OBSCURE PROVINCIAL LIVES: TOM AND HANNAH TOWNSEND

Time, like an ever-rolling stream
Bears all its sons away.
They fly forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

These lines have direct access to one's tears without apparent intervention of thought. 'Death's cold flood' claimed Tom Townsend years ago. I wanted to see how much of an obscure provincial life could be reclaimed from oblivion. His faint trail leads through many of the great changes of late nineteenth century life, in the particular instances of a small West Riding town. The people of Shipley lined the streets for Tom's funeral, but you will never meet anyone who has heard of him.

Origins in Drighlington: Luke Townsend.

Tom Townsend was born in 1848, almost half way between the first and second Reform Acts. He was born in Drighlington, a village to the South East of Bradford, on the way to Wakefield. Few have ever heard of Drighlington. It is mentioned only by those who must include everything: Domesday book, trade directories. Its one recorded event, when the Royalists scattered some of Fairfax's men in 1643, gets into the books as the battle of Adwalton Moor.

When Tom was born, there was a Lord of the Manor, a parson and a surgeon, and eighty three men with trades named in the local directory. These were local suppliers such as butchers, grocers, innkeepers; craftsmen such as cabinet makers, cloggers, an organ maker, wheelwrights, a tinner and a brass refiner, saddlers, boot and shoe makers. Tom's father was one of six tailors. There were farmers and gardeners, but also coal owners and worsted manufacturers. Of the remaining eleven or twelve hundred inhabitants, far more worked in the coal-pits and the woollen mills than on the farms. Drighlington was on its way to becoming, in the aptly flat phrase, an urban district.

The 1852 Ordnance Survey map of Drighlington shows the land occupied by Luke Townsend's uncle, Samuel Garforth, marked with three coal-pits. He was one of eight Drighlington men listed as coal-owner in White's 1842 directory. There was a scatter of small pits, and a number of sites already marked 'old coal pit'. Some fields which had no such marking still had names like 'far pits' or 'pitty close'. Seams near the surface had been worked in little bell-pits or drifts since mediaeval times.

There are several sandstone quarries marked on the map. Drighlington, like Shipley, was built of local yellow sandstone. In a smoky atmosphere this blackens more readily than mortar, and gives the characteristic West Riding appearance of dark stone with thin light pointing.

The Wesleyan Chapel is already there. The Primitive Methodist chapel was built soon after this map was made.

Tom's father, Luke Townsend, was baptised, with fourteen other infants, in the Parish Church of Birstall on Christmas Day, 1815. He had been born two months earlier in Liversedge. His mother is given as Lydia Townend, spinster, of Drighlington. The father is not named in the register, though an earlier vicar of that parish used to write "putative father" and give a man's name. Luke's second name was Wilson. He called his own first son Wilson. That child died in infancy, and Luke used the name again for his fourth son. I do not know whether the name ran in the Townsend family, or whether it is a clue to Luke's paternity.

At twenty five Luke, now a tailor, lodged with his Aunt Hellen, her husband Samuel Garforth, and their children. In the Birstall marriage register for March 1819, the curate entered the parties as Samuel Garfitt and Ellen Townend. They signed themselves Samuel Garforth and Hellen Townsend. Perhaps the curate was doing his phonetic best with local speech. Samuel Garforth occupied about ten acres of pasture land, and mined coal from them. He employed a few men, but is most likely also to have hewed coal himself.

We know nothing of Luke's childhood, but we have a picture of local village life at the time. An old Pudsey man, Joseph Lawson, published articles about conditions in his childhood, sixty years before. They were collected as *Progress in Pudsey* in 1886, and were intended to teach the young how much improvement there had been. Lawson said that other villages round about were much the same: Drighlington is a little over two miles away.

Lawson wrote of low damp houses with sanded stone floors and few sash windows, so that a doctor visiting a fever patient might break a pane to let in air. There was no nuisance inspector to control ash middens, slops and refuse. Roads were impassable in bad weather. People sat by fire-light because candles were dear. Some had bucket-wells or pumps, and there were a few public wells. Soap was dear. Pudsey's main trade was woollen manufacture, but a Drighlington woman might have the pit dirt of a collier husband and three or four sons to contend with.

White bread was scarce, and might be a Sunday treat, with a bit of meat. The staple was oat porridge, brown bread, potatoes, skimmed milk, and oat-cake, baked on a bakestone. Drink was beer, brewed at home with equipment shared between a few families. Families and neighbours were very necessary to each other.

Amusements were rough: animal baiting, dog fights, cock fights, prize fights with bare knuckles. Lawson describes local variants, where the main contest seems to have been which set of village lads could club another set insensible. Knur and spell, and a rough sort of football were more recognisable as games.

Luke was among the slightly more fortunate, better housed and fed and educated, but that was what his village was like when he was a boy.

In 1843 Luke married Elizabeth Holdsworth. Her father was a cardmaker; that is, a craftsman making equipment for the spinning mills. By the time Tom was born, Luke was a master tailor, employing one man and an apprentice, living and working in his own new cottage. What did Luke make? Fine cloth was at hand in Bradford and Halifax. There cannot have been much demand for very fine clothes in Drighlington. There was thick local woollen cloth, which made

coats and trousers to last the owner some years, then to be passed on to poorer folk. There was some demand for soldiers' uniforms, made in three sizes. Tough fustian for workmen's trousers was made up in Hebden Bridge where it was woven, but some may have been sold to other villages. Labourers' blue linen smocks and moleskin trousers did not need to fit.

All the tailoring was done by hand, and by lamp or candle light. Tom was six when the Drighlington and Gildersome Gas Co. began production. Luke lived about five miles from Leeds, where tailoring became the major trade. The first ready-made clothes were at the low end of the market, not sold to those who had previously used a bespoke tailor. The 'slop shops' used sweated labour to make cheap garments.

The first wholesaler of ready-made clothes in Leeds got two or three sewing machines when they were first imported in the mid 1850s. In his factory he employed half a dozen cutters, a score of hands in all. Then he invented a cutting machine, and ready-made clothes began to work their way up the market. It is not easy to discover at what point this affected the trade of a small master tailor like Luke. He was able to build a bigger house on the main thoroughfare in Drighlington in 1873, and to lend Tom a little capital. He took a mortgage on his house a few years before his death, and the tailor son-in-law who took over the business at the turn of the century ended as a salesman for a tailoring firm.

Whatever Luke's fortunes forty years on, he was among the more prosperous within the horizons of his little community when Tom arrived. The next child, Rufus, was born the year after Tom. Five years later came Wilson, then Ellen, Hannah and George. Tom was the big brother during his boyhood; there were always little ones at home.

Luke was a trustee of the Primitive Methodist chapel. He was one of the little group of miners, labourers, and a colliery agent, to whom the property was conveyed. He was also a trustee of the local Oddfellows lodge, and transacted some of their property investments.

The Oddfellows became the largest group of Friendly Societies to grow out of the welter of secretive associations, burial clubs and mutual benefit societies springing up in the eighteenth century to frighten the gentry. By the time Tom was a member, the thrift and independence of friendly Societies was valued by government; but in1793 a member of the Board of Agriculture wrote 'Benefit clubs, holden at public houses, increase the number of those houses, and naturally lead to intemperance; that they afford commodious opportunities to foment sedition, and form illegal combinations, which they have actually sometimes done; and that as far as I have read and observed, there is not the smallest probability in their general extensive application, that they have ever, or ever will, diminish our poor rates, but just the contrary.'

Tom saw his father going off each month to the lodge meeting at The Halfway House at Birkenshaw, where the members paid for their room by buying beer out of the subscription money. They used the rest of their fund for relief in sickness and bereavement, and for expenses when on the tramp looking for work. The lodges had lovely names: *Prudence of the Vale; Loyal Philanthropic; Lord Wharnecliffe; Loyal Harmonic; Flower of Equity; Star of Bowling; Mundella's Pride; Youth's Resolution; Bud of Hope; Englishman's Friend; Brittanic Pride.* Luke's was the *Evening Star*.

When these things began, there did not exist the information with which to make a systematic relation between subscription and benefit. The history of Friendly Societies in the nineteenth century is of collecting statistics, constructing actuarial tables, and of government registration. The societies had rites, passwords, emblems and regalia, to make people feel united and to bring colour to plain circumstances. Nottingham's president, the "Grand Imperial", in 1835, wore "a scarlet robe, crimson coat terminating in tassels of the same colour, a velvet collar in crimson, trimmed with yellow silk or gold lace, and a velvet turban cap of crimson."
Later on the ceremonial and convivial side of the society became less important, as literacy, entertainments and railways gave life variety. Nevertheless, the new rule that drinks and dinners must not be paid for out of the funds was not universally observed.

There were several associations of lodges. Luke's was the Grand United Order of Oddfellows; Tom's was The Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, much the largest organisation. There was also a small temperance friendly society. They called themselves Rechabites, after an abstemious Old Testament clan. A budding insurance company compared Rechabite and Oddfellow rates of absence from work.The Rechabites did very much better, 3 days 12 hours, to the Oddfellows 13 days 3 hours in a year, and they used these figures to argue that working men can do very well without their beer.

Drighlington was a township within the large parish of Birstall. Some of the duties usually associated with parishes were here the business of the Town's Meeting. Ratepayers were expected to take their turn at the necessary public work. Luke seems to have done more than most. In 1854 he voted as a ratepayer, one of 348, to choose a local farmer as surveyor of roads. He was then made one of the committee of five to help the surveyor. He had the same job again five years later. The maintenance of the roads was a parish, in this case township, responsibility, and many of the meetings were taken up with the ordering of materials ("dross from the iron works, but not black dross", "ashes from the nearest pit that can be got") and the allocation of team-work, that is, the use of people's horses for this public work. In 1877 Drighlington took over their section of the main Leeds highway from the turnpike trust.

Several times Luke was elected "one of four substantial householders to serve the office of Overseer of the Poor for the year next ensuing". Under the reformed Poor Law, the duty of overseers was chiefly to assess and collect the poor rate for the Board of Guardians to administer. In 1855 Luke was chairman of a 'public towns meeting' to elect parish constables, and was one of those elected. They also met to elect the old manorial officers of Court Leet Constable, Bye-law man and Pindar. The Pindar was responsible for the local pound for stray animals. Another year Luke was on the nuisance committee. He audited the surveyor's accounts, and was chairman of several town or vestry meetings. All this amounts to a considerable share of the administration of the township.

Tom Townsend grew up with a father busy and respected in the affairs of the chapel, the friendly society and the township; owning his house, keeping his growing family, employing men, and taking responsibility outside his own household.

Education

It is not clear where Luke Townsend sent his children to school. He had no legal obligation to send them to school at all. Ten- and twelve-year-old contemporaries of Tom were listed as "heaver in a coal pit" and "worsted spinner", seven- and eight-year-olds as "horse driver in a coal pit". Tom's mother could not have taught her children; she marked marriage and baptism registers with a cross.

In 1822 a hundred and fifty children attended Sunday School in Drighlington. These schools were intent on teaching the Bible, but found that they must order their classes according to reading proficiency. The first class was called the A.B.C. Tom would have gone to the Primitive Methodist Sunday school, held in the newly built chapel - stone, twelve yards square, sixteen feet high, plain gable ends, square-headed windows on the original, round-headed on an extension, with no churchifying chamfers. In 1853 the Sunday School Anniversary sermons were preached in a borrowed field. £7. 0s. 1/2d was collected for school funds. In 1860 they built a school-room, twelve yards by nine yards, on to the end of the chapel. At that time they had 160 scholars and 37 teachers. It cost £140, and they had already raised £62 towards it.

When Tom was a little boy, Mrs. Hewitt, a widow in her late fifties, who lived a few houses away, was a schoolmistress, whilst her maiden daughters earned their living in the worsted mill. It may be that some such little Dame school started Tom off towards the rather rapid, confident hand he wrote later on. Sometimes a man taught for a while, but there is nothing to say whether he was a barely literate fellow struggling for a meagre living or an enthusiast like George Eliot's radical, Felix Holt, hoping to spread enlightenment.

In the year Tom was born, the Oddfellows in Leeds had a great plan to build a hall which should have on the ground floor a school for 500 children. Above were to be rooms for Oddfellows' meetings and for a Mechanics' Institute. They had sold 500 £1 shares for this piece of communal enterprise when a lawyer told them that each share needed a 10/- stamp. They were obliged to stop. The radical Leeds Times had approved that venture. In the editor's view "creeds, catechisms, and articles of faith and peculiarities of belief, have no more connection with the teaching of the alphabet and the multiplication table than they have with the teaching of trades." In Adwalton, the twin village which completed the township of Drighlington, there was a Mechanics' Institute which held evening classes. Perhaps Tom attended some of these.

Drighlington was out on the fringe of the parish of Birstall. In 1815 the Church of England acquired a former Moravian chapel and became a chapelry within Birstall. In 1851 the village became a District, where marriages could be solemnised. In 1875 they began building a new church, and became a separate parish. Of that building, all Pevsner can say is "in the perp. style". At that time too the Church of England built a Sunday school.

I have found no record of the Birstall rectors' dealings with their dissenting parishioners in the early nineteenth century, nor an account of the pastoral care they offered to outlying parts of the parish. In Dewsbury, Patrick Bronte seems to have got on well enough with the Methodists. In Camerton, a mining village on the Somerset coalfield, the rector, John Skinner, was plagued by

some Calvinistic Methodists. Skinner was a conscientious and authoritarian minister to his rough flock, and faithful to them in time of deadly epidemic. In his Journal he says: "Is it the same thing to attend to the crude undigested effusions of a cobbler or a collier, under the name of prayer, as the beautiful service of our liturgy? Is it the same thing to have a minister resident among them, to visit the sick, advise the ignorant and relieve the afflicted, or to contribute at the meeting house to a needy adventurer, who himself is greedy of the dole extorted from the hard hand of the mechanics?"

Skinner admitted "I have often thought that some of the more steady and serious among the Methodists might be of great service to the regular clergy, if they would keep within certain bounds, and not be hurried away by feeling or fancy. As they know far better the disposition and private life of the poorer orders they might give some very useful information to the clergyman when he went to visit the sick." Skinner was right about one source of his difficulty. This sad man, who had seen his own dear wife die, was yet able to say of the death of a poor young village wife and mother "But happy it is that people in the lower ranks of life are not possessed of the same sensibility as their superiors." Birstall clergy have left us no such revelations.

In 1861 the Rev. Charles Horsefall, aged fifty three and unmarried, was the perpetual curate of Drighlington. His two maiden sisters kept house for him. He was *ex officio* master of the small grammar school for boys. The Government was anxious about the state of some endowed schools, and in 1864 set up a commission of enquiry. Here is the report on Drighlington school, published in 1867.

"DRIGHLINGTON (Parish of Birstall) FREE SCHOOL:
MR J. G. FITCH'S REPORT

The property possessed by this school consists of a schoolroom, dwelling-house and garden for the master, and an annual rent-charge of £60 from the estate of a gentleman in the neighbourhood who is one of the governors. The will of Archbishop Margetson, who endowed the school in 1678, specifies that £40 shall be the salary of the head master, and that there shall be a second master or usher. This arrangement is now in force. The head mastership is held by the incumbent of the district parish, who resides in the school-house. There is an usher, who assists, and who receives £20 from the endowment. He is a cripple, and moves with great difficulty from one part of the school to another. 20 of the scholars are free, paying only the sum of 1s. 6d. per quarter for stationery, &c.; the remainder pay small weekly sums of 3d to 6d.

"The school is now in a pitiable state of squalor, disorder, and ignorance. Some rickety and dirty desks are ranged round the room, and the elder boys are sitting with their faces to the wall, ciphering or writing, apparently on no system, and with little supervision. The two masters sit at opposite ends of the room and call up the scholars separately. In the lowest class, consisting of thirteen boys, it seems to be the custom to pass a dirty spelling book from hand to hand, for exercise in learning their letters. They do not, however, know them, and no other occupation appears to be provided for the little ones, as they are expected to sit still for the remainder of the day. Not one of them has yet attempted to write or count.

"The third class consisted of thirteen children, whose average age was eight years. Not one of

them could read monosyllables, or write single letters and figures well enough to pass the examination for the lowest standard under the Revised Code.

"The second class contains eleven boys, who were reading from the New Testament, but who stopped to spell the simplest words aloud, and who could pronounce few and explain none of them. One boy only in this class was able to set down 7,12, 8, and 20 in a column and add them up correctly.

"In the first or highest class there were 16 boys, of whom four only wrote a short sentence from dictation with moderate correctness, and not one could give the correct answer to a sum in compound subtraction, although several of them were big lads who professed to have 'gone through' the whole of the arithmetic. The class was reading from a text book in history, but in a dull and careless way, mispronouncing almost every word, and evidently not comprehending the meaning of a single sentence. None of the copybooks were fit to be seen. It appears that lessons, consisting of short detached sentences from the reading book, are set as home tasks to be learned by heart. But the lessons are seldom learned and only one boy in the school was able to make even a beginning in the repetition of the lessons of the previous night, and he could not complete the sentence. I could not, after inquiring of the master, find that there was one redeeming feature in the school, or any one subject which had been studied with moderate care or interest.

"That there are nearly sixty children in this worthless school can only be accounted for by the fact that it is the only school in the village. The trustees, three of whom were present at the time of my visit, seem to deplore the state of the school, and to be aware of its degrading influence on the whole of the district. But they have neither the funds nor the authority to make a change. The property of the school cannot increase, and so long as the mastership is merely held as a means of adding to the scanty income of the parochial clergyman, it is unlikely that any change will make the institution efficient as a parish school."

Luke's nonconformity would have made Tom ineligible for this decayed academy. When the Education Act of 1870 said that local School Boards must be set up to ensure universal elementary education, Luke's name was second on the petition for a Drighlington Board, and he was elected to it. The Grammar school was demolished and a Board school built. Archbishop Margetson's old charity became a trust fund to provide exhibitions for deserving pupils, and Luke became a trustee. There was some complaint that a fund given by an Archbishop for Church children should now be available to Dissenters. The clergyman who had overseen the change bluntly replied that he had acted as the law required, and that once the Board school was open, the grammar school would have attracted no pupils.

Luke took his duty as School Board member seriously. The Infants school log book records him visiting new teachers, bringing a new bell or a new notice board, coming to observe the school inspection and to hear the pupils sing. He brought a new reading-stand with loose letters. He came to say that the children must all be sent home and the school closed during a measles epidemic in which a child died, and he arranged for the carriage of books and slates when the school moved to new premises.

If you wanted to get out of the village when Tom was a small boy you could take an omnibus to

Leeds on Tuesday, or to Bradford on Thursday. A carrier went to Leeds twice a week. Otherwise, if you had no horse, you walked. The cottage Luke bought in 1870 had a coach house and stable, but I think that Tom's childhood home had not. There was a Church of England National school a mile or so down the road at Birkenshaw. It was a five mile round trip to Morley, not much more than a big village, and nine miles round to Bradford. When Tom was eight years old, one of the small private railway companies opened a line from Bradford to Morley. They built it to convey coal from local workings, but they agreed that another company should carry passengers on the line, and they built Drighlington station. Tom was still listed as scholar in 1861 when he was 12. We cannot tell where he was at school or when he left. His father by then employed three men, and his mother ran a draper's shop. They could perhaps afford small fees and fares. By the time the youngest children needed schooling, the new Board school was available.

Tom's young half-brother, Arthur, began his teaching career as a pupil-teacher in that Board school. Attendance was very variable in the early years. Bad weather and fever affected numbers. A Master with three pupil-teachers to help him to educate an average of 192.5 boys appealed desperately for more staff. He also complained of impudence and disobedience from the pupil-teachers. Villagers urged the Headmaster to use his powers of compulsion to get children into school. They said that people sent their children out to collect coal that had fallen by the wayside. If the children found none, they stole some from the little coal-heaps laid up against the side of cottages which had no coal-house.

Tom's education seems to have left him literate and numerate, but with no evident eagerness for science, literature or art. He had a trade as a butcher, which gave him independence, but which could not absorb his life's enthusiasm.

Leaving Home: Marriage: Shipley.

At eighteen Tom was in Scarborough, working as a butcher. He attended the big new Jubilee chapel, and made a life-long commitment to the Primitive Methodist Connexion, or rather to God, by way of Primitive Methodism. The Methodists valued a conscious religious experience of change and commitment, even for those brought up in their Societies. They called it in the active voice, decision, and in the passive, conversion.

At nineteen Tom came home to be at the deathbed of his poor mother Elizabeth. He registered her death, from typhoid fever. She was forty eight. She had lost one son in infancy, before Tom was born. At her death she left behind her Rufus, seventeen, Wilson, twelve, Ellen and Hannah, ten and seven, and George who was five. Widower Luke took as housekeeper Elizabeth West, a wool-sorter's daughter from Tong, a mile away. She was twenty years younger than he was, and in 1871 he married her in the Bradford Register office. She bore him two sons, Arthur and Charles.

Tom went on working in Scarborough, an old spa, now transforming itself into a flourishing modern resort. On 31 October, 1870 he married Mary Hannah Mortimer of Shipley, and brought her back to Scarborough. He was twenty two and she was twenty. Two years later their first child, Elizabeth, my grandmother, was born. Within a year the little family moved to Shipley, Mary

Hannah's home town.

Shipley is in Airedale, where the little valley of the Bradford Beck runs in from the South to join the Aire. From anywhere in Shipley you can see the surrounding moor tops, six or seven hundred feet above, and rock outcrops on corners of vacant land. In 1800 Shipley was much the same size as Drighlington, but turnpike roads and canals followed the valleys. The railway from Leeds to Bradford came to Shipley in 1846, and the line to Bingley and Keighley the next year. Other lines opened in the 1870s. Worsted spinning and weaving flourished, and when Tom Townsend opened his butcher's shop in Shipley's main shopping street, Briggate, in 1872, the population was about twelve thousand and growing fast. Drighlington got to just over four thousand people, and stopped growing.

Directly upstream from Shipley, Sir Titus Salt had just about finished building Saltaire. Salt had inherited his father's mills in Bradford, and made a great deal of money by technical innovation, and by mixing cotton, silk and alpaca into worsted cloth. He had become High Constable of Bradford under the manorial system, and Mayor of the newly incorporated borough. He was briefly Member of Parliament, but resigned. Like many of the men taking responsibility in the manufacturing towns, he was an Independent in religion and a Liberal in politics. He gave a great deal of money to Independent and Liberal causes.

Salt had known Bradford through the years of hectic expansion and influx, and through the desperate decline of the hand loom weavers and woolcombers, and the demonstrations of the Chartists. As a magistrate he had been shocked by evidence of widespread immorality, and he had gone round with the police chief to see the swarming cellar-dwellings and undrained courts. He was horrified. Salt's industry had just reached the stage when all the processes could be worked by steam power. Working men needed the chance of moral, social and intellectual improvement. Salt bought land on the banks of the Aire, where engineer and architect could plan an enormous factory to put all the processes under one roof, and where canal and railway ran alongside. There, too, he could build houses, graded according to the status of the worker, but all with water, drainage and gas. The houses look small and regimented now; but the public spaces for education and wholesome pleasures still impress.

There were schools, almshouses and an infirmary. There was a park, and a big Institute, where there was a gym club, a band, lectures and concerts of classical music. There were horticultural, pig, dog, poultry and pigeon societies; athletics, cricket, fishing, and allotments. There was no pub. Salt was not teetotal, but he had seen the low life of the Bradford public houses, and he did not want it in Saltaire.

Samuel Smiles called Saltaire "a noble monument of private enterprise, liberality and wisdom." He reported the speech which Sir Titus made to the 3,000 people assembled for a mountainous dinner in his 2 acre combing-shed, when the mill opened. "I hope to draw around me a population that will enjoy the beauties of this neighbourhood, a population of well-paid, contented, happy operatives. I have given instructions to my architects that nothing is to be spared to render the dwellings of the operatives a pattern to the country; and if my life is spared by Divine providence, I hope to see satisfaction, contentment and happiness around me."

Salt would employ only good workmen: if you lost your job you lost your house. You could say that Saltaire was an attempt to reproduce the advantages and constraints of village life, with industry in the place of agriculture. Salt would have liked Saltaire to be administratively separate from Shipley, but the Local Government Board would not have it. Saltaire became a feature of Shipley life, and its distinctiveness faded with the era of patriarchal philanthropy.

The Mortimers

The Mortimer family was well known in Shipley. Hannah's grandparents, Samuel and Martha, had a small farm by Hirst Wood on the canal on the outskirts of Shipley, and other properties near by. This old Hirst Farm, built in about 1700, was usually home to more than just one little Mortimer family. Samuel's son, Charles, farmed there with his wife, Ann, and daughter, Martha, before he went off to Baildon and the salt trade. With him in the farmhouse were three big Mortimer children, too old to be his, and called Samuel, Martha and William, to prevent descendants distinguishing them from other Mortimers. Old Samuel had the parliamentary vote, when only 76 other men in Shipley had it.

Old Samuel's elder daughter, Martha, married Joseph Rhodes Yates, horse and cattle dealer and beerseller. They went to live in Baildon, in a row of cottages owned by Samuel, and still called the New Inn. There she had her own Samuel, Martha and William, and seven more.

In 1841, Samuel's younger daughter, Mary, married an eighteen year old machine maker, Michael Naylor. She was seventeen. Four months later she had her baby, whom they called Patience Mortimer. Michael and Mary had three more babies, and then I lose track of her. The young husband brought his little ones, and lived at Hirst Farm with his parents-in-law, but Mary was not there on the day of the 1851 census.

Samuel and Martha, now over sixty, had an Irish lad, Pat Farrell, living there to help on the farm, and a local girl, Harriet Jowett, as house servant. When Michael Naylor moved on, three of his children stayed there with their grandparents. Patience Mortimer Naylor stayed longest, and brought her husband William Smith to the farm. When they moved to Baildon, to the cottage old Samuel left to Patience, next door to aunt Martha Yates, they took little Sarah and Mortimer with them. Their elder boy, William, stayed behind. He was only seven when his great grandfather died, but William stayed on with Harriet, the housekeeper he had known all his life.

Hannah's father, Joshua, was old Samuel's elder son, born in 1809. He had established a drysalter's business in Shipley, with wharf premises on the Leeds and Liverpool canal, where he could get bulk delivery by barge from the Cheshire salt mines, and property in the main business street for retail sale. Mortimers seem to have been proud of their name. Several of Samuel's descendants, children of daughters and grand-daughters, have Mortimer as a middle name. So too had the illegitimate son of Samuel's housekeeper, Harriet Jowett, born in 1852. In his will Samuel referred to John Mortimer Jowett as "grandson", and left him the tenancy of the farm, and other provision. Of course, neither birth nor marriage certificate name his father. Harriet remained unmarried, and lived on the farm with her son for the rest of her life. In 1881 the old farmhouse held Harriet and her son, now 29, his wife and three children. They called the eldest

daughter Lily Mortimer. William Smith, now 18, was still there, working on the farm.

Samuel Mortimer died in October 1870. His grave is in Shipley parish churchyard, where his Martha had preceded him. Eleven days later Mary Hannah married Tom. Perhaps such families did not go in for the formal mourning which would have postponed a granddaughter's wedding.

Tom Townsend had a formidable mother-in-law. Joshua's wife Elizabeth had been a devout girl, and in her late teens became a hired local preacher in Lincolnshire, and later in other circuits nearer home. At twenty two her marriage certificate has her as 'dressmaker', but she went on being in demand for anniversaries and special sermons. Mrs. Mortimer was a keen temperance advocate, and was a leading founder of the Shipley branch of the International Order of Good Templars, a temperance organisation, begun in America, which had some of the rituals of the Friendly Societies popular at that time. She ran classes for girls, and Mothers meetings, and took an organising part in all the more domestic and fund raising activities of the Primitive Methodist cause.

Joshua and Elizabeth had ten children, of whom Mary Hannah was the third. Two daughters died, Rebecca at sixteen months and Patience at twelve and a half years. They were buried in the grave of Elizabeth's sister, Hannah Grayshaw, who had died twenty years earlier, in her sixteenth year. The stone already bore the words:

Happy child, thy days are ended
Freed from every toil and pain.
Assured to Christ thou art ascended,
Our loss is thy eternal gain.

In 1877 Elizabeth Mortimer herself died. She made an exemplary Good End. She was carried home ill from the Chapel Christmas tea and meeting, and bore patiently five weeks of painful illness. "On her death bed she warmly and repeatedly urged her family and friends to be thorough Christians . . . praying especially for her youngest son, a boy of nine, that God would keep him from the sins of the world and make him a Christian indeed. . . Persons of all shades of religious view and sympathy, from the Vicar to the worldly non-professor, combined to eulogise her uncommon excellence." The local paper headed her obituary "A Wonderful Woman". She was buried in the churchyard, as everyone was. There was no other cemetery. The burial service was taken by the Church of England clergyman as the law required. It was another three years before dissenting Ministers were permitted to conduct burials in any parish graveyard. The Primitive Methodists held a memorial service in their chapel. The local paper reported that "seats were ranged along the aisles and in every available place. The pulpit steps were fully occupied, and altogether there could not have been fewer than fifteen hundred people present."

Primitive Methodism

Primitive Methodism had been going for about sixty five years. I suppose its main message might be said to be: the existence of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the seriousness of sin and the certainty of Judgement; the assurance of the forgiveness of a loving God for those who repent

and believe; the requirement to obey God's will as discovered by prayer, Bible study and Christian fellowship; and the continuing dependence on God's grace, both for ammendment and forgiveness. They believed that they could receive a personal assurance of salvation, though backsliding might still occur. They expressed this experience of religion not as repression but as liberation. By analogy with the story of St. Peter's miraculous release from prison they sang " My chains fell off, my heart was free. I rose, went forth, and followed Thee." They were offspring of the Church of England, via Wesleyan Methodism, differing in discipline rather than doctrine. They were not Calvinist. They were against "the superstitious errors of Puseyism", which they did not consider to be the true English tradition.

The end of *Adam Bede* is set in 1807. Speaking of his wife, Dinah, Adam says: 'Conference has forbid the women preaching, and she's given it up, all but talking to the people a bit in their houses' 'Ah,' said Seth, who could not repress a comment at this point, 'and a sore pity it was o' Conference; and if Dinah had seen as I did, we'd ha' left the Wesleyans, and joined a body that 'ud put no bonds on Christian liberty.' Within a few years, the early Primitives saw themselves as that body.

The Primitive Methodists valued the freedom of open-air preaching and the work of women preachers. They went among the poorest colliers and farm labourers. Indeed in pit-villages and farming settlements they were the miners and labourers. They did not despise the name Ranters, but they wished to distinguish themselves from those revivalist preachers who went about stirring people up and then leaving them unsupported. A founder, Hugh Bourne, had his decisive religious experience not from excited meetings but alone, and from books. They quickly set up a bookroom to publish and sell hymns, Sunday school books and serious magazines. A bound volume of the Primitive Methodist Magazine for 1840 has its index divided under these heads: Ecclesiastical history, Divinity, Biography, Sunday school intelligence, Chapel openings, Protracted meetings, Journals, Memoirs, Camp meetings and love-feasts, Revival meetings, Conference and district meetings, Obituaries, anecdotes and Poetry. This was solid stuff, intended to sustain the new congregations.

Hugh Bourne's most natural way of conveying his message was by earnest private conversation, but he accepted that people needed stirring up if they were to embark on a significant alteration of life. So they sang and prayed and preached where they could, in the open air, in houses and in barns. Their own historian, writing in 1860, says 'Simplicity, earnestness and zeal have distinguished the denomination and equipped it for some kinds of labour, which though repulsive to some persons of calm and retiring habits are nevertheless adapted to the wants of the multitude, and have been productive of most important and heart cheering results."

From childhood I remember a relic of the Camp Meeting days, a sort of annual re-enactment in my grandparents' village. We had to walk down the main street and stop to sing a hymn in some of the folds, the cindery spaces between houses, wide enough for a cart to get through to the market garden at the back. We sat for the service on forms brought out from the Sunday school on to the grass plot beside the chapel. I had not the memories of past glories with which to overcome the present embarrassment.

As soon as the early Primitive Methodists had a little group of adherents in a place, they formed

a class, what modern jargon would call cell-group. These classes were kept as the constituents of a Society. They met to talk over the week's experiences together, and to pray and sing. At one such meeting Tom Townsend struck up familiar enough words but, by an exuberant mistake, not to the hymn but to the anthem tune. He was rescued from his solo by an older member: "Now then Tom Townsend, none o' thi Oratorios." This is one of the very few anecdotes I have from my grandmother. Alas, alas, I did not encourage her reminiscence, peopled as it was with names like Samuel and Joshua, horrible to my childish ear, and properly confined within the Bible, not to be leaked out.

By mid-century the missionary phase of British Primitive Methodism was coming to an end. People still remembered the itinerant preachers and their privations. They relished the stories of bravery under scorn and manhandling, and particularly of triumphs of argument over the magistrates and clergy of the Establishment. By the time Tom Townsend was born there was a network of little societies over Great Britain. By the time of his marriage about half of these, over three thousand, had built chapels. During his adult life the chapel building went on, theological training of three years in their own college was instituted for full time preachers, and they adopted the courtesy form of address 'Reverend'. Their ministers were still itinerant in the more limited sense that they were stationed about the country and moved from time to time as required by the stationing committee of the conference. Much of the preaching was still done by local preachers, who earned their living in ordinary jobs and took services in their own neighbourhoods. By the end of the century Primitive Methodist official documents tended to refer not to the Primitive Methodist Connexion, but to the Primitive Methodist Church.

It is interesting that the Primitive Methodists wanted for their ministers what had become the common form of clerical address 'Reverend.' Their origin was in freedom from such concerns, and their experience was that spiritual blessing will not be channelled. Had they begun to be interested in their own dignity? The Salvation Army does not want it, and remains content with its military metaphor. In 1875 one Wesleyan minister, Henry Keet, wanted it so much that in he appealed from his vicar to the Chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, and from him to the Dean of Arches, and from him to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to get 'Reverend' in front of his name on his poor dead daughter's tombstone. Perhaps his resolution was stiffened by the behaviour of the vicar, who simply instructed the mason to omit 'Reverend' from the inscription, and ignored Keet's civil letters.

I wonder whether the reason for the judge's decision took the shine off Keet's victory at all. The court ruled (I summarise) that Reverend is not a title, but an epithet, an adjective, nothing more. The clergy of the Church of England have not always used it, and in ancient times it was used by persons - even women - who were not clergymen at all. It is used at the present day (1876) in common parlance by ministers of denominations separate from the Church of England. In other words, Keet could have his Reverend because it did not signify much.

Several commentators notice a change over these years in the preaching about hell and damnation, with more about the wonder of mercy and redemption and less about eternal torment. My father used to recall a Banks labourer's comment on his early attempts at preaching. " Th'art allus agate o' coaxing on 'em, 'arry. Tha wents to prache 'ell a bit." I never heard him do it.

The Chapel in Saltaire Road, Shipley.

In 1839 the Primitive Methodists bought land in Shipley to build a chapel. They were mocked. "The idea of Ranters buying ground for £320 to build a chapel, and not a man among them worth £20." They built the chapel and paid for it, and twenty years later enlarged it. They outgrew that chapel too. In 1870 Tom and Hannah were married in the nearby Baptist chapel, built "in the modified Gothic style," at a cost of £5,500, to seat 950 persons. Two years later, when they came to settle in Shipley, their own new chapel, on the point of opening, had been built to seat a thousand.

Joshua Mortimer was a Trustee from the start. The first entry in the new minute book for "The Trustees of the Primitive Methodist New Chapel" is a proposal that they should have a Tea. On the same page is a resolution to have a Bazaar "to raise funds for the contemplated new chapel, and that the females should be formed into companies to sew for the bazaar, 16 to be one company." The first mention of Tom Townsend was that he should be one of the men asked to carve a ham for a Tea.

Money was needed. Sir Titus Salt, whose philanthropy went far beyond Saltaire, gave the site, and for a time promised £25 to every £75 raised by the congregation. In 1890 there was still £1,400 debt left on the £5,194 -3s-7d spent on the original building and £250 -10s spent on improvements. For the bazaar that year Tom Townsend was secretary, and Mrs. Townsend was secretary of the married and single ladies' stalls. A prominent Quaker was asked to make the opening speech at one bazaar. He did not disguise his view that if you believed a cause to be good you should pay for it without all the trouble and frivolity of a bazaar. Nevertheless he supposed it all to be harmless activity and he wished them well. Perhaps he underestimated how much people enjoyed such things.

The big bazaars would go on for three or four days, with entertainments in the evenings. There would be music, serious and light, comic or sentimental recitations, magic lantern shows. You could get single or season tickets. For the opening tea Joshua Mortimer's cart was sent up to Windhill to borrow extra tables from the chapel there, but for the usual affairs four or five hundred tickets would be printed. The schoolroom would be decorated according to a theme, such as a fairy grotto. One year China was the thing at all the local bazaars, with stalls representing Nanking, Hong Kong or Korea. For a plain chapel tea the trustees would order stones of plain bread and currant bread, butter, tea, milk and sugar, and ham. For other teas the women were asked to bring trays of food, but of what sort was unspecified in the minutes. Clearly trays and half-trays were customary objects, not requiring description. Sometimes there was tongue, and always ham.

Tom Townsend soon became a trustee. The trustees were responsible for the fabric and the finances of the chapel. Their regular business concerned hiring a chapel-keeper and getting him to keep the place clean. They had particular difficulty about cleaning the windows. Someone offered to ask the fire brigade to hose them down. They decided which pattern of brass gas light fitting and opal glass shade to order. They decided against doors for the pews, but for little brass fitments to hold cards bearing the names of those who rented the pews. They resolved to ask the minister to speak to the boys in the gallery about making a noise, and to ask the singers not to

talk during the services. They had a paid organist, but wondered whether they needed to have a paid leading singer.

Tom rarely seems to have left their monthly - or more frequent - meetings without some homework:

Resolved That Tom Townsend and two others get young men to organise entertainment for the bazaar on Good Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday.
That Tom Townsend collect evergreens to decorate the schoolroom for the Christmas tea.
Tom Townsend and the repairing committee to look after the fixing of the clock.
That Bro. Townsend buy the box of the Sons of Temperance to put music in, if he can get it for 12/6d.
That Bro. Townsend be requested to take an inventory of all the chapel property.
That if there is a window broken Bro. Townsend to see the boys and get them to pay, or summon them.

The Chapel clock which Tom was to have fixed had been bought with money raised for the purpose by the young ladies' select class. They had held a Fruit Banquet at which Tom Townsend made "a few brief pointed remarks" followed by songs and recitations. Tom is recorded in the business, social and preaching activities of the chapel, but they had serious lectures too, with such titles as

Moses and the Archaeologists.
Is there any substitute for the old evangelism?
The New Testament idea of the sacraments.
The influence of Greek ideas and usages upon the Christian Church.
Marks of the progress of the Kingdom of God.

In these years Tom and Hannah had two more babies, both girls, my great aunts. Mary Ellen - Nelly - was born in 1875 and Priscilla in 1881.

Politics in the West Riding: Whigs, Tories, Liberals and Chartists in Luke's Day.

Tom Townsend was first on the register of parliamentary electors in 1877. He had bought a house, newly built in St. Paul's Rd., near the parish church, and so qualified as a forty shilling freeholder in the Northern division of the county constituency of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Tom became an ardent supporter of the radical wing of the Liberal party. His brother George was for forty years a Staffordshire county councilor. He was for some years a Liberal party agent, and twice stood unsuccessfully for parliament. Half-brother Arthur became a county councilor when he had retired from school-mastering. How much did the Drighlington home foster the boys' interest in politics?

One cannot know much of what Luke did, but his opportunities are accessible. He was 16 when the first Reform Act was passed; (that reform which Mr. Brooke of Tipton had hoped to

recommend to the electors of Middlemarch) That Act gave most of the borough middle class the vote. About 4% 0f the adult population were now elector. Redistribution of seats made the West Riding a separate county constituency.

There were great landed families, Wentworth, Howard, Wortley, Lascelles, Cavendish, used to seats in both Houses of Parliament. The Act made the manufacturing towns, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, into parliamentary boroughs. Within those towns, those whose property would qualify them as forty shilling freeholders but not as ten pound householder borough electors, could vote as county constituents. There were also districts like Drighlington, county not borough, but more industrial than farming. This meant that the great landlords had to consider the growing manufacturing and commercial interests if they wanted to keep their leadership of affairs. Both parties worked hard to get their supporters to register as voters, and to challenge the qualification of opponents. The electorate grew from 18,000 to 29,000 in the year following 1834, not by population growth but by the work of party agents.

This great electorate, the largest in England, chose two Members of Parliament, Knights of the Shire. They were usually the sons of peers or baronets, Whig or Liberal until Peel's ministry of 1841 when Tories turned them out for five years. They had some interesting men. Richard Cobden, fresh from the repeal of the Corn Laws, represented them unopposed for ten years. Lord Morpeth, son of the Earl of Carlisle, father a Howard, mother a Cavendish, got in first to the unreformed House for the family borough of Morpeth, then for the County of York, and then for the West Riding. He thought the 1832 reform a "safe, wise, honest and glorious measure", was in favour of repeal of the Corn Laws, and introduced the 1848 Public Health bill. He was a keen supporter of Mechanics' Institutes. He had got a First in Classics, and he lectured on Pope to the mechanics of Leeds. The Liberal Leeds Mercury was thrilled by the "Unprecedented kindness on the part of one of the worthiest of England's nobles". This gentle bachelor in Castle Howard was a social world away from the tailor in unpaved, undrained, unlit Drighlington, but he may have represented some of his views. On the other hand Luke may have shared the Radical scorn for those whom they had supported in 1832, but who were now content to leave them excluded from the franchise.

The elections of Luke Townsend's youth were mostly uncontested, as were about half the country's seats in those years. When Luke was twenty two, "In consequence of the lamented death of our late Most Gracious Sovereign, King William the Fourth, by whose decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty Princess, Alexandrina Victoria, Parliament was dissolved on the 17th of July, 1837."

That election was vigorously contested. On the day of nomination there was cheering, shouting, music playing, bells ringing, from early morning. The Liberal candidates arrived at the hustings in front of the County Court in Wakefield "mounted on black chargers, habited as knights, and were preceded by an Orange flag, inscribed "Justice for Ireland." There were the formal proceedings and speeches, and then "Lord Morpeth came forward to address the assembled thousands. In the course of his Lordship's speech a most severe conflict commenced between the two rival parties. The contest was begun and continued for a considerable interval with slight sticks, which the combatants used in a most dexterous manner; but the contest soon assumed a

fiercer and more determined character. Thick branches of trees, as well as the poles of the colours and banners, were mutually wrested by one party from the other, serving as more efficacious and deadly instruments for the gratification of their reciprocal animosity. In many cases might be seen individuals whose condition afforded indisputable proof of the savage determination of the contending parties. Heads laid open, and faces disfigured with blood, met the eye in every direction.
During the conflict the proceedings of the election were suspended, but it now became evident that it would be necessary to terminate them altogether, in order to avert the most awful consequences; and to put a stop to the shedding of human blood.
The High Sheriff hastily declared that a show of hands would be dispensed with, and that a poll being demanded on behalf of the candidates, it should take place on Thursday morning.
This awful affair ended in the death of two persons.....
Whilst the rioting was going on, an express was sent off to Leeds for the military; and between four and five o'clock four troops of the 15th. Hussars arrived, but finding all comparatively quiet, two troops returned to Leeds."

These quotations are from a Poll Book, which prints the election addresses, describes the proceedings, and lists the votes cast, against the names of the electors.

There were strong political newspapers circulating in Luke's part of Yorkshire in the 1840s; the Liberal Leeds Mercury, the Radical Leeds Times. The Chartists hated the new Poor Law, with its dreaded 'Bastille' workhouses, deliberately designed to be 'less eligible' than the poorest life outside them. They felt ground down by the relentless life in the factories, and the attacks on the early trade unions. They believed that reform of parliament was the prerequisite of government favourable to working people. Their charter demanded manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, payment of members of parliament, the secret ballot, and the abolition of property qualification for M.P.s. They produced the *Northern Star,* pages of vigorous articles and news from the districts of England and Scotland, interrupted only by modest headings. I have seen no mention of Drighlington, but Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax were centres of Radical activity. There were Radical associations in Birkenshaw and Birstall and Osset, all within walking distance. In pit settlements wilder than Drighlington small groups of colliers kept out of the public house, and clubbed together to buy the *Northern Star*, and teach each other to read it.

Frank Peel, a local historian writing in 1880, was able to collect from the reminiscences of local people, perhaps at second hand, detailed accounts of the Luddite machine breaking in 1812, and the personal stories of the fourteen hungry men hanged in one day at York Castle, under the new law which made attacking a mill a capital offence. Those stories, of fear of bands of desperate fellows seizing arms and making pikes, and of honest men driven to such means by the hunger of their wives and children, would have been told and retold in the villages of Luke's youth. The greatest scorn was kept for the agents provocateurs, men paid by the government to incite and then betray their fellows, and for the government which paid them. As one man Brandreth, condemned for attempting an insurrection, said on the scaffold, "God bless all but Lord Castlereagh."

A crossroads such as Drighlington would see the troops of soldiers on their way to deal with Chartist gatherings. Luke was 26 when a troop of Yorkshire Hussars rode through from Leeds to

Halifax, to disperse a great band of men and women going from mill to mill, drawing the plugs from the boilers. Of the rioters Frank Peel wrote: "Many of the men had coarse grey blankets strapped to their backs, and were armed with formidable bludgeons, flails, pitch forks and pikes. Their appearance as they came pouring down the road was one which it would be impossible to forget - a gaunt famished-looking desperate multitude, many without coats and hats, hundreds like scarecrows with their clothes in rags and tatters, and amongst them were many women. Some of the older men looked footsore and weary, but the great bulk were in the prime of life, full of wild excitement." Of the eighteen arrested that day three were from Birstall. Would the suffering or the disorder have impressed Luke more?

The last general election to be contested in the West Riding before the Chartists' final petition in 1848, was that of 1841. In a long article in the Northern Star, Feargus O'Connor gave instructions for the conduct of Chartists. They were to put up candidates. They were to go to the nomination is as large a number as they could, forming processions along the way. They were to take sticks, but on no account to start any violence. When the show of hands was called for they were to put up both hands, as O'Connor was sure their rivals would do, and to keep them up until a signal from someone on the hustings. Most of their support would be from men with no vote, so they were not to enter the poll. They would have the benefit of a public platform and public show of support, without the useless official expense.

The Chartist candidate for the West Riding was Julian George Harney, who had already been in prison for publishing untaxed periodicals, and who later ran the *Northern Star*. He was one of those who addressed the great final meeting on Kennington Common in 1848, when the old Duke of Wellington arranged the defence of Westminster against the mob. The monster petition was taken to Westminster in a cab, where thousands of its signatures were found to be false, in the manner of old Fleet street payrolls. Thus the genuine effort was discredited. In 1841 Harney had canvassed hard, on foot and by a train or two, between Dewsbury, Wakefield, Huddersfield and Bradford, getting soaked and exhausted, and being heard by men who had walked miles for the purpose.

Small self employed artisans had the independence useful for political activity in the days before the secret ballot. Such men as blacksmiths, shoemakers, printers and tailors were noticeable among the Chartists. At a Reform meeting in Bradford there were 77 tailors in a crowd of 2,000 men. Most tailors in the movement were temperance advocates. Many were preachers, many were Oddfellows, like Luke.

I have given a lot of space to the Chartists, without evidence that Luke was one of them. It was a tiresome commonplace of journalists talking about Margaret Thatcher's autobiography to say that she was the natural product of shop-keeping Northern nonconformity. There is another tradition. Not all those engaged in trade were tied to snobbery by their own brown paper and string. Not all radical preachers were drunken hypocrites, like those in *Shirley*. Joseph Capper was a blacksmith, not poor, "his shop was one of the most prominent places in town in those days". He was a Primitive Methodist preacher, imprisoned because his biblical rhetoric was held to have encouraged rioters. He told the court that he had a vote, and he had two tenants that had votes, but he "thought it wrong that men had not votes, instead of houses." That is a tradition of nonconformity in which I think Tom Townsend would have been proud to place himself, though

he had no need to suffer for his opinions.

Luke Townsend first qualified for the vote in 1846, when he bought a little plot of land from his uncle, Samuel Garforth, and built a cottage. In 1848 there was a by-election when Lord Morpeth succeeded to the earldom of Carlisle. Luke voted for the Liberal, who lost. The next two elections were not contested in the West Riding. Nor was the by-election in 1859 when Sir J.W. Ramsden was returned. In 1848 the radical Leeds Times had reported that Ramsden's agent had sat in the George Hotel, Huddersfield, to receive his half yearly rents, which amounted to £30,000; plenty, they thought, for a lad of 16. He had the good fortune to own the chief part of the soil upon which Huddersfield had been built. Now they reported his election. There was no other nominee, and so there was no poll. Sir John's supporters came with music and banners to the nomination.
'Sir John was formally girt with the sword and covered with the cocked hat appertaining to a Knight of the Shire. The hat was a gorgeous affair, and Sir John, with a modesty which reminded one of Caesar on the Capitol, twice refused it, but stood ultimately covered before the electors until their cheering had somewhat subsided."

Three months later there was a general election. There were three candidates for the two seats: Ramsden, the Hon. J.A.S. Wortley, conservative, and Francis Crossley, son of the founder of the biggest carpet works in Europe, who had sat for seven years as Liberal representative of his native Halifax. Crossley was a modest man, praised, with his family and Titus Salt's, in Samuel Smiles's *Thrift,* for frugality, industry and consequent success and opportunity for philanthropy. Ramsden kept his seat. Luke voted for Crossley, and he got in. For the county seat, the townsman had beaten Wortley, brother of Lord Wharncliffe, local Tory landowner, who had been in the House of Commons before he went to the Lords. As the Lord Lieutenant said "We have chosen one from the manufacturing and one from the landed interest."

Luke would have gone to Birstall to vote, but the nomination in Wakefield was the exciting thing. Thirty thousand, voters and non-voters, came to shout. There were special trains from Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Doncaster, Halifax and Huddersfield. Now I am tempted: might not Luke have taken his eldest son to this great spectacle for his eleventh birthday?

Politics in Tom's Time.

On 15 July, 1865, the Leeds Times said: "This day, at 11 o'clock, the two Liberal candidates, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Sir Francis Crossley, will address the electorate from a platform on Woodhouse Moor. As there is no opposition they will quietly walk over the course." Lord Frederick was the second son of the Duke of Devonshire. His wife was a Lyttelton, niece of Gladstone's wife. She was pious, lively, devoted to her husband, and she kept a journal. Gladstone was 'Uncle W.' She had been advised to go with her husband to Yorkshire "that we might be civil to the constituency." The local paper reported that 3,000 persons came to the hustings. There were forty carriages. "After addressing the assembly their procession proceeded in triumph through the principal streets of the town." This was quiet stuff compared with 1837, but Lady Frederick was thrilled "Never have I gone through such excitement or felt so proud."

The debates about parliamentary reform had gone on. Where should you draw the line, to include only responsible men? How do you secure the balance between "property, intelligence, and numbers"? Gladstone had "deeply grieved" the Queen, and shocked many by saying in the Commons "I venture to say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution." "Working men are our own flesh and blood". It was Disraeli who got a Bill through in 1867. It enfranchised a million men, mostly in the boroughs.

There was also more redistribution of seats. The West Riding was made into two and then three divisions, to give greater representation. Shipley was North, and Drighlington was East. In 1874 Drighlington became a polling district. There were two polling booths, and 270 registered voters for the first ever parliamentary contest in the village. The ballot was secret, and there are no more revealing poll-books to tell us what Luke did. The votes were added up in Leeds, and the Conservatives got in.

Lord Frederick Cavendish was an able, hardworking M.P., serving Gladstone particularly in the treasury. He shot his birds at Bolton Hall, and he visited the family docks and ironworks in Barrow in Furness, but he also made speeches and opened institutions up and down the constituency. He was the sitting M.P. for the division in 1880, when Tom Townsend first had the chance to vote. There was no show of hands now, but booths in St. Paul's school, and ballot boxes carried off to Bradford for the count.

Lord Frederick and Sir Matthew Wilson and their wives came to a Liberal meeting in the Grand Templar's hall in Shipley. As Lady Frederick wrote, "To a political do-ment at Shipley, the hospitable Titus Salts putting us up at Milner Field amid no end of luxury." (She was accustomed to Chatsworth.) The candidates attacked Disraeli's foreign policy. They thought that there should be general cemeteries for those who did not want Church of England funerals. They thought that counties should have the same franchise qualifications as boroughs. They supported elected local government for counties. In answer to the delicate temperance question, they thought that individual self-control was the best, but as monopolies are given to licensed premises, they should be held responsible for controlling drunkenness there.

Those were the subjects discussed at the Shipley meeting, but the excitement of electioneering is best caught in Lady Frederick's own words.

"As for F. and Sir Matthew Wilson, they have been making a regular triumphant "progress," and great fun it has been for me. Farming districts, big colliery villages, and manufacturing towns, - it's all the same; close-packed meetings, roars of applause, all but unanimous show of hands, and frantic enthusiasm of man, woman, and child. We dined on Friday at Mr.Shaw's gorgeous house at Allangate, and, driving down in an open carriage to Sowerby Bridge, the whole population turned out to meet us. All this the more delightful for being *Yorkshire :* such keen strong intelligent faces listening intently and seizing upon the points of the speeches. As to the hospitality! -- splendid banquets of every degree await us at every turn, to the sore perplexity of unaccustomed stomachs; wine and salmon and sweetbreads and feather-beds abound; and all sorts and conditions of men are working like horses day and night at the canvassing, 'all for love and nothing for reward'. The party seems absolutely united; many questions are sometimes asked

as to drink, disestablishment, etc., but there seems no fear of losing any votes by these differences, and we fly into the arms of rabid dissenters and teetotallers, all as gentle as sucking doves. Mr. Illingworth (just elected with Mr. Forster for Bradford), who would not work for F. last election, turns up on our platfoms and speaks for him; and he and I go *hooking* about together."

Lady Frederick several times remarks on the Yorkshire audiences. "I was much delighted with the warmth and heartiness of the audience, all apparently working folk" "the people listened famously well, and I enjoyed the sight of their keen, shrewd faces." "I was struck with the intelligence of the great crowded audience" It may have been the character of Yorkshire men, but it may have been because she was at home in the highest political society, a faithful visitor of the poor in the London Hospital and of dependent families on the Devonshire estates, but did not meet in ordinary life the class of independent craftsmen, traders and workers who filled political meetings.

Poor woman! Lord Frederick kept his seat. In May 1882 he loyally accepted Gladstone's urgent request that he should go to Dublin as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was murdered, with William Henry Burke, the Under Secretary, as he walked across Phoenix Park, on his first day there. The enthusiastic diary was abandoned.

Local Government : Drighlington.

The reforms which followed the 1832 Reform Act required the setting up of local boards. There were Boards of Guardians to administer the Poor Law in the Poor Law Unions. Hannah's brother Joseph Mortimer served on this Board for many years. There were local Boards of Health to administer Public Health and Removal of Nuisance Acts. Drighlington set up its Local Board in 1867. Luke Townsend was not a member, but his young cousin Fearnley Garforth took to the new forms of local government from the start. He was on the Board for the North Bierley Poor Law Union with Joseph Mortimer. He joined Luke on the School Board, and argued in favour of economy. When the Board, with Luke as chairman, wanted to pay a sewing teacher £18 he thought £16 would do. He saw the estimates for the new school building, and persuaded the Board to ask for revised plans. He thought that local coal seams were approaching exhaustion, and that the population would decline. Mr. Mawson of Lockwood and Mawson, the architects who designed Saltaire, presented a more modest version, and that was what they built. Luke stayed to see it open in 1876, and stood down at the 1877 election. Fearnley succeeded him as chairman.
The Drighlington Local Board proposed drainage and lighting schemes. A special correspondent of the *Morley Observer* noted that in spite of the number of deaths in the village from insanitary conditions there was local opposition to such plans. His view was that "at best, Drighlington is but a miserable hole". They got their drains. In 1878 a Towns Meeting required the nuisance inspector to give notice to Luke Townsend and twelve other property owners along the Whitehall Rd. to connect their sink-sewers to the new drain. In 1904 Fearnley Garforth, as chairman of the Local Board, declared open the new sewage works.

Today in England and Wales the death rate for people between 25 and 34 years old is about 0.66

per 1,000 of the population. The comparable figure for 1882 is 8.1 per 1,000. The Townsends' contribution to this sad sum was the death from pneumonia of Tom's next brother, the book keeper Rufus. Rufus had signed the register at Tom and Hannah's wedding. He lived in Girlington, on the Shipley side of Bradford. In January 1882 he was ill. On the 31st. he made his will, and his father was witness. On 4 February he died, with Luke at his bedside, and it was Luke who registered his death. He was 32. His widow already had her mother living with her and there was one child, eight year old John George. Ten years later the boy was a guest at my grandmother's wedding; the Townsend connection was maintained.

Local Government: Shipley.

Shipley's first local Board of nine members was set up in 1853. By 1872 there were twelve members and more duties - water supply, public health, street improvement, sewerage, nuisance. By the time he was thirty Tom Townsend was involving himself in local affairs. He seconded the candidacy for the Local Board of Henry Dunn, a local chemist. Dunn got a seat, and Tom made a congratulatory speech. Dunn went on to be a leader in local politics for many years. For a time Dunn and Townsend organised a Ratepayers Union to counteract the efforts of a Ratepayers Association, whose candidates they wished to defeat.

Townsend and Dunn met on temperance platforms. They were both involved in setting up a Temperance Hall, made of wood, mostly taken from an unsuccessful skating rink. It had a hall to hold 1,000 persons, and some small committee rooms, but "the internal as well as the external appearance of the building is quite plain, relieved but faintly by a number of mottoes and bannerettes placed about the walls, or suspended therefrom." The Mayor of Leeds came to open it, but it was not a success.

Townsend and Dunn were colleagues too in a scheme to help working men buy their own houses. A travelling advocate of a sort of self-help mutual building society came to Shipley, and Townsend and Dunn agreed to be hon. secretary and hon. chairman. That did not get enough support, and was wound up within a year.

The newspapers carried advertisements for several brands of cocoa. One tried to kill two birds with one stone by calling its product Homeopathic Cocoa. They did not say whether it was the chocolate or some other ingredient which was in scarcely perceptible quantity. Several Cocoa Rooms opened in Shipley, one with stained glass, mirrors and marble tables. They advertised "tea coffee and cocoa, always ready from 5.30. a.m. to 10 p.m. Buns, pies, tarts etc. etc." Titus Salt opened one of them, saying that workmen needed somewhere to go to meet their friends, especially if they had a small house and a large family.

The Cocoa Rooms also advertised: "N.B. 1d. and 2d. Refreshment Cheques for charitable distribution on sale." The winters of 1879-80 and 1880-81 were hard. There was skating on mill-ponds, and outdoor work stopped. There was a Shipley relief committee to supply soup with dumplings in it, and warm clothes for children to wear for school. Tom was chairman of a fundraising effort at the Co-op Hall. This was a Negro entertainment given by the 'Singing Pilgrims', two men, one female, and three persons from Bradford. The reporter found it 'peculiar entertainment' "The songs rendered were those which some time ago acquired celebrity as the

rude but expressive outpourings with which the negroes used to beguile the hours of slavery." Their experiences had given them "picturesqueness and force." "The audience was large, but neither very select nor orderly" For the same cause a "sleight of hand" performance went better. At a bazaar, Tom and Hannah both had stalls. They liked to have part of the hall set out like a sitting-room, and Tom "contributed several oil-paintings to the decorations." I would love to know what they were.

In the spring of 1881 Tom wanted to stand for the Local Board, but those of similar views wanted an agreed list, to avoid a contest, and Tom was not chosen. His attempt to become an overseer went the same way. He failed again in 1882, but in 1883 Tom was elected to Shipley Local Board. He was put onto the Sanitary committee. [Some figures: Shipley 1882. population 15,081. houses, 3,398. water closets, 8-900. parliamentary voters, 667.] To thank his supporters Tom "gave a complimentary tea at the Coffee Palace to those who had recently canvassed so energetically for him." There was tea for forty, speeches, recitations and songs.

The Shipley School Board.

Later in the summer of 1883 Tom Townsend found himself unexpectedly on the Shipley School Board. The 1870 Education Act, introduced by Bradford M.P. W.E. Forster, was intended to prepare the way for compulsory universal elementary education, to fit people for an increasingly industrial society and a widening franchise. Voluntary and private schools provided some places, but not enough. The boards were to do the sums and supply the deficiency. Shipley was rather slow to set up its Board, slower than Drighlington had been. When it did, in 1874, it found that the two main schools, St. Paul's, set up by the Church of England's National Society for the Education of the Poor according to the Principles of the Established Church, and the Salt schools, provided by Sir Titus Salt in Saltaire, had about twelve hundred places between them. There were a few small private schools, but about eight hundred new places were needed.

The Shipley Board built the Central School in 1876, and were pleased to find that when a member visited it the next year there were 704 children present, for the most part children who attended no school whatever before the establishment of the Board. School building had got ahead of the highways committee. Parents complained that the road outside the school had neither macadamised surface nor pavement. The Local Board replied that they were about to deal with the whole road. They built four more schools in the next twelve years, by which time the average daily attendance was 2759 children. Titus Salt, son of the late patriarch of Saltaire, was chairman of the Board.

Lady Frederick Cavendish visited the Central school on one of her Shipley trips :
"6th. October, 1877. Milner Field.
Titus took us and Lord Caernarvon over the magnificent Saltaire schools. I never dreamed of anything on such a scale. He is especially proud of the Board schools, which consist of a kindergarten and a great mixed school, both departments ruled by women without pupil teachers, the plan being the classroom one throughout. The big central hall is only used for the religious lesson, and for drilling and marching and games. Of course there is an Admirable Crichton of a head mistress of each school, on which the whole thing depends, and who has the fullest possible

freedom of action and control. She had mighty difficulty at first getting the rough factory boys into order, but now the beautiful gentleness, discipline and tone strikes one at once, and the happy faces, the recitals of poetry even by the infants, a miracle of intelligence and refinement."

At that time, if an eleven-year-old child could pass the government grade three examination in reading, writing and arithmetic, he could get a certificate and be put to work half time. He had to attend school half time until he could leave altogether at thirteen. If an eleven year old could pass the grade five examination he could leave, unless his work was to be in a factory or a workshop, in which case he still had to attend school half time.

There were about a thousand half timers in 1883, and they were inconvenient to devisers of school time-tables. The Shipley Board proposed to collect them into one school, to make proper provision for them. A group of Liberals, Townsend among them, disagreed with this proposal. These were the brightest children of the poorest families. They had to walk everywhere, and Townsend thought that they should be taught at the schools nearest their homes. How could they study if they had to walk to the factory and do a half day's work, go home for dinner and then walk half way across town to school. The 'half time' factory hours were not short. In Salt's mill for example, children alternating a week's morning and a week's afternoon shift, worked an average of 27 hours a week in the mill. There was considerable local controversy and the whole School Board resigned.

An entirely new Board was elected: Butterfield, insurance agent, Dunn, druggist, Hargreaves, a grocer, Smith, a draper, Rutherford, physician and surgeon, and Townsend. Henry Dunn was elected Chairman and Townsend made a speech seconding him. He paid tribute to Titus Salt's work and said that the present committee was not of so high a station, but they were capable and determined. He was chairman of the management committee and on the finance committee. He found that the Board had an overdraft. He said that they should not borrow, but issue a new precept - a claim on the rates - " to begin with a straight edge."

The new School Board meetings did not always run smoothly. Dr. Rutherford often disagreed with the rest. He exacerbated any disagreement with teachers and encouraged public opposition. The new men were feeling their way and may not always have been tactful. They offended the established headmaster of the Central School, and although Tom paid tribute to him in a Board meeting the disagreement had been made too public to subside easily. However, they increased the number of teachers at the boys' school. Tom went to Bradford to see the work of a prospective teacher for the girls' school, and his recommendation was accepted. The Board increased the standard necessary before children could get an exemption certificate.

The education of half timers was a continuing problem. Two years later, when Tom was chairman, the examination results at the Central School were not as good as expected. The headmaster blamed his difficulties on shortage of staff and the presence of half timers. He said that he had enjoyed the confidence of the previous board, but not of this one, and he got a lot of public support. Townsend & Co.'s policies needed more money for staff than rate payers were happy to provide. Between 1895 and 1898 1117 half time and 724 full time labour certificates were provided, and the half timers were still scattered about the several schools.

The Removal from Shipley.

In May 1885 Tom Townsend fell ill. He had had a very busy winter.

The Chapel had had some renovations, and Townsend was chapel steward. In March he helped to arrange the special services for the reopening. Temperance work went on. In the Shipley Liberal Association he was one of the Hundred elected to choose the parliamentary candidate. He was on the finance and the sanitary committee of the Local Board. He was chairman of the School Board, and it had been an eventful term. There was the conflict at the Central school about half timers, and serious dicussions about the cramming, which the payment by results system encouraged. There was an epidemic of measles, and in the new sphere of public health, conflicting medical advice about which schools should be closed.

The report of the ordinary monthly meeting of the School Board of the 23rd. May records "the absence of the chairman, Mr. Tom Townsend, who, we regret to state, continues seriously ill " and they resolved that they "deeply sympathise with members of his family under their severe affliction." They were more reticent than we, and his illness was not named.

Tom Townsend had been Superintendant of the Sunday school, and on their anniversary in 1883 had been one of those who, with banners, led a grand parade of seven hundred scholars, teachers and friends through the streets to tea and cricket. Now that he was ill, four hundred of them assembled to sing special hymns around his house.

In May he resigned from the School Board. "I regret that I am compelled to adopt this course owing to failing health, which prevents me from attending to the duties devolving upon me as a member of the board with justice.." They accepted "with pain".

In June he resigned from the Local Board in much the same terms.

Tom and Hannah had decided on a change of scene as the way to disengage themselves from Shipley responsibilities. Tom had run his butcher's shop, and had taken as apprentice Hannah's young brother, Joseph. In 1877 or 1878 Tom launched into a new and expanding line of business; he began to sell life insurance. There were some old companies, conducting their business through solicitors and bankers. From the middle of the century many new companies offered to insure the lives of people of modest income. The Prudential was the extremely successful example of this type of company, going from 30,000 policies in 1860 to 10,000,000 in 1891. They advertised, opened branches with managers in major cities, and recruited agents who worked on commission, fitting that work in with other occupations. Many companies started and foundered; people lost their premiums. A Companies Act in 1860, and Life Assurance Act in 1870, brought sounder business methods and accounting. Tom became an agent for the British Equitable Life Assurance company. He seems to have backed a sensible firm. They began in 1854, survived the early scrambling years, and were still there in 1924, when they became a subsidiary of Royal Exchange. Tom also was agent for The Alliance Insurance Co.

Tom soon felt confident enough to hand the butcher's business over to his brother-in-law Joseph, who kept it until 1916, when he went off to Kenya and became Mayor of Nairobi. Tom kept an

interest in the trade, and went to Butchers' Association dinners, sometimes as speaker, but he never worked as a butcher again.

The Townsends, Tom now thirty seven, Hannah, thirty five, Elizabeth, thirteen, Mary Ellen, ten, and Priscilla, four, set off for Ulverstone, between Morcambe Bay and lake Windermere.

Tom wrote this letter to the Shipley School Board.

Ulverstone House. July 18 1885.

Your letter duly to hand, conveying to me the sympathy of the board in my affliction, and their regret on account of my leaving the Board and removing out of the town. I appreciate their kind expression, and shall not forget their kindness to me when on the Board, and the assistance they gave to me when at times we laboured under great disadvantages.
I am glad that they have elected Mr. Blackburn, and trust that they will fill the other vacancies. I do hope they will not surrender, but continue to show, as we have done, by expenditure and results, that a board composed of working men can watch over the educational interests of the town, and discharge the important duties as honourably and efficiently as any previous board.
With kind regards to yourself and every member of the board I am, dear sirs, yours in an improved state of health.

It is not clear how long the family stayed in Ulverstone, or how long they intended to stay. They were there long enough to transfer their membership to the local chapel, a few months. Then there came a new opportunity.

Temperance.

In Birmingham in 1883, seven men subscribed for 500 shares each and set up a company to insure the lives and property of total abstainers from alcohol. They took the title 'Blue Ribbon' from an American Gospel Temperance mission then canvassing in England. They advertised in temperance papers, and held public meetings around the country. By June 1885 they had recruited 1417 agents, and were looking for more managers. The chairman of the company said at a board meeting, that they needed professional men, able to converse freely with all sorts of customers and investors, and that such men were hard to find. They appointed Tom Townsend.

Tom would be glad to work for a temperance organisation. Luke Townsend and Primitive Methodism, approximate coevals, were both established before the temperance movement spread to England from America in the 1830.s. The Primitives took to temperance. I cannot tell when Luke took to either. He was baptised in the Established church. The Primitive Methodists came to Drighlington in 1823. By 1853, Luke was a trustee buying land for the new chapel. The temperance movement was particularly early and strong in the West Riding. Bradford built the first temperance hall in England in 1837. Tom is likely to have been brought up teetotal. In his mid twenties he was a delegate with his Mother-in-law to a Good Templars' conference in Bradford, and represented North Yorkshire at their international assembly in Newcastle on Tyne. Throughout his life he was from time to time on temperance platforms.

A select committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1834 to enquire into the extent and causes of the vice of intoxication among the labouring classes. Intoxication was neither new nor confined to the labouring classes, but it was perhaps more prevalent and more visible in the poor districts of the new industrial towns. People found themselves uprooted and heaped together in stinking slums, struggling for a livelihood among strangers. The drink shop offered temporary relief.

The temperance movement had several strands. Employers who had factories full of expensive and dangerous machinery wanted workers punctual and sober. Joseph Poorgrass's multiplying eye would not do. Some middle class reformers saw the degradation of the men, and particularly the suffering of the women and children. West Riding M.P. Richard Cobden wrote "The moral force of the masses lies in the temperance movement, and I confess I have no faith in anything apart from that movement for the elevation of the working classes. We do not sufficiently estimate the amount of crime, vice, poverty, ignorance and destitution, which springs from the drinking habits of the people."

Many temperance groups were associated with churches and chapels, though the nonconformists took up the cause more quickly and ardently. The first edition of *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* has 72 column inches of small print under 'Temperance', presenting the arguments for and against total abstinence.

There was also a strong movement among working men, some not religious, who saw drunkenness as one of the impediments to improving the lot of the poor. It was an illusory escape, with consequences in violence, squalor and want. They were not blaming the poor for their poverty, and were scornful of employers who drank their wine at home and wanted a sober workforce. They wanted working people to have education and responsibility, and thought that they needed their wits about them for the struggle. Several labour leaders, for example the Church of England George Lansbury and agnostic Kier Hardie, were also temperance advocates, and so had been many devoted Chartists.

As there were several contributory strands to the movement so there were disagreements and divisions within it. As with religious groups, people who are trying to be right can have difficulty in finding very many other people who are also exactly right.

In general the movement plumped for total abstinence rather than moderation, and from all alcoholic drinks, not just spirits. The drink trade was now an industrial one. The big brewers and distillers were kept in business by moderate drinkers, and so long as there was a powerful industry there would be casualties. As long as every social occasion and every celebration had its customary drink there would be casualties. The reformers wanted to be rid of the whole business. They wanted to establish an alternative culture; that was one reason for all those chapel teas.

Public houses were often the only meeting places for working people, so temperance halls were built. Shipley had its Coffee Palace where Tom Townsend did some of his entertaining. It advertised:

'Refreshments of the best quality at reasonable prices.
Estimates given for public teas.
Dinners from twelve o'clock daily.
Orchestrion constantly playing.
Billiards.'

Shipley had Christmas dinners for poor children there, and some of the Mortimer women served beef, vegetables and plum pudding to 650 of them.

The Orchestrion.was a sort of organ, worked by gas, and represented brass and reed instruments, cymbals and triangles. The one in the Coffee Palace played Handel and Sankey, the Fra Diavolo overture, Bluebells of Scotland, Auld Lang Syne, Quadrilles, Schottishes, Polkas, Rule,Britannia, and the French National Anthem.

The Temperance movement was for some people where the practice of administration and public speaking were learned and then applied to other aspects of public life; politics, trades unions. For some the movement itself became a way of life, where friends were made and coherence given to lives where work might be unrewarding. There were bands, choirs, lectures, outings and especially there were the children to bring up in the way they should go. Bands of Hope were the thing for the children. Because beer was the ordinary drink, not just a recreational one, and because the general, and indeed commonly the medical opinion, was that a man could not do a day's heavy work without it, the Band of Hope movement wanted to propose a scientific foundation for its teaching. They published pamphlets with titles such as: 'The Children and Drink: What the Doctors Say." "Education the Main Spring of Temperance reform" "Recent Testimonies from the Highest Medical Authorities on Alcohol"

There were converts dragged from the depths, men who proclaimed their sobriety as freedom not as renunciation: "from that day drink had no more hold on me". It was difficult to reach the poorest. Even the regularity required to turn up to Band of Hope meetings was impossible in disorganised lives. With what understanding will a child sing 'My drink is water bright, water bright, water bright, My drink is water bright from the crystal fountain' when its own water dribbles brownish from a tap in a communal yard. It was not until 1872 that Bradford, incorporated 24 years earlier, felt confident enough of its supply to rule that all new houses must be provided with piped water.

The attempt to provide an environment safe from the temptations of liquor succeeded so far for some people that a life of temperance and chapel could be lived without much genuine relationship with those who did not share it. Enthusiast as he was for those causes, Tom Townsend seems to have avoided that isolation. The Liberal club had a bar, though Tom was glad to point out that some of the profit came from the sale of pies. It is not to be supposed that butchers' dinners held in local inns were abstemious affairs, but he attended and spoke and took his brother. When he was chairman of the Park Bands committee, organising concerts by famous bands like Black Dyke Mills, they had a capital dinner with a toast list, songs and music. Everyone knew his view: he made it clear on a soap box in the market square. No doubt he kept his pledge of total abstinence. He did not let that paralyse him in the life of Shipley.

An example of Tom's wide acquaintance in Shipley came in the local newspaper under the headline "A Shocking Murder". On Feast day, a holiday when a travelling fair came to Shipley, a man, Keating, his wife and his friend sat drinking at a public house near the canal. The friend paid unseemly attention to the wife, and the man resented it. The two men went down into the cabin of a canal boat moored at the bank. Keating came out alone, saying that there would be no more trouble from the friend. Later, the friend's body was found in the cabin, with wounds in his head. Keating was arrested.

Tom Townsend was foreman of the Coroner's jury for the inquest next day. The paper reports: "The officers brought the prisoner in early. While the jury was assembling in the council chamber, the prisoner Keating espied Mr. Townsend and exclaimed 'There is Mr. Townsend, who used to be my Sunday school superintendant.' Mr. Townsend replied 'Yes, and I am sorry to see you in this position.' Keating's response was 'Yes, and I'm sorry to be here, too.' The prisoner then told Mr.Townsend he should like a smoke, and that gentleman, having obtained consent of the officers, gave Keating a cigar. It was stated that the prisoner would probably be allowed to smoke it on the way back to Bradford."

The jury held that there was some possibility that the victim had received his fatal injuries by bashing his head against a projecting fitment, such as the iron stove, in the course of a drunken fight in the confined space of the narrow-boat's cabin. They brought in a verdict of manslaughter.

To Scotland and Back.

In1886 the Townsend family was in Birmingham, Tom working at the Blue Ribbon head office. By 1888 they were in Glasgow, and Tom managed the Blue Ribbon enterprise in Scotland.

The Pollockshaws News had a brief existence, but it coincided for a year with the Townsends' residence there. The paper had nothing like the substance of the Yorkshire local papers. These had close-printed columns of parliamentary, British, Empire and foreign news, as well as detailed reports of local public affairs. They had their share of fashion, fiction, sport, and shocking court cases. You can read debates about education, or the Phoenix Park Murders, or accounts of troubles in Matabeleland, as they happen.

The Glasgow paper carried substantial instalments of two serial stories with a Scottish setting, an editorial, and short columns of news from each neighbourhood within its district. It also carried announcements of temperance meetings and whisky advertisements in about equal quantity. One news item has Tom Townsend on the platform at a temperance lecture where a large audience heard a Presbyterian Minister take the subject "Water out of Fashion." Also Townsend was one of three speakers at the evening meeting of the chapel anniversary, where "great praise is due to Miss Townsend for presiding at the organ." In retirement she had a little organ in her sitting-room, and as a change from hymns and Messiah she would play Coming Through the Rye or Loch Lomond. She kept a fondness for such Scottish tunes. In Scotland she had met Albert John Wigley, a young Minister working in the East End of Glasgow, and when she was twenty she married him.

I have from my Grandmother a leather-bound photograph album. On the inside cover, embossed in gilt on a crimson label is this inscription:

:
PRESENTED TO
MR. & MRS. TOWNSEND
by the
POLLOCKSHAWS P.M. CHURCH.
AS A FAINT MEMORIAL OF
ARDENT LOVE AND ATTACHMENT
ON THEIR REMOVAL FROM SCOTLAND

In 1890 Tom Townsend was back in Shipley, back to Saltaire Rd. chapel and to Liberal politics. The Blue Ribbon Insurance co., now known as Abstainers and General, already had a local manager. Tom took over the management of the Leeds branch of the London and Lancashire insurance company. He would have a daily train journey of 21 miles.

Marriages and Deaths in the Family.

Tom's sisters Ellen and Hannah did not marry young, and in their twenties they both went into service in Bradford. In 1886 Ellen married Tom Gee, the tailor son of Luke's fellow Methodist trustee. In 1890 Hannah married a Bradford postman, Ellis Brooks. Tom witnessed her wedding in Bradford parish church. Luke was dead by then, so perhaps Tom had given her in marriage. Neither pair had children.

In May 1890 Hannah's father, Joshua, died. His executors were his youngest boys, Joseph the butcher and Alfred, to whom he left the drysalter's business. These two were also supporters of the chapel. 'Mr.J. and Mr.A. Mortimer and Mr. T. Townsend', and also 'Mrs.J. and Mrs.A. Mortimer and Mrs.T. Townsend' are reported making donations and organising special events together. In 1881 Joshua's signature, looking like that of an old man, is at the foot of minutes dashed off by Tom. In the 1890s minutes are in Joseph's precise regular script.

Joshua had had an early marriage, and was a widower when he married Elizabeth Grayshaw. He was 67 when she died in 1877. The 1881 census lists a new wife, Ann, but in his will he makes provision for 'my reputed wife, Ann'. There was some informality in his relationship with the companion of his last years. Joshua was buried in Charlestown cemetery, and Ann went to the same grave. Elizabeth had been buried in Joshua's parents' grave in St. Paul's churchyard. Joshua's tombstone commemorates both women.

In 1888 Tom's father had died in Drighlington, and been buried in the churchyard next to his first wife and baby son. Wilson, also a master tailor, carried on the business. In October 1890 Wilson made a Will, and twelve days later he died in the Middlesex Hospital, in London. Tom registered his death at the Marylebone office. He has his grave in Drighlington churchyard, with the inscription "He Rests from his Labours". He was thirty five.

Wilson left everything to his widow, Sarah. She took their daughter Lizzie and went back to live with her parents, just a few houses away. Lizzie became a school teacher. Wilson's sister Ellen's husband, Tom Gee, was a tailor, and they moved to where Wilson had lived, next to Luke's widow and her two boys. Wilson's Will was witnessed by Tom Gee, and by Luke's cousin, Fearnley Garforth. Fearnley had stayed in the village and had prospered. He was now a colliery proprietor, farmer of 20 acres, and the occupant of the Drighlington manor house. Fearnley's 21 year old son, cousin Percy, was Wilson's executor.

Shipley Local Government Again.

The Shipley Liberal Asssociation had formed a club for its members, and whilst Tom was in Scotland they had built a fine new building. A contemporary description says: "On the ground floor a large assembly room, suitable for lectures &c covers the greater portion and may be hired for private parties. A large reading room, very lofty and light, also conversation and refreshment rooms together with the library and curator's house, cover the first floor, whilst the second floor comprises lavatories, bar and billiard room containing three good tables, the whole being tastefully decorated. The slipper baths in connection with the club must not be overlooked; these are open to the male public at an inclusive charge of 4d. each. During the winter season lectures are held every week on political and social topics, and discussion is freely invited."

Tom became a trustee of this establishment.

Bradford and the surrounding villages were all expanding and straggling across the fields towards each other. Bradford considered including some of these settlements. Opinion in Shipley was divided, and Bradford did not pursue it. Instead, Windhill joined Shipley after a county enquiry. Tom Townsend was elected to the combined Local Board.

The Shipley and Airedale Times of 5 December 1891 reports in detail the first meeting of the combined Board. Here is one passage verbatim:

Tenders were submitted for the work of rebuilding privies for owners in Albion Street and Hargreaves Street, and Mr. Midgely proposed the acceptance of the tender of Mr. Whitfield.
MR. TOWNSEND said before this tender was approved he would like to know whether Mr. Whitfield paid standard wages. This was a matter about which there had been a lot of talk at the election, and he, for one, would be glad of an answer to his question.
MR. RHODES: I don't see that we have anything to do with that on this board.
MR. PRESTON: Hear, hear.
MR. RHODES: It is our duty to let the work to the lowest tender we can to a good man, and then to see that the man who gets the work does the job as well and as quickly as possible. The Board are responsible for letting the work.
THE CHAIRMAN asked whether Mr. Whitfield was known to be a respectable man.
THE CLERK said he had just finished building a shed for Cundall's, and had done other contract work in the town.
MR MIDGELY said he would not have proposed the tender if he had not known Mr. Whitfield to be a respectable man. He did not believe in taking a tender which would compel the contractor

to extract his profit out of the bones of his men. He had never heard any complaints against Mr. Whitfield, and he thought if he had been a "sweater" they would have heard of it. That was the reason he proposed it.
MR. TOWNSEND: I did not know the firm and thought I should be able to get an answer to my question. I accept Mr. Midgely's recommendation. I quite agree with Mr. Rhodes on one point - if this work is let, we are responsible on this and every other point.
THE CHAIRMAN: Do you think we are justified in throwing away the ratepayers' money? I don't believe in sweating and extracting the last farthing out of the workpeople, but I do believe in open contracts.
Mr. MIDGELY: I should be the last man in the world to let work to a "sweater".
THE CHAIRMAN said he did not think there was anything of what they understood by sweating in this class of work, and he deprecated any discussion. Masons and joiners were quite able to take care of themselves.
MR. MIDGELY said that was true, although it was a question they would have to deal with.
MR. BATEMAN said it was a very small matter. The contract itself was only a matter of £50.
MR. TOWNSEND: It is not a question of amount; it is a question of principle. I think we should be right on this matter. I accept the remarks of Mr. Midgely. He knows the man and I am satisfied.
MR. DUNN: Mr. Midgely does not say he is not a "sweater"; he says he is a respectable man.
MR. TOWNSEND said he was satisfied.
MR. SOWDEN: I should like to know what the gentleman means by a "sweater".
THE CHAIRMAN: We will not go into that now, please.
MR. SOWDEN "But...
MR. PRESTON:That opens up a very wide discussion. I think we can very well leave it where it is.
MR. SOWDEN: Very well
THE CHAIRMAN: It is a question we must leave for other platforms.
The subject was then dropped, and the tender was accepted.

Tom Townsend persisted with his idea of fair contracts. Five years later he persuaded the members to resolve that council contracts should only be given to firms who paid fair wages. He was challenged about two houses he had had built. He assured the board that the firms working for him had had to agree to contracts which included a clause guaranteeing that they and their subcontractors paid fair wages. The Council soon retracted their resolution.

1892: Two Elections and a Wedding.

In 1892 there was an election for the West Riding County Council. The sitting member was up for re-election. He was Miles Sowden, a machine maker and iron founder. Against him stood Henry Dunn, Tom Townsend's old colleague from the School Board and the Local Board. Townsend was his agent. They held a meeting in the Saltaire lecture theatre. In his speech Dunn said that he was pleased to see so many working men present. The principle which guided him was The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number. Townsend proposed the vote of thanks. He said that support for Dunn was the deliberate choice of working men, and was the first time they had excercised their right of selection. Because they had done so, they were left by men of higher

social position. Men who could find nothing too hard to say of Mr. Sowden last year were now on his platform simply because they would not concede the right of the masses to have a man of their liking.

Sowden warned the enthusiasts that County Council work took up two days a week of his time, and it was no good sending men who could not afford it.

The Women's Liberal Association and the Trades and Labour Council both supported Dunn. Both camps produced what the paper called 'mural literature.'

VOTE FOR DUNN, THE WORKING MAN'S FRIEND
THE POPULAR CANDIDATE.
FAIR CONTRACTS SUSTAIN SHIPLEY'S INTERESTS

VOTE FOR SOWDEN
STABILITY AND CONSISTENCY NO CLAPTRAP. REALLY SUSTAIN SHIPLEY'S INTERESTS.

On polling day there was a 70% turnout. Dunn got 1194 votes and Sowden 969.

At the Liberal Club Tom Townsend made a speech introducing Henry Dunn as their new County Council member. He said that they had won, even though Sowden had had more carriages at his disposal. This was a victory for working men. In reply Dunn said that they must bear their honours modestly.

Meanwhile the ordinary work of the local sanitary committee went on. They regulated pig-killing, and considered a proposal from Bradford for a joint sewage scheme, which Townsend thought might be the thin end of the wedge. There was nuisance from privies, and a proposal for installing a rubbish destructor. They had difficulty finding sites suitable for tipping. The Government inspectors from the Local Government Board came down to inspect the electoral boundary between Shipley and Baildon. Townsend met them to represent Shipley.

In 1884, Parliament had been discussing the franchise again. There had been a long campaign to get the same rules for counties as for the boroughs, to give farm workers the vote, and to enfranchise the poorer workers in those industrial areas which were outside the big towns. When the House of Lords defeated a franchise bill, there was a meeting in Shipley of 2,000 men, most of whom had no vote. Tom Townsend was on the platform with the local Members of Parliament. By the end of the year a Representation of the People Act was passed. The householder vote was extended to the counties. There was a redistribution of seats, in which Shipley became a division of the West Riding, with its own M.P..

In the week beginning 11 July 1892 there was a parliamentary general election. Polling in the Shipley division was on Saturday 16th, the last day allowed. The first contest had been for the selection of the candidate. The executive of the Shipley Liberal Association was inclined to accept Mr. A.E.Hutton, member of a mill-owning family, proposed by Charles Stead, manager of

Salt's works and president of the Liberal Association. Tom Townsend was one of a group of members who wanted W.H.Byles, the more radical proprietor of the Bradford Observer. They called a meeting to elect a 'Hundred', a body of the most active and representative members, deputed to nominate the candidate.

The Hundred was a elastic number, stretched to 160 by adding new members without dropping those who lapsed. The meeting was large and argumentative, with Byles's supporters out in force. Tom Townsend proposed that they make a new list, rather than patch the old one further. They did, and filled it with Byles's men. They made a cleaner sweep than they intended, and left off some well-respected loyal Liberals, including Mr. Stead, and Mr. Unwin, who was the Liberal Club president. He resigned that office and it was Tom Townsend who made the first reconciling speech, asking him to stay on. Hutton withdrew his candidacy and got in for Morley, a few miles away.

In Bradford West, Ben Tillet stood as a Labour candidate. He lost, but he had a quarter of the votes cast. W.H. Byles thought that Liberals could represent working men. In his paper he had supported them in a strike at Manningham mill, and in Shipley they supported him. In Saltaire, administratively part of Shipley, the originating Titus Salt had died. New building had blurred the distinctness of the model village, joining it to Shipley and up the valley towards Bingley. The working men of Saltaire ignored their management's lead, and helped Shipley to elect Mr.Byles.

Lord Salisbury's Conservative government had been in since 1886, when Shipley had given a Liberal an 18% margin over a Conservative. In 1892 the opponent was a Liberal Unionist. Gladstone had been converted to Home Rule for Ireland, and had divided his party. Byles's margin was only 2.6%. Gladstone was 83, and said he wanted to retire to Hawarden. He wanted another go at Home Rule more, and got the modest majority of forty seats, if you include Irish Nationalists, over a combination of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.

During his three years in Parliament Byles spoke briefly on a number of subjects: for more equal parliamentary constituencies, against campaigning in Matabeleland, for discussion of mutual disarmament in Europe, against parish councils selling their land, for women being admitted to the strangers' gallery in the House of Commons, rather than a special enclosure, and against heavy-handed action against striking miners at Featherstone. He asked one question to check whether a Government contract had complied with Tom Townsend's hobby-horse fair wages terms. His longest and most considered speeches were in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, so much so that they were commended in a nationalist newspaper in Belfast. He thought that the Unionist view was based on an insultingly ignorant view of the Irish. "It is in the City, not in County Clare, that I have to lock up my portmanteau." This view also seemed to be part of his general hostility to landlords, as men "who get their profit from the sun and rain, and the labour of others." Ireland had some notable examples: Lord Clanricarde had the use of 500 constables to evict those tenants who could no longer pay their share of his £25,000 annual rents.

The minutes of the trustees meeting of Saltaire Rd. Primitive Methodist chapel for May 23 1892 record that a note was read from Brother T. Townsend, asking permission to use the schoolroom and classrooms on July 16, and asking what the terms would be. It was resolved that he should have the use of the rooms free. On June 30, "Mr. Townsend, by the secretary, expressed his

thanks for the kindly manner in which his request had been granted, but thought it would be a bad precedent for the trustees to adopt. He would prefer to pay. The meeting adopted his suggestion."

In earlier years Townsend had discomfited the Parish Vestry by questioning the expenses of some of the members. He thought that they should not treat themselves to more expensive lunches when they went to Bradford or Wakefield on Parish business than they would have done had they been about their own affairs. They huffed and puffed about the amount of unpaid work they did for the Parish, and called him cheeseparing. Here he was applying the same rigour to his own conduct. The chapel treasurer's accounts show the receipt of 5/- from Bro.Townsend for the use of the rooms for a tea. That tea was my grandmother's wedding breakfast.

Albert Wigley had finished his Probation - four years of pastoral work, with study and yearly exams. - and he was free to marry Elizabeth. He was 28. His pay had been put up from £13 a quarter, with board and lodging to find, to £21 a quarter with the use of a furnished house. That is, his pay had gone up to that of a Glasgow brickie, from that of a Glasgow bricklayer's labourer. There would be an extra 2/- a week the next year when my father was born. This sum translates, by way of retail price indices, approximately to the amount that Income Support would pay to such a little family now. That is the figure below which it is thought lies intolerable poverty. Paupers then, of course, expected to be much poorer.

Primitive Methodists had no use for priesthood. There was no religious duty which could not be performed by an authorised layman. 'Sacerdotalism' was one of the things they complained of in the increasing High Church tendency in the Church of England. Nevertheless they honoured the full time ministry. An upstanding young Minister, constant in his affections, trained in their own new Manchester theological college, with a strong sense of personal vocation and a pleasant tenor voice, was welcomed as a fine match for a bright devout girl, not brought up to social aspiration.

I have some recollection of my grandmother saying that she had been married on election day, and describing the mixed flow of canvassers and guests through the house. On the eve of polling day Henry Campbell-Bannerman M.P., later Prime Minister, came to speak for Mr.Byles. Could the father of the bride have kept away? The Times newspaper reported that the Hon. gentleman had difficulty making himself heard, because fighting continually broke out in the hall. Byles's Bradford Observer said that the rowdies were not local men, but were brought in for the purpose.

My grandmother kept a little stool in her kitchen, for getting at the cupboards. She was, I think, not much more than five feet tall. At her wedding she was twenty, and slender. She wore white cashmere, trimmed with silk moire. She had a wreath of orange blossom and a tulle veil. Her bridesmaids, her sisters Nelly and Priscilla, and her sister-in-law Ada, wore dresses of grey-beige trimmed with plaid silk. Flowers for their bouquets and for decorating the chapel and schoolrooms, were given by Mrs. Titus Salt and Mr. Charles Stead, whose parliamentary candidate Tom Townsend had helped to oust, and 'some choice plants' were lent by Mr. Miles Sowden, the ironfounder and machine-maker, against whose candidacy for the County Council Tom had successfully supported Henry Dunn. Was this the imperturbable customary charity of the proprietors, or was it particular regard for the Townsend family?

The choir sang, and plenty of ministers took part in the marriage service. A Registrar was there to register the marriage, a legal requirement in all but Church of England ceremonies until 1896. A hundred and thirty guests sat down to tea and speeches. My grandparents set off for their honeymoon in Scarborough by the 5.45.p.m. train, and the guests settled down for a convivial evening, cheered by the sound of the Saltaire Temperance band marching about the town, playing to celebrate the election victory.

When a Primitive Methodist Society took on a probationer minister, they pledged themselves to save up £40 during the four years, in order to furnish a manse. Grandma and Grandpa began their married life in Shettleston, East Glasgow, among furniture bought by the chapel trustees. They must have been glad of the Kirkman piano in walnut, Tom's present, and the china, linen and modest silver from the rest of the family. I hope that Grandma liked at least some of the views, vases, plaques and antimacassars contributed by friends.

Good Times.

The 1890s seem to have been good years for Tom and Hannah. In 1893 they moved into the handsomest house they ever had. Tom's property deals are not entirely easy to follow. The West Riding land registry has summaries of transactions, but it does not give prices, so one cannot tell whether there is profit or loss. It can be difficult to distinguish a private mortgage from a sale, and some property seems to be sold when there is no record of acquisition.

In 1875 Tom bought 14, St. Pauls Rd., new from the builder, and lived there. In 1881 he bought Bourne Cottage, across the river and uphill in the nearest part of Baildon, with a good view back across Shipley. The house was seven years old, and the plot was 1,210 square yards, a good garden for growing children. The neighbouring houses had names, not street numbers, and they were occupied by local businessmen. This was probably an improvement on St. Pauls Road. Bourne cottage has gone, and there are new houses there, behind old garden walls. By 1883 the Townsends were in Bourne cottage, but Tom did not sell the St. Pauls Rd. house until 1885.

In that year the family left Shipley, but kept Bourne cottage, let to a yarn merchant and shipping agent, until 1893. When they returned to Shipley in 1890 they lived at first in a small rented house, and then moved into Kirkgate. This road goes to the West uphill from the market place. On the North side the ground falls away in Cowgill Park. St Paul's church is on the brow of the hill. There are plenty of trees. On the South side, houses of various sizes look North across the valley. In all, the Townsends lived in four houses in this short stretch of road. Tom first rented no. 44, Kirkgate, from which Grandma was married. Then he bought a fine site on the corner of St. Pauls Rd., opposite the parish church, and with a view across the valley to Baildon Moor. He built two houses; built them well, according to the present owner. He called the one he lived in 'Towerhurst', as though he foresaw that an estate agent might one day be wanted.

Another sign that Tom and Hannah were feeling comparatively prosperous is their public hospitality. In January 1893 they entertained the workmen in the employ of the Local Board to tea at the Coffee Palace. I do not believe that this was at all a usual thing to do. Hannah made a

little speech of welcome, saying that this was not patronage but brotherliness. Then there were cigars for the men, and the wives joined them for a little entertainment, in which Miss Townsend (Nelly now, since Elizabeth's marriage) sang 'The Better Land' and Miss Grayshaw sang 'Love's Old Sweet Song.' These two cousins sang at several parties that year.

There was to be a new Superintendent Minister who had a large family, for which the rented manse was inadequate. Tom and Hannah invited two hundred people from around the circuit, and gave them tea in the Sunday school room, so that they could go on to discuss fund raising to build a new manse.

In July they had a Rearing Supper for the men who had built Tom's new houses. 'About fifty sat down to an excellent supper.' Hannah and Nelly, and the wives of the contractor and the architect helped to serve. The contractor gave strawberries and the architect gave cigars. "Mr. Townsend alluded to the absence of intoxicating drinks, which was a very unusual thing on such an occasion, and said that he wanted to prove that a Rearing Supper could be enjoyed without such additions." He also got applause when he said that he had consulted the Trades and Labour council about fair wages, and that any man who thought that he had not received the going rate should speak to him. The evening was rounded off as usual with songs and recitations.

In that year there was a long struggle between the mine owners and the colliers. The new Primitive Superintendent Minister spoke in favour of the men 'who risk everything' against the landowners 'who risked nothing'. He thought that the lock-out had enabled the coal-owners to sell off heaps of smudge at high prices. Nevertheless he thought that there should be some method of settling disputes other than a test of endurance. Tom Townsend invited a party of locked-out miners over from Drighlington and gave them a good tea at the Coffee Palace. "Mr. Townsend showed his sympathy for old times' sake."

Were the Townsends hospitable in private? There is no record. The census names only those who sleep in the house. One year Tom's 19 year old brother George is there. Another coincides with the visit of two of Hannah's nieces from Leeds. Chapel minutes show them entertaining visiting preachers. Luke had been one of these, and so was Albert, but most would not have been family. What about the ordinary coming and going of friends? Tom and Hannah were out a good deal, but what was it like when they were at home? That is a real gap in our understanding.

Off the Local Board.

Tom lost his seat on the Local Board in 1893. He had been making speeches for the Temperance Union, advocating a local control bill, to take the licensing authority from appointed magistrates and give it to elected local representatives. He argued that breweries were now large industrial concerns with shareholders. They canvassed their shareholders for political support. Temperance advocates should organise too. He made it clear that this was not his local election policy. That was fair pay and conditions in contracts again, getting on with paving and sewerage, and the need for a new town cemetery. There was correspondence in the local paper. One ratepayer wrote that Townsend's speeches were hot air and claptrap. Another defended him:

"Mr.Townsend's action on the Board will bear examination. He has devoted time and attention to the work which will compare favourably with the record of any member of the Board, and he has endeavoured to serve the interests of the ratepayers. No known grievance but what he has made an effort to find a remedy, and he has consistently and successfully championed the cause of the working class. He has no private interest to serve, no private trade to benefit by his votes on the Board. He is in a position to give unbiased consideration to questions that have to be dealt with by the Board. Few representatives can say as much. That Mr. Townsend is capable of understanding questions that have to be decided, and has the ability to state his views, is not a disadvantage in a representative. I am no advocate of talking for talking's sake, but silence is not infrequently a cover for ignorance and incapacity. Mr. Townsend is not open to objection on either of these grounds."

Tom was not left unoccupied. He was still on the Liberal party committee, and on the platform at their public meetings. At one of these the visiting speaker was the Irish M.P., Tim Healey. The Shipley Irish gave him a gold pen. In his speech he said that the government should face up to the threat of force from Ulster. He also spoke of Lord Hartington, Frederick Cavendish's elder brother, who had been First Secretary in Dublin, and now opposed Gladstone's Home Rule bill. Healey was not surprised at Hartington's views. "What would my view be if I had been born in a castle, and had half a dozen other castles, three of them in Ireland."

A local Minister Mr. Henderson, spoke in support. "Are Liberals tired of the Irish question? Think how tired the Irish must be of the Irish question." He had been to Cork. He had seen three men appeal from local magistrates to a higher court against a sentence of three months imprisonment. The sentence was increased to six months. When Henderson asked why, his host told him that it was a fitting punishment for appealing.

The Liberal club was not prospering. It had a small debt. Should they sell alcohol? Many shareholders had contributed on the understanding that they would not. The directors were divided in opinion. Tom made a characteristic proposal. If the directors reduced the rent to the club, the club would be solvent, though this would reduce the dividend: that is, if you want to stick to your principles, pay for them. The majority voted to sell drinks, and some shares changed hands.

Tom represented the Bradford and Halifax district at the Primitive Methodist Conference in Nottingham. This was the governing body of the denomination, one third Ministers, two thirds laymen. He had been proposed in 1885, but his illness probably kept him from attending then. This time he went, and made a speech of thanks to W.P.Hartley, the jam manufacturer and Methodist benefactor. Tom reminded him of his visit to Shipley, and recalled with pleasure that Hartley had gone out of his way to visit a poor old man, housebound in his cottage.

Tom presided at the circuit welcome to the new Superintendent Minister, and again at his own chapel's greeting. He encouraged the congregation to join in the work. Not everyone could be at the font or pulpit, but there was plenty of work for the rank and file to do. The chapel children had an outdoor festival. There was a cricket match, in which the ladies used cricket bats but the gentlemen had to use umbrellas. Hannah managed the rummage stall and Tom presented the prizes. Priscilla got one, and so did cousin Charlie Mortimer, who went to Kenya when he grew

up, and got a knighthood for land settlement work in the colonial government.

Hannah was then, as for some years, on the committee which arranged farm holidays for poor children, and which advertised for cast off clothing which could be put in order so that no child need miss excursions for want of an adequate outfit. Tom presided at the first day of the Christmas bazaar, and the visiting speaker congratulated the Saltaire Rd. Society on having men like him to take the lead. He attended the chapel performance of *Messiah,* when 150 performers included 4 first violins, 2 violas, 2 cellos, 2 basses, 2 trumpets, 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 clarionettes, 2 bassoons, organ and harmonium. He made a speech at the Liberal annual Christmas soiree.

On the Urban District Council.

Shipley was made an Urban District by another act for the reform of local government in 1894. In the elections for the new council there were 37 candidates for the 15 places. Tom was elected.

Tom had been in favour of getting on with a new cemetery for years. The churchyard was full. The privately owned Charlestown cemetery was not suitable for expansion. There was a long search for a suitable site, with soil borings and government inspections. The council bought 19 acres of Nab Wood, on the Bingley road. Then came the question of consecration. The Church of England wanted to buy part of the plot, and have the Bishop of Ripon consecrate it. Consecration, it seems, flows across land until it meets a wall or fence. A legal consequence of consecration on Council ground would be that the Council must pay a chaplain, who would have rights over monuments and records for the whole cemetery. The Council therefore said that they would sell part of the plot if the Church would build the boundary to contain the consecration, and would also pay a rent for the right of way, and for the use of the lodge and the lodge staff. For their own ground the Council would make a rota of local ministers for those who had none. These would be paid from the fees for each burial they conducted. The Council would have no objection to 'dedication' for the whole plot. The service, they thought, was 'perfectly identical' with consecration, but it created no vested interest. They came to no agreement with the Church, which decided to buy an adjoining piece of land.

The first burial in the new ground, on Christmas Eve, 1894, was that of a seventeen year old mill girl from Saltaire. What ever the strength of faith or reason, it is difficult not to imagine the child lonely, lying in that mid-winter "cold obstruction". Later, the official opening was by Alderman Dunn. Part of the cemetery was set aside and dedicated for use by Anglicans, but there was no extra chapel, nor chaplain. The Roman Catholic priest made a graceful speech at the opening. The Catholics were grateful to have been given a nice part of the cemetery, and that "they had been humoured in their wish to be laid side by side in death along with those who were of the same religious beliefs and affections as themselves".

This is an example of some difficulty between the Church and the local authority, many of whose members were Chapel. I have seen no instance of quarreling or open rivalry between denominations recorded in the Shipley papers. The Church of England thought of itself as the norm, from which dissent had come to be more and more tolerated. The others saw this from the other end, and did not feel defined by non-conformity with the Church of England. Tom's

lifetime saw the end of many of the legal disadvantages; in holding public office, in marriage, burial, universities, Church rates. This last was a levy on the local population, of whatever opinion, for the maintenance of the fabric of the parish church. In some places it was allowed to lapse. Patrick Bronte struggled with his parishioners in Haworth to get them to pay up. Lord Frederick Cavendish found the subject an embarrassment. "I believe in the Church if England, but how can I want to prop it up by such a wretched little support as money dragged from those who dissent from it?" It was abolished in 1867.

Primary education remained a subject of disagreement. Radicals did not want the dose of deference administered with the sums. Nonconformists did not want to pay rates to have children brought up Church of England. They thought that there should be a non-denominational school within the reach of every child, and they went on saying so in resolutions and petitions.

Apart from that, Tom's view seems to have been peaceable. In the 1870s there were united evangelical meetings in the Good Templars' hall, towards nonconformist unity. In the 1880s these meetings took the form of an hour for prayer and relating experiences. Then they had a procession and tea for 400. When a local Wesleyan Reform chapel was struggling a bit, Tom helped them to organise a bazaar, and he was on the platform. They were grateful for his help, and he said that people ought to work together more, particularly on social questions.

In 1885, the Primitive Methodists had the vicar to speak for the first time. He made an ecumenical speech, and Tom was the chairman. When Tom stood for the County Council, Denis Sullivan, the Roman Catholic parish priest, was one of his nominators.

1995 : General Election : Shipley Life.

In 1895 there was another General Election. Tom was chairman of the Liberal Association meeting to choose the Hundred, and Byles, the sitting member, stood again. His opponent was Fortescue Flannery, a Liberal Unionist, up from Surrey, and, as Byles said, cultivating the constituency "with £5 for every chapel and bazaar." The Conservatives and Unionists got more than twice as many seats as the Liberals. Byles lost his seat to Flannery, but by the narrow margin of 78 votes out of almost 12,000. Byles had spent £500 and Flannery £1,600. Afterwards Byles thought that he had lost votes 'at both ends' by trying to bridge Liberal and Labour.

Temperance was also an issue at this election. The temperance movement did not restrict itself to persuading individuals to sign the pledge. In 1885 Tom Townsend had proposed to a conference of teetotallers 'that a temperance electoral association be formed.' They set up a committee, but Townsend was not on it. Increasingly they hoped to limit the drinks trade by legislation controlling opening hours, preventing Sunday opening, forbidding sales to children, and reducing the number of public houses. Some wanted total prohibition, making any sale of alcohol illegal. More wanted 'local option', the power for a majority in a district to declare that area dry. They argued whether there should be compensation for those who would lose their livelihood. This movement reached its greatest strength in the campaign before the 1895 election, and may have contributed to the result. Of the 410 Conservatives and Unionists who got in, 388 were against local option. Of the Liberals elected, 179 were for local option. Byles was for, Flannery against.

Flannery got a knighthood, and Tom, political opponent but brother Oddfellow, was at that society's dinner to celebrate the honour. Flannery took up the subject of pensions for old people. He had found that five out of six of the old people in the workhouse had supported themselves by their own efforts until they were in their mid sixties. It was of primary importance not to undermine independence, industry and thrift, so evident in the friendly societies. On the other hand, he had been obliged to recognise that there were many people who had needed all their efforts to keep going, and who had been quite unable to provide for old age. He did not solve his dilemma.

In 1895 Tom changed jobs. The Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada set up a London office in 1893. When that was thoroughly established they extended northwards, opening one branch in Lancashire and one in Yorkshire. Tom was made the first manager of the Yorkshire branch, with an office in Tyrell St., Bradford.

In March 1895 Tom stood for election to the County Council to represent Baildon. He had the property qualification, a pair of little cottages which he let, but he was not so well known there, and he lost. He still had plenty of meetings to go to. The Urban District Council was planning a big new sewage works, in the valley, just down stream from the town. They had had engineers' reports, and now they needed to make arrangements to borrow £55,000. Tom represented the Shipley U.D.C. at a meeting with the government's Local Government Board. Tom was one of those who wanted Shipley to become a borough, and there were meetings and correspondence in the papers about that.

The ordinary work of the U.D.C. went on. They intended to build some urinals: should they use their own men, or put the job out to tender? Tom thought that they should formulate a general policy about that, as they had about fair contracts. He would prefer to use their own men when possible, but if tenders were to be invited they should employ a firm listed by the Trade and Labour Council as a fair shop. When they first considered it, the fair contracts policy had been difficult to enforce, but now the trade and Labour Council could give them guidance about the going rate. The other view was that workmen want to take advantage, to buy according to Free trade, and to sell their labour according to Protection.

Tom was on the District Orphanage Committee. He went on being chairman of various temperance gatherings, and in that cause was "on several general committees which meet in London." He kept an eye on the election of Overseers, to make sure that appointment was properly public. He was still president of the Park Band Performances committee. He opened a fund-faising effort for the Shipley Football Club, saying that he had seen football for the first time the day before, and had enjoyed it. He was in a leading carriage at the Shipley Trades and Friendly Society annual demonstration, where they had a horse show, games and music. Charitable teas, suppers, concerts often had Tom in the chair, or proposing votes of thanks.

This inclination to join in any public activity made Tom a natural candidate for organising the celebrations of 1897. Victoria had been Queen for sixty years. You had to be quite old to remember any other sovereign. Tom was on the Shipley entertainments committee for the Jubilee. They proposed a big tea for all the old people. Tom got them to include the infirm and poor who

were under sixty. At 3 p.m. on the Saturday afternoon 4,700 children were assembled in the schools, to be given a commemorative mug, tea and buns. Then Tom Townsend on horseback led them in procession to Saltaire Park, where the brass band played, flags were waved, the National Anthem was sung, and then there were races.

In the evening Tom was in charge of the entertainments at the Victoria Hall. There were comics, conjuring and music. The Trades and Friendly society arranged a Fete and Gala, with fire engines leading the parade, with comic bicycles and district councilors, including Tom, following. On the Sunday, Tom and Hannah, attended the Jubilee service in the Parish Church.

All this town activity did not take Tom away from the affairs of the Saltaire Rd. chapel and the Shipley circuit. He was Sunday school superintendnt; he preached, and heard the sermons of aspirant local preachers on trial; the circuit employed him to find a suitable hired local preacher, for £13 a quarter, and to find him an apartment. He represented the Shipley circuit at Bradford and Halifax district meetings.

Hannah and the School Board.

Hannah Townsend had been used to seeing her mother on public platforms, but usually as preacher or devotional leader. Apart from piety, the cause which she had championed had been temperance. Hannah went into ordinary Liberal politics alongside the men. She made votes of thanks; she was official seconder of a County Council candidate. One report of an election meeting lists the platform party by name: fourteen men, and Mr. and Mrs. Townsend.

In 1887 the Women's Liberal federation was started in London. Four years later, Mrs. Byles, whose M.P. husband described her as 'incomparable', founded a constituency Women's Liberal Association. Hannah Townsend was a founder member. They held monthly meetings with visiting speakers; Hannah gave a lecture on 'Domestic Politics'; they worked for candidates. They generally believed in votes for women, a cause with radical support in Parliament.

When the Townsend family came back from Scotland, Tom did not stand again for the School Board. Hannah did, and was the only woman member. In Elizabeth's wedding photograph Hannah is seen side view. Her profile looks sharp enough to slice through any opposition, but her reported contributions are co-operative; people voted for her time after time
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On the Board, Hannah argued for more government money for deaf, blind and defective children. She presented an eight-volume set of the life and works of George Eliot to a retiring headmistress. A government regulation said that health lessons should be given by a professional, which they took to mean doctor. Hannah thought that Nurse Smith would make a much more practical and thorough job of teaching the children. The newspapers report laughter as the committee considered the absurdity of a doctor, a man, making a bed.

The committee put up teachers' wages: so much for a man, college trained, so much for a woman, college trained, so much for an untrained teacher. Mrs. Townsend thought that some of the best teachers were untrained. She did not oppose the differences of pay, but she thought that they

ought to provide more opportunity for teachers to train and to take their examinations. No one questioned the higher rate of pay for men teachers, though in a debate in the Women's Liberal Association Hannah used her experience of women teachers to argue for equal pay. She thought that teachers would be keen enough on extra science lectures to be willing to pay for them themselves if necessary. She did not think that the Board should let out school buildings for late parties and dancing, but only for suitable public or educational purposes.

Hannah found her niche as chairman of the Attendance Committee. The job was to acclimatise to regular school attendance families in which education was a novelty, and the encounter with teachers awkward, perhaps intrusive, perhaps shaming, to poor and illiterate parents. School was compulsory before it was free, and for some, 'school pence' were hard to come by. Even when fees were abolished in 1891, there was still the exposure to a more public and official eye of clothes which were unremarkable in backstreets. Dr. Rutherford had found this part of his work on the School Board embarrassingly personal and inquisitive. Hannah seems to have found a way both thorough and humane enough for her to be appointed to do it for more than ten years.

The Board felt that they must make it clear that school attendance was compulsory. One poor lad was brought before them with a very bad record. It was said that he was not troublesome and he would work, but he would not go to school. They proposed to send him to a training ship. Someone suggested the birch. Hannah persuaded them to send him to Dr. Barnardo's, as the kinder alternative. The committee's report, in the name of Mrs. Tom Townsend as chairman, outlines the policy. They dealt with irregular attendance with consideration and leniency where possible. They made plentiful use of inspectors' visits and official notes. In the few cases of real parental recalcitrance they prosecuted, and always got a conviction. To children who were outstanding examples of regularity, Mrs. Townsend presented silver medals, specially engraved.

Tom Townsend and the West Riding County Council.

In 1898 Tom stood again for the West Riding County Council, this time for his own ward of West Shipley. He got in, with 1134 votes to the Conservative Dr. Carter's 896. In his speech Tom said that this was victory not for the generals, the majors and the captains, but for the common soldiers. He gave a party for 200 supporters at the Coffee Palace, with Hannah and Nelly as hostesses. He acknowledged the help of the Independent Labour party, and the Trade and Labour Council. Hannah made a speech, and then there were entertainments.

When Tom Townsend became a County Councilor the Council had only been going for ten years. The Council minutes are headed "The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894" the acts which removed administrative functions from the appointed county Justices of the Peace, and gave them to councils elected by the ratepayers.

Councilors listed their occupations. In 1898 one was a Peer of the Realm. Seventeen were either gentleman or esquire, and it is not clear whether they maintained a clear distinction of rank between these. Twelve were professional men. Thirty four were manufacturers of some kind. Sixteen were self employed in skilled trades or were shopkeepers. Eleven were working men. Only one lists himself as farmer, but the gentlemen also probably represented agricultural

interests.

The peer was Lord Ripon, son of 'Goody' Goderich who was briefly Prime Minister. As a young man, Ripon had been influenced by F. D. Maurice and the Christian socialists. Then he had shocked his friends by becoming a Roman Catholic. He had sat in the House of Commons, and held government office. Then, as a Peer, he had sailed off to be Viceroy of India. Now, in his seventies, he had submitted himself to a very wide electorate, to help administer the County.

The council meetings were held in the new County Hall in Wakefield, opened in 1898. Tom Townsend attended his first meeting in March. He was put onto the Finance and General Purposes Committee and the Highways Committee. The minutes, handwritten in splendid books bound in green cloth with leather spines and corners, contain resolutions, reports and accounts, but not speeches. In his first year Townsend's name appears as seconder to a motion to postpone consideration of a motion by the Asylums committee. No reason was given. The proposal was that they should buy a large property for the accommodation of the pauper imbecile and idiot children of the West Riding. The discussion was postponed, and when it resumed a different property was chosen. Townsend was put onto the Asylums Committee and onto the sub-committee for the new asylum at Menston.

The West Riding had been quick to establish a county pauper lunatic asylum when the law was permissive, not mandatory. The Wakefield asylum was built in 1819, and the medical superintendents seem to have been advanced for their time. They had near them at York the famous example of the Quaker Tuke family's Retreat. They advocated the Moral method - kindness and occupation - rather than Restraint and the terrible severities to which George 111 had been subjected. The vast numbers with which the county authorities found themselves dealing must have modified the experience.

Wakefield established the first pathology department in an asylum and began the treatment of outpatients. Some psychiatrists were gratified to find that if you confined your patient in a bath and poured cold water on his head for hours at a time when he revealed his delusions or hallucinations, he ceased to mention them and even denied them under questioning. In some cases the treatment worked so well that you had only to say the word "douche" to produce good behaviour. There were machines patented and advertised for administering douches, and for chairs in which a patient could be suspended and rotated, upright or supine, until he was all but unconscious and had to be put to bed. Wakefield did not buy them. Residents in the neighbourhood of the Wakefield asylum at first thought that the patients should only go into the hospital gardens to work if chained to a keeper, or that a small plot should be safely enclosed and dug repeatedly for exercise and fresh air, but they were soon pleased to see patients usefully occupied about the grounds.

There were 1500 patients in Wakefield Asylum by 1872 when a second one was opened in south Yorkshire. The Magistrates had the third asylum built at Menston, a small village north east of Shipley. The first building was for 840 patients, with plans for a further 600 places for chronic cases. The style was "domestic Tudor" The drainage and fireproofing systems were the latest. A branch of the local railway was brought to the asylum to deliver the building materials, and kept until 1951 to bring bulk supplies to the hospital. The place is like a great estate: a drive lined

with sycamores, a glimpse of towers across the fields, a massive central block, lower wings, a courtyard behind with ranges of workshops, cottages, lodges.

The minutes of the Menston sub committee do not record discussion of treatment of their 1526 patients in 1898. They record the ordering of blue serge and grey calico, and ventilators for pigsties. The asylum farm produced £4,841..19s..3d. worth of food, consumed in the asylum. In one year they spent £500 on clothes, £103 on drugs, and 13s -6d. on library books.

The main committee fixed a uniform charge of 9s-4d. per head for all pauper lunatics in the West Riding, to be paid by the Poor Law Unions from which they came. Many of the patients were transferred from the workhouses. The committee authorised payment of £167-7s-6d. for an electric motor and shafting for the bakery of one asylum and electric machinery for the laundry of another, complete with drying closets. They built a dining room to seat 400, for one detached female block. They agreed that Edmund Pigott, clerk and steward of an asylum, who had worked for them for thirty years and was now sixty eight years of age, and incapacitated by confirmed infirmity of body, should retire, and have a superannuation allowance of £210..10s. per annum, being 2/3 of his last emolument.

The main Council received the Rate Report and the General Purposes Report. They discussed the diseases of animals, and whether beer should be sold by weight. Officers were appointed to administer the Sale of Coal act. They built on to County Hall additional rooms for porters and added bicycle sheds. They protected plovers' eggs, and wanted to help to find employment for soldiers leaving the Colours. There was a huge schedule of grants to corporations for road repairs, and they hired four more Highways inspectors. They considered suspending regulations about the lighting of vehicles during harvest time, so that farm wagons could work on into the dusk. At the end of his three year term Tom Townsend reported that he had attended 140 meetings of the council.

The County Council made Tom their representative on the Governors of the Salt Schools, and so for a time Tom and Hannah were both engaged, but independently, in this as in their other fields of common interest. This does seem to have been a consistent and I think quite strikingly unusual feature of their life together. When Tom was preaching his trial sermons in their early days in Shipley, Hannah was given a note to preach occasionally. Twentyfive years later, each of them was required to take young preachers with them to appointments, to give them experience. They both represented Shipley at the Bradford district meetings, and at the Primitive Methodist Conference. So, they shared not just their faith, but the problems of advocacy and administration. They treated temperance and Liberal politics in the same way. If only they had had to write letters to each other sometimes!

Great Aunt Nelly.

Great Aunt Nelly was married in May, 1899, to John William Maude, a commercial traveller, son of a stuff warehouseman at Salt's mill. The wedding seems to have been quieter than Elizabeth's. Albert Wigley married them on a Thursday morning, and they had a luncheon party at the Coffee Palace. Nelly wore a becoming dress of cream silk trimmed with chiffon, and a

picture hat to match. The bridesmaids were her sister Priscilla and his sister Lily. This time the bridegroom bought the bouquets. The wedding presents were "numerous and costly", as were the presents at all weddings reported in the local paper.

Willie Maude was a Society Steward at the chapel and one of the groomsmen was a local preacher. Great Aunt Nelly did not abandon Methodism, but when I knew her it seemed to me that it was simply her religion, not her interest.
Hannah had just had a late instalment of money from her father's estate. She probably got about £75 when the Wharf street premises were sold. She bought a little corner house in Kirkgate for the newly married couple, with a mortgage from the co-op. In September Willie Maude took over the mortgage and bought the house from his mother-in-law. Years later the Maudes went off to farm is South Africa, but his health failed, and they had to come back. He died, and Nelly married a spinning overlooker, Hartley Lambert. My first memory of Great Aunt Nelly is being taken to see her when she had for the second time been left a childless widow, in 1938. She gave us cakes for tea, little squares of sponge with coloured icing, and from a shop. We didn't often get bought cakes.

Great Aunt Nelly took a little cottage opposite my grandparents' bungalow. My mother and I stayed with her for a few weeks early in the war, sleeping in the low sloping back bedroom. There were five of these little cottages in a row, more or less lath and plaster, and known as the land houses. At the back, across a communal pathway, there was a row of privies of the simplest sort. Inside they had flaky whitewash with spiders, and a scrubbed plank with a hole over unfathomable black depths. They were not really unfathomable. Men came with a horse drawn tank and a long ladle, and scooped them out.

Nelly had not worked before, but now she took an early bus into Southport, and dusted the furniture in a smart shop in Lord Street. Nelly died in 1944, on her way to see Priscilla in Birkenhead. She felt faint on the Mersey ferry boat. Someone went to fetch her a glass of water, and when they got back she had more or less gone. After she died I had a brooch of hers, a lion's claw, mounted in gold, with a little gold lion on top. That went when the Lancaster Gate vicarage was burgled. I thought she was gallant. I liked her to tell stories of her Africa days. Now, I would have wanted her to tell me what it was like to be twenty in Shipley a hundred years ago, too.

Hannah and the Primitive Methodist Conference.

Tom stood as usual for the Shipley U.D.C in 1899, but he was defeated. He did not stand again. He had to attend to County Council business, and perhaps that was enough.

Hannah Townsend was proposed by the Shipley circuit and elected by the Bradford District to represent them at the annual Primitive Methodist Conference. In 1899 she was the first woman delegate in the history of the Connexion. The Shipley paper reported this as evidence of the pioneering spirit of Shipley Primitives. The main speaker at the Conference said: 'Two new features characterised our Conference this year, and we trust marked an era in the widening life and power of the Connexion. The first lady delegate sat in the Conference, and also the first native African minister, as representing our African missions. Let us hope that the one is

significant of the awakening and growing womanhood in our church, and the other of the drawing nearer of Africa to Christ and to the brotherhood of Christian men.' It surely also signified that Hannah was an uncommonly enterprising and persuasive woman, and that Tom practised his liberalism at home, happy to have a wife who spoke her mind in public. We all see the little mouse under her chair.

Methodism, Liberals, the I.L.P. and the 1900 General Election.

The Independent Labour Party was formed in Bradford 1893, to get working men into Parliament. Bradford M.P. W.E.Forster said "To a large extent Primitive Methodism has been the Labour movement. It is scarcely too much to say that she stirred the first impulses of life in the slumbering and inert masses of our mining and agricultural populations; that she gave the lofty moral tone and magnificent ideals which, upon the whole, have distinguished the movement. Her pulpits and official courts supplied it with leaders, and gave them the ready and forcible speech and business capacity which have caused them to be listened to and respected in all circles up to the House of Commons." There were other views within Methodism, and other strands in the Labour movement. Nevertheless, many of the early radical leaders, trade unionists and working class members of parliament were Primitive Methodists.

Tom stayed with the Liberals. He often spoke of working men. As an independent small businessman or small manager he might not have done. That class of person is not always blind to the small distinctions of rank beneath them. Tom had not learned to say 'brother' in the trade unions. He had learned to say 'brother' in the chapels. He wanted to make common cause with the miners and factory men: he thought that the Liberal party could do that.

1900 was General Election year. The Shipley Liberals chose Percy Illingworth as their candidate. He was the Cambridge educated barrister son of a well known local Liberal family. Some would have preferred Byles again, saying that he was "almost as good as the I.L.P.". Tom urged them to unite behind Illingworth, because he was "quite as advanced as any gentleman they would be able to get". The I.L.P. had a presence in Shipley. They had meetings and dances, and got Kier Hardie to come and speak. Byles compared them with the Salvation Army; they brought in people otherwise not involved in politics. They had helped Byles into Parliament in 1892, and Tom Townsend thanked them for their support when he got onto the County Council.

Here is Percy Illingworth's 1900 election programme.

1. Reform the voter registration system.
2. One man, one vote.
3. Payment of M.P.s and Returning officers.
4. Taxation of land values.
5. Extension of local government powers to provide working class housing.
6. An eight hour day for miners, and shorter hours for all in dangerous trades.
7. Extension of workmen's compensation.
8. The Home Office to take advice, and make rules for safety in all dangerous trades.
9. Education to be national and free, including secondary and technical education: public control

where public money is spent.
10. Disestablishment of the Church of England.
11. Old Age Pensions.

The I.L.P. could easily support this programme. In 1911, when Sir Fortescue Flannery deserted the Shipley Unionists for the hope of a seat at Tiverton, time was too short to find another candidate, and Illingworth was unopposed. The I.L.P. noted their chance to stand against him without letting in a Conservative. They said that he was good, and their only ground of opposition would have been that he had not the personal experience of a working man's life.

In 1900 Illingworth was back from the South African war only just before the election. Flannery won, and Illingworth had to wait until 1906 to get in.

Tom's Work.

In 1900 Tom left his job as manager of the Yorkshire branch of the Sun Life of Canada. I have not been able to discover a reason. Early in 1900 Hannah was seriously ill. Perhaps Tom thought he needed to be freer and in Shipley, to help her. The circuit quarterly meeting in March relieved her of all preaching duties for the next quarter, but they congratulated her on her convalescence. Tom was still with Sun Life in April.

I thought that the insurance company might not care for the demands of County Council work. Tom seems to have had some anxiety about this, too. Astonishingly, there is in the company's files in Toronto a letter-book, with copies of letters sent from head office to employees in England. T.B. Macauley, company secretary, son of emigrants from the Isle of Lewis, wrote to Tom on 31st March, 1898;

Dear Mr. Townsend,
I am very greatly pleased indeed to see that you have been elected to the County Council for the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is something to be proud of, and I feel that not only are you to be congratulated on the honor which you have thus received, but that the Company also to a certain extent shares in it. We certainly want as representatives people who enjoy the confidence of their neighbours, in the way that I have long known that you yourself do. I entirely approve of you holding this position, and trust that instead of injuring the Company's business it may be the means of increasing it.

Give my very kind regards to Mrs. Townsend. I am not likely to forget the evening that I sat by her side at Mr. Byles' Election meeting! I am glad to know that at <u>this</u> meeting the Liberals had better success!

Yours faithfully,

T. B. Macauley, secretary.

The last of the five preserved letters compares the progress made by the British branch of Sun Life favourably with that of the Canada Life insurance company, and concludes: "I think that

you will agree with me that this is a highly satisfactory state of affairs."

That was written in April 1900, and carries no hint of dismissal or resignation. It is hard to see how Tom's many activities could fit with regular employment as a branch manager, but they had done so for ten years. Perhaps he wanted the freedom of being his own employer again. His own health may well have begun to decline.

This was not a profitable move. The Sun Life of Canada company flourished, Tom's correspondent, T.B.Macauley, became managing director, and the British enterprise has just celebrated a prosperous centenary. I think that Tom's business success was modest, and from time to time there was anxiety about money.

Tom's brother George also had some difficulty settling to a career. He began in insurance, trained for the Methodist ministry, and worked for a few years. He felt the want of education, and took himself off to Edinburgh University. He became a Congregational minister in Leeds and then Stoke on Trent. There he settled down as a J.P., local councilor and County Alderman. He soon gave up the ministry, and after an attempt at national politics gave his occupation as "secretary". He took up local health good causes. Perhaps the brothers had similar temperaments.

I do not know how Tom and Hannah saw his working life. He was always the breadwinner. Neither Hannah nor the girls attempted to earn anything, so far as I know, and they would have been thought remarkable if they had. Hannah believed in the customary division of labour. In the course of a speech encouraging women to join in political life, she said that there was a sort of pact between the active women, that no household duty should be neglected. Tom kept them all in decent houses, even if he moved them about a good deal. He provided a maid when the girls were small. Hannah joined in the open handed hospitality when they could afford it.

Tom was certainly not a single-minded earner. He might not have been particularly good at it if he had tried. He borrowed money from his father and from his father-in-law, but whether they regarded this as an investment or a helping hand there is nothing to say. Tom lent money to the Saltaire Rd. chapel in its early days. Hannah also supported the causes on which he spent so much time, and so one supposes that she was sympathetic. There are no letters or diaries or reminiscences to help us to understand their thoughts.

The girls could have done with a better education, but I do not remember my grandmother ever wishing for more or better possessions. Her experience of household finances was very different from her mother's. She was poorer, but the money came in entirely predictable instalments into the hands of the prudent Albert. They both had a horror of any impropriety or debt, but within their narrow means she could be spontaneously generous. I had a brief glimpse of Grandma's own management when she was an old widow, sorting her cash into her concertina purse and some small tins. One was labelled "Lord's Fund", that is, money for chapel and charity, as unselfconsciously as another was "electricity".

The Auctioneer.

Before he went to Scotland, along with his insurance agencies Tom had been in business as an auctioneer, dealing mainly in property. In 1900 the local paper began again to carry advertisements for Tom Townsend, Auctioneer. If a local account, written at the turn of the century, is to be believed, he first came to this work almost by accident. "He was astounded to wake up one morning to find a communication from the Excise authorities threatening him with a penalty of £100 for having acted as an auctioneer without a licence. His offence was nothing more serious than having sold some bread by auction after a tea party at a local place of worship. After a good deal of correspondence, the matter was settled upon Mr. Townsend undertaking to take out a licence. At that time he had no idea of concentrating his business energies in this line, but since he did so he has had no reason to regret it. He is now firmly established as *the* local auctioneer, and is thoroughly up in all branches of his business."

Tom sold furniture and trade stocks, as well as property. One advertisement was for the sale of livery stables: ,buildings, carriages, harnesses and horses. Another was for hundreds of pairs of boots and shoes. Friday and Saturday were market days in Shipley, with cheap rail tickets from the surrounding villages. Tom had his general auction sales in the Saloon of the Coffee Palace on those evenings, and his easy public manner attracted a good crowd to the auction room. He also set up as insurance broker during these years.

Tom had already moved into 60, Kirkgate, bought it, and sold Towerhurst, in that order. Now they retreated to a small rented house for some months, whilst they sold no.60, and bought no.69, on the other side of Kirkgate. Its valley views were from the back. This house was in Hannah's name as well as Tom's. It was smaller than no. 60, but still had three bedrooms, attics and cellars.

I could draw a plan of Ombersley, the bungalow in Banks, near Southport, to which my grandparents retired, and the furniture in it: the American rocking chair behind the sitting room door, then the organ, and hung over it a sepia print of a sunset scene, a present from one of Grandpa's chapels, then the bureau-bookcase, then the sofa in the bay window, with a rug and the arm that let down for Grandma's nap, the small bamboo table with the cage for Dicky, Grandpa's canary. I have no idea about the inside of Tom and Hannah's houses. They had thirteen in thirty years. What happened to all their things when they moved? Did Hannah have to part with treasures when they moved to smaller houses from time to time? Perhaps she did not invest much feeling in such things: neither taste nor ostentation may have been strong motives for her. She had at least four addresses after Tom's death, so perhaps she was the restless one.

In 1901 Tom's term on the County council was up, and he stood again. He was in favour of 'Home Rule for Shipley'; that is, to keep out of Bradford and become a borough. He wanted healthy homes (there had been discussion in the U.D.C. about building more back to back houses) and fair contracts. He wanted to promote technical education and good roads. He announced himself as the working man's friend, the progressive candidate, who had served them faithfully for three years. The Liberal leadership thought that he should be returned unopposed, but he was beaten by James Roberts, director of Salt's, which was now a public company. Roberts was on Shipley U.D.C. and a manager of the Salt schools. He had stood as a non-party candidate, but the Liberals said that he frequented the Conservative Constitutional club, and was never seen among the Liberals.

Tom was out and about in Shipley as usual. He thanked the choir for singing at a meeting in the Town Hall to discuss proposals for peace in Europe. He was at the opening of a new Friendly Societies' Hall, built for the five Oddfellows lodges to share. It cost £4,000, and had tinted glass and fancy corbels. The main speaker was Fortescue Flannery. He spoke about the dangers to railway workers: 36 were injured every day, and 2 killed every 3 days. He wanted better safety rules.

Tom spoke at a Butchers' dinner at the Royal Oak, and "contributed to the evening's enjoyment" at a workmen's sick benefit society. He presided at an impromptu concert after a good dinner at the Liberal club. He was on the platform at a Free Church Council meeting about the education bill before Parliament, and spoke about it at a meeting in the market place. He attended the opening of the grand new sewage works "on the bacterial system." He must have been very proud of such a fine piece of civic cleansing, after years of patient slog on sanitary committees, without which such rapidly built settlements as Shipley would have sunk under a pool of slurry.

Tom's Death.

Tom's health was not very good in 1903, and as spring advanced it got worse. He complained of increasingly severe and frequent headaches. He was still on Chapel and Liberal Association committees, but not in local government. He was anxious about money, and Joseph Mortimer, his brother in law, helped him to put things in good order and lent him a bit to get over his difficulty. Tom was keen that illness should not interfere with his work, though on one occasion he had to give up in the middle of an auction sale. More than once he was brought home having been taken ill in the street. His family doctor was called in, and found that for a short periods Tom was able to be on his feet and walking, without being aware of his surroundings. At other times he had fallen down. I do not know what the doctor was able to prescribe: Hannah put Tom's feet in a hot bath of mustard and water.

On the 4th of May Tom went to Bingley on business, but was so ill with the pain in his head that he had to lie down in the house of a friend. Word was sent to his house, and Priscilla came to help him to get home. The next day he went again to Bingley to complete his business, and called on his friend to thank him for his care, although he had already sent a letter of thanks to the friend's sister. On the way home, at Bingley station, he stepped off the platform into the path of the express train to Leeds. He was hit by a buffer, and died instantly.

The inquest of course was obliged to consider suicide. They took evidence from eye-witnesses, from Priscilla and from Joseph Mortimer. They questioned Tom's minister, and his doctor in detail and at length. The coroner advised that the evidence did not support a verdict of suicide. The jury agreed "that death was caused by a sudden seizure of illness, causing him to fall in front of a Midland Passenger Express, receiving injuries resulting in instant death". The verdict was Accidental Death.

Tom Townsend's end was a shocking piece of news for the local papers, but they reported death, inquest and funeral respectfully. "Amid every sign of regret for the departed, and a deep and real sympathy with the bereaved family, the mortal remains of Mr. Tom Townsend, of this town,

were interred in Nab Wood cemetery on Friday afternoon." " Devout men" carried the coffin from the house. In the chapel, twelve hundred people sang *Jesu, lover of my soul,* and *Rock of Ages, cleft for me.* "As the cortege passed on its way to the Cemetery, through thousands of respectful and sympathetic onlookers, a large crowd assembled in the vicinity of the grave. Shops were closed and blinds drawn along nearly the whole route, and flags hung at half mast at the Manor house and the Liberal club. Throughout the proceedings the greatest order and solemnity prevailed in the streets, the conduct of the crowd which lined the streets being most exemplary."

The paper lists the leading people in the procession, a sort of summary of Tom's life: family, chiefly Mortimers and Fearnley Garforth, friends; Methodist and other Ministers; representatives of the Salvation Army, Shipley District Council in force, West Riding County Council, Shipley School Board, Shipley Liberals, Windhill Liberals, Shipley Trades and Friendly Societies Committee, Shipley Trades Council, Shipley Butchers Association, the District Grand Master and members of the Shipley Oddfellows, and sixteen people from eight temperance organisations.

Then people had to think of what to say about Tom. The *Methodist Recorder* made a conventional little summary of his work for Methodism. The *Primitive Methodist* spoke of irreparable loss, and praised his Sunday school work. The *Shipley and Airedale Times* said that he was one of the best known men in the town, and listed his public offices. They said that he was a good speaker, listened to as one in whom the public had confidence. He had a pleasant and cheerful disposition, and many friends. The *Wharfedale and Airedale Observer* ended their summary of Tom's public work with this comment: "Of a genial nature and kind disposition he was always, even when his health was giving way, cheerful and bright."

For the memorial service in the chapel on Sunday evening they brought back the Rev. G.H. Beeley, Superintendent of the circuit thirty years before, and now approaching retirement. He had preached at Hannah's mother's memorial service, and had married Elizabeth and Albert. His sermon reads as though he were still very much shocked by Tom's death. Amongst somewhat rambling expressions of grief, bewilderment and faith, he tried to describe Tom's character: an idealist, after something better, improving himself and improving everybody else, especially the Sunday school -- an eager, aspiring, restless nature -- there must be something going off, something to be done, something realised. "He had that genial friendly spirit which always seemed to take a warmth and glow wherever he went."

The minutes of the circuit quarterly meeting from time to time mention the death of a member, with a resolution to send a letter of condolence to the widow. The longest entry is one of five lines of tribute to a long serving member of the committee. The minutes of the meeting next after Tom's death include a long tribute. "God's richest blessing" is a worn phrase, but "we feel we shall miss him very much" is not. I think they must have liked him. Through the formality of printed tributes one can still get the sense that it was Tom's presence, as much as his achievements, that people had enjoyed.

I remember my grandmother telling me that afterwards, when Hannah was putting their affairs in order and settling some accounts, one man refused to be paid, saying 'Nay lass, Tom Townsend would not have taken money from my widow, and I'm not taking money from his.' That was the

tribute which made me think that I should like to find out more about him.

The Widow.

Tom died in May. In July Hannah sold their house for £520. They had taken a mortgage of £386 in April, when Tom was ill. By then I believe it was their only property. There are not the records to show whether Tom's little lettings had amounted to more than his mortgages. In the end he left Hannah a modest £900, and perhaps some insurance. She does not appear in the land register again, and so must have rented. By 1911 she was in Eccleshill, over the hill to the east across the Bradford Beck valley, but she may not have gone there at once.

Hannah missed the April meeting of the School Board, but by July she was back. The Education Act had said that places the size of Shipley could choose whether to hand over their schools to the County Council. Shipley decided to do this, and so the School Board was wound up. At the last meeting of the Shipley Board in December 1903, Hannah made a little speech seconding the vote of thanks to the chairman and the clerk. That seems to be the end of her local government work. Her name does not appear on the list of members of the education committee of the Urban District Council, which became the vehicle for local management.

Nor does Hannah appear on the platform of the Women's Liberal Association, of which she had been such an articulate leader. In February she was on the platform of a big meeting of the Women's Temperance Association. In the afternoon the main discussion was about barmaids. They did not wish to reflect on their character, though they thought public houses had an atmosphere unsuitable for women. They had visited public houses and talked to landlords. They found no barmaids over the age of thirty. The landlords admitted that the customers preferred girls between fifteen and thirty, and that it was good for trade to get new ones every couple of years. This left the women without employment, and without a trade in their fingers. That is, the campaigners were not there to censure the women, but were concerned for their welfare under very unfavourable terms of employment. In the evening session of the conference Hannah took the chair.

In June 1904 Priscilla was married to John Taylor, a boot maker of Birkenhead. They were married in Mount Tabor chapel, Tranmere, where Albert Wigley had been Minister. Albert married them, and Priscilla gave as her address Albert and Elizabeth's house in Anfield, Liverpool. If Hannah had already left Shipley, perhaps Priscilla had not much attachment to the new local chapel. Perhaps the Taylors and the Wigleys felt more equal to the entertaining than Tom's widow.

Hannah was fifty when Tom died. Her causes had been Tom's too, and they had worked together. She had also acted with notable independence, and we might not necessarily have assumed that she would retire. The men who had had to come to tell Hannah of Tom's death had remarked on the fortitude with which she bore the news. Now she was alone. The girls were settled away, and Hannah was without the companion of thirty lively years. She seems to have lived very quietly.

In 1911 Hannah married Samuel Charles Chappell, a retired bootmaker from Barnsley. He was a

widower, and 71 to her 61. Nevertheless he survived her. In 1925 Hannah died at their home in Keighley. She was buried according to her Will, in Tom's grave in Nab Wood cemetery. I have found no obituary. Hannah had moved away from the scene of her public work, and survived it by 25 years. At least she had the satisfaction of the vote in her last few years.

My Grandparents.

I look for clues to the life of Tom and Hannah in my memory of my grandparents. If one afternoon of idling about in our yearly summer visit to them could have been saved up until now, how much better this story would have been. By the time I knew my grandparents they had retired to a flat brick-built village five miles out of Southport, on the Preston road. The village was Banks, called after the earthworks thrown up to claim potato fields from the Ribble estuary, and their bungalow was Ombersley, called after a hymn tune. There were few incomers to the village. The foreigners began at Mere Brow, five miles away, but Grandpa had worked there years before, and they were accepted and happy.

My grandmother was supposed to resemble her father. She was brought up to share his interests, and they persisted through her grown up life. At chapel concerts she recited at ten, sang a solo at seventeen, joined the choir and taught in the Sunday school. She was with her parents when they entertained parties of Liberal canvassers. Of course she cooked, washed and cleaned for her husband and sons all her life. I never heard her complain of this, but once, when we came upon some fine steel knitting needles in her bureau drawer, she recalled with a shudder knitting not just socks, but long winter underwear for her husband. Housework was what you did, but it was not an interest. She would rather talk about King David or Ramsay Macdonald, and you would not have known that they lived three thousand years apart. She never discussed recipes. Her cooking was not of the sort that has recipes.

The great treat there was high tea. Some old men in the village still went shanking. That is, they walked a horse and high-axled cart five miles out to the sands to catch shrimps. The women cooked them in boilers in the back kitchens, and sat round the oil-cloth covered table, picking them at piece-work speed. You took a basin, and bought the little fresh pink curls by the pint. There were Webb's Wonderful lettuces and tomatoes picked that day from the market garden next door, to go with them.

Grandma and Grandpa had been married for forty years when I became conscious, so that I could not know her as though without his influence. Distinctness remains, however. As I remember, Grandma would quickly draw the blackout curtains, and Grandpa would go round and correct them. Grandpa died in 1941, before I was old enough to appreciate him. His life's work, more than forty years as a devoted and able Minister, did not concern me. His sons revered him, and followed a similar calling. I had not even come to a proper understanding of cricket, which he enjoyed. I regret that, because the great thing about games is that the superiority of one’s team, in this case Yorkshire, is axiomatic, not quod erat demonstrandum. It requires neither intellectual nor moral justification, which is a relief. It actually gets such justification, of course, and with vehemence, but everyone knows that that is part of the game.

I remember Grandpa as meticulous. He would willingly take his pocket knife to sharpen my pencil, but he would go on perfecting the cone long after it was good enough for any purpose of mine. I remember him for neatness, punctuality, not allowing dogs into his well kept garden, and family prayers. If an intervening grown-up could have explained that these were things of which Grandpa was particularly fond, and that therefore it was kind and polite to do them, it would have been jollier. But of course they were presented as Right, and therefore received as bossy. I think I even held Grandpa responsible for the story of Abraham and Isaac, which we had one morning. To the parents present it seemed to be a story about Abraham and his faith. To the worm's eye view of a child it was a story about Isaac, and his narrow escape from the dreadful effect of religion upon his father.

Grandma loved Grandpa, shared his faith, and enjoyed the life of the chapel. She accepted Grandpa's ruling that when they moved to a new post they would not look at the manse first, in case ordinary considerations of comfort and convenience should interfere with Grandpa's decision. They moved nine times, not just house, but town. It would have been difficult for Grandma to have undertaken public work as her mother did.

In retirement Grandma kept the kindly interest in local people - a little present for a new baby, worn sheets to bandage an old woman's legs. She took me with her when she went to sit with an old woman, bedfast in a farmhouse parlour. I stood by the bed long enough to be inspected, and told which side of the family I favoured. Then I escaped outside to the faithful daughter, Leah. I had sat behind Leah in chapel, and looked at her hat, slanted over hair compressed into stiff cylindrical curls, at her best blue coat, sharp shouldered, and at the bulges over the top of her corsets. Here she was amongst her chickens, hair gone fuzzy under a beret, sleeves rolled up over strong forearms, broad red face. I thought that she looked much nicer when she was not aiming at smartness.

Here too was Sam, a big rough brown dog on the end of a chain, miming ferocity. He seemed as delighted as I was that I was allowed to let him loose, and roam about the fields with him whenever I liked. He would come with me to hang about watching the blacksmith shoe the farm horses, or the carpenter making, among other things, coffins. The carpenter was the wheelwright too, and the best thing was taking a cart-wheel to the smith to have its iron rim put on. It is the contraction of the iron band that holds the whole thing together, and one did well not to draw attention to oneself when the men were manoevring the hot metal.

Time, Like an Ever Rolling Stream.

I have run on into my own childhood, and already that reads like something from a rural life museum. To get back to Grandma's youth would take another such sixty year leap, and yet another to reach Luke's.

Of one's own life it seems natural to say "no, that cannot be the past: I was there myself, though it is true we had cogwheels and steam and an empire." I once read a life of the Primitive Methodist founder, Hugh Bourne, written by a friend of my father's. It was written, I thought, much as though Bourne were another contemporary of theirs. I found the young Bourne guilt-

ridden to the point of depression, pitiful, not inspiring. Then I came across a story.

An Account of Mr. Booty: extracted from Captain Spinks' Journal, and from the Records of the Court of King's Bench.

Tuesday, May 12, we anchored in Mansat-Road, with Capt. Barnaby, Capt. Bristow, and Capt. Brewer. About six o'clock we all four weighed anchor and sailed for the island of Lusara. Friday 15, about two o'clock we saw the island, and about seven came to an anchor in about twelve fathom water. Saturday 16, we [the Captains] with Mr. Ball, merchant of Wentworth, went ashore, in order to shoot Curlews on Mount Strembolo. Half an hour and fourteen minutes after three, we called all our men to us, when we all to our great surprise, saw two men running with amazing swiftness, and Capt. Barnaby cried out, "Lord, bless me! the foremost man is Mr. Booty, my next neighbour in London." He was in grey clothes, with cloth buttons. He that ran after him was in black. They both ran straight into the burning Mountain, and at the instant was such a noise as made us all tremble. Capt. Barnaby said, "I do not doubt, but it is old Booty running into hell"; and as soon as we came on board, he desired us to mark the time, and write it down in our Journals, which we did.

We returned to Gravesend, October 6. Capt. Barnaby then went for the rest, to congratulate them on their safe arrival. After some discourse, Capt. Barnaby's wife said, "I can tell you some news; Old Booty is dead." He answered, "That we all know, for we saw him run into hell." Mrs. Barnaby related this to an acquaintance in London; and she informed Mrs. Booty of it. On this, Mrs. Booty arrested Capt. Barnaby in an action of a thousand pounds. It came to trial in the Court of King's Bench. The four Captains, Mr. Ball, and all the men, made oath, that they saw him run very swiftly, and leap into the burning Mountain: that he had on a coat with cloth buttons, (which was brought into the Court, and exactly answered the description.) And that they all set it down in their Journals, which were also produced in Court, and answered the time when he died, to two minutes, as appeared from the Sexton of the Parish, and several others who were with him at his death. In summing up the evidence, the Lord Chief Justice said, "Two or three may be mistaken; but we cannot suppose above thirty were." So the cause was given for the defendant.

This account appeared in *The Arminian Magazine.* Hugh Bourne read it, and was profoundly affected. "If I go into that burning mountain, I must never come out again. 'Twill not do to follow Old Booty; 'twill not do to follow Old Booty". In that world, where even to a judge of the King's Bench, the fires of hell raged just beneath the leaking surface of the earth, Bourne became comprehensible.

So, perhaps it helps to say that when Grandma was born, Middlemarch was coming out in instalments, and that Tom, like W.G.Grace, arrived just after Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights. When Luke was born, Jane Austen was still alive and Charles Darwin was six. It was the Boer war which confirmed my grandparents' lifelong pacifism. If little Tom had met one of the new pensioners, whose officers were satisfied that his disability was caused neither by vice nor intemperance, drawing his few shillings at the Leeds or Halifax depot, the old soldier would have been fighting in the Crimea. Luke was born in the year of Waterloo.

My father was fond of history; for example the development of steam railways. He would sit with his pocket watch in his hand, noting the mile posts and gradient signs. At the end of the journey he would have a word with the men on the footplate, who drove the great furnaces about the country, driver and fireman, whom one always saw in the glamorous light of their own fire. My father particularly enjoyed the parts of history where he saw a struggle between Right and Wrong: Elizabeth I in defence of the settlement; Cromwell v. Charles I. He would have allied himself with the puritans, though puritan is a difficult word now. There was a domineering grimness about some of those buckle-hatted fellows, a punishing certainty at which one shudders, as there was also a poxy degradation in the splendid court which followed them.

I suppose what endears Tom Townsend to me is that he was a man whose religious faith issued in pavements and drains, in fair contracts and free education, in public probity and plenty of high tea with entertainments. He was a preaching puritan of whom it was said "He had that genial friendly spirit which always seemed to take a warmth and glow wherever he went".

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Everyone who knew Tom and Hannah Townsend is long dead. We have a few photographs, a very few old reminiscences, but no family papers. I spent happy days in the British Library newspaper collection and among records of births, marriages, deaths and wills. Particular thanks are due to local enthusiasts such as Ian Watson of the Shipley Local History Society, and Colin Dews of the Wesley Historical Society. Mr. David Butterworth knows all about railways. Part of the fun of a private undertaking like this is the encounter with other people who also have bees in their bonnets. Clergymen such as the Rev. Richard Weller of Birstall and the Rev.A. Callan-Travis of Tong patiently answered questions and sent pictures.
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