Leeds and West Yorkshire Carved Oak Furniture of the Seventeenth Century

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past thirty to forty years collectors, auction houses and antique dealers have used the term 'Yorkshire Oak Furniture' to describe thousands of items now to be found in all parts of the country, but which share a distinctive regional style. Pioneering studies such as Christopher Gilbert and Anthony Wells-Cole's *Furniture from Yorkshire Churches* of 1971 and Victor Chinnery's *Oak Furniture, The British Tradition* of 1979 have drawn on a limited number of pieces found in Yorkshire, the latter introducing terms such as 'South Yorkshire', 'West Yorkshire', 'South-West Yorkshire', 'Bradford/Halifax area', 'Dales area', or 'Leeds area'. Dates, meanwhile, have been attributed on stylistic grounds alone, while there has been an assumption that the current location of a number of specimens indicates the place in which they were made, even when there is no supporting evidence to confirm that this was the case.

This article sets out to clarify this present rather unsatisfactory situation by the use of a number of quite different approaches. It introduces documentary evidence to reveal the economic circumstances for and in which the furniture was made, studies fixtures in local houses to obtain more reliable information regarding dates and styles, and adopts the archaeological technique of making measured drawings of numerous pieces in order to relate those with a sound provenance to numerous others now in collections or circulating in the antiques trade. These methods permit much 'Yorkshire Oak Furniture' to be reliably attributed not only to its place of manufacture, but to its specific group within that place, or possibly, in the case of Francis Gunby of Leeds, to its specific workshop. Where possible, the names, family backgrounds and personal circumstances of individual joiners have been studied in detail. In addition, the evidence of probate inventories and other contemporary documents has been used to describe the location and use of furniture in the home, the original names used to define it, as well as its prices.

By assembling this body of diverse information, it is now possible to confirm that Leeds was one of the most prolific furniture-making centres in Stuart England, capable of mass producing not only countless pieces of sound, everyday practicality, but numerous examples of the finest workmanship of its period.

After outlining the historical background, I shall describe how early collectors and dealers redistributed this furniture within Yorkshire as well as further afield. The Leeds furniture trade will then be described before embarking on a detailed analysis of furniture made in Leeds. The furniture of Halifax, Wakefield, Bradford and elsewhere will be considered, alongside its makers (Figure 1). Further analysis of decoration, sources and dating will precede a final section examining the furniture by type in the context of its use.

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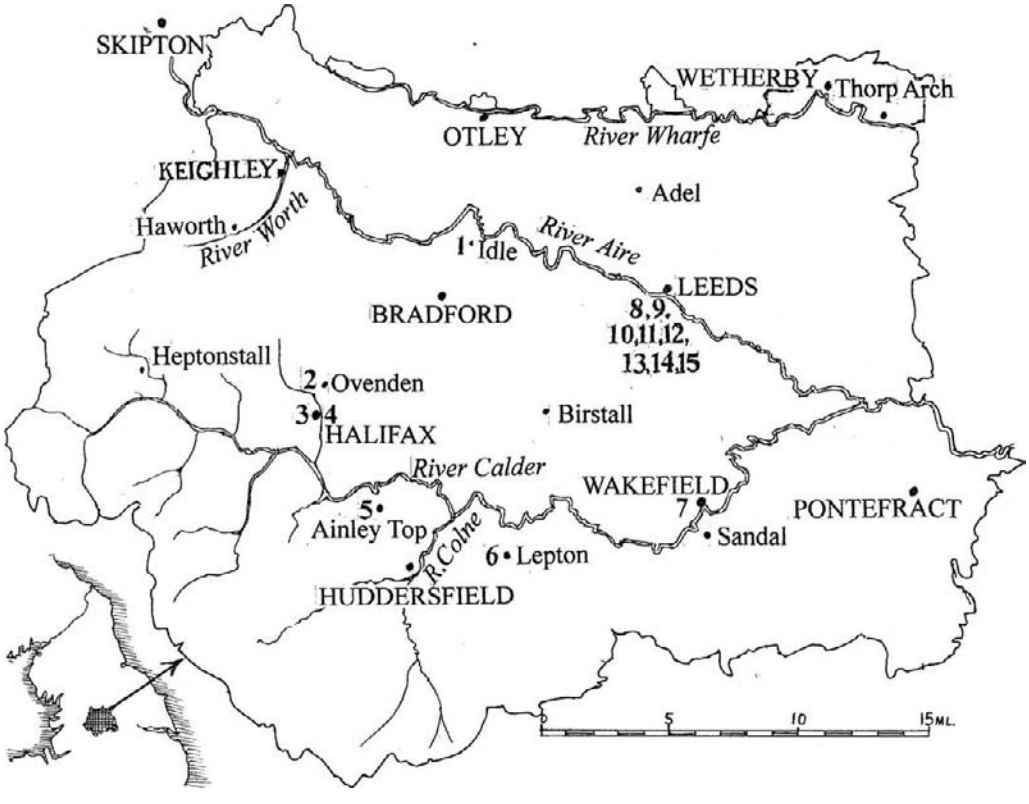


1 This map shows the distribution of joiners known to have worked in West Yorkshire in the seventeenth century, comprising: 1. Richard Booth of Idle; 2. Michael Murgatroyd of Ovenden; 3. John and James Cawbert and 4. Henry Green of Halifax; 5. John Hunt of Ainley Top; 6. James Copley of Lepton; 7. Joseph Thornton of Wakefield. The great concentration of Leeds joiners (8–15) included Francis Gunby, James Swift, Thomas Fountain, William Parker, Samuel Brooksbank, William Atkinson the younger, John Todd and Robert Townson. *The Author*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The sixteenth century had seen a rapid expansion in the domestic production of woollen cloth in West Yorkshire. Here the cheap cost of living, plentiful clean water for fulling mills, a bracing atmosphere and a lack of guild regulation had enabled its inhabitants to eclipse those of the great medieval textile towns of York and Beverley. Spinning and weaving were relatively simple processes requiring little capital, but the primary producers had to sell their unfinished pieces of cloth to wealthier yeoman clothiers and merchants, who organised the highly-skilled finishing processes and both inland and export sales. There were a number of local markets at which wool was purchased, unfinished cloth sold, and provisions bought. All prospered at the opening of the seventeenth century but their experiences diverged thereafter due to their particular circumstances. Those with the greatest geographical advantages were Leeds

and Wakefield, each at the mouth of a major Pennine dale, set astride the country's main north-south road, and where food essential for the whole district came in from the fertile lands to the east. They were also closest to Hull, their major outlet to all the ports around the North Sea. In contrast, Halifax and Bradford were both set deep in the heads of short, narrow-sided valleys much further inland, where most transport still relied on pack horses. Administrative control was also of the greatest significance. That of each town was vested in its manor, but whereas the burgess court of Wakefield had disappeared in 1579, the Leeds merchants were able to obtain their royal charter as a free borough in 1626, giving them unprecedented advantages over their rivals.[1]

For anyone offering domestic supplies and services in West Yorkshire, Leeds was now the ideal centre of trade. The town was rapidly transforming itself; in 1628 its houses were still 'verie thicke, and close compacted together, beinge ancient, meane and lowbuilt; and generalie all of Tymber', but by 1698 it had become full of 'good houses, all built of stone … this is esteemed the wealthiest town of its bigness in the Country, its manufacture is the woollen cloth, the Yorkshire Cloth in which they are all employ'd and are esteemed very rich and proud.' In 1615 it had built a new Moot Hall, in 1619 a new market cross, followed by a new Grammar School in 1624, St John's Church in 1634, a workhouse in 1637, and an almshouse in 1653. Its population grew from around 3,000 in 1600 to around 6,000 in 1700, the Hearth Tax of 1664–72 showing it to have had three times as many houses as its old rival, Wakefield.[2]

Although Leeds had become the centre of trade, it had by no means a monopoly of wealth. Areas such as the upper Calder Valley beyond Halifax, for example, were among the most prosperous in the country, with perhaps as many as a thousand substantial stone houses of seventeenth century date.[3] All have excellent masonry and carpentry, many being of large size and high architectural standard. Here an individual merchant such as James Murgatroyd with his annual income of about £2,000 built five major houses for himself and his sons between 1631 and 1648.[4] Those with sufficient means were expected to use their homes to display an appropriate standard of material culture. As Lord Wentworth advised Sir William Savile of Thornhill in 1633;

> 'your Houses … are not suitable to your Quality, nor yet your Plate and Furniture … your Expence ought to be reduced to two Thirds of your Estate, the rest saved to the accomodating of you in that kind.'[5]

The builders of new or extensively remodelled houses throughout West Yorkshire rapidly gave up the old-fashioned tradition of having just a single large arm chair for the master of the house and lesser chairs and stools for everyone else, and proceeded to cram their rooms with masses of good furniture. Individual properties frequently required over a hundred items, mostly new-made, as proved by the following probate inventories.

[1] Walker (1939) p. 89.
[2] Burt and Grady (1994) pp. 31–7.
[3] Giles (1986) p. 107.
[4] Hanson (1910) p. 94.
[5] Cliffe (1969) p. 103.

John Murgatroyd, East Riddlesden Hall, 27 July, 1662.[6]

Beds	Chests	Cupboards etc.	Tables	Chairs	Stools
1 canopy	3 Flanders	4 livery	1 long	1 joined	4 covered
9 stand	2 foot	2 other	1 draw	4 ceiled	2 sewn
3 truckle	3 trunks	1 presser	7 square	4 covered	1 cup
1 ½-headed	1 coffer	2 glass-cases	1 round	2 solid	66 buffets
1 cradle	5 arks	1 desk	9 other	6 set	4 forms
6 other	14 other	1 counter		2 willow	
				1 couch	
				21 other	
21	28	11	19	41	73

Total number of items 177 (value of goods moveable £485 15*s*)

Thomas Kitson, High Sunderland, 1692[7]

Beds	Chests	Cupboards etc.	Tables	Chairs	Stools
2 ceiled	1 foot	2 livery	1 livery	20 ceiled	1 close
1 turle	1 'mule'	1 presser	3 round	10 thrown	14 buffets
6 other	1 oatmeal	2 desks	2 square	1 couch	8 forms
	1 coffer	1 glass-case	1 dresser	10 other	
	1 trunk	4 others	9 other		
	1 standard				
	14 other				
9	20	10	16	41	23

Total number of items 119 (value of goods moveable £1,442 6*s* 10*d*)

The development of similar new and remodelled houses requiring appropriately large quantities of furniture created a huge demand for the products of the district's joinery trade. This demand was not restricted to merely practical pieces, however, for the clients needed furniture enriched with fine carving and inlay to display their wealth and taste to the full. As Leeds was the main shopping town for fine wares, even having its own assay mark for silver, it soon became a major regional centre for furniture making.[8]

[6] West Yorkshire Archives Service, Calderdale Offices, HAS/B:13/42.
[7] Cant and Petford (2015) pp. 42–4.
[8] Bradbury (1968) p. 72.

In 1662 the newly formed Corporation determined that

> 'most of the trades within this Burrough are much decreased & the poore thereof much increased by the under takeing of Apprentices, setting on work Forreners and strangers … the p'sons using the respective manuall occupances of Milnewright, Carpenters, joyners, Plaisterers, Cowpers, Bricklayers & – [will be formed] into a Guild or Fraternity'[9]

Orders and constitutions were drawn up, eventually renewed, and plans made in 1691 for an Act to be requested to incorporate the town's trade companies, but this was not pursued.[10] Unfortunately no evidence of the guild's affairs appears to have survived, the only mention of joiners in the civic records being when individuals signed communal addresses to Charles II and James II.[11] In contrast, much of the furniture made by seventeenth-century West Yorkshire joiners has survived in great quantities although, as will become clear, the trade was dominated by Leeds, the other towns having a much smaller output.

Typical of its period, this Jacobean and Carolean furniture was predominantly made of oak, other woods usually being restricted to use as inlays. Its traditional regional forms were slowly going out of fashion in the late seventeenth century. The few provenanced later pieces, such as a pair of chests of drawers, originally bun-footed, from the 1711 Leeds Assembly Rooms, now in the City Museum collection, and the Woolrich family's gateleg table in the Leeds Library, are indistinguishable from others made elsewhere. New woods were also coming into use, the Corporation commissioning a mahogany case for its charter as early as 1691.[12] From this time much of the old oak furniture was kept in use largely because of its practical strength and utility, or perhaps from its association with earlier members of a family. This was certainly the case at Walton Hall near Wakefield where, in 1767, a number of fine Leeds inlaid chests bearing the Waterton family's initials and dates were re-used as window seats, their decorative fronts being mounted below seats made out of their lids. I saw them there over fifty years ago, when the building was derelict, and before they were stolen. It was only when the Gothic Revival had commenced in the late eighteenth century that such furniture began to be appreciated as desirably antique.

EARLY COLLECTORS

Essential to an understanding of furniture making in seventeenth-century West Yorkshire is an appreciation of how the furniture itself survived and came to be dispersed. The fashion for collecting oak furniture in the north of England was well established by the early nineteenth century, probably inspired by the romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott. In 1812, for example, Thomas Walthew had produced

> A catalogue of the whole of the furniture of that ancient mansion, Speke Hall … which will be sold by auction on the premises on Tuesday 1st September, 1812.

[9] Clark (1933) p. 11.
[10] Ibid. pp. 116, 149.
[11] Ibid. pp. 105–7.
[12] Ibid. p. 149.

Similarly on 1st September 1820 Thomas Dodd was auctioning 'Antique household furniture carved in oak' at the Exchange in Manchester.[13] Owners of country houses were keen to display such ancient oak furniture in order to promote the impression that their families had a long and prestigious lineage. A prime example of this kind of assembled collection remains in the sub-hall at Nostell Priory near Wakefield. Here Charles Winn had purchased 'several pieces of old carved wood' from John Swaby of Wardour Street, London, in May 1821, and 'sundry pieces of antique oak furniture' for fifteen pounds from E. Terry of Thornes, Wakefield in March 1834.[14] Those who had inherited authentic pieces sometimes 'improved' them to match new schemes of internal decoration. When planning the restoration of her family home at Shibden Hall, Halifax, in 1835, Anne Lister decided that the '6 old oak chairs 3 or 4 centuries old [were] to be done up with crimson backs and cushions' for her drawing room.[15]

A generation later, in the 1870s, oak furniture was also being appreciated for its design and craftsmanship, rather than for its romantic appeal. One of the most significant scholars to study West Yorkshire furniture at this period was Anne Lister's successor at Shibden Hall, John Lister (1847–1933). After completing his degree at Oxford, he returned to the Hall, which he inherited, aged 21, in 1867. With a rental income of £2,757 in 1874, he was able to devote his life to archival research, the preservation of historic artefacts, and social improvement. Later he was to work with the social historians Sydney and Beatrice Webb and support the formation of the Independent Labour Party.[16] When he found that fine medieval half-timbered buildings in central Halifax were to be demolished for redevelopment, he purchased them and re-erected them on his estate. First, in the late 1860s, came Cripplegate Cottage, this being followed in 1890 by the 'House at the Maypole', an impressive fifteenth century merchant's house with a finely carved doorway.

In 1880, while still in his early thirties, he organised a major 'Exhibition of Antique Oak Furniture and Other Works of Art' in the rooms of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society. His 58-page catalogue is of seminal interest in the study of regional furniture. Based on his knowledge of local inventories he set up a representation of the interior of a seventeenth century house with a fully furnished hall or 'housebody', a parlour complete with its four-post bed, and also a gallery exhibiting furniture, books and drawings of local houses. In all there were sixty five items of furniture, eight being inlaid, loaned either by himself or by other local collectors, each being given its original provenance where known. His commentary shows levels of knowledge and taste at least a century in advance of most others studying this subject. With regard to the carved 'interlaced bands, oak-and-acorn patterns, grotesque heads &c.' he already recognised that they were drawn from the pattern-books of

> the maîtres of Germany and the Netherlands, and more particularly from those of Aldegrever, Virgilius Solis of Nuremberg, Daniel Hopfer of Ausberg and Theodore de Bry, who sent forth to the world a great number of engraved ornamental designs during the sixteenth century.

[13] Turner and Horrocks (n.d.) 9/2008, 9/2516.
[14] Brears (2010) p. 107.
[15] Brears (1978) p. 57.
[16] Goodchild (2000) pp. 125–8.

He hated many of the 'improvements' of his nineteenth century contemporaries with their

> practices of ebonising and varnishing oak by which are destroyed its beautiful natural tints, and the 'flower' of its grain and, last not least, its title to unimpeachable honesty.[17]

He had already acquired one of the exhibits, an inlaid four post bed and its accompanying foot chest from Hove Edge, Hipperholme, Halifax, and carefully preserved the original contents of his home at Shibden Hall. All of these eventually passed into the ownership of Halifax Borough Council, and remain in the Hall today. That he and ten of his fellow townsmen were able to mount such a major exhibition entirely from their own resources confirms the high quality of local collections in the 1870s–80s.

On a visit to Luddenden in 1902, the Halifax Antiquarians visited the home of Mr J. Selwyn Dawson, 'a connoisseur of old oak'. Here they saw a finely-carved cabinet, carved '1617. OE', the dated 1526 oak communion table from Sowerby Bridge Church, and a late-seventeenth century oak settle from the King's Head Inn, Sowerby, carved 'Sowerby Town', from which Dawson had stripped layers of paint.[18] At Heptonstall Church in 1908 they found the early 'communion table, a finely-carved oak chair which stands within the altar rails, a longsettle and a table'.[19] This generation of collectors was already interested in recording the provenance of the furniture they were collecting, information still useful today, here confirming that three of four chairs now at Heptonstall are not original to the church, and that other pieces have since disappeared. Local businessmen such as John Brigg and his brother William both did their best to prevent local furniture from being sold out of the area by purchasing it for their rented home, Kildwick Hall, between 1883 and 1946. In this way they acquired important pieces such as the fine cupboard from Ponden Hall, Stanbury, near Haworth, which, together with the rest of their collection, was bequeathed to the National Trust's East Riddlesden Hall, Keighley, in 1946.[20]

Efforts such as this certainly helped to preserve West Yorkshire's furniture heritage in its native district, but there was so much of it available on the open market that generations of dealers were able to make a good living by selling it to collectors in distant parts of the country and probably overseas too. Its quality and style made it readily saleable, dealers such as Frank Laycock of Keighley and Skipton attending most local house-sales. On 10th November 1908, for example, he purchased a fine carved and inlaid bed which, if whole 'would have realised no less than £200', from Mould Greave, a house in Marsh, near Haworth, where R. R. Redman paid ten guineas for an oak wardrobe.[21] Such pieces were then advertised nationally, as when Mr Laycock offered a fine inlaid Leeds chair in the Connoisseur in March 1920. In this way some of the best specimens of Leeds-made furniture passed into the hands of George Kemp, 1st Baron Rochdale at Lingholm, Cumberland, Col. Norman Colville of Penheale Manor, Cornwall, and William Randolph Hearst at St Donat's, South Glamorgan

[17] Lister (1880).
[18] *Trans. Halifax Ant. Soc.* 1 (1).
[19] Kendal (1908) p. 154.
[20] Lees-Milne (1983) p. 15.
[21] Newscutting kept at Mould Greave, Oxenhope.

(Figures 43 and 44). In the 1930s and '40s chairs from these collectors were purchased by Sir William Burrell, who paid between £100 and £150 each for them, showing how highly prized they were at this period. He used one in the dining room and another in the vestibule at Hutton Castle, and they are now in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow.[22] There were about a dozen antique dealers in West Yorkshire and ten in Harrogate in the inter-war years, but the main firm dealing with seventeenth century oak was J. & W. Tweed of 408–410 Leeds Road, Bradford. Trading from about 1930 to the late 1960s, they regularly placed newspaper advertisements for 'OLD ENGLISH FURNITURE … purchased for high prices'. They were the first port-of-call for both individual collectors and public museums that wanted good-quality items, hence the presence of West Yorkshire furniture in many distant locations.

Beyond the antiques trade, the district's oak furniture was being studied in a social history context. In 1912 Bolling Hall had been presented to the City of Bradford as an empty shell, its initial furnishings being made up of loans from local museums and collectors, as illustrated in W. E. Preston's *Official Handbook of Bolling Hall Museum* of 1915. An active acquisitions policy then built up a fine collection of West Yorkshire oak furniture. The use of such items in their original contexts also began to be explored by pioneering scholars such as William Bunting Crump. As he commented in his article 'The Yeoman Clothier of the 17th century: His House and his Loom-Shop' of 1933,

> It may be useful to pause for a moment to reconsider the interior of a Jacobean homestead. Its contents were very different from the display of machine-made Jacobean furniture to be seen in the shops nowadays.

Using probate inventories, he described how each room was furnished and how individual pieces such as meal-arks were actually used in their original contexts.[23]

The attribution of furniture to Yorkshire commenced in the late nineteenth century, when Frederick Litchfield's *Illustrated History of Furniture* of 1892 attributed some pieces to the county. Cescinsky and Gribble, writing in 1922, identified tentative English regional groupings but limited their examples of 'Yorkshire type' to the double cross-splat backstools now conventionally labelled as South Yorkshire.[24] Such early efforts were not built upon and it was not until the 1970s that dealers and auction houses benefited from the work of Christopher Gilbert and Victor Chinnery. Today 'Yorkshire' oak furniture is widely recognised from its stylistic features, but its actual sources and dating have received very little detailed study.

A relatively small number of specimens of West Yorkshire furniture are publicly available in museums or churches, and the vast bulk remains either in private ownership or circulating in the antiques trade. In order to build up a sufficiently large corpus of information, from which to gain a deeper understanding of this furniture, and recognise the products of its different workshops, it has been essential to record as many

[22] Burrell Collection 14.99, bought 9 October 1946, Frank Partridge & Sons, Burrell Archive, 52.17, p. 59. On the underside of the seat is a label inscribed 'Lord Rochdale'. Burrell Collection 14.100, bought 3 July 1941 directly from Colonel Colville, Burrell Archive, 52.14, p. 69. Burrell Collection 14.69, bought 11 October 1938, Frank Partridge & Sons, Burrell Archive, 52.13, p. 54. Burrell that day acquired seven St Donat's items. Personal Communication, Elizabeth Hancock. Colville had acquired his chair from Kentwell Manor, Suffolk, before 1930: *Connoisseur*, March 1930, ixviii (advertisement).

[23] Crump (1935) p. 226.

[24] Litchfield (1892) pp. 147, 149. Cescinsky and Gribble, II, p. 200 and figs 258–265.

pieces as possible in an identical manner. Where possible, original provenanced examples have been drawn as front elevations at one-eighth scale. Many more, however, have been drawn to the same scale from books and auction catalogues using proportional dividers, still the best instruments for this purpose. The resulting individual drawings are much easier to compare with each other than photographs, and enable the distinctive groups described in the following narrative to be clearly recognised.

Before studying the individual groups, it is essential to point out that what is so often labelled 'Yorkshire' furniture only comes from a very restricted part of this huge county, that area now defined as the metropolitan county of West Yorkshire. Documentary evidence, however, gives some impression of the distribution of joiners across the entire county. A search of the wills registered at York between 1660 and 1688 revealed six joiners working in South Yorkshire, four in North Yorkshire, ten in Hull and East Yorkshire, four in York, and eleven in West Yorkshire. The largest concentration of the latter was in the town of Leeds, where six worked within a hundred yards of each other.

THE LEEDS FURNITURE TRADE

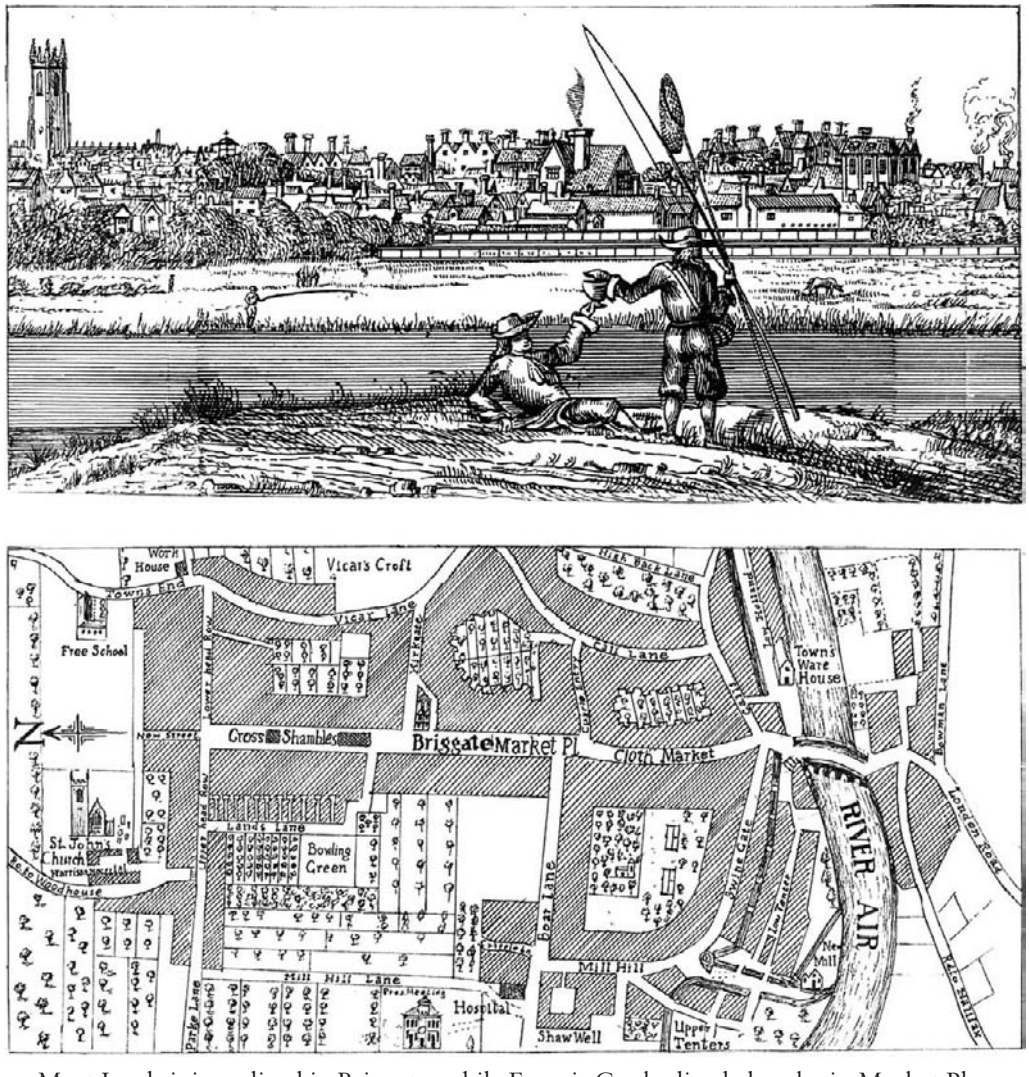
Even those familiar with the history of the present economic and manufacturing capital of West Yorkshire will be surprised to learn that Leeds was the seat of a major furniture-making centre in the middle and late seventeenth century. In the 1660s there were at least six joiners working around a short section of Briggate, just south of the Moot Hall, the most prestigious shopping centre in the long Aire valley (Figure 2). The earliest of the town's joiners recorded to date was 'Diones' or 'Dynnysse' (i.e. Dennis) Dawson of Moor Allerton, who was buried at the Parish Church on 8 March 1582–3. By his will he left the lease of his farmhold to his wife Jane for the duration of her widowhood or eleven years, with the reversion to his son John. His near contemporary, Thomas Henham of Briggate, had his daughters baptised at the Parish Church in 1593 and 1594. None of their work can be recognised today. In contrast, Leeds' most important early Stuart joiner has left a much more interesting legacy of archival and physical evidence.

FRANCIS GUNBY

The first mention of the Gunby family in Leeds occurs in the parish registers that record the marriages of Mary Gunby in 1602 and Elizabeth Gunby in 1609, although a Mary Gunby, niece of William Balye, is recorded in 1577. This suggests that the family moved to Leeds towards the end of the sixteenth century, rapidly becoming well-established with branches living in the market place (now Briggate just north of Boar Lane), Briggate (now Briggate just south of Kirkgate), the shambles, immediately to the north, and in the Headrow.

Between 1600 and 1605 Francis Gunby was working at Gawthorpe Hall, Padiham, Lancashire, carving the moulds for his brother Thomas' plasterwork, moulds which were later used for a number of ceilings back in West Yorkshire.[25] From this time he

[25] Wells-Cole (1997) p. 159. Bostwick (1994).



2 Most Leeds joiners lived in Briggate, while Francis Gunby lived close by in Market Place, both at the commercial heart of the region's trading capital. William Lodge's view of *c.* 1680 (top) shows Briggate from the south-west, with the new St John's Church to the left. John Cossin's early plan of the town (below) shows its extent *c.* 1700, and the central location of the joiners' Briggate workshops. *The Author*

appears to have been the principal woodcarver in the region, making a wide variety of furniture during the early seventeenth century. By the 1620s he was gaining a number of prestigious contracts, such as the plasterwork at Sheriff Hutton Hall, completed in 1622, for Sir Arthur Ingram.[26] Sir Arthur appears to have both employed and accommodated him at Temple Newsam between around 1626 and 1629, for a covenant dated

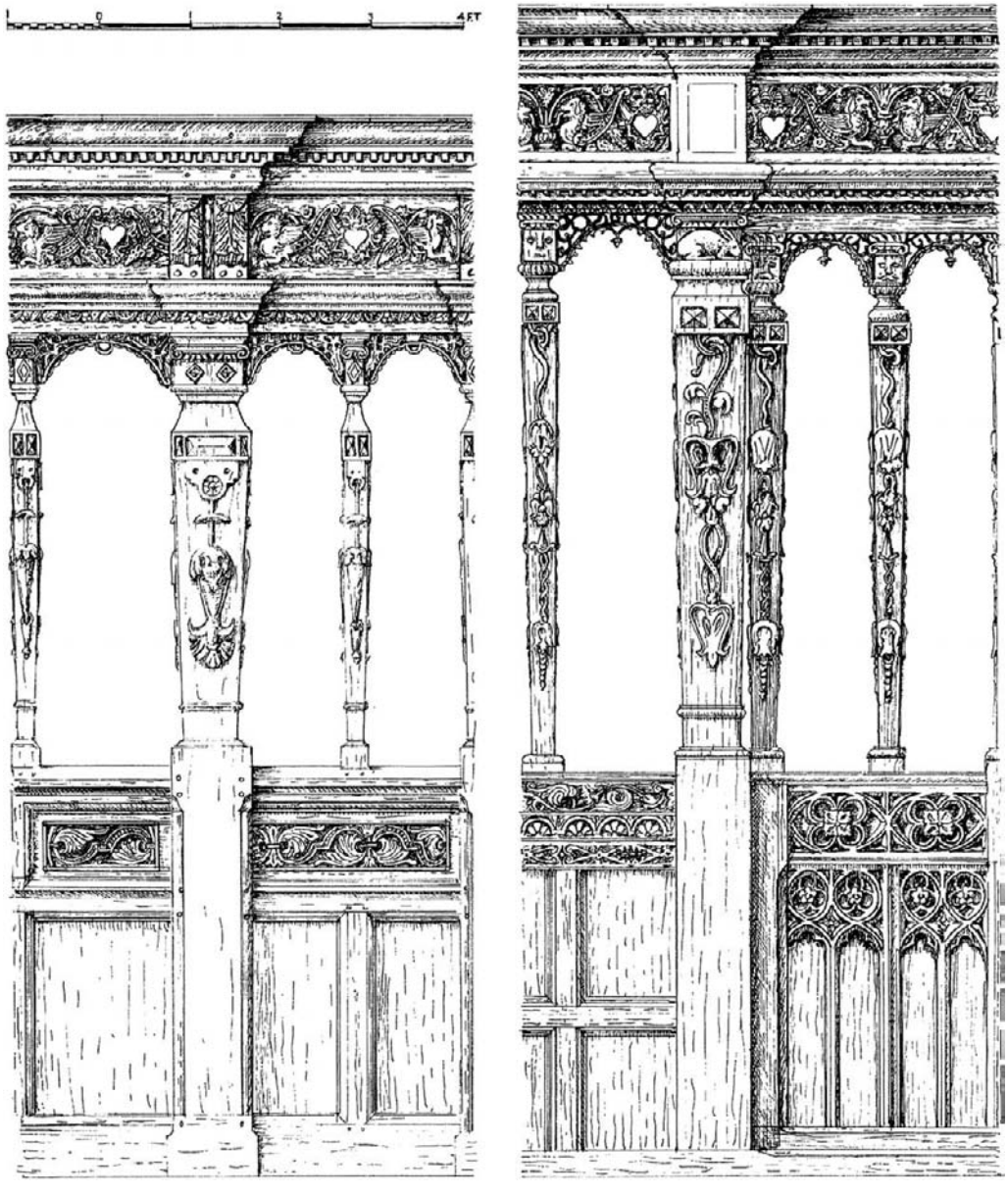
[26] Pevsner (1973) p. 341.

18th February 1628 describes him as Francis Gunby of Temple Newsam, joiner. Here he was to make and set up where Sir Arthur should appoint 400 yards of 'wanscott or selling' [i.e. oak panelling] at 12*d*. a yard. Francis had to find all the 'substances and utensils' except the nails and deals in return for £5 already received and a further £5 at the finishing of each subsequent 100 yards.[27] Sir Arthur's other great house was in York, occupying part of the former Archbishop's Palace, adjoining the north-west corner of the Minster, and it was possibly this that secured Francis a major contract from Archbishop Richard Neile to build a new pulpit for his private chapel in Bishopthorpe Palace in 1632. During the restoration of 1896 the pulpit was removed by Archbishop William Thompson and rebuilt in his son-in-law's parish church of Rotherfield in East Sussex, where it is still to be seen. It is a magnificent example of Carolean woodwork, the octagonal pulpit itself having two tiers of cross-framed panels set between pilasters, and a back board flanked by two huge eagles appropriately symbolising St John the Evangelist.[28] Francis Gunby probably made a similar pulpit for the church of St John the Baptist, Adel, now a northern suburb of Leeds (Figure 6, no. 3). It is illustrated in a watercolour in the vestry there, but only the birds and flaming urns of its sounding board survive. It was discarded in 1879 by a rector who, according to local tradition, disappeared through its floor in the middle of a sermon.[29]

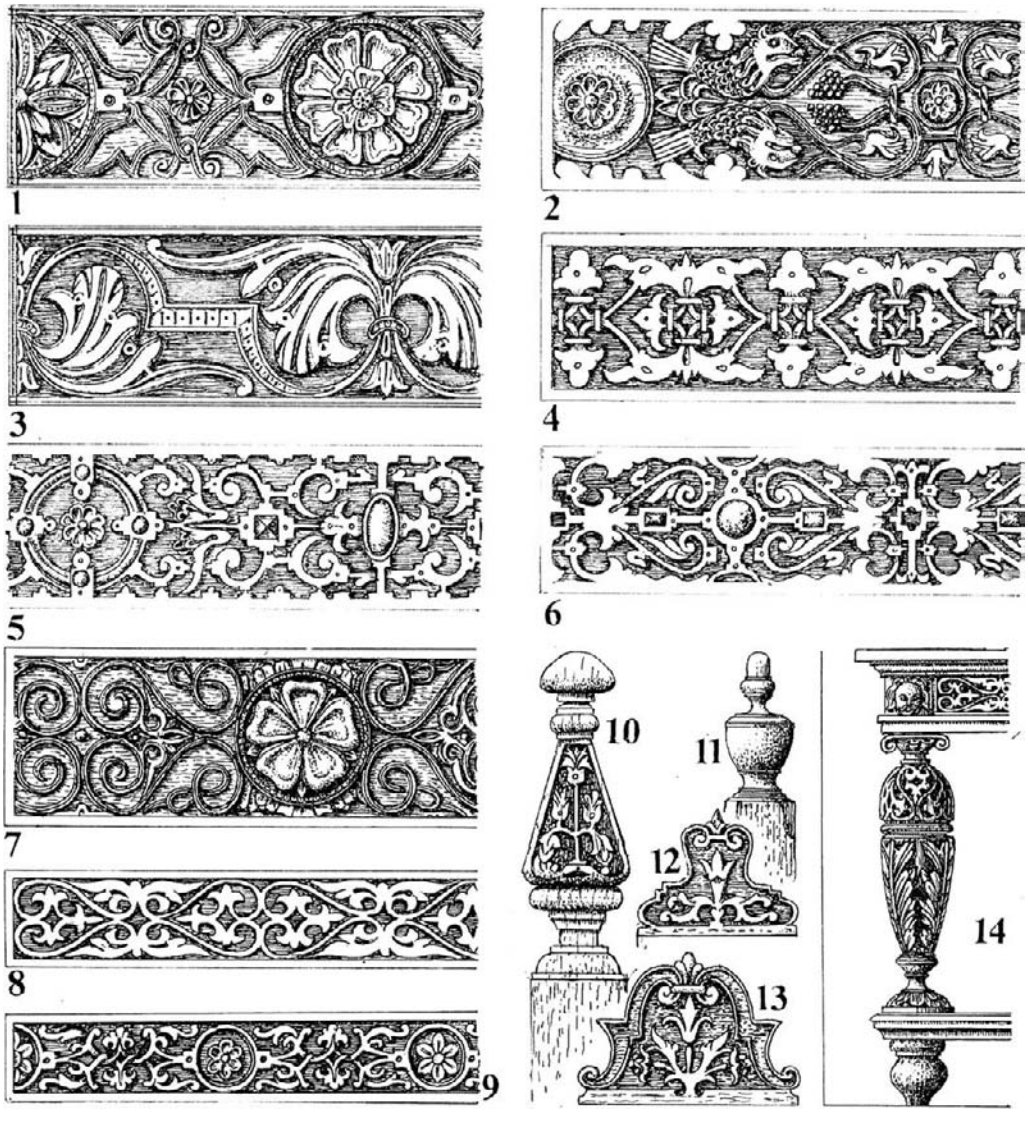
Probably while working at Temple Newsam, Francis met Ann Powell of Whitkirk, the village at the start of the mansion's main drive. They were married at Whitkirk Parish Church in 1633 and were probably established in a house in Leeds, he and his family being described as being of the market place or of Briggate in the parish registers, in order to distinguish them from the Francis Gunbys of Headrow or Kirkgate.[30] He and Ann appear to have had two children, Francis being baptised on 14th September 1636, and Ann on 19th September 1638. They probably shared their house with his brother and partner Thomas 'singleman, Market Place' who was buried on 24 November 1643 and perhaps Nicholas Gunby of Market Place, whose seven children were baptised between 1649 and 1663.[31]

The major building project in central Leeds at this time was the construction of the new church of St John the Evangelist just north of the Headrow. Built between 1631 and 1634 at the sole cost of Leeds' great merchant philanthropist John Harrison (1579–1656), it remains one of the finest of Britain's churches of this period. Despite some atrocious 'restorations' in the nineteenth century, it still retains a wealth of fine woodwork (Figures 3, 4, 5, and 7). The original building accounts appear to be lost, but the identity of its joiner is confirmed in the churchwardens' accounts of Wakefield parish church (now cathedral). In 1634 the Wakefield wardens visited Bradford and Doncaster churches to gain inspiration for planned improvements of their own. Clearly they were more impressed by the new works at St John's, commissioning the same

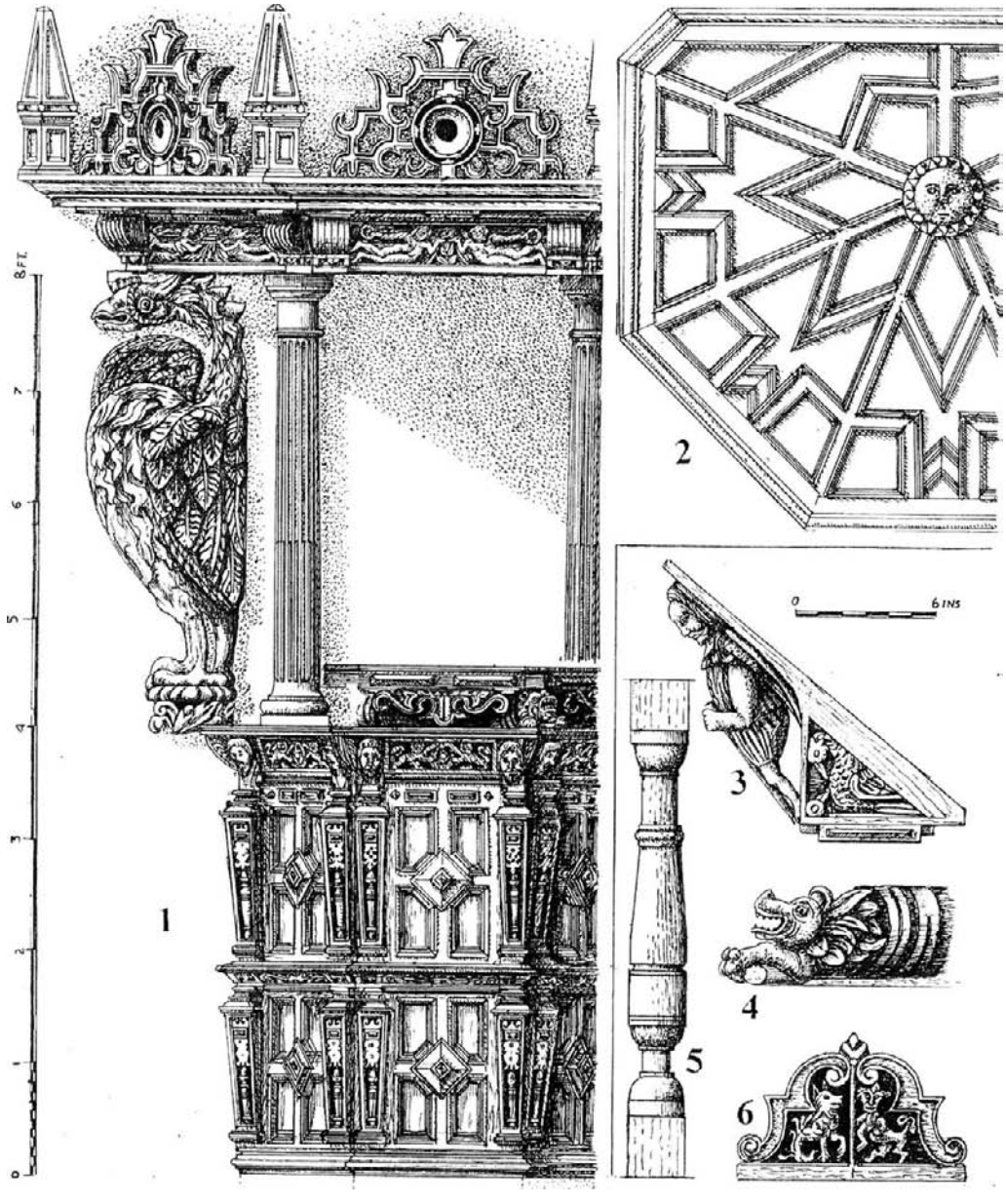
[27] West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds Office, WYL100/EA/13/71/2.
[28] https://www.stdenysrotherfield.org.uk/stdenyshistory.htm
[29] Crompton (2010), p. 63.
[30] Clay (1909).
[31] For all these and subsequent references in Leeds Parish Registers see Lumb (1891, 1895, 1897 and 1901) in the bibliography. Francis Gunby of Headrow's wife was called Mary. She was buried at the Parish Church 5 May 1655. The Thomas Gunby of Hatfield, 28 miles southeast of Leeds, who died 3 August 1620 (University of York, Borthwick Institute) is unlikely to be the Leeds-based plasterer.



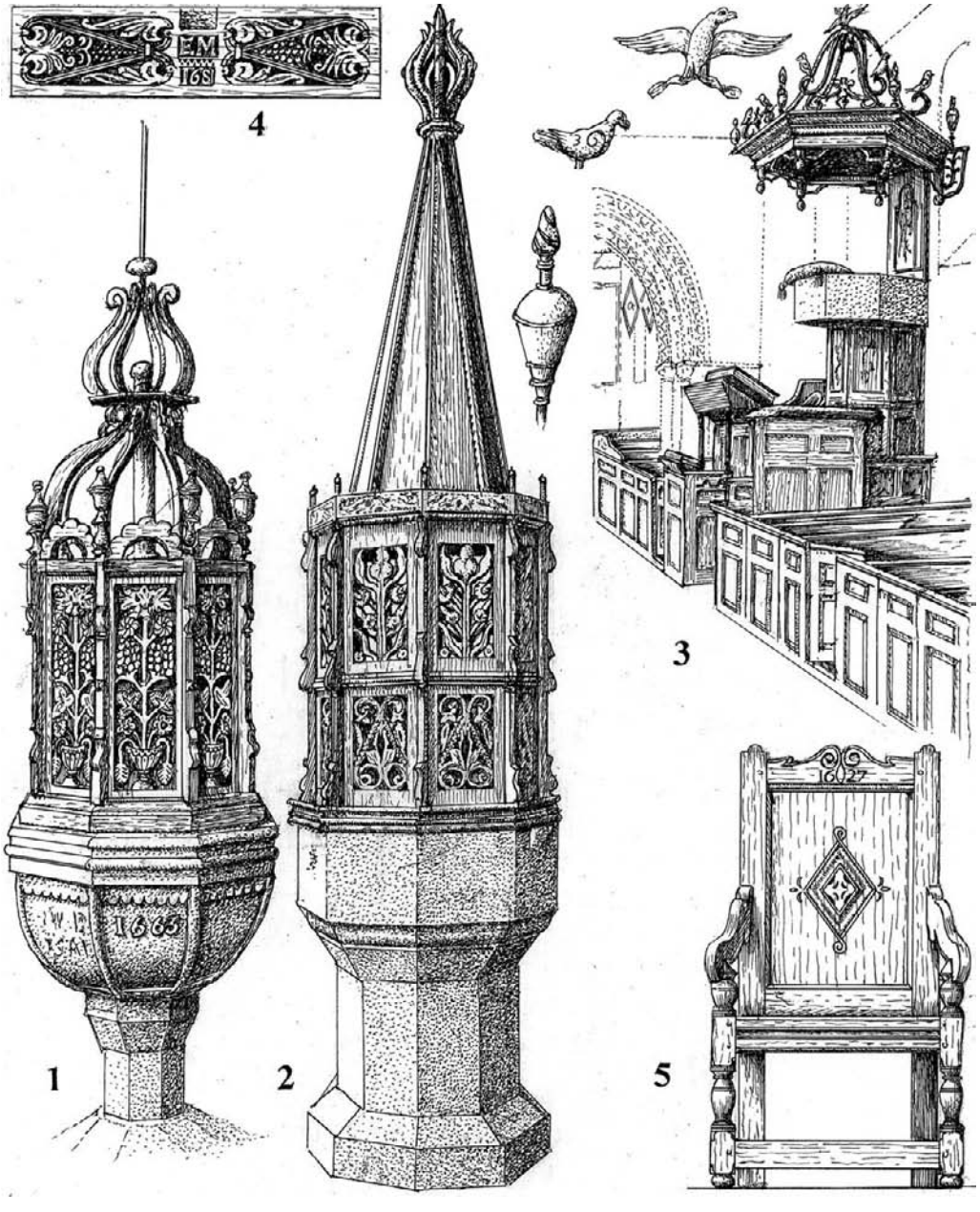
3 The early 1630s chancel screen of St John's Church, Leeds (left) only obtains its firm attribution to Francis Gunby by comparison with its neighbour in Wakefield Cathedral (right), for which he was paid a total of £17 15*s*. 4*d*. in 1635. *The Author*



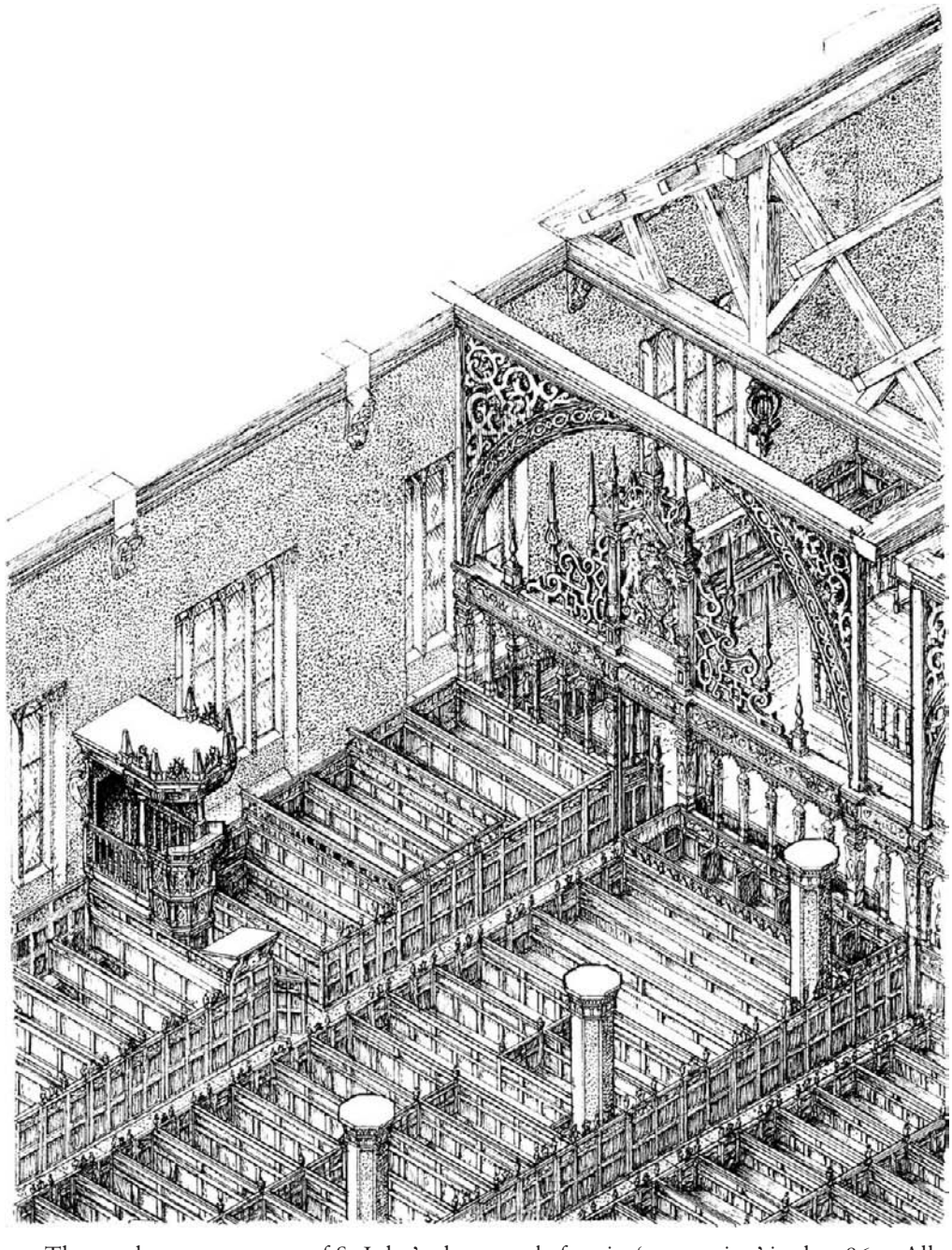
4 Gunby's pews and screen at St John's are carved with a number of pattern-book designs (1– 9). 3 is taken from Theodor de Bry. The finials on the girls seats in the chancel (10) and the pews in the nave (11–13), along with the fine communion table (14), are derived from similar sources. *The Author*



5 The pulpit at the church of St John the Evangelist (1) has a pair of huge eagles, the symbols of the patron saint, a sun at the centre of its surrounding board (2) and lions (4) projecting from its lectern, probably to represent another evangelist, St Mark. The reading desk (3) is supported by a pair of splendid Cavalier angels, with long hair, curling moustaches, and voluminous breeches in addition to their wings. The flanking spandrels show the Pelican in her Piety. The original communion rail (5) is now used as a gate between the chancel and its aisle, while lively dog- and monkey-like creatures (6) are to be found on some of the pews. *The Author*



6 Leeds joiners probably made the 1663 font cover at St Mary's, Kippax (1) and the 1684 example at St Oswald's, Methley (2), both six miles from the town, while the pulpit at St John's, Adel (3), four miles north, of which only details now remain, was attributable to Francis Gunby. The 1681 box-front found in Ralph Thoresby's house in Kirkgate (4) was probably made for a member of the Milner family (Thoresby Society Collection). The 1627 chair at Holy Trinity, Skipton (5) is an early example of the Yorkshire diamond and *fleur-de-lis* motif. *The Author*



7 The north-eastern corner of St John's shown as before its 'restoration' in the 1860s. All seats in the pews faced the pulpit, many having their backs to the altar, the pulpit itself being in the middle of the north wall, entered by a door from the vestry, and with the reading desk before it. The seats in the chancel, behind the magnificent strapwork screen, were traditionally occupied by girls, the boys being in the south chancel aisle. *The Author*

joiner to make them a near-identical chancel screen, which remains there today. The bill of £15 14*s*. 8*d*. for workmanship and a further £2 0*s*. 8*d*. for the oak, was paid to Francis Gunby in 1635.[32] This proves that it had been completed within a year, and confirms him as the creator of the magnificent woodwork at St John's, as well as the similar chancel screen at Slaidburn, in the Forest of Bowland.

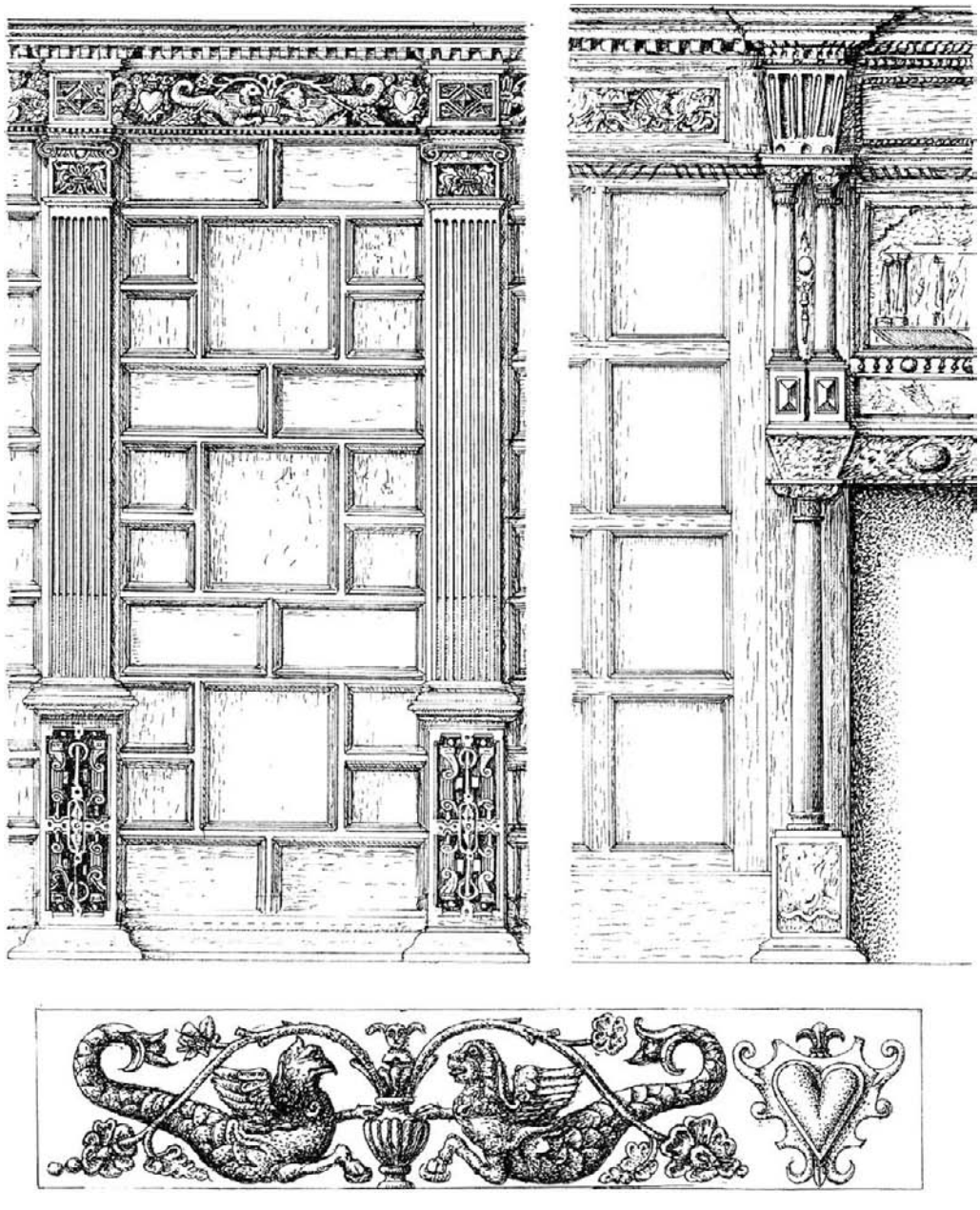
Taking designs from continental pattern books and combining them with a highly developed sense of style, excellent draughtsmanship, fine carving and woodcarving skills, his work at St John's is of truly exceptional quality. Major features such as the chancel screen and pulpit are impressive in their scale and magnificence, but the rich, close detail of their individual parts, such as the wyvern and heart frieze of the screen, and the huge eagles and high-relief cornice carvings of the pulpit are particularly fine.

In addition to church work, a number of Leeds' panelled domestic interiors may be attributed to Gunby on stylistic grounds. Those in Red Hall, off Lands Lane, were probably installed in 1628 when this early brick mansion was built by John Metcalfe. They were photographed before demolition in the 1960s, recording a large fireplace with a panelled and pilastered overmantel and runs of wainscot with long narrow frieze panels resembling those in St John's. Thomas Jackson's Wade Hall, on the site of the present Merrion Centre, dated from 1630–40, its interiors being clad in oak with friezes richly carved with foliage and grotesque heads. When the majority was demolished in 1863 some of the panelling and a fireplace were transferred to Moor House, Headingley, where it was photographed around 1919 (Figure 8).[33]

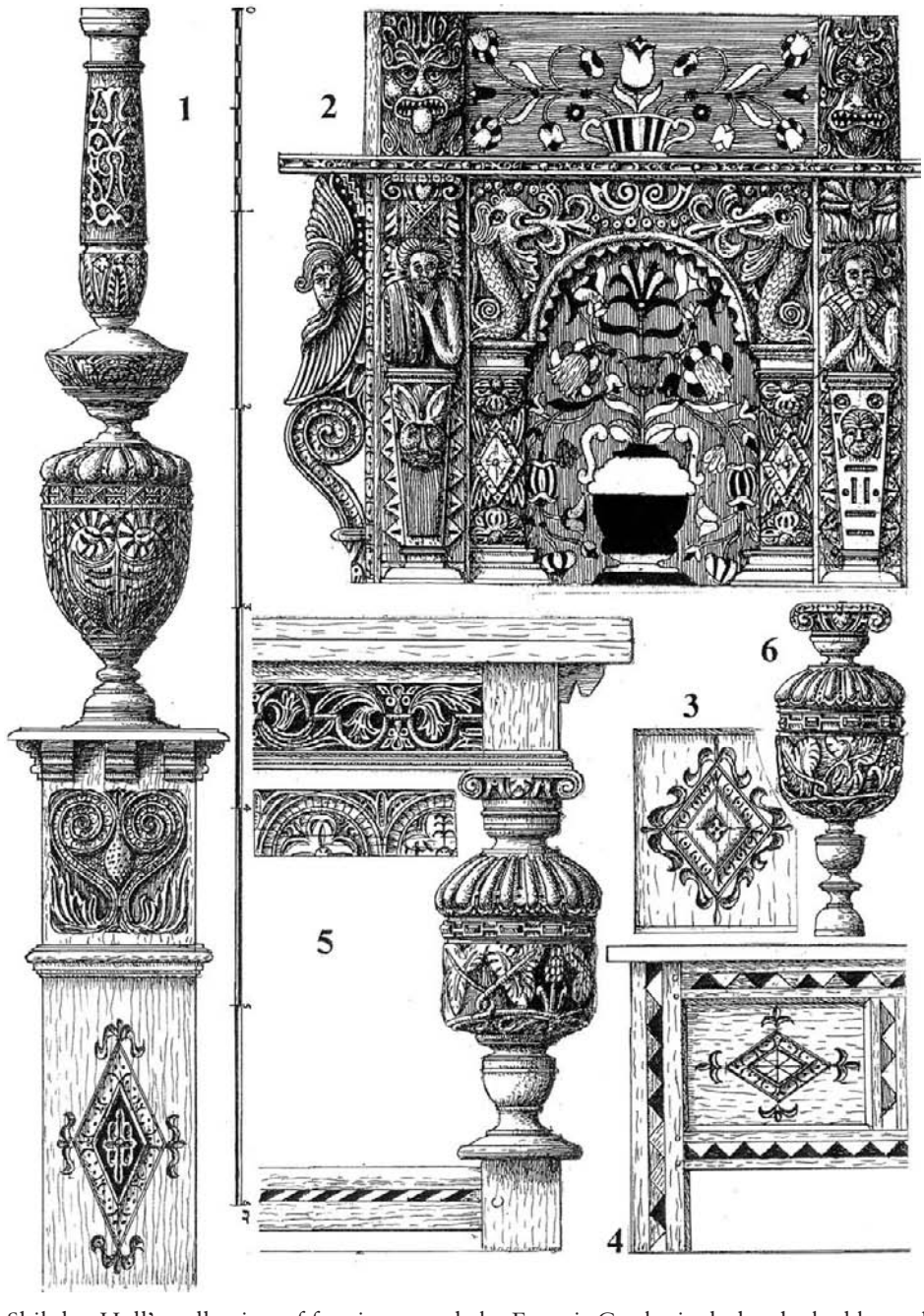
Unfortunately no documentary evidence for the furniture made by Francis Gunby has survived, but a number of pieces may be attributed to him with a reasonable degree of certainty. As the major joiner in West Yorkshire, and the only one with proven access to pattern books and high quality carving skills, he is the most probable maker of a group of early to mid-seventeenth-century carved and inlaid overmantels and beds that still remain here. The overmantels at East Riddlesden Hall, Keighley, of 1649, at Broadley Hall, Ovenden, Halifax and identical examples in the antiques trade, along with beds from Hove Edge, Halifax, one now at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, and one formerly at Mould Greave, Oxenhope, dated 1622, all appear to come from the same workshop (Figures 9, 10, and 32). They have their panels inlaid with symmetrical designs of gillyflowers/carnations and other flowers sprouting from a vase, all set within a broad, carved arch set on short pilasters. These are separated by wide posts carved with terms, each surmounted by a rectangular spray of usually six leaves set around a central four-leafed flower. Individual pieces include distinctive Leeds features: the broadly-scrolled terminals of the diamond panels on the Hove Edge bed, for example, closely resembling those on the chair from St John's Church.

On 11 April 1656, 'Francis Gunby of Market place' was buried at Leeds Parish Church. His twenty-year old son Francis briefly continued the business, but on 6 July 1659 an indictment was laid against 'Francis Gunby late of Leeds, Plaisterer, & now a prisoner, for and concerning the felonious stealling and carrying away out of their Coffers of four shillings and tenn pence in money & Two Lynnen Handkerchiefes, the

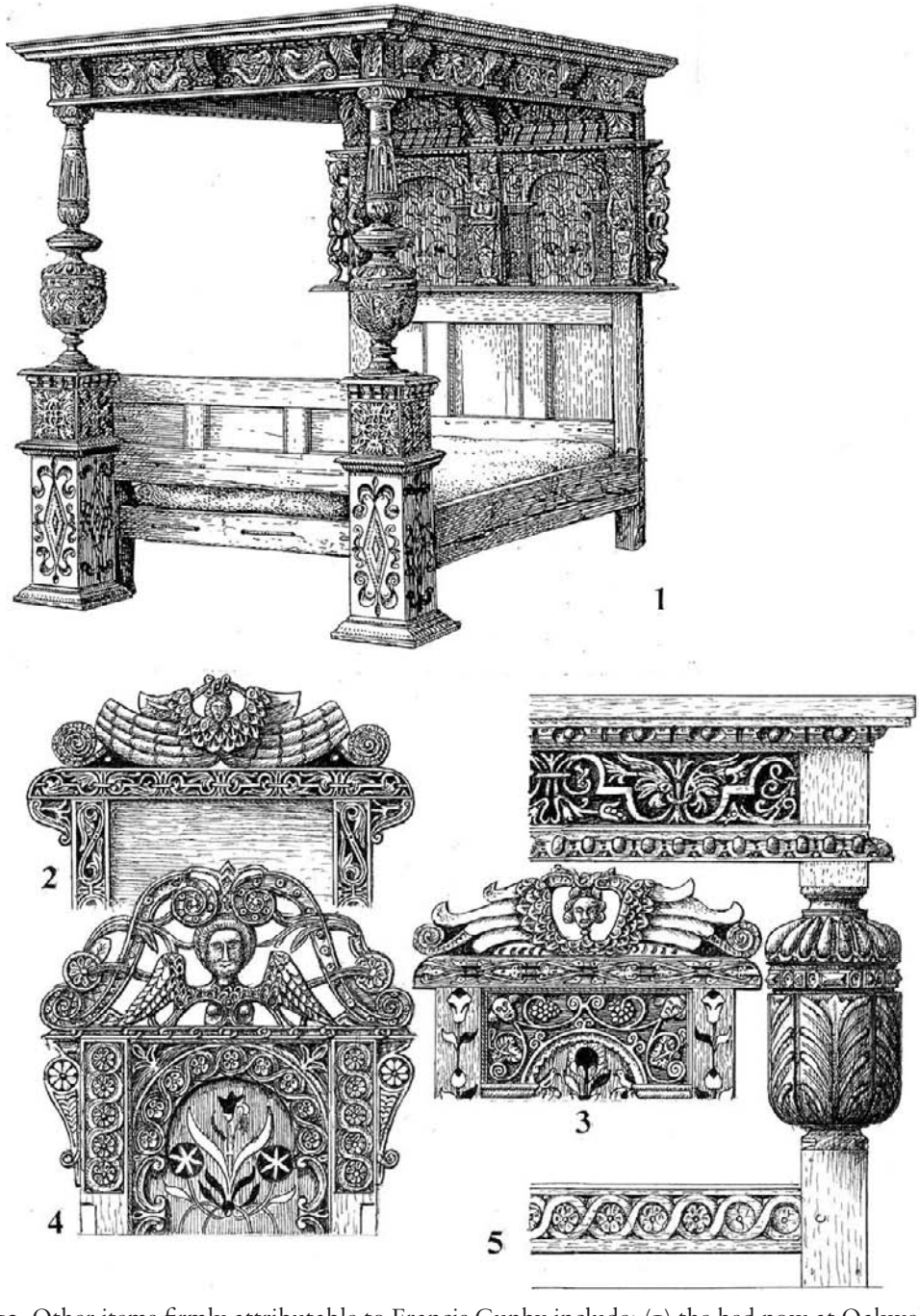
[32] Walker (1939) p. 255.
[33] Stocks (1919) fig. 25.



8 Gunby may have worked on, or been influenced by the ornate panelling at Howley Hall, five miles south-west of Leeds (left and below), its wyvern and heart frieze appearing on the St John's and Wakefield screens, as well as on the Gunby family's plasterwork. The fireplace (right) originally at Wade Hall, close to St John's, was made by Francis Gunby, the split baluster between the overmantel columns also appearing on St John's pulpit.
The Author



9 Shibden Hall's collection of furniture made by Francis Gunby includes the bed brought here from Hove Edge, Lightcliffe by John Lister *c.* 1880 (1, 2 and tester panel 3) with its accompanying foot-chest (4). The draw-table and cupboard column (5 and 6) were almost certainly bought by either Samuel Lister (1570–1632) or his son Thomas (1599–1677) for use at Shibden. Note the de Bry scroll on the table. *The Author*



10 Other items firmly attributable to Francis Gunby include: (1) the bed now at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, and chairs (2) at York Minster, and (3 and 4) in the Burrell Collection (Burrell nos 14.69 and 14.106). The table (5) is in the Elizabethan House Museum, Great Yarmouth. Note the de Bry scroll on nos 2 and 5. *The Author*

goods of the said Grace Wilson & Alice Batley.'[34] He appears to have been convicted and, probably as a result, moved to America, perhaps living in Accomac, Charles County, Virginia where he grew tobacco and perhaps worked as a joiner or carpenter. His will, dated 29 October 1694, three weeks before his death on 23 November included 1.9 tons of tobacco, several hundred feet of planking and two chests of tools. Having married Sarah Kirke and having a son John, his descendants have continued to live in Maryland up to the present time.[35]

Back in Leeds, various branches of the Gunby family remained in Lands Lane, Kirkgate and Vicar Lane, but appear to have had no link to the joinery trade. However, the scale of Francis Gunby's business suggests that he must have taken a number of apprentices whom he would have trained and probably employed as journeymen. Unfortunately no apprenticeship records of this period survive in the Leeds Corporation archives, but at least six joiners were working in Leeds in the 1660s, making this one of the most significant centres of the joinery trade in the north of England. To date, we know something of seven Leeds joiners, and one upholsterer.

JAMES SWIFT

James Swift, joiner, lived in Briggate with his wife Jane (née Bland), whom he had married in 1647, and their daughters Hannah and Sarah. He was probably quite young when he died, being buried at Leeds Parish Church on 23 June 1656. The 'James Favil servant to Widow Swift, Briggate' interred there 25 February 1656–7 may have been his journeyman. In his will of 8 June 1656 James Swift left £25 to each of his daughters, showing that he was relatively prosperous. The money was to be put out 'into some honest man's hands' as an investment, his wife to control it and use its interest for the benefit of the girls until either they married, or reached the age of twenty-one. Sarah married John Brooksbank (see below) on 4 June 1675, showing the continuance of links between the joinery families of Leeds. The will also mentions 'two good friends' William and Richard Atkinson, who were most probably near neighbours working in the same trade.[36]

THOMAS FOUNTAIN

The Funtance or Fountains family had a number of branches living in Leeds in the early seventeenth century, Thomas probably being the son of John Fountaine of the Market Place born in 1621. In 1645 he married Agnes Tomson of Briggate, by whom he had a son, William, and a daughter, Ann. When he died in 1664–5 he left his house and goods to his wife, and a further £200 to his children, these sums proving that he had made a good living from the joinery trade.[37]

[34] *Thoresby Society* XV (1909) p. 290.
[35] http://www.mdgenweb.org/somerset/histrec/fgunby.htm
[36] Borthwick Institute, University of York. 22/7/1661. 18/6/1656. 44-16.
[37] Ibid. 24/7/1662. 16/2/1660. 44-608.

WILLIAM PARKER

There were many Parkers living in Leeds during the sixteenth century, especially at Quarry Hill, Mill Hill, Bridge End and Hunslet. Some were miners, Edward 'being slayne in Ibsey cole pitts by the fall of a stone upon him'.[38] William Parker junior of Briggate probably married in 1638 and started a large family comprising Elizabeth (1639–), Joseph (1640–1690), Samuel, 'child of William Parker, joiner' (1642–), Daniel (1647–), John (1649–1649), John II (1652–62) and probably William (?–1652) and Ann (?–1661). He died at the end of 1667, being buried at the Parish Church on 1st January, 1667/8. In his will he left his house in Briggate to his 'dear and loveing wife' Elizabeth for her lifetime as long as she remained a widow, and then to his son Peter. To his son Daniel he left £100, presumably to finance the continuance of the family's joinery business and invest in wood with William's good friend, partner or supplier, Mr. Michael Middlebrough. However, since William was 'uncertaine what rate the wood will advance' in price, he instructed Mr Middlebrough to request further necessary capital from Elizabeth and Peter, if they could afford it.

In contrast, his son Peter received only £10 since 'I desire almighty God to blesse him & to let him see the err [or] of his ways, for he hath beene noe small griefe to me in my life time'.[39]

SAMUEL BROOKSBANK

No record of Samuel's christening appears in the Leeds Parish registers, but he may have been a son of one Thomas Brooksbank who appears to have lived in Weetwood in the 1620s, North Hall in 1633, the Headrow in 1636 and Timble Bridge in 1638. However, the numerous members of the family appearing in the registers makes it virtually impossible to trace him with any degree of accuracy until he was buried as Samuel Brokebank of Briggate on 25 August, 1671. At this time, according to his will, he was a joiner with a wife called Mary, five brothers and a sister Dorothy. His probable brother John (?–1683) continued to live in Briggate, marrying Sarah Swift in 1675 and christening his first child Samuel in 1676.[40]

WILLIAM ATKINSON THE YOUNGER

The Atkinsons were one of the largest and most important families in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Leeds, some members serving as aldermen and occupying the finest houses in the town. William Atkinson, senior, was a London-trained maker of clocks of very high quality, including long-case examples mounted in fine seaweed marquetry cases. In 1661 he was paid 6*s*. 'for mending ye Clocke' at St John's Church, and in 1662 received 12*s*. 6*d*. for further 'worke done about the Clock'.[41] 'William Atkinson the younger … Joyner … Being in a weaveing lingering Condicon of Sicknes in Bodye' made his will on 15 April 1675. In it, he left just 'twelve pence apeece' to his brothers Thomas, John and Samuel and sister Elizabeth 'to buy them gloves to keep

[38] Lumb (1895) p. 30.
[39] Borthwick Institute. 20/3/1671. 24/12/1667. 48-702.
[40] Ibid. 17/11/1671. 26/8/1671. 52-331.
[41] Lumb (1919) pp. 380, 396.

in Comememoration of me' this to be paid by his 'deare and loveing wife & executrix' Mary. He died some three weeks later, being buried from his home in Upper Headrow on 7 May 1675. In comparison with other Leeds joiners, he appears to have been well educated, he and his brother Thomas's signatures being written in an elegant neat hand.[42]

JOHN TODD

The Todd family's entries in the parish registers are so numerous that it is hardly possible to trace John's family background, but he was certainly undertaking joinery work in Leeds in the later seventeenth century. The accounts of the trustees of St John's church show him as being paid £2 10*s*. 'for makeing a new bell wheele & for mending an old wheele & for mending ye Communion Table' in 1673, with a further 12*s*. 'for a Table yt is in ye Vestrie' in 1682.[43]

ROBERT TOWNSON

Robert Townson of the Headrow was probably born in the 1620s, since he married Mary Burnil of Leeds Churchyard on 23 February 1647. At some later date he moved into Briggate, where he was taxed for three hearths in 1672.[44] His burial was registered at the Parish Church on 27 November 1685, his gravestone, now lost, recording 'Robt. Townson Nov: 85. Mary his wife 29th August 1700.'[45] As he died intestate, Mary, along with George Boulton, cordwainer, presented an inventory of his goods to the Consistory Court at York in order to gain administrative control of his goods and chattels. This extremely interesting document (transcribed in full in the Appendix) presents a revealing description of a Briggate joiner's house in the late seventeenth century.[46]

Probably fronting onto Briggate, its domestic accommodation comprised a living room/kitchen called 'the House' on the ground floor equipped with a range and cooking equipment, along with three tables, five chairs and three 'buffets' (stools) for dining. There was also a cupboard, presumably to house valuables and cold food and drink, and a dresser containing pewter tableware and candlesticks. Directly above, the main bedchamber had a bedstead with hangings, five chairs, a chest of drawers and a napkin press, a child's bed and a close stool being located in an adjacent closet. A smaller chamber was probably little used, for in addition to its more expensive bed, carpet, chest of drawers, hanging shelf, chair, box and trunks of linen, it was used to store the '6 little locks, 4 doz. Dropps [drop handles], 2 doz. Scutchions', and 1 Doz: ½ of Glew' ready for making furniture. Finally there was a meal chamber, its two great chests probably being filled with a year's supply of oatmeal for porridge and oatcakes. Here there was also a third bed, a foot chest and a desk.

[42] Borthwick Institute. 29/7/1695. 15/4/1675. 56-1905.
[43] Lumb (1919) pp. 382–3.
[44] Stansfield p. 17.
[45] Lumb (1891) p. 170.
[46] Borthwick Institute, Administration 14/1/1687.

The shop below was equipped with 'Benches and working Tooles' valued at £2, a bedstead and a case for drawers (either for an apprentice, or else in course of construction), three old tubs and three dozen pressboards. Leeds was the centre of the cloth-finishing trade of the huge West Yorkshire woollen industry. After being fulled, raised and cropped, the finer woollen cloths were given their final smooth finish by being stacked in zig-zag folds separated by these thin press-boards and subjected to heavy pressure in massive wooden screw-presses. Making wooden pressboards must have been a skilled task; later they were replaced by sheets of heavy card or press-papers.

The yard behind the shop, in the burgage plot, was used as a woodyard and contained:

small wood	£2	
7 elm planks at around 25*d*. each		15*s*.
300 puncheons (pit-props for the South Leeds coal mines) at 6*d*. each		15*s*.
7 pear tree planks at around 8½*d*. each		5*s*.
4 bunches of heart lathes at 21*d*. each		7*s*.
7 roods (a Yorkshire rood was 21ft.) of half-inch boards at around 15*d*. a foot	£10	
7 roods of inch boards and square wood	£14	
19 coffin bottoms at around 4½*d*. each		7*s*.

In addition to making furniture, Robert was clearly serving the needs of the important textile and mining industries of Leeds, as well as providing the coffin-making skills of an undertaker. The yard also had a stable with two saddles and bridles and hay for his horse, as well as a supply of charcoal, perhaps burned as a domestic fuel, or for melting his glue in a gluepot.

ROBERT NAYLOR, UPHOLSTERER

In the later decades of the seventeenth century the growing popularity of soft furnishings required the establishment of specialist upholsterers. In York, for example, Robert Thompson of Goodramgate had set up in this trade before 1662, being followed in the city by James Cawton, who died in 1682–3.[47] In Leeds, Ralph Thoresby recorded the Parish Church graves of Robert Naylor, upholsterer, who died on 25 January 1707 aged 58, and Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Charles Hassell, upholsterer.[48] Mr Naylor was probably the descendant either of James Naylor who had six hearths in Briggate or of George Naylor who had a single hearth on the Headrow in 1672.[49]

LITERACY

Before moving on to study the furniture made in Leeds, it is useful to consider the degree of literacy among these joiners. Today it is inconceivable that anyone could run a successful business without the ability to write, but this was not the case in the seventeenth century. Of a group of nine wills studied to date, only two, Thomas Fountaine and William Atkinson of Leeds, bear a signature. A further four, Samuel

[47] Ibid. Robert Thompson. 46-205, James Lawton 60-49.
[48] Lumb (1891) p. 167.
[49] Stansfield pp. 17–18.

Brooksbank, James Copley, John Hunt and James Swift, could manage to scrawl a single initial, while the remainder simply made a cross. Clearly they relied on 'my word is my bond' principles, rather than written records when purchasing their timber and selling their wares. This explains why virtually no examples of provincial joiners' account books of this date have found their way into archives.

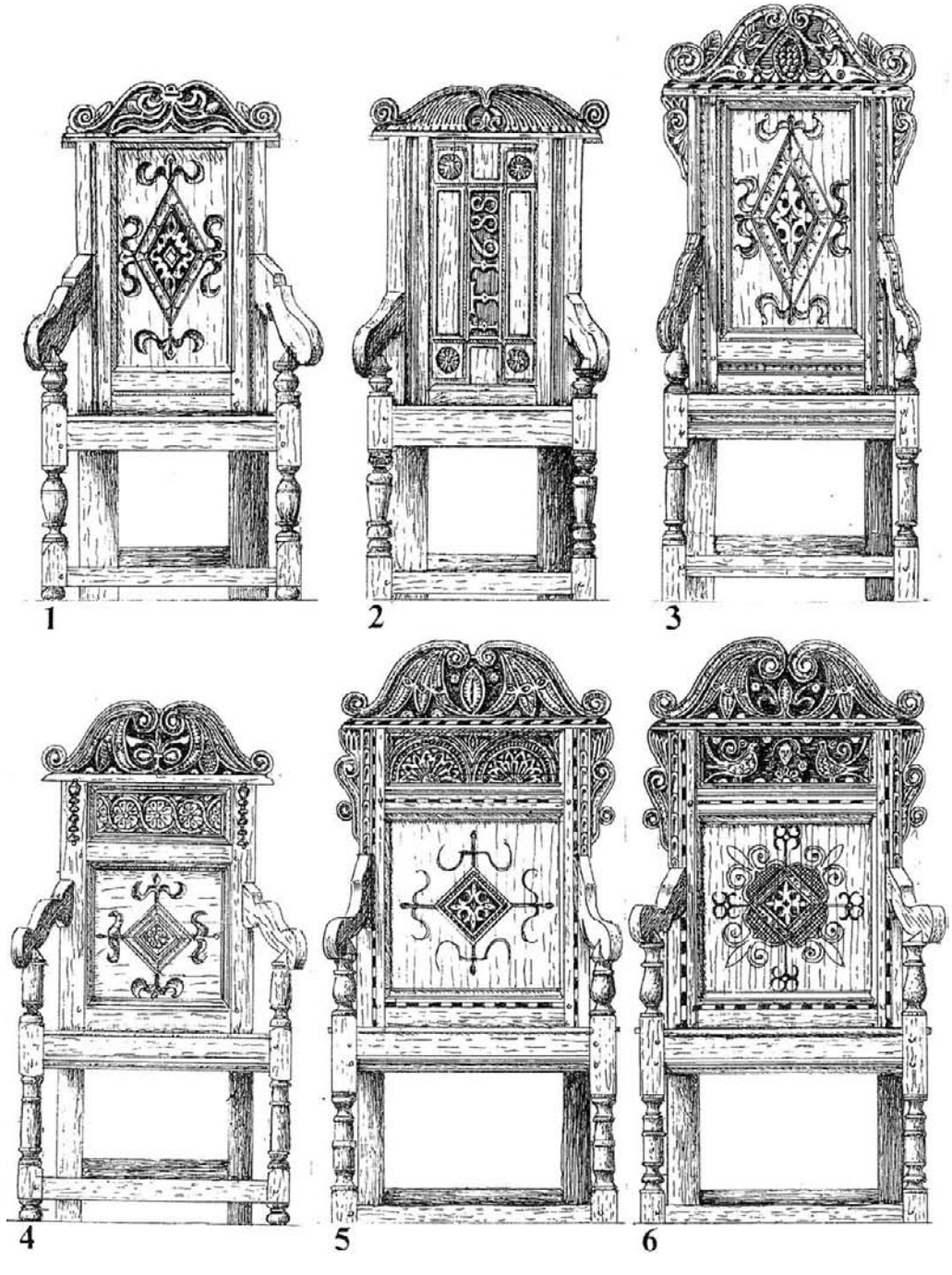
LEEDS FURNITURE

The early twenty-first century is not a good time at which to try to establish where particular groups of West Yorkshire furniture were actually made. A hundred and fifty years of house-and-contents auctions, individual purchases by dealers, and the retreat of wealthy collectors to fashionable watering places has seen the region's huge stock of seventeenth-century oak distributed throughout the country. It remains in vast numbers in museums, private homes and the antiques trade but, having lost its provenance, is virtually useless for identifying its place of origin.

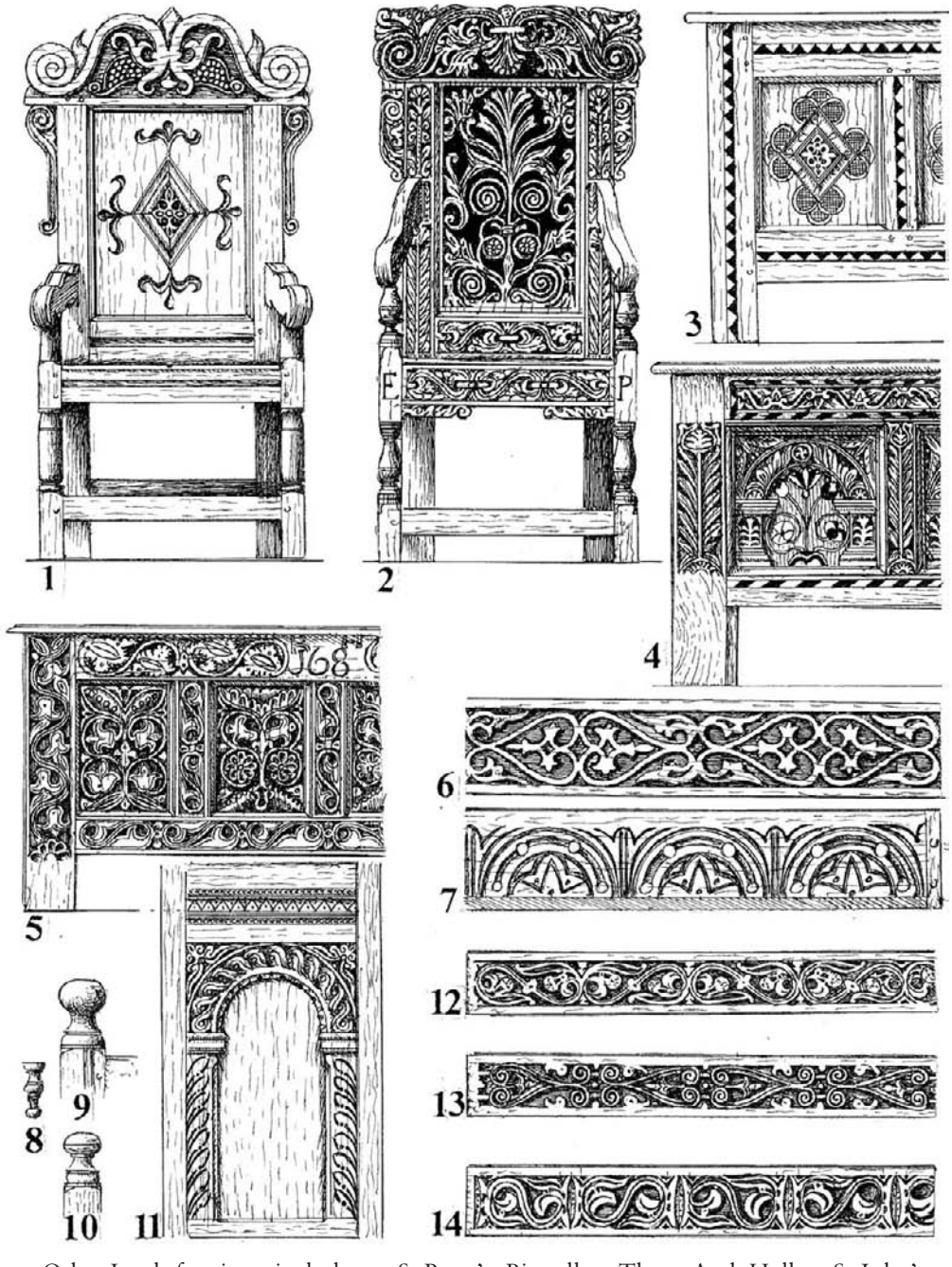
In these circumstances it is necessary to rely on the relatively few examples that survive in locations where they have probably remained for centuries, chiefly in parish churches, either purchased by the church or donated by well-established local parishioners. Provenanced pieces in private houses and museums are particularly rare. The great value of such specimens is that details of their construction, including their frames, turnery, carving and inlay, enable others that have lost their provenance to be attributed to the same places of origin with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Some of the unprovenanced pieces identified in this way have additional characteristics that in turn help to define a particular group and, if dated, further locate the provenanced pieces in time.

In Leeds and its immediate hinterland a small but significant number of provenanced items have been identified, most being chairs. These include two quite plain chairs in Leeds Parish Church, one dated 1688, which, most unusually, have no ears, but allow the chamfered underside of their crests to run out beyond the back posts (Figure 11, nos 1 and 2). A single chair at St John's Church, Leeds, has an almost identical back panel to one of those in the Parish Church, apparently from the same workshop, but its crest, ears and band of inlay show it to be of better quality. It is shown on a plan of the church made in the 1860s.[50] A chair at St John's, Adel, four miles north of the city centre, is by a different hand, with a two-panelled back and a six-leaved design carved on the stiles, beneath the double S-scrolls of its crest (Figure 11, no. 4). Several of the same features are found on a pair of chairs known to have been in Gomersal, six miles to the south west, for over a hundred and fifty years (Figure 11, nos 5 and 6). One of these has its main back panel carved with a diamond motif surrounded by areas of cross-hatching very similar to that on the parish chest of St John's, Leeds (Figure 11, no. 3). A pair of chairs from St Peter's, Birstall, also some six miles to the south-west, have their back panels carved with diamond motifs sprouting broad-leaved *fleur-de-lis* similar to those already described at Leeds Parish Church, St John's, Leeds and St John's, Adel. Their crests have large, flat spiral scrolls, however, these enclosing seed-heads, while their ears are particularly long and narrow (Figure 12, no. 1). A chair

[50] Stocks (1919), p. 175.



11 Having a sound provenance to Leeds, these chairs enable others to be attributed to the town's joiners. 1–2. Leeds Parish Church; 3. St John's, Leeds; 4. St John's, Adel; 5–6. Gomersal Church. *The Author*



12 Other Leeds furniture includes: 1. St Peter's, Birstall; 2. Thorp Arch Hall; 3. St John's, Leeds; 4. Read family of Leeds (Temple Newsam collection); 5. Hopkinson family of Leeds (Temple Newsam collection); 6. St John's communion table, Leeds; 7. Leeds Parish Church pew; 8–14. Puritan Chapel, Bramhope, 1649, probably part of the 'Six Leaf' group.
The Author

provenanced to Thorp Hall, Thorp Arch, eleven miles to the north-east, has the general conformation of a 'Yorkshire' ceiled chair and a double S-scrolled crest, but, though most probably a Leeds product, differs from the other examples in the fashionable richness of its carving and piercing, being much more typical of London walnut than of Yorkshire oak (Figure 12, no. 2).[51]

In addition to the chest at St John's, Leeds, two other chests have a Leeds provenance (Figure 12, nos 3, 4 and 5). One inscribed 'RH 168–' was an heirloom of the Hopkinson family of Leeds before being donated to Temple Newsam.[52] It has an ornately carved front, its end stiles having a floral scroll sprouting from a half-daisy at its base. A similar device is seen on another chest, this time with arched and inlaid panels, given to Temple Newsam by Mrs Emma Read of Leeds.[53] Unfortunately almost all of the seventeenth century pews in Leeds Parish Church were removed and disposed of in the rebuilding of 1838–41, only one section being retained in the north chancel aisle. This has a top rail carved with semicircles, their rims punctuated with pellets. Its location confirms its provenance, but an almost similar pattern is also found on contemporary furniture from Westmorland.[54]

Two other probably Leeds-made pieces remain in nearby churches, both being octagonal font covers (Figure 6, nos 1 and 2). That at St Mary's, Kippax, was made in 1663. Its panels are carved with a tall spray of flowers sprouting from a hemispherical gadrooned bowl, the frame having buttressed posts topped by turned finials and a cresting of lobed semicircles. The other at St Oswald's, Methley, was financed by the 1684 will of Richard Webster, painter, who left money

> unto the makinge of a fine tabernacle and covr, to be maid of fair timber, to covr the fonte or place of Baptisms within the church of Metheley, to be maid after the best manner at the order and oversight and appointment of Mr. Willm. Lacie, Robte. Laborne the younger and the p'son of Metheley, the hole some *3s. 4d.*[55]

It has two tiers of pierced panels, back-to-back S-scrolls at the bottom and a plant motif with a trefoil head at the top. The posts take the form of buttresses linked at the top by a carved cornice with small corner pinnacles. Above rises a tall spire terminating in an open finial encasing the counterweighted suspension rope, this feature resembling the tiebeam bosses at Leeds St John's.

Having established this body of physical evidence for Leeds-made furniture, it has been possible to establish a number of distinct groups, these incorporating numerous otherwise unprovenanced pieces of identical style and construction. All were made in Leeds, but unfortunately it appears impossible that the majority can now be attributed to any specific craftsman. The only exception is Francis Gunby. The magnificent communion table at St John's, Leeds, is certainly by him and it is probable that the church's chair and chest were made by him, even though both are greatly inferior in quality, rather than being the work of other joiners who worshipped there.

[51] Cescinsky and Gribble (1922) II, fig. 237, p. 181.
[52] Gilbert (1998) Vol. 1, pp. 131–2, no. 148.
[53] Ibid. Vol 1, p. 130, no. 145.
[54] Wood (2014) p. 78
[55] Darbyshire and Lumb (1937) p. 35.

The earliest recognisable group of seventeenth-century oak furniture to be made by local joiners includes a number of large and impressive four-poster beds probably made around the 1620s–40s. One originally at Hove Edge, Hipperholme, near Halifax is now at Shibden Hall and another is at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, but the dated 1622 example, formerly at Mould Greave, Oxenhope, is now lost (Figure 9, nos 1, 2 and 3, and Figure 10, no. 12).[56] Parts of beds now at Bolling Hall, Bradford and East Riddlesden Hall are by the same maker. The bed frames are quite plain, with both ends and side rails bored for ropes to support the mattresses. The bed-heads have two inlaid panels set within carved arched frames supported by three terms, their design and workmanship being identical to that found on local overmantels, as will be discussed later. These sections are extended to each side by tall, narrow carvings of scrolls bearing either small figures or profile heads. Above, a further pair of panels are either inlaid to match those below or have conventional designs carved in low relief, these being supported by three console-shaped brackets or lion masks. The posts have square bases clad in planks, the lower part being carved with typical Leeds diamonds with broad-petal *fleur-de-lis* at their corners and the upper part with a square panel of S-scrolls or formal foliage, all topped by a series of small brackets that support a square, flat top-board bored to take the turned pillars that support the tester. The bottoms of the pillars take the form of a large cup-and-cover carved with leaves and scrolls or grapes and vines. A wide discus-shaped section comes next, then a fluted or scrolled column. The testers are panelled, the original surrounding frame of the Oakwell Hall bed being carved with symmetrical pairs of serpents separated by console brackets. On the Hove Edge bed the original brackets have been retained and reaffixed onto much later plain boards.

There is no direct evidence to prove that these beds were made in Leeds, but, given the presence of Leeds elements in their carving, and the fact that Francis Gunby appears to have been the only carver in this region capable of producing work of this quality at this date, it is reasonable to attribute them to his workshop. From this we can infer that he also made the cup and cover pillars re-used in the Shibden Hall cupboard in the 1830s, and the great draw-table in the housebody there. The use of an unusually sophisticated scrolled frieze along its front rail confirms that he was the maker of this whole group. The derivation of this scroll form from a print by Theodor de Bry will be discussed further below but the same scrolls, along with similar cup-and-cover pillars, identify a table now in the Elizabethan House Museum in Great Yarmouth (Figure 10, no. 4 and Figure 45) and a large inlaid cupboard (Figure 24, no. 4) as made by Gunby. He was probably responsible for a carved cupboard in a private collection (Figure 14, no. 8), and his de Bry scroll signature along the crest of a chair now in the south transept of York Minster (Figure 10, no. 1 and Figure 42), strongly suggests that he made it to accompany his Bishopthorpe pulpit of 1632.[57] The design and workmanship of two chairs in the Burrell collection in Glasgow (Figure 10, nos 3 and 4, and Figures 43 and 44) strongly suggest that they too were made by Gunby. Since the York Minster and one of the Burrell chairs have the rare feature of a frieze run-

[56] Recorded in a newscutting kept at Mould Greave.
[57] The cupboard also illustrated in Wells-Cole (1973), p. vii.

ning across the base of the crest, it is probable that the Friezed Crest group described below (Figure 18, nos 4 and 5) were also from his workshop.

Clearly many more items of Gunby's furniture probably exist in both public and private collections, and remain to be attributed to him. Even so, there is now sufficient evidence to confirm that he was one of the most important joiners to have worked in England during the first half of the seventeenth century. His output suggests that he must have trained a large number of apprentices who then went on to set up their own workshops, mainly in Leeds's Briggate. Their training in common was probably largely responsible for establishing the Leeds style of furniture that is still recognisable today.

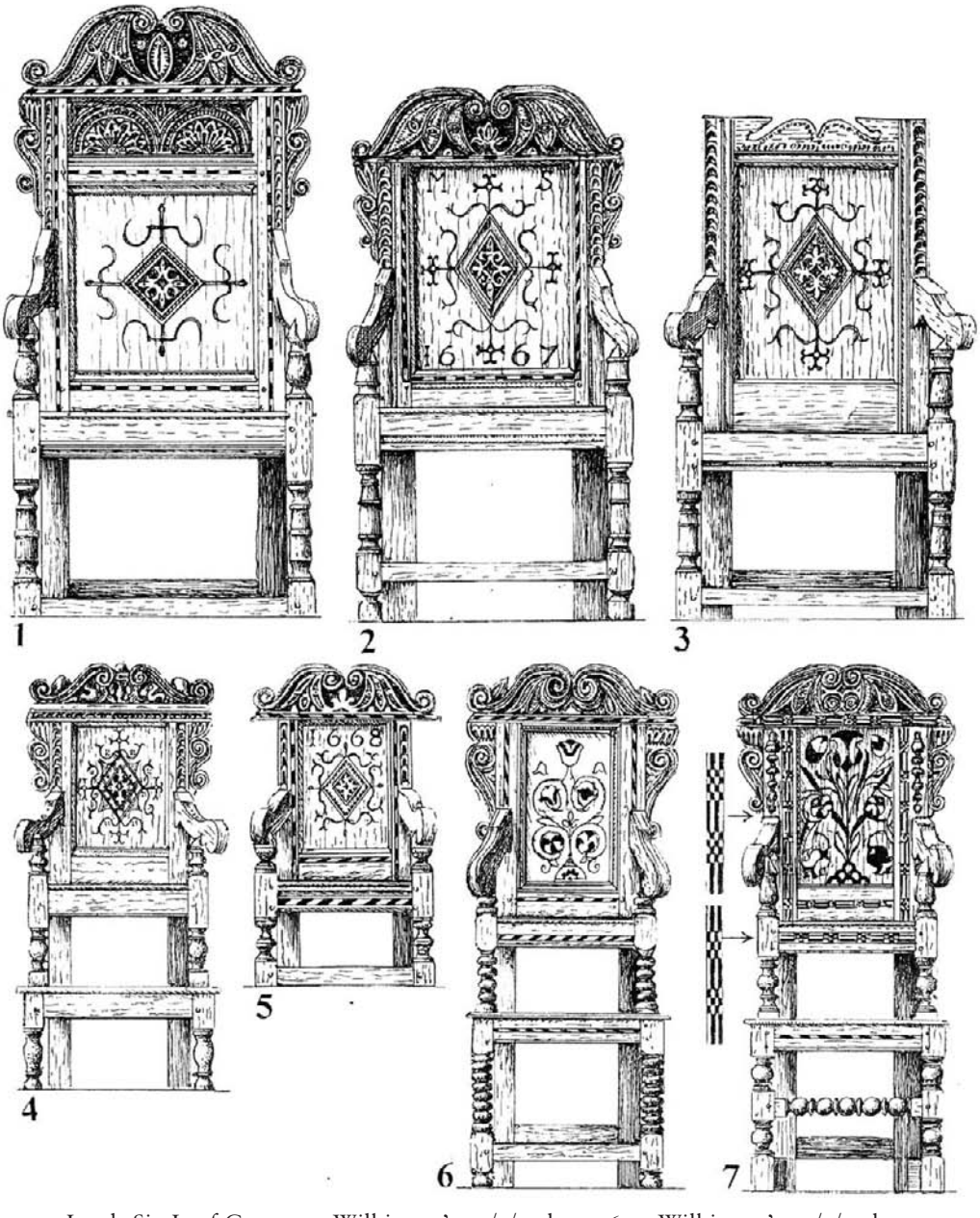
With the sole exception of Francis Gunby's work, it has proved impossible to attribute pieces of the furniture made in seventeenth-century Leeds to any of the town's individual joiners. Fortunately, as described above, a sufficient number of locally provenanced examples have survived, their distinctive features enabling the output of joiners working there to be identified and put into distinct groups representing separate individuals or workshops (Figures 11 and 12).

The frames of most Leeds-made chairs and chests have either plain or reeded channels cut along their stiles and posts, these sometimes being inlaid with parallelograms, diamonds or triangles in contrasting holly and dyed oak. They may also be carved with bands of fluting. The bottom edge of the front seat rails is usually moulded. Turned legs mostly take the form of short columns of almost parallel profile, encircled with a raised band, and have a concave section at both top and bottom, while some adopt either a more pear-shaped baluster profile, or one with straighter sides tapering towards the base. Chair arms usually commence with a straight, parallel section at the top, then a sweep down to a rounded front end, the underside having a V-shaped cut beneath its upper section. Crests are shaped as pediments composed of symmetrical S-scrolls above a plain, narrow strip, and enclose a variety of foliage motifs. The ends project beyond the back posts, usually being supported by ears formed as sprays of narrow vertical leaves above S-scrolls.

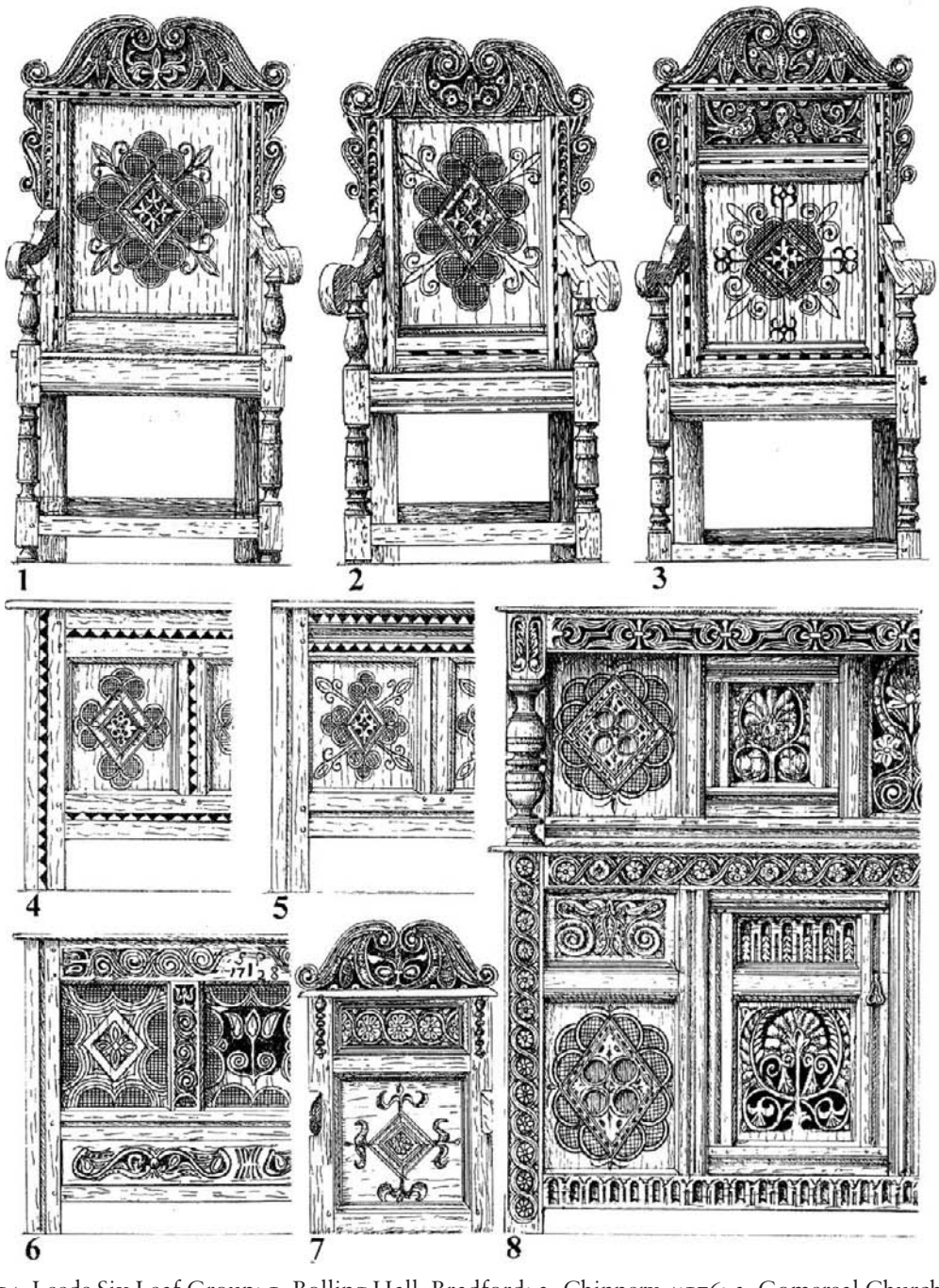
The main motif carved into the panels is a diamond shape with a broad concave outer border surrounding a *fleur-de-lis*-ended cross and a small central diamond. Sometimes the large diamond is surrounded by round lobes with cross-hatched centres and the outlines of four diagonally projecting *fleur-de-lis*, or it might have a *fleur-de-lis* sprouting from each corner, its petals either cut with a narrow V-gouge or carved into bold, shallow S-scrolls. These are the basic characteristics, but numerous smaller details help to define specific groups of Leeds furniture, always retaining the evidence provided by the core group of provenanced pieces as a reliable point of reference.

LEEDS SIX LEAF GROUP (FIGURES 13, 14 AND 23)

The distinguishing feature of the chairs in this group is the crest, the area beneath the scrolls being carved with six leaves arranged three to each side. They have raised outlines and an eye-shaped motif at their centres. Small semicircles frequently appear between the tips of the leaves, while the central area is carved with *fleur-de-lis* or vesicas. Some chairs have a narrow horizontal panel directly beneath the crest, this being carved with guilloche, semicircle or bird and face patterns. Throughout the Leeds area group, such panels often appear in tandem with square principal back panels.



13 Leeds Six Leaf Group: 1. Wilkinson's 27/7/05 lot 506; 2. Wilkinson's 15/9/02 lot 419; 3. Christie's 26/6/07 lot 293; 4. Burrell Collection 14/204 (Jellinek plate 170); 5. Unprovenanced; 6. Shibden Hall, Halifax; 7. Victoria & Albert Museum, W.6-1946 (incised 'RW 1680' on the reverse of the crest). *The Author*



14 Leeds Six Leaf Group: 1. Bolling Hall, Bradford; 2. Chinnery 4:176; 3. Gomersal Church; 4. St John's, Leeds; 5. Chinnery 4:127; 6. Holme's Antiques, Haworth; 7. St John's, Adel; 8. Wells-Cole (1974) 46 (private collection), with the de Bry scroll along the top rail, suggesting Francis Gunby was the maker of this group. *The Author*

One example from the six leaf group bears the inscription 'MS 1667' (Figure 13, no. 2). The back panels may have typical Leeds diamonds, sometimes surrounded with cross-hatched circular lobes and diagonal *fleur-de-lis* (Figure 14, nos 1–3), just as found on some of the chests and cupboards of this group (Figure 14, nos 4, 5 and 8). Alternatively the back panels may have narrow-leaved *fleur-de-lis* emerging from the corners of their diamonds (Figure 13, nos 1–5).

The joiner responsible for this group was a leading maker of children's chairs. Chairs for children appear in regional inventories of the period. William Brooks of Colton, four miles east of Leeds, left 'two children's Chaires' in his fire-house in 1670 while a 'child's chair' is listed in the 1694 inventory of Francis Priestley of Hipperholme, Halifax.[58] In 1880, John Lister identified an example at Shibden Hall, Halifax (Figure 13, no. 6 and Figure 41), as being a family heirloom. Samuel Lister of Shibden (1623–1694) had children born between 1655 and 1673, his nephew and eventual heir James also being born in 1673.[59] This range of dates sits well alongside the dates incised onto two unprovenanced examples of 1668 and 1680 (Figure 13, nos 5 and 7).

Other children's chairs had inlaid backs, with narrow borders of 'matchsticks' or parallelograms of dyed oak and holly (Figure 13, nos 5–7). These relate directly to a number of inlaid chests (Figure 23, nos 3 and 4), confirming their attribution to Leeds. The use of narrow borders of small concave flutes on these chairs (Figure 13, nos 1–5) similarly links them to another inlaid chest (Figure 23, no. 6) probably made by a successor of Francis Gunby.

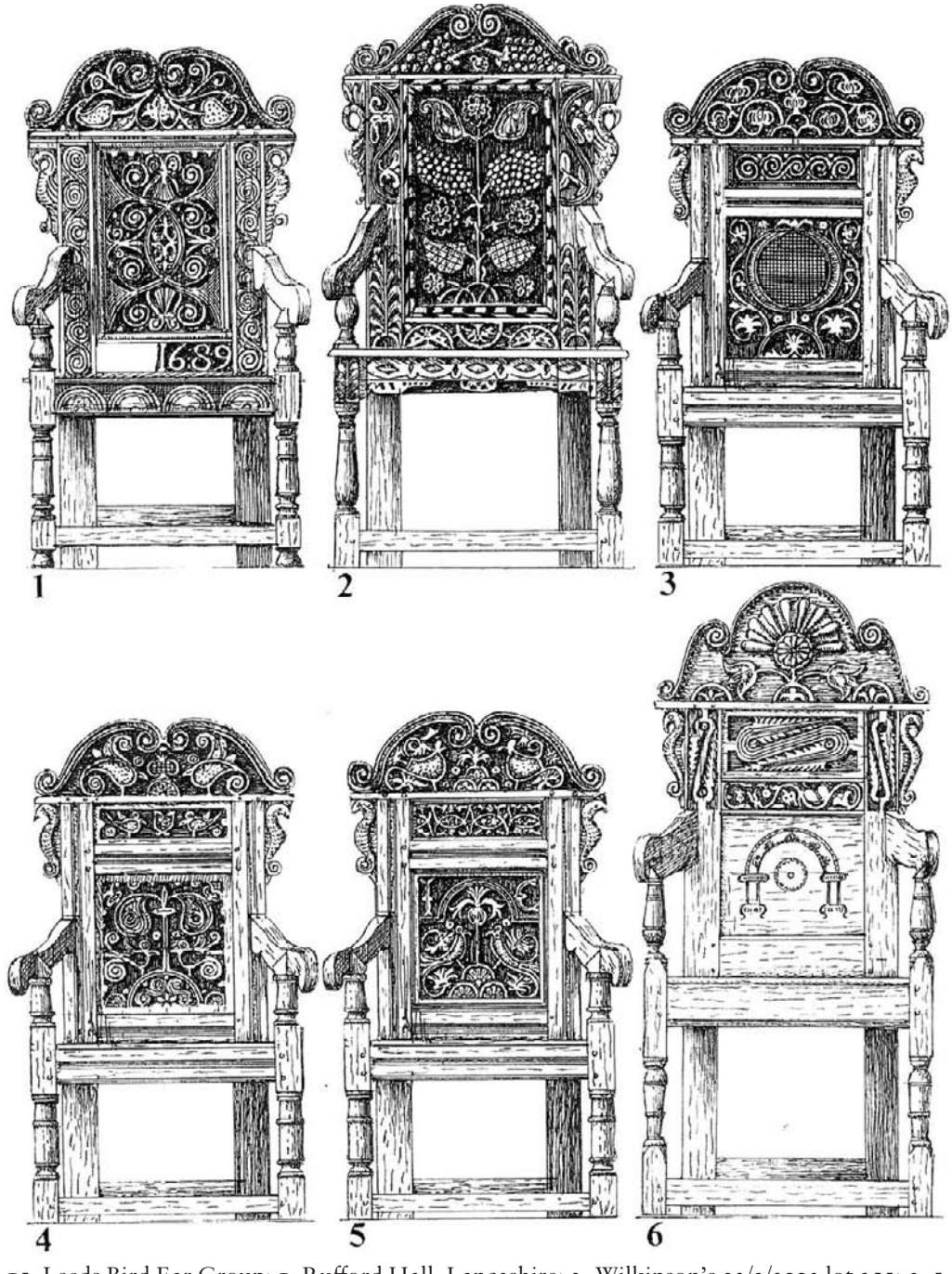
LEEDS BIRD EAR GROUP (FIGURE 15)

The frames and turnings of this group are very similar to those of the Six Leaf group, the main differences being in its carved decoration, especially the ears. These are serpentine birds with open wings and scrolled tails, further birds sometimes appearing on the crests and panels. The carving technique does not incise lines into the oak, but cuts away the background to leave the elegant, symmetrical designs standing proud of the surface. One chair (no. 6) has had a sun and temple arch carved onto its lower back panel, these motifs most probably being added at a much later date, for some of these impressive ceiled chairs were eventually used for ceremonial purposes in Masonic temples. The only dated example (no. 1) is inscribed 1689.

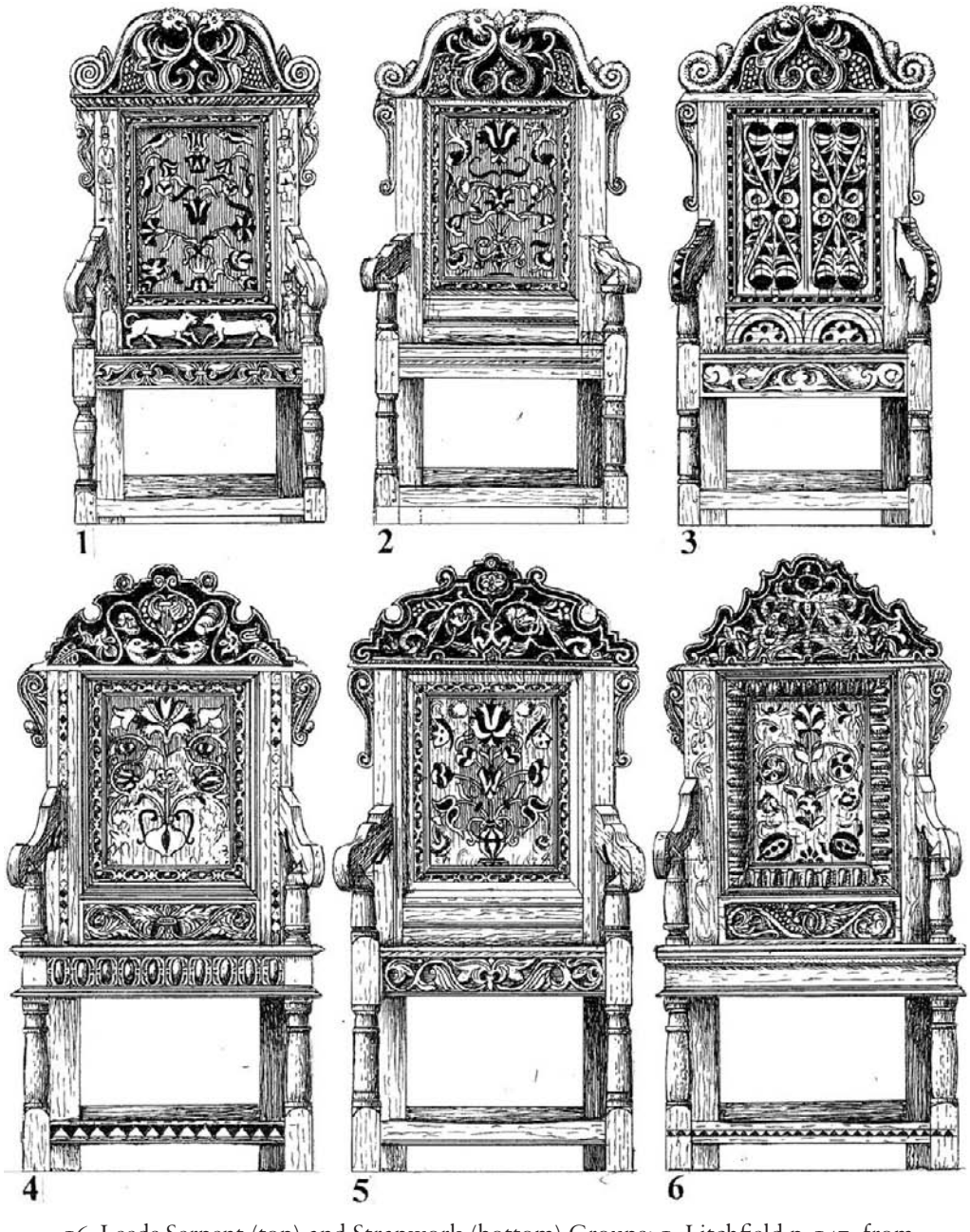
LEEDS SERPENT GROUP (FIGURE 16)

The chairs of this group include a pair from St Peter's, Birstall (Figure 12, no. 1), their crests having S-scrolls terminating at either side in large flat volutes, sprouting leaves. In several cases (Figure 16, nos 1–3) the scrolls terminate centrally in serpent heads. The turning of their column legs is a little different from most other Leeds examples, being cylindrical below their raised band and slightly tapering above it. The back posts may be either plain or inlaid, while the seat rails may have either a fluted channel or S-scrolled carved decoration. In comparison with most Leeds chairs, the ears are particularly long. From the mouths of the serpents issue scrolls which form an inverted

[58] Kirk (1935) p. 249 and Cant and Petford (2016) p. 31.
[59] Clay (1935) p. 249 and Cant and Petford (2016) p. 31.



15 Leeds Bird Ear Group: 1. Rufford Hall, Lancashire; 2. Wilkinson's 22/2/2003 lot 255; 3–5. Chinnery 4:129A, 4:129, and 4:128; 5. Wilkinson's 22/2/03 lot 435. *The Author*



16 Leeds Serpent (top) and Strapwork (bottom) Groups: 1. Litchfield p. 147, from Scarborough; 2. Chinnery 4:115; 3. Unprovenanced; 4. Chinnery 4:113; 5. Coley Hall, Halifax, now at Shibden Hall; 6. Chinnery 4:114. *The Author*

heart shape, and terminate in large seed-heads. (The seed-head is also present in the Birstall pair.) They also have a simple egg-and-dart moulding all round the back panels. The Birstall panels have a typical Leeds diamond with broad-petal *fleur-de-lis*, while others, of higher quality, are either inlaid or carved with two vertical panels of double S-scrolls. This joiner also made fine inlaid cupboards (Figure 24, no. 1). Unfortunately no dated examples of this group have yet been traced.

LEEDS STRAPWORK CREST GROUP (FIGURE 16)

Instead of the usual S-scrolled crests, the chairs in this group feature a profile similar to the strapwork designs of the period. Their attribution to Leeds is based on their general similarity to other products of the town, and two provenanced pieces. One (no. 5 and Figure 40) was collected from Coley Hall, Halifax, by Halifax Museums Service in 1959, and is displayed at Shibden Hall, while a similar crest remains fixed to the master's desk at Heptonstall Grammar School, now a branch of Calderdale Museums. They share many features found in the Serpent group, having similar turnery, inlaid back panels with simple egg-and-dart borders and, in some examples, very long ears. The seat rails may also be carved to virtually the same design (nos 1, 3 and 5). The two groups also display the rare use of inlay on the back posts, featuring human figures (no. 1), a row of diamonds (no. 4) and S-scrolls (no. 6), as well as bands of contrasting triangles on their rails and arms (nos 3, 4 and 6), The appearance of these features in both groups clearly shows that they were both made in the same workshop.

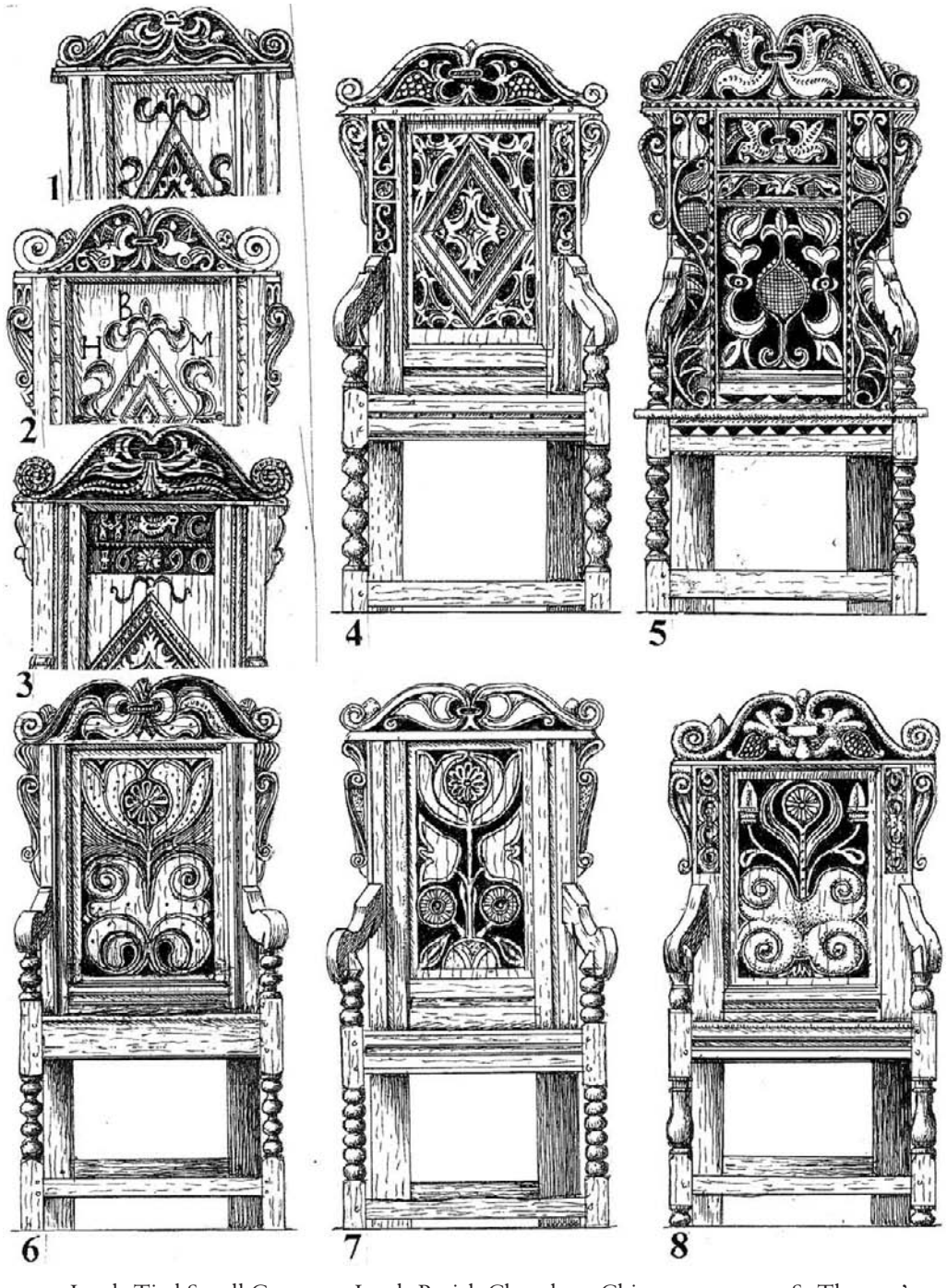
LEEDS TIED SCROLL GROUP (FIGURES 17 AND 18)

This group of chairs has crests on which the central ends of the scrolls descend through a tie before spreading out into sprays of flowering foliage. This motif is found on plain ceiled chairs with typical diamond and broad-petal *fleur-de-lis* panels, as on the example in Leeds Parish Church and a similar provenanced example inscribed B over H M (Figure 17, nos 1 and 2). These appear to be precursors of a more elaborate group of probably post-Restoration date. This has legs with ball or ball and reel turning, as well as balusters, and fairly long ears, frequently chamfered back along their outer edge. One of their more distinctive features is the richness of their carved decoration, frequently with bold scrolls and central flower on the panels, and sometimes also on the back posts. One example (no. 4) is a rare instance of the seat rail channel bored at regular intervals for a rope-suspended cushion.

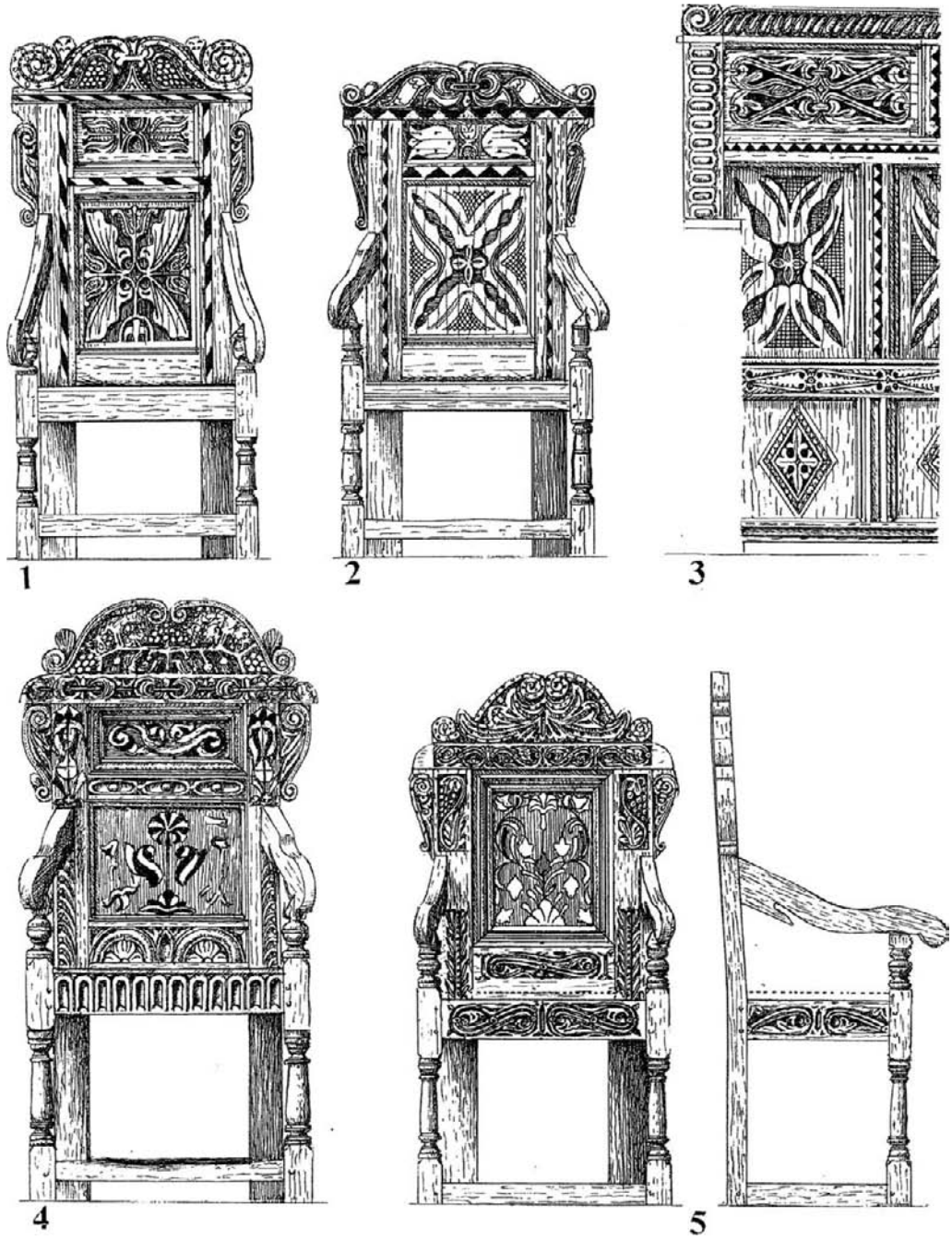
A further distinctive sub-group has more characteristically Leeds turning, and bands of diamond or parallelogram inlay. In addition, its chairs have their upper back panels carved with a symmetrical pair of horizontal tulips and their principal back panels contain a distinctive pattern of four large diamond leaves and a central quatrefoil, all set against a cross-hatched background (Figure 18, nos 1 and 2). The same joiner also made a settle inscribed F.M. 1666 (no. 3). The only locally provenanced example (no. 1) is in Skipton Parish Church.

LEEDS FRIEZED CREST GROUP (FIGURE 18, NOS 4 AND 5)

Uniquely, the crests of this group incorporate a carved frieze across their bottom edges, their quadrant-shaped ends overlapping the ears below. This feature is found on two



17 Leeds Tied Scroll Group: 1. Leeds Parish Church; 2. Chinnery 4:133; 3. St Thomas', Heptonstall; 4. Sotheby's 27/7/04 lot 145; 5. Chinnery 4:132; 6. Jellinek plate 61 (Graham James Collection); 7. Christie's 26/6/07 lot 292; 8. Unprovenanced. *The Author*



18 Leeds Tied Scroll (top) and Friezed Crest (bottom) Groups: 1. Holy Trinity, Skipton; 2. Townley Hall, Burnley (a similar example sold at Wilkinson's 19/10/2000 lot 317); 3. Christie's 28/2/2006 lot 326, dated 1666; 4. Wilkinson's 23/2/2003 lot 441; 5. St Thomas', Heptonstall. *The Author*

chairs made by Francis Gunby (Figure 10, nos 2 and 3), suggesting that the whole group came from his workshop in the 1630s–40s.

LEEDS HEAD AND SCALLOP GROUP (FIGURE 19)

The crests of this group have narrow S-scrolls, small terminal scrolls and a head at their summit above a circular scallop-shell motif. Dotted zig-zag incisions often appear on their frames, usually within a broad channel. The carved panels also share a distinctive design not found on other chairs. None have a direct Leeds provenance, but they do have a number of the town's distinctive features. Some crests have foliage resembling that of the six-leaf group, but executed in a much simpler, flat-faced manner, while the ears are either typically long or have a spray of flutes or leaves above their scrolls (Figure 19, nos 3 and 4). One has a 45 degree chamfered back as on the tied scroll group (Figure 17, nos 3–8).

This group includes some remarkable chairs, especially that (Figure 19, no. 2) with its three-headed crest and elaborate carving. The crest is very similar to that of a fine, but potentially, heavily restored or reproduction chair at St Thomas', Heptonstall, where it is beautifully carved to represent a winged angel. There is also a rare example of the use of the Old Man's Face (Figure 19, no. 4), the protective Christian symbol normally associated with stone houses, fonts, springs and bridges in northern England. Three miniature versions are carved along the base of the crest to watch over the sitter.

LEEDS PEW GROUP (FIGURE 20, NO. 1)

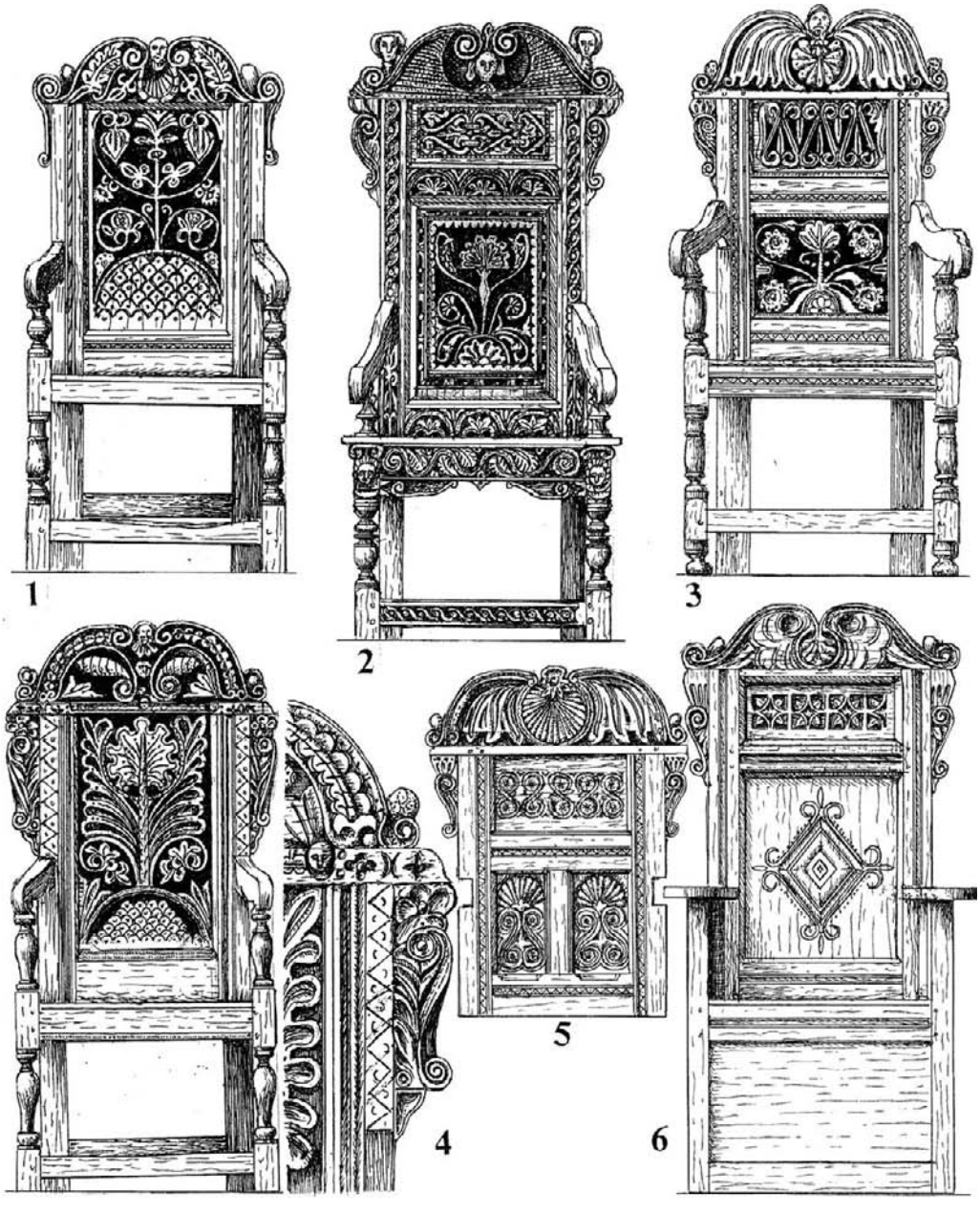
Almost all of the earlier woodwork was removed from Leeds Parish Church during its complete rebuilding of 1838–41. Only one section of a pew (other than the front of the mayor's pew of 1661) was re-used in the north chancel aisle. It has a top rail carved with lunettes, their arcs punctuated by three round pellets. A similar detail is found on Westmorland furniture, but one settle (Figure 20, no 1.) appears to be Leeds made and of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century date.

LEEDS CROSS GROUP (FIGURE 20, NOS 2–4)

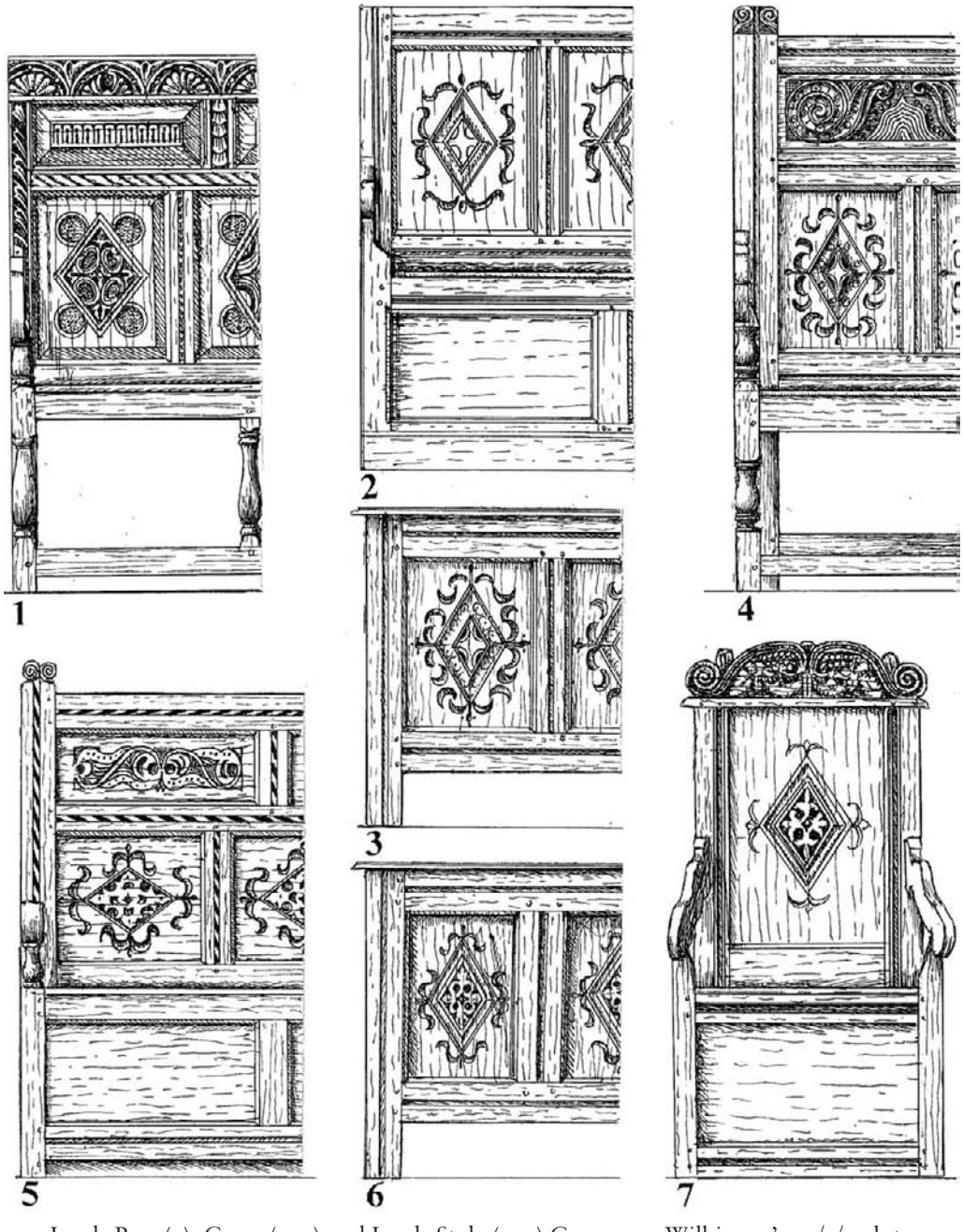
Instead of the usual *fleur-de-lis* ended cross, this group has a single cross in the centre of its diamond panels (Figure 20, nos 2–4). The concave borders of the diamond have stamped decoration in the form of circles with a central dot. The tops of the backposts of a settle (Figure 20, no. 4) are carved as double versions of those found on most Yorkshire backstools, while its spiral motif is found only on Gunby's furnuture. This group is attributed to Leeds largely on the evidence of the large, shallow petals of their *fleur-de-lis*, since no locally provenanced examples are known.

LEEDS STYLE FURNITURE (FIGURES 20–22)

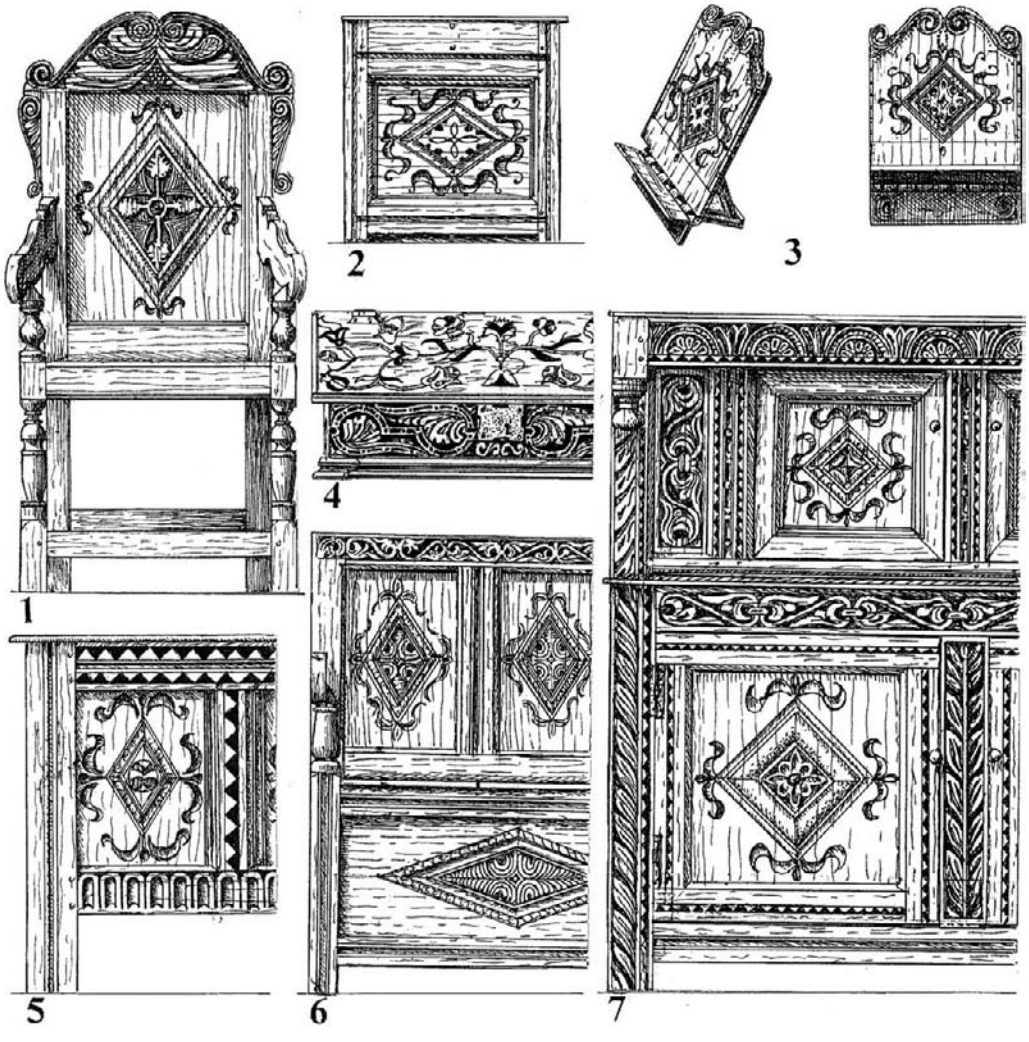
Numerous pieces of seventeenth-century oak furniture display features that are characteristic of Leeds, but do not form any part of the groups recognised above. Many were probably made in either Leeds or in other parts of West Yorkshire (Figure 39). There are pieces with Leeds-like diamonds and broad-petal *fleur-de-lis* carved into panels (Figure 20, nos 5–7, Figure 21 nos 1–3 and 5–7). However, similar designs are found



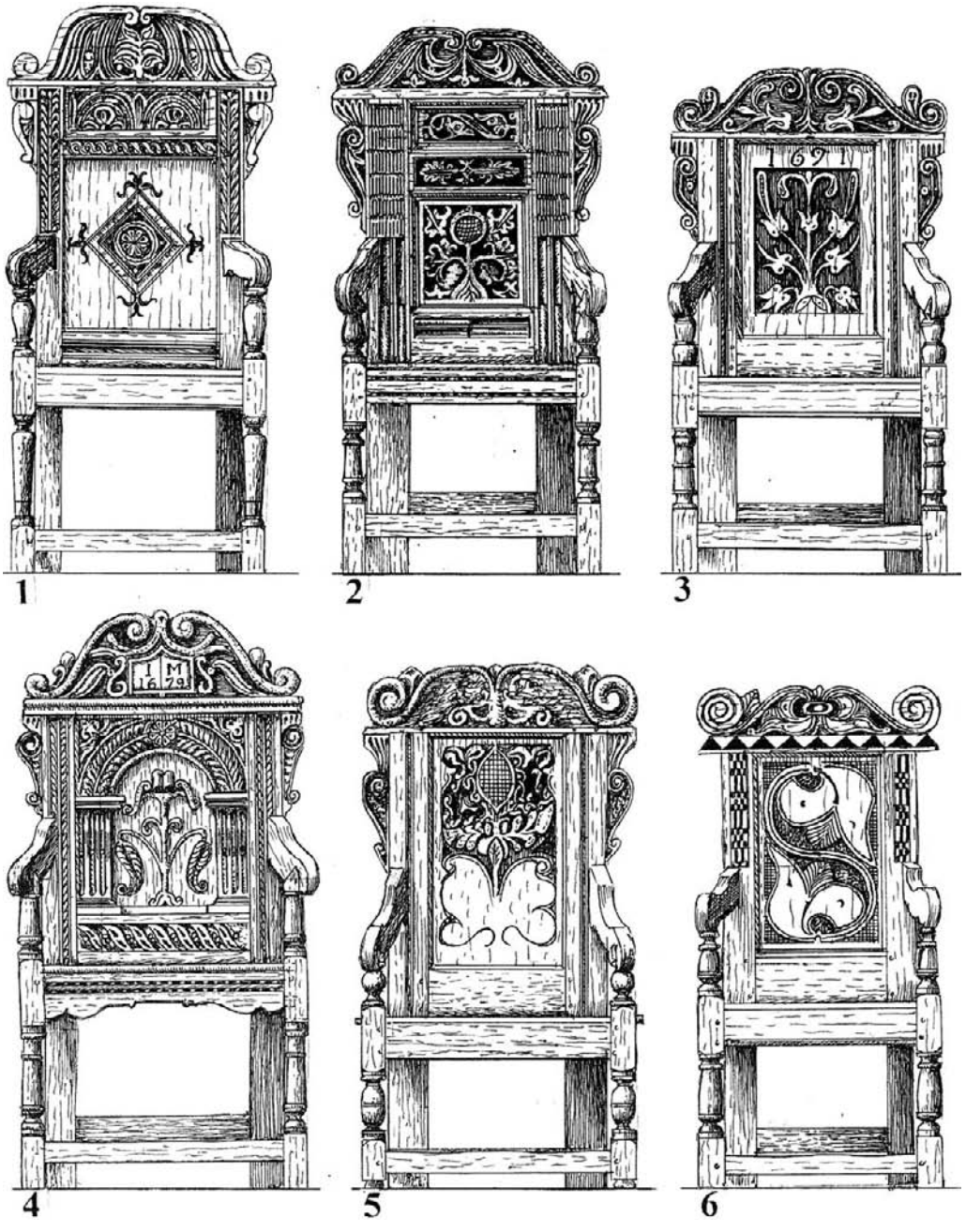
19 Leeds Head and Scallop Group: 1. Macquoid p. 222, fig. 192; 2. Sotheby's 15/11/05 lot 138; Wilkinson's 15/9/02 lot 478; 4. Unprovenanced.; 5. Wilkinson's 26/6/05 lot 411; 6. Jellinek plate 10 (Clive Sherwood Collection; Sotheby's 22 May 2002, lot 190). *The Author*



20 Leeds Pew (1), Cross (2–4) and Leeds Style (5–7) Groups: 1. Wilkinson's 23/2/03 lot 275; 2. Wilkinson's 15/9/02 lot 410; 3. Unprovenanced; 4. Unprovenanced, attributed to Francis Gunby; 5. Wilkinson's 23/2/03 lot 350; 6. Sotheby's 27/3/03 lot 143; 7. *Country Life* 13/11/1975 Supplement 325 5. *The Author*



21 Leeds Style Furniture: 1. Bolling Hall, Bradford; 2. Chinnery 3:37A; 3. Chinnery (1979) prelims. p. 5; 4. Unprovenanced.; 5. Wilkinson's 26/6/05 lot 281; 6. Christie's 24/5/2001 lot 317; 7. Fiske p. 198. *The Author*



22 Leeds Style Chairs: 1. Sotheby's 23-4/9/1999 lot 125; 2. Fiske p. 135; 3. Christie's 2/7/03 lot 79; 4. Wilkinson's 27/2/05 lot 515; 5. Biddle and Webb, date unknown, lot 95; 6. Marhamchurch Antiques. *The Author*

on contemporary examples which J. W. Hurrell recorded in Lancashire in 1902. His own 'Lancashire chest', certainly appears to be a Leeds piece (as does an inlaid chest from Eccles) while others display similar diamond-carved panels.[60] In the current absence of any study of soundly-provenanced furniture from south-eastern Lancashire, it is impossible to determine which items were made there, and which are actually West Yorkshire pieces brought in via the antiques trade. The use of bold bands of triangular and 'matchstick' inlays (Figure 21, no. 5; Figure 22, no. 6) may confirm a Leeds origin and an unusually symmetrical leg turning (Figure 22, no. 5) suggests a link with Wakefield. The purpose of illustrating this incomplete selection of unattributed chairs, settles and chests is to show something of the great variety of furniture made in West Yorkshire, as well as to locate further examples for future study.

LEEDS INLAID CHESTS AND CUPBOARDS (FIGURES 23 AND 24)

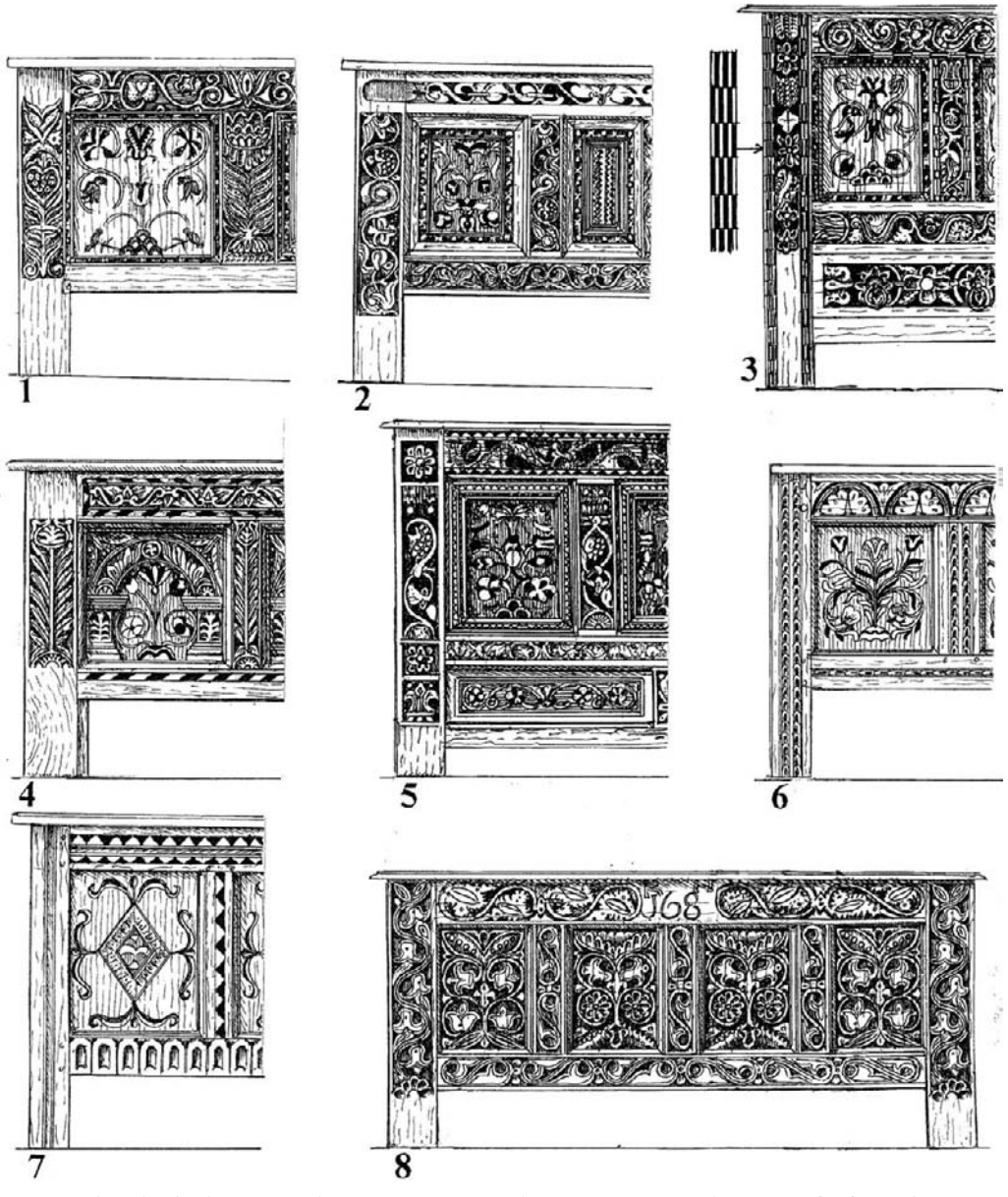
The identification of Leeds as the source of a significant group of inlaid and carved chests and cupboards rests largely on the common features they share with the town's chairs, the restored chest and cupboard at Shibden Hall, and an example collected here from the Read family of Leeds (Figure 23, no. 4). Similarities in the design of the inlaid panels are immediately obvious, but elements of the border carving (Figure 23 nos 1–3 and Figure 24, no. 1) are found on the serpent and strapwork groups of chairs (Figure 16); these are almost certainly the products of the same workshop. The carved channels on one of these chests (Figure 23, no. 6) are seen on certain of the six-leaf chairs (Figure 13, nos. 1–5 and Figure 14, nos 1–3) while matchstick inlay is shared between one of these chairs and another of the chests (Figure 13, no. 7 and Figure 23, no. 3). The designs on the carved panels on the provenanced Leeds chest (Figure 23, no. 8) clearly take their inspiration from those of their inlaid contemporaries.

HALIFAX JOINERS AND FURNITURE (FIGURES 25 AND 26)

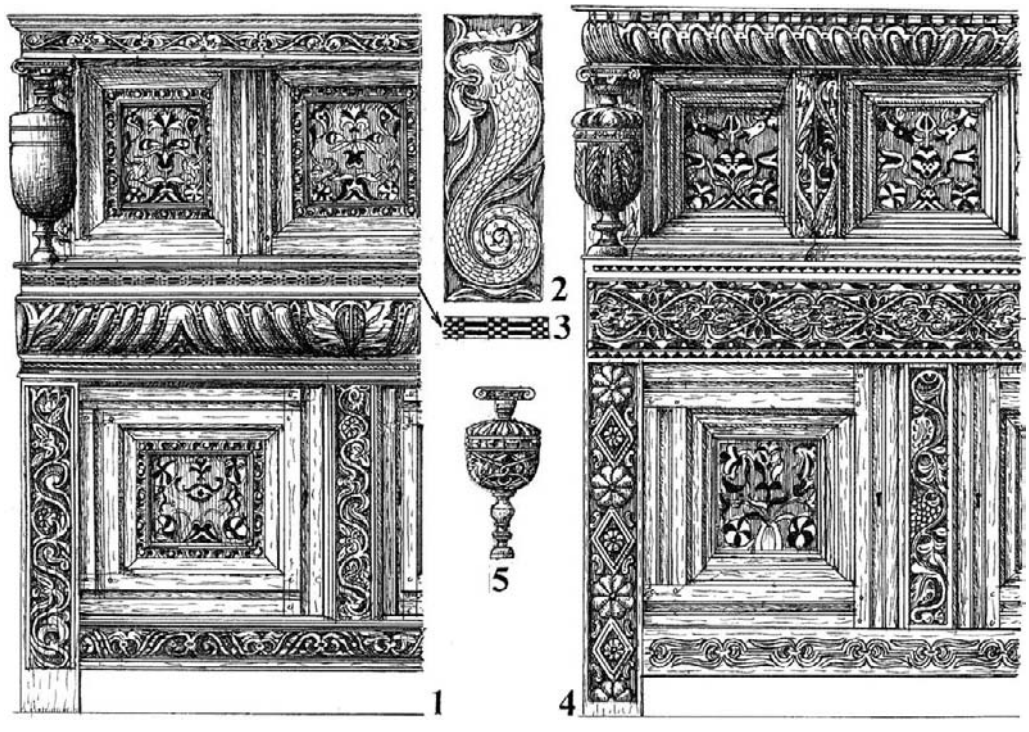
It has long been assumed that all the seventeenth-century oak furniture still remaining in Halifax and upper Calderdale was made there. However, now that the true size of the Leeds furniture industry is revealed it becomes obvious that many of high-quality 'Halifax' chairs, cupboards and chests were either made in Leeds, or by the Leeds-trained Cawbert family of Halifax and Elland. Long trains of pack-horses carried pieces of cloth from Calderdale to the weekly clothmarket in Leeds, then returning with oats and other necessaries, which might easily include a chair or two.[61] Only cupboards or small chests would require the use of a cart for the thirteen-mile journey. Given the state of the roads, transporting large cupboards, chests and long high-backed settles in this way would have been particularly difficult, leaving the demand for these items in the hands of joiners in the Halifax area.

The finest group of carved woodwork still *in situ* in Halifax is to be found in the pews in the medieval parish church of St John. In 1633 Leonard Wray and Christopher Robinson were 'making the stalles in the said Church uniform' also being paid £78

[60] Hurrell (1902) plates 38, 30–31, 14, 18, 26, 33 and 61.
[61] Heaton (1965) p. 200.



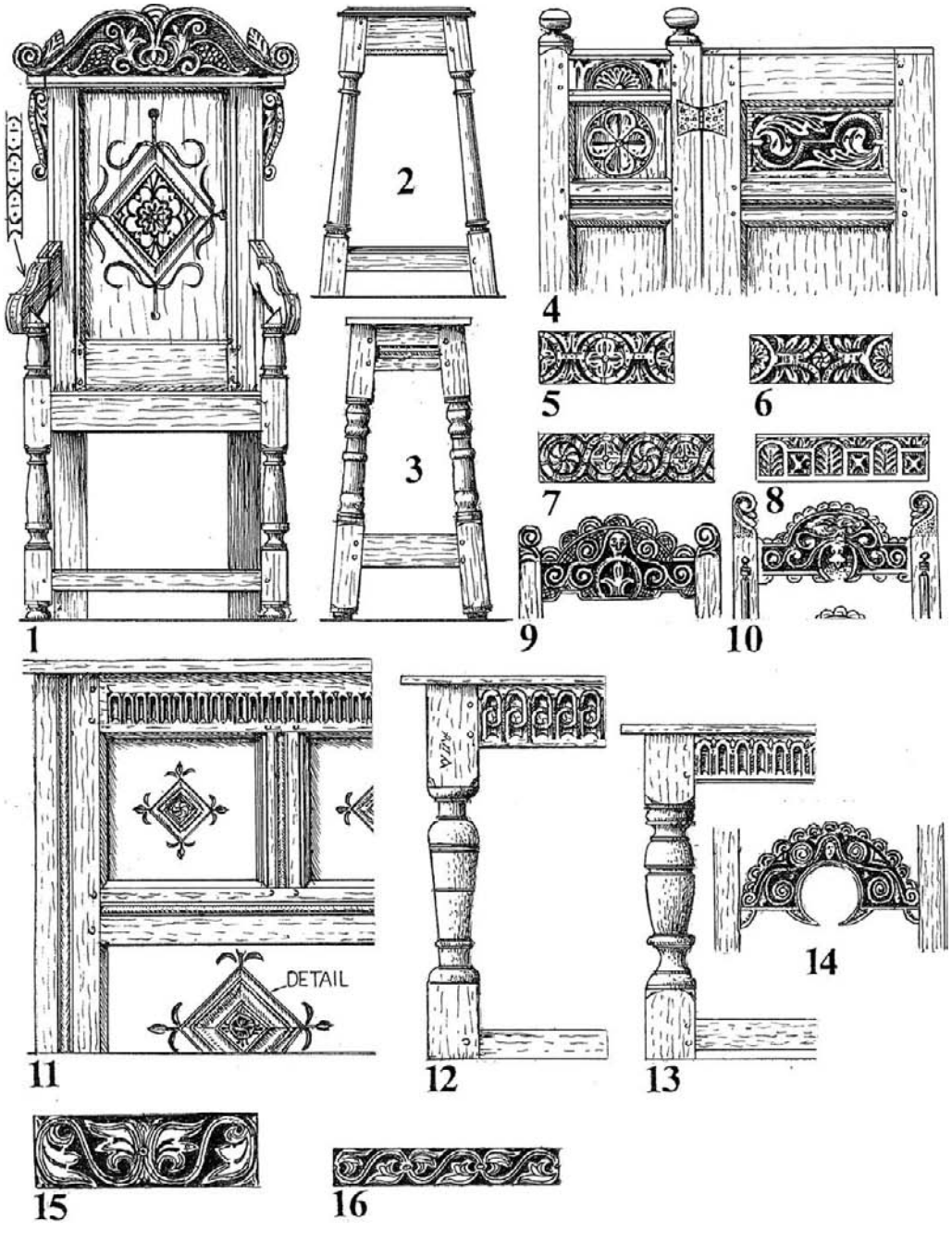
23 Leeds Inlaid Chests: 1. Chinnery 4:122; 2. Chinnery 4:17; 3. Christie's 8/11/2005 lot 260; 4. Temple Newsam collection, Gilbert no.145; 5. Marhamchurch Antiques; 6. Christie's 26/6/07 lot 66; 7. Wilkinson's 26/6/05 lot 281; 8. Temple Newsam collection, Gilbert no. 148. *The Author*



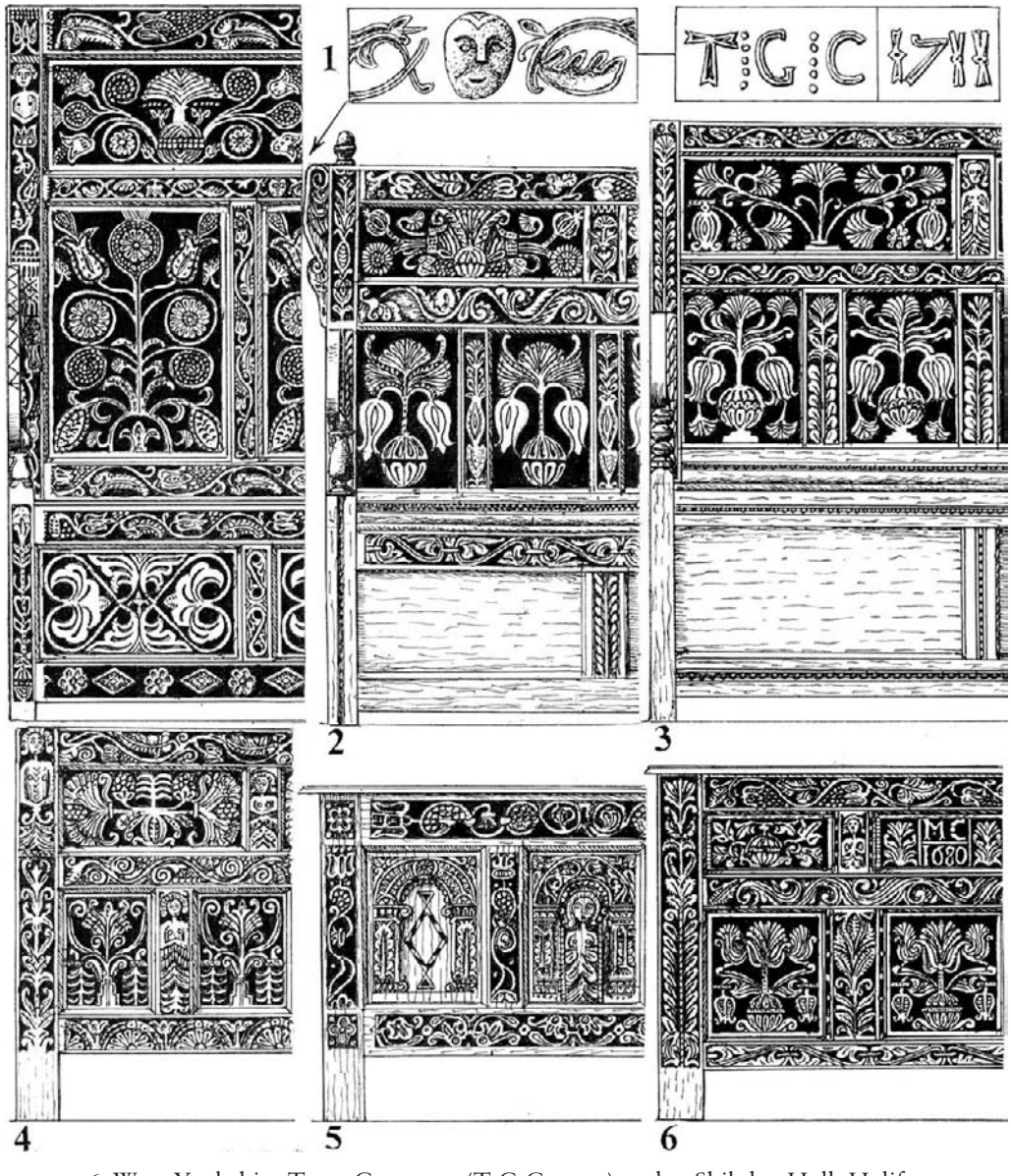
24 Leeds Inlaid Cupboards: 1–3. Chinnery 4:118–120, with details of the serpents behind its pillars and the 'matchstick' inlay; 4. Chinnery 4: 121; 5. pillar on cupboard at Shibden Hall, Halifax. The cupboards form part of the Leeds 'serpent' group. Note the de Bry scroll on the bottom rail of no. 4, suggesting that it was made by Francis Gunby. *The Author*

19*s*. 6*d*. for 'making new stalles' in the following year. Robinson alone was also paid £5 for a new pulpit in 1634, and 10*s*. 'for a frame in wood for 10 Comdments' in 1635.[62] The pews have simpler carving than that found on those recently erected by Francis Gunby at St John's, Leeds, which Wray and Robinson appear to have seen. One panel at the east end of the north aisle is clearly a copy of the de Bry S-scroll, with a horizontal central section, found on the chancel screen of St John's (Figure 25, no. 4). The remainder have half-moon, and roundel designs, except for the shield of three lions passant that probably represents the sponsorship of Richard Sunderland of Coley. Regrettably nothing more of Wray and Robinson is currently known, but they were probably responsible for the pews in the Church of All Saints, Bolton Percy, seven miles south-west of York, which had been installed in 1631 and are virtually identical in style. These men may well have been brought in from outside West Yorkshire, perhaps from York, but Halifax also had its own resident joiners, particularly the Cawberts.

[62] Savage (1908) pp. 359–60.



25 Halifax (1–11), Haworth (12–14), and Ilkley (15–16). 1–9. St John's Parish Church, Halifax; 10. Shibden Hall since before 1678; 11. Shibden Hall; 12. St Michael's, Haworth, communion table; 13. side table and 14. 'Yorkshire' chair; 15–16. All Saints', Ilkley, Watkinson pew, 1633. *The Author*



26 West Yorkshire Term Group: 1. (T.G.C. 1711) and 4. Shibden Hall, Halifax; 2. (S.E.C. 1697) Christie's 6/11/2007 lot 365; 3. (I.M.C. 1720) Macquoid fig. 188; 5. Christie's 24/5/2001 lot 398; 6. (M.C. 1680) Unprovenanced. *The Author*

JOHN AND JAMES CAWBERT

The Cawbert or Scawbert family first appears in the Leeds area in the 1550s when John Scawbert witnessed a will in Methley.[63] They were recorded in the Leeds parish registers from 1589, one branch living in the Holbeck district of the town from the 1620s to the 1660s, by which time a further branch had settled in nearby Wortley. It is most probable that some members of the family worked for Francis Gunby in his Market Place workshop, before emigrating to America with Francis Gunby junior some time after 1659, for Francis' will, made in Maryland in 1694, was witnessed by a Robert Couthbert.[64] John Cawbert, a joiner and almost certainly another Gunby protégé, was the first member of his family to move into the Halifax area. Here he would have continued to make furniture in the Leeds tradition in which he was trained, so that it is most probable that some mid- to late seventeenth-century items which may be firmly attributed to Leeds on stylistic grounds were actually made in Halifax, or as will be explained below, in Elland.

John died intestate in 1685, Mary Cawbert, probably his wife, being granted the administration of his affairs after submitting an inventory of his goods to the Consistory Court in York (see Appendix).[65] His Halifax house was relatively large, with two housebody or living rooms on the ground floor and five chambers above. The old housebody served as a combined kitchen dining room with three stones of salt beef, probably hanging from its chimney joists. In contrast, the new housebody was an unusual combination of tavern and store, having six chairs with cushions, five buffet stools, a hanging cupboard, two loads of malt, and quantities of ale and of salt. The buttery, meanwhile, had just a table with a form, and three cushions. Upstairs the great chamber and buttery chamber were furnished with tables and seating, the chamber over the nether housebody having a bed with its footchest and a chest of linen, while the further chamber had a little bed, a presser (wardrobe), table, seating and stores of wheat and beef. The inventory makes no mention of either tools or timber, but these would probably have been kept in what appears to have been his first floor working chamber, alongside a table, two forms, two chests and a bedstock. The brewhouse, either in a back room or an outbuilding, had two leads (boiling coppers) and other vessels, which, with the store of malt, show that the family were brewing their own beer. In all, this was the home of a successful town crafstman.

No mention of the Cawbert family appears in the published parish registers of the Halifax area until the marriage of James Cawbert to Martha Bairstow at Elland on 6 May, 1684 and the baptisms of their four daughters between 1685 and 1690. He was presumably John's son, being one of the appraisers of the 1686 inventory. By 1687 he had taken the tenancy of Elland Hall. There were two halls in Elland, the Old, now demolished, and the New, built *c.* 1490 by Nicholas Savile. Since the Elland Hall mentioned in the seventeenth century list of pew owners in Elland Parish Church refers to the absentee Savile family, James was probably occupying either a part or the whole of the large and impressive open-halled New Hall.[66] He also had farming and property

[63] Lumb (1930) p. 236.
[64] www.mdgenweb.org.somerset/histrec/fgunby.htm
[65] Borthwick Institute, Administration Cawbert No. 1687.
[66] Giles (1986) p. 6.

interests in nearby Northowram where, in October 1687, James Cawbert of Elland Hall, joiner, took the copyhold of the house and lands of John Wilby at the rental of 12*d*. The following year he took a further house called Willroyd with the 2½ acre Mainroyd and 1½ acre Anthonywell Close for 16*d*., now calling himself by the more prestigious title of 'Yeoman'.[67]

Given this evidence, it would appear that John and James Cawbert were probably the main joiners working in the Halifax area during the latter half of the seventeenth century, but others can be identified from probate records. Henry Greene must have been a relatively prosperous Halifax joiner, for in his will, proved in 1673 he left two hundred pounds in capital.[68] Most was to go to his children, Henry and Sarah, with much smaller sums to his seven Smith and Haggas grandchildren. His son George was presumably financially independent by this time, receiving no bequests, but acting as his father's executor. The Murgatroyds of Warley, two miles west of Halifax, were among the wealthiest clothier-landowners of the Calder Valley, and certainly its most prolific builders of large stone houses. Michael Murgatroyd, joiner of Ovenden, a mile north-west of Halifax, made his will in 1674. In it he instructed that, should his house and lands be freed and set clear by Thomas Murgatroyd, or leased, the resulting funds should be divided equally between his wife Mary and daughter Grace, his joint executors. The 1691 inventory of Nathaniel Kershawe, a Soyland yeoman clothier, includes the expected spinning wheel, spool wheel, looms and shears of his occupation.[69] However, his lower workshop also contained 'one Throw [i.e. lathe] with wright tooles and Joyner tooles £1' showing that he also undertook both turnery and joinery.

As described above, the fine bed from Hove Edge, now at Shibden Hall, and the Hall's own table, were probably made by Francis Gunby, the inlaid chests and some of the chairs found around Halifax also being made either in Leeds or by the Leeds-trained Cawberts. There remains, however, a number of pieces which lack Leeds features, and which are almost certainly rare examples of Halifax-made furniture. In the parish church, for example, there is an (ash?) ceiled chair, its front legs turned in columns similar to those of Leeds, but with a quite different diamond design carved on the back panel (Figure 25, no. 1). Instead of enclosing the usual *fleur-de-lis* cornered motif, it has a daisy carved within a quartrefoil. The arms are most unusually carved with a pattern of half-moon, single line and dot motifs, while a similar pattern runs up the fronts of the S-scrolled ears. The crest is of oak and has a seed-head design common to many other chairs found in West Yorkshire but this is probably not original to this chair, being fastened onto the planed-back posts by short wooden battens. A pair of benches in this church have turned legs quite different from those found elsewhere in the region, almost certainly being made in Halifax (Figure 25, nos 2 and 3).

Two other groups of furniture, one of chests and settles, the other of cupboards, may be reasonably attributed to Halifax, since, even if not actually documented, a number of examples remain in the vicinity, and are not recorded elsewhere. The first

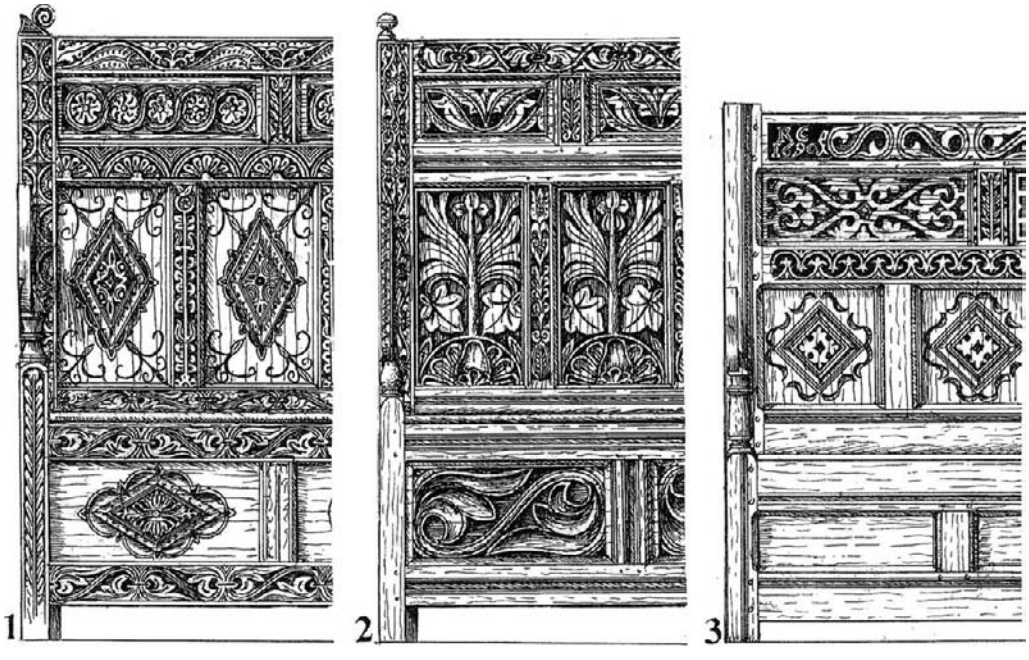
[67] Fraser (2002) pp. 95, 9.
[68] Borthwick Institute 20/8/1623. 27/1/1762, 54/260.
[69] Cant and Petford (2013) 123.

group, of chests and high-backed settles, have fronts richly carved with ornate detail (Figure 26). Their horizontal rails have running vines with bunches of grapes or foliage or various S-scroll designs, while their vertical stiles are carved with either symmetrical straight stems sprouting rows of leaves, or curving stalks, both terminating with a carnation/gilliflower or a tulip head. Shorter stiles may also be carved with female terms, their arms clasped across their chests. The panels, meanwhile, usually feature a spherical gadrooned vase sprouting gilliflowers and tulips, although some have semi-circular arches set on broad pilasters and enclosing more female terms or inlaid geometric designs.

Other West Yorkshire settles (Figure 27) have a different style of carving, but need to be carefully examined to differentiate between the original carving and that which was sometimes added in the late nineteenth century. The owners of large Victorian houses placed settles such as these in their halls and frequently had new 'Jacobean' designs carved onto the formerly plain back and seat-front panels. Such was their popularity that examples were brought in from elsewhere, the Halifax exhibition of 1880 including one belonging to Mr J. W. Davis.[70] It was carved with a coat of arms and several inscriptions: 'PREPARE: FOR: DEATH: JUDGEMENT: AND: ETERNITY' along the top rail, and 'DEUS:VIDET. Q. N. T. N. L. TAYTA ΜΕΛΕΤΑ' on the mid-rail. The Latin *deus videt quae natura tuae nocte latent* translates as 'God sees thoughts that lie hidden in your soul at night', while the Greek *tauta meleta* adds the injunction 'these study'. More interestingly, it was inscribed 'R. HARDCASTLE: MADE THIS: FOR: Mr. BUCK: OF: KIRKBY MALZEARD.' Peter Hardcastle of Grewelthorpe, five miles north-west of Ripon, had children baptised at the adjacent St Andrews, Kirkby Malzeard between 1703 and 1715, as did William Buck, its curate, between 1696 and 1700.[71] This dates the settle to around 1700. About twenty years ago, Christies' confidently considered it to have been made *c.* 1630.[72] Although its carving proves that it was not made in West Yorkshire, its details are included here to illustrate the dangers of assuming that a piece of furniture known to have been in Halifax in 1880 and dated 1630 by a reputable consultancy on stylistic evidence alone, was actually made thirty five miles away and some seventy years later. The settle is today at Cannon Hall Museum, Barnsley, and a similar one is at Lotherton Hall, Aberford. This second settle is carved with the date 1756.[73] The second settle was clearly made in imitation of the first for William Buck junior, who was the vicar at Marton cum Grafton between 1721 and 1755.[74]

The second Halifax group consists of cupboards with canopies resembling Welsh tridarns. One from Coley Hall and an unprovenanced example dated 1681 are now in the Shibden Hall collection, while a third from Ponden Hall, Stanbury, is now displayed at East Riddlesden Hall (Figure 35, nos 1–3). The Ponden cupboard has a particularly good provenance, since its original position on the end wall of the house-body there opposite the fireplace, is still indicated by an area of unworn quarry-dressed

[70] Lister (1880) p. 14 no. 103.
[71] Hebden (2000) p. 154.
[72] Ibid. p. 154.
[73] Chinnery 4:138. Gilbert (1998) Vol. 2, p. 272, no. 327. This settle arrived at Lotherton Hall before 1905.
[74] Butler (1990), pp. 55 and 61.



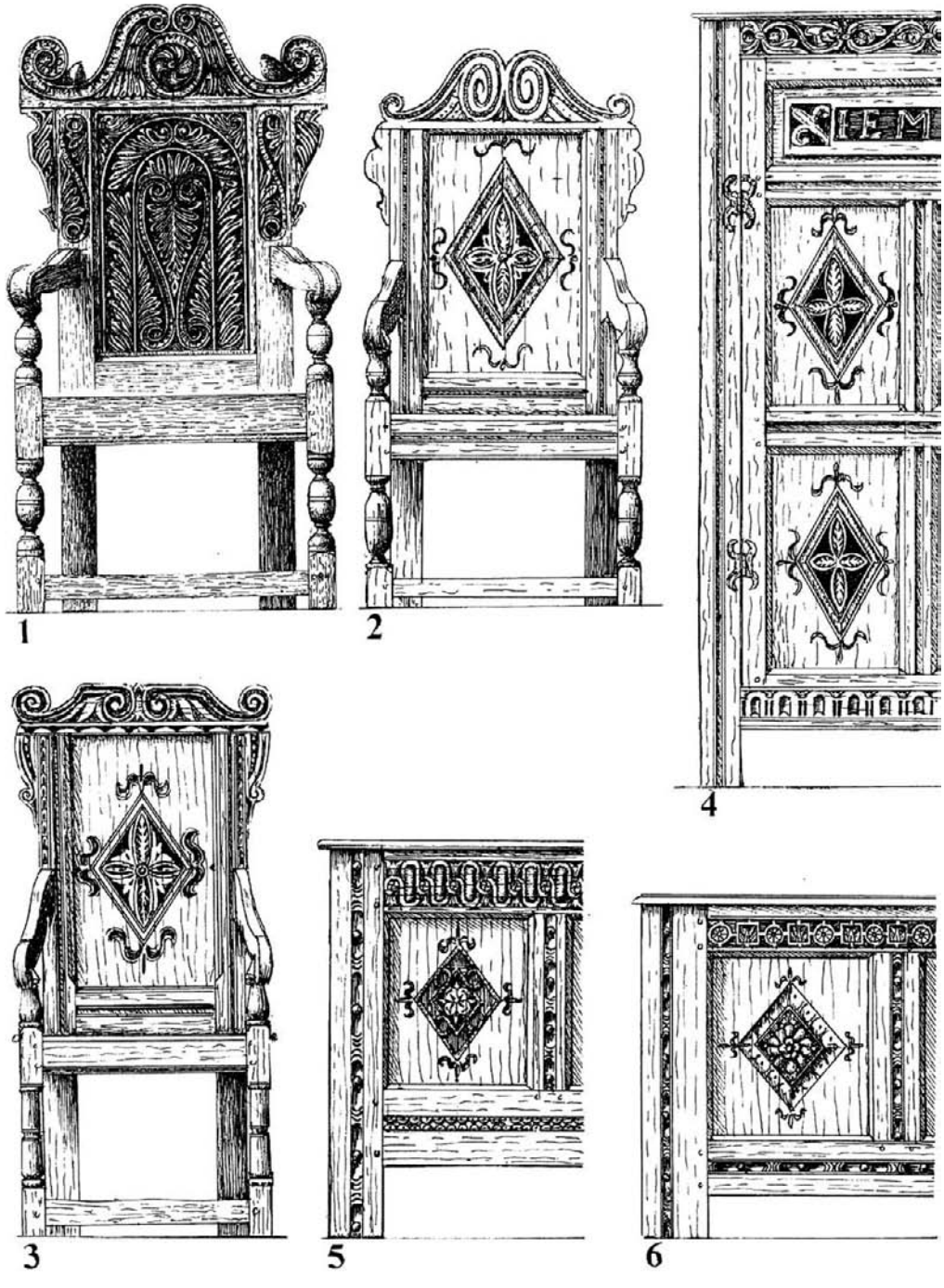
27 West Yorkshire Settles: 1. Bolling Hall, Bradford; 2. Litchfield p. 149; 3. (R.C. 1690) Shibden Hall, Halifax. *The Author*

flagstones where it stood for over two centuries. None of these cupboards share any distinctive characteristics, each having its own particular style, as might be expected when local joiners were requested to produce items only occasionally.

WAKEFIELD JOINERS AND FURNITURE (FIGURE 28)

Wakefield was the most prosperous centre of the wool and cloth trade in medieval West Yorkshire, its prosperity demonstrated by its fine church, with one of the tallest spires in the north of England, its finely-carved, timber-framed buildings, its guild system and its cycle of thirty-two lively mystery plays. From around 1600 its leading role was rapidly overtaken by Leeds, a town which enjoyed a far greater degree of self-government, particularly after the 1620s. Very regrettably, the clergy of the former parish church, now cathedral, have disposed of the 1603 homily desk, and alms box of 1636, that had survived into the 1940s, and were probably of local workmanship.[75] It is significant, however, that no Wakefield joiner was considered worthy of making a new chancel screen in 1634, the contract being given to Francis Gunby of Leeds. Even more revealing is the fact that, to date, only one joiner has been traced to Restoration Wakefield, in contrast to the seven in Leeds. The will of Joseph Thompson, joiner, was proved in 1669 but unfortunately has not survived, and no further information about him has yet been found.[76]

[75] Walker (1939) p. 257.
[76] Borthwick Institute 31/7/1669. 2/10/1667. 50/221.



28 Wakefield (1–4) and Bradford (5–6): 1. The chair in which William Hardcastle captured Nevison the highwayman in 1681, now in St Helen's, Sandal; 2. Unprovenanced. 3. Sotheby's 16/6/98 lot 79; 4. Christie's 8/1/2005 lot 579; 5. and 6. Bolling Hall, Bradford. *The Author*

At the church of St Helen, Sandal Magna, two miles south of Wakefield city centre, there survives a ceiled chair of impeccable provenance (Figure 28, no. 1). In the 1670s John Nevison was probably the country's most notorious highwayman and an amazing horseman. In order to create an alibi for a 4 a.m. robbery near Chatham in Kent, he had galloped to York, some two hundred miles distant, to arrive there, change his clothes, and stroll into the nearest bowling alley, where the Lord Mayor was playing, by 7.45 that evening. This feat was later attributed to Dick Turpin by that most inventive of novelists, Harrison Aynsworth. In the late 1670s and early '80s he was frequently to be seen in Wakefield, but here no-one dared to arrest him, one who tried this in early 1683–4 being murdered in the attempt. Shortly afterwards, on 6 March 1684, William Hardcastle J.P. heard that Nevison was asleep in a chair at the Three Houses Inn in Sandal, and so, with the local constable's assistance, he was able to take him and send him to the York assizes, where he was convicted and hanged on 4 May. To commemorate this event, Mr Hardcastle gave the chair to Sandal Parish Church, where it remains. It has the burn mark R.H. at the foot of its right leg.[77]

Given its location in the early 1680s, this chair was almost certainly made in Wakefield, perhaps by Joseph Thompson. Although having the general form and construction of a West Yorkshire ceiled chair, its details are quite distinct from those made elsewhere in the county. The double-S scrolled crest, for example, most unusually rises high in the centre, above a large roundel, while the ears have the square borders and crisp outlines more associated with South Yorkshire chairs. The carving of the back panel and the flanking stiles is again unique to this chair, as are the plump, vertically symmetrical balusters of the front legs.

No directly comparable example has yet been located, but two of its unique features, the particularly high profile of its S-scrolled crest and the vertically symmetrical turning of its front legs, have been found on a much plainer but unprovenanced chair, which suggest that this too was made in Wakefield (Figure 28, no. 2). The typically West Yorkshire diamond with *fleur-de-lis* terminals carved on its back panel has a highly unusual four-petal flower at its centre, relating it to another chair and a press cupboard (Figure 28, nos 3 and 4). The attribution of this group to Wakefield has to remain tentative, but is as much as can be achieved given the lack of any more positive evidence.

BRADFORD JOINERS AND FURNITURE (FIGURE 28)

In contrast to Leeds, Wakefield and Halifax, Bradford had always been a small town with limited cloth production, but even so, it declined still further during the second half of the seventeenth century as a result of devastation during the Civil War. It only began to revive from the middle of the eighteenth century with the development of the worsted industry.[78] This explains why no joiners have yet been traced here during the Restoration period excepting Richard Booth of Idle, a village three miles north of the

[77] Walker (1939) p. 257.
[78] Heaton (1965) pp. 210, 273.

city centre, and even he, on the evidence of his will of 1668, appears to have been relatively young and poor, leaving only 32 shillings in bequests.[79]

Unfortunately no seventeenth-century furniture survives in Bradford Cathedral, the former Parish Church, and nothing of a distinctive Bradford character is to be found in local collections. The only possible exceptions are two chests at the city's Bolling Hall museum (Figure 28, nos 5 and 6). These have diamond-shaped motifs carved into their panels, each with a rose or 'daisy' at its centre, one having a stamped semicircle and dot border. Since a daisy within a diamond motif appears on the panels of a chest at Shibden Hall and the chair at Halifax Parish Church, which also has a stamped semicircle and dot patterns along the arms, it is possible that these chests were actually made in Halifax. The channels of the posts and muntins on one of these chests are carved with a bold form of egg-and-dart, and the lower rail stamped with a semicircle and dot pattern. These details may in future lead to the identification of a more coherent group.

Even though Bradford appears to have played a minor role in the joinery trade, it was an important centre for making its associated textiles, particularly all the setwork or Turkey-work cushions listed alongside cupboards and chairs in local inventories. Some of these were made by William Dawson of Barker End, three-quarters of a mile west of the town centre. Described as 'Quissin maker' in his will of 1665, he left £10 to each of his daughters Rosamond, Anne and Elizabeth, with just £1 to his son William and daughter Jossabell, wife of Ellias Jackson, since they had already received their portions. The residue went to his wife Ann. These are quite modest bequests, the stipulation that the daughters' payments should be spread over the following three years suggesting that immediate funds were not in hand.[80]

HAWORTH FURNITURE (FIGURE 25, NOS 12–14)

The hilltop village of Haworth was a chapelry in the parish of Bradford, but Halifax was the same distance away, and for long periods was the predominant market centre for the Haworth area, especially for the sale of locally-woven cloth. The seventeenth-century furniture remaining in Haworth is therefore more likely to have been made in Halifax. The old church of St Michael was demolished in 1879, when its communion table and accompanying 'Yorkshire' chair, seen in mid-nineteenth century engravings, were sold to Wilfred Mitton. He, in turn, sold them to Dr Bassett Woodd Walker, whose son-in-law returned them to the church in 1962, confirming their sound provenance. The table, into which the parish chest was incorporated probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, has typical seventeenth-century baluster-turned legs, and a frieze of interlaced flutes. This is very similar to the frieze on one of the chests at Bolling Hall, Bradford (Figure 28, no. 5), but whether the communion table, its side-table or the 'Yorkshire' chair at Haworth were made either there or in Halifax must remain uncertain.

[79] Margerison (1883) p. 126 and Borthwick Institute, 3/6/1672. 10/3/1668. 53/482.
[80] Ibid. 11/6/1666. 16/11/1665. 48/80

ILKLEY FURNITURE (FIGURE 25, NOS 15–16)

The only example of seventeenth century woodwork in All Saints', Ilkley, is the Watkinson family pew that has its rails and panels carved with S-scrolls and the inscription 'I W 1633'.

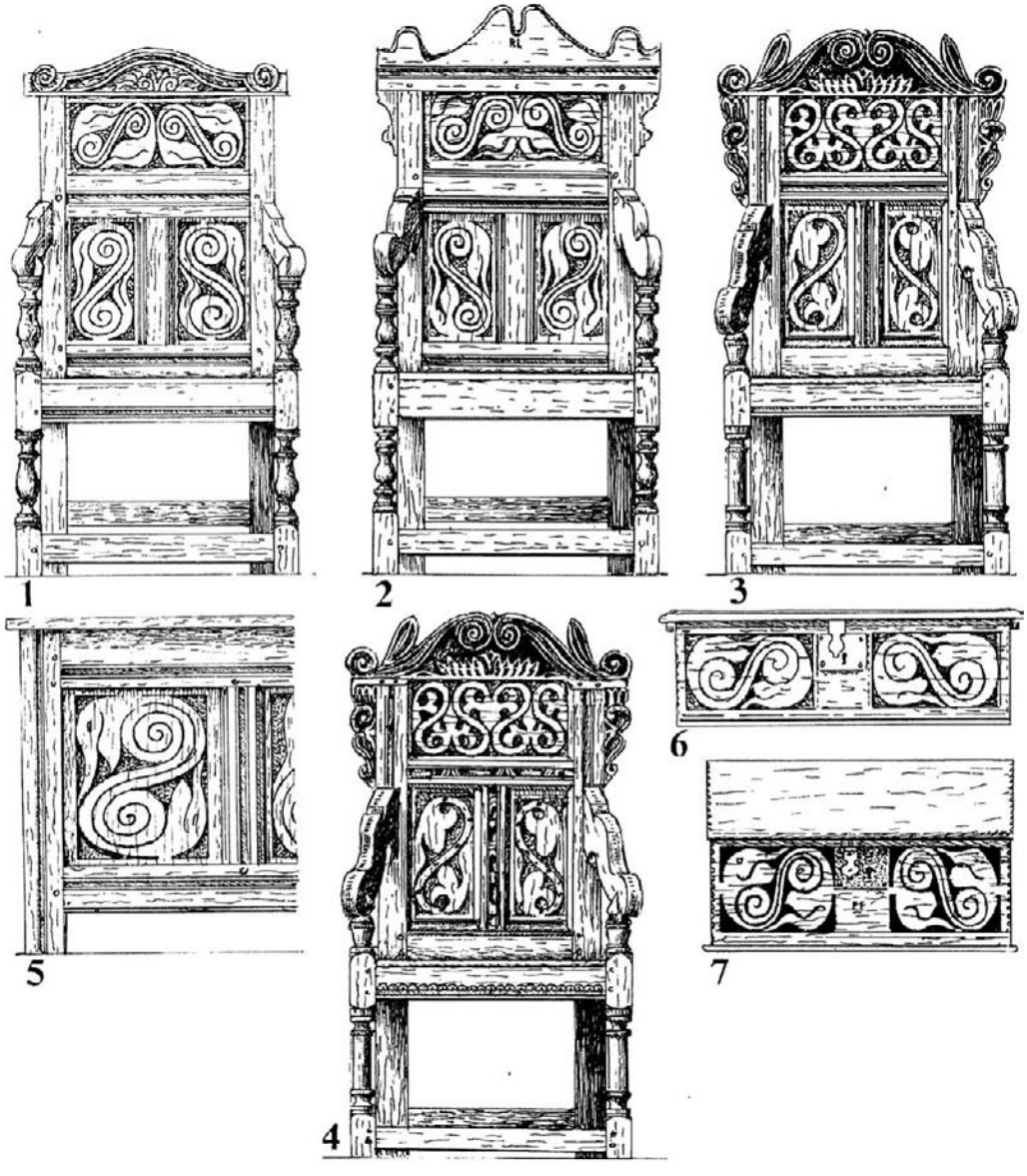
RURAL JOINERS

Since joiners required a constant demand for their services in order to continue in their trade, it made good sense to have workshops in town centres where there was already a regular flow of potential customers coming in to market or to do their shopping. Three such joiners have been identified in probate records. William Hardwicke worked in Otley, a market town ten miles north-west of Leeds on the River Wharfe. On his death in 1556 he left his best sword and best clothes to his brother Bryan, and everything else to his wife Jane, except for the bequest of 'soe moche tymber as shall make her one cobborde' to one Margaret Hardwicke.[81] John Hunt lived at Ainley Top, on the bleak ridge between the Calder Valley at Elland and the Colne valley at Huddersfield. His will of 1668 shows him to have been quite prosperous. In addition to returning £100 owed to his son in law, he left £160 to his daughter and granddaughter, as well as 'all my worke Toyels belonging to a Joiner & Clothes & money as much as will make them up Five poundes' to his nephew George Hunt, presumably to continue the family business.[82] Finally, Lepton, a small village three miles east of Huddersfield, was the home of James Copley, joiner. Copley was relatively poor, leaving just £6 13*s*. 4*d*. to each of his four daughters, the remainder of his goods to be split in two, one half going to his wife and the rest to his daughters. In addition, the 'tythe & interest in the howse & farme where I now dwell' (this suggesting that he earned part of his living by agriculture) was to go to his daughter. As regards his furniture, his wife Anne was to keep the bed and bedding she brought with her when they married, while Samuel Wolfenden was to reclaim 'certaine goodes … wch has his burne upon them', an interesting reference to the use of brand marks.[83]

YORKSHIRE S-SCROLL GROUP (FIGURE 29)

This group has its panels or boards carved with bold, sweeping S-scrolls, each formed of two serpent-like strands, the head of one encircling the spiral tail of the other. Chairs, apparently made by the same joiner, including examples at St Peter's Conisborough (Figure 29, no. 1), All Saints, Bolton Percy, and one formerly at Fountains Hall, Ripon, all indicate a Yorkshire origin, as does the chest (Figure 29, no. 5) offered for sale in Harrogate in 2018.[84] All have features that distinguish them from the bulk of West Yorkshire's furniture, the chair backs having a long panel set over two narrow ones, while the chest has a three-panelled lid, not one of the expected plank construction. The crest and ears of two recently-sold chairs (Figure 29, nos 3 and 4) are similar to those on Leeds chairs, but the place of their manufacture remains unknown.

[81] Lumb (1930) p.48
[82] Borthwick Institute, 20/1/1669. 21/10/1668. 50/205.
[83] Ibid. 11/3/1661. 2/1/1654. 44/246.
[84] Gilbert (1971) p. 28, no. 14.



29 Yorkshire S-scroll Group: 1. St Peter's, Conisborough; 2. Christie's 27/2/02 lot 168; 3. Wilkinson's 23/11/03 lot 434; 4. Morphet's 7/6/2018 lot 602; 5. K. Holkin Antiques; 6. Conybeare (1992) p. 34, no. 15; 7. Unprovenanced. *The Author*

SOUTH YORKSHIRE CHAIRS (FIGURES 30 AND 31)

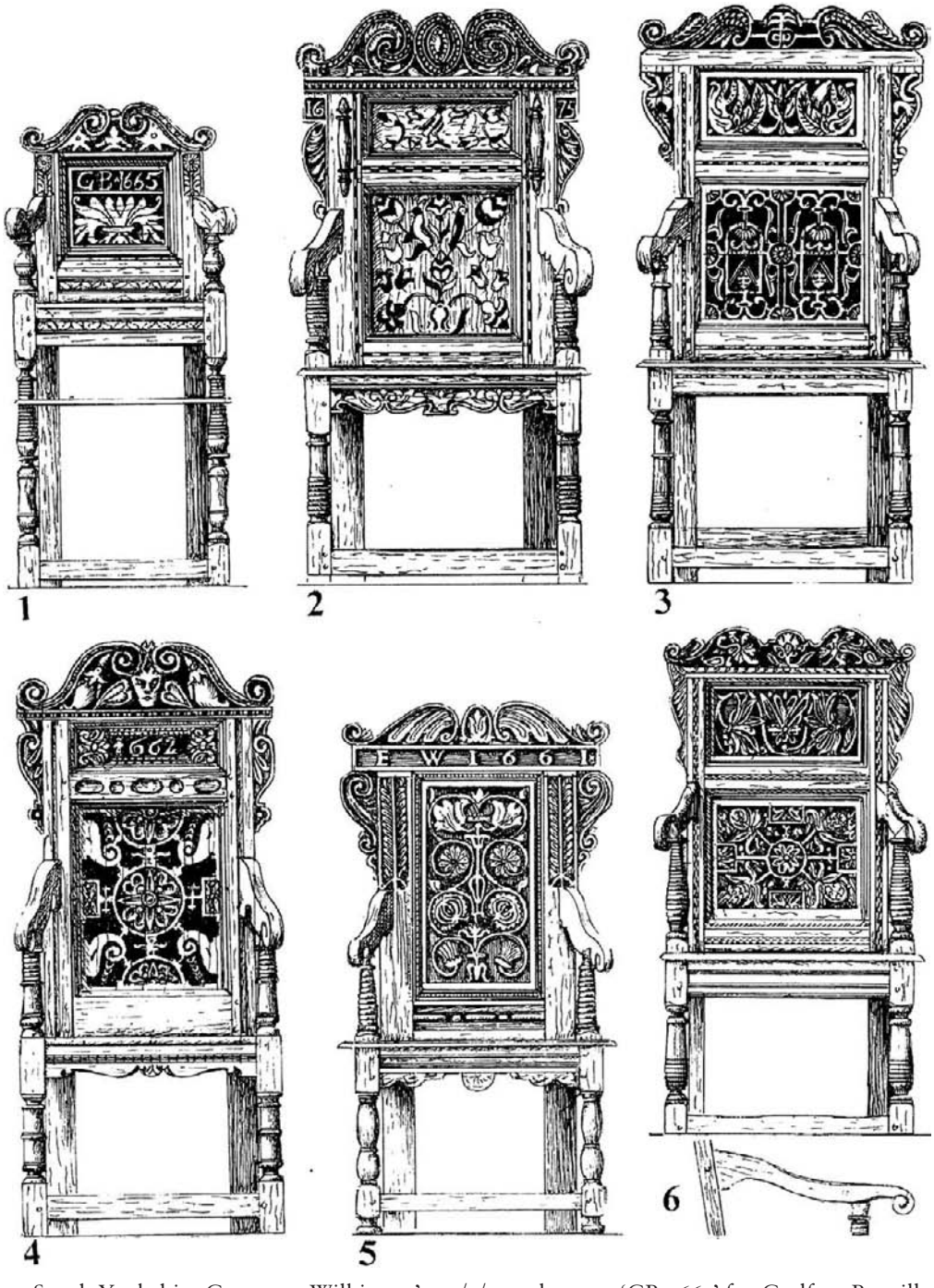
The term 'South Yorkshire' has frequently been applied to furniture that was actually made in West Yorkshire. The two regions, the first focussed around Sheffield and the steel industry and the second, about twenty five miles to the north, around Leeds and the woollen industry, had quite different styles of joinery in the Restoration period. This is demonstrated by a small group of locally provenanced South Yorkshire examples. The starting point for this group is a child's chair inscribed 'G B 1665' attributed to Godfrey Bosville of Penistone Manor (Figure 30, no. 1). Although his family owned this manor, their seat was at Gunthwaite Hall, where a Godfrey Bosville was born in 1654, therefore being eleven when the chair was made, and no longer an infant. However, a pedigree of 1899, apparently for a different branch of the family, records the undated birth of another Godfrey, son of Gervase Bosville (1619–1670), for whom this chair was more probably made.[85] It has very distinctive narrow-banded turnings on its legs, and a particularly stylish carved design on its back panel. These features are found on chairs at Haddon Hall, and in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, both just to the south of Sheffield (Figure 30, nos 2–4). From these examples it has been possible to assemble a group of currently eleven chairs with similar characteristics. Most have the same narrow-banded turning, sharp-edged and flat-faced ears, a crest with its two scrolls separated by a rounded projection, and arms with scrolls carved at their ends. The four dated examples fall between 1661 and 1675, suggesting that they may have been made by either John Greaves of Hallam, Sheffield, who died in 1682, or, perhaps less likely, Robert Hirst of Barnsley, who died in 1683.[86]

DECORATION AND DATES

Having described the various groups of West and South Yorkshire furniture, the sources of their decorative features will now be considered for in terms of construction, West Yorkshire furniture uses the same combination of pegged mortice and tenon joints, and panels slotted into rebated frames, as found throughout England. The features that define its regional character are largely decorative, particularly in the shape of the crests and ears found on chairs, and in the techniques and motifs displayed on its panels and their surrounding frames.

The earliest group of recognisably 'Yorkshire' furniture is made up of four-poster beds, foot-chests and overmantels, most with inlaid panels set within carved arched frames. The antiques trade usually describe such pieces as 'Elizabethan' but there is no factual evidence to confirm such early dating. Architectural historians have long been aware of this, Nicholas Pevsner dismissing the 1581 date ascribed to the fireplace at the Old Cock, Southgate, Halifax, as being 'doubtful, the early c17 is more likely.'[87] The earliest datable use of inlay and formal decorative carving in this region is the bed inscribed '1662' originally at Mould Greave, Marsh, Oxenhope.[88] The 1648 overmantels at East Riddlesden Hall, Morton, a similar one at Broadley Hall, Ovenden,

[85] Hull University Archives. Clay (1899) pp. 109–10.
[86] Borthwick Institute. J. Greaves 7/12/1682. 21/9.1682. 59/402 and R. Hirst. 13/3/1683. 15/3/1680. 60-165.
[87] Pevsner (1967) p. 232.
[88] Newscutting kept at Mould Greave, Oxenhope.



30 South Yorkshire Group: 1. Wilkinson's 15/9/2002 lot 433, 'GB 1665' for Godfrey Bosville, Penistone Manor; 2. Haddon Hall (Jellinek plate 106); 3. and 4. Macquoid p. 222 figs. 193–4, Duke of Devonshire; 5. Chinnery 4: 125; 6. Chinnery 4: 123. *The Author*

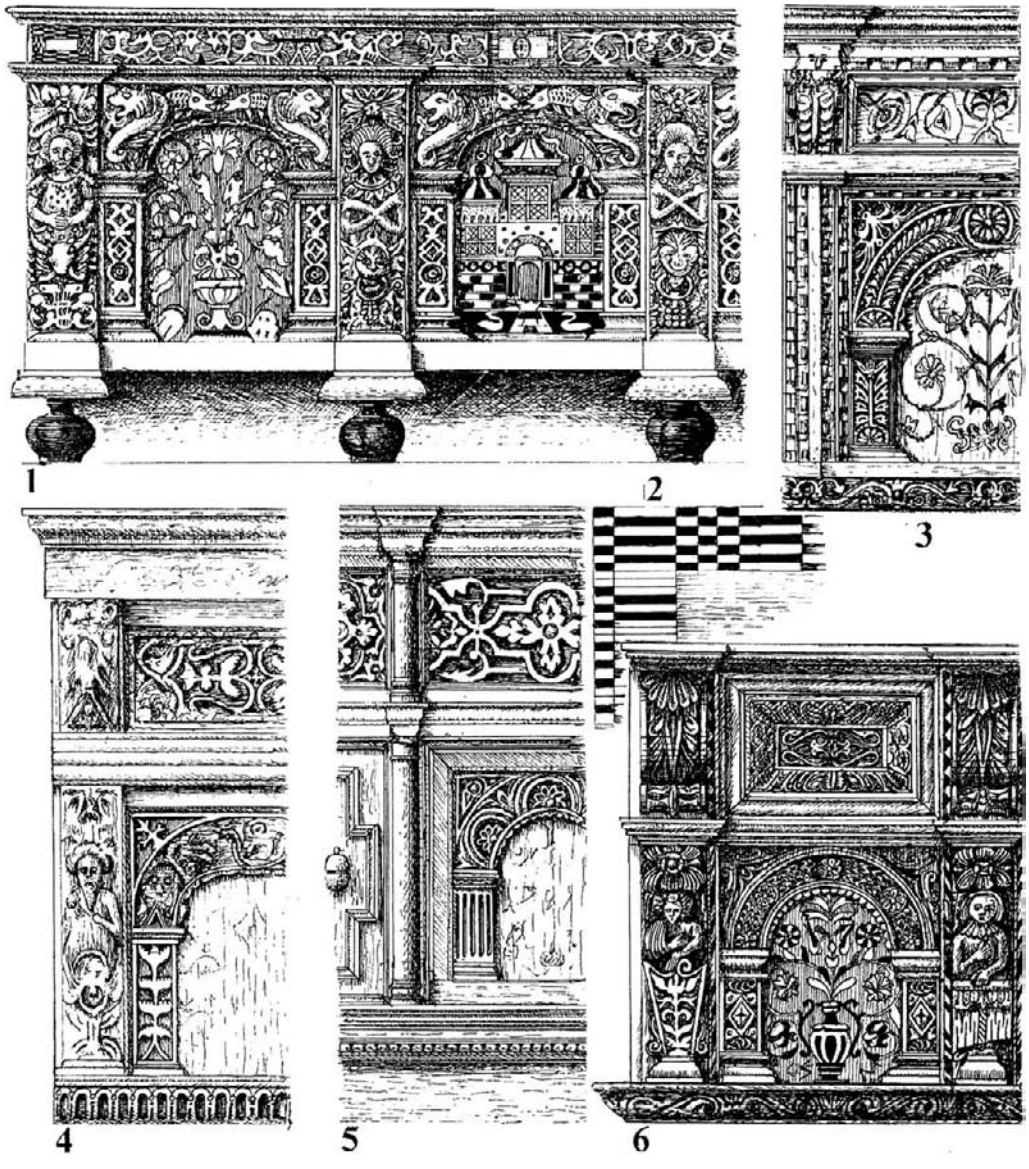
31 South Yorkshire Group: 1. Cescinsky and Gribble (vol. II) fig. 237 (p. 181), ex-Hassop Hall, Derbyshire; 2. Unprovenanced; 3. Wilkinson's 26/6/03 lot 418; 4. Christie's 25/5/2001 lot 330; 5. Unprovenanced. *The Author*

and one of *c.* 1663 at Kildwick Hall prove that despite their style, they were made locally from the early 1620s, not the late sixteenth century.[89]

The inspiration for this type of furniture was most probably London-made pieces brought into the region in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. One highly significant example that, probably with others, provided a direct model for the West Yorkshire joiners is a massive chest originally owned by the Fawkes family of Farnley Hall, Otley, of which Guy Fawkes was a notorious member (Figure 32, no. 1). It was loaned by Major G. G. W. Horton-Fawkes to a Leeds Art Galleries exhibition in 1948, and was sold at Wilkinsons, Doncaster, in 2003, at which time it still had a plain band around its base and turned bun feet.[90] By the time it was sold at Morphet's in Harrogate in 2018, a new moulding had been fixed over the plain band and the bun feet replaced with plain posts at both ends.[91] Otherwise it remained in its original condition, with a plain panelled back, a lidded till at each end, a two-plank lid joined by loose tenons, and staple hinges. The inlaid panels, each nailed onto the frame from within, depict a central mansion with swans swimming in its moat, this flanked by sprays of flowers in gadrooned two-handled spherical vases. These are set behind arched frames, the carved spandrels having symmetrical serpents supporting a pair of fish, perhaps pike. Each pilaster, meanwhile, has a term with either clasped hands or crossed forearms above a bull's head on the base, and surmounted by an almost rectangular arrangement of crosswise and diagonal leaves converging on a central ball-flower. The inlaid frieze just below the lid comprises an ornate scroll with rectangular panels in the centre and at the ends. These are framed in matchstick-like strips of dark and light woods cut through into shorter lengths to produce an elaborate chequerboard design. The workmanship of all these decorative features is of the highest standard, the carving being in particularly high relief and having considerable crispness in its detail.

In contrast, the copies made in West Yorkshire of this and other presumably London chests, while reproducing their appearance as closely as possible, were much cruder in their design and workmanship. The inlaid panels usually have a gadrooned two-handled vase at their base, from which spring gilliflowers, and tulips, along with other flowers and buds, sometimes accompanied by a couple of birds. These are symmetrically arranged, different inlays of contrasting colours sometimes being used to each side. Strips of 'matchstick' inlays of dark and light wood set into the stiles and rails of chairs that probably date to the 1670s or '80s, directly copy those found on much earlier London examples (Figure 13, no. 7). Other inlaid borders have alternating dark and light triangles or parallelograms. The date at which inlaid panels moved from architectural overmantels and beds onto chests and tables remains uncertain, but consideration of the associated carved decoration of these more portable items suggests that it took place around 1660. Inlaid furniture was always an expensive commodity. In the 1690s, for example, when an ordinary chest was valued at around 10*s*., Daniel Hellywell's 'one Inlaid Chest' in the housebody of his Mytholmroyd home cost a full three times as much at £1 10*s*.[92]

[89] Giles (1986) 206, Ambler (1913) plates XVI and XVII. Hanson (1910) p. 84.
[90] Wilkinson's, Doncaster 23/2/2003 lot 436.
[91] Morphet's Harrogate 7/6/2018 lot 606.
[92] Cant and Petford (2013) p. 47.

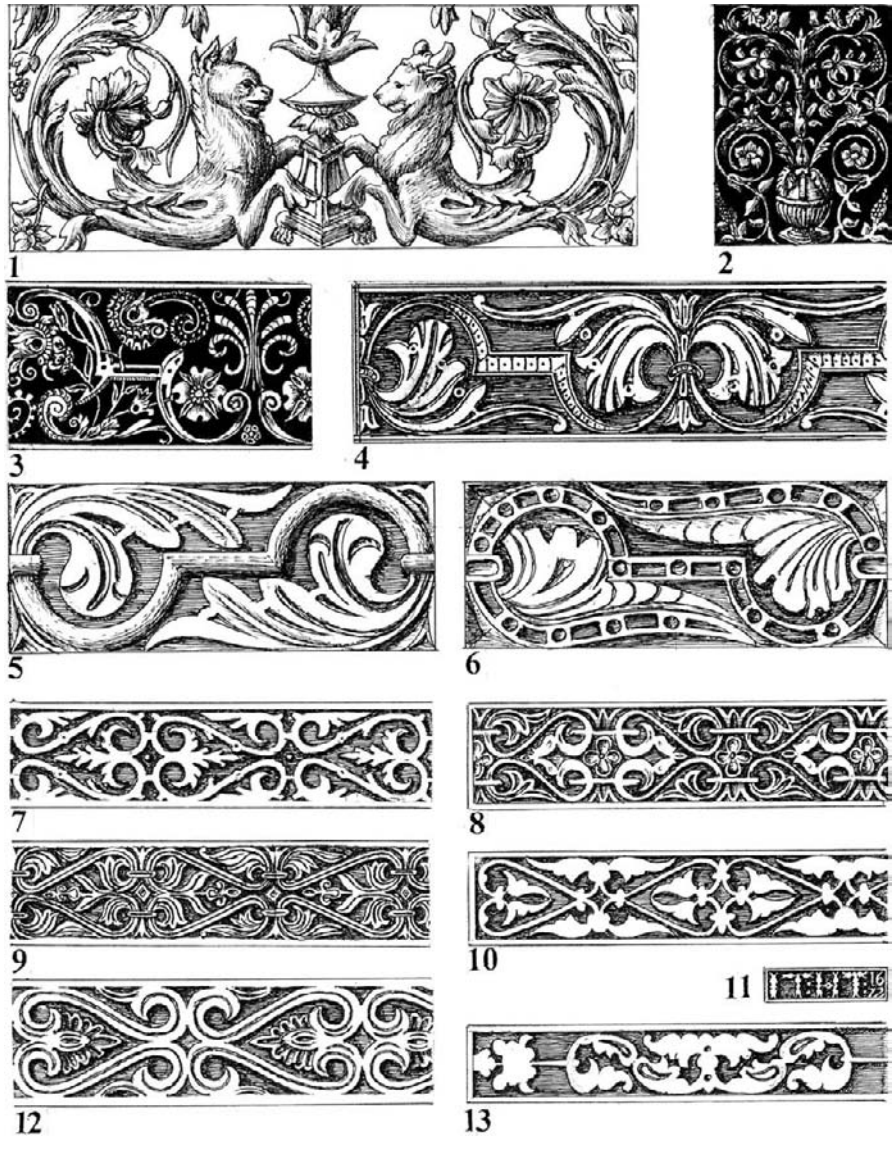


32 London Furniture and its influence in West Yorkshire: 1. The 'Guy Fawkes' chest from Farnley Tyas, probably a London-made chest. Wilkinson's 23/2/2003 lot 436, then Morphet's 7/6/2018 lot 606; with 2. a detail of the 'matchstick' inlay on its frieze. West Yorkshire overmantels: 3. East Riddlesden Hall, 1648; 4. Broadley Hall, Halifax; 5. Kildwick Hall, 1633; 6. Sotheby's 25/11/1997 lot 201, then Christie's 26/6/2007 lot 273. *The Author*

The earliest substantial amount of carved oak in seventeenth century West Yorkshire was made by Francis Gunby of Leeds, his masterpiece being the woodwork of St John's Church. It is clearly the work of someone who had direct access to Continental pattern books. English craftsmen had been strongly influenced by European prints and designs from the late sixteenth century, as described by Anthony Wells-Cole in his outstanding study of *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* of 1997. In Leeds, the taste for Netherlandish styles must have been strongly influenced by the town's trading links with Holland, a major focus of its export trade in both finished and unfinished cloths. Leeds merchants, such as the Milner family, established permanent premises in the Dutch ports, and sent their sons there to learn both the language and the local trading practices. Later, in July 1678, for example, John Thoresby sent his nineteen year old son Ralph off from Hull to Rotterdam where he spent six months learning Dutch at Mr Puslewitt's, helping with the cloth in Cousin Milner's warehouse, and sightseeing in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Delft and Scheidam.[93] Similarly William Milner and James Ibbetson spent five years training there in the 1690s.[94] These direct personal experiences, especially of seeing the finely carved and colourfully inlaid and veneered furniture of Holland, probably promoted the production of similar furniture by the Leeds joiners.

The frieze carved on the panelling from Howley Hall near Leeds, but now at Thorpe Hall, between Leeds and Wakefield (Figure 8), has probably the earliest use in Yorkshire of paired wyverns (or hippocamps) facing a small vase and separated by a heart motif.[95] The origin of this idea is to be found in the work of the Lombardo brothers at Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Venice in the late fifteenth century and was probably transferred to Leeds via Low Country prints (Figure 33, no. 1) before being used by Francis Gunby on his chancel screen in Wakefield and at St John's, Leeds (Figure 3). In a similar manner, some of Gunby's carved panels at St John's follow designs published in plate K of Vredeman de Vries' *Das Erst Büch* published by Hieronymous Cock in Antwerp in 1565.[96] Another panel here is clearly based on an engraving in Theodor de Bry's *Grotis for die Goldsmit und andem Khunstiger* of 1589 (Figure 3, no. 3).[97] This has a central horizontal bar terminating in tapering arcs, interlaced with delicate floral tendrils. Gunby's version of 1632–4 is much simpler, being carved in oak, but retaining much of the elegance of the original. In 1632–4 Leonard Wray and Christopher Robinson copied the St John design, incorporating it into one of the pews at Halifax Parish Church, but in a far cruder style (Figure 33, no. 5).[98] Probably a few years later it was used on the front of a box with a sloping inlaid lid, now in a private collection, but attributable to Leeds on stylistic evidence (Figure, 21 no. 4; Figure 33 no 6.). In the same way, the Lombardo brothers' panels of a sphered vase sprouting a spray of flowers at the Scuola Grande di San Marco, translated through print sources, provided the inspiration for most of the Leeds inlaid panels (Figure 33, no. 2, and Figures 13, 18, 23 and 32). These examples present revealing evidence of the passage of high-quality Continental pattern-book designs of the sixteenth century into vernacular Yorkshire joinery within the course of two or three generations.

The sources of most carved decoration used in West Yorkshire remain unknown, as do the dates at which particular designs came into use, since very few pieces are dated. Relevant information may be drawn from other hand-crafted artefacts made



33 Sources of Decorative Motifs: 1. Bas-relief by Tullio or Antonio Lombardo, Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice, *c.* 1489; the original source for Francis Gunby's chancel screen frieze. From Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856, Plate LXXIV; 2. Bas-relief by Tullio or Antonio Lombardo, Scuola Grande di San Marco, Venice, *c.*1490; the original source for several Leeds inlaid panels. From Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856, Plate LXXIV; 3. Theodor de Bry, *Grotis for die Goldsmit und andem Khunstiger*, 1589, the original source for 4. Gunby's screen at St John's, Leeds 1631–4; 5. Wray and Robinson's pews in St John's. Halifax 1633–4; and 6. a Leeds-made box (see Figure 21, no. 4.). House carpenters used a variety of double S-scroll designs in their work as at 7. Methley Hall, now Temple Newsam collection, *c.* 1590–1620; 8. Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby, 1644; 9. Baildon Hall, 1660; 10–13. Norland Hall, 1672, with 'J.T.' for the owner, John Taylor. *The Author*

here during the seventeenth century. Calderdale has probably the earliest and richest groups of vernacular carved gravestones in England. Most have just a bare inscription, perhaps with the outline of a heart to symbolise the soul, from around 1600, the first decorative borders of simple chevrons appearing in the 1640s. It is not until after the Restoration in 1660 that more ornate and stylish designs appear, these continuing through to the early eighteenth century.[99] Since carving is essentially a hand-and-eye skill, the medium being of secondary importance, it might have been expected that the same designs would be carved on both gravestones and furniture, but this was not the case, each craft maintaining its own, separate vocabulary. The comparison with local gravestones is useful, however, for it supports the opinion that, with the exception of a few fine pieces, most of the richly carved furniture of this region began to be made around the middle of the seventeenth century. The other comparable trade that used carving was that of the house-carpenters. In addition to the timber framing of whole buildings or the fitting out of a masonry structure with floors and roofs, these craftsmen also undertook the finer work involved in fixtures such as doors and staircases. Some of these they carved, providing a permanent datable and fully provenanced record of their designs. Local examples from Methley Hall (*c.* 1600), Wood Lane Hall (1644), Baildon Hall (1660), and Norland Hall (1672) all have conventional double S-scrolls (Figure 33, nos 7–13). They are so similar that without documentary evidence or datestones it would be virtually impossible to date them on purely stylistic evidence. They suggest that in this region the house carpenters worked separately from the joiners, neither using the others' designs, but they also illustrate the dangers of using style alone as a means of attributing a firm date to anything carved in the vernacular tradition.

It must always have been difficult to determine precisely where the role of the house-carpenter finished and that of the joiner began, especially for the more decorative elements such as panelling and overmantels. The older towns with established guilds could control these competing interests when granting ordinances to their occupational companies, but West Yorkshire was virtually free of this kind of regulation. The works of Gunby clearly show him working as a house carpenter, plasterer and joiner. The new pews installed at Ilkley, Leeds St John's and Halifax in the 1630s are as much house carpentry as joinery. It is significant that their carved decoration is either based on pattern books or is made up of simple friezes of S-scrolls or semicircles. They have none of the designs found on locally-made oak furniture, probably because such patterns were not introduced here until the 1650s and '60s.

One of the most recognisable motifs appearing on 'Yorkshire' furniture is the diamond with four *fleur-de-lis* joined crosswise at its centre and four more sprouting

93 Hunter (1830) v. pp. 5–12.
94 Burt and Grady (1994) p. 36.
95 Walker (1939), p. 649.
96 Wells-Cole (1997), chapter 5, note 101, p. 307.
97 Ibid. p. 168.
98 Savage (1908) pp. 359–60.
99 Brears (1981) pp. 85–93.

from its corners. It is not unique to this region, however, also being found on Gloucestershire furniture of the 1630s, Lincolnshire furniture of 1651 and Lancashire furniture of the later seventeenth century.[100] These differ, however, in their proportions and details. The earliest datable example from West Yorkshire is a chair now in Skipton Parish Church. Inscribed 1627, it has embryonic scrolls on its crest and a simple diamond set in the centre of its back panel, the border being looped at both top and bottom, with a small *fleur-de-lis* to each side (Figure 6, no. 5). The first recognisably 'Yorkshire' diamonds appear on the foot of the four-poster bed from Hove Edge, Halifax and one now at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, these probably being made in Leeds in the 1620s. They already have the typical Leeds broad-petal *fleur-de-lis*, but their centres either bear a daisy motif, or are left quite plain. By 1651, when a panelled surround was installed around the housebody fireplace at Peel House, Gomersal, near Leeds, the centre of each diamond was carved with the four cross-wise *fleur-de-lis* found in many later pieces.[101]

The dating of West Yorkshire carved oak furniture has previously been based on little more than subjective opinion. In contrast, this article has tried to assemble as large a body of sound evidence as is now possible in order to establish a more closely reasoned chronology. It now appears that many carved and inlaid pieces date from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, this tradition continuing throughout the third quarter and into the fourth. By the late seventeenth century carving fell out of fashion, presumably having been replaced by walnut furniture of lighter construction in the main urban centres. The tradition still retained its popularity in some parts of West Yorkshire, however, as seen in the group potentially attributed to Wakefield and which includes a piece dated 1715. The other group that flourished in the late seventeenth century comprised the richly-carved settles and chests of Calderdale, with inscribed dates ranging from the 1680s through to the 1720s.

FURNITURE IN THE HOME

Probate inventories, the lists of portable goods left by the deceased, contain a wealth of background information on West Yorkshire's carved oak furniture. Transcriptions of those of the manorial peculiar of Temple Newsam were published in 1935, and those in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1972.[102] The most useful series, however, comes from the huge ancient parish of Halifax, which included all upper Calderdale. Here Alan Petford conceived a plan to publish all of its probate records from 1688 to 1700 using members of his evening classes to transcribe, edit and index them to the highest of standards. A number of township volumes have been produced since 2012, and the series continues.[103] Using this substantial body of evidence in combination with other sources and the surviving furniture, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of what individual items were originally called, where they were located, what were their accessories, and the prices at which they were valued.

[100] Hurrell (1902) pp. 18, 33, 38, Gall and Brears (2014) p. 137.
[101] Giles (1986) pp. 137, 198.
[102] Kirk (1935) and Brears (1972).
[103] Cant and Petford (2013) ; (2015); (2016); Bailey and Petford (2102); Crawford and Richardson (2105).

CEILED/SEALED CHAIRS

In the dialects of West Yorkshire and East Yorkshire, a ceiling was either the wainscot panelling of a room, as in the 'Seeld Parlour' at Shibden Hall, or was a wooden partition used to divide a room. It was not a cladding for the underside of floor joists. Given this definition, ceiled chairs, the most common type specified in local inventories, were those with panelled backs, and therefore, in the West Yorkshire context, arm chairs.

Two or three were usually found in the halls or 'housebodies' (although some families had up to a dozen in that location) or in parlours, chambers or kitchens, and were usually valued at around 3 shillings or 3*s*. 10*d*. each.[104] Their cushions might be of setwork or of red cloth.[105] Inventories suggest that some were made as pairs, this being confirmed by the appearance of matched pairs of Yorkshire ceiled chairs in the modern antiques trade.[106]

'YORKSHIRE' CHAIRS

Many of those chairs having neither arms nor panelled backs and usually described simply as 'chairs' were most probably those with a pair of deep arched back rails now known as 'Yorkshire' chairs. A rare description of '6 chairs with Arched backs at 18*d*. a peece' in the inventory of Henry Hubank/Ewbank of Wortley near Leeds, administered on 11 March 1698/9 certainly refers to chairs of this type.[107] There are hundreds of these listed in local inventories, which explains the great numbers that survive in today's antiques trade. They appear to have been used in sets from four to twelve, groups of six to eight being most common, and were usually supplied with cushions.

Their varying valuations probably reflected the quality of their workmanship:

1691/2	'eight chaires and Cushions'	8*s*. 0*d*.
1689	'Nine Chaires 1s. 6d. A piece'	13*s*. 6*d*.
1695	'Twelve Chairs 3s. per piece'	£1 16*s*. 0*d*.[108]

It will probably remain impossible to identify the individual workshops in which the backstools with arched back rails, now known as 'Yorkshire chairs' were made. They show such diversity of design in their carving that they must have been made throughout West Yorkshire, yet hardly any have a sound localised provenance. An identical pair remain in Halifax Parish Church (Figure 25, no. 9). Their frames are relatively new, which, in my opinion, suggests that they had experienced hard usage here, and were honestly rebuilt to continue their function, rather than having being 'restored' for the antiques trade. The original back rails were retained however, each being carved to a good, but not exceptional standard, with the usual combination of

[104] Cant and Petford (2015) pp. 19, 62, 78, 42, 62, 63.
[105] Ibid. p. 42 and (2016) p. 70.
[106] Ibid. (2015) pp. 43, 65; (2016) pp. 39, 56, 70. Wilkinson's 27/2/2005 lot 506. A good pair were sold by Elaine Phillips of Harrogate a few years ago.
[107] Information from Dr John Cruickshank, Headingley.
[108] Cant and Petford (2015) pp. 2, 45, 46, (2016) pp. 107, 32.

scrolls and cross-hatching. Each one has a sprouting head, a Christian device to avert evil, as might be expected in the Calder Valley. Regrettably very few closely-provenanced examples survive today, the group at Shibden Hall therefore being of exceptional interest (Figure 25, no.10). Although not individually recognisable in the inventory of 1668, Anne Lister (1791–1840) described them on 7th July 1835 as '6 old oak chairs 3 or 4 centuries old, to be done up with crimson backs and cushions' in her dining room, the former 'seel'd parlour'. As '5 ceiled chairs' they were loaned by John Lister to the Halifax exhibition of 1880, and following his death remained at Shibden Hall.[109]

RUSSIAN LEATHER CHAIRS

Backstools with Russian leather closely nailed onto their seats and backs were expensive. Those in William Richardson's North Brierley dining room in 1667 were described as 'one Dozen of Rushy leather chaires £4 [i.e. 6*s*. 8*d*. each], two greate chaires, of the same work £1 [i.e. 10*s*. each].[110] A further set of six in Daniel Walker of Lightcliffe's housebody were valued at 5*s*. each in 1689.[111] These examples show such chairs to have been worth about twice as much as a 'Yorkshire' chair.

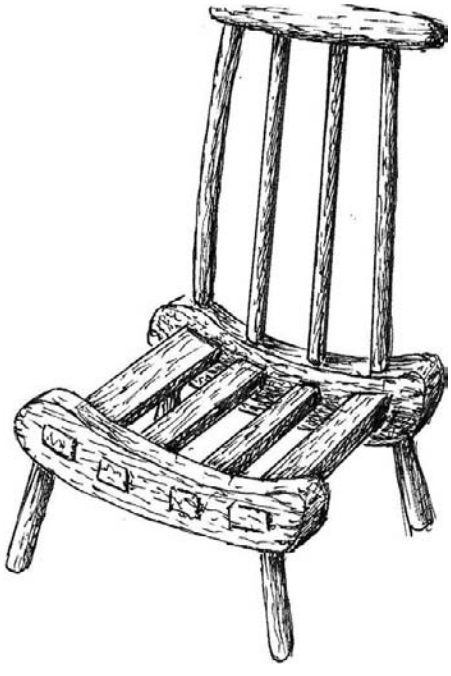
THROWN CHAIRS AND GREEN CHAIRS

Thrown chairs, made from turned rather than squared posts and rails, were largely restricted to the kitchen. Some were valued at as little as 6*d*. each, others at 1*s*. or 1*s*. 6*d*. Those with cushions could be worth up to 2*s*. 6*d*. or 4*s*. 3*d*. each, presumably because of the additional value of their textiles.[112] Chairs coloured with a hardwearing dry-brushed copper verdigris oil paint were practical for kitchen use, but could also be found in parlours. They were relatively uncommon, but, probably of thrown construction, were valued at 1*s*. each.[113]

COUCH CHAIRS

The English Dialect Dictionary, citing West Yorkshire usage of around 1900, defines a couch-chair as 'a sofa with an arm or rest at each end; a long wooden settle'. In neighbouring Lancashire one might be laid 'on an old-fashioned couch-chair'.[114] Around 1700, however, coach- or couch-chairs were clearly superior to ordinary settles, probably being day-beds with a long, low body, and a low back and arms made specifically for 'couching' or reclining. One in the lower parlour at Francis Priestley's home in Halifax, was described as a 'Couchchair bed and Quilt belonging to it 14*s*.' in 1695. They were usually to be found in chambers or bed-parlours, and were highly priced at some 6, 13 or 18*s*. each, much of their value probably accounted for by either fixed or removable upholstery.[115]

[109] Lister (1926) p. 2; Brears (1978) p. 57; Lister (1880) p. 9, no. 3.
[110] Brears (1972) p. 125.
[111] Cant and Petford (2016) p. 39.
[112] Crawford and Richardson (2105) p. 97; Cant and Petford (2016) pp. 63, 42, 20, 43.
[113] Cant and Petford (2016) pp. 13, 39.
[114] Wright (1923) 'Couch' p. 6.
[115] Cant and Petford (2015) pp. 43, 63; (2016) pp. 32, 13, 40, 47, 48.



34 Hewn chair collected in Haworth by J. H. Dixon in the late nineteenth century. *The Author*

TABLE CHAIRS AND TABLE BEDS

Hermaphrodite furniture that could perform dual uses was quite rare. John Knowles of Halifax's chair-table stood in his parlour chamber, while Thomas Longbothome of Boothtown, Halifax, had a table-bed in his lower parlour in 1693.[116]

HEWN CHAIRS

Unlike joiner-made chairs, with their planed surfaces and neat mortice-and-tenon joints, hewn chairs appear to have been made with little more than an adze, draw-knife, saw and spoon-bit. A chair of this kind was collected from Haworth by J. H. Dixon around the 1890s. Its broad front and back seat rails were morticed to receive four linking rails, their undersides being bored for the four legs and four-shafted comb back (Figure 34).[117] Its seventeenth century predecessors may have been of similar construction. They provided very basic seating in housebodies, and were relatively cheap, usually being valued at 6*d*. each, a half or third of the price of a 'Yorkshire' chair. Some were made in sets of three to seven.[118]

WILLOW CHAIRS

Chairs made of willow basket-work were quite rare, being found in well-to-do bed parlours where they were probably more comfortable than joiner-made chairs. Usually

[116] Ibid. (2015) pp. 51, 46.
[117] Dixon (1911) no. 102.
[118] Crawford and Richardson (2015) pp. 68, 83, 112, 130; Cant and Petford (2013) pp. 59, 92, 135.

valued at 5*s*. to 8*s*. each, they cost some three or four times more than a 'Yorkshire' chair.[119]

BUFFETS

The terms buffet, buffet-stool and stool appear to have been interchangeable, all referring to a four-legged joined stool usually found in parlours and butteries.[120] They may appear singly, in small groups, or in sets or eight or more, John Murgatroyd of East Riddlesden having twenty-four in his tavern and drinking room in 1662.[121] Usually they are valued between 1*s*. and 1*s*. 6*d*. each. It is interesting to find three-footed stools in the kitchen at William Wilson's house at Hipperholme and at Ephraim Moor's at Coley, worth just 3*d*. or 4*d*. each.[122] Presumably these had three turned legs set into a round seat-board, just like the local everyday 'buffets' of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CLOSE STOOLS

Close stools were found in the most prosperous of houses, always in the parlour, whether or not there was a bed in that room, an interesting insight into the sanitary arrangements of the period. One with its pan, probably of pewter, was valued at 5*s*.[123]

FORMS

Forms, either singular or in pairs, usually lie at the sides of a long table in the housebody, or, less commonly, in the parlour instead.[124] They were almost always made with four legs supporting a plank top, only one ceiled or panelled example being recorded.[125] Since they were considered as if integral to their tables, no individual values have been found to date locally.

LONGSETTLES

Usually high backed to protect the sitter from cold draughts, often with box seats for storage, and often with cushions for comfort, longsettles were usually located by the fireside in the housebody, or, less frequently, in the parlour, and in rare instances, in the kitchen. The position of one set at about 45 degrees from the fire and backing onto the window wall in the housebody of Ponden Hall is indicated by a shallow foot-worn groove in the flagstones, the mark of generations of occupants of a now long-removed settle. Cheaper ones were valued between 3*s*. and 8*s*., the medium quality some 12*s*., while a few others were priced much higher at £1 2*s*. or £1 3*s*.[126] These must have had

[119] Cant and Petford (2015) p. 63; (2016) pp. 13, 23, 39.
[120] Ibid. (2013) 15 references between pp. 2 and 127.
[121] Ibid. (2013) p. 126; West Yorkshire Archives Service, Calderdale Offices, HAS/B:13/42.
[122] Cant and Petford (2016) pp. 48, 73.
[123] Ibid. (2013); p. 121; (2015) pp. 43, 62; (2016) p. 13.
[124] Cant and Petford (2013); 27 references between pp. 5 and 129.
[125] Ibid. (2013) p. 12.
[126] E.g. ibid. (2016) p. 41; (2013) p. 64.

more intricate workmanship, as represented by the high-backed densely-carved examples so typical of western Yorkshire.

TABLES AND STANDS

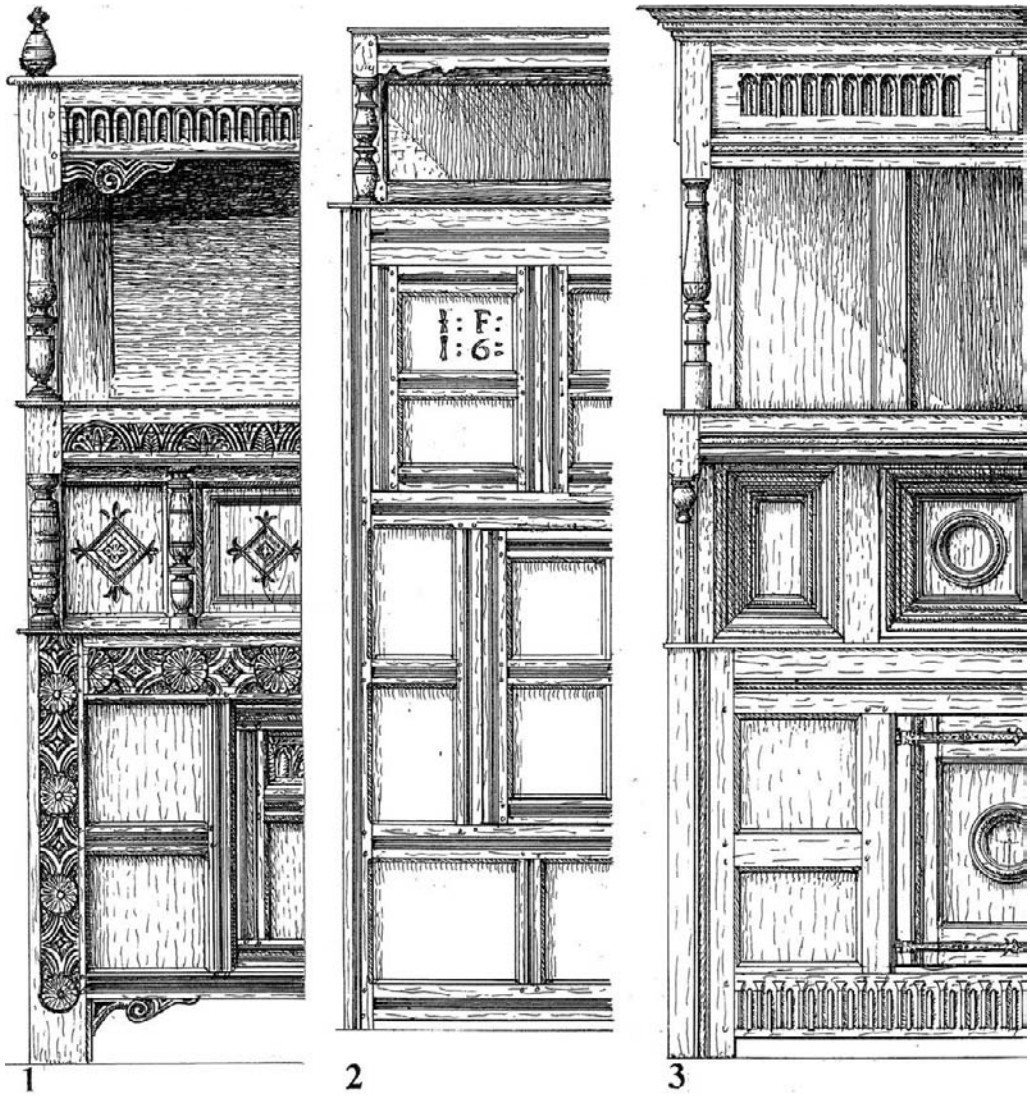
Tables appeared in most rooms, almost every household having a 'long table' with its accompanying form or forms in its housebody. Only the wealthy could afford a draw table, such as that in the housebody at Shibden Hall, valued at £1 in 1678, in the dining room at North Bierley Hall at £1 15*s*. with its carpet in 1667, or in the dining parlour of Bretton Hall in 1675.[127] Sideboard tables were similarly exclusive, being found in dining rooms, parlours and chambers, where, being of simpler construction, they were valued at around 5*s*.[128] Tables with tops of specific shapes were usually placed in parlours and chambers, square ones being rated at 1*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. if small, otherwise up to 6*s*. and round ones at around 2*s*. to 6*s*. 8*d*. Oval tables, most probably of the incoming gateleg type, were much more expensive at 13*s*. to 14*s*., while 'eight-square' or octagonal ones cost up to £1.[129] Other types of table include a 'Turne up Table 14*s*.' in the lower parlour at Francis Priestley's in Halifax, which we would now call a drop-leaf table, and a three footed Table 6*d*.' in Martha Oates parlour at Northowram.[130]

Stands, essentially tall small-topped tripod tables, were used to hold basins for washing hands and faces, candles for reading or drinking glasses, being conveniently placed wherever required. In fashionable houses they were used in pairs to flank a piece of furniture in chambers or bed-parlours, as in 'a chest and 2 stands', or 'one little Table with 2 stands'.[131] They also performed practical functions in dairywork, being listed among the churns etc., 'two little stands 1*s*. 6*d*. and a great stand 2*s*. 6*d*.' being in David Brigg's milkhouse at Shelf in 1696.[132]

CUPBOARDS

Most families had a cupboard in which to house their tableware, miscellaneous domestic items, books and probably foodstuffs in regular use, such as cheese or preserves. The majority were located in parlours, with a lesser number in housebodies, a few in chambers and rare individual examples in kitchens, butteries and cellars. Some were built into the panelling, William Ferrar of Ewood leaving his son 'one cupborde in the Sealinge of the house' in 1573. One example still remains at Frogden House, North Bierley, of 1625 and another of *c*. 1634–8 at Beanhole Head, Stansfield.[133] Some indication of their design is provided in the will of Thomas Eastwood of Stansfield, who in 1698 left 'one that standeth in the house body [that] hath four doores and two drawers in it'.[134] They were valued from 3*s*., obviously for a poor one, up to £3, the majority being under £1, although part of their valuation included their contents:

[127] Lister (1926) p. 2; Brears (1972) pp. 125, 147.
[128] Cant and Petford (2013) pp. 30–32; (2016) pp. 47, 48, 70.
[129] Ibid. e.g. (2013) pp. 31, 83, 126, 13; (2016) pp. 67, 32, 88.
[130] Ibid. (2016) p. 32; (2015) p. 58.
[131] Ibid. (2013) p. 31; (2015) p. 63.
[132] Ibid. (2013) p. 59; (2016) pp. 60, 71.
[133] Bailey and Petford (2012) p. 16; Giles (1986) 147 plate 202; and Thornborrow (1997) p. 90.
[134] Crawford and Richardson (2015) p. 62.



35 Cupboards: 1. from Ponden Hall, Stanbury, was most probably installed shortly after the rebuilding of 1634 rather than the refurbishment of 1680. 2. (IF MF 1682) Shibden Hall collection; 3. from Coley Hall, Halifax, now Shibden Hall collection. *The Author*

In the housebody on cupboard and pewter £3 (1716)

or the items that were permanently displayed along their tops:

three Cushens two peuter dishes & 3 Candle Stickes [on a] Cubbord Cloth. (1667)

two Cushions one Pewter dish, 2 Candlestick one pewter Cup (1669)

two quishings on it, and one dubler five Candlesticks (1693)

3 dublers one Bason two Candlesticks 4 dishes 3 Cushions[135]

furniture to the Cupboard, two pewther Candlesticks, two pewther Cupps, one possitt Cup, one blew jugg, four quishings and cupboard cloth 10*s*.[136]

Other inventories describe the cushions as being of setwork, a knotted short-piled fabric worked in colourful wools to replicate Turkish carpet. Two to four of these on top of the cupboard would be reared up against the wall to show off their elaborate designs and provide a background for the symmetrical arrangements of large highly-polished pewter vessels and shining brass candlesticks. Some cupboards, including one from Ponden Hall, now at East Riddlesden Hall, were provided with a canopy supported on a solid back and turned front columns to provide an enhanced covered setting for these conspicuous displays (Figure 35, no. 1). The parlour cupboard at Carr House, Shelf, had a valance in 1700, this textile 'pelmet' adding even further decoration.[137] Their construction has been described by Peter Thornborrow.[138] Such cupboards represented the regional vernacular version of the formal, multi-tiered cupboards displaying the gold and silver plate of the nobility.

The position of the cupboard within a room can be difficult to determine; one at Stansfield stood 'at the Parlor Doore', but there is little other documentary evidence.[139] However, where a cupboard stood for many years on a stone floor, the quarry-dressing of the flags beneath remained rough and unworn. They remain so along the end wall opposite the fireplace in the housebody of Ponden Hall, marking precisely where its cupboard stood between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries.

LIVERY CUPBOARDS

Livery cupboards in great houses were used to house an allowance of ale, wine, bread and, perhaps, cold meat for 'snacking' between late-afternoon suppers and late-morning dinners. They appear to have served a similar purpose throughout mid-to-late seventeenth century West Yorkshire, appearing in inventories in rooms with beds, whether called parlours or chambers. They were valued between 5*s*. and £1 10*s*. each, and appear to have been structurally identical to other cupboards, some having pairs of cushions, pewter and candlesticks, and one a set of hangings.[140] The appearance of 'bottles and glasses thereon', 'two posset pots', or 'a Pewter possit pot, a white plate possitt pot, one pewter Cann; a pewter salt and Certaine Holland plates' with these cupboards indicates that they were still being used for their original purpose.[141]

GLASS CASES

Glass cases taking the form of small cupboards were relatively common, most being located in parlours where their contents were both used and displayed. Some must

[135] Bailey and Petford (2012) p. 52; Kirk (1935) p. 251; Cant and Petford (2016) pp. 51, 82, 17.
[136] Brears (1972) p. 120.
[137] Cant and Petford (2016) p. 77.
[138] Thornborrow (1997).
[139] Crawford and Richardson (2015) p. 100.
[140] Cant and Petford (2016) pp. 51, 59, 66, 81; (2015) p. 77.
[141] Ibid. (2016) pp. 88, 67; (2013) p. 14.

have been of good quality, but their values are usually combined with those of their contents which includes both glassware and pewter, also described as white plate:

one Glass case with Furniture	6*s*.
one glass case with white plate and glasses thereon	6*s*.
one Glass case and Glasses in it	2*s*. 6*d*.
two glass casses with some white plate and some bottles	5*s*.
a little Glasscase Certaine pewther dishes and saucers	2*s*.[142]

They were less common in housebodies, kitchens and butteries, where they were similarly valued between 1*s*. and 6*s*., one containing '15 stone dishes £1 6*s*.', probably reflecting the high price of stonewares in the 1690s.[143]

SPICE CUPBOARDS

Very few households had spice cupboards, those that did might keep them in the housebody 'at fire end', in the kitchen or in the dining room. Their values ranged from 2*s*. 6*d*. up to 6*s*. each.[144] One little 'Cabinett with spice boxes in it' was worth 2*s*. while 'two spice boxes' were 1*s*.[145]

SALT PIES

Saltpies were probably boxes with sloping lids, houses with the same shape sometimes adopting the same name. They were wall-hung by the household's main cooking fire, their location clearly indicating whether this was in the housebody or the kitchen. They were usually valued at around 6*d*. each.[146]

BREAD CREELS/FLEAKS

The traditional havercake or oatcake of West Yorkshire was made as long, soft ovals over a foot long and wafer thin. After being baked on a flat stone or iron bakestone, they were hung up to dry on a horizontal square wooden frame bridged by a number of cords or narrow wooden bars. Here they dried off to crispness, ready for storage or immediate use. They are seen in this position in the 'Woman making Oat Cakes' in George Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire* of 1814. In the local inventories these frames are called fleaks, creels or reels, and are usually to be found in the housebody, where they would be hung from the ceiling in front of the fireplaces, some households having two or even three in this location.[147] Others were in the chamber over the housebody.[148] They were valued at around 4*d*. each. A single example at 2*s*. 6*d*. is quite exceptional and was probably a far more elaborate piece of furniture, or possibly a scribal error.[149]

[142] Crawford and Richardson (2015) p. 8; Cant and Petford (2013) p. 121; Bailey and Petford (2012) p. 45; Cant and Petford (2016) p. 25; (2015) p. 39.
[143] Cant and Petford (2015) p. 62.
[144] Ibid. (2016) pp. 33, 67, 40; Bailey and Petford (2012) p. 31; Crawford and Richardson (2015) pp. 52, 74.
[145] Cant and Petford (2016) p. 40; (2013) p. 121.
[146] Ibid. (2015) pp. 2, 4, 19, 27, 43, 63, 78, 45.
[147] Ibid. (2013) pp. 64, 117.
[148] Ibid. (2016) p. 17; Crawford and Richardson (2015) p. 69.
[149] Bailey and Petford (2012) p. 66.

SAFES

The word 'safe' was used to describe two quite different articles. Most were kept in chambers or parlours with beds, and were presumably some form of strongbox in which to securely store money, private papers and valuables, this location enabling their owners to keep them under surveillance overnight. Most of the others were to be found in the butteries, where they were valued between 5*s*. and £1 15*s*. each.[150] Used to store cold meats, cheese, bread and drinks, they were essentially large wooden cupboards with doors perforated for ventilation.

One rare provenanced example still remains at Baildon Hall. Here the door from the cross-passage into the buttery leads to a short landing at the top of the steps descending into the cellar, a balustrade at the side supporting the safe over the staircase (Figure 36). The doors facing into the buttery are pierced to provide ventilation, but exclude flies, while their frame is carved with the initials B over FI. These represent Francis Baildon (1627–69) and his wife Jane Hawksworth, whom he married in 1649, the safe probably being made at this date as part of his refurbishment of the Hall for his new bride.[151]

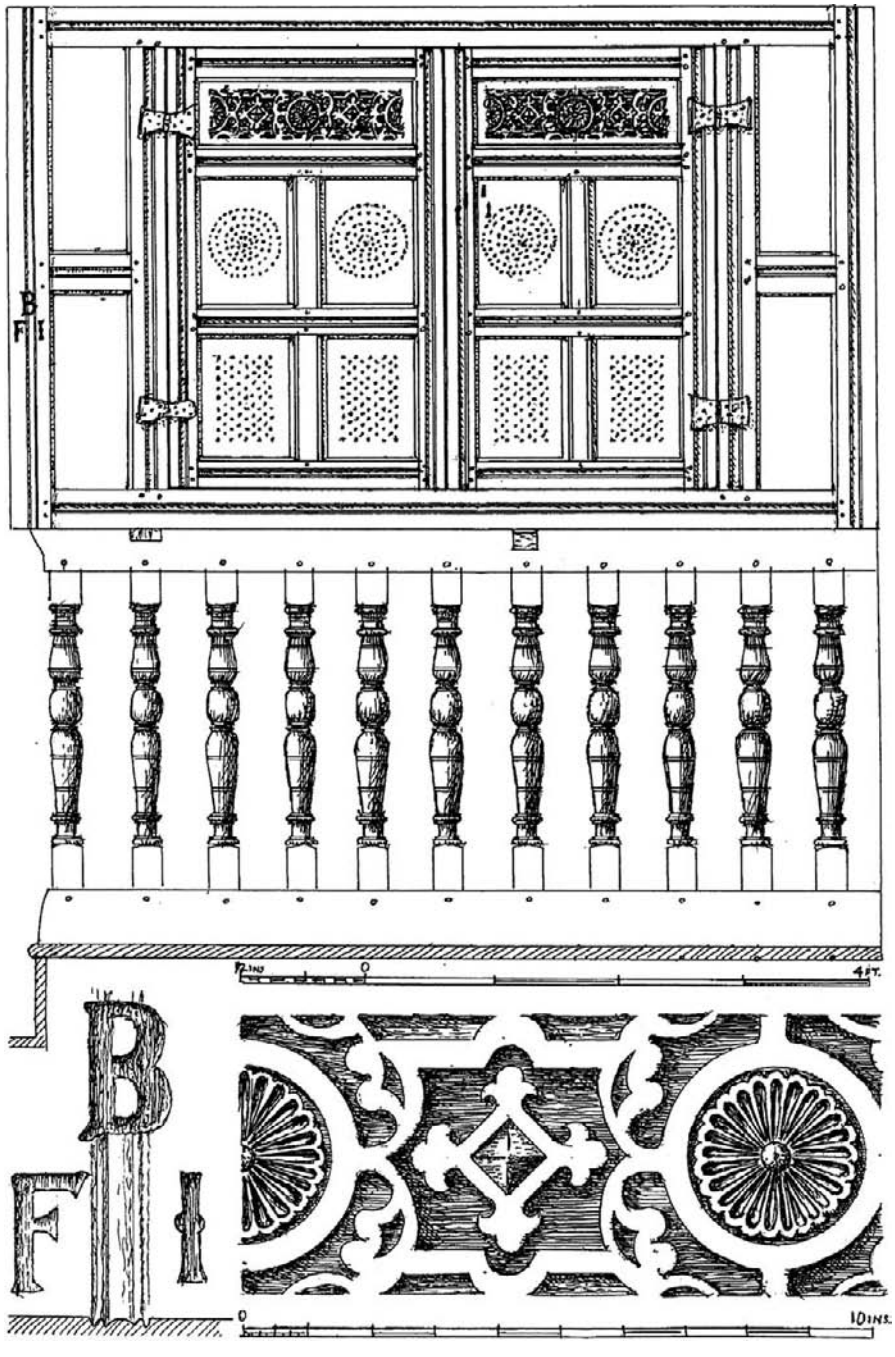
CHESTS

Chests could be found in most rooms, being the main storage containers for a wide range of household goods. In reception and bedrooms they held both clothes and linens, one at Brighouse being filled with towels, napkins, table cloths, sheets, and lengths of holland cloth, scotch cloth and serge worth an impressive £36 4*s*. 2*d*.[152] For convenience, some had a pair of drawers set along their lower edge, these being described as chests with drawers.[153] Other chests held salt, ground malt for brewing, wheat, seed, oatmeal, or oatmeal and dried beef. It was customary to pack joints of salt beef for winter use into oatmeal, packing all firmly together to exclude circulating air and keep the content fresh.[154]

The chests came in various sizes, small ones being valued at around 4*s*., medium ones between 6*s*. and 10*s*., and great ones from 15*s*. to £1 5*s*. each. In contrast, the 'inlaid chest' in the housebody of Daniel Helliwell of Mytholmroyd was valued at £1 10*s*., this high price reflecting the quality of its additional materials and workmanship.[155]

Chests of drawers were appearing in gentry houses from the 1660s, and in inventories from the 1670s, in parlours and parlour chambers housing beds, for they were now starting to replace chests and trunks for the convenient storage of clothing. They remained scarce in West Yorkshire, probably into the eighteenth century, their additional boards and craftsmanship yielding inventory values up to £1.[156]

[150] Cant and Petford (2016) p. 88.
[151] Boyes (n.d.) pp. 4–5. *Is this Barbara Boyes 'Baildon Hall, A History of a Yorkshire Manor' (1980)?*
[152] Cant and Petford (2016) p. 41.
[153] Ibid. pp. 32, 33.
[154] Ibid. pp. 48; (2013) pp. 5, 36; (2015) p. 78; Crawford and Richardson (2015) p. 22.
[155] Ibid. pp. 19, 14, 446.
[156] Ibid. pp. 69, 70; Brears (1972) p. 152.



36 Safe, Baildon Hall. Bearing the initials of Francis Baildon and Jane his wife, this safe was installed over the stairs leading down from the buttery to the cellar *c.* 1664-9. Provided with pierced panels and locks, it was ideal for storing cold foods and drinks ready for service into the adjacent hall and parlour. *The Author*

TRUNKS

Usually covered in leather and close-nailed, trunks were ideal for the transport of household linens, clothing etc., their lids being either convex, or with a waterproof rim, in order to protect their contents from the rain. In the parlour or chamber they provided excellent storage for linens, probably, as I remember from the 1950s, that which was not in regular use. This is confirmed by references to:

Trunk and Linnen … (1689)
one Trunk with Linnen in it £4 (1696)
Linnen in a Trunke in the best Chamber £5 (1695)[157]

On their own they were valued at 2*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*., but a number of them were raised up on specially-made frames costing about 6*d*. each.[158] One described as a 'Black Trunk and frame it stands on £6' was most probably valued together with the expensive linen it contained.[159]

DESKS AND COFFERS

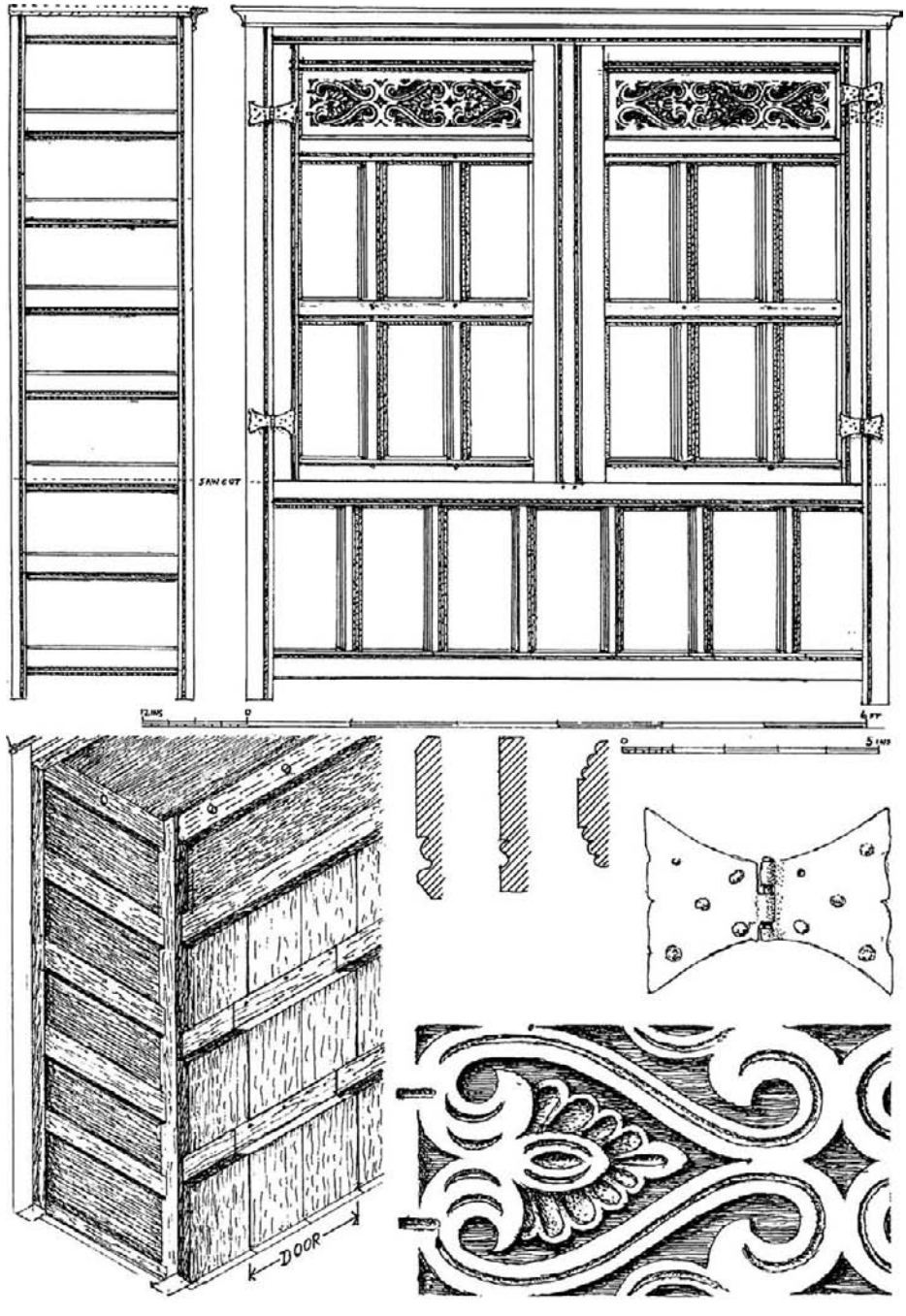
Desks, plank-built boxes usually with sloping lids, were used to contain papers and books. Their value was around 2*s*. 6*d*. to 05*s*.[160] Since they were essentially for private use they were most often to be found in parlours or parlour chambers, or in closets. Coffers were also plank-built lockable boxes, often covered with leather and lined with paper, and used to house valuables and personal items. Priced at 4*d*. to 6*d*. each, only rarely reaching 2*s*. 6*d*. or 5*s*. they were clearly much smaller than desks but, like them, were essentially intended for use in parlours.[161]

PRESSERS

Pressers were large hanging wardrobes, this term being used locally before the 1570s.[162] Their function is confirmed by descriptions such as 'one Presser for hanging Clothes in' and their location in bed-parlours and chambers.[163] Other 'pressers' for cheese, books, or woollen cloth are found in dairies or textile workshops. Pressers for clothes were not particularly common, and were valued from 8*s*. to 30*s*., most being in the range of 10*s*. to 15*s*.[164]

Because of their large size, it was often the practice to build them within chambers in which they were to be used. This presented problems to early collectors. Mr Benny Kent of Tatefield Hall, Beckwithshaw remembers how his father had to use a team of masons to remove a particularly huge example from Swinsty Hall in the Washburn

[157] Ibid. p. 127; (2016) pp. 67, 34.
[158] Ibid. p. 31; (2016) pp. 13, 32, 48, 67, 88.
[159] Ibid. (2016) p. 67.
[160] Ibid. (2013) pp. 64, 87, 96, 121.
[161] Ibid. pp. 2, 64, 82 & 87, 96, 121, 122, 14; (2015) pp. 71, 78, 58.
[162] Bailey and Petford (2012) pp. 16, 19.
[163] Cant and Petford (2016) p. 82.
[164] E.g. Crawford and Richardson (2015) p. 58; Cant and Petford (2013) p. 82.



37 Press, Baildon Hall. Assembled in the parlour chamber in the 1660s, it had two of its back boards hung on cock-head hinges to provide Francis Baildon with a means of concealed access into the adjacent chamber. Even when looking up into the top left hand corner of the press (bottom left), it is virtually invisible. *The Author*

valley. Having cut a tall slice out of the wall at Swinsty, a block and tackle on a tripod of sheerlegs was used to swing it out and lower it onto a farm wagon, the reverse process being repeated at Tatefield, where unsurprisingly, it still remains. The *c.* 1649 presser in the parlour chambers at Baildon Hall had to be sawn in two for removal into the adjacent corridor in 2014 (Figure 37).[165] During this process a concealed narrow door was discovered in its vertical back boards, this being hung on seventeenth century cock-head hinges. In its original position this door would have opened into a doorway in the wainscot panelling, giving secret access to the buttery chamber. Presumably one of the Baildon squires had this modification added in order to pursue illicit nocturnal liaisons!

FOOT CHESTS

The term 'foot chest' is not recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *English Dialect Dictionary* or in any other nation-wide source, but appears in inventories of the Aire, Calder and Colne valleys in the 1660s in association with beds.[166] Between 1688 and 1700 fourteen were listed in the probate inventories of Northowram and twenty three in Brighouse and district, for example, showing their widespread use in West Yorkshire and in the parish of Halifax by the second half of the seventeenth century.[167] They are usually adjacent to a canopied bed, that of Daniel Walker of Lightcliffe being specifically described as 'a foot chest at Bed Feet' on 4 December 1690. In nearby Hipperholme an individual example was valued at 3*s.* in 1695.[168] From his knowledge of local probate records John Lister had recognised this regional form of chest before 1880, by which time he had acquired the 'Bedstead and Foot Chest Originally at Hove Edge, Hipperholme, Panels inlaid, a very fine example of Elizabethan Work' that today stands in the Red Chamber at Shibden Hall. He described how such chests were 'often very handsomely carved or inlaid in the same character as the bed, of which it was considered part and parcel', its use (as well as a convenient bench for undressing) being for the storage of cash, plate and valuables.[169] The placing of a chest across the foot of a bed is commonplace in archival sources, but these do not record its physical form. The making of chests specifically to accompany their respective beds, and their name 'foot chests' currently appears to be unique to Yorkshire, although future research may show it to have been more widespread.

BEDS

The definitions of various kinds of bed are not particularly clear, and inventory evidence provides only a limited series of clues, since the identical items were regularly recorded using different words. Pairs of bedstocks, bedsteads and standing beds — a bed was usually referred to in the plural — are often listed with their hangings, curtains and valances, showing that they were all four-posters, but did they also have wooden

[165] Barbara Boyes, personal communication. See also Boyes (1980), p. 44.
[166] Brears (1972) pp. 120, 135, 161.
[167] Cant and Petford (2015) p. 115; (2016) p. 150.
[168] Ibid. pp. 39, 33.
[169] Lister (1880) p. 12 no. 44.

testers?[170] One specifically 'without Tester' suggests that they did, but this remains speculative.[171] Their values, 10*s*. each, or 14*s*. to 18*s*. for a great one, suggest that they were usually of relatively plain construction.[172]

Ceiled beds had full-height framed and panelled headboards, but one was valued at 19*s*. while others were only £1 10*s*. including all their bedding and a footchest.[173] This suggest that they were in fact identical to the bedstocks, bedsteads and standing beds described above, those making the inventories simply choosing to use their own preferred term.

Half-headed beds, as their name confirms, had a headboard standing some three or four feet high and most probably either a very low foot board, or just a bottom foot rail. They were usually valued at around 6*s*., or £1 with their bedding.[174]

Truckle, trundle, trunle, turle or turrell beds were simple bed-frames made sufficiently low and mounted on small wheels so that they could be pushed beneath any larger bed when not in use. This was not their only position, however, for some were found on their own, the sole bed in the bed parlour or chamber.[175] Their value was some 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. on their own, rising from 5*s*. to £1 with their bedding.[176] Bedticks alone were valued at 3*s*. to 8*s*. each.

Of all the materials used to fill the bedtick, suspended on interwoven ropes, the most luxurious and comfortable was feather, most probably the downy feathers of geese. These might be valued according to their weight, at 5*s*. or 6*s*. a stone, one household having 17 stone, over two hundredweight.[177] Those of us who remember sleeping in such beds recall the soft comfort of lying on top of their laboriously shaken contents as they slowly settled down and engulfed all but one's topmost surfaces. Within a night or two they had formed a perfect body-mould, ideal for their first occupant, but usually uncomfortable for anyone who took their place without another energetic re-shaking. Always to be found in the best bed chambers or bed parlours, most were used on their own, but others might have an under-layer formed by a cheaper flock or chaff bed, or else a mat.[178]

The local woollen industry produced waste material called flock. This was made up of the shortest fibres recovered after fulling the cloth, from the teazles used to raise the nap, and the nap trimmed off when huge shears were used to crop the nap to an even length. West Yorkshire clothiers often incorporated flock into their cloths. They were doing this to such an extent that Henry VIII commissioned an enquiry into this practice in Leeds in 1553, but the practice probably continued into later centuries.[179] Usually the only mattress on a bed, they were occasionally used with others filled with either feathers or chaff.[180] From memory, these beds settled much heavier and denser

[170] Cant and Petford (2016), e.g. pp. 13, 31, 33, 40.
[171] Ibid. p. 77.
[172] Ibid. pp. 23, 32, 33, 70.
[173] Ibid. p. 52; (2015) p. 29.
[174] Ibid. pp. 17, 26.
[175] Ibid. e.g. pp. 43, 88.
[176] Ibid. pp. 67, 5, 33, 40.
[177] Ibid. p. 34.
[178] Ibid. pp. 39, 40; (2015) pp. 96, 100.
[179] Heaton (1965) p. 134.
[180] Cant and Petford (2013) pp. 92, 114, 14, 83.

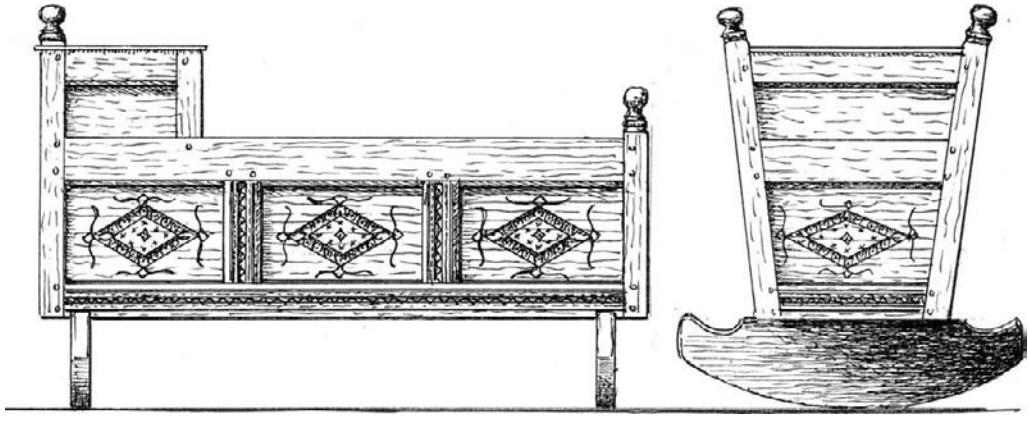
than those of feathers, and were much more difficult to shake up after use. Chaff, the husks of grain, most probably of oats in this region, were threshed, winnowed and collected over the winter months, to provide a cheap, light and warm filling for the bedticks. They were valued at 2*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. each, but were not confined to the beds of the poor, Mistress Walker of Lightcliffe having one on her bed in 1689, albeit with a feather bed too.[181] All of the above beds would have been comfortable to sleep on, but one bed 'of Canvas', presumably made of a rectangle of strong canvas stretched onto the bed-frame by interlaced ropes, would have been much harder and colder, having no form of matress, just sheets, blankets and a rug.[182] They were therefore little used.

Since sheets could be regularly laundered, one was placed on the full bedtick, and another directly above. They were made of linen or Holland, a finer variety of linen, as were the covers of various forms of feather, flock or chaff pillows and bolsters. Next came a variety of warm woollens, usually blankets, but with a choice of other fabrics. Caddows were coarser blankets, some being woven in Halifax, where Isaac Wood had both caddow wool and caddow yarn worth £3 in 1676.[183] Some were dyed red. Rugs, whether white, green or yellow, were woven in Manchester, and worth 4*s*. each, while shags with a worsted pile were valued at 2*s*. to 3*s*. 4*d*. each.[184] Coverlets, meanwhile, were made of dyed worsted yarns woven in chequer patterns. Quilts, with elaborate patterns stitched through two pieces of fine cloth separated by a thin layer of wool, were still very rare in West Yorkshire during the late seventeenth century.

Most inventories refer to beds with either 'their hangings' or 'their furniture' but it can be difficult to determine what they were actually made of. Most were probably made of locally woven woollen cloth, the 'redd hangings' or 'green Curtaines' associated with some beds. One bed with an 'Imbroidered Vallance all of Greene Cotton' would not have been made from imported vegetable fibres, for at this period 'Manchester cottons' were woollens with the nap left uncropped. Bed curtains were also made of Kidderminster, at 9*s*. a pair. Made in the Worcestershire town that gave it its name, this was a colourful chequer-patterned woollen double cloth, similar to modern Welsh blankets.

The finer beds had their hangings made of heavy white linen twill embroidered with foliage and flowers worked with coloured woollen yarns in elaborate crewel-work. Only one provenanced example has survived in West Yorkshire. Made for the Waterton family of Walton Hall, Wakefield, a vallance of narrow-woven twill sewn together vertically before being embroidered was later mounted on a mahogany half-tester bed. This was bought in the clearance sale of the Hall in 1876 by Jabez Tunnicliffe, a Wakefield publican, whose daughter passed it to the writer in the 1950s. It now forms part of the John Goodchild collection in the Wakefield Office of the West Yorkshire Archives Service. The most impressive beds were embroidered in silk, John Ryall of Lovelace Lane, Halifax, a rentier moneylender worth £2,782 in goods, bonds and securities, having 'a bedd vallons & Cupbordcloath sowed with silke & some

[181] Ibid. (2016) pp. 71, 40.
[182] Ibid. (2013) p. 92.
[183] Ibid. (2016) pp. 91, 32.
[184] Ibid. (2016) pp. 16, 20, 70, 71; (2013) pp. 25, 93; Heaton (1965) p. 136.



38 Cradle, Shibden Hall, Halifax. *The Author*

Cruelle and greene silke fringe' worth £2. The arrangement of curtains around a bed is confirmed by the 'five Curtains and valance 6*s*.' in Jeremiah Briggs' inventory of 1691. These would be hung two to each side and one across the foot, on their iron rods.[185]

CRADLES

Cradles were relatively uncommon in seventeenth-century West Yorkshire, but where used were to be found either in chambers or in kitchens or housebodies. They were valued between 1*s*. and 5*s*. each. To date only a single example of local origin has been traced, this being on show at Shibden Hall, Halifax. A number of its panels bear typical diamond and *fleur-de-lis* carvings (Figure 38).

CONCLUSION

This paper has brought together as much archival and provenanced physical evidence of the carved oak furniture of seventeenth-century West Yorkshire as is currently available. The major centres of manufacture have been identified and its main period of production attributed to *c*. 1630–1680, rather than 'Elizabethan' or 'Jacobean'. It has also defined a number of groups of similar pieces made in either individual workshops or by individual craftsmen, and has shown where and how they were used in local houses.

Much remains to be studied, however, particularly in recording the many examples surviving in both public and private collections and identifying them within the present and future groups in order to explore their full repertoires and interconnections. More work also needs to be done on dating, both for the period *c*. 1620–1640 when its styles and techniques were being developed, and from *c*. 1680 to the early eighteenth century when its output declined and new forms in new timbers were adopted.

[185] Ibid. (2013) pp. 32, 70; (2015) pp. 19, 64, 78; (2016) pp. 13, 34, 44.

39 (top left) One of the plainest Leeds chairs, but still having the characteristic carved back panel and turned legs, is in the church at North Stainley, 27 miles north of Leeds. Most unusually, it is made of ash rather than oak. *Adam Bowett*

40 (top right) Collected from Coley Hall for nearby Shibden Hall, Halifax, in 1959, this fine example of the Leeds strapwork crest group includes characteristic ears, inlaid back panel within its carved border, and turned legs. *The Author*

41 (left) Made for the Lister family of Shibden Hall in the 1670s, this child's chair forms part of the large Leeds six-leaf group, identifiable from the carving of its crest rail and ears, as well as the inlay of its back panel. *The Author*

42 (top left) In 1632 Francis Gunby of Leeds re-fitted the Archbishop of York's chapel at Bishopthorpe, probably making this chair for use in its chancel, although it is now shown in York Minster. The angel's head and the de Bry frieze across the crest are typical of his work. *Adam Bowett*

43 (top right) First recorded at Kentwell Hall, Suffolk, in the early twentieth century, this chair was acquired by Sir William Burrell in 1941. The angel crest, bearded heads in the spandrels, and inlaid back panel confirm that it was made by Francis Gunby in Leeds around the 1630s, when he was working on St John's Church. © *Glasgow Life* (Burrell Collection 14.100)

44 (left) One of the most remarkable of English oak chairs, this example by Francis Gunby was in W. R. Hearst's collection at St Donat's, South Glamorgan, until purchased by Sir William Burrell for his dining room at Hutton Castle. The extended feet are later. © *Glasgow Life* (Burrell Collection 14.69)

45 Much of Leeds' oak furniture is now found in distant parts of the country. This table by Francis Gunby is now at the Elizabethan House Museum in Great Yarmouth. It features Gunby's typical carved mouldings, de Bry and guilloche rails, and cup-and-cover legs. *Liz Hancock*

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APPENDIX

Joiners' Inventories

Although a number of West Yorkshire joiners made wills, currently only two of their inventories have been traced. They are published here to demonstrate something of the lifestyle and wealth of joiners in the late seventeenth century.

Robert Townson, Leeds (Borthwick Institute, Administration January 1687)

January 1st. Ano. Dom. 1685

A true and perfect Inventory of all ye Goods & Chattles of Robt. Townson late of Leeds Briggate in ye County of York, Joyner, Valued and apprized by us whose names are here Subscribed The day and Yeare first above written

	£	s.	d.
Impps. His purse and apparall	05	–	–
It. [The House] One Rainge Tongues Fire Shovell 3 Spitts 1pr. Racks 2 Smoothing Irons 3 potts 3 panns 2 little Skillets 1 Brass ladle 1 Morter & pestill 1 Frying pann & husslement	1	12	–
It. one Silver Tumbler	–	16	–
It. 3 Tables 1 Cpboard 5 Chaires 3 Buffitts 6 Cushions Two dozen of Trenchers with other husslement	01	7	–
It. 1 dresser 14 pewter dishes 5 pewter plates 5 porringers 1 pewter Bason 2 Flaggons 3 Tankerds 1 pt. pott Two Candlestiks 1 Mustard Box 1 Salt 4 Spoones 1 Copper Cann	2	12	–
Goods in the Chamber over ye House			
It. One Bedstead & hangings with Bedding	1	10	–
It. 5 Chaires 1 Table 1 Napkin press 1 Chest of Drawers & husslement	2	–	–
It. In the Closet Childrens Bedd & Bedding and Close Stool	–	12	–
Goods in the little Chamber			
It. One bedstead wth. Bedding and hangings one Carpett	3	–	–
It. 6 little locks 4 doz. Dropps 2 doz Scutchions	–	9	–
It. 1 Doz. Of Glew	–	4	–
It. 1 Chest of Drawers 1 hanging Shelfe 2 Coved Cushions 1 Box	1	17	6
It. [2?] Chaires one Trunck	–	12	–
It. A Small Trunck with Lynnen	1	–	–
Goods in the Meale Chamber			
It. One bed & bedding 2 great Chests 1 Foot Chest one Desk	1	10	–
Goods in the Shopp			
It. Benches and workeing Tooles	2	–	–
It. One Bedstead and a Case for Drawers	–	15	–
It. Three Old Tubbs and 3 Doz. of pressboards	1	1	–
Goods in the Yard			
It. In Small Wood	2	–	–
It. Seaven Elme plankes	–	15	–

It. 300 Punshions	–	15	–
It. Seaven peare tree plankes	–	5	–
It. 5 Bunches of heart Laths	–	7	–
It. 19 Coffin Bottoms	–	7	–
It. Seavn Rood of halfe Inch Boards	10	–	–
It. Seaven Rood of Inch Boards & Square wood	14	–	–
Goods in Stable			
It. In Charcoale	–	10	–
It. In hay	2	10	–
It. one horse 2 Saddles 2 Bridles	3	–	–
It. In Debts	8	9	–
	70	7	2

William Atkinson Robert Tetley
Thomas Walker John Crosby

John Cawbert, Halifax (Borthwick Institute, Administration November 1687)

A true and perfect Inventory of all the goods Cattells and Chattells rights Credits & Debts of John Cawbert Late of Halifax wthin the Diosess of Yorke Joyner Deseased taken & prised this 12th day of January Anno Domini 1686 By Robert Ramsden John Stanslife James Cawbert Samuell Pollard & Ralph Higson as followeth (viz:)

In the House Body	£	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis his Purse and all his Apparell	01	10	00
It. 6 stone and 6 pounds of pewther	02	10	07
Item. In Iron Worke	00	05	00
It. Three Stone of Brass	00	14	08
It. one Iron Pan	00	03	00
It. one Long Table	00	18	00
It. one Table & Chaires	00	12	00
It. A Glass Cupbord and furniture	00	04	00
It. 16 Cushions	00	02	00
It. one Range and one Greate	00	06	00
In the Buttery Chamber			
It. one Table & one Fourme	00	10	00
It. 2 Seiled Chaires one Buffett	00	05	00
It. 14 Pots & Three Glasses	00	03	00
In the Great Chamber			
It. one Long Table & 3 Fourms	01	00	00
It. 2 Chaires 2 Cushions one hanging Shelfe	00	05	00
It. one Range and one Greate	00	03	00
In the Workeing Chamber			
It. one Table 2 Fourmes	00	05	00
It. 2 Chests	00	01	00

It. one Pair of Bedstocks	00	07	00
In the New house Body			
It. 6 Chaires & 6 Cushions	00	06	06
It. one hanging Cubord & 5 Buffetts	00	06	00
It. in Salt	00	05	00
It. 2 Loads of Mault & Ale	01	05	00
It. one Range and grate	00	07	06
In the further Chamber			
It. 1 Table 1 Fourme	00	07	00
It. 1 Trunke & frames	00	05	00
It. one presser	00	03	06
It. one Little Bed & Bedding one Buffet	00	07	00
It. Wheat & Beef	00	03	00
In the Chamber over the Nether house Body			
It. one Bed & Foot Chist	00	05	00
It. one Chist with meate & Flower	02	00	00
It. one other Chist	00	07	00
It. one Range	00	01	06
It. in Lining	00	12	00
In the Brewhouse			
It. one Lead & Dripping pan	00	04	06
It. one Lead and other vessells	01	10	00
It. other Huslemt.	00	05	00
Totall Sum.	22	08	09

Robert Ramsden John Stancliffe
Sam: Pollard Ralph Higson