarised as follows:

- The establishment of local variation in historic farm buildings;
- The impact of the enlightenment philosophy of 'beauty, utility and profit';
- The relationship between farm buildings and landscapes;
- The identification of agricultural regions through the evidence of farm buildings;
- The speed of change in agricultural practice revealed in farm buildings;
- The variety of building materials employed in farm buildings;
- The effect of enclosure on farmstead design;
- The identity of estate building;
- The incidence of 'model farms';
- The introduction of mechanical power: when, where, who, what, why? 'High farming': how widespread was this?

Any further research in West Yorkshire should take account of this framework and, where possible, contribute local evidence to the wider national picture. Additional questions related specifically to West Yorkshire are:

- Do farm buildings demonstrate the development of specialised agricultural production? And, linked to this,
- Can the form of farm buildings be related to the development of production for the urban market?

Clearly, it is the accumulation of evidence gathered from numerous sites, rather than that from single sites, which will provide answers to these questions. The questions, however, should be the driving force behind investigation at all levels. Establishing the character and development of West Yorkshire's farm buildings has the potential to make an important contribution to our knowledge at a national scale of how agriculture responded to developments in industrialising and increasingly urbanised regions.

The most valuable records are those which include whole farmsteads or consider individual buildings in the context of the farmstead. It is the relationship between buildings in farmsteads which indicates the range of agricultural activities practised on the farm. Farmsteads should be assessed phase by phase using both architectural and documentary evidence (where the latter is reasonably accessible): this approach is important in assessing the development of agriculture both on the farm itself and in the county as a whole. The introduction of new farming practices can be gauged by the construction of improved accommodation for livestock in sheds and yards, the use of mechanical power for the principal stages in crop processing, and the more formal planning of farm complexes. Not all these aspects will be present on all farms, but the complex should be studied with the development of farming practice, rather than purely architectural considerations, in mind.

The development of building types, however, is of importance. At present, knowledge of typological development for building types is rudimentary, and more precise dating would help in the assessment of the chronology of change in farming practices and in the evolution of building form and structural techniques. The typological approach to the analysis of farm buildings is exemplified most clearly by Peters' work on Staffordshire farm buildings, which provided detailed analysis of the range of plan forms recorded in both major and minor farm building types (Peters 1969).

The application of dendrochronology to a small number of farm buildings which appear to be, potentially, key to the understanding of development would provide hugely valuable evidence and give a framework for assessing the dates of other buildings of similar type. Dendrochronology is most likely to produce reliable and useful results in the older, hardwood-built farm buildings.¹ Dating is less problematic, and perhaps less critical, for later buildings using softwood, for cartographic and documentary sources may often yield an acceptable level of precision.

Despite West Yorkshire being well known for its aisled barns, there is no clear picture of their chronological and geographical distribution. An extremely important set of questions might be posed of the county's aisled barns:

- Are they a feature throughout the county?
- What are the main periods in which they were built?
- When did they cease to be built?
- What relationship, if any, do they have to barns recovered through excavation?
- What forms do they take and what functions do they reveal?
- How did they relate to other contemporary agricultural buildings within the farmstead?

¹ It should be noted that the process of 'defrassing', that is, the smoothing out of timbers during restoration of historic buildings to produce a uniform surface, can remove the outer rings of timbers and thus reduce the likelihood of accurate dating.

- To what extent did the aisled barn comprise the complete farmstead? Or was it commonly supplemented by other farm buildings of different functions?
- Is there a correlation between size and date, on the one hand, and the status of the builder on the other?
- How does the West Yorkshire evidence relate to the wider regional and national picture of aisled barn development?

The records of aisled barns in the HER provide evidence related to some of these questions, but wider, more systematic (although still highly selective) additional recording, targeted with this framework in mind, would begin to construct a more informed view of this important (perhaps even characteristic) regional building type. In selected examples, archaeological excavation has the potential to indicate structural development and to reveal how different areas within the barn were used.

West Yorkshire has some extremely important examples of estate home farms. These groupings of major agricultural buildings are testament to large-scale investment in agriculture on the part of the principal landowners in the county. The examples of Temple Newsam, Nostell Priory and Kirkstall Park have already been cited. The HER contains records of some of these complexes but there is scope for more systematic investigation. It might be anticipated that these farmsteads provide evidence for the introduction of important new ideas in agriculture, or at least for the most substantial aspects of these changes (for example, the use of mechanical power and concern for efficiency in farmstead layout). Tatlioglu's study of the Harewood estate (2010a) broadens the approach to landowner investment in agriculture to include the tenant farms on the estate, and this approach could fruitfully be applied to other estates of different sizes. This would allow the assessment on a broader basis of landowner participation in agricultural improvement.

One outstanding question concerns the relationship between archaeological and architectural evidence for agriculture. In large parts of North Yorkshire, particularly in the North York Moors, the longhouse or derivatives from it is a dominant or at least common building type. The longhouse is a single building providing shelter for animals and humans, the two elements sharing an entrance but commonly being separated by a passage, usually formed on one side by the back of the chimney stack heating the main living room (RCHME 1987). The building type is found widely across upland areas of England and Wales. It has not been identified commonly in West Yorkshire. Why is this? Has the form not been recognised? Will more forensic examination of fabric indicate that some buildings might have originated as longhouses before, after a process of alternate rebuilding, obscuring that origin? The characteristic West Yorkshire combined house and farm building is the *laithe* house. What is the relationship between this and the typologically earlier longhouse form? Can archaeology provide evidence for the previous existence of the longhouse, or the earlier existence of the *laithe* house, in the county? Early documents can be interpreted as indicating the presence of combined animal and human

shelter, but without being capable of identifying precise building types. The combination of architectural, archaeological and documentary evidence might throw light on important, and perhaps locally peculiar, developments in housing, and the questions raised above should inform the investigation of buildings which might yield new information on the subject.

The intensely localised production of rhubarb for the national market has received attention from historians (Goodchild 1998) but there is no comprehensive knowledge of the survival of special-purpose buildings constructed for the forcing of the plant. Surviving forcing sheds, with associated furnaces, are all likely to be twentieth century in date, but as a locally distinctive building type they have an importance not only in providing evidence of the industry but also in their contribution to the landscape character of the rhubarb triangle. A short and rapid photographic survey could provide the HER with valuable evidence of a declining industry and may stimulate better understanding of its distribution and levels of investment.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Farmstead and building plans
- Flow of processes
- Technology: use of power (horse, wind, water, steam, mobile)
- Building design related to function
- Evidence for livestock accommodation: stabling, stalls, covered yards
- Livestock feeding and mucking out
- Structural forms
- Barns: ventilation, threshing facilities, crop storage, livestock accommodation

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Domestic architecture

Rural houses: elite housing - the country house, gentry houses and manufacturers' mansions

Country houses are among the best known elements of the English landscape. Many, owned privately or by the National Trust, are open to the public and are major tourist attractions. As the homes of England's elite, they led architectural fashion, being designed by noted architects and decorated by the most eminent craftsmen. They have, therefore, been a dominant element in the study of architectural history for a century and more. It is difficult to define the category with any precision, especially in a West Yorkshire context. Some country houses are the seats of a member of the aristocracy and the centres of country estates, but this association with noble families and landed wealth breaks down in West Yorkshire in the nineteenth century, when mercantile and industrial fortunes lay behind the construction of large houses, not always with extensive estates. There is also some difficulty in identifying a coherent lower threshold for the country house, the distinction between a small country house and a large house built by members of the gentry not being at all rigid. For present purposes, country houses and major gentry houses will be taken together, along with the largest houses of the most prosperous industrialists. The defining characteristic of these houses is their adoption of national canons of architectural style showing little or no regional or local influence in their design.

West Yorkshire has a number of extant great houses. Harewood, Bramham, Nostell, Ledston and Temple Newsam, all very different, are the largest. Bretton, Kirkstall and Heath Hall are slightly smaller, and there is a larger group of substantial gentry houses of different dates: Heath House, Austhorpe, Tong, Esholt, Addingham, Lupset, and Lotherton are notable examples. The county is rich in manufacturers' and merchants' mansions: Dobroyd Castle (Todmorden), Cliffe Castle (Keighley), Whinburn (Keighley) and Heathcote (Ilkley) are four of the largest.

State of knowledge

There is a huge literature on the architecture of the country house, and the principal lines of development, in terms of style and form, are well established and need not be described in detail here. For long country houses were considered primarily as works of architecture illustrative of art history rather than as functioning dwellings, but Mark Girouard's seminal publication *Life in the English Country House* (1978) transformed our understanding by interpreting the buildings as social and economic organisms, the centres of networks of power and economic activity and homes to extensive and diverse households. For the gentry house, Nicholas Cooper's national study (1999) focuses on a key period of transition from the medieval to the late seventeenth century and gives a broad context for the abandonment of local character in favour of nationally accepted architectural style. Girouard's work (1980) on a

later period provides similar understanding of Victorian country houses, as does Jill Franklin's analysis of the changing plan of the great houses of the period (Franklin 1981). The landscape setting of country houses has become a focus of interest in recent years:

Henderson's work on the Elizabethan period (2005) and Arnold's on later centuries (2003) provide national overviews of the subject. The investment required in, and the effect on family fortunes of, country house building has been studied in a recent monograph (Wilson and Mackley 2000). A new approach to the study of country houses is represented by the interest in changing technology, including sanitation, cooking, lighting, and power generation (Sambrook and Brears 2010; Palmer 2005; Gooday 2008), and changes in the country house kitchen have been the subject of a recent publication (Sambrook and Brears 2010). Study of craftsmanship, art and decoration continues to be vigorous: recent published studies include James Ayres' work (2003) on domestic interiors and Claire Gapper's study (1998) of plasterwork.

West Yorkshire has some country houses of national importance but lost a large number during the twentieth century when death duties were held responsible for the inability of wealthy families to afford the vast costs of maintenance (Waterson and Meadows 1998). Valuable information about the county's large houses in the first half of the eighteenth century is provided by sketches made by Samuel Buck as the basis for a set of engravings (Hall 1979). Among modern studies, Linstrum (1978) devotes a long chapter to great estates and country houses, considering not only surviving houses but also houses which have been demolished. This helps to place extant buildings in the context of lost great houses such as Methley, Howley and New Hall, Pontefract. Linstrum's work also shows the difficulty of precise categorisation, for alongside discussion of what are indisputably country houses his chapter includes descriptions of houses of very modest size such as Shibden Hall, Southowram, and Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby. Linstrum includes the largest houses of the county's industrial elite, and this subject is taken forward in George Sheeran's pioneering study of the houses of West Yorkshire's 'new rich' (Sheeran 2006). The landscape setting of the county's great houses formed the subject of an earlier study by the same author (Sheeran 1990).

Some houses have been the subject of detailed research and subsequent publication.

A good example is Bretton Hall, West Bretton (Wright 2000): another is Harewood House, Harewood (Kennedy 1982). Other West Yorkshire houses are described in works on particular architects (for example, James Paine, see Leach 1988).

Condition of the resource

The great age of demolition of country houses has passed, having taken a heavy toll in West Yorkshire. The continuing existence of those that survive appears to be guaranteed, their importance being recognised and protection

provided by high listing grades. Post-1850 great houses are less well protected. The major threats to great houses are twofold. First, conversion to new (sometimes institutional) uses can lead to subdivision, insertion of new access arrangements, and damage to decorative schemes. Second, maintenance is always expensive, for external and internal fabric and decoration of national importance require the highest standards of conservation. The associated buildings around great houses are often under greater threat than the main house itself, for they are less well protected. Often architecturally less distinguished, they nevertheless form a vital part of the ensemble, providing important functions and sometimes demonstrating significant social or technological developments.

Research priorities

There are significant opportunities for advancing knowledge of West Yorkshire's great houses. Many have not been fully studied, either through documentary work or through detailed analysis of fabric. Perhaps the most deserving case for investigation is Ledston Hall, Ledston, a large house with numerous phases dating from the medieval period onward. Any recording here would be a serious undertaking. Even where the story of a great house's development is considered to be well established, the evidence is often based almost entirely upon documentary sources. Detailed fabric analysis can often throw new and sometimes contradictory light on an accepted picture of development. One aspect of country house architecture that has received little attention is the structural forms employed in roofs: it would be interesting to learn whether leading architects were responsible for introducing new roofing methods and to understand the relationship between roof construction in country houses and the methods used in other building types.

Functional analysis is another approach which can complement the often predominantly architectural discussion of great houses. Study of how houses worked, in terms of the uses of rooms, and of changes over time can highlight the ways in which life in the great house evolved. This is evident, for example, in the common addition in the mid-19th century of suites of rooms devoted to use by male and female members of the household: men might resort to a new wing providing a library, a billiard room and a smoking room, while women spent time in day rooms and drawing rooms. The degree to which family and servants were segregated by complex systems of circulation can be revealed by study of plan and access arrangements, and the hierarchy within the servant class is reflected in the arrangement of the numerous service rooms and systems of control behind the green baize door.

Girouard made it clear that the country houses were the setting for the exercise of power - political, social and economic - through networks of the elite in society. The networks extended to patronage of the arts through country house construction and decoration. Great families communicated advice about trends in fashion, architects and craftsmen, and the business of building, and in the

resulting houses can be seen the forces of emulation and imitation in elite circles. Study of the inter-relationship between the form and styles exhibited by the county's country houses can reveal these artistic networks in action and demonstrate how new fashions and taste were adopted.

Study of the technology of the country house has approached the subject with five key research questions, set out in Palmer 2005: they are:

- how far did the country house make use of what technological innovations were available?
- in what ways was technological innovation introduced into historic fabric of country houses and with what results?
- what changes were necessary to the layout of estates to incorporate, for example, water supplies both for domestic consumption and for ornamental purposes such as fountains?
- in what ways did technological change such as central heating and lighting bring about different ways of utilising space within the country house?
- in what ways did technological change alter social relations within the house
- as a result of changing uses of space, for example, among the servant groups?

These questions serve as a framework for investigation and might profitably be applied in West Yorkshire, where many of the great landed families drew income from industrial enterprises which employed innovative technology. It would be interesting to explore the degree to which income from industry and innovation in the country house were linked, and study of the introduction of technology in the county's country houses could make an important contribution at a national scale in this new area of research.

A former narrow focus in country house studies on the great house itself is beginning to be complemented by placing the house in the contexts of its landscape and of the estate of which it formed the central element. The chronological development of the estate can be studied through consideration of ancillary buildings and landscape features, such as banqueting houses, walled gardens, ice houses, the home farm and outlying farms, a landscaped park with eye-catcher buildings (often with a memorial or political purpose), and extensive service ranges including stable blocks, laundries and brewhouses. This approach has been applied in part to the Harewood estate (Tatlioglu 2010) and could be extended to other great estates.

Lost country houses may have great potential for archaeological investigation. Some houses were lost without adequate records being made, and earthwork survey and below-ground investigation could recover the plan and something of the chronology of development on individual sites. Artefact evidence from the house site would also help to reconstruct the functions of different parts of the building.

The study of manufacturers' mansions is not as advanced as that of country houses. Sheeran's work (2006) provides an exemplary introduction to the subject, with chapters covering design, the workings of the house (including a discussion of new technology), the landscape setting and the social character of the builders. The principal themes of study have, therefore, been explored at a county level. New research might focus on extending the coverage from the houses of the ninety-two wealthiest families to the houses of families of slightly more modest means. There is also scope for examining the role of architects and craftsmen: what was the balance between the use of architects of national repute and of those with a more local standing, and to what extent did architects specialise in house construction? Recording of individual manufacturers' mansions should be informed by the themes and approaches described above, relating individual cases to the context provided in Sheeran's synthesis.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

Architectural style

- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Relationship to grounds and setting
- Decorative schemes
- Technology: cooking, lighting, heating, transport, bell pushes, etc
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stairs, doors, libraries, billiard rooms, sanitation etc)
- Structural forms (eg roof trusses)

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Rural houses; rural vernacular houses; rural villas, rural workers' housing

This section covers rural vernacular houses from the medieval period to the early nineteenth century, including minor gentry houses; rural villas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and rural workers' housing. Country houses, some gentry houses, and rural manufacturers' mansions have been considered in a separate section (Rural houses: Elite housing), and urban villas and mansions and urban workers' housing are included in the urban domestic housing category. There is some unavoidable repetition following from this chosen division.

Rural vernacular houses 1400-1830

West Yorkshire has some of the richest vernacular building in the north of England. It cannot compare in the number of early (pre-1650) houses with parts of the south of England such as Kent, or of some midland counties such as Herefordshire, but in a north of England context West Yorkshire is spectacularly rich, having a considerable number of substantial medieval houses and a wealth of seventeenth-century domestic buildings.

The county's riches are unevenly distributed for historical reasons. Some areas were prosperous for prolonged periods and developed a multi-layered and 'open' society capable of constructing substantial dwellings in large numbers. This is particularly evident in the upper Calder valley, where wealth from engagement in the textile industry allowed the construction of both minor gentry houses (for example, Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby) and of large yeoman houses (for example, Peel House, Warley) with a highly distinctive architectural style. Other western areas of the county also engaged in the domestic production of woollen and worsted cloth, but their vernacular buildings are, in general, either rather later in date (and therefore displaying a different architectural character) or smaller (commonly employing structural forms – crucks – less evident in the upper Calder valley). Eastern areas of the county had a different social structure and economy and today have fewer substantial vernacular houses. Whether this is the consequence of a less dynamic economic and social structure, or of later destruction caused by urban expansion and by extractive industries remains a subject for further research. The probable loss of many

vernacular houses consequent upon Leeds's expansion removes the chance of examining whether the town's central role in the textile industry produced the same wealth of vernacular houses in the nearby townships as was the case in the Halifax area. A recent publication makes it clear that 'in Headingley-cum-Burley cloth manufacturing was almost absent' (Cruikshank 2012, 254-5), but it is known that townships like Bramley south of the Aire were heavily engaged in the industry.

State of knowledge

The historiography of rural domestic architecture in the county has a long ancestry, including the work of early antiquarians and local historians, of museum curators, of national and local heritage agencies, and of a large 'amateur' sector. The special wealth of the Halifax area attracted the attention of antiquarians such as J Lister and H P Kendall, who published numerous articles in the *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* in the early twentieth century. Louis Ambler, in his *Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire* (1913), included many West Yorkshire houses and noted the tragically poor state of many of them. From the 1930s onwards, museum curators such as James Walton and John Gilks published accounts of rural domestic architecture, based either on an area (Walton 1955), a structural form (Walton 1948) or of single buildings (Gilks 1974). The 1960s also saw research by students including Chris Stell (1965) and Arnold Pacey (1965). The wealth of the Halifax area came to national attention with the publication in the journal of the Society of Antiquaries of an article on its medieval aisled houses (Atkinson and McDowell 1967), and the same buildings were highlighted in Eric Mercer's account of English vernacular houses (Mercer 1975). The evidence, mainly documentary, for medieval housing in the county was analysed in Moorhouse 1981 (801-21), providing an important complement to the evidence of standing buildings. The major statement about the county's vernacular houses was published by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council in 1986, and this has provided the reference point for subsequent research. A number of more local studies have been published (for example, Sheeran 1986), and the activities of the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group since 1986 have resulted in records of many more vernacular houses and in numerous articles in the Group's journal *Yorkshire Buildings* (for example, Cant 2004).

Condition of the resource

The last decades have witnessed a growing appreciation of the qualities of rural vernacular houses. The re-listing survey of the 1980s gave hundreds more buildings a degree of protection, and dereliction and demolition, so common in the post-war era, are now rare. While there are cases where important houses are falling into disrepair, the principal pressure on rural vernacular houses is that of alteration: owners wish to extend or to alter internal or external features to provide accommodation which fits their needs. In some cases, for example when a tenemented house is returned to single occupation, work is undertaken

to remove later alterations to a house. Listed buildings and buildings in Conservation Areas are subject to controls which aim to preserve or enhance their character, but many vernacular houses lack these levels of protection. In general, however, the conservation of rural vernacular houses is now much more sophisticated and accepted than in previous decades, and conservation guidance from local authorities seeks to ensure that good standards of work are achieved when changes are made. The fact that a well presented vernacular house retaining its historic character is deemed to have a greater financial value than one in which features have been lost or obscured has helped to persuade many owners of the benefits of good conservation.

Research priorities

The records of rural vernacular houses held in the HER provide a good overview of the nature of domestic architecture in the county. The RCHME/WYMCC survey and the accompanying publication (RCHME 1986) established the character of the different building regions within the county; described the principal types of house constructed at different dates, from late medieval to the early nineteenth century; and, in the publication, advanced an explanation, based on social and economic conditions, for the observed patterns.

In general, the picture presented in the records and in the publication has been accepted, and little modification has taken place in the nearly thirty years which have elapsed since the completion of the survey. The nature of subsequent work has mainly taken the form of data gathering since this, rather than contextual research or synthesis, is the type of activity provided for by the planning system and conducive to amateur recorders. As a result of the ways in which recording takes place, and because of the enormity of the task, there has, therefore, been no attempt to reexamine RCHME's 1986 account. Whether such a county-wide re-assessment is needed is a question which the research community and curators might usefully ask. How such a re-assessment might be undertaken and funded is difficult to foresee given the nature of funding for research today.

New research, however, need not take the form of an over-arching county-wide review leading to publication. Specific issues emerging from the RCHME/WYMCC survey and from subsequent work can be isolated for discrete treatment: ultimately and theoretically, more limited research projects could provide important new evidence which would facilitate a broader-ranging review. In other words, it may be possible to advance to a new overview through research in bite-size chunks. However, these chunks, and the new recording which they require, have to be driven by strong research questions; and, for full value, provision must, in the long term, be made for pulling their collective findings together into a new synthesis. New understanding rather than masses of more information is the objective, since it is the former which will advance the subject and help to guide conservation and recording policy.

Research projects

Dating

The ability of buildings evidence to contribute to historical research – whether architectural, economic, social or cultural – is partly dependent on accuracy in dating: centuries or half centuries, even ‘early’, ‘mid’ or ‘late’, may not be precise enough to pin down crucial developments. Parts of West Yorkshire have a large number of houses which display datestones that are, conventionally, treated as reliable evidence for the date of construction. Datestones, however, rarely occur before 1600 and are principally a phenomenon of the period 1600-1750. Beyond these dates, only the architectural and structural features of the house serve as a guide to when it was built.

Two approaches to securing better knowledge of dates offer themselves. The first is dendrochronology. Few buildings within West Yorkshire have been subjected to dating by this technique, which depends on suitable timbers being available for testing (and on owners’ willingness to offer them for sampling). Some key questions can be addressed by a programme of dendrochronology in West Yorkshire. It is not at all clear when aisled, cruck and timber-framed houses of all types were constructed. Aisled houses are thought to be ‘late medieval’ (perhaps 1475-1525); cruck houses may in some cases be of the same date but in others are likely to be of later date (perhaps as late as the second half of the seventeenth century); and unaisled boxframed buildings (like Shibden Hall) do not appear to have been built later than 1600 in the west of the county but in the east they certainly continue to be built in the seventeenth century (The Nook Inn, Oulton-cum-Woodlesford, 1611) and may have been built at later dates still. The same imprecision is characteristic of the dating of structural features like different types of roof truss. It would be useful to analyse the data which dendrochronology has already produced to determine whether answers to some of these questions may emerge from the evidence. Beyond this, a programme of further dendrochronological testing, targeted at buildings regarded as key to providing evidence relating to these issues, would be of great benefit, not only in establishing certain dates for particular buildings but also in developing typologies which would allow more confident dating of other buildings. And what is true for the application of dendrochronology to rural houses is also true of agricultural buildings, especially aisled barns (see section on Agricultural buildings), where similar imprecision in dating is holding back the subject.²

The second approach to securing better dating criteria is the development of typologies of different sorts. Many aspects of domestic architecture show typological evolution, but not enough has been done to order the evidence so as to elucidate the range of types and their progression. Reliably dated buildings can act as benchmarks for the employment of different structural techniques and features (roof trusses, window styles, mouldings, etc). Evidence has been collated and published on a national scale (Hall 2005), but

² See note 1, page 85

more detailed analysis of the characteristics of houses in West Yorkshire would lead to more locally applicable criteria for dating.

The aisled house

West Yorkshire is noted for its medieval aisled houses, a phenomenon identified first by Stell (1965) and brought to national attention by Atkinson and McDowell (1967) and Mercer (1975). The RCHME volume (1986) includes a discussion of the building type and a map of its distribution within the county. It also suggested an explanation for its adoption by yeoman-clothiers, the aisle being interpreted as space required for the services displaced from their conventional position at the lower end of the house by the workshop used in connection with cloth production.

The 1986 volume and the supporting survey do not fully explore the issue of aisled construction in houses. The explanation for its adoption, although credible in the Halifax area where recorded aisled houses were most densely concentrated, does not appear to account for outliers in places remote from the upper Calder valley. In addition, some houses in the east of the county interpreted as having an outshut at the rear may in fact be aisled houses and require re-examination. This might significantly alter knowledge of early vernacular building (and of late-medieval society) in this area. Subsequent work, both within and beyond West Yorkshire, has served to identify more aisled houses, and their distribution across a wide area now calls into question the association of the type with yeoman-clothier builders. The evidence of standing buildings should also be set alongside that for aisled houses recovered through excavation to address issues of continuity, invention and social status related to this type of construction.

Cruck construction

The distribution of cruck building across the county was set out in the 1986 book using the knowledge available at the time. The map published in the book showed an entirely expected western emphasis, with a particular concentration in the south west of the county. Many more cruck buildings have been recorded in the county since 1986, and much evidence for cruck construction has emerged from study of re-used timbers in later buildings (Armstrong and Pacey 2000). The new evidence should be mapped and the results interrogated to determine whether the picture of distribution has been modified. There is also scope for relating cruck building to other types of contemporary building to test the view expressed in the 1986 volume that cruck houses were built by families that could not afford something more commodious like an aisled or fully-storeyed timber-framed house. Finally, West Yorkshire's evidence should be set in a wider context, within the historic West Riding and county of Yorkshire, within the north of England, and over the whole of England. The national context is provided authoritatively by Alcock (1981) and by numerous subsequent contributions to the subject of cruck building.

The transition from timber-framed construction to stone or brick construction
Medieval houses in West Yorkshire were commonly timber-framed: post-

medieval houses were commonly of stone or brick. It is not entirely clear when this transition took place. Nor is it known with any confidence the degree to which, perhaps in both periods, mixed construction, with a timber frame over a stone ground floor, was common and in what type of buildings it was employed. A further question concerning the relationship between building techniques in the medieval and post-medieval periods requires elucidation: the internal structural form of the medieval aisled house, with principal posts and an arcade plate, continued in the post-medieval period in the form of a timber arcade between the main span of the house and the outshut. It would be of great interest to identify the development and continuity of this form of construction and to establish clear evidence for when it fell out of use. Dendrochronology would be a vital tool in this investigation.

The longhouse and the laithe house

The longhouse was ubiquitous in the North York Moors and widespread in North Yorkshire, both on excavated sites and in standing buildings. Documentary sources show that buildings shared by humans and animals existed in West Yorkshire but the county has few if any standing buildings interpreted as having longhouse origins and the documentary evidence for their existence is ambiguous (Moorhouse 1981, 803-5). The question arises of whether it is really credible that there is such a sharp difference between West Yorkshire and large parts of the rest of the historic county of Yorkshire. It can be addressed through analysis of the evidence of archaeological investigation, through new archaeological excavation of houses and house sites with potential to provide evidence of vanished structures, and through more forensic analysis of building fabric: many houses in the county show the type of 'alternate rebuilding' around the entry passage taken as diagnostic of longhouse origins (RCHME 1987). The relationship of the laithe house, a different type of building combining human and animal accommodation (see Agricultural buildings section), to the longhouse is also worthy of study, and again archaeological and architectural evidence offers potential to elucidate the question. The earliest identified laithe house, Bank House, Warley, is dated 1650, but whether the type has earlier origins has not been thoroughly explored.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork)
- Decorative features (plasterwork, cornices)
- Relationship to other buildings in the complex or to the settlement

Rural villas

It is difficult to define this type of building with any precision, not only because what was built in a rural area might now be engulfed by suburban expansion (and might today therefore be considered as urban, for example, Denison Hall, Leeds, PRN10706) but also because the term 'villa' is used by architectural historians and more widely in a general sense to describe a range of building types. Rural manufacturers' mansions were considered in the section above on 'Country house, gentry houses and manufacturers' mansions': what is dealt with in the present section are rather smaller houses, undeserving of the label of mansion, but of non-vernacular character. They might be considered to include seventeenth-century buildings such as Clarke Hall, Stanley-cum-Wrenthorpe, with its early use of brick; eighteenth-century houses of classical design such as White Windows, Sowerby; and the numerous 'minor manufacturers' villas' of the county built in the nineteenth century, such as Ebor House, Haworth, close to the family mill.

State of knowledge

Because of the difficulties of definition of this category of building, information about it may be found under a number of different headings. The early minor gentry houses were considered in RCHME's published volume on West Yorkshire (1986), and Linstrum illustrates a small number of examples (Linstrum 1978, 56-7). The Pevsner *Buildings of England* volumes contain descriptions of many houses of all types within this category. In general, however, perhaps because they do not form a hugely coherent group, the buildings in this category have been overlooked or treated as part of wider studies.

Condition of the resource

Rural villas are subject to the same pressures as other types of large domestic buildings. Their size may deter single-occupation and make them susceptible either to subdivision or to conversion to institutional use: both require a greater or lesser degree of intervention into the fabric of the buildings. Sometimes this intervention can enhance historic character, for example when a house is converted to a museum (as at Clarke Hall, Stanley-cum-Wrenthorpe, Red House, Gomersal, and Cliffe Castle, Keighley), but these are rare cases.

Research priorities

Pre-1830 rural villas are an important category of building in West Yorkshire. They were built by minor gentry, merchant, professional and manufacturing families, a significant group in the development of an industrial and capitalist society in West Yorkshire. Many were constructed in rural settings, but others were built close to the towns which were the centres of the families' operations: the development from the late 18th century of Little Woodhouse as something

resembling a polite villa suburb of (then) still rural character has been studied by Beresford (Beresford 1988).

The buildings pose a number of questions which research might address:

- When did this social group first adopt non-vernacular architectural style and form?
- Can architects be identified?
- Who are the builders and what was the basis of their fortunes?
- What lifestyle is indicated by the accommodation provided in rural villas?
- Is there evidence of villas being used as rural retreats, supplementing a retained town house? Or did the houses signal an abandonment of town-centre living?
- What grounds did the villas sit within? What ancillary buildings (eg. stables) existed?
- Is there evidence in the buildings of provision for engagement in manufacturing, mercantile or professional activity?
- Do towns other than Leeds show the development of semi-rural villa suburbs and when did this happen? Or was development elsewhere more scattered, leading to nothing that resembled Leeds' concentration in a polite West End?

The Victorian rural villa is a numerous building type in West Yorkshire, built by families engaged in the professions, manufacturing and trades. Their principal significance lies in the way in which they illustrate the county's economic and social development in a period of rapid change. They vary in size and styles but individual buildings are usually simple in the main points of their evolution and therefore in their interpretation. They rarely figure prominently in architectural research, perhaps because they are numerous and because they rarely attain great heights of architectural sophistication, but they are an important element of the West Yorkshire landscape and deserve to be studied as a group. Research might address a number of interesting questions:

- What is the stylistic history of the building type? When did Gothic take over from Classical as the conventional style? What architects were employed?
- Who built the houses? How are they related to places where the builders derived their income?
- What lifestyle is indicated by the accommodation provided in rural villas?
- What grounds did they sit within? What ancillary buildings (eg. stables, motor houses, etc) existed?

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions

- Structural form
- Adoption of technology, sanitation etc.
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork)
- Decorative features (plasterwork, cornices)
- Grounds, ancillary buildings and setting

Rural workers' housing

Urban workers' housing is discussed in the section on Urban housing: it is not clear whether this division in the treatment of workers' housing is helpful or an obstruction.

The type of housing occupied before the mid-18th century by the poorer levels of society is not known with any clarity: what is certain is that there are very few surviving buildings from that period which might be termed 'cottages' likely to have housed those in the lower rungs of rural society. Any evidence of such houses would be of great significance in indicating how the majority of the rural population might have lived.

The development of a more heavily industrialised economy after 1750, and especially in the nineteenth century, created a demand for new housing for the rural working classes. Early single-storey cottages for workers in the extractive industries were built close to mines and quarries: rather later, mining villages and isolated terraces were built adjacent to the larger-scale deep mines of the east of the county (Goodchild 2005). In the west the textile industry required a large workforce in mills, loomshops and, before 1850, in cottages. The landscape of the textile areas was largely formed in this period, with the construction of terraced housing in villages and hamlets: Oldfield, Honley, is an excellent example of such a settlement (Giles 2004), and many of the houses in the village of Haworth were occupied before 1850 by textile workers, including an army of wool combers. A few manufacturers built model housing or model villages for their workers: Edward Akroyd at Copley (and Akroyden – perhaps urban or suburban rather than rural) and Titus Salt at Saltaire are the most celebrated examples. Landowners, too, built model housing for agricultural workers, the village of Harewood, for example, having terraces designed by John Carr (Caffyn 1986).

The state of knowledge

Lucy Caffyn's published survey (1986) provides an authoritative overview of workers' housing in the county. Goodchild (2005) has written on the housing of mining settlements, and model villages have received a great deal of attention from a number of authors (for example, Linstrum 1978 and Reynolds 1996). Weavers' cottages were considered in an article studying the transition from domestic to factory production of textiles (Giles 2004), and recently a research project conducted by the West Riding Historical Research Group has

focused on identifying three-storeyed weavers' cottages in the township of Golcar in the Colne Valley with a view to clarifying issues such as how many were built and when they were constructed (pers.comm, Alan Petford, 23 June 2013). There is also interest in club houses, rows of cottages built by terminating building societies or clubs, an interesting feature of West Yorkshire's social and economic history (see website reference, hebden bridge).

Condition of the resource

A substantial number of rural workers' houses are protected by listing: this extends beyond the county's model villages to include large numbers of weavers' cottages in the west of the county. More workers' housing has a degree of protection if it lies within a Conservation Area. Most houses are occupied and many have been well restored, re-instating, for example, mullions in the windows. Others, however, have suffered, and continue to suffer, from unsympathetic alterations: these, rather than dereliction or demolition, constitute the main threat to the character of the buildings.

Research priorities

The general picture of the development of rural workers' housing in the county is relatively well understood, but there are important gaps in our knowledge which further research should address.

Study of workers' housing, particularly housing connected with domestic textile production ('weavers' cottages', but also cottages occupied by domestic wool combers) can throw important light on the process of industrialisation in a key period in which manufacturing was split between the factory and the home. Recent research in Lancashire has emphasised the importance of field evidence in the examination of this period of transition in the methods of production (Timmins 1993, Timmins 2004, Timmins 2005). In his study of the decline of handloom weaving in the Lancashire cotton industry, Timmins demonstrated the impact that the construction of weavers' cottages had on both urban and rural settlements (Timmins 1993, 59-66). In a later work (2005) he sets out the themes to which field evidence from the study of workers' housing can contribute: variations in the design of domestic workshops; the impact of domestic industry on settlement patterns; and the variety of accommodation typical of different types of domestic industry. The location, numbers and types of workers' housing demonstrate aspects of the industrialisation not easily traceable through documentary sources: housing is, therefore, a primary source for economic and social developments of critical importance in West Yorkshire.

Timmins' ideas are being tested in the county by the West Riding Historical Research Group project on three-storey weavers' cottages in the Colne Valley. The wider application of the approach – to two-storey cottages, and to weavers' cottages across the county – would help to address important questions in the

development of domestic accommodation associated with the textile industry. Key questions include:

- What lay behind the sudden emergence of the three-storey type in the late 18th century?
- For how long were three-storey cottages built?
- What is the functional relationship between two- and three-storey cottages?

Research has the potential to provide evidence for, firstly, the link between the construction of weavers' cottages and the increased production of yarn permitted by mechanised spinning in mills and, secondly, for the reasons why weavers' cottages are so closely associated with the woollen branch of the industry and are, in their most characteristic architectural form, largely absent from the worsted producing areas. In the latter areas, it was wool combing rather than weaving that persisted longest as a domestic occupation. Investigation into the link between, on the one hand, the location and dates of most cottage construction and the types of accommodation provided, and, on the other, the progress of mechanisation of wool combing would illuminate the structure of the industry and of rural society in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Interesting general similarities, in terms of the progress from domestic to mill-based production, and significant differences, in terms of the types of domestic accommodation common in the woollen and worsted branches (indicating the respective economic status of woollen weavers and worsted combers) are likely to emerge from comparative study. Evidence for cellar loomshops for cotton and linen weaving is not thought to be present in West Yorkshire, but is known in North and South Yorkshire and in Lancashire (Giles and Goodall 1992; Timmins 2004).

Another important aspect of rural workers' housing is its contribution to study of the evolving rural landscape. Construction of workers' housing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries radically altered settlement patterns in the east of the county, with new terraces and villages, and, if it did not alter patterns in the textiles west, it certainly provided the area with a distinctive character. Detailed examination of the progress of building will help to illuminate how places evolved, but workers' housing should always be seen in the context of other building types: the purpose of research should be to demonstrate the evolution and changing character of settlements as a whole.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions, especially in relation to workshop space
- Structural form
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork)
- Lighting, heating and access in and to workshops
- The industry with which the accommodation was associated

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Urban houses

Medieval to 1700

Political (1485?), religious (1535?) and cultural (renaissance) criteria are of little relevance in defining what constitutes 'medieval' for urban houses in West Yorkshire. Architectural evidence is so sparse that clear distinctions between, say, fifteenth and sixteenth century buildings are not apparent: we lack evidence, for example, of any hiatus in the nature of the main living room similar to that which clearly distinguishes medieval rural houses, with an open hall, from their post-medieval successors, with a floored hall. The most obvious hiatus in urban housing concerns the method of construction: West Yorkshire towns were in the main timber-framed until at least the seventeenth century and perhaps late in that century in most places. Brick makes its appearance in Leeds in 1628 with the construction of Red Hall (Sprittles 1969), but as far as can be judged only became common from the early eighteenth century: thereafter brick and stone are dominant in new building. For the purposes of the present discussion, a structural criterion, that of the use of timber-framed construction, will be employed to identify a group of buildings that extends well into the postmedieval period as defined in other fields of study.

State of knowledge

The study of medieval urban houses has a considerable literature, although it has lagged far behind that of their rural counterparts. Seminal research was published fifty years ago (Pantin 1962-3) and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England produced inventories of two cities – Salisbury (1980) and York (1981) – containing a wealth of medieval buildings. Other local studies included descriptions of medieval buildings in King's Lynn (Parker 1971) and Lincoln (Jones, Major and Varley). More recently, overviews of medieval town houses have been produced by Grenville (1997) and Quiney (2003).

The potential for developing understanding of medieval urban houses is shown by recent publications on Winchelsea, Sussex (Martin and Martin 2004), Rye, Sussex (Martin and Martin 2009) and Sandwich, Kent (Clarke, Pearson, Mate and Parfitt 2011). Each of these publications is based on extensive programmes of detailed recording of extant buildings in towns where archaeological and architectural evidence survives in sufficient quantities to allow in-depth analysis and synthesis. Extensive survival allows the study to

encompass different levels of urban society: while much early research focused on the largest urban houses, which have tended to survive better, attention can also be given to the housing of the poorer levels of urban society. This is the case in York and Norwich, where Rimmer has undertaken mainly documentary research into the types of houses inhabited by artisans (Rimmer 2007). The potential of good documentation to illuminate the story of urban housing is illustrated in a forthcoming publication on Bristol's medieval housing (Leech forthcoming): nothing survives in the city, but medieval and post-medieval surveys and documents provide a great deal of information about the types of houses inhabited by, especially, the wealthiest merchants and tradesmen.

A useful review of the state of research was published in 2009 (Pearson). The review contains a critical examination of Pantin's widely accepted interpretation of medieval urban housing. It puts forward arguments that urban building types are not necessarily adaptations of rural housing forms but instead show distinctive urban characteristics; and that location within a town and the size of the town, as well as building form and relationship to the street, are significant in understanding urban development and town society. It also examines the evidence for houses without open halls, especially those having a shop on the street frontage. Pressure on urban space is seen as a key element in the form of urban housing: where pressure was greatest, usually around the market place or on riverside frontages, buildings tend to occupy narrower plots but to be built in multi-storeyed form. Leech (forthcoming) puts forward powerful documentary evidence for the existence of first-floor halls in houses where the ground floor was occupied by commercial premises. The issue of how commercial and residential space were combined within a building is a key concern in interpreting medieval town houses: Clarke et al (2011), Martin and Martin (2004) and Leech (forthcoming) all provide important understanding of this area. How houses were occupied and used are, for Pearson, two of the key aspects of study which require further examination, mainly through the evidence of documents. Pearson also highlights the issue of regional variation in urban housing, especially in smaller towns where the distinction between urban and rural may have been less clear cut and where particular house types might have been equally suitable for both locations.

Apart from where the house formed part of infill, either in a market place or courtyard, medieval houses, and certainly the larger ones, were built on the front part of more or less extensive urban plots. It is important to see the main domestic building in the context of the plot as a whole: it is the plot, rather than the dwelling, that is the unit of property and sustained the household. The space behind the street frontage building might have further structures connected with the household's needs and a variety of trades. The best example of research which encompasses the buildings and archaeology of the plot as a whole is published work on East Anglian towns, where urban decay has reduced pressure on space and, in some cases, allowed industrial uses of parts of the plot to be established (Alston 2004). Opportunities to replicate this approach will be severely limited where these conditions do not obtain, although important evidence may survive below ground, capable of being recovered through archaeological investigation.

Discussion of urban housing in the historic county of Yorkshire tends naturally to focus on towns outside West Yorkshire, where more evidence survives: York, of course, dominates the picture (RCHME 1981; Sheeran 1998, 120-59). Little is known about medieval houses in West Yorkshire's towns. Important towns were few in number: Leeds, Wakefield, Pontefract and Halifax were the main urban centres, supplemented by smaller market towns such as Wetherby, Otley, Bradford and Bingley. There is some evidence for early stone buildings and for medieval cellars (for example, 73, 73a Northgate, Wakefield, and the Malt Shovel, Market Place, Pontefract, PRN11710). Archaeological excavation has revealed the existence of aisled houses in Hull and Beverley (East Riding), but it is not known whether similar houses existed in West Yorkshire's towns (Evans 2001).

By the early seventeenth century West Yorkshire's major towns, and probably the smaller ones as well, had streets lined with timber-framed buildings, as shown on many early views. Early descriptions of such houses are usefully gathered together in Linstrum (1978, 93-5). Whether these multi-storeyed, jettied and gabled buildings were medieval (pre-1500) is doubtful. It is therefore likely that they replaced earlier buildings on the same sites, of a nature and form recoverable only by archaeological excavation. On present evidence timber framing was not superseded until the seventeenth century at the earliest. Timber-framed houses in Wakefield bore dates of 1551, 1553 and 1566, and the multi-gabled frontage with decorative framing of one of these houses was similar to many houses in Halifax (Walker 1972, 586-96; Horner 1835). The best-known example of an urban timber-framed building in the county is No.1 Woolshops, Halifax, recorded during restoration in the mid-1980s (PRN8975). It displays herringbone decorative timber framing and gabled frontages and was jettied on two sides. It was interpreted as providing unheated shops on the ground floor, living accommodation on the first floor and, possibly, workshops on the attic floor. The big surprise emerging from the investigation of the building is its date: at one end of the south elevation is a stone firewall bearing the date 1670, something confirmed by dendrochronological testing of floorboards which yielded felling dates in the mid 1650s. It would appear, therefore, that decorative timber framing continued in West Yorkshire towns well into the second half of the seventeenth century. This helps to explain why these towns show so little evidence for stone and brick town houses until the early eighteenth century (although some seventeenth century stone houses, or parts of houses, are known: see the Old Cock Inn, Halifax PRN8940). Beyond the historic centres of towns, on the periphery of the medieval core, smaller, plainer timber-framed buildings were constructed on the street frontages and may still be recognised: an example is a small building in Westgate, Wakefield. Others may be suspected from their external appearance.

Condition of the resource

Timber-framed buildings in historic town centres have for centuries been subject to modernisation, alteration and periodic changes of use. Pressure on

space in highvalue locations caused their frequent replacement, wholly or in large measure, by larger or more modern buildings. West Yorkshire's towns, as a result, have very little in the way of substantial surviving timber-framed buildings. Leeds has a few timberframed buildings in yards off the main historic streets; Wakefield has a single obvious survival (Black Swan, Silver Street); Pontefract has the substantial jettied warehouse range in Swales Yard (Heslop 1993, PRN11639); and Halifax has No.1 Woolshops. But much more survives in fragmentary form, often buried deep within later additions and alterations. Where these fragments are recognised, as in 53-57 Northgate, Wakefield, their significance is acknowledged, but it is likely that much early fabric remains to be discovered and is, therefore, vulnerable to change. Building work at 143 Briggate, Leeds (PRN11813), revealed remains of a timber-framed wall dendrodated to the last decades of the sixteenth century. Further discoveries are likely to be made. These will be of high significance, although they are likely to relate only to fragments of structures which are difficult to interpret and place in context.

Research priorities

Evidence of pre-1700 buildings in West Yorkshire's towns is of high significance. It has the potential to contribute to a number of important historical and architectural debates, on both national and regional scales. The gathering of field evidence on individual sites is likely to be arduous and its interpretation very difficult due to the fragmentary nature of most survival, but nevertheless the importance of the material, and the goal of medium and long-term synthesis, make further research and recording a high priority.

Pre-1700 buildings are one of the main sources of evidence for the nature and development of West Yorkshire's towns in the medieval and early post-medieval periods. They have the potential to indicate periods of growth and contraction and establish a clearer relationship to contemporary rural building types. Within individual towns areas of different character - commercial, industrial, high-status residential, and suburban - may be identified through the presence of particular building types or forms. The range of house types, from the large houses of the urban elite to tenements occupied by artisans and labourers, can indicate social hierarchy, and house types, in terms of, for example, the number of storeys and the siting of the hall, can be correlated with location to demonstrate the different levels of pressure on urban space within a town. Special-purpose buildings, especially those in areas of market infill, can indicate the development of institutional or commercial functions, sometimes, as with shops, combined with residential accommodation.

As well as the main dwelling, urban house plots included, yards, gardens and ancillary buildings which contributed to the life of the household, and research into the use of the plot as a whole is an important area of development. Comparison between towns in terms of the types of buildings which they possess or possessed would in all probability provide a strong indication of their relative importance. It would be surprising, for example, if smaller towns had buildings of the same scale and elaboration that are known to have existed in

Leeds and Wakefield: building evidence can, therefore, contribute to the identification of an urban hierarchy within the county.

A pre-requisite to using the evidence of urban houses for the development of West Yorkshire's towns is good knowledge of the types of buildings which constructed at different dates. This foundation for urban study has not yet been laid in West Yorkshire and there is, therefore, scope and need for research into the nature of the buildings. We do not know, for example, whether the open hall was a feature of town houses, nor, if it was, when it was superseded by the floored hall, a development which has been traced in other towns. The issue of heating concerns more than the open hall, for some medieval buildings in York (Rimmer) and Bristol (Leech forthcoming) have been interpreted as lacking any form of heating, with occupiers dependent on cookshops for their hot meals, or perhaps purely as work premises rather than also as dwellings. Alertness to these issue is important in future research and recording.

It would be of interest to consider the evidence for West Yorkshire's urban timberframed buildings in the context of the historic county of Yorkshire: is there anything distinctive about West Yorkshire's buildings and if so, what explains any observed differences? At a superficial level, the style of heavy, decorative timber-framing employed in West Yorkshire's towns appears to differ strongly from the styles common in York. Is this simply a matter of date (West Yorkshire's buildings being much later in the main than many in York), or does it reflect different regional building traditions?

Many of the questions discussed above about the development of urban housing can be addressed through a typological approach to dating structures. As is the case with rural buildings of the same period, however, study would benefit from a programme of dendrochronological recording to establish a corpus of definitively dated buildings to allow more confident identification of when houses and towns underwent significant change.

Worthy and important though these issues are, it must be admitted that it is highly unlikely that surviving buildings in West Yorkshire are capable of addressing them alone with any chance of definitive results. Architectural evidence is likely to be too fragmentary to contribute significantly without other evidence being brought to bear. Archaeology has a great deal to offer wherever opportunities arise to investigate urban plots. Where favorable conditions obtain (that is, where later cellars have not been inserted), excavation within medieval houses, in ancillary structures and in yards and gardens can provide important indications of date, layout, uses of different areas, and material culture. The existence of aisled buildings in towns, for example, was revealed through excavations in Hull and Beverley (Evans 2001), and it would be of great interest if similar evidence came to light through excavation in West Yorkshire towns. Documentary sources such as court rolls and, right at the end of our period, probate inventories, can illuminate a wide range of issues such as building construction and materials, uses of buildings and areas within them, and ownership and occupancy. Finally, much useful material can be derived

from early views of West Yorkshire's towns and from photographic records (see, for example, Buttery 1983 for York and Horner 1835 for Halifax). Surviving timber buildings were considered picturesque by the nineteenth century and were a popular subject for artists, and photographs taken for a wide range of purposes from the mid nineteenth century capture significant evidence of, in the main, the street frontages of many buildings which have subsequently vanished from the urban scene.

In summary, a broad approach to studying West Yorkshire's pre-1700 urban buildings has great potential to contribute to our knowledge of the character and development of the county's towns. Research should include analysis of a wide range of sources, but existing records of urban timber-framed buildings and further recording can play an important role in addressing significant questions in the history of urban life in the county.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork)
- Decorative features (woodwork)

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Urban houses 1700-1914; early town houses, Victorian elite and middleclass houses; urban workers' housing

West Yorkshire's towns grew slowly for much of the eighteenth century: Jefferys' map of 1770 shows that even Leeds had expanded little beyond its medieval core. Nevertheless, the eighteenth century saw significant developments in urban housing, particularly in the construction by the increasingly prosperous merchant and professional families of new (mainly brick) or remodeled houses on the principal streets. Cossins' map of Leeds of c.1725 shows more than twenty of these houses, demonstrating that the first part of the eighteenth century was a time of intense building activity for the town's elite (Beresford 1988, 38-9). Wakefield has a substantial number of eighteenth-century houses, the largest on Westgate and Kirkgate.

Urban growth accelerated after 1770. The county's main historic towns - Leeds, Wakefield and Halifax - began to take in new land for housing on the edges of or a little apart from the built-up area, sometimes in planned speculative developments (Park Square, Leeds; St John's, Wakefield; the Square, Halifax), sometimes, as in Woodhouse, in the form of individually developed 'villa' plots in what were semi-rural settings. The most rapid growth occurred in the nineteenth century, both in the Pennine west (most spectacularly in Bradford) and in the east of the county, where older towns like Normanton and Castleford became sizeable settlements. The character of housing became more varied in this later period: the urban elite continued to build, increasingly in the form of suburban villas, but the prosperous middle class was accommodated in substantial houses in terrace or semi-detached form and the first (or at least first to survive in numbers to the present day) purpose-built housing for the artisan and working classes were constructed, usually in terraces and often in back-to-back form, a type of housing particularly associated with northern industrial towns and cities.

State of knowledge

Housing is a major element in the growth of towns: the story of housing is in many respects the story of urban development. Mark Girouard's study of the English town (1990) uses the evidence of domestic buildings to show how towns grew and changed in character, and Peter Borsay (1991) demonstrates how English towns were transformed in the post-medieval period through new styles of architecture, expressed in houses as well as in public buildings. The most thorough understanding of the process of urban growth in West Yorkshire is provided by Beresford's magisterial *East End: West End* study published in 1988. This traces the evolution of Leeds between 1684 and 1842 through, first, the intensification of building within the town's historic core, then through the development of successive elite suburbs (Park Square, Little Woodhouse), and finally through the housing provided for the industrial working classes in the east end of the town. A full picture emerges of how early houses were adapted, how space within the town centre came to be occupied more and more intensively, and how social segregation was achieved by the flight of the

wealthy from the town centre and the development of often poorly built housing close to the centre for those at the bottom of the social scale. Nothing similar to Beresford's study exists for other West Yorkshire towns, although most towns have published histories which use the evidence of domestic buildings in their narrative (Sheeran 2005; Haigh 1992) and there have been some detailed studies of the development of suburbs and the range of housing built in them (Trowell 1982; Trowell 1985-6).

In terms of building types, the town house (that is, the urban residence of the wealthy elite, usually associated with the Georgian period and architectural style) is well understood at a general level and especially in relation to London and major spa towns (Ayres 1998; Stewart 2009; Leech forthcoming). The London town garden has also been the subject of a recent study (Longstaffe-Gowan 2001). Rather later and usually less grand houses (smaller than George Sheeran's 'brass castles'), called here the Victorian houses of the elite and middle classes and including detached and semidetached 'villas', are the subject of a useful account by John Burnett (1990) and of a brief review by English Heritage (English Heritage 2011b): an area of Oxford characterised by such houses has been published (Hinchcliffe 1992). The great variety of housing included under the term 'terraced house' forms an important element within a national review of the subject (Muthesius 1982). Workers' housing has received less attention nationally although the foundations of study were laid down in 1971 with the published results of a symposium on the subject (Chapman 1971) and Muthesius's volume covers important aspects of the subject.

For West Yorkshire, Wilson describes the rise of a powerful merchant community in Leeds, giving an important social and economic context for architectural developments at the elite of urban society (Wilson 1971). Linstrum (1978, 95-109) traces the history of the town house from 1700 to the era of the villa in the early and mid 19th century, and Barber (2000) has studied the history of one of the most important planned urban developments, St John's, Wakefield. Linstrum moves on to discuss middle-class terraced housing and later suburban estate development, for example, around Roundhay Park, Leeds (108-24), and the growth of Headingley as a suburb of Leeds through speculative development has been studied (Trowell 1982).

Bradford has received similar attention through the work of Sheeran (1990, 2005) and Taylor and Gibson (2010), the latter focusing on the development of housing in Manningham, the city's most prestigious suburb. Workers' housing has been studied at a county scale: Caffyn's 1986 volume has a broad chronological range, taking the story up to the era of council housing in the early twentieth century; it includes housing associated with different industries; identifies the mechanisms through which housing was constructed; and provides an outline of the variety of house types and changes to their design (Caffyn 1986). More detailed local studies of back-to-back housing have been undertaken in Leeds and Bradford (Beresford 1971; Sheeran 1986), and Leeds' back-to-back housing stock has been the subject of a research project directed towards developing a strategy for its future: out of the project emerged a

typology of house types and a full-scale analysis of back-to-back construction in the city (Dolman 2007; Renew 2008; references needed)

Condition of the resource

West Yorkshire towns and cities contain a huge amount of historic housing of different types. Much of this stock is vulnerable. **Early town houses**, usually in the centre of towns, were abandoned by the urban elite during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were often tenemented and their gardens or yards built over. Later many were demolished as town centres became increasingly commercial in character, to be replaced by shops and offices. Leeds retains only one of the houses illustrated on Cossins' 1725 map (in New Briggate, the house of Mr Wilson). Some of the planned developments a little away from the historic centres of towns have become engulfed by later expansion and are, in the present context, regarded as central areas: this is particularly the case in Leeds, where the late eighteenth century Park estate development is still largely intact but is now almost completely in use as offices. Wakefield's town houses, an impressive collection in terms of the number and scale of the buildings, especially on Westgate, have suffered from conversion to other uses, with the loss of internal features a consequence of the lack of recognition of their historic and architectural importance. The town's planned developments at St John's and South Parade have fared better, for some of the houses remain in residential use. Everywhere the **gardens and yards** of early town houses have proved vulnerable, especially close to town centres: only the former orangery in the garden of Milnes House, Westgate, Wakefield, survives as a reminder of the how gardens might be used by the mercantile elite in the late eighteenth century. Similarly there is now little trace of the associated buildings such as warehouses and counting houses which served the merchants' trade in the era when there was no perception that business and domestic life should not co-exist in the same property.

All West Yorkshire towns possess quantities of **Victorian elite and middle-class housing** in the form of detached or semi-detached houses, and many also have prestigious terraces made up of substantial dwellings. Like early town houses, these building types have proved vulnerable to demographic, social and economic change. Many are subdivided into flats, outbuildings are frequently converted to residential use or demolished, and gardens have become car parks. Because most date from after 1850, only a small proportion meet the criteria for protection by listing.

Workers' housing is vulnerable to the same pressures as other types of residential accommodation. It has, in addition, been threatened in the last decade by the Labour government's Pathfinder programme. This sought to identify areas where there was a perceived oversupply of low value housing and proposed wholesale clearance and replacement by a different type of inner-city housing. Within West Yorkshire, the problem of a depressed housing market, although real, was less severe than in other northern industrial areas, and the impact of the Pathfinder scheme has, as a result, been less dramatic.

There are, however, areas of deprivation where poor housing is seen as contributing to social and economic problems. Elsewhere, small terraced houses are in demand because they are affordable for many. The threat to the historic character of workers' housing stems mainly from the wish on the part of owners to refurbish dwellings to modern standards, leading to loss of features such as external doors and windows. Protection in the form of listing is rare outside model villages or settlements such as Akroydon, Halifax, and Saltaire village, Shipley, but workers' housing is sometimes included within Conservation Areas. Good guidance to owners on the value of preserving historic features is an important means of retaining the character of this type of housing and of its landscapes.

Research priorities

Early town houses

West Yorkshire's early town houses have suffered severely from demolition and conversion to new and often unsympathetic uses: Austin House, Westgate, Wakefield, became a car showroom with the complete loss of the ground floor. Nevertheless, like their medieval predecessors, surviving examples are of high importance in indicating the style of life of the mercantile and professional elites in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. No systematic study of the building type has been undertaken and there is real potential for a combination of fieldwork and documentary research to illuminate important social and economic developments in urban society. It is likely that fieldwork will be hampered by the incomplete survival of architectural features in individual houses, but the use of evidence from a number of sites, supplemented by relevant documentation, should allow a picture to emerge of the life of the urban elite in this period.

Key questions driving research include the following:

- How did the houses function in terms of room use and circulation?
- When compared with medieval and sub-medieval town houses, do new brick or stone houses represent only a change in building form and materials or do they indicate important developments in the way of life of the urban elite?
- Can an evolution in style between the late seventeenth century and c.1830 be traced?
- What decorative schemes were employed and which architects and craftsmen were used?
- Provision of sanitation
- How did the house relate to the urban plot? What other buildings existed on the plot? How was the garden (if any) used?
- Did houses for merchants differ in any respect from houses of the professional or aristocratic classes? Did they include a counting house or room for business transactions?
- What impact on the urban landscape did the houses have? Can they be seen as transforming the appearance of West Yorkshire's towns?

- What was the extent of planned development in squares or high-status terraces?
- What evidence is there for the development of early villa suburbs?
- What do the numbers and size of the houses suggest about the relative status of the different towns within West Yorkshire?
- How does West Yorkshire compare with towns in other areas and with London?

A study of the county's town houses would provide an interesting addition to our knowledge of the subject, for to date research into town houses has been dominated by evidence from London and spa towns such as Bath. How buildings in an industrial and mercantile society corresponded to these models is of great importance.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork)
- Decorative features (plasterwork, cornices)
- Grounds and setting

Victorian elite and middle-class housing

The success of West Yorkshire's industrial and commercial classes in the nineteenth century produced a huge number of substantial houses, mainly on the edges of the historic centres of towns. They form a distinctive feature of the approaches to the towns and of the wealthiest suburbs.

There is great potential for deepening our understanding of the buildings and of the development of towns through further research into this category of domestic architecture. Trowell's study of Headingley (1982) and English Heritage's published research on Manningham (Taylor 2010) can act as models of the way in which architectural evidence can be used as part of the narrative of area development. Similar elite suburbs in other towns – for example, Edgerton (Huddersfield) - would lend themselves to this approach.

Key questions for research include:

- Who were the principal architects employed in the design of this type of housing?
- Is there an evolution in the styles employed in design?
- How did the houses function in terms of room use and circulation?
- Is there evidence for the introduction of new technology (lighting, sanitation, cooking, etc)?
- What do the houses tell us about the size of households and segregation (by gender and status) within them?

- What evidence is there for the construction of 'closed' private estates?
- How were gardens laid out and used?
- How does the construction of houses relate to developments in transport? What ancillary buildings existed on the plot?

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions
- Structural form
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork)
- Decorative features (plasterwork, cornices)
- Grounds and setting

Workers' housing

Caffyn's 1986 study has provided an excellent overview of the subject of workers' housing in the county, both urban and rural (for rural workers' housing see rural housing section). It is capable of development, however. Caffyn's work, although broad ranging, was highly selective, and there many interesting developments of workers' housing which are not included in either the published volume or the HER archive. One subject which would warrant further study is the distribution of the back-to-back house, a type for which West Yorkshire's towns were famous. The range of sub-types is established and the dates at which they were banned in different towns and cities are known, but it is not clear how widespread the type became. A more comprehensive view of the spatial and chronological distribution of back-to-back housing would represent a useful addition to our understanding of this characteristic building type.

The label 'workers' housing' covers a wide variety of housing types and social status: much of what we might today consider as working-class housing was, in fact, first intended for and occupied by white-collar workers such as clerks (see Taylor 2010). Research into the occupation of different grades of workers' housing would be an interesting exercise in establishing who was able to afford to live in them and provide a view of the range of gradations within what for convenience (but sometimes without great clarity) we term the working classes.

The key themes in the development of workers' housing are the gradual improvement in standards of construction and in the services such as sanitation and water supply, together with the levels of accommodation provided for family life. These developments were spurred by fears of threats to health and morals. A closer study of these themes is possible through documentary evidence, but it is a matter of debate whether further recording of urban workers' housing would significantly improve our understanding since changes to fabric over the last century and more are likely to have removed early fixtures and fittings.

An interesting aspect of urban workers' housing is the degree to which it provided accommodation for industrial employment. West Yorkshire's weavers' cottages are well known, but they are principally a rural phenomenon. How common was domestic weaving in the county's towns? Houses with top-storey loomshops have been recorded in the centre of Manchester, and it is highly likely that similar buildings existed in West Yorkshire's towns but that evidence for them has largely been swept away. But documentary research to establish the mixed use of some workers' housing, together with targeted recording of any identified survivals, would help to build up a clearer picture of life in working class areas of West Yorkshire's towns.

A final aspect of the subject of workers' housing which might repay study is the architectural character of the buildings. Although most developments were utilitarian in style, some showed modest architectural flourishes. Analysis of the incidence of features such as patterned brickwork, datestones, and ornamental stone or brickwork around windows and doorways may help to identify particular builders or speculators and thus assist in the understanding of the mechanisms at work in the construction of workers' housing.

Features of significance to be recorded and discussed in reports

- Architectural style
- Plan, circulation and functional divisions, especially in relation to workshop space
- Structural form
- Fixtures and fittings (eg fireplaces, stair, woodwork, sanitation)
- Lighting, heating and access in and to workshops
- Levels of accommodation

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Conclusions

This review of research priorities for historic buildings in West Yorkshire has covered a wide range of building types and identified how future research can contribute to better understanding not only of the county's buildings as structures but also of wider historical themes of great importance. This Conclusion summarises the potential for new research and discusses how criteria for prioritising research themes and projects might be developed.

The Historic Environment Record: strengths, weaknesses and opportunities

The HER is a research resource of great value but it is, for very good and understandable reasons, uneven in its coverage, both in terms of the numbers of records of different categories of building which it holds and of the potential of those records for informing future study. It is, however, a useful starting point for research, for by collecting information from different sources, such as English Heritage's National Heritage List, various past research projects and developer-funded recording, it serves to identify the existence of historic buildings in different categories and to provide varying levels of information about them. It could be appreciably strengthened, as both a research resource and means of monitoring development, by the incorporation of records produced by voluntary groups, such as the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group, and by individual researchers.

Where a significant number of records exist for a building category, the HER offers an opportunity for synthesis of existing knowledge, which can both develop new insights and understanding and highlight the need for further investigation of particular aspects of the subject. Categories which are well represented in the HER, either in the number or quality of records (or both) and which offer this potential, or at least a valuable starting point for new research, include Nonconformist chapels; town halls; agricultural buildings, particularly barns; schools; pubs; warehouses; rural houses; and workers' housing.³ Study of chapels and barns has, arguably, the most potential for significant new research findings on regional and national scales. Notable gaps in HER coverage, again in terms of the numbers of records or their quality (or both) and in terms of the potential of good coverage to contribute significant research results, include Anglican and Roman Catholic churches; charitable institutions; public parks; shops, banks and offices; and middle-class housing (villas and suburban housing).

The promotion of research

Research, as distinct from the recording of individual historic buildings, may be undertaken through a number of different means. Large-scale thematic surveys such as have been conducted in West Yorkshire in the past, covering subjects such as rural and workers' housing, textile mills and medieval churches, demanded a large commitment of resources but yielded important results. They provided county-wide contextual understanding of these categories of buildings, allowing the significance of individual structures to be appreciated: they are, therefore, a vital tool for decision making relating to conservation and

³ Industrial buildings and archaeology have not been included in this review, but the HER holds a substantial archive of material on the county's industrial sites and offers, therefore, great potential for thematic research. See <http://www.archaeology.wyjs.org.uk/documents/archaeology/Industrial%20Archaeology.pdf> and a forthcoming review of research needs in the field.

development. Every opportunity to establish further thematic reviews of aspects of the historic environment should be explored. Representations to English Heritage identifying the most pressing research needs in the county may allow funding of projects within the National Heritage Protection Plan. Partnership with District Councils and other agencies such as universities may permit the sharing of costs.

There is considerable scope for developing close links with the higher education sector in the county. Undergraduate and post-graduate students have the potential to undertake useful research, albeit perhaps of a restricted nature, into aspects of the county's historic environment. The present review may be used as a guide to the most fruitful fields of inquiry, and supervision by the Advisory Service and academic staff could direct students in the course of study. There are, of course, resource implications, particularly relating to staff time, but there are examples of student research which have produced useful results benefiting both the HER and the work of the Advisory Service. These research projects help to establish the historic environment as a valuable subject of academic study, with potential not only for producing new insights into the county's history but also for career development for the students involved.

The Archaeology Advisory Service is staffed by professional experts on the historic environment. Their role is not to conduct research, at least as a significant part of the job. Their expertise, however, can help to promote research through liaison with agencies such as universities and also through the training of voluntary groups. The voluntary sector contains valuable resources in terms of knowledge and time, and it may be possible to harness these resources in research projects: the history of individual chapels or schools, for example, could be explored using voluntary effort, producing records for incorporation into the HER. Many groups lack confidence, but training in research and recording technique and the provision of guidance on the direction of research projects could yield valuable results. The implications for staff time, however, should not be underestimated.

Developing criteria for identifying research priorities

The present review has identified priorities for research related to individual categories of building. The principal consideration in this process has been the potential of research to contribute to new understanding of different aspects of either a building type or wider historical themes. There has been little attempt to weight the priorities within each category, although some clearly have more far-reaching implications than others.

For both academic and heritage management purposes, it will be important not only to identify which research themes within each building category demand imminent attention but also to determine which categories of building have the highest priority. Are agricultural buildings, for example, a higher priority than warehouses? Both are significant elements of West Yorkshire's historic

environment, and both raise important research questions. Decisions about priorities affect the allocation of scarce research resources, and every opportunity should be taken to address the most important issues, leaving other questions for later consideration.

For heritage management purposes, the key questions in determining priorities are: what research will facilitate better management through the provision of new understanding, and what is most urgently required? The criteria which may usefully be applied to prioritising between categories of building include the following:

- the state of knowledge
- the potential to contribute to new understanding significance, scale of importance (national, regional, local) threat/vulnerability age and rarity
- the existence of relevant expertise the potential to contribute to better protection
- urgency

It is anticipated that the present research review will provide information which, when combined with academic and management considerations, will permit the identification of a hierarchy of research needs across the whole spectrum of historic building categories and within each category. This will establish an overarching and prioritised *research agenda* for the county. What should then follow is the development of a *research strategy* setting out how a research programme can be implemented, taking into account need, purpose, resources and opportunities. Together individual research projects, the research agenda and the research strategy will comprise a powerful management tool and stimulate new understanding of West Yorkshire's unique and profoundly important history, character and identity.