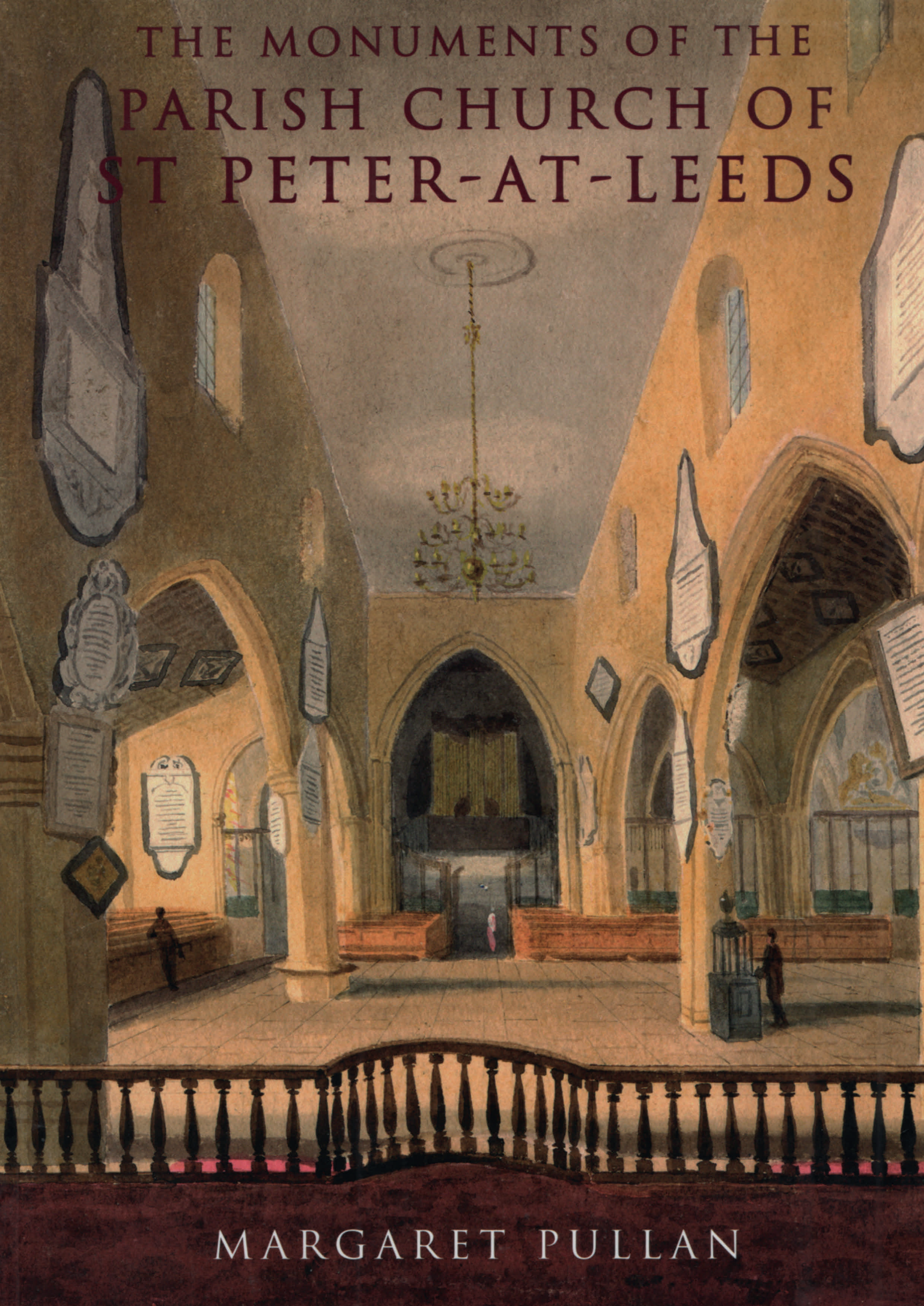


THE MONUMENTS OF THE  
PARISH CHURCH OF  
ST PETER-AT-LEEDS



MARGARET PULLAN

THE  
PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE  
THORESBY SOCIETY

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(detail) Leeds Library and Information Services

THE  
MONUMENTS  
OF THE  
PARISH CHURCH OF  
ST PETER-AT-LEEDS

MARGARET PULLAN

WITH  
ELIZABETH FISHER

ROUTLEDGE  
FOR  
THE THORESBY SOCIETY  
LEEDS PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY

2007

To the memory of my parents  
Josephine and Vincent Bethel  
who encouraged me with this project at its inception,  
but did not live to see its completion.

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# FOREWORD

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The Monuments of Letters will preserve the Glory and Fame  
of those Illustrious Personages, whose Memory they celebrate,  
fresh in all their Bloom and Vigour, when the gilded Monuments  
and brazen Statues, formed by the Hand of the Artificer,  
mingle with the Dust and Ashes, which they cover.

J. Crull, *The Antiquities of St. Peter's, or,  
The Abbey-Church of Westminster*, (1722),  
The Dedication, p. iii

WHERE MIGHT you go to discover something about people who lived in Leeds in the past? You could not do better than pay a visit to the parish church to look at the hundreds of monuments and memorials dating from the Middle Ages to the present day which encrust its walls and floors, and to read their epitaphs. There you will encounter, among others, Thomas Lloyd, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Leeds Volunteer Infantry during the French scare, who possessed 'all the social virtues which mark the English Gentleman', who not only undertook 'the protection of property endangered by the spread of anti-social and revolutionary principles' but also 'the preservation of homes and liberties, under the menace of foreign invasion', who died in 1828; and Richard Oastler (died 1861) 'The Factory King', who 'Moved by pity and indignant at the long hours worked by young children in factories, devoted his life to their emancipation, and was a tireless champion of the ten hour Factory Bill', but who had to wait until 1925 to be commemorated by a public subscription.

However, this excursion into the past is easier said than done! Local histories recording such details, sometimes illustrated, like Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete* (1816) and

Taylor's *Ecclesiae Leodiensis* (1875), like their metropolitan equivalents, passed out of fashion by late Victorian times. At St Peter's the logistical problem is a combination of quantity and location, with some of the more interesting specimens mounted high up on walls, out of visual reach except with the aid of binoculars or ladder.

Margaret Pullan's remarkable, pioneering publication (for I can recall nothing quite like it appearing in recent times), the product of years of devoted research and writing (and ladder-climbing) has changed all this. The range of information she offers is astonishing, from records of births, marriages, progeny and deaths to full inscriptions, sculptors' and masons' signatures, and background histories explaining why the deceased were buried in the parish church and the artistic merits of their tombs, each accompanied by a helpful thumbnail image for easy identification. The invaluable Introduction reveals for the first time their place within the architectural perspective of the building and in the wider cultural development of the town as it rose to national eminence.

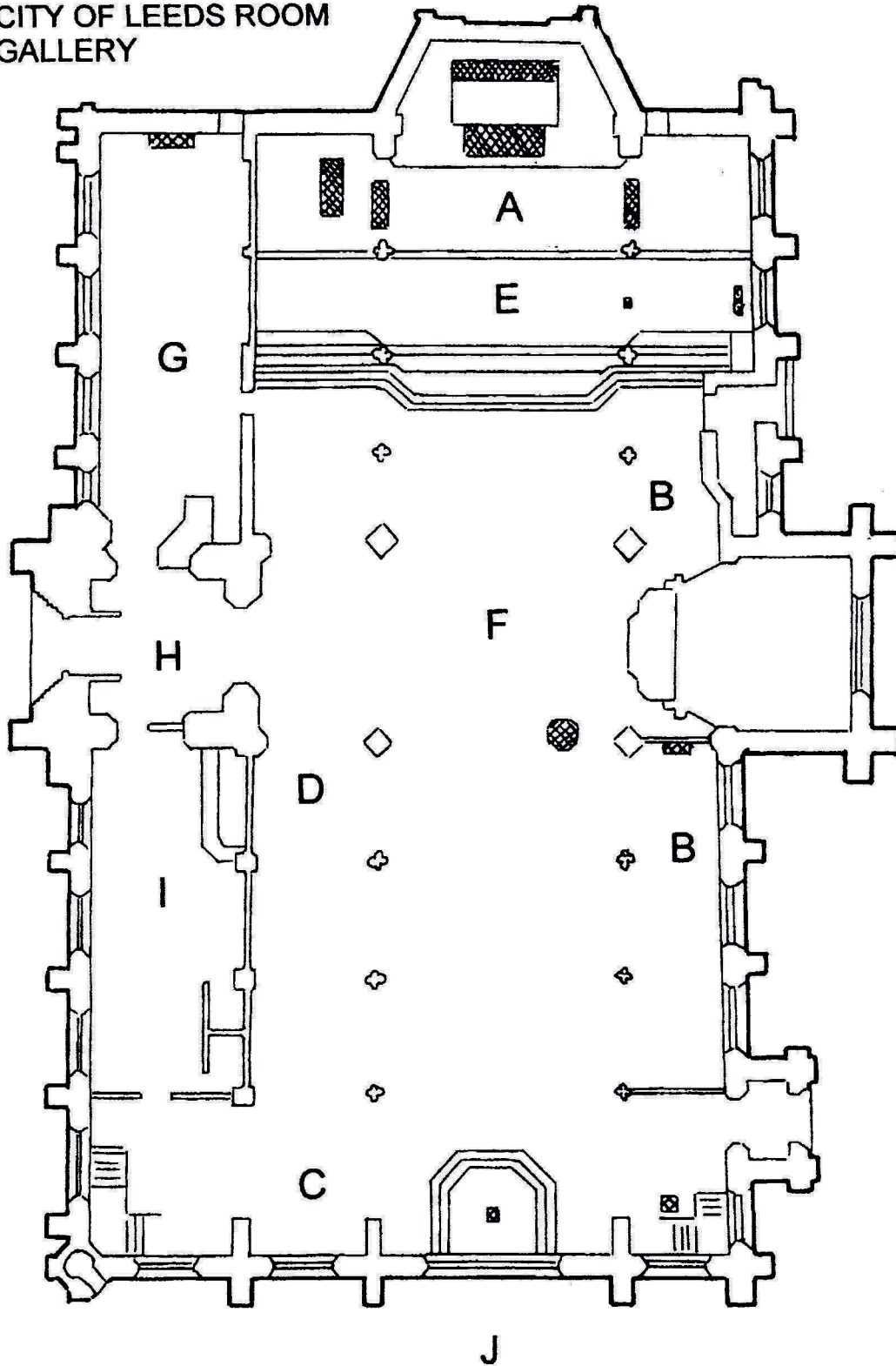
DR TERRY FRIEDMAN  
Leeds  
2007

THE CHURCH OF ST PETER at Leeds, widely known as Leeds Parish Church, holds a very significant place in the history and ongoing life of the city of Leeds. It is therefore with deep appreciation that we gladly welcome the publication of Margaret Pullan's book recording the memorials in the church, and we express our sincere gratitude to her and to

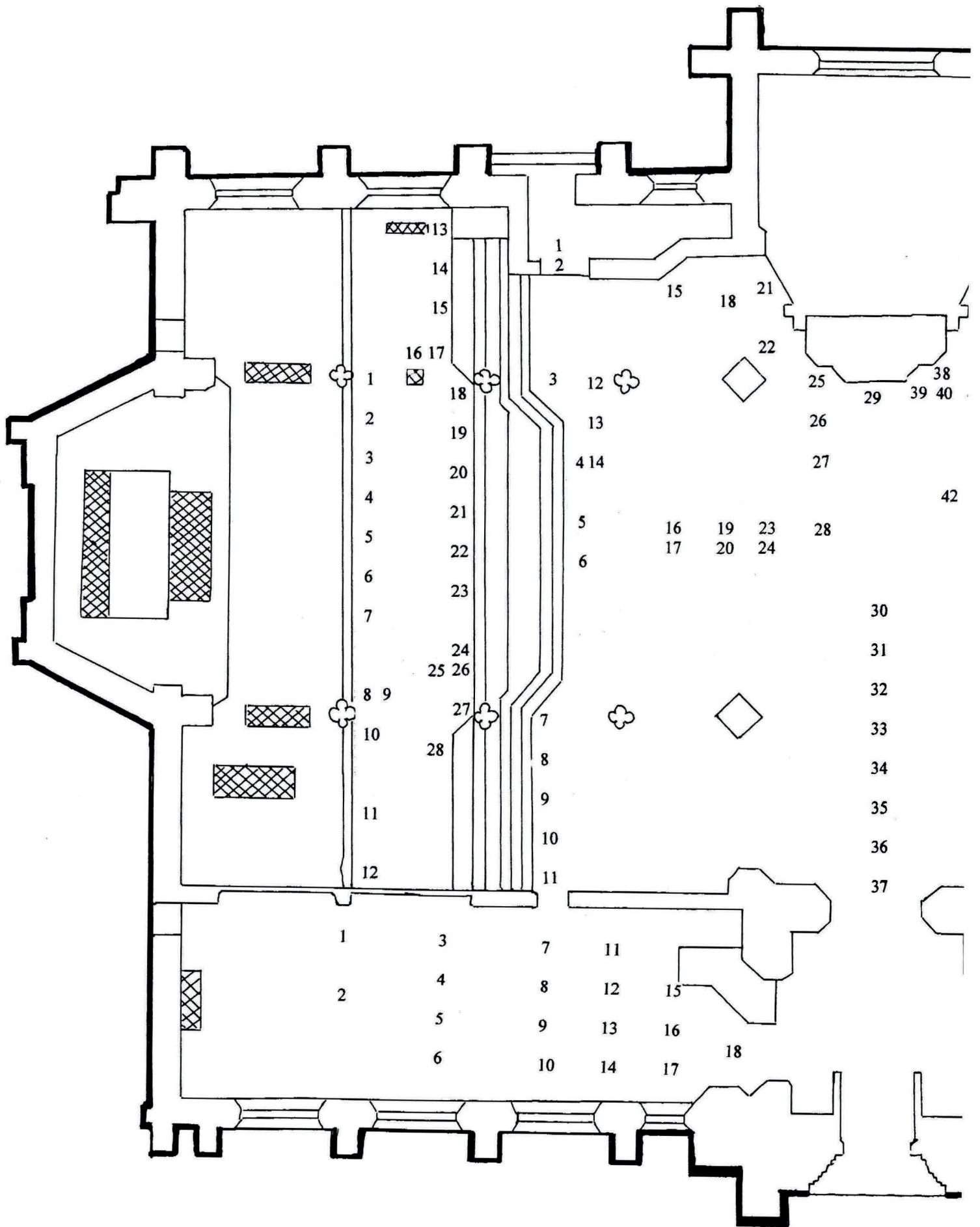
the Thoresby Society, the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society and Maney Publishing for the hard work and devotion that this impressive achievement represents.

REVD TONY BUNDOCK  
Rector, Leeds Parish Church  
Leeds  
2007

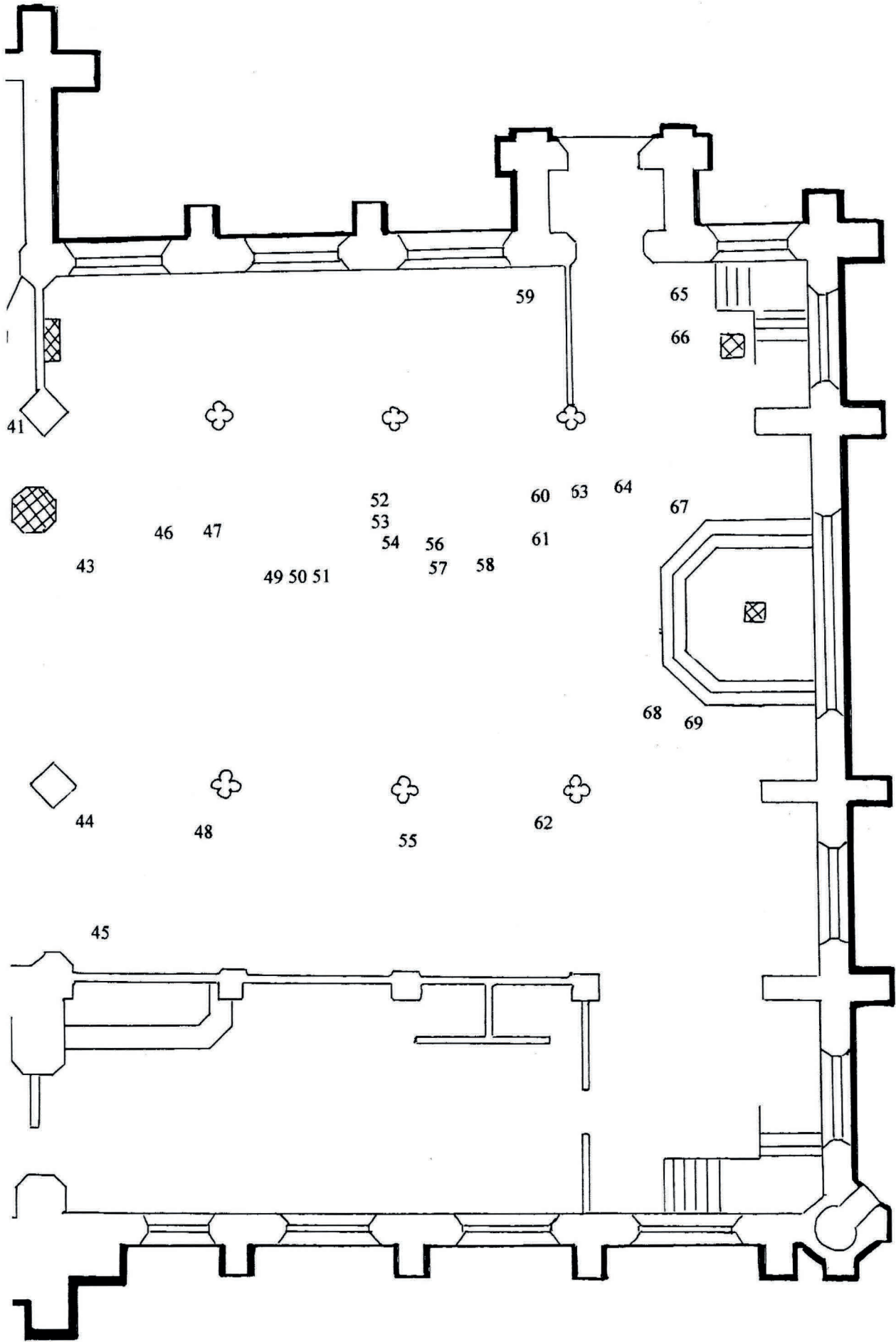
- A SANCTUARY
- B SOUTH AISLE
- C WEST END
- D NORTH AISLE
- E ALTAR FLATS
- F NAVE
- G LADY CHAPEL
- H NORTH TOWER
- I CITY OF LEEDS ROOM
- J GALLERY



Plan of Leeds Parish Church.



Floor plan of Leeds Parish Church, showing location of monument slabs.



## PREFACE

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THE PARISH CHURCH of St Peter-at-Leeds contains hundreds of monuments. Many are placed in relatively inaccessible places, either high on the walls or partially obscured by furniture and fittings; a number are so worn or damaged they are difficult to read. In consequence, casual visitors to the church would find it challenging to decipher the inscriptions surrounding them. Even those visitors determined to find a monument dedicated to a particular group or person may well decide after a while to give up the attempt.

Presenting the monuments in a manner that is logical and easily followed has been a challenge and one that I fear can never be entirely satisfactorily resolved. I have made an attempt, however, and this book has been designed so that those who wish to visit the church and view the monuments *in situ* may use it as an aid. The monuments are listed in order as they appear on the walls or floors, which in many cases will be out of context with reference to other family members or groups. Though many of the monuments were rescued from the medieval church during demolition and placed in the present church, their replacement was often haphazard. Further changes have occurred in the intervening years and are to continue, so this book must necessarily reflect the parish church as it appears at the time of writing.

For the purposes of this study I have divided the church into discrete areas and listed the monuments appearing in each area as a group before moving to the next. I hope this will allow the visitor to move around the church in a logical sequence. This approach means, of course, that the monuments do not appear in any sort of chronological order; they appear as they do in the church itself, an interesting and random mix. For the mural monuments I have adapted

the convention used by the NADFAS Church Recorders, in that the east window (or equivalent) of each area is taken as the starting point and the monuments follow round the points of the compass from there. The highest-placed monument to the right of the east window is number one, the one below is number two, etc. The movement is always top to bottom and left to right. In the same way, the various areas within the church have been dealt with similarly, moving left to right from the east window to the sanctuary, the south aisle, west end and north aisle. The side chapels, north tower and gallery are dealt with in the same fashion.

The floor slabs presented a different challenge. Most of the slabs have been placed so the inscriptions are read with one's back to the altar and again the decision was taken to number them in sequence, from left to right as read, row by row, within their discrete areas. Thus the first floor slab on the altar flats is that nearest the east end and by the south wall, number two is next to it on the right and so on. When that row was completed the next row started again with the slab nearest the south wall, one row back.

Each of the monuments has been identified according to location and given an individual number reflecting the sequence. The prefix Wa.T. indicates a wall or mural tablet; M.S. identifies a monument slab or floor slab. The freestanding effigy has simply been identified as such and the two table monuments are described similarly as Table Monuments. Inevitably, it is confusing and I can only apologise and assure the reader that I have spent many hours feeling puzzled and lost myself.

For those readers interested in particular individuals rather than the church as a whole I have included an index whereby everyone mentioned by name on a monument is listed

according to location. Several names appear more than once just as they do within the church. As certain names persisted in families for generations I have given the date of death (where known) as an aid to the identification of a particular individual. As explained in the Introduction, some of the dates given on the monuments are confusing, given the use of the Julian calendar, and in these cases I have used the convention of the two consecutive year dates to show that the Old Style of dating was indeed the one that was used.

The project that has resulted in this volume was originally envisaged as a typescript record of the monumental inscriptions appearing in the church. It owes its present form to many generous contributors. To Ann Clark, who first suggested that a friend and I draw up an inventory of the monuments within the church, our thanks for launching us on an enterprise we would never otherwise have contemplated. To Elizabeth Fisher, who bravely and sometimes hilariously formed the other half of the inscription team and patiently forced the area's monumental record into a word-processor; without her this project would have foundered in its earliest stages and any completed transcription would have echoed less faithfully the general appearance of the original records. It was she who had the idea of providing as near a facsimile copy of the monumental inscriptions as possible and the volume would be of much less interest without it. I am greatly indebted to Dr Terry Friedman, for it is due to his interest and encouragement that the volume is as it is, and expanded well beyond its original scope. Murray Mitchell has provided a huge amount of invaluable information over the years and has generously given much time to identify each of the stone types used in the monuments. It was he who wrote the geological sections of the glossary and he has greatly assisted me with the discussion of the use of Egglestone marble within the parish church in the Introduction.

Particular thanks are due to the Rector of Leeds, the Revd Tony Bundock and the churchwardens; the Precentor of the parish church, the Revd Joanna Yates, and to the vergers, past and present, Richard Newall and Iain Howell for providing permission to study and transcribe the monuments and for their patient help, interest and encouragement. My thanks, too, to Michael Gallico of Maney Publishing, who introduced the work to the editors of the Thoresby Society. I thank him and all the staff at Maney, in particular Liz Rosindale, Geetha Nair and Alison Holgate for their kind help and expertise. I am also particularly grateful to

Maney for sponsoring the colour illustrations that add so much to the interest of the volume and for publishing the work on behalf of the Thoresby Society and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

Grateful thanks are also due to the Thoresby Society of Leeds and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society for jointly publishing this work. I am greatly indebted to the Honorary Editors of the Thoresby Society, Ann Alexander and David Thornton, for their patience and encouragement of a neophyte author. I am sure they have wondered more than once just what it was that they had agreed to take on. The Henry Moore Foundation has sponsored the photographs that add so much to the book, and the photographs were taken by Paul Gwilliam of the West Yorkshire Archaeological Service. My grateful thanks to Paul for providing the splendid images that say so much more about the monuments than my sketches or brief descriptions ever could. I am indebted to the Leeds City Libraries and Archive Services for allowing the John Rhodes watercolour interiors of the old church to be published; Victoria Worsley, Archivist, and Ian Kaye of the Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, provided a great deal of help with researching monumental sculptors and styles. The Henry Moore Institute Library itself provided a haven for research, as did the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds and the Leeds Library. I am particularly grateful to the librarian of the Leeds Library, Geoffrey Forster, and his staff for patiently and cheerfully hunting out old volumes which I am sure had not seen the light of day for many long years. Other research was conducted at the Leeds City Libraries and the West Yorkshire Archives at Sheepscar, Leeds, and I am grateful to all the staff at both institutions for their kind assistance.

Many experts in their respective fields have kindly given information and advice and I am grateful to them all: Joan Kirby most generously allowed me to read and use her (then) unpublished work on the Aldermen of Leeds; Mary Forster equally kindly allowed me to use material from her unpublished paper on Edwin Kitson Clark. James Lomax, Curator of Decorative Arts at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, entered into discussions about Richard Fisher's work at Temple Newsam, and guided me towards relevant published material. Timothy Stevens, the Director of the Gilbert Collection, Somerset House, London, equally kindly entered into a very informative correspondence about the use of decorative mosaics in nineteenth-century Britain. I am grateful to

both for giving so much of their valuable time. Others who have offered invaluable help in their various fields of expertise include Jeffery Bates; Dr Patricia Bethel; Jane Hedley, the NADFAS Church Recorders' Representative in Leeds; Alexa Holland, NADFAS; Michelle Lefevre, Leeds Library and Information Services. Every effort has been made to reproduce as close a facsimile of the original inscription as possible. On occasions, however, this has not always been practical. My grateful thanks to the designer, Geoff Green, for his patient perseverance in what must have seemed at times to be an impossible task. To those who have also given assistance and who have unaccountably been left off this list, I can only offer my heartfelt apologies.

I am deeply grateful to everyone who has offered so much of their expertise; any errors or omissions in the text are mine and mine alone.

In the end, this volume would not have been possible without the patience and support of my family. To my dear parents-in-law for the kind use of their home computer and their constant encouragement, my thanks, and most especially to my husband, Mark, my thanks for patiently accepting substandard meals, and apologies for so many hours spent in absent contemplation of times and people long past.

MARGARET PULLAN  
Leeds  
2007

# INTRODUCTION

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## HISTORY OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST PETER-AT-LEEDS

THE PARISH CHURCH of St Peter-at-Leeds (known as Leeds Parish Church), at least the fifth to occupy the site in Kirkgate since Anglo-Saxon times,<sup>1</sup> now stands somewhat isolated from the busy city centre, in an island created by a Victorian railway embankment of 1869 and a tangle of modern roads and traffic.

The Anglo-Saxon church was probably rebuilt by the Normans in the twelfth century and this building was enlarged or rebuilt again in the reign of Edward III some two hundred years later. A fire c. 1500 destroyed much of the choir, but the damage was soon repaired and by the eighteenth century the church presented a large and impressive Gothic structure, 165 by 97 feet, its nave rising to 51 feet with the whole dominated by a 96 foot high crossing tower.<sup>2</sup> It was described by the antiquarian Ralph Thoresby in his *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715) as 'a very spacious and strong Fabrick, and Emblem of the Church Militant, black but comely, being of great Antiquity; it doth not pretend to the Mode of reformed Architecture, but is strong and useful ... plain but venerable'.<sup>3</sup> It was filled with 'monuments and banners and escutcheons'.<sup>4</sup> A new pipe organ was installed in 1714 which was crowned with a carved and painted wooden statue of St Peter<sup>5</sup> and about the same time the vestry commissioned Jacques Parmentier to paint a pair of grand pictures depicting Moses and Aaron and the Giving of the Law and the Last Supper: the most important large-scale paintings hitherto seen in Leeds.<sup>6</sup>

Ralph Thoresby himself had commissioned a large, painted wood carving of the Royal Arms 'in Bass-relief; the figures of the Lion and the

Unicorn so contrived as to appear in a right situation in both parts of the Church; that is fully carved on both sides'.<sup>7</sup> He had obtained a drawing from the Office of Heralds in London in June 1714<sup>8</sup> and the carving, when finished, was installed over the medieval screen separating the north transept from the north side of the choir.<sup>9</sup>

The York master carver, William Etty, was probably responsible for the intricately carved altar back<sup>10</sup> and in 1760 the Corporation arms, mounted on a finely-carved panel of Jacobean strapwork, were installed on the front of the north gallery.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of these embellishments it was evident that the fabric itself of the church was suffering. In 1761 the vestry applied to the architect John Carr of York 'to view [and] give his opinion as to ye manner and Expense of making a new Roof'.<sup>12</sup> Carr submitted an estimate of some £4200 for unspecified repairs but there is no record that any work was, in the end, undertaken.<sup>13</sup> Although remedial fabric repairs were carried out in 1809-12, a large crack in the tower remained and the church had further been badly mutilated and made unstable by the long-standing practice of cutting into pillars and arches to provide extra seating.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the congregation was declining. Leeds, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was strongly Nonconformist. The nature of the population around the parish church had changed: with increased industrialization the middle classes fled the old town centre to more pleasant suburbs and the area surrounding the church was filled with slum housing with shockingly overcrowded and insanitary conditions.<sup>15</sup> In 1837, however, a new vicar of Leeds was appointed, who was to make far-reaching changes.<sup>16</sup> Walter Farquhar Hook was a man of

exceptional drive and energy. Long an enthusiast for the High Church tradition that predated the Oxford Movement,<sup>17</sup> he was deeply committed to the revival of Anglicanism and to the care of his congregation. The church he came to filled him with dismay. He said as much to Samuel Wilberforce, it being in his opinion 'nasty, dirty, ugly ... the most horrid hole you ever saw; dirty and so arranged that it is impossible to perform the Communion service in the chancel ... [The Church is] situated in the very worst part of the town ...'.<sup>18</sup> He and his architect, Robert Dennis Chantrell,<sup>19</sup> soon came to the conclusion that further repairs were untenable: the whole structure would have to be demolished and rebuilt. Chantrell, a local man, was clearly in sympathy with the ambitions Hook had for his new ministry. The new church was designed to seat three thousand with free seating for the poor. The chancel had previously been hidden behind a screen: Hook now placed the altar on the chancel steps in full view of the congregation, thus emphasizing the primacy of the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>20</sup> The principal entrance was now through the tower in the north transept and on entering the church, the incomer directly faced the organ in the south transept.<sup>21</sup> Hook well understood and valued the choral tradition and, from the earliest days of the new church, music was to be integral to its ethos.<sup>22</sup>

The new structure cost £30,000, and was completed within an astonishingly short time. For swiftness and ease of construction, some of the columns were made from cast iron, what appear to be stone vaults are actually of plaster and the wood of the roof ties is artificially grained.<sup>23</sup> The new Parish Church of St Peter-at-Leeds was consecrated on 2 September 1841.<sup>24</sup>

Most of the original fabric had been destroyed in the rebuilding, but some of the wall of the south aisle has been incorporated into the new structure,<sup>25</sup> the medieval piscina was used to provide the basis of a monument to Ralph Thoresby and many monuments were transferred from the old church, as were the Royal Arms, the Borough Arms and the wooden statue of St Peter. Jacques Parmentier's great paintings were lost,<sup>26</sup> however, and the ETTY altarback was removed, eventually being consigned to the church hall where it languishes, at present, in poor repair.<sup>27</sup>

#### A NOTE ON DATES<sup>28</sup>

It is integral to any study of the early modern period to understand that the dates that appear

on records and monuments are not as straightforward as could be immediately assumed. The date for the reckoning of the start of a new year, for example, has changed a number of times over the centuries. The Roman civil year started on 1 January and although this practice continued for some centuries, the Christian Church by preference marked the new year with a major festival.

The Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March, had from the ninth century been used as the start of a new year in parts of southern Europe, a convention that gradually spread northward and remained standard until 1522 when Venice reverted to 1 January to mark the year's start.

The Romans had based their year on 365 days, but it was soon realized that the seasons and calendar had become unsynchronized and the actual length of the year was closer to 365.25 days. Thus in the Julian calendar, an extra day was introduced every four years. By the seventeenth century, however, it became apparent that 365.25 days was a slight over-estimate. The cumulative error by then amounted to ten days and Pope Gregory XIII decreed that the day following 4 October 1582 would be 15 October. In order to prevent this problem recurring, the rule for leap years would change slightly so that end of century years would no longer be leap years unless they were divisible by 400, i.e. 1600 and 2000 would be leap years, but 1700, 1800 and 1900 would not. This revised calendar is known as the Gregorian Calendar.

The Gregorian Calendar was immediately adopted by those countries in Europe which were predominantly Roman Catholic. It was not until 1700 that the German Protestant states and the Netherlands followed suit. England, however, waited until 1752 (the Scots had already changed in 1600) when it was changed by an Act of Parliament, which also stipulated 1 January as the start of the new year. As the English had taken 1700 to be a leap year, the difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars now amounted to eleven days. Thus, the day following 31 December 1751 was decreed to be 1 January 1752 but 2 September 1752 was immediately followed by 14 September resulting, it may be said, in considerable disquiet and even rioting over the apparent and arbitrary loss of eleven days.

Prior to 1752 1 January had been in general use as the start of the year date for almanacs and various other purposes, and had long been celebrated as the New Year festival. The year starting 25 March was variously known as Old Style or the Civil or Legal Year, resulting in confusions and ambiguities that were evidently con-

temporary, not only just remaining to bedevil the historian. In parish registers it is common to see the month of January notated, for example, as 1734/5, even though the date at March 25 would be given as 1735. A date shown as 1 February 1709/10 would therefore signify February 1710 New Style.

The easy temptation to simply write the date as the 1 February 1710 should be resisted, as the actual day would be different by eleven days from our modern reckoning. For our purposes it is correctly given as 1 February 1709/10, which clearly indicates it belongs to the Julian Calendar.

A careless reading of dates could result in entirely erroneous assumptions. For example, in the Lady Chapel of Leeds Parish Church, a brass<sup>29</sup> commemorates the two young sons of Alderman Marmaduke Hicke: 'William who dyed December the 25<sup>th</sup> 1673' and 'John their elder sonne who dyed Iannuary the 7<sup>th</sup> 1673'. On first reading it would appear the two children died within eleven months of each other, with John, although commemorated second on the memorial, dying first. In the *Parish Register of Burials*,<sup>30</sup> however, the boys are recorded thus: 'William, son of Mr Marmaduke Hick Alderman, of ye Borelaine' who was buried 27 December 1673 and 'John, son of Mr Marmaduke Hick Alderman, of ye: Borelaine' buried 9 January 1673/4. They therefore died within a fortnight of each other possibly both from an infectious disease. It also perhaps alters our perception of their surviving family: to lose two young children in the space of a few days would be a terrible tragedy even in those times of high infant mortality.

Textual notes accompanying the memorial transcriptions warn where the dates in the epitaphs could cause confusion, with corroboration from contemporary sources, generally entries in the parish registers or newspapers. Entries in the index also try to clarify ambiguities, with the year of John Hicke's death for example, given as 1673/4.

#### EARLY LEEDS<sup>31</sup>

Archaeological finds dating from the Bronze Age have been found scattered throughout Leeds and two barrows on Woodhouse Moor were excavated in the nineteenth century. Earthworks nearby, by Rampart Road, may have represented an Iron Age fort, and Roman material and the remains of a Roman road have also been uncovered. Leeds, as reference by Bede suggests,<sup>32</sup> was probably a major Anglo-Saxon settlement. That it was indeed a major religious

centre is corroborated by the discovery of fragments of at least six Anglo-Saxon crosses, the best preserved of which is in the parish church.

Leeds seems somehow to have escaped the Harrying of the North, which followed the Norman Conquest. By 1086, according to the Domesday Book, it possessed a priest, a church, a mill and meadowland.<sup>33</sup>

In 1207 the Borough Charter given by Maurice Paynel, the lord of the manor, created a new town: a small borough within the bounds of the manor.<sup>34</sup> A stone bridge across the Aire existed by at least 1322 and the new street of Briggate was laid out from the river north to Kirkgate with thirty plots on either side and the space for a market. The charter encouraged crafts and trade and by the fifteenth century cloth-making was firmly established in the town.<sup>35</sup> Until the seventeenth century, however, Leeds remained small and essentially rural in character.

#### THE MERCANTILE COMMUNITY OF LEEDS SEVENTEENTH - TWENTIETH CENTURIES

It was during the seventeenth century that Leeds effected the transformation from a small market town to a commercial, manufacturing and distribution centre, which took influence and business away from the thitherto principal regional towns, York and Halifax. The Charter of Incorporation of 1626 created a free borough with a self-elected governing Corporation, possessing the power to issue by-laws, appoint local officers and to regulate, inspect and control the cloth produced in the town.<sup>36</sup> In 1629 the Corporation, led by Richard Sykes, bought the manor of Leeds from the Crown.<sup>37</sup>

The sympathies of the population of Leeds were divided by the Civil War, with the mercantile class generally remaining loyal to the King and the clothiers declaring their support for Parliament.<sup>38</sup> The town was besieged in January 1642/3,<sup>39</sup> and was eventually taken by General Sir Thomas Fairfax, a cousin of the Thomas Fairfax commemorated in the parish church. Reminders of the Civil War in the parish church include the monument slab to Garvas Neville, whose epitaph recorded that he was the Quartermaster General for the Marquis of Newcastle.<sup>40</sup> The merchant, John Thoresby, represents the Parliamentarians: he distinguished himself at the battle of Marston Moor.<sup>41</sup>

During the Restoration the town flourished and Leeds rapidly became a centre of importance in the cloth trade. Cloth from villages to

the south and west was brought into the town for dressing, cropping and dyeing and the finished cloth was marketed by a wealthy group of merchants.<sup>42</sup> From Leeds, the woollen cloth was sent to Hull and thence to markets in Holland and Germany, where the merchants had agents. Alliances were built up amongst the great mercantile families who governed the town and ran its affairs, forming a ruling oligarchy. They intermarried and the same names, Kitchingman, Fenton, Lodge, Milner, Cookson, and Ibbetson among them, appear and reappear time and again over the years.<sup>43</sup>

These were men of immense wealth and influence. Some were exceptionally far-sighted businessmen, well able to exploit opportunities as they presented themselves. William Milner, for example, was one of the prime promoters during his mayoralty of the Aire and Calder Navigation, the waterway that made the rivers Aire and Calder navigable. Work on cutting the canal to improve the rivers was initially undertaken in 1699–1701 and for the first twenty years of its existence Milner managed the affairs of its ruling company so that by 1720 he had raised £26,700 in dues from the local merchant community.<sup>44</sup> Fabulously wealthy, he was a friend of Lord Irwin (and often lent him money) ran racehorses, had townhouses in London and York and spent huge sums promoting buildings and improvements in Leeds.<sup>45</sup>

In those early days the merchants generally still had their feet very firmly on the ground. Their house plots in the town incorporated yards, outbuildings and offices<sup>46</sup> and their sons were given every encouragement to follow in the family business. Apprenticeships lasted four to seven years commencing at about the age of fifteen. The apprentice lived with his master's family, went daily to the counting house and finishing shops and regularly visited the cloth markets of Leeds, Wakefield and Halifax. He was indentured and obliged to keep industrious, to mind his master's business, keep out of trouble and shun dubious company.<sup>47</sup> Often he spent a year abroad to visit foreign correspondents and learn languages, particularly French, Dutch and German. James Ibbetson and William Milner both spent several years in Holland in the 1690s;<sup>48</sup> Ralph Thoresby was sent to Holland in 1678 after an initial year's training in London, but was recalled after only six months due to his father's sudden death.<sup>49</sup> Business contacts with the continent flourished, and several foreigners came speculatively to Leeds to join existing merchant houses or to set up business there on their own account: Koster and Bischoff among them.<sup>50</sup>

With increasing prosperity, however, some of the early families had ambitions beyond trade and toward gentrification. William Milner sent his son to Eton and Jesus College Cambridge<sup>51</sup> and in the early eighteenth century James Ibbetson sent his elder son to the Inns of Court.<sup>52</sup> Both men had ambitions for their sons beyond mere trade. Milner bought the estate of Nun Appleton and Bolton Percy near York in 1711 and the Ibbetsons purchased the old Fairfax estate at Denton, near Ilkley, where John Carr of York was commissioned to build a magnificent country mansion.<sup>53</sup> Thus, as the years passed the old family firms gradually disappeared.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, vigorous newcomers entered the business community and essentially followed the same pattern: in 1764 Arthur Lupton went to Frankfurt upon Main to learn High Dutch, French and accounts,<sup>55</sup> and Henry Hall was in Delph c. 1790 to learn Dutch and French.<sup>56</sup> Generally only the sons not going into the business were educated for the professions. Training the son chosen to continue the family business required a substantial sum of money to be devoted to a long apprenticeship. Indeed, there were complaints about the exorbitant rates charged by the local merchants before they would agree to take on a young man as an apprentice.<sup>57</sup>

Business concerns dominated most, if not all, aspects of the lives of the merchants. Marriages tended to be dynastic: they were made with an eye to matrimonial settlements which brought money into the family and to the business. If necessary the wife's portion could be used to aid the business through difficulties and marriage settlements were an important source of business finance. By 1750 an aspiring merchant would seek a wife who could provide a dowry of at least £1000.<sup>58</sup> This was a wholly accepted part of an alliance. By the mid-eighteenth century it was commonplace for the wealth a bride brought to her husband to be announced as a matter of congratulation in the local newspapers: 'Yesterday was married at our Parish Church, Mr. William Wilson ... to Miss Pawson, an agreeable Lady, with a Fortune of 20,000 l';<sup>59</sup> 'Last week, Henry Ibbetson, Esq: was married to Miss Carr, eldest Daughter of Ralph Carr, Esq: of Durham, a beautiful young lady of good Fortune ...';<sup>60</sup> James Kenion 'an eminent Apothecary in this Town, to Miss Parkinson of Hatfield nigh Doncaster, an agreeable young Lady with a considerable Fortune';<sup>61</sup> 'Yesterday was married at our Parish Church, Mr Francis Ridsdale, Merchant, to Miss Green, Daughter to Mr. Joseph Green of This Town, a Lady of great

accomplishments<sup>62</sup> not the least, one supposes, pecuniary.

A good marriage could present advantages in addition to the financial aspect of marriage settlements: it was the easiest way for any newcomer to be accepted into the inner circle of the Leeds mercantile elite, and in consequence entry into the administrative and social round open only to a privileged few. The husbands of the two daughters of Sir Henry Ibbetson were both immediately elected to the Corporation, in spite of the fact that both men were incomers and Sir Henry himself had died some ten years earlier. John Beckett, another incomer, became mayor in 1775, only two years after his initial election to the Corporation,<sup>63</sup> following his marriage to Mary, the daughter of Christopher Wilson, (of the influential Wilson family) a fact of which he or his heirs were sufficiently proud to ensure that it appeared on his epitaph.<sup>64</sup> The dynastic alliances built up by intermarriage meant that familial, community and business interests were often intertwined. Ralph Thoresby constantly referred in his diaries to his 'good cousin' William Milner, his 'cousin Cookson', to 'old cousin Hicke', and to 'my good aunt Lucy Idle' amongst others.

This mercantile oligarchy virtually ruled Leeds. It dominated the Corporation,<sup>65</sup> the lordship of the manor and the established Church.<sup>66</sup> Two members of the Wilson family held the office of recorder of Leeds between them for nearly fifty years in the eighteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

Only in the early nineteenth century were the merchants replaced by the new industrialists. By this time the town had hugely expanded both in population and business interests. Its commercial concerns now included banking, shopping, dyeing, tanning, pottery and coal mining. The Aire and Calder Navigation had been improved and extended in the 1770s and again in the 1820s, and communication and transport were further eased by the provision of improved local canal systems, turnpike roads, inns and carting services and eventually, railways.<sup>68</sup> Benjamin Gott set up the first great, mechanized cloth-making complex at Bean Ing; further diversification followed in the nineteenth century with the introduction of mechanized-flax spinning, heavy engineering, industrial chemical production and the manufacture of textile machinery. By the end of the century Leeds had also established itself as the centre of the ready-made clothing industry and its population, which had been about 6000 at the start of the eighteenth century, had grown to 429,000 by 1901.<sup>69</sup>

It was natural that these influential citizens

should seek burial and commemoration for themselves and their families within their parish church. Illness and death remained a constant concern to an extent we can hardly comprehend. Life was extremely precarious and there would have been a true uncertainty that anyone would live to see out a day. A cough or cold might be insignificant, but could also herald the onset of a mortal infection. A fall from a horse could easily cause a compound fracture resulting in sepsis and death. Francis Neville of Holbeck was killed in a riding accident in January 1699/1700;<sup>70</sup> Charles Lupton was killed in 1854 when his horse bolted with him in Monkbridge Road, Meanwood.<sup>71</sup> Ralph Thoresby, in his diaries, regularly concluded accounts of his journeys with thanks for a safe return. Typically, he wrote after a journey to York in May 1708: 'Lord grant thy favourable presence and protection from sin and all dangers! We found the way very deep, and in some places dangerous for the coach (that we walked on foot.) but the Lord preserved us from all evil accidents, that we got to our journey's end in safety blessed by God!'.<sup>72</sup>

Because Leeds lacked a clean water supply and there was no drainage system, epidemics were frequent. Plague, in the early days, was a source of great fear: there had been a terrible outbreak of it in 1645, and according to Thoresby the birds flying overhead caught the infection and fell down dead as they passed.<sup>73</sup> Smallpox epidemics were frequent and the disease was no respecter of social status: Thoresby's diary entry for 27 September 1694 noted 'the small-pox round about us, of which my poor brother Jeremiah Thoresby's daughter, Ruth, died last Fast-day, the 19<sup>th</sup> inst.';<sup>74</sup> and he again wrote 16 October 1721 '... both died of the small pox, which is this year extremely fatal'.<sup>75</sup> Joseph Fountaine's first wife, Anna Maria, died of it in 1764 at the age of twenty-one<sup>76</sup> and in November 1800 an outbreak of the disease so alarmed the medical community that the members collectively placed an advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer* offering to inoculate the poor of Leeds free of charge in order to contain the infection.<sup>77</sup>

Conditions hardly improved in the nineteenth century: epidemic cholera ravaged Leeds in 1825, 1832, 1848 and typhus in 1847. There were other enduring hazards: Mellena Wilson, the wife of a physician, died 16 February 1844 closely followed by her infant daughter, who died 14 March 1844, aged thirty-seven days.<sup>78</sup> Even though infant mortality was normally high the pain resulting from such losses must have been nearly unbearable: the sadness still

resonates in the inscription to the Massie family<sup>79</sup> where the ages of the eight children commemorated are painstakingly recorded, and in the memorial to the three sons of Henry Skellton<sup>80</sup> with its heartbreaking conclusion 'Sic Transit Gloria Mundi'. It is hardly surprising that the memorials are full of symbols not only of mortality and death, but also of the resurrection and enduring faith in a better world to come.

#### FUNERARY MONUMENTS

It is a fundamental human desire to leave a record of one's own existence, or for survivors to provide a tangible remembrance of the life of a beloved family member. In the past, only the wealthy or influential could afford a lasting monument or would be accorded the honour of a memorial within the confines of the church itself. That the parish church of Leeds has such a rich representation of memorials to the great and good of the town is unsurprising. It was, and remains, the premier church of Leeds and, until the nineteenth century, was set in the heart of the old borough within easy reach of the grand merchant houses and the great businesses clustered nearby.

Funerary monuments can serve a number of purposes. They provide a memorial to a specific person and a focus for the grief of surviving family members. They also reflect the dedicatee's place in the civic hierarchy during a period when fashion and status were of immeasurable importance. Such memorials therefore echoed the prevailing stylistic and philosophical fashion of the day, and could certainly be expensive: often instructions and funds were left in wills for suitable memorials. Even without specific provision by the deceased, families were still anxious to erect monuments that would be seen to be suitable and the money would be found.<sup>81</sup>

Few very early memorials remain in the parish church of St Peter-at-Leeds. The town was comparatively insignificant until the early seventeenth century and it seems few predate its days of prosperity. Certainly the older monuments have not been kindly treated over the years. The effigy of a cross-legged knight was found buried under the floor of the old church, and the few remaining medieval brasses were all removed from their original stone slabs. It is entirely possible that a number of the early floor slabs have been turned over and re-cut in the latest fashion of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see the discussion on Egglestone marble, below). Most of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century brasses have also

been removed from their original stone settings and are now placed entirely out of context on the walls and window sills of the existing church. A number remain loose and have been set aside: no final resting place has as yet been found for them. Ralph Thoresby, in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, transcribed most of the inscriptions found on the monuments of his day and a depressing number of them have vanished. He also indicated their position in the medieval church and it is evident that many stone slabs held various brass monument insets with inscriptions to a great number of individuals, often of different families, but generally inter-related to a degree.

The medieval brasses and knight's effigy are products of the York workshops rather than of local manufacture. The brass representation of Thomas Clarell's chalice is particularly rare.<sup>82</sup>

The Reformation in England gave rise to a widespread destruction of images and mutilation of monuments. In this iconoclastic climate, new monuments with overtly religious representations were discouraged or liable to be destroyed in their turn. A proclamation issued by Elizabeth I in 1560 specifically forbade the disfigurement of monuments as they were erected 'for the onely memory of [the deceased] to their posterity in common Churches, and not for any religious honour'. It was evidently unsuccessful as a further proclamation to the same effect was issued in 1571–72.<sup>83</sup>

Eventually the reforming zeal of the early Protestants subsided and by the beginning of the seventeenth century there was much greater general freedom as to what could be depicted on a memorial. As a greater tolerance developed designers looked back to the Middle Ages – the last great flowering of religious art – for inspiration and re-introduced Gothic lettering and gruesome images of mortality.<sup>84</sup>

Funeral monuments dating to the immediate post-Reformation period in Yorkshire are rare and most of those which survive have carved effigies of the deceased in an elaborate architectural context.<sup>85</sup> The Hardwicke table tomb<sup>86</sup> is a particularly interesting survival as it is covered with frescoed decoration. This was probably once a common and economical means of decoration, but by its nature is extremely fragile and very few have survived.<sup>87</sup> The tomb dates from the late sixteenth century with further inscriptions added to it over the next hundred years. The frescoes demonstrate the softening of the extreme Protestant stance against religious images and the *momento mori* tradition: a skull with assorted bones is set on the floor between Thomas Hardwicke and his wife; and a dancing

skeleton with a spade in one hand and what appears to be a hoe in the other is painted on a panel to the side. The earliest part of the inscription is written in a cramped Gothic script and is set in rhyming couplets with punning word-play, both of which were especially popular in the sixteenth century.<sup>88</sup>

In the early seventeenth century, and with the new tolerance, there was an increased interest in memorials and Westminster Abbey, in particular, became something of a tourist attraction. William Campden produced a guidebook to the abbey in 1600 (*Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, & alii in Ecclesia Collegiate B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti ...*), which was scholarly, well regarded and influential. In consequence, the monuments of the abbey were used as patterns for other memorials and testators often left instructions that their monuments should be modelled on one already in existence.<sup>89</sup>

Conventions arose and certain symbols became universal: Death was often represented by a skeleton with a scythe, or by a skull and cross-bones; paired coronets were popular, depicting crowns of victory or heavenly crowns; the cherub's head stood for immortality; a book represented faith.<sup>90</sup> These conventions were surprisingly persistent: Thomas Sawyer of Leeds was memorialized after his death in 1703 by a monument in the parish church<sup>91</sup> decorated with carved coronets, and a skull and cross-bones and an hour-glass (to represent the fleeting span of human life). Many of the other monuments in the church dating from the first decades of the eighteenth century have multitudes of carved details such as, for example, cherubs' heads and skulls.

The monuments of Westminster Abbey also influenced contemporary fashions for suitable ways of portraying the deceased. The portrait effigies of scholars or preachers, for example, were carved as truncated busts, often raised on a pedestal and shown with a book: William Campden himself (who died in 1623) was thus depicted. In 1631 John Weaver in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, wrote that the representation of such gentlemen should be set '... upon a Terme or Pedestal, as it were of a pillar, raised somewhat above the ground'.<sup>92</sup> Ralph Thoresby would certainly have been aware of these associations: he was a frequent visitor over many years to Westminster Abbey, where he would go specifically to study the monuments and transcribe the epitaphs.<sup>93</sup>

That Thoresby was closely involved with the design and execution of his father's memorial, we know from his diaries, in which he makes frequent reference to the whole process from

commissioning to final erection in the church. His chosen sculptor was Samuel Carpenter (1660–1713), a friend of John Etty of York and who had previously worked at Ripon and Castle Howard. On 25 July 1710 he wrote: 'With Mr Carpenter about the monument for my dearest father; left his picture and a model with him'.<sup>94</sup> By 19 April 1711 Mr. Carpenter had begun work on the bust.<sup>95</sup> Thoresby took great care with the design: he was back in York to visit Carpenter about the monument again on 28 May,<sup>96</sup> and also took the opportunity, during the same trip, to visit 'Mr Archdeacon Pearson who kindly obliged me with an epitaph for the monument'.<sup>97</sup> Thoresby entertained Carpenter to dinner in Leeds in July and, finally, on 3 March 1711/2 he wrote 'Was all day at Church, with Mr. Carpenter, setting up a monument for my honoured and dear father'.<sup>98</sup>

John Thoresby had been an antiquarian, scholar and philanthropist and is depicted in typical fashion: his portrait bust is set on a small pedestal above the cornice of the monument with a pile of books set to one side. Originally the books were balanced by an urn on the other side, but this has since vanished. Interestingly, he had died in 1679 but his son had waited until 1710 before apparently beginning the undertaking of a grand memorial to him. This was not an unusual delay. Memorials could be extremely expensive and, with all the attendant difficulties, from the search to find a suitable monumental sculptor, the undoubted debates and deliberations over design and the time-consuming nature of all the crafts employed in production, they often considerably post-dated the death of the person they were commemorating. These complications can also allow inaccuracies to be introduced into the inscriptions. The memorial to Sir William Blackburne, for example, records his death in 1835.<sup>99</sup> In fact, he was knighted in 1838<sup>100</sup> and his death in 1839 merited an extensive report in the *Leeds Intelligencer*.<sup>101</sup> John Robinson of Burley Bar is recorded in his epitaph as having been eighty years old at the time of his death in 1817,<sup>102</sup> but according to the *Parish Register of Burials* he was seventy,<sup>103</sup> and his obituary notice in the *Leeds Intelligencer* stated that he was seventy-eight.<sup>104</sup> Human memory has never been infallible.

Ralph Thoresby, with his interest in epitaphs and monuments, was in tune with the intellectual spirit of the age. He was familiar with the classics, intensely interested in the natural and physical sciences, and absorbed by philosophy and religion. As a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was in contact with the most enquiring and influential minds of the time. His *Ducatus*

*Leodiensis*, with its descriptions of the monuments in the churches of Leeds and with the transcriptions of their epitaphs, transferred what had hitherto been primarily a metropolitan interest to a provincial setting. Some of the monuments were even illustrated, inviting comparisons with those guides to Westminster Abbey so popular in the previous century. That this interest was widely shared is indicated by the success of the two large volumes full of engravings of the abbey's monuments, ranging from medieval to contemporary, published in 1723.<sup>105</sup>

Monuments of this time are generally characterized as baroque, denoting a style firmly classical in inspiration, but with exaggerated motifs and movement. Festoons of branches, leaves, flowers, fruit, drapery, cherubs' heads (often winged), and heraldic elements combined with richly carved architectural columns and pediments, to produce an almost theatrical impression of bravura, opulence and display.<sup>106</sup> Wall tablets were the most common form: often they were tall in relation to their width and generally were flanked with side columns or pilasters which supported a detailed segmental pediment or arch.<sup>107</sup> This purely architectural form was varied in the mid-seventeenth century by the fashion for placing the inscription upon a cartouche which itself was set within a border carved with a variety of motifs including garlands, laurels, cherubs, skulls, masks, etc. At first these were roughly oval, but later they became deeply curved and almost egg-shaped.<sup>108</sup> There are many of these monuments in the parish church, particularly in the north tower, the City of Leeds Room and the Lady Chapel. They are all more or less typical of the type and most are probably locally worked, although the monument for William Rooke is so well carved that it may be from London.<sup>109</sup> The delicate festoons of flowers flanking the tablet for William Ash<sup>110</sup> are delightfully observed and executed and a variation on the typical decorative themes occurs in the tablet commemorating Alice Barstow<sup>111</sup> where, in addition to the usual winged cherubs' heads, the face of a 'green man' peers out from the carved foliage of the frame.

Art and architectural fashion were inseparable in the memorial context, especially because the monuments of the day assumed the architectural vocabulary of the craftsmen regularly working in both fields.<sup>112</sup> Samuel Carpenter, the York sculptor who produced the monument for John Thoresby, had worked at Castle Howard during 1705-06, where he was responsible for not only some of the garden statuary,

but had also executed, amongst other items, thirty-six Corinthian pilaster capitals for the exterior of the west wing, twenty-six composite capitals and six scallop shells for an inside passage in addition to a number of carved shields, cherubs, etc.<sup>113</sup> Richard Fisher of York produced the fine monument for William Milner, now in the north tower, at the same time as he was working at Temple Newsam House for Milner's friend, Lord Irwin.<sup>114</sup>

Thomas Atkinson, also of York, known today as the architect of the Gothick front and gatehouse at Bishopthorpe Palace, also designed chimneypieces and made neo-classical monuments of coloured marble found in various churches in the North of England, among them that for John Dixon in Leeds.<sup>115</sup>

After the mid-eighteenth century, the baroque fashion characteristic of earlier decades was supplanted by graceful, lighter neo-classical designs favouring applied rather than carved ornament and using different funerary allusions. Recurrent motifs included mourning urns, often draped, applied wreaths of laurel or palm branches and restrained classical architectural elements such as flat pilasters with ionic capitals and simple cornices. The members of several successive generations of a family firm, Fishers of York, were expert exponents of this type of monument. The founder of the firm, Richard Fisher, was a particularly fine artist whose ecclesiastical work is well represented in York (the figure of Christ in the Lady Chapel of York Minster is his work). In the 1740s he was retained by Lord Irwin to execute work at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, where the decorative details and sculptural treatment resemble elements of the work he produced for the memorial to William Milner.<sup>116</sup> There were at least four generations of the Fisher dynasty of carvers, Richard was followed by John (1736-1804), who himself acted as master to his own sons, John (1760?-1839) and William.<sup>117</sup> All the monuments executed by the Fishers are of very high standard, and the delicate carving on their monument to Mary Addison Fountaine<sup>118</sup> is typical of their work.

During the early nineteenth century the patriotic fervour the Napoleonic Wars induced was expressed in a public monumental art for which tremendous sums were raised to commemorate the fallen heroes.<sup>119</sup> Of course, not all the mourning was public and the restrained neo-classical idiom continued to be used for most of the young officers who fell for their country. The monument for Thomas Close, carved by Robert Rhodes of Leeds and erected in 1802,<sup>120</sup> contains a vignette of a battle scene

carved in low relief placed above the inscription tablet, with an applied painted carved oval Union Flag surrounded with a wreath of oak and laurel leaves set below. Similarly reticent monuments were erected for the three brothers Nevile<sup>121</sup> while a slightly more elaborate one incorporated a mourning urn, badge and motto for Samuel Predam,<sup>122</sup> four victims of the wars against the French. With the deaths in July 1809 at Talavera, however, of Captains Samuel Walker and Richard Beckett, this restraint was abandoned: a tremendous local campaign was quickly initiated for a public subscription, backed by leading citizens, the mayor of Leeds and the newspapers to erect a monument 'intended to be such as will do honour to the memory of our heroes, and be creditable to the Town.'<sup>123</sup> A committee was formed and notices regularly appeared in the newspapers with up-to-date accounts of the amounts raised along with leaders urging further pledges of support: 'The Subscription ... proceeds in such a way as to meet our most ardent wishes. Near 500*l* are already subscribed; and at the meeting on Wednesday a Committee was appointed to carry the scheme to execution ... yet many gentlemen ... have omitted to put down their names for to do the thing well, the funds must be confident'<sup>124</sup>, and 'The LEEDS MONUMENTAL FUND for commemorating the exploits of our countrymen at Talavera keeps increasing — Several donations from the country have been received; and particularly a munificent one of 20 *gs*. From R. H. Beaumont, Esq: of Whilley-Hall. The whole sum subscribed is upwards of 600*l*.'<sup>125</sup>

On 23 September the *Leeds Intelligencer* reported that the committee had approached several eminent artists for designs and the monument would be placed on the 'east side of the great centre south window' of the parish church. In the end John Flaxman, RA (1755-1826), the most eminent and influential sculptor of the day, was selected for the commission. Flaxman had already produced major public works with national monuments for war heroes in St Paul's of which the most important were for Earl Howe and Lord Nelson.<sup>126</sup> A plaster model of the proposed monument (which still exists as part of the University College London Art Collection of plaster models), was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1811,<sup>127</sup> and on 30 May 1812, the *Leeds Mercury* acclaimed the unveiling of the finished monument in the parish church with the comment, 'It is enough to say of the execution of this interesting work that it is by the chisel of Flaxman ...'.

As was typical of the time, the design of the

monument looked back to antiquity, with a carved winged Victory in an attitude of mourning, seated on a canon, in front of a palm tree, with three lowered standards set beside her. It is reflective, moving and tranquil. The classical allusions, reinforced by the smooth and flawless treatment of the modelling, were designed to remind onlookers of the virtues of the ancient heroes: stoicism, resignation, duty and restraint.<sup>128</sup>

This convention was also followed by Flaxman's pupil, Joseph Gott (1786-1860), when he was commissioned to produce a monument for Col Thomas Lloyd<sup>129</sup> some twenty years later. Joseph was the second cousin of Benjamin Gott and had shown exceptional talent as a sculptor in his youth: born in Leeds in 1786, he was apprenticed to Flaxman from 1798 to 1802, enrolled in the RA schools in 1805 and in 1819 won a gold medal at the RA for his group *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*. He moved to Rome in 1822 where he spent the rest of his life, returning to England from time to time for commissions<sup>130</sup> including work for the Gott and Banks families in Leeds.<sup>131</sup>

Thomas Lloyd had been a wealthy clothier who had retired from his business to take on the command of the Leeds Volunteer Corps during the French Wars. He died at his country estate near Pickering in 1828, but by then many of his young officers had assumed leading positions in the Leeds Corporation, and supported a call for a monument to be raised in the parish church funded by public subscription.<sup>132</sup> The sum of £200 was quickly raised, and the monument was unveiled in 1834. It was immediately praised by the *Leeds Mercury* for its construction of 'beautiful white marble' and its 'admirable bust of the deceased'.<sup>133</sup> The two mourning figures carved in low relief to either side of the inscription are beautifully observed and detailed, sensitively rendered and restrained.

Funds raised by public subscription were also used to pay for another monument in the Lady Chapel, that of Roger Holt Leigh, a politician who had been killed in a riot at an election rally in 1831.<sup>134</sup> The sculptor chosen this time was Richard Westmacott, Jr (1799-1872). The name Westmacott is more famously associated with his father who was born in 1775 and died in 1856, and succeeded Flaxman as the leading sculptor of his day. He specialized in the classical idiom: most of his mourning figures are allegorical and anonymous; full-length portraits of the deceased are rare amongst his many funerary monuments.<sup>135</sup> He encouraged his son, Richard, to follow him into sculpture: Richard the younger attended the Royal Academy

schools in 1818 and then studied Greek and Roman art in Italy from 1820 to 1826. He joined his father's studio in South Audley Street on his return, setting up on his own account in Wilton Place in 1830.<sup>136</sup>

The portrait of Roger Holt Leigh was, of course, a posthumous one and the finished product was praised in the press as an excellent work of art, though the portrait itself was regarded as too youthful, entirely understandable as the sculptor worked from an old pencil drawing and portrait miniature.<sup>137</sup> The monument is uninspired, but well executed: a worthy piece.

Full-length carved funeral effigies are rare in the parish church. Only three now remain: the medieval knight, the seated figure of Roger Holt Leigh and the recumbent effigy commemorating Dr Walter Farquhar Hook by Keyworth, Jr, of Hull. The portrait statue of Michael Sadler (1780–1835), reforming MP and friend and colleague of Richard Oastler of the Ten Hours Bill was, in the late 1950s, moved from the north tower of the parish church to stand outside in St George's Fields at Leeds University.<sup>138</sup> The massive monumental sculpture by the Leeds firm, Dennis Welsh and Lee, which commemorated the Durham Light Infantry in the Crimean War, was broken up at the same time and the fragments buried. Only the marble tablets bearing the names of the fallen remain, now in the west wall of the tower.<sup>139</sup>

The taste for neo-classical forms evolved, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, into a fashion for more austere classical monuments celebrating what became known as the Greek Revival. These monuments are typically stele-shaped, with white marble inscription tablets and decorative details applied to black or coloured marble grounds. The inscription tablet is often carved onto a marble sarcophagus, which may be severely plain or have carved classically-inspired decorative details. Carved coats of arms, branches of palm or willow and wreaths may be applied above or below the tablet. Large monuments tended to be architecturally-inspired, often in two or three parts, with upper and lower inscription tablets.<sup>140</sup> There are many examples of the smaller monument in the parish church, particularly in the north aisle. The wall tablets commemorating Thomas Tennant<sup>141</sup> and Sir John Beckett<sup>142</sup> are typical of the larger type.

Pattern books were widely distributed in the provinces, and one firm especially influential in the design of the period was Woods of Bristol.<sup>143</sup> Designs similar to those in their pattern books may be seen in early nineteenth-cen-

tury monuments in most churches in the country, and it was a fashion that remained in the provinces well after the vogue had subsided in the metropolis.

Such Leeds masons as Walsh and Dunbar of Park Row (*fl.* 1816–40), Welsh and Lee of Waterloo Road (*fl.* 1830–60) and Rhodes of Leeds (Edward Rhodes, who worked from 1817 to 1834) turned out multitudes of rather heavy, uninspired tablets and monuments well into the middle decades of the century. The designs that Woods had produced twenty or thirty years earlier were still preferred by what appear (by their epitaphs) to be the solid middle classes of Leeds, even if high fashion had moved on.<sup>144</sup>

As we have seen, the Established Church began a period of vigorous renewal and reinvention in the first half of the nineteenth century. Art and architecture again looked back to the Middle Ages as the definitive period of the great ascendancy of religious faith: architects-cum-designers such as Pugin declared that the Gothic style could be the only style for the truly faithful, and classicism in design, with all its pagan associations, was discarded. In Leeds, the parish church may have been rebuilt with an unorthodox layout, but it was given a firmly neo-Gothic skin, and the fashion for funerary monuments echoed this medieval revival. Architectural monuments abounded with Gothic carvings, among them canopies, tracery, cusps and crockets, heraldics and carved angels in medieval dress. Inscriptions were often set out in Gothic letters, sometimes coloured, carved into stone inscription tablets or engraved onto brass plates. Tomb-chests reappeared with recumbent effigies. Marble was still a popular material, but the use of alabaster was revived,<sup>145</sup> and easily-carved limestone or Caen stone was used for the elaborate detailing required in many of the architectural monuments.

One such monument in the parish church at Leeds, for Frances Bray, was repeatedly admired by Prince Albert when he saw it at the Leeds Exhibition of 1858.<sup>146</sup> It was by Anthony Welsh of Dennis Welsh and Lee of Woodhouse Lane. The firm was nothing if not versatile: an advertisement of 1861 is illustrated with its great 15-foot high memorial for the Durham Light Infantry in the Crimean War (1854–56), raised by public subscription in 1859 at a cost of 300 guineas. The advertisement went on to advise that the firm not only provided 'Marble Chimney Pieces, in every variety of Italian & British Marble' but also 'every description of Statues, Busts, Medallions, Monuments, Mural Tablets and Tombs in Marble, Polished Granite, and Stone, erected from the Choicest

Designs ... Baths in Marble and Enamelled Slate. Hall Floors, Wash Tables, Chiffonier Tops and all kinds of Marble Work, Manufactured by the most improved and recently patented machinery.<sup>147</sup>

Even so, some prominent citizens evidently preferred to look beyond Leeds for their memorials. William Beckett, the fifth son of Sir John Beckett, banker, philanthropist and for many years MP for Leeds, is remembered in the parish church for his monument by Baron Carlo Marochetti. Marochetti (1805-68), one of the most fashionable sculptors of the day, was even described by Ruskin as a 'thoroughly great sculptor'.<sup>148</sup> He had been born in Turin, but worked in Paris until the revolutions of 1848 forced him to move to England. His work includes the statues of Richard I in London, Queen Victoria and the Duke of Wellington in Glasgow and, in Leeds, a further statue of Wellington made in 1855, originally set in Victoria Square, now on Woodhouse Moor.<sup>149</sup> His large monument to William Beckett consists of a plinth with a sensitively modelled portrait bust of the MP in a trefoil neo-Gothic frame carved above the inscription tablet. A life-sized statue group of an angel (emblematic of Charity) with two ragged children is set on the plinth.<sup>150</sup>

Dr Hook had moved on from Leeds in 1859 to become Dean of Chichester Cathedral, and it was in Chichester that he died in 1875 and was buried. His had been such an influential presence in Leeds that a fine memorial was raised in the parish church to his memory in 1878. Costing approximately £1000,<sup>151</sup> it is magnificent: an alabaster effigy resting on an open tomb chest with carved arched sides. It was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott, the effigy was carved by W. D. Keyworth, Jr, of Hull, and the tomb it rests upon was designed by George Edmund Street (1824-81) and carved by Welsh of Leeds. Keyworth's father had also been a sculptor of note, and had, in 1844, exhibited a bust of Dr Hook at the Royal Academy.<sup>152</sup> The new monument was evidently admired and celebrated: minutes of a parish churchwardens' meeting of Monday October 21 1889 record that the verger was to be instructed that not more than two visitors were to be allowed to view the Hook Memorial at any time and he or his assistant must be on hand to accompany them.<sup>153</sup>

Carved effigies had returned to popularity in the nineteenth century, in a style of relief reminiscent of the Middle Ages but with a treatment of portraiture derived from the neo-Grecian style of the early nineteenth century. Unlike

many of the classically-robed neo-Grecian figures, however, the Victorians preferred realistic portraits in contemporary dress carved in meticulous detail. Hook's monument, like most of these effigies, showed the deceased lying on his back, hands closed in prayer, and was expressive, not only of the Victorian pursuit of medievalism but of those High Church Victorian religious attitudes, with which he had so much sympathy.<sup>154</sup>

The Hook monument is typical of Victorian design and craftsmanship and in Scott, Street and Keyworth, it had the benefit of three of the most expert practitioners in the idiom of the day. George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) remains one of the best-known architects of the Gothic Revival. He worked extensively in ecclesiastical architecture, both in the design of new structures and the restoration of medieval ecclesiastical buildings, including Westminster Abbey and Ely, Hereford, Litchfield and Salisbury Cathedrals. Much of his restoration work has since been criticised for lack of authenticity and over-enthusiasm. His secular work included the Foreign and Indian Offices (1863-68) and the Home and Colonial Offices (1870-74), both in a neo-Renaissance idiom. He also produced the Gothic Midland Hotel (1866-76) at St Pancras Station, London, the Leeds General Infirmary (1862-68), and the Albert Memorial (1863-76) in Kensington Gardens, London. Although an architect and designer, sculpture was integral to the designs of many of his buildings and he employed a number of sculptors to produce work to his designs.<sup>155</sup> For Hook's tomb, he commissioned William Day Keyworth, Jr, whose father, also a sculptor, had worked in London with Francis Chantrey. The younger Keyworth had already produced a statue of William Wilberforce in Hull and the four Portland stone lions outside the Leeds Town Hall.<sup>156</sup> George Edmund Street (1824-81) had, early in his career, spent five years working with Scott and like Scott was deeply interested in the principles of Gothic architecture. He is now best known for the buildings of the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand, London. Street is not particularly well represented in West Yorkshire, but prior to undertaking the Hook monument he had already worked in the parish church for which, in 1872, he had designed a new reredos.<sup>157</sup>

That the neo-Gothic monument had not completely taken over monumental design by the mid-nineteenth century is, however, evident in the monument commemorating James Marshall, who died in the Crimea in 1855. This follows an altogether different design tradition

looking back to the classical. It consists of a portrait medallion showing the young man in profile, designed by Angus Fletcher (1799–1862) and carved from white Carrara marble by Benjamin Edward Spence (1822–66) in Rome. Spence was one of a group of expatriate English sculptors who set up studios in Rome to work in the neo-classical tradition.<sup>158</sup> Unusually, the medallion is framed by a beautifully executed laurel wreath of small coloured stone tesserae, with more used to depict ribbons woven through the wreath and carrying the names of the main battles of the Crimea.<sup>159</sup>

After the great flowering of nineteenth-century monuments, most dedicated to the individual, the twentieth century saw a change in emphasis to memorials to war casualties especially those of a single identifiable unit, regiment, or group. The parish church in Leeds follows this change, with several exceptions, most notably a number of memorial plaques in the memory of churchwardens. It is likely that the tradition of memorials within the church is approaching its end since burials no longer take place nearby and the regular congregation within the urban parish has diminished. To some degree it may be argued that the memorials of the great Victorian cemeteries are an offshoot of this tradition but the increasing restrictions on the nature and type of inscription allowed there mean that the scope for its imaginative evolution is vanishing.

#### EGGLESTONE MARBLE MONUMENTS<sup>160</sup>

It is immediately apparent on entering the parish church at Leeds that the local grandees showed a predilection for dark stone commemorative floor slabs when they chose their monuments. This fashion was particularly evident throughout the northern half of England.<sup>161</sup> Although most of the stone slabs are carved from a dark grey limestone, as yet unidentified, the parish church also contains a significant number of slabs carved from Egglestone marble.

Egglestone marble, or as it is sometimes referred to, Teesdale marble, was quarried near Egglestone Abbey, 1.5 km south-east of Barnard Castle. There were four quarries on the site that were worked in the Middle Ages and more than 350 pieces, grave slabs, monuments and fonts have been identified by Blacker and Mitchell in their study of 320 locations in the North Midlands and North of England.<sup>162</sup> Where dated, they are predominantly associated with the late fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries and

have connections with important families and buildings.

The rock is a fine-grained, medium grey-brown coloured bioclastic limestone, containing distinctive crinoid debris.<sup>163</sup> It is hard, takes on a high degree of polish and is capable of being carved into very large blocks and slabs as well as being a fine medium for detailed and decorative carving. It was extensively used in such prestigious sites as Durham, Carlisle, Lincoln and Ripon Cathedrals, and York and Beverley Minsters.<sup>164</sup>

Leeds Parish Church contains one of the largest concentrations of Egglestone marble monuments yet identified. Of the fourteen grave slabs within the church, thirteen remain intact and one slab, which had to be broken up on removal from the floor of the north tower in 1998, survives as a roundel inlaid with the crossed keys of St Peter set in the centre of the tower's floor. The remaining slabs are scattered throughout the church where they were set in the course of rebuilding.<sup>165</sup>

The quarries at Egglestone were predominantly active from the mid-fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. Their use declined after the Reformation when the abbey lands were transferred to private families. The Strelley family, which bought the estate eight years after the abbey's surrender in 1540, was the first to control the quarries. Neither the Strelleys nor the Saviles of Lupsett, who later acquired the estate,<sup>166</sup> seem to have been interested in exploiting the mineral rights on their lands, even though the stone was relatively accessible in the cliffs on both banks cut by the river Tees. Once quarried, transport must have been a consideration in its distribution. The extensive use in the locality and even as far as Durham Cathedral is therefore unsurprising; its presence in the parish church of Leeds, however, commands attention.

The Egglestone marble in the extant medieval monuments of the parish church is characteristically used as the medium to carry brasses; the stone is so found in both sets of the Langton brasses as well as the epitaph and chalice brass for Thomas Clarell. All these brasses were from the York workshops and date from the mid-fifteenth century and all were high-status burials. Brass plaques continued to be affixed to them until the late seventeenth century. Thoresby, in the *Ducatus* described how the 'very large marble' containing the effigies of John Langton and his wife and their commemorative inscription also contained inscriptions and brass plaques for Richard Garbut (died 1630), Ralph Glossop (died 1670),

Bartholomew Ibbetson (died 1676) and Guglielmus Horne (died 1685). Of these supplemental memorials, the plaques for Ibbetson and Horne have survived. Ibbetson's has been moved to the nave and Horne's is now found on a window sill in the Lady Chapel. By Thoresby's time, the slab containing Thomas Clarell's memorial also carried a commemorative brass for John Thwaites (died 1671). Thwaites's was subsequently removed from its medieval ground to a Lady Chapel window sill.<sup>167</sup>

Thoresby's strictures over the lack of respect and care that the older monuments had been afforded over the years strongly suggests that there had been few scruples over the re-use of stones. A re-use and modernizing of the older monuments could explain the anomalous context of the remaining Egglestone marble slabs in the church; despite the virtual cessation of production by the quarries after the Reformation, most of the Egglestone marble monuments in the parish church carry inscriptions of a conspicuously later date. The monument for John Douglas and his family, for example, covers the dates 1621 to 1765. In the *Ducatus* it is described as 'a new marble' and the dates thereon range from 1621 to 1699.<sup>168</sup>

Most of the Egglestone marble slabs in the church, furthermore, commemorate burials from the eighteenth century. The dates on Jeremiah Barstow's slab range from 1711 to 1719; those on Elizabeth Fenton's slab range from 1714 to 1777. Catharine Ibbetson's death occurred in 1740 and the inscription also commemorates the death of her husband, Sir Henry, in 1761. John Firth's slab has an inscription covering the years 1741 to 1755; William Cookson's carries dates from 1743 to 1811; Thomas Bywater's from 1762 to 1824; and Henry Hall's from 1796 to 1805. Harriott Mason died in 1798 and the slab for Harrison Owler is too worn for a date to be deciphered.

Virtually all of these post-medieval inscriptions have worn very badly and are thus difficult to read. In contrast to the deep-set indents remaining on the medieval monuments, the later inscribed letters almost appear to be scratched on the surface. Certainly, the later Egglestone marble monuments have survived far less well than contemporary ones cut into the more prevalent dark limestone monument slabs elsewhere in the church.

In all, Thoresby described ten slabs that could have been medieval in origin. In addition to the Clarell and Langton memorials he noted seven other stones which cannot now be identified. Of one he wrote: 'upon another ancient Marble, the Brass whereof is inhumanly torn off

are these modern Inscriptions' which range from 1674 to 1706. None of these inscriptions survive. Of another he wrote: 'The next marble seems to be Ancient, yet has no Inscriptions save for Mr. James Loblely of Hunslet-Lane, 25 Aug. 1661...'. This stone is also lost as are the following: 'The ancient Inscription and Arms in Brass inlaid upon the Adjacent Marble are barbarously torn off. The modern is for Henry, Son of Stephen Eamondson 5 Apr. 1659 ... The next Stone has had the same Fate. What remains are for Isabel, pious Wife of Henry Eadmondson, 17 May 1674.' ... 'Upon an ancient Marble – Hannah wife of Mr Barth Towers of Leedes ... 1678' ... 'In the South Quire two ancient Marbles curiously inlaid with Brass, one in the Form of an Antique Cross, the other 2 Statues and 4 Plates of Brass all with the Inscriptions most barbarously torn off, Upon the former is now a modern Brass [Thomas Barnard, died 1685] ... Upon the other Marble, Elizabeth, wife of Ed. Bolton, 1619.'<sup>169</sup>

It cannot be determined, of course, whether the missing stones described by Thoresby were Egglestone marble. Plainly, a number of medieval monument slabs have been lost since his survey and the ancient monuments generally were not treated as artifacts intrinsically deserving of respect but were re-used and added to as deemed necessary, particularly from the seventeenth century onwards. Indeed, the turmoil and concomitant damage suffered by monuments and ecclesiastical property, first during the Reformation and a century later in the disturbances accompanying the Civil Wars and the Protectorate, together with the relatively low esteem in which medieval art and architecture were widely held before the later eighteenth century, would argue in favour of a local reworking of old-fashioned, possibly damaged, monuments. That the stone was no longer available from a working quarry is suggested by the condition of the monuments. The eighteenth-century masons were apparently unfamiliar with Egglestone marble and consequently did not realize how ill-suited to incised inscriptions it was. The slabs, especially when newly quarried, were easily cut and formed an excellent carrying medium for brass effigies and plaques, as presumably the medieval masons well knew. The properties of the stone upon exposure to air seem to have escaped later patrons and masons: the originally readily-worked stone then develops a hardened 'skin' and becomes far more difficult to carve or cut. The shallowness of the inscribed lettering may attest to an ill-judged attempt to rework older monuments. Even if the stones

were turned over for re-use, centuries of exposure to damp earth may have interacted with and damaged the surface structure.

Re-use of Egglestone marble slabs has been noted elsewhere. According to Blacker the dark coloured floor tiles in the nave of Ripon Cathedral were mainly Egglestone marble. It is also found in the cathedral at the entrances to the treasury and crypt and the modern, bevelled step from the crossing into the chancel. Blacker conjectures these may have come from recut grave slabs originally set in the floor of the church 'as has happened at York and Beverley Minsters'. Blacker also noted a grave slab dated 1811 that was cut from Egglestone marble and possibly re-used.<sup>170</sup>

The putative re-use of medieval memorials in the eighteenth century remains conjectural. What is evident is that there is a large, apparently anomalous, concentration of Egglestone

marble in the parish church. Few of the stones remain in a medieval context; most carry eighteenth-century inscriptions, even though the quarries that produced the stone were active three to four centuries earlier. The surviving medieval memorials, being made of an expensive stone quarried elsewhere and worked in York, commemorate people of considerable status in the then small market town of Leeds. A number of medieval stone monument slabs identified by Thoresby in the early eighteenth century have since vanished, even though some of them had been augmented by ancillary memorial brasses let into them over the years, particularly in the seventeenth century. If a later, extensive re-use of the monumental slabs did indeed occur, why there should have been an apparent abrupt change of fashion among the most important families of the Leeds ruling oligarchy remains a mystery.