



Historic England

Broadbottom, Broadbottom Lane, Hebden Royd, West Yorkshire An Historical and Architectural Survey

David Cant and Colum Giles

Discovery, Innovation and Science in the Historic Environment



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**BROADBOTTOM
BROADBOTTOM LANE,
HEBDEN ROYD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

AN HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

David Cant and Colum Giles

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SUMMARY

Broadbottom is a timber-framed aisled house dating, on the evidence of dendrochronological analysis, to 1464. Surviving from this phase is the aisled housebody, open to the roof, and retaining virtually complete the truss at the upper (dais) end of the room and, less complete, the open truss over the fire area. The timber framing is in typical Pennine style, with heavy scantling, close-studded walling and king-post trusses. Documentary evidence indicates that the house was subdivided in the late-16th century, and it is unlikely that it ever again functioned as a single dwelling. From the late-16th century, new work was in stone. First, part of the lower (south-east) end of the aisled house was rebuilt, probably to form an independent household following the division. This phase was followed closely by the construction of a porch and the casing of the housebody in stone. Both early stone phases are characterised by very deep-coursed masonry. Documentary evidence traces, partially, a complex sequence of occupation by different generations of inter-related families, and it is likely that although owned by families of substance it did not form their principal residence, at least during the 18th century and later. By the mid-19th century, the site was occupied by eight or nine unrelated households.

An important aspect of the house's history is its long-standing association with families engaged in the wool textile industry on a substantial scale. Early ownership of fulling mills is recorded, and a probate inventory of 1714 shows extensive operation on an outworking basis. Agricultural activity is reflected in the surviving complex by two laithes.

The significance of the house lies principally in the survival of the timber-framed aisled housebody, making it one of the finest representatives of the historically and architecturally important group of aisled houses in the Halifax area. This group was built and occupied in many known cases by yeomen-clothier families made wealthy by engagement in industry. There is a direct line between this early-capitalist or 'proto-industrial' phase of the Yorkshire textile industry and the later development of mass production in West Yorkshire's textile mills.

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ARCHIVE LOCATION

Historic England Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH

DATE OF SURVEY

March and April 2018.

METHODOLOGY

This report was produced by David Cant and Colum Giles, independent historic building consultants commissioned by Historic England to provide a history, description and analysis of Broadbottom, together with an assessment of the building's significance. It is focused on the unoccupied earliest part of the complex, where full access was possible, with only brief notice of the occupied later parts. Site visits were conducted on two days and complemented by research using primary and secondary sources. Notes and aide-memoire photographs were taken on site. Some of these photographs are used in this report, the copyright belonging to Historic England, but other illustrations were drawn from previous records of the building, taken in better conditions and at a time when evidence was more clearly visible, notably those by Chris Stell c. 1956-7 and Diane Charlton c. 2000: appropriate copyright acknowledgement is given in each case. The base drawings were produced by Historic England's Geospatial Imaging team using laser scanning techniques and CAD; these were then enhanced for publication using Adobe Illustrator. The report will be used to inform interventions designed to bring the building back into use and safeguard it for future generations.

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HISTORY OF THE SITE

The ownership and occupation of Broadbottom over the centuries has been extremely complex (see Appendix 1). The early history of the site was outlined in 1903 by J H Ogden in an article in the Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society.¹ He was able to consult early documents which had evidence of an estate at Broadbottom in the 13th century and to trace the descent through the sometimes inter-related generations of three principal families.² Two of the family names, Sutcliffe and Thomas, occur frequently in the history of the Calder valley; the third family, the Drapers, was an influential and important name in the 16th century and held Broadbottom until 1572. Unfortunately, Ogden did not give precise references but research undertaken for this project has shown a more complex picture of ownership and tenure. Ogden's limited description of the building itself also needs to be treated with caution; he describes an old chapel, for which there is no other evidence, but the story has been repeated elsewhere. It is possible that the canopy at the west end of the housebody, the remains of which were still *in situ* until the middle of the 20th century, was mistaken for an ecclesiastical edifice.³ An imaginative reconstruction was produced in 1879 by Leyland.⁴ A drawing by Arthur Comfort from c.1920 appears to be more realistic.⁵

Ogden was able to trace changes related to several surrounding estates in Wadsworth, for example Redacre and Birchenlee Carr. He showed that, by the end of the 14th century, the Draper family held Broadbottom and several other local estates. Broadbottom passed from generation to generation, from Randolph to John (c.1400), to William (1414), to Thomas, on Thomas' death in 1443, to his son, also Thomas, and later to Henry. The family were involved in both farming and the textile industry; in 1514, Henry Draper was granted permission by the Wadsworth manor court to erect a fulling mill nearby. He also held licenses for other fulling mills in the area. Clearly the Draper family were of some substance, in terms of the extent of their property and of their industrial activity. The estates descended through the family until in 1573, when, with the death of another Thomas, they passed to his three daughters: Isabel, married to Robert Sutcliffe; Mary, wife of Robert Milner; and a third, not named by Ogden. He concluded that the Broadbottom estate only passed to the two named daughters. At this point not only the Draper estates were subdivided but Broadbottom itself; the consequent ownership and occupation henceforth weaves a complex pattern as it involves several generations of local families with several branches.

As two married daughters, Isabel and Mary would have been living with their respective husbands. Robert and Isabel lived at Hoo Hole, Erringden; it is likely that their portion of Broadbottom was leased to a tenant.⁶ The home of Robert and Mary Milner has not been identified. But one party involved in an exchange of other properties in 1587 was 'Henry Tylson of Brodebothom' who, as yet, has not been identified.⁷

The next reference, in 1596, cites a marriage settlement, whereby William Sutcliffe, son of Isabel and Robert, married Sara, daughter of John Sunderland. William was granted

‘the lower or east end of the messuage, containing the floor kitchen,⁸ half the porch chamber, and other edifices, two lathes or barns, called the bothom laythe and the new lathe, the half part of the kilne house, the north part of one swine house, a house called Wellhouse, the east end of a garden, the east end of an orchard, the half of the tentercroft, the east half of a close or meadow called The Green and six other closes of land commonly called the Kilncroft, the Milncrofte, Adkinland, Overspringe, Over Longroid and the Lower Longroide...!’

Ogden adds that William’s brother Matthew ‘received the other half of the messuage’. Unfortunately, it is not clear how he reached this conclusion or if this only referred to the subdivision of the part inherited by Isabel and her husband.

The next documentary reference found mentioning a change in the ownership was in 1604, when Mary’s second husband, Thomas Snedale, sold his part of Broadbottom to Thomas Sutcliffe.⁹ Then in 1612 Matthew Sutcliffe bequeathed his estate to his son William. As well as part of Broadbottom, this estate included Fallingroyd, which was granted to his son of the same name in 1659. At this stage it appears that Broadbottom was in the hands of two branches of the Sutcliffe family, although the relationship is not clear.

The partition of the Broadbottom estate, including the buildings, appears to have led to occupation by tenants from time to time. During these periods the owners of the different parts, although from relatively wealthy families, were using the property to furnish rental income and as security for loans rather than as a principal dwelling. As a consequence the buildings were kept in order, but not subject to extensive and sometimes decorative refurbishment like some other houses in the area.¹⁰ In 1670, ownership of part of Broadbottom passed to William Thomas, the sitting tenant, and by his will of 1688 to his son Richard.¹¹ Unfortunately, at this date, the descent becomes even more difficult to establish due to the complexities of the relationships of the Sutcliffes, still a common family name in the area. In 1700, for example, William Sutcliffe conveyed part of Broadbottom to Joseph Sutcliffe of the Milne. It has not been possible to identify the parts of the estate covered by this deal.¹²

The 1672 Hearth Tax returns for Wadsworth township are of little help in identifying the owners or occupiers. The likely candidates have several entries each – there are four entries for the Sutcliffe family; William has three, another William and two Johns one each. There are six entries for the Thomas family, three of which have more than one hearth; indeed Robert has four. But none of these can be positively identified with Broadbottom.¹³

It is clear that by the beginning of the 18th century the Thomas family were in possession of a substantial part of the property for, in an inventory taken in 1714 as part of the probate of the will of William Thomas, the rooms listed were: the house, buttery, parlour, porch chamber, kitchen and chamber, shop, shop chamber and dressing chamber. The overall value is £673 – 19 - 11½d, mostly accounted for by cloth or materials in preparation, although he was owed £270, at least half of which

was from a merchant in Rochdale who had just been declared bankrupt!¹⁴ In 1771 Richard Thomas raised a loan from Revd Thomas Murgatroid of Kirkleatham, using Broadbottom as security. At that time, it was occupied as two dwelling houses in the tenure of William Thomas, father of said Richard; and Richard himself and Joseph Harwood.¹⁵

In the early years of the 19th century part of Broadbottom was occupied by the Mitchell family, who were cotton manufacturers.¹⁶ This family later established a large mill at Old Town, also in Wadsworth township, and they may have used some buildings at Broadbottom for the textile trade. This is quite probable based on evidence from other families at the time.¹⁷ In 1844 the Thomas family had a two-storey house built at the western end of the site, commemorated by a plaque in the western gable wall. The intention to build a larger house is indicated by the unfinished courses on both elevations – had this plan been fulfilled it would have resulted in the demolition of the remaining timber-framed section.

The Census returns for 1841, 1861 and 1891 recorded 8 or 9 households living at Broadbottom, emphasising how the property had been subdivided into small units to maximise rental income. Employment in the various branches of the textile industry predominated with the heads of household and often their wives and some of their children involved. After the 1850s this would have been mostly factory-based work; there were several mills less than a mile away. Throughout the period two farms were in operation, in 1861 one had 18 acres of land, the other 11. Again this is typical for the area. They would have concentrated on dairying and raising cattle. The two laithes (barns with cow houses under one roof) at Broadbottom still bear witness to this activity, although both have recently been converted to dwellings. The other heads of household pursued a variety of occupations: washerwomen, woodman, cordwainer, ironworker and labourer; frequently their wives and children would also be earning. There appears to be little continuity in tenancy; by 1861 all but one of the family names are different; only the Sutcliffes are there throughout. Even the farming families, where tenancies often passed from father to son, changed during this period. The Thomas family, by this time owners of most, if not all of Broadbottom, was notably absent, indicating they were living elsewhere, content to just collect the rent. However, by 1901 there were only 4 households; one, that of the Eccles family, remaining in continuous occupation and farming here until 2006.

In 1925, on the death of James Sutcliffe Thomas, the estate passed to the family of his nephew Harold Sutcliffe, with the Eccles family continuing as tenant farmers. It remained in their tenancy and the ownership of the Sutcliffes until 2006, when it passed to the present owner.¹⁸

For many older sites in the Calder valley the prosperity of the owners through successful textile manufacturing and trading gave them the resources to rebuild their homes. Many of these buildings survive.¹⁹ A good proportion were remodelled in the 18th century but those that were not became less desirable, even unfashionable, and were often converted to cottages to provide accommodation for the increasing number of families who could no longer make a living independently. The standard of accommodation was adequate for the time but by the mid-20th century it was no

longer regarded as such. Some were demolished, others, after a period of dereliction, were refurbished to provide desirable modern accommodation in an older building. Peel House, Warley, shows such an evolution, from a substantial yeoman-clothier house of 1598, to three or more cottages in the 20th century (conversion involving the obscuring of many original features), to its present re-incarnation, newly restored as a single dwelling proudly displaying its early features.

In many cases the rebuilding during the 17th century meant the removal of timber-framed structures. The re-used timbers in many buildings bear witness to these changes. Those timber-framed structures which were not demolished were almost all cased in stone, to be rediscovered, sometimes when they themselves came to be demolished or modernised. Few survived these processes; this makes Broadbottom special. It probably happened because, following the high point of the Draper occupation in the 16th century and the stone rebuilding at the end of that century, which partially survives, the fortunes of the families could not sustain a more elaborate rebuilding in the 17th or 18th centuries. Broadbottom may no longer have been their main residence and was more useful for its rental income or as a home for junior members of the family. The farm house and cottages from the 18th and early 19th centuries have survived; had the planned work of the 1840s at the west end been completely realised there would be no *in situ* timber framework surviving.

Description

Broadbottom is a complex of buildings comprising, in one long range, the remains of a timber-framed aisled house, dated by dendrochronology to 1464; stone dwellings, of dates ranging from the 16th century to the 19th century, encasing and partially replacing the timber-framed house; and an attached barn or laithe of the 19th century.²⁰ To the south of this range is a detached barn or laithe, probably 18th century in origin but rebuilt in the 20th century. A small cottage formerly stood to the east of this detached barn.

Broadbottom is sited in the classic position for medieval settlement in the Pennines, located approximately on the 400ft (130m) contour, well above the flood plain of the River Calder, flowing some 100ft (35m) below. The principal range of buildings faces south west to take advantage of light and sun. The ground slopes steeply downwards in front of the settlement and rises equally steeply behind it. The principal range is not aligned precisely along the contour, instead falling away from north west to south east, resulting in marked differences in floor levels in its different parts (Fig 1).

The focus of this report will be on the medieval, 16th and 17th-century phases of the complex, particularly in the area of the former housebody, porch and passage area. These parts were fully inspected externally and internally. Elements to the north west and south east were inspected only externally, so their precise relationship to the earliest phases of the house remains unclear in detail, although broad lines of development may be suggested. For ease of description, the building will be taken to face south, whereas in reality the main front is aligned to face south west. The system of identification of components of the timber-framed structure (truss III, post g, etc) formulated by Christopher Stell in his thesis is retained in the present account.



Fig 1: Broadbottom from south west, c.2000 (© Diane Charlton)

Previous notices of the building

The remarkable survival of a medieval building and the importance of the families associated with the settlement have drawn the attention of a succession of local historians and students. In the early-20th century, members of the Halifax Antiquarian Society were strongly conscious of the importance and interest of local vernacular buildings and in 1903 Broadbottom formed the subject of an article by J H Ogden tracing the tenorial history of the site (see 'History of the site', above).²¹ Ogden recognised the building's antiquity, stating that it was a 'timber-built structure, which has undergone many alterations, its western wing having been rebuilt, and the remainder of the building encased with stone, apparently at the beginning of the seventeenth century'. He goes on to note that 'its most interesting feature was the large private chapel, erected some 500 years ago'. Some years later, Arthur Comfort published two drawings of the house, one external and one internal, in books about the area's early houses.²²

The growing recognition of the importance of vernacular architecture nationally and locally led to continued interest in Broadbottom. In the middle decades of the 20th century, Ralph Cross, a keen student of the region's vernacular buildings, photographed the house, his images forming part of a significant archive of photographs on the buildings of this part of West Yorkshire and adjacent parts of Lancashire.²³ In 1960 Christopher Stell completed his MA thesis on the vernacular buildings of part of the upper Calder valley.²⁴ Stell provided the first analytical record of Broadbottom, discussing it at length and illustrating it with plans, sections and many photographs (Fig 2). His record helped to draw attention to the growing

evidence for the survival of a significant group of late-medieval vernacular houses in the Calder valley and may have led to the listing of Broadbottom in 1963 as a building of special architectural or historic interest. Stell summarised his thesis in an article published in 1965, and again Broadbottom featured prominently.²⁵

In a regional and national context, the phenomenon of the cluster of late-medieval aisled houses in the Halifax area, emerging from individual recording exercises by museums and archaeological societies, was noted by Atkinson and McDowall in an article in the *Antiquaries Journal* in 1967, and Broadbottom was included in analysis of the group.²⁶ Some years later, Eric Mercer highlighted the same phenomenon in his national survey of English vernacular house, and again Broadbottom was mentioned, with reference to Stell's work.²⁷ Finally, Giles, in his study of West Yorkshire's vernacular houses, refers to the house in his discussion of the group of Pennine aisled houses.²⁸ These references indicate that, principally as a result of Stell's recording and publication, Broadbottom was widely recognised as an important example of the regional type.

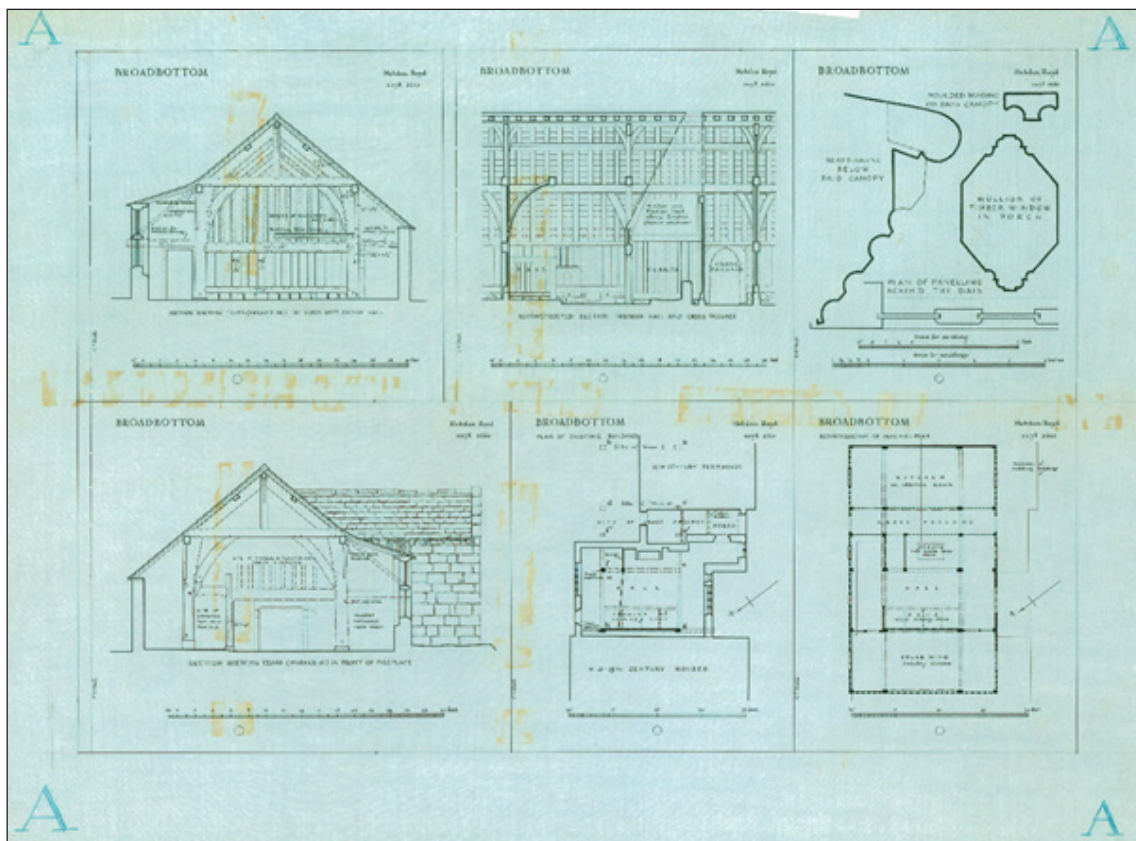


Fig 2: Christopher Stell's beautiful drawn record of Broadbottom, c.1960 (©John Stell: Historic England Archive, STE01/17/001, Sheet of drawings for Broadbottom)

The first stages of development

The site at Broadbottom has been in continuous occupation since the 13th century (see 'History of the site', above), although the earliest standing remains date only from the middle decades of the 15th century. Nothing remains above ground to indicate the form of the dwelling during the first two centuries of occupation, but it is probable that there is potential for archaeological investigation into earlier periods than evidenced by the late-medieval structure. This represents an opportunity to discover more about how the first substantial timber buildings of the area, represented at Broadbottom by the timber-framed structure which survives, relate to their predecessors in terms of plan, structure and use. This has important implications for the debate about the transition from impermanent, or insubstantial, dwellings to structures able to survive for many centuries.²⁹ Of particular interest at Broadbottom is the possibility of discovering whether the aisled form of the 15th century building was an innovation or whether it continued the form of any preceding structures. Also of interest would be identifying the position of the hearth in the early phases; excavations elsewhere in the north of England have suggested that in peasant houses the open hearth in the centre of the main room was, over the span of the Middle Ages, replaced typologically and on individual sites by a fire against a reredos wall, the arrangement seen in the standing building at Broadbottom.³⁰ Knowledge about these issues, whether positive or negative, would provide significant new understanding of medieval peasant housing in the Pennines.³¹

The first phase of the standing building: the timber-framed aisled house of 1464

Contained within the principal range, between the 1844 dwelling to the west and the c.1600/18th century wing to the east, are the substantial remains of a timber-framed aisled house. Dendrochronological testing of timbers has provided a range of dates from the 1440s to 1464, three timbers almost certainly being felled at the latter date, which will be taken as the year of construction.³² It is overwhelmingly likely, therefore, that the surviving remains represent part of the first substantial timber-framed house, replacing all or part of any pre-existing structures. No timber-framed external walls survive, for stone outer walls replaced timber framing at different periods in the house's later history. The date of 1464 indicates that the aisled house was probably built by Thomas Draper, who inherited the property from his father in 1443 and is recorded as paying 100 marks in settlement of a claim on Broadbottom in 1474 (see 'History of the site').

Two bays of the 1464 house survive in part (Drawing 1, ground-floor plan). The eastern bay is likely to have provided, in its eastern half as it did in later stone phases, the main entrance to the dwelling and a passage running from front to rear. There is no structural evidence to prove this, but on the model of the most common regional plan type it is overwhelmingly likely. To the west of the passage lay a housebody (the local term for the principal room of a house) of one-and-a-half bays. From analogy with the common features of local houses and on the basis of partially-surviving structural evidence, the half bay next to the passage was occupied by the fire area

comprising a hearth and a firehood which took the smoke up from the hearth to discharge through the roof. This relationship between the entrance to the house and the heating of the main room gave the house a hearth-passage plan, an arrangement that was dominant in houses of the region from the late-medieval period to the end of the 17th century. The half bay comprising the fire area and the complete bay to the west together formed the housebody, open from ground to roof. The special feature of the housebody, and originally of the complete building, are the aisles to front and rear, giving great depth to the room. This places the house within a group of regionally and nationally significant houses. The two surviving bays formed the central part of a house, formerly with both upper (western) and lower (eastern) ends giving a tri-partite arrangement of rooms; the evidence for these ends will be discussed below.

The timber-framed structure

The timber-framed aisled structure survives substantially within the housebody. Two trusses remain, with original carpenter's marks numbering them as truss III (Stell e-f) and truss IIII (Stell g-h) (Figs 3, 4 and Drawings 2 and 3, cross sections). This numbering helps to establish the former extent of the 1464 building. The closed truss at the upper (west) end of the room (Truss IIII) remains virtually intact; the open truss defining the fire bay (Truss III) retains its northern arcade post, tie beam and roof truss; and the arcade plate linking the arcade posts survives over one-and-a-half bays on the north side of the room (Stell f-h) but has been replaced on the south side (Stell e-g) except in the half bay over the passage (Drawing 4, long section). Curved braces rise from the posts to the arcade plate and to the tie beams. The aisles to north and south were contained under a continuation of the roof over the main span: this form remains over the north aisle, but to the south a later raising of the outer wall has necessitated a significantly lower pitch to the roof of the aisle on this side. Aisle ties in the closed western truss span the aisles to north and south and helped to support the lower end of the roof. The open truss has no evidence for an aisle tie running north from the arcade post (Stell f).

Throughout, the timbers are consistently of extremely heavy scantling: the main posts, broad over their whole length, swell to give a massive jowl at their upper ends; tie-beams are deep; the roof timbers, particularly the king posts, are substantial; and in the screen in the lower part of the western truss the planks are broad and extremely thick (Stell measured them at 11³/₄" by 3¹/₂"). Stylistically, the framing is typical of the region: heavy close studding forms the upper part of the truss IIII below the tie beam, and the roof trusses, with king posts, A braces in truss IIII, and single side purlins, are of typical local form. Although massively constructed, the framing is plain and undecorated, with none of the intricate moulding employed in contemporary timber-framed vernacular houses in other parts of the country. In places, the finish of timbers is rough, for example in the less visible sides of the main arcade posts and in the irregular profile of the northern aisle tie in truss IIII.

That the outer walls of the housebody were timber-framed is demonstrated by the unhappy way in which the present stone walls relate to the aisle ties of truss IIII. The stone wall at the rear of the house is of c.1800 and its construction may have caused



Fig 3 (left): the housebody, view to north west showing truss IIII with plank and muntin screen (© Diane Charlton)



Fig 4 (right): the housebody, view to south east showing open truss III over fire area (© Diane Charlton)

the cutting short of the aisle tie on this side of the building. To the south, the aisle tie retains its full length and runs through the stone wall: when Stell recorded the building in 1956-7, it projected out beyond the line of the wall and is shown thus on his plan and section drawing. Since that date, the tie has rotted away and lost part of its length, although its end is still exposed to the elements and is visible externally. A pegged mortice for a stud in the soffit of the aisle tie, partly within the thickness of the stone wall, is proof of the later character of the latter, since clearly the masonry precludes the existence of a stud.

The housebody

The features and function of the housebody can be reconstructed in part. On the model of local houses, in which the hearth-passage plan is the overwhelmingly dominant plan type, the room would have been entered through a doorway in the northern part of the wall dividing housebody from passage, probably opening into the main span of the building rather than into the northern aisle.³³ The entrance to the room was therefore adjacent to the fire area, and it is likely that a screen (termed a heck or heck screen) sheltered the latter from the draughts coming from the doorway. The arcade post of the open truss (Stell f) displays, on its eastern face, evidence for a screen between the heck and the aisle: the post has an unpegged mortice for a horizontal timber running east and, below the mortice, a shallow groove designed to take the planks of a timber screen (Fig 5).

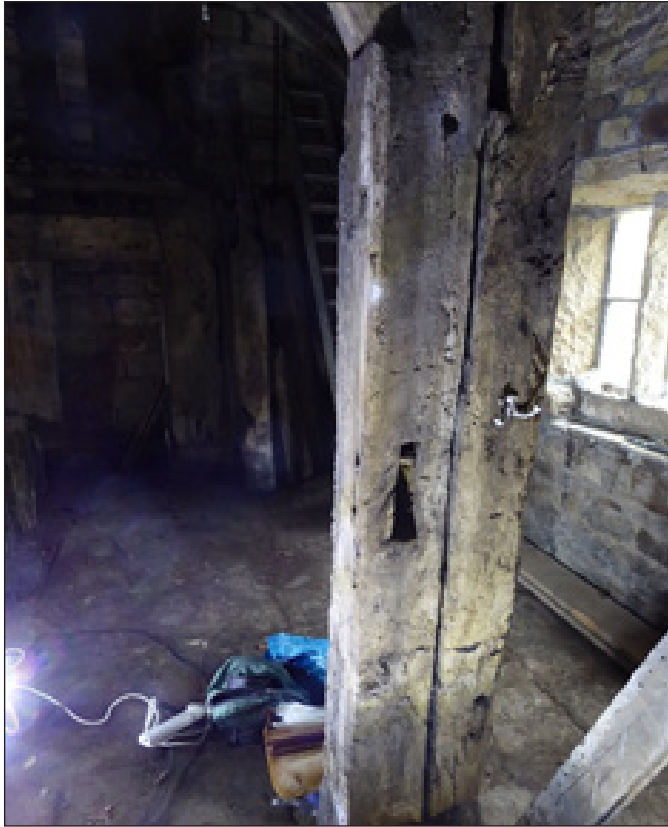


Fig 5: post f, east face, showing mortice and groove for screen (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

Heating the housebody: evidence for a firehood

The precise form of the heating arrangement is unclear. In much of southern and midland England the hall or housebody in medieval houses was heated by an open hearth set in the centre of the room. Smoke from the fire rose freely through the room to escape through a louvre in the roof, with consequent heavy soot encrustation of roof timbers. The open hearth is not known in late-medieval houses in West Yorkshire, in which roof timbers bear no evidence of soot encrustation. In the housebody at Broadbottom the roof timbers and the timbers of the main trusses are blackened, but it is likely that this effect results simply from the age of the structure and from its long period of non-domestic use, when dust and dirt were allowed to accumulate. It is not, therefore, considered to be the effect of an open hearth in the late-medieval house.

In local houses, certainly of the post-medieval period, the conventional hearth-passage plan provided a stone wall (termed a reredos due to its special function) between passage and main room. This reredos acted as a fireproof wall against which a hearth could be located and to which a timber firehood could be fixed to take the smoke away. Broadbottom has such a reredos, rising from ground to roof and, although it is impossible to prove, it is likely that this represents the arrangement in the 1464 building. Stell, however, interpreted the development differently, suggesting that the original fire was set against only a low stone reredos, with a timber wall above. He pointed to the evidence in the soffit of the surviving arcade plate in the passage area of a single-peggged mortice for a post (Stell e¹) forming part of this timber wall, although there is no further evidence pointing to a cross wall or roof truss at this point, mid-bay between main trusses.³⁴

The northern arcade post in the open truss (Stell f) has, in its southern face, a long, six-pegged mortice, partly occupied as is conventional by the tenon of a curved brace up to the tie beam. The lower, notched, part of the mortice may have taken the end of a bressumer spanning between the arcade posts (Stell e-f) and forming the support for a timber and plaster firehood over the hearth (Fig 6).³⁵ There is, however, some doubt about this. As a timber of great scantling, a bressumer demanded a strong joint where it was fixed at the ends, and this entailed the use of a long, multi-pegged mortice and tenon joint in the supporting posts. Some local houses show such an arrangement. The six-pegged mortice in the arcade post at Broadbottom (Stell f) was probably largely occupied by the tenon for the brace up to the tie beam: elsewhere in the building, similar braces have four or five pegs securing this joint. If this was the case in post f, there was little room for the tenon of a firehood bressumer of heavy scantling. It might also be noted that the mid rail of truss IIII (analogous, it may be suggested, to a bressumer) is triple-pegged into the post: a bressumer would have demanded the same type of joint. The arrangement suggested by Stell, and still partly in place, is perhaps correct: he proposed that the lower part of the mortice in post f took the tenon of a door lintel fixed at the other end to a short post, the latter providing support for the bressumer to its south. The short post, marked f¹ on the Historic England plan (see Drawing 1), survives and displays in its southern face a long mortice appropriate for the tenon of a bressumer (see Fig 28).³⁶ Although this could represent the original arrangement, it is clear that in its present configuration it results from later alterations, for the short post shows evidence of redundant mortices and, while stop-chamfered at its upper end where it met the bressumer, lacks stop chamfers at its foot. Presumably, the south end of any bressumer would have been supported by the southern arcade post (Stell post e), but this has been removed and the evidence therefore has been lost.



Fig 6: post f, west face, showing pegged joint for brace to tie beam and door lintel (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

A substantial bressumer has been re-used in the vertical plane to replace the south arcade post (Stell e) of the open truss (Figs 7, 8). The bressumer has shallow rounded mouldings along the upper and lower edges of its good face, a rare example of decoratively worked timber. It has a simple chamfer on its lower outer edge and a very broad chamfer on its inner edge, the conventional form of chamfering for a bressumer. Both chamfers have simple triangular stops at the visible upper end. The original length of this bressumer, and therefore its fit within the aisled structure, cannot be determined, for it was cut to its present size (3.58m) to act as a supporting post and has therefore lost part of its span. It was not subjected to successful dendrochronological testing, which might have provided an indication of whether it might belong to the same phase as the rest of the aisled structure. The presence in the upper face of the bressumer of a series of closely-spaced pegged mortices, clearly for a stud wall rising from the timber, casts doubt on the possibility that the timber could belong to the first phase of the standing building, for there is no evidence in the tie beam of the open truss over the fire area for corresponding mortices to take the upper ends of studs. The tie beam displays, centrally in its soffit, only a single-pegged mortice designed to take a vertical post down to a bressumer (Fig 9).³⁷



Fig 7 (left): bressumer re-used as support for tie-beam, replacing post e: mortices in upper face for stud wall above and in east face for bearer beams for firehood (© Diane Charlton)

Fig 8 (right): re-used bressumer, west face, showing roll mouldings on upper and lower edges (©Historic England. Colum Giles)



Fig 9: truss III, showing brace from post f, king-post truss and tie beam with mortices in soffit for brace to right and, centrally, for strut formerly down to bressumer (© Diane Charlton)

In local buildings, the firehood, of timber and plaster construction, rose from a bressumer and supporting side beams and tapered towards the top. It did not, in this form, rise through the roof covering, instead commonly being fixed at its upper end, perhaps a metre below the roof apex, to the underside of a stone cap: it was this cap which rose through the roof covering. Examination of the upper part of the present stone chimney stack and adjacent parts of the roof suggests that remains of part of such a stone cap, potentially belonging to the 1464 building, might exist at Broadbottom. The lower part of the chimney stack, of c.1700 and inserted to replace the firehood on the installation of the housebody fireplace, is off-centre to the ridge and to the upper part of the stack, causing the flue to rise at an angle to join the new stone stack to the underside of the cap. Furthermore, there is a slight difference in masonry form between upper cap and lower stack, and there appear to be some stones corbelled and cantilevered back into the reredos wall, perhaps as a support for the cap, a feature found in some other local buildings. In addition, the common rafter adjacent to the reredos wall to the north of the stack or cap is neatly finished to leave a short gap between it and the cap. Nothing can be proved, but it is possible that rafter and cap represent the remains of the original arrangement of taking the smoke through the roof by means of a stone cap above a timber firehood. It should be noted, however, that the external part of the cap, above the roof line, is a modern reconstruction (see below, p32).

The aisles

The lack of evidence for a screen of any type below the arcade plate and between the arcade posts demonstrates that originally, as now, the northern aisle was open to the main span. It is likely but - because the arcade plate on this side has been replaced - not subject to proof, that the southern aisle was also open, giving a housebody of great depth (at least 8.7 metres) (Fig 10). Because the roof would have sloped down to low outer walls the room must have been very poorly lit, light being admitted only through small windows. The north aisle is roofed with rafters supported at their upper end by the arcade plate: the rafters are not continuous with those rising from arcade plate to ridge.



Fig 10: the housebody, view to south into south aisle (© Diane Charlton)

The dais end of the housebody

The west end of the housebody was the 'upper' or dais end. In medieval houses higher in the social scale, the upper end was regarded as superior, accommodating seating on a raised dais for the principal members of the family and important guests. It will be argued below (*see* Context and Significance section) that the same sort of hierarchical customs applied within the household at Broadbottom and that the configuration of the housebody was not an empty imitation of the life style of gentry and aristocracy. Here it is sufficient to note that Broadbottom has, on a reduced scale and level of rich detail, some of the features of the dais end of much larger medieval houses, features which mark this area out as of special importance within the house.

First, the lower wall of the closed truss at this end of the room was made up not of close-studding, used above the mid rail and doubtless considered the ordinary method of walling, but, beneath the mid rail, of a plank and muntin screen, a richer and more elaborate form of walling. The planks of the screen are extraordinarily heavy: as noted above, they are each approximately 11³/₄" by 3¹/₂", massively over-specifying what was required and probably intended as a display feature. The sill securing the lower end of the plank and muntin screen is morticed into the arcade post (Stell g) at its southern end but was not morticed into the arcade post (Stell h) at its northern end (*see* Fig 11: Stell's section drawing shows the sill pegged to the post, but clearly this was not the case.). Although unusual, this arrangement must be accepted as original. It is likely that a dais bench was set against this wall, but there are no visible signs of the method of fixing it. There is, however, evidence for a screen at the north end of the seating area, for the arcade post (Stell h) has, in its east face, two unpegged mortices securing the top and bottom of a timber end to the dais area (Fig 11).



Fig 11: Truss III, post h, showing upper and lower mortices for screen at end of dais (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

The dais canopy

Above all, the dais end was marked out as superior by the canopy which once rose above the dais bench. When Stell recorded the building in 1956-7, substantial parts of the canopy remained in place (Fig 12). It was made up of curved timber ribs springing from the framed wall above the mid rail and rising to a head beam spanning between the arcade plates. The ribs were covered with planks nailed horizontally to form a smooth curve. A similar dais canopy, in a house of similar date and status, remains in place at Bankhouse, Skircoat.³⁸ Other aisled houses of the area also show evidence for the presence of a canopy over the upper end of the housebody.³⁹

The evidence for the canopy at Broadbottom lies not only in Stell's photographic record but also in two features in the surviving building. First, the seating for the canopy head beam is evident in the presence of a lap dovetail joint in the upper face of the northern arcade plate, approximately 5 feet (1.5m) from truss IIII. A beam spanning the housebody in this position could have had no other function than to support the upper end of the canopy. Second, there remain fixed to truss IIII above the mid rail two lengths of timber ornamented with mouldings and brattishing (a sort of dentillation) (Figs 13, 14). Highly unusual, if not unique in West Yorkshire, one at least of these timbers appears to have acted as the support for the ribs of the canopy, or at least to mark its lower end. Stell's section drawing records the position of the longer of the two timbers, that fixed to the northern part of the truss, and his photographic record shows the ribs rising from above the brattished rail, with pegs securing the lower end of the ribs to the stud wall. Horizontal boarding below the brattished rail provided a neat finish to the canopy above the truss's mid rail.



Fig 12: remains of the dais canopy, c.1956-7, photographed by Christopher Stell. Much of the plank boarding had been removed, but the head beam and some ribs remained, the latter pegged to the studs of truss IIII (©John Stell: Historic England Archive, STE01/01/005/04 (RB Card: 6672/35))



Fig 13: brattished rail fixed to truss IIII above mid rail (© Diane Charlton)



Fig 14: brattished rail, junction of timber: note the carpenters' numbering of the joints (© Diane Charlton)

It is not certain that the brattished rail recorded by Stell, and still in place, is in its original position, for its northern end is not finished neatly, terminating in a crude cut. However, this may simply be the result of a brutal alteration to the canopy area, some cutting away being necessary for some unknown purpose. Oral evidence attests that some decades ago the shorter timber (that on the southern part of the truss) was discovered acting as a fence post and subsequently removed and fixed in its present position. It should be noted that the two brattished rails are today very different in character, but this might be the result of the shorter timber's prolonged exposure to the elements and secondary use as a fence post. The three hollow-round mouldings on the two parts of the brattished rail are similar or identical in profile, and the lack of matching dentillation could result, in the southern timber, from erosion, decay or trimming for a new purpose.

The existence of a dais canopy at Broadbottom is demonstrated by two further features, both found in the truss IIII. First, the timbers and infill of the upper walling, above, that is, the plank and muntin screen and mid rail, are very dirty, more so than timbers elsewhere. This is likely to have been the result of having been inaccessible for centuries, lying behind the canopy where dust and dirt could accumulate. Furthermore, there is a clear difference in the treatment of the pegged joints in the upper part of the truss. While elsewhere in the building pegs were mostly trimmed off flush with the surface of the timbers, here the pegs are left projecting very markedly, some as much as 12 centimetres (Fig 15). This again is explained by the fact that this walling would not have been visible, for it was obscured by the canopy. A decision was clearly taken not to finish the carpentry in this area to the same standard as in more visible parts of the timber structure.

As stated above, both north and south aisles were open to the housebody, the whole area forming an undivided space open from ground to roof. The western truss (IIII) shows, in the area of both aisles, evidence for the position of doorways leading from the housebody to accommodation at the upper, west, end of the dwelling. The aisle ties in both aisles have double-pegged mortices for heavy doorposts for doorways next to the posts of the closed truss. One doorpost survives in each aisle (Fig 16). Above the aisle tie, mortices, double-pegged in the south aisle but unpegged in the north aisle, reveal the former existence of stud walls closing the upper part of the aisles. There is no evidence for how the upper end of the studs were fixed, for the aisles lack aisle principal rafters which might have taken the tops of the studs: the absence of mortices in the backs of the main posts of truss IIII indicates that aisle principal rafters were not provided originally.



Fig 15: truss IIII, upper walling showing projecting pegs (© Diane Charlton)



Fig 16: truss IIII, south aisle, showing aisle tie and doorpost for door to west: above the aisle tie are parts of the timber window recorded by Stell (© Diane Charlton)

What lay beyond the housebody to the west?

It is certain that the 1464 building continued in some form to the west beyond the housebody, in the area now occupied by the 1844 dwelling. The evidence of connecting doorways has already been noted, and it is clear that truss IIII was an internal truss, the best face of the timbers being presented to the housebody rather than to the west. The precise form of any structure to the west is, however, unclear. It is likely that it was aisled on the north side, for the arcade post of truss IIII (Stell h) shows a long pegged mortice for a brace up to a western continuation of the arcade plate (Fig 17).

The arcade post at the southern end of the truss IIII (Stell g), however, has no such evidence: it is clear that no provision was made for a continuation of the aisled structure to the west of the post. It is possible, but not demonstrable, that the 1464 structure was built against a pre-existing building to the west of the south aisle (but not extending the full depth of the 1464 structure), a building sufficiently well constructed to merit retention. The early date of the 1464 building makes it unlikely that any pre-existing structure to the west had the form of a cross wing, generally considered to be a typological development from the linear form.⁴⁰ The difference between the mortices in the upper sides of the two aisle ties (double-pegged in the south aisle and unpegged in the north aisle) may be connected to the form of any western extension of the dwelling, an unpegged screen being sufficient at the rear where it acted as an internal wall between two parts of a continuous aisle, but a more substantial pegged stud wall being necessary against the conjectured earlier building to the west at this side of the dwelling.



Fig 17: truss IIII, post h from north, showing brace up to arcade plate to east and pegged joint for similar brace (no longer in place) to west (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

What is clear, however, is that, either in the 1464 phase or afterwards, provision was made for two-storeyed accommodation to the west of the housebody. This is demonstrated by the existence in the west face of Stells g and h of pegged mortices, at the height of the mid rail, for beams running to the west. It is likely that these beams formed part of a ceiling over the ground-floor accommodation and of a floor for a chamber over. The nature of the accommodation cannot be established on structural evidence, but by analogy it can be suggested that the ground floor provided a parlour to the south and a service room or rooms to the north, accessed by means of the doorways in north and south aisles of the dais truss, with one or more chambers over.

The form of any roofing over a western cell cannot be established with certainty beyond the certain existence of an aisle at the rear. It is not certain that the roof over the housebody continued in the same form to the west. Remote inspection of the evidence on the west face of truss IIII showed no clear sign of the former continuation of the ridge and purlins and no sign of the former existence of a brace up from king post to a ridge matching that within the housebody. It is possible that the off-centre positioning of the brace up to the ridge in the housebody allowed for a similar off-centre brace on the opposite side, the two braces sharing a single wide mortice in the king post. If this is the case, it can be established that the main roof continued over all or part of any western cell, but at present this is conjectural.

What lay beyond the passage to the east?

Loss of evidence in the passage area and to its east makes it impossible to reconstruct the eastern (lower) end of the 1464 house in any detail. In the passage bay, the original arcade plate survives on the south side and it displays in its soffit a long mortice formerly for a brace down to an arcade post within the area now occupied by the later stone cottage. The numbering on the two surviving trusses in the medieval house (truss III in the fire area, truss IIII at the upper end of the housebody) demonstrates that there were two further trusses to the east of the passage, one (truss II, Stell c-d) taking the brace down from the arcade plate mentioned above, the other (truss I, Stell a-b) forming the east end wall of the 1464 building. It is likely, but not certain, that the east end of the building continued the aisled form of the central part.

Given the known association of the families which inhabited Broadbottom in the early centuries with the textile industry, with ownership of a fulling mill on the river below the house and later evidence for extensive employment of outworkers, and by analogy with other local buildings of similar age and status, the lower end of the house probably provided a textile workshop or warehouse. Vernacular houses in other parts of the country commonly had service rooms – pantry and buttery in medieval houses – at the lower end of the dwelling. In the Halifax area, the common use of the lower end as a textile workshop, certain in later buildings and probable in medieval houses, may have been the principal reason that prosperous yeomen adopted the aisled form of building, the aisles providing space for the services required for the functioning of the house.⁴¹

Summary: the workings of the late-medieval house

Despite only partial survival, it is possible to suggest how the house of 1464 functioned, using evidence from the building itself (described above) and from similar buildings in the area, both of the same period and later. The house had a tripartite division, a cross passage dividing the lower, east, end from the upper area to the west. Above, that is, to the west of, the passage lay the dwelling area, comprising a substantial double-aisled housebody open to the roof, certainly the principal room in the house, probably providing the only heating and displaying evidence of the family's status and importance. Beyond it to the west, possibly incorporating part of an earlier structure, lay at least two rooms on the ground floor with a chamber or chambers over. The ground-floor rooms were probably parlours or a parlour and service space, the parlour being commonly used in this period as a bedroom for the head of the household. The chambers were probably also bedrooms, doubling as storerooms.

Below the passage was where the family made its money, for it probably formed a textiles workshop or warehouse, perhaps with chambers over. Clothiers acting on a large scale held stocks of raw materials and materials in different stages of production (wool, yarn, and pieces) and trade tools. Much of the production took place outside the house, in the homes of outworkers, but some at least may have been housed within the shop. William Thomas' inventory of 1714 (*see* Appendix 2) lists the contents of the textile workshops at Broadbottom, and it is likely that the house functioned in a very similar way, but perhaps on a reduced scale, when newly built in 1464.

Rebuilding the timber-framed house in stone

In the Pennine area of West Yorkshire (and more widely) the encasing of timber-framed buildings in stone coincides with the replacement of timber as the principal building material by masonry, a phenomenon which occurs from the late-16th century, the date of the first securely dated vernacular houses.⁴² In surviving buildings here, timber-framing was rarely if ever used for external walling in the 17th century, and hundreds of substantial houses demonstrate the habitual use of stone for new building and alterations to earlier timber structures. For the remainder of Broadbottom's history and development, new work was carried out in stone, and at least five phases can be identified in the standing building. For much or all of the periods represented by the stonework, Broadbottom was subdivided, the grant of 1596 probably describing the first division into two separate households, an arrangement reflected in the partial description of the complex in the inventory of 1714. Changes to the fabric must, therefore, be interpreted in acknowledgement of this important change to the way in which Broadbottom was occupied.

Phase 1, the east wing

The first identifiable phase of masonry construction is located in what may be termed for the purposes of this report the east wing, now a separate dwelling occupying what was formerly the lower end of the timber-framed house. Little can be said about the extent of the work undertaken in this part of the dwelling, for the remains are partial. The stonework is identifiable by the use of extremely deep courses of well finished ashlar masonry. This is evident in the lower courses of the south (front) wall of the east wing, below the ground-floor window; in the return wall forming the west wall of this phase of construction; and in quoins at the junction of the two walls, where the quoins rise up to first-floor level (Fig 18). The western wall of the wing, mainly internal within the porch, rises full height and extends on the ground floor to a straight joint 5.30m from the corner of the wing (Fig 19). On the first floor, the deep-coursed masonry is not so extensive, stopping a meter or so to the south. A photograph taken in the 1960s indicates that similar deep-coursed masonry was evident in a wing projecting at the rear (Fig 20).⁴³



Fig 18 (left): east wing at junction with porch, showing first phase of deep-coursed masonry (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

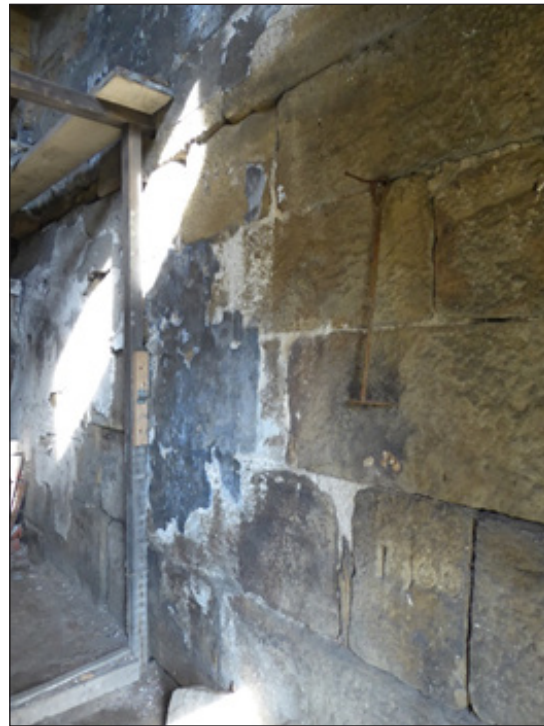


Fig 19 (right): west wall of east wing, from inside porch (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

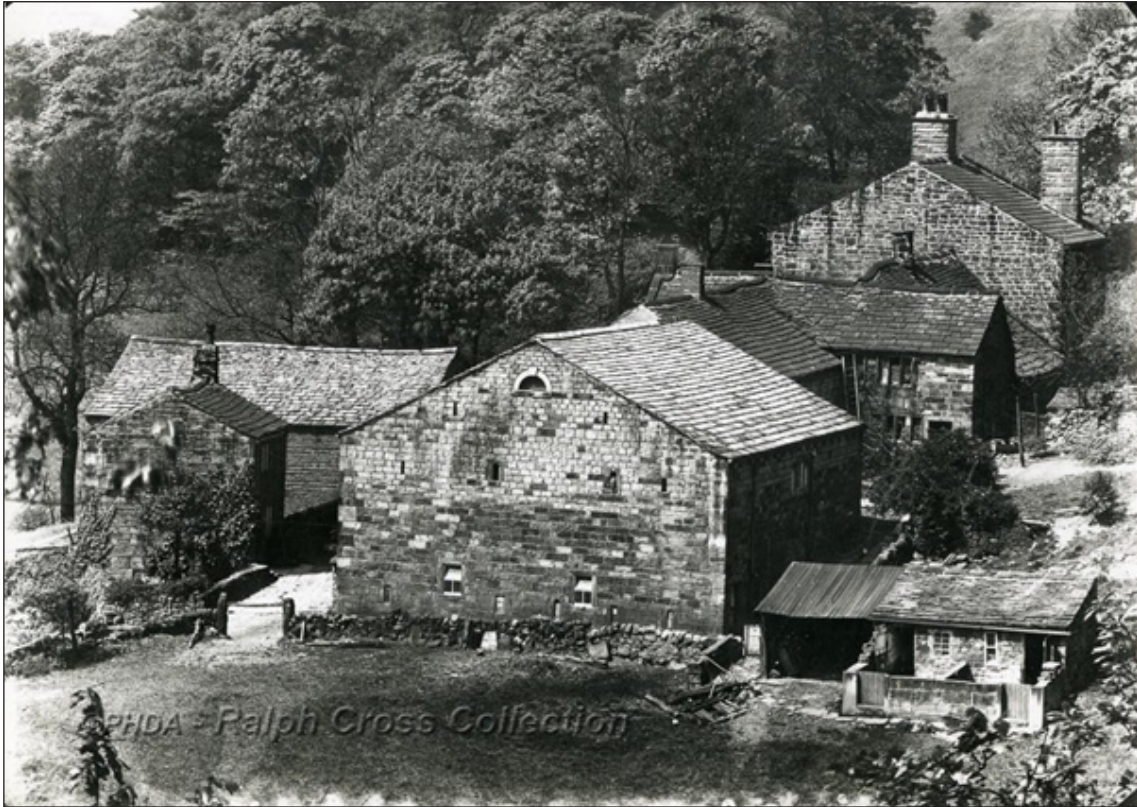


Fig 20: view of Broadbottom from north east, c.1950: this shows the continuation of the east wing to the rear, where it projects from the later rebuilding to its east, its north wall apparently on the same line as the housebody's rear wall. Detailed examination shows deep-coursed masonry similar to that on the south front of the house (©PHDA - Ralph Cross Collection)

What can be said about this phase of building? It is clear that a substantial stone wing replaced part of the earlier timber-framed aisled house in the area below the passage. The extent of the masonry on the south wall suggests that the new work extended the lower end of the earlier house, and its position, in advance of the front wall of the earlier aisled house, suggests that it formed a wing or projection from the earlier dwelling, the wing projecting not only at the front but also, on the evidence of the early photograph cited above, to the rear. Within the present passage area, the early masonry stops approximately on the line of the arcade of the aisled house, indicating that the south aisle was eliminated, the new work butting up against the central part of the medieval building. It is probable that the northern aisle was also lost, being replaced by the northern projection of the wing, shown clearly in Fig 20.

It is difficult to date this phase of construction with any confidence. The use of very deep courses of masonry is not common in local houses, so one might draw a conclusion that, as it does not share the common characteristics of stonework in known early-17th century houses, it represents an early essay in the use of masonry construction. It can also be pointed out that this phase pre-dates the stonework of the porch which abuts it, which again shows the same type of masonry. A late-16th century date might be ventured, and it might be tempting to link this phase with the documentary evidence for the partition of Broadbottom between members of the Sutcliffe family. In 1596, Robert Sutcliffe granted the lower or east end of the

message to his son William (*see* History), and it is possible that William, occupying accommodation described in the grant as ‘the floor kitchen, half of the porch chamber and other edifices’, needed to expand his dwelling to fit the needs of his independent household and perhaps to match his brother Matthew’s accommodation in the upper part of the divided house.

Phase 2: the porch and housebody

Probably close in date to the rebuilding of the east wing, the housebody and passage area of the medieval house were rebuilt in stone, at least in the front part of the house (Figs 21, 22). The masonry of the broad porch and of the front wall of the housebody is carried out in the same deep courses as evident in the east wing. It is conceivable that the front wall of the housebody belongs to the same phase as the east wing, but the straight joint between the porch south wall and the side wall of the east wing demonstrates that the latter pre-dates the porch. Whatever the case the similarity in the style of masonry indicates that the east wing, porch and the south wall of the housebody were constructed within a very few years of each other. The coursing between the porch and the housebody’s south wall does not bond convincingly, but nor is there a clear straight joint denoting staged construction. The similarity of the stonework in the two parts suggests that, at the least, they were conceived as a single development. It might be conjectured that shortly after William Sutcliffe, in c.1600, rebuilt the eastern end of the building as a separate dwelling, whoever occupied the rest of the house (probably William’s brother Matthew) emulated the work by constructing a new fashionable front to his part of the complex. The unusual design of the porch provided a reconfigured entrance reflecting the newly-subdivided nature of the building.



Fig 21 (left): porch, with deep-coursed masonry (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

Fig 22 (right): housebody south wall, with mullioned and transomed window of three over four lights (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

The porch and passage area

There is, however, a complication to the development as presented above, and specifically in relation to the suggested date of c.1600. Dendrochronological testing of a number of timbers in the roof structure over the porch and passage area provided a number of dates ranging from 1430 to 1528. Even without the dendrochronological results, it is clear that the roof timbers are not all of the same date, for many show signs of re-use from earlier structures. It is, therefore, not a surprise that the timbers yield a variety of disparate dates. It is possible that many of the roof timbers were originally part of the structure that existed before the rebuilding of 1464, or alternatively belonged to part of the building constructed in 1464, and were re-used in the suggested rebuilding of c.1600. There is, however, a cluster of dates in the early-16th century which, taken together, might indicate a previously unrecognised phase of construction. There are two king-post trusses, one buried within the south wall of the porch (a very unusual combination of materials and structures), the other close to the line of the arcade plate of the 1464 aisled structure (Figs 23, 24). The southern truss lacks any bracing, but the northern truss has single A braces from tie beam to king post. In the latter truss, the principal rafter has a last measured ring of 1528, and the ridge has a last measured ring of 1522. The side purlins spanning between this truss and the truss in the south wall both give dates (1502 and 1516) which are not wildly remote from these dates.



Fig 23 (left): porch first floor, view to south showing king-post truss in south wall: note tie beam shorter than width of porch (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

Fig 24 (right): porch first floor, king-post truss on line of southern arcade plate (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

What is one to make of this? Two pieces of evidence might be considered. First, both trusses fit very poorly within the stone walls of the porch, their tie beams being significantly shorter than the width of the building. It would appear, therefore, that the trusses were not designed for their present location, belonging instead to an earlier, narrower range, possibly but not necessarily at Broadbottom. Second, the two trusses show no signs of having belonged to a timber-framed structure, neither tie beam displaying joints for braces, posts, or walling. This itself raises questions, for, if belonging originally, as later, within a stone building, the indicated date of construction in the 1520s seems implausibly early, masonry construction generally being thought to commence at vernacular level at least half a century later. Even the suggested possibility of the re-use of the trusses in the reconstructed porch of c.1600 has its problems. Incorporating a timber truss in a masonry gable wall is structurally unnecessary, so why do it? And neither truss is of sufficient size to span the newly-configured porch and passage area. The precise development of this part of the complex remains, therefore, unclear: perhaps the most that can be said is that the form attained in c.1600 may have been reached in more than one phase of construction.

Turning to the porch and passage area as configured in, it is suggested, c.1600, the new build provided a range gabled to the south. The gable has a wide doorway giving access to the interior, a two-light cavetto-moulded mullioned window to the left of the doorway, a three-light window on the first floor (later extended by two lights), and, at the gable apex, a decorative carved coping stone, the design of which is now difficult to determine (Fig 25). The large, broad porch is a prominent and unusual feature of the house. In the larger 17th century houses of the area, porches were commonly provided to shelter the main entrance, but they simply took the form of a small ante-chamber, open to the elements or closed by an outer door. At Broadbottom, the structure is more than a simple porch, for it provides not only the main entrance to a lobby but also a bay to the west. This bay was entered through a doorway, with a chamfered surround, in a short length of wall running north-south (Fig 26). The doorway provides access, via a dog-leg, to the housebody, this inner access being lit by a small, two-light window in the south wall. Within the passage area just to the north of the doorway, Stell recorded the existence of a timber window (since removed, dismantled and the parts, including chamfered mullions, placed as lumber above the southern aisle tie of truss IIII: see Fig 16). The passage area was, in this phase, floored throughout, a chamber to the south being lit by a three-light mullioned window in the porch gable.

The whole configuration of the porch is highly unusual and represents a significant change to the way in which the dwelling functioned. The configuration may be explained in relation to the documented subdivision of the house between the two sons of Robert Sutcliffe in 1596. Whether at that date as an immediate result of subdivision, or at a later date in acknowledgement of the division, the porch provided the principal entrance to at least the western part of the complex. Beyond the outer doorway, however, the plan was very different. The new plan replaced the early means of entering the housebody, at the northern end of the passage, by the new access at the south end, via both the outer door and the inner door leading from the lobby. On the evidence of the internal timber window noted above, it is likely that



Fig 25 (left): decorative coping stone in porch gable (© Diane Charlton)



Fig 26 (right): lobby, view to north showing doorway to housebody (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

the passage itself was closed off beyond the window to give a new room. It seems unlikely that this new room formed part of William Sutcliffe's dwelling at the lower end of the range, for although William was granted 'half of the porch chamber' there is no mention of a room on the ground floor. A sort of flying freehold arrangement might have been contrived, with William occupying part of the first floor over space retained within the central part of the house. Whether William's house was also entered from the porch area cannot be established: it might be thought that in establishing an independent household in a newly constructed dwelling, William might have provided a new, separate entrance in his part of the complex.

The housebody

In the area of the housebody, the stonework retained the aisled form of the building.⁴⁴ The front wall appears to have been built slightly inside the line of the timber-framed wall of the aisle, for, as noted above, the aisle tie at the upper, west, end of the room was retained and projected beyond the stonework to be exposed to the elements. The soffit of the tie has, part buried within the stone wall thickness, a double-pegged mortice, either for a further stud here or, less likely given its position, for an external aisle post. Quite why the aisle tie was allowed to project beyond the later stone wall defies easy explanation. The new front wall was built to a higher level than that of the earlier aisle, necessitating a re-roofing at a significantly lower pitch: the rafters over the recast aisle are probably re-used from the roof of the original aisle. The intention behind the extra height was doubtless to admit more light to what must have been a gloomy interior. To achieve this, a mullioned and transomed window, of four lights below and three wider lights above, occupies much of the width of the stone walling. The transom demonstrates the original nature of the lighting, for it displays seatings for mullions above and below: in other words, it cannot be argued that the upper lights were inserted at a later date. The mullions and transom are slightly recessed from the face of the wall: almost invariably, early stone houses have mullions deeply recessed behind the face of the wall, so the window form at Broadbottom is highly unusual for the suggested date and perhaps indicates the experimental aspect of early masonry work. The mullions and transom have cavetto mouldings, and display

holes for the fixing bars for leaded glazing. The upper lights are wider than the lower. Is it possible that some of the lower lights were designed to open for ventilation while those above were not? Or were the wider upper lights simply designed to allow more light to enter, unobstructed by more closely spaced mullions?

To the east of the main window is a small, single-light window, perhaps an insertion, designed to provide extra light to the aisle at this point. It resembles a fire window, but here it cannot have served as such, being set well away from the fire area.

Changes to the heating in the housebody

For reasons that are not clear, changes were made to the heating arrangements in the housebody (Fig 27). These later arrangements are represented by the short post at f¹ on plan and by the attached heck screen (Fig 28). The lack of stop chamfers at the foot of the post, and the presence of a redundant pegged mortice towards its top, together demonstrate that the post is re-used in its present position and for its purpose. It may, however, belong to the late-medieval building, adapted for a later configuration, perhaps in the 17th century. It rises to a height of over 2.5m, but is crudely terminated at this height. It is stop-chamfered on its southern edges against a notch, at head height, for a long mortice, formerly, it can be suggested, housing the tenon of a very heavy bressumer running south from the post and defining the fire area, possibly, but not certainly, the bressumer re-used as a prop to replace post e.⁴⁵



Fig 27 (left): housebody fire area, showing short post f¹, heck screen and bench and fireplace (© Diane Charlton)



Fig 28 (right): housebody fire area; short post f¹ and heck screen and bench: the long mortice for the end of a bressumer is just discernible in the upper part of post f¹ (© Diane Charlton)

An attached screen runs east from the heck post f¹ and has a bench fixed to its southern side, facing into the fire area. The heck screen is made up of slight muntins and planks. The muntins have a shallow roll moulding at each edge, very similar in form, although on a much reduced scale, to the mouldings on the bressumer re-used as an arcade post (see description above). It is tempting to see them as belonging together, but whether originating in the medieval phase of the house's development and re-set and re-used at a later date, or being brought in from elsewhere, cannot be established. Dendrochronological testing might help to elucidate the question. An interesting feature of the heck screen is the presence on one of the planks of incised initials 'IT', repeated eleven times (Fig 29). The house, or part of it, was occupied before 1670 and for many years afterwards by the Thomas family, a member of which was doubtless responsible for this feature.

Above the screen and pegged at their lower end into the screen's top rail, studs slope upwards to be fixed at their upper end into the side purlin of the roof. Despite the resemblance to the structure of a firehood, it seems unlikely that the studs formed part of a flue taking smoke from the fire below. There is no evidence that they formed part of a smoke bay, a feature common in vernacular houses in southern England but not recognised in West Yorkshire.⁴⁶ It is more likely that they belonged to a screen in a now removed chamber over this part of the housebody.⁴⁷



Fig 29: carved initials 'IT' on plank of heck screen, with shallow roll mouldings to studs (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

The stone chimney stack

In the early-18th century the heating in the housebody was brought up to date by the removal of the bulky and possibly inefficient firehood and the installation of a stone chimney stack with a large fireplace. This has a square lintel supported on corbels at the top of the jambs. It is much smaller than kitchen fireplaces in many local houses, and it can be argued that it was designed principally for space heating, with cooking done elsewhere in the dwelling. Even in the 17th century, substantial vernacular houses often incorporated a purpose-built kitchen wing, and despite subdivision Broadbottom was still in the early-18th century the home of a very wealthy clothier family. It is possible, therefore, that the main cooking hearth was located elsewhere in the building, but the loss of other parts of the contemporary house precludes the identification of possible alternative sites for a kitchen.

William Thomas's house in 1714

The subdivision of the medieval house into at least two dwellings and two separate households, first recorded in the grant of 1596, conditioned Broadbottom's subsequent development. Something of the nature of the subdivided dwelling emerges from the inventory of the goods and chattels of William Thomas, yeoman, of Broadbottom, who died in 1714 (*see* Appendix 2). Accepting all the caveats relating to the interpretation of probate inventories, particularly in regard to whether or not all possessions and rooms were accurately itemised, the 1714 inventory, if taken at face value, describes a dwelling that seems incompatible with William's wealth. The sum total of William's goods and debts amounted to over £670, but the inventory lists only five rooms that were certainly on the ground floor. A much more sophisticated and extensive dwelling might have been expected for a man of his substance. The 'house' or housebody was clearly the main living area, used for cooking; the parlour was a bedroom, probably the best bedroom in the house; and there was a buttery for storage and food preparation, a kitchen and a shop. On the first floor were a porch chamber, a kitchen chamber and a dressing chamber.

The question arises of which part of the overall dwelling was occupied by William. Was it the lower part, granted in 1596 to William Sutcliffe and described then as the floor kitchen, porch chamber and other edifices and by 1714 in rebuilt form below the passage? Or could it have been the upper end of the house, including the medieval housebody? It is impossible to say with confidence, but the very limited accommodation described in the inventory, and the mention in that document of a porch chamber (mentioned also in 1596 as belonging to the lower end of the house) make it probable that William lived in the lower part of the complex.

The principal interest and importance of the inventory is its demonstration not only of William Thomas' wealth but also of his deep engagement as a master manufacturer in the production of woollen cloth. A loom was located in the kitchen chamber; the shop had textile tools, including shears for dressing the cloth; and the dressing chamber had stocks of materials in different stages of production. In the homes of outworkers, he had wool for spinning (in Lancashire) and '32 peecwools out at Making', that is, being woven into cloth before being returned to Broadbottom

for finishing. The inventory thus describes a house that might have been modest in terms of style of life and accommodation but which acted as the centre of a business operating on a large scale. It might be imagined that William was much more interested in pursuing his commercial activities than in the trappings of a genteel lifestyle.

Later alterations to the central part of the house and other features of interest

At some point, perhaps c.1800, major changes were made to the area at the rear of the housebody and passage. The rear wall of the housebody was rebuilt in stone, replacing the earlier timber-framed wall of the north aisle. The work was carried out in well-coursed masonry and a five-light window, with square flush mullions, was provided to give good light to the rear of the room.

There are two incised dates in the masonry of the house. Within the passage, the east wall has a date of 1700, and the porch south wall has a date of 1800. Neither is considered to provide evidence for a significant stage of construction: both appear to have been incised in much earlier stonework and it is not clear what they were intended to record.

The east end of the roof over the housebody has, visible from the rear, a coping stone at the gable apex, immediately adjacent to and associated with the housebody chimney stack. The stone is carved with a decorative motif, perhaps floral (Fig 30). This matches the similar treatment of the coping at the apex of the porch on the south front (see Fig 25). Both are unusual features. Stell's 1956-7 photograph of the rear of the house shows, however, that the external part of the housebody chimney stack did not exist at that date. Neither does the photography show the associated decorative carved stone: although of some antiquity, this must have been put in place in the second half of the 20th century, perhaps brought from another house.



Fig 30: decorative floral carved coping stone (© Diane Charlton)

Also of interest in revealing an earlier phase of restoration is the renewal of the arcade structure in the south aisle. Stell's c.1956-7 photograph (Fig 12) shows that the raising of the roof line of the south aisle in c.1600 had led over time to structural failure of the principal timbers: a poorly finished arcade post had replaced the original post (Stell post e), and an arcade plate, again poorly finished, had been inserted to replace the original timber. The arcade plate was not supported by a brace from the post (Stell post g), the stub of the brace being visible in the photograph. The date of this phase of repair is not known, but the rough nature of the timbers suggest that it was carried out when the house had been tenemented. The existing structure shows a desire to replicate the original form of the arcade in much better finished timbers. In this phase of repair, the crudely-finished substitute for post e was removed, and a new arcade plate, of square sawn timber, was inserted, complete with mortices to take braces up from the arcade posts. This restoration was never completed, no new post e having been inserted and no braces added to support the arcade plate. This phase of work post-dates Stell's record of the building, and must therefore belong to an unidentified period in the second half of the 20th century.

The later development of the house (Phases 3-5)

The evolution of the medieval house after the early-18th century can be described briefly and in outline, both because the changes to the complex are of less significance and because internal inspection was not possible as part of the making of this record. Documentary evidence indicates that the house had fallen markedly in status by the 19th century, and many changes were made on the conversion of the house into as many as nine separate cottages.

Phase 3: the east wing

The east end of the medieval house, first remodelled in the late-16th or early-17th century, was largely taken down and rebuilt c.1800 (Figs 31, 32). On the south wall the lower courses of the earlier (c.1600) wing were retained but new walling was provided above. The wing has its own independent entrance, within a small porch on the south wall. The features of the building on the south front appear to date from the early-19th century: the masonry is watershot, and the windows have square mullions flush with the wall face on ground and first floors, although the eastern window on the ground floor has chamfered flush mullions. At the rear of the cottage, the wing evidenced by the mid-20th century photograph cited above (*see* Fig 20) was altered to provide new windows and a doorway. To the east of this now removed wing, the rear wall of the building is less well finished in the quality of its masonry. Its alignment demonstrates that by c.1800, if not before, the rear aisle of the lower end of the medieval house had been removed.



Fig 31 (left): east wing and extension, from south east (©Historic England. Colum Giles)



Fig 32 (right): east wing and extension, from north west (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

Phase 4: the western dwelling

The west end of the medieval house, to the west of the housebody, was replaced in 1844 by a substantial independent dwelling of two tall storeys, dated by a stone on the west gable (Fig 33). It is constructed in rock-faced masonry and has large mullioned and transomed windows. The dwelling clearly formed part of a larger scheme intended to replace the medieval house to its east, for at both south-east and north-east corners the masonry is toothed in preparation for bonding in to a subsequent construction campaign, which never happened. Blocked or blind openings in the gable wall of the 1844 build, above the roof of the medieval housebody, demonstrate the intended connection between the new block and its proposed extension.



Fig 33: the 1844 house to west of housebody (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

Phase 5: the attached laithe

At the east end of the range of buildings lies a laithe or barn, bearing the datestone 'Rebuilt 1897 JST' on the lintel of a Venetian window over the central cart entrance (Fig 34). It is likely that parts of the earlier laithe were retained in 1897: two single-light, round-arched openings in the east gable probably date from the 17th or early-18th century. The rebuilt laithe has a wide central cart opening and a low doorway at either end. This disposition indicates that mistals (stalls for cattle) were located on the ground floor at the ends of the building, with hay lofts over, and that the central area was open to the roof. Such an arrangement was standard in laithes in the area in the 19th century.

Detached to the south of the main range is a second laithe, bearing a datestone reading 'Rebuilt 1788 Again 2008' (Fig 35). Although re-using some earlier features, rebuilding here was more thoroughgoing than in the case of the 1897 laithe, although again the plan appears to have provided a central cart entrance and mistals at the ends of the building.



Fig 34 (left): the eastern laithe, rebuilt 1897 (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

Fig 35 (right): the detached laithe, rebuilt 1788 (©Historic England. Colum Giles)

BROADBOTTOM: ITS LOCAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

The chief significances of Broadbottom are two-fold. First, the possibility of an undisturbed domestic environment within the building offers an opportunity for archaeological excavation and important discoveries about the relationship between the standing building and earlier phases of occupation. This has the potential to make a significant contribution to the continuing academic debate about the relationship between the earliest standing buildings and medieval peasant houses known from excavation. The development of plan, structure, heating and room use may be illuminated by comparison between the two types of evidence. This debate currently draws on archaeological evidence from across the country, but West Yorkshire has hitherto provided little material, leading to a serious gap in our knowledge about the context out of which the group of Pennine aisled houses emerged. One question is of particular importance: were Pennine aisled houses the first generation of buildings of this type, or will excavation reveal precursors?⁴⁸

The second aspect of significance lies in the remarkable survival in substantial form of the central part of a mid-15th century timber-framed aisled house and in the retention of the dwelling's form when stone replaced timber as the external walling material. The later development of the house, while interesting as part of the story of the site's evolution, is not of special importance, beyond, perhaps, illustrating the intricacies of structural change consequent upon subdivision into separate households.

Aisled construction

The early standing building has a local, regional and national context, particularly regarding the use of aisled construction.⁴⁹ Perhaps derived from the Roman basilica, this was used during the Middle Ages for churches and in royal and aristocratic palaces and castles, permitting structures of greater width than could otherwise be achieved given the building techniques of the period. Historians have commonly linked the use of aisled construction to early dates and high status. Eric Mercer stated that 'the further back that the aisled hall is traced, the higher the status of its occupants is found to be', and in his study of early aisled construction John Walker identified nine timber-framed buildings in England dating from before 1230; seven were high-status aisled halls and one was an aisled barn.⁵⁰ The often-cited examples of the aisled halls at Oakham Castle, Rutland (late-12th century), and in Winchester Castle, Wiltshire (built for Henry III in 1222-35), were places of assembly and ceremony, with stone piers dividing the central part of the hall from the aisles. The hall within the episcopal palace at Hereford Cathedral was a timber-framed example of the type, dating from the late-12th century.⁵¹ Great barns were also built in aisled form during the Middle Ages: the huge stone aisled barn at Great Coxwell, Oxfordshire, was built by the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu in 1292, and at Cressing Temple, Essex, two early timber-framed barns survive from the 13th century.⁵²

Aisled construction was, however, also employed at early dates at what may be termed vernacular level, that is, in houses for social levels below that of the elites.

While, perhaps, never common or the standard form of the medieval peasant house, these smaller aisled houses have been recorded in some numbers in south-eastern counties of England: in a 1986 study, 34 were listed in Essex, 21 in Sussex, 15 in Suffolk and 13 in Kent, examples ranging in date from the 13th century to the 15th century.⁵³ These, of course, are only the ones that had survived to be recorded. A later study, from 2003, analysed aisled halls in Essex and took just 23 cases of the smaller examples for examination, with dates from the early-13th century to 1375. The larger buildings in this group were of manorial status, but the smaller houses were of unknown social status, but perhaps representing the ability of prosperous peasants to build substantial houses in the post-Black Death era.⁵⁴ In Essex aisled construction was obsolete by the 15th century, but in Kent it continued in use in smaller houses throughout the century, although in modified form, with the open hall cleared of obstructive posts by use of raised aisles and base cruck trusses. In these houses, aisled construction was used to provide a spere truss at one end of the hall: one would not necessarily call these houses aisled. It has been suggested that 'since many of these buildings [in the south-eastern counties of England] were relatively small and often rather less well built than their larger contemporaries, it is likely that they are the rare survivors of a once numerous class'. In Kent, the appearance of new types of small house, such as the Wealden, from the 14th century onward provided alternatives to aisled construction, which was ultimately discarded.⁵⁵

The national distribution of medieval aisled houses is heavily concentrated in the south-eastern counties of England, with a scatter known in the Midlands. In northern England, there are two significant groups of aisled houses, both in Yorkshire. One is focused on the Vale of York, the other in Pennine West Yorkshire. In terms of numbers, the two groups are roughly comparable; there are something over 30 examples in the Pennine group, and a similar number in the Vale, although, as will be discussed below, not all of these are open-housebody medieval houses.⁵⁶ It is important to note that the medieval aisled houses, although well-built and substantial, were the homes of social levels below the elite: contemporary gentry houses were not aisled. Aisled construction in Yorkshire, therefore, represents the emergence of a yeoman class sufficiently wealthy to build commodious houses distinct from those of the gentry. Nowhere else in the north of England is this the case in the late-medieval period.⁵⁷

The houses in the two areas share some characteristics but there are also significant differences.⁵⁸ They are almost invariably of timber-framed construction with timbers of heavy scantling and close studding. However, while all the Pennine houses were built with an open housebody (in terms of vernacular buildings, almost the defining characteristic of medieval houses), many Vale 'aisled' houses were floored throughout and therefore might be considered not as true aisled houses but as houses with an arcade structure dividing rooms in the main span from an outshut, a very common form of construction in the 17th century in both areas. The date spans for the two groups are another feature which distinguishes them. All the Pennine houses are medieval in date, that is, as far as is known, built with an open housebody before 1550. In the Vale, some are certainly medieval and are comparable to Pennine aisled houses, being built with an open housebody, but many were built in the 17th

century and were storeyed throughout. The fact that the most common plan in the Vale 'aisled' houses is the lobby entry rather than the hearth passage (common to all the Pennine houses where the plan is recoverable) tends to confirm that a significant number within the group are not medieval in date, for the lobby entry is widely considered to be a later plan type.

There are other features of the two groups of houses which indicate that they were not part of the same building tradition and not the result of the same social and economic circumstances. In Pennine houses, bay lengths are generally roughly equal but in the Vale many houses have a half-bay, occupied by the firehood or a smokebay (a very rare phenomenon in West Yorkshire). The roof structures in the two groups show clear differences: in the Vale, the common-rafter roof was the standard form, while in the Pennines, although this form was employed in a few houses, the dominant roof type was the king-post truss. Some of the Vale houses had end aisles, but this appears to be a rare form in the Pennine group, and while some Pennine aisled houses were certainly originally of 'hall and cross-wing' type or became so, in the Vale all examples are of simple linear form. In no cases in the Pennines is there convincing evidence of soot blackening of the roof timbers, which would indicate the former presence of an open hearth, but in the Vale a number of houses show this, not confined to the roof over the housebody but evident throughout the structure, leading to the conclusion not that the houses were once heated by an open hearth but that 'smoke bays were not an efficient means of dispersing smoke'.⁵⁹

More research is needed on the relationship between the two groups, but on present knowledge one might suggest that, while the Pennine houses constitute an unquestionable cluster of late-medieval houses, true aisled houses in the Vale are far fewer in number and widely scattered. Until more research is done, it is reasonable to claim that the Pennine group stands alone in terms of a significant cluster of late-medieval peasant houses in the north of England.

What explains the appearance of aisled houses in the late-medieval period in the Pennines? Aisled construction was not unknown in the north of England, but before 1450 was used principally in high-status buildings such as the guest house at Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds, and the hall within Sandal Castle, near Wakefield.⁶⁰ Given the chronological remoteness of these buildings and the fact that local gentry houses were not aisled, it seems unlikely that peasant builders were using as a model local examples of high-status building.⁶¹ On present evidence, the origins of aisled construction for 'peasant' housing in Yorkshire are unclear. Excavation at one site, in Colton, east of Leeds, identified two phases of an aisled house dating from the 12th and 13th centuries.⁶² However, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, at Wharram Percy, excavation has demonstrated that houses were of simple linear form and commonly, it is thought, of cruck rather than aisled construction.⁶³ We must hope that future excavation will throw further light on whether aisled buildings were once common in peasant houses.

A functional reason can be suggested for the adoption of aisled construction by the Pennine builders. In Pennine West Yorkshire, the textile industry created a class of wealthy yeomen, and it can be demonstrated that some of the local

aisled houses were built and occupied by yeoman-clothier families: Broadbottom is a good example. Almost certainly originally, and certainly in later periods of occupation, the lower end of yeoman-clothier houses provided a textiles workshop or warehouse, usually with a shop chamber on the first floor. This was where the families' wealth was created. However, the use of the lower end for industrial purposes had consequences: in most parts of England, at great house and vernacular level, medieval houses used the lower end of the dwelling for service rooms, commonly a pantry and buttery. The functions of these rooms were necessary in the yeoman-clothier's house but had to be sited elsewhere, and it is possible that aisled construction was adopted to enable services to be accommodated in the aisle or aisles, open or otherwise to the housebody. There is evidence in some Pennine aisled houses for the existence of a screen on the line of the arcade, suggesting that service functions could be separated from the housebody but remain in convenient proximity to the main living room.⁶⁴

One feature of some of the Pennine aisled houses that certainly was designed to reflect status is the additional richness in the treatment of the upper end of the housebody. This is not determined by the aisled nature of the buildings concerned, for it can be found in unaisled buildings in other parts of the country. At Broadbottom and at a small number of other houses, the housebody was disposed with a distinct hierarchy, with a fire area at one end and a dais at the other. Although modest by the standards of great houses, the treatment of the dais end marked this as the superior part of the room, with, as at Broadbottom, a plank and muntin screen, a dais bench, a dais screen and, above all, a canopy. In great houses and the houses of the gentry, the dais was where the head of the household and important family members and guests sat for meals and for conducting business, less important members of the household finding space elsewhere. At a much reduced scale and level of magnificence, Pennine aisled houses show the same hierarchical use of internal space. It should be noted that, as far as is known, no aisled house within the Vale of York had any additional richness in the treatment of the upper end of the housebody: none is recorded as having had a dais canopy, for example.

The pomp suggested by the treatment of the dais end in Pennine aisled houses might seem unnecessary in a household comprising only the nuclear family. In the 16th century, the average household size has been calculated as 3.8 in Coventry and 4.85 in part of Norfolk.⁶⁵ However, many households, by definition, were larger than average, when, for example, three generations or unmarried siblings lived together, and especially when the household was extended by the presence of servants or apprentices and by employees living in the house or taking meals there. These were regarded as part of the family and were present in the house 'not to maintain a style of life, but a style of work: the household economy'.⁶⁶ This seems directly applicable to the household of the late-medieval yeoman-clothier, comprising his close family, living-in apprentices working in the shop, and perhaps other workers engaged in activities around the dwelling. As well as being the main living area, therefore, the yeoman-clothier's housebody was also used to transact business. In such a household, the hierarchical nature of the principal room in the house had real meaning, the dais serving to reinforce social distinctions within the extended family.

Aisled construction continued in Yorkshire, both in the Pennine area and in the Vale of York, well into the 17th century, although it was used not in timber-framed houses with an open housebody, as was the case in houses of medieval date, but in fully-storeyed stone houses with an outshut at the rear. The aisle structure, with main posts, aisle plate and braces between the two, formed the main components of an internal timber-framed wall dividing the main rooms at the front of the house from smaller (usually service) rooms at the rear, the latter accommodated under a continuation of the main roof slope, giving the outshut form. During the 17th century, internal timber-framed walls were gradually superseded by stone walls, a development which marked the end of aisled construction in domestic buildings. It continued, however, in agricultural buildings, the aisled barn being 'the standard farm building in the Pennines before 1750'.⁶⁷ There are early examples of aisled barns in West Yorkshire: Stank Hall barn, Beeston, Leeds, is a timber-framed building of c.1490.⁶⁸ Most aisled barns, however, are thought to date from the period 1600-50. Some, like the barns at East Riddlesden Hall, Morton, near Keighley, are large, but many are small, such as the barns at Lower Hathershelf and Stake, both in Sowerby. After 1750 the increasing availability of softwood timbers of great length allowed very wide spans to be achieved within farm buildings and with that development aisled construction became redundant.

Broadbottom's significance

Although the late-medieval house at Broadbottom survives only in part, it is nevertheless of significance at national, regional and local levels. Its main period of building, in the mid-15th century, makes it, with its companions in the area, one of the earliest standing 'peasant' (that is, non-elite) houses to survive in the north of England. The house may therefore represent the emergence at this social level of substantial timber-framed building techniques there, although the use of refined and complex carpentry, with no sign of experimentation, suggests that a high level of skills existed within the area, exploited by a new class of wealthy yeoman in their dwellings.

Broadbottom belongs to one of the two numerically-small groups of late-medieval aisled houses in the north of England. The use of aisled construction in these groups appears unprecedented regionally, for there is only the slightest evidence for antecedents at peasant house level. In both areas of its use it may be assumed to lead directly to the later adoption of houses with outshuts. With its known association with the textile industry, it is not too far-fetched to see Broadbottom as representing an early stage in the development of a capitalist economy, being the centre of operations of a yeoman-clothier of substance in the late-medieval and early-modern periods, the latter exemplified perfectly in the 1714 inventory of William Thomas. There is a direct line from this stage of production to the mill-based industry which gathered pace from the late-18th century.

In terms of the importance of different parts of the surviving house, comment can only be made on the parts open to inspection, but it is likely that these contain all the most significant elements. All *in situ* remains of the mid-15th century house are of paramount importance. These include the timber-framed aisled structure of the

housebody, represented by trusses III and IIII, the arcade structure of the north aisle, and the roof structure, including the common rafters over main span and aisles. Similarly, timbers in the passage area, although mainly later in date, are important in showing the evolution of the house, probably in the 16th century. The stone casing of parts of the timber-framed house, especially those parts in the area of the porch/passage and the housebody's south wall, are important evidence of the early adoption of stone as the common building material, replacing timber framing. Within the housebody, changes to the method of heating, perhaps evolving through two stages with a firehood and a later, early 18th century, phase with a stone chimney stack, exemplify common trends in heating in regional houses. Even the re-used timbers employed in the area of the fire bay have importance, although their provenance is not certain. The design of the porch and passage area, as far as is known unique to Broadbottom, demonstrates clearly how the house was divided between related households in the late 16th century. The south arcade plate in the housebody, although a repair of mid-20th century date, is part of the history of the house and signals an intention to restore the building to its original form.

Beyond the central part of the house containing the earliest remains, all parts of the complex have a significance in showing the individual evolution of a dwelling. Some aspects of development, in particular the evidence for subdivision and multiple occupation, have wider importance in showing how flexibly early houses could be used according to the changing needs and circumstances of its occupiers.

In summary, Broadbottom exemplifies regional and national trends in the development of vernacular housing. Its importance lies in its belonging to a significant group of late-medieval aisled house comprising the earliest cluster of non-elite, 'peasant' houses in the north of England. The Halifax area, where the Pennine group is most densely concentrated, was associated with the development of the local textile industry, and Broadbottom was certainly built by a family deeply engaged in this activity. The building is one of the best survivors of this group. Its retention of an open, aisled housebody is remarkable: four further examples are known locally.⁶⁹ In its origins, evolution, architectural form, and economic background, Broadbottom perfectly represents important strands in Pennine West Yorkshire's development of an industrial economy and society.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Broadbottom Ownership and Tenure

Date		Source
Mid C13	Helye de Brodbothm (quitclaim in undated document)	HAST 1903 undated deed
Late C13	Adam de Brodbothm (undated land transfer) and John de Brodbothm (Court roll)	HAST 1903
c.1400	Randolph Draper conveyed property to son John Draper	HAST 1903
1414	Broadbottom passed to John's brother William Draper then to Thomas, another brother. Used as security for loan from John Rawlyn of Kighley	HAST 1903
1443	Death of Thomas, Broadbottom inherited by his son Thomas	HAST 1903
1474	Settlement involving Draper family in Kings Court: Draper pays 100 marks for rights to Broadbottom and other property	HAST 1903
1514	Henry Draper, son of Thomas received grant of land and mills in Ovenden and Hebden Bridge	RH p33
1536	Henry murdered in London. Estate passed to his son Thomas, then to Thomas's brother William	RH p35
1567	6 March. Thomas Draper of Waddesworth, clothier, collector for first payment of subsidies in the Wapentake of Morley, to the Queen. £200 for due collection of the subsidy.	YAS DD 99/D 5/5. Exchequer Discharge for amount collected.
1572	17 Sept. Marriage Settlement of Robert, son and heir of William Sutclyf of Arrenden and Isabel Draper of Warley one of the daughters of Thomas Draper of Brodbothome in Warley*, settling Hillock lee with appurtenances in Arrenden Park on the said Robert and Isabel.	YAS DD99/B 29 and 10.
1573	Death of Thomas Draper; will divided estates between 3 daughters: - Isabel, wife of Robert Sutcliffe - Maria, married Robt Milner (1) then Thomas Snedale (2) - and third daughter (not named)	HAST 1903 Will 28 June 1572 Probate 27 May 1573 (not found in Borthwick index = only Henry Draper 31 Dec 1573)

1587	7 June. Bargain and sale from Henry Tylson of Brodebothom in Wadsworth to Henry Sladen of Wadsworth, yeoman of a messuage in Whitewod in exchange for Steven Intacke.	YAS DD 99 B23/16
1588	Robert Sutcliffe and wife Isabel (daughter of Thomas Draper) conveyed Broadbottom to William Sutcliffe and Robert Naylor	SU:55/19 misc deeds dated 1451 – 1762 in catalogue.
1596	William Sutcliffe (son of Robert and Isabel, married Sara daughter of John Sunderland, and was granted Lower (E end), floor kitchen, half porch chamber, other edifices... Matthew Sutcliffe (bro of William) “received other half of mess.”	HAST 1903 Indenture 5 Oct 1596
1604	Thomas Snedale sold his share to Thomas Sutcliffe	DW: A/396
1612	Matthew Sutcliffe bequeathed his part to son William. In 1659 William granted Fallingroyd to his son William on marriage to Mary, daughter of William Cockcroft of Birchcliffe	HAST 1903; SU B 71 Will 20 Aug 1612 Proved 14 Sep 1612
1661	Annuity from property William Sutcliffe of Broadbottom in Wadsworth to Robert Sutcliffe of Hoochoyle in Erringden Property four houses in Heptonstall in occupation of Jane Kendall, Elizabeth Benson, Bridgitte Clayton and Lawrence Smith	WYC: 160 4/15 1
1665	11 May. Bargain and sale from William Sutcliffe of the Broadbothom in Wadsworth to Abraham Nayler of the High Hirst in Wadsworth of a moiety of the West house in Wadsworth and 4 closes taken from the common.	YAS DD 99 B23/49
1670	William Thomas sitting tenant became owner of part of Broadbottom where he lived	HAST 1903
1672	Sutcliffe family William - 4; Widow Sutcliffe - 3; William – 3, John Sutcliffe (x2) 1 each. Thomas family: Chris; William; John each 1 hearth. William - 3; Richard – 3, William – 4.	Hearth Tax
1688	Bequeathed to Richard Sutcliffe by father William	SU/B: 101 and HAST 1903
1691	William Thomas of Broadbottom bond	SU/B:103
1700	William Sutcliffe conveyed part of Broadbottom to Joseph Sutcliffe of the Milne	WYC:1206/6
1714	Will and inventory of William Thomas of Broadbottom (trans)	Borthwick index

1721	Daniel Thomas of Broadbottom (land deal)	DW:A/412
1723	Will of Chris Thomas of Broadbottom	HAST 1933 p33
1734	Will and Inventory of Richard Thomas of Broadbottom	Handout on visit – from Borthwick
1751	Daniel, eldest son of James Thomas of Broadbottom	HAST 1921 p99
1771	DRAFT MORTGAGE dated 1771 - Richard Thomas of Broadbottom in Wadsworth yeoman (1) to Rev. Thomas Murgatroid of Kirkleatham, Co. York, clerk, for £100 one capital messuage called Broadbottom otherwise Broadbotham now occupied in 2 dwellinghouses, one barn and one back kitchen situate in Wadsworth now or late in several tenures of William Thomas, father of said Richard Thomas, and of said Richard Thomas and Joseph Harwood and several closes belonging called the Tenterfield, the Long lands, the Dawroyd, the Kilncroft. the Achin land otherwise Atkinland, the Lower Long Royd, the Upper Long Royd, the Little Woodfield, the great Woodfield, the two Woods, the Undivided moiety of the Tenter Croft, for £100.	HBLHS Deeds, wills etc p19 of 45 1091
1771	Richard Thomas of Broadbottom used property as security for loan from Rev Thomas Murgatroid of Kirkleatham, Occupied as 2 dwelling houses in tenure of William Thomas, father of said Richard; and Richard himself and Joseph Harwood	RP 1091 (not deposited), also in RP 1101 further mortgage on same property (not deposited) but draft held by HBLHS.
1771	Abraham Thomas of Broadbottom leased Haven Farm to Wm Halliwell	WYC:145 7/23
1786	Probate of will of Abraham Thomas of Broadbottom 27 May 1786	SU/B:128
1791	Wm Thomas and wife Susannah devised Cob Castle to Wm Normanton	WCR
1807	Burial of Susey wife of Henry Mitchell, cotton manufacturer of Broadbottom	Heptonstall Graveyard
1821	Burial of John Mitchell, of Broadbottom	Heptonstall Graveyard
1826	Agreement that Henry Mitchell of Broadbottom won't disturb well nearby	SU/B:134

1830	Occupiers Henry and Thomas Mitchell, worsted manufacturers	Directory of Leeds, York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire
1841	<p>Heads of Household, occupation and number in household</p> <p>Thomas Helliwell, worsted weaver, 7</p> <p>John Mitchell, labourer, 5</p> <p>William Greenwood, farmer, 5</p> <p>John Crabtree, worsted weaver, 2</p> <p>Abraham Greenwood, worsted weaver, 1</p> <p>William Sutcliffe, farmer, 6</p> <p>Sarah Shackleton, worsted weaver, 1</p> <p>William Johnson, worsted weaver, 7</p> <p>William Sutcliffe, worsted weaver, 2</p> <p>William Sutcliffe, worsted weaver, 5</p>	Census
1844	Rebuild of western end – initials JT and 1844 on end of building	HAST 1903 and 2018 visit to site
1861	<p>Heads of Household, occupation and number in household</p> <p>Henry Uttley, cotton dyer, 4</p> <p>William Helliwell, farmer 18 acres, 5</p> <p>James Patchett, power weaver, 6</p> <p>Mary Hollinrake, washerwoman, 3</p> <p>William Sutcliffe, cotton factory worker, 2</p> <p>James Clayton, farmer 11 acres, 4</p> <p>Henry Sutcliffe, cordwainer, 8</p> <p>Grace Heyhirst, washerwoman, 4</p>	Census

1873	Abraham Thomas of Horton – rent arising from half share in Broadbottom. Leased by Thomas Whitaker of Stub	SU/B:142
1881	Henry Utley, 1826 - worsted wool -- Edward Hellewell (40, Male) Sarah Hellewell (43, Female) Matilda Hellewell (15, Female) Sarah A Hellewell (13, Female) John W Hellewell (10, Male) Hannah Hellewell (8, Female) Martha Hellewell (5, Female) Charles Hellewell (3, Male)	Census
1891	Heads of Household, occupation and number in household Henry Uttley, wool sorter, 1 Edward Sutcliffe, iron moulder and farmer, 9 Greenwood Baldwin, wood sawyer, 8 David Whitaker, cotton weaver, 2 Thomas Whitaker, fustian cutter, 5 Betty Patchett, housekeeper, 4 Abraham Morgan, bricklayer, 2 William Sutcliffe, twister, 1	Census
1893	Thomas Whittaker, farmer - leaseholder	Kelly Directory
1897	J S Thomas – plan for piggeries at Broadbottom	CMT13/BIP /M:93
1899	J S Thomas – plan for closet at Broadbottom	CMT13/BIP /M:102
1901	Thomas Eccles, farmer	Kelly Directory

1901	Abraham Morgan, navy, 2 James Eccles, farmer, 4 William Scott, farmer, 8 One unoccupied	Census
1903	James Sutcliffe Thomas, owner	HAST 1903
1908	Thomas Eccles, farmer	Kelly Directory
1920	Interior illustration by Arthur Comfort 'In and about our old homes' in Halifax Weekly Guardian	
1925	James Sutcliffe Thomas died – property to nephew Harold Sutcliffe	
1949	Jack Eccles – plan of dairy	CMT8/ BIP/HB:2067
1991	Sutcliffe family owners, tenant Eccles family	Mytholmroyd Hist Soc
7 June 2006	Estate sold for £1m	Hebweb page

Appendix 2: Inventory of William Thomas of Broadbottom 1714

(ECY William Thomas of Wadsworth, Pontefract D, May 1714. Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York)

Inventory of all and Singular the Goods Cattell and Chattells Credits & rights of Wm Thomas late of Broadbothom in Wadsworth in the pish of Heptonstall...Yeoman taken and apprized the fifth day of May Anno Dni 1714

	£	s	d
Goods in the House			
Wearing Apparell and Money in his Purse	11	5	0
4 Joynd Chairs and Quishons	0	9	0
2 Joynd Chairs and Quishons	0	2	0
2 Hewn Chairs and Quishons	0	1	0
One Table	0	8	0
One Watch	0	6	0
A long settle and cupboard	0	15	0
Fire Range and Shovell & Tongs & Runners & bred Iron	0	8	9
Drippin Pann Ladle & Spitt	0	2	6
Striking Knife	0	1	0
One Bakeing Stone	0	10	0
One Iron Pann & an Iron Pott	0	18	0
2 old Panns & a Priggs	0	3	0
One Brass Pann	0	4	0
Four Frying Panns	0	3	0
Goods in the Buttery			
2 Formes & a Cupboard	0	3	8
18 Milk Bowles	0	4	9
2 Dozen of Trenchers	0	2	0
2 Milk Pales 2 Bucketts a Glas?il	0	4	6
Bakeing Tools	0	2	3
2 Mugg Potts	0	0	8
A Churn a Barrell a Tubb & a Firkin	0	4	0
A Leather Flackett & 2 Bowls	0	1	2
2 Mugg Potts & a Drink Pott	0	0	9
Goods in the Parlour			
One pair of Bedstocks and Curtains	1	0	0
Another Bed & Beding foot chest & hangings	2	0	0
One Cupboard & a chest	1	6	8

One Chest & a Buffett	0	4	0
One Mortar and Pestill	0	2	6
64lbs of Pewther	2	0	0
One Cloath Bagg	0	1	6
Goods in Poarch Chamber			
2 pair Bedstocks & a Chest	0	15	0
One Bed where Christ ^t & Wife lys	0	4	0
Goods in the Kitching & Chamber			
Beding on one Bed	1	1	3
Beding on another Bed	1	6	8
2 Arks & Dust in them	0	13	9
One Round Table a Chest & a Tubb	0	4	6
Five pair of Loomes and Furniture	3	2	9
Goods in the Shopp			
For one stone Pras & Papers for five Pieces & twelve Iron Planks & four pair of Shears & three Bank Presses	14	0	0
Goods in the Shop Chamber			
2 Beds and Beding	1	6	3
Goods in the Dressing Chamber			
One Pack of teasels	6	11	0
10 Stone of Breech Wool	3	6	8
22 Stone & Twelve pounds of Yarn	13	14	0
3 Stone & 4lbs Listin	1	1	1
2 Warps	1	7	0
For Wooll at Spining in Lankashire 33 stone	14	0	0
For 32 peecwools out at Making & four Papers	28	13	0
A Saw & a Maul & a Bill & Shovell & Forks & Hacks & Spades & Syghts	1	1	2
Odd Iron & Weights & Scales & 6 Bowles & a Hackney Sadle	0	7	10
For Oyl & a Tubb & Listin & Warpingwouth & Rings	1	4	6
One Ark & an Ambrey in John Room	0	4	0
Ten Corn Sacks & Pack Sheets	0	11	0
Goods in New Lath			
2 harrows & an Ark	0	11	0

One Ladder & a Fann & Sled	0	5	6
2 Carts & Wheels & One Cart	2	0	0
Two Greniter Whyes	4	0	0
One Bald Whye	2	15	0
One Branded Whye with long horns	3	5	0
Spinkt Cow	3	10	0
One Cow named Spot	3	5	0
One Calf	0	10	0

Goods in the Old Lath

2 Hay Moughs	1	4	0
One Arck & 7 Rakes Irons & Plough	0	8	4
One Young Horse	3	10	0
One Little Black Mare & Furniture	2	10	0
One Bay Horse & Furniture	1	10	0
Great Black Mare & Furniture	4	0	0
One Beast called Tagg	3	0	0
One Called Lightfoot	3	10	0
One Called Sturdy	3	15	0
One Flaggon	3	10	0
2 Yearling Calfs	2	15	0
Huslemts in Barns & Housed	0	6	0

Goods in the Field

Seven Tenters & Stang & head & Rope & 16 Bars	10	16	0
Corn Sown Ploughing of Six Dayworks of Land	3	0	0
48 Fine Kerseys at Value	86	8	0
71 Coarse peeces att	106	10	0

Debts Due to ye Deced

From Mr Thomas Paire	36	10	0
From Mr Thomas Dinsdall	34	0	0
From Richd Powell	24	15	0
From Wm Kirkman	22	10	0
From John Dunn	10	14	0
From John Molson	4	6	0
From John Lume	2	0	0
In Peece Makers hands	1	7	0

Due to the Deced from James Maude of Rochdale in Lankashire Merch ^t agenist whom a Statute of Bankruptcy was lately Sued out the sum of	147	5	4½
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Debts owing by the Deced	10	0	0
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The Totall Sum of this Inventory is	673	19	11½
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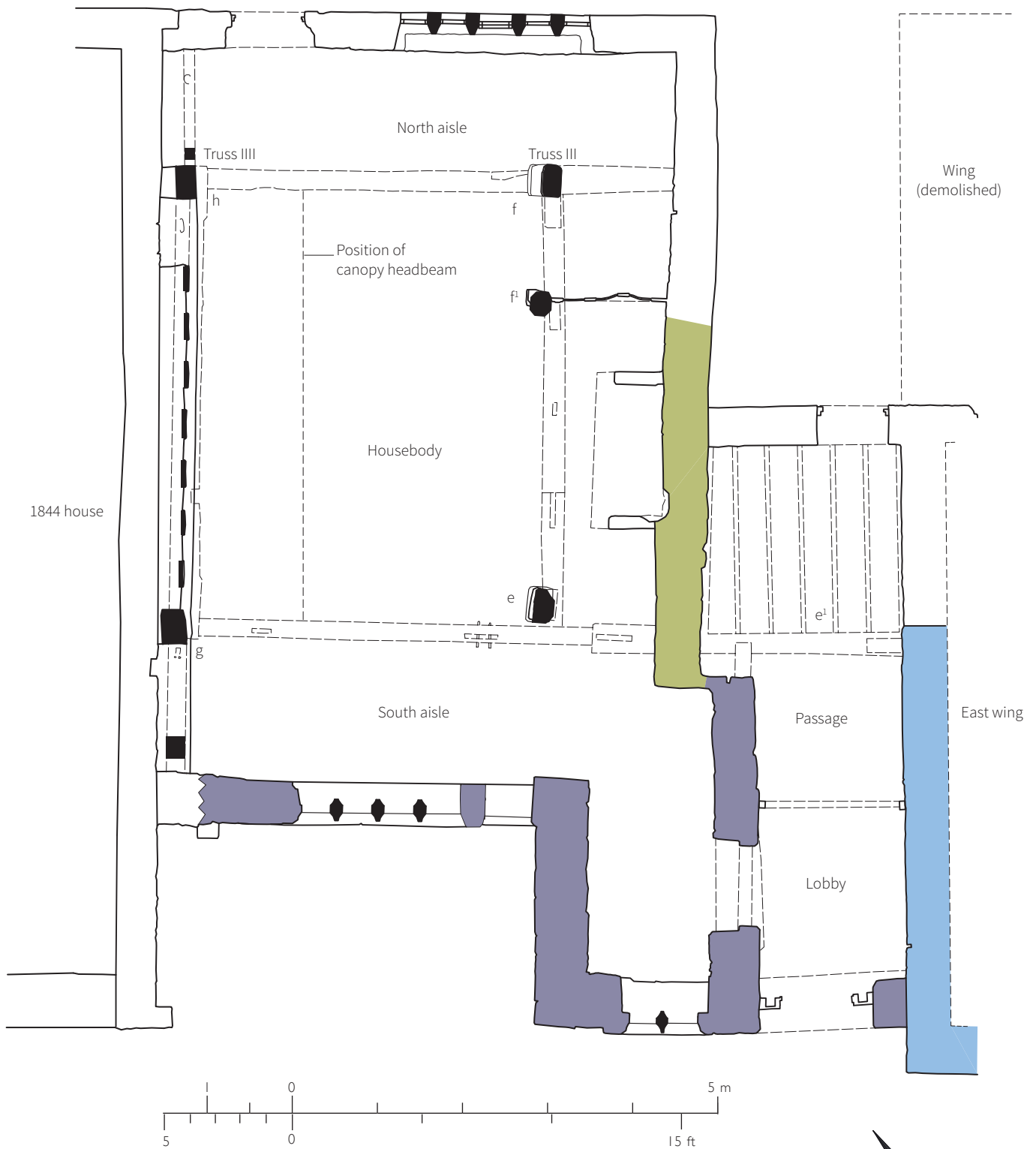
Apprized by us

John Crossley

John Greenwood

Wm Cockcroft his mke

Wm Thomas



**Ground-floor plan
Broadbottom Old Hall
Hebden Royd
West Yorkshire**

Surveyed: March and April 2018
 Surveyed by JB, PB, CG and DC
 Drawn by DA, HK and CH
 NGR: SE 00789 26591

Legend

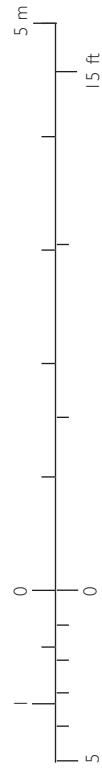
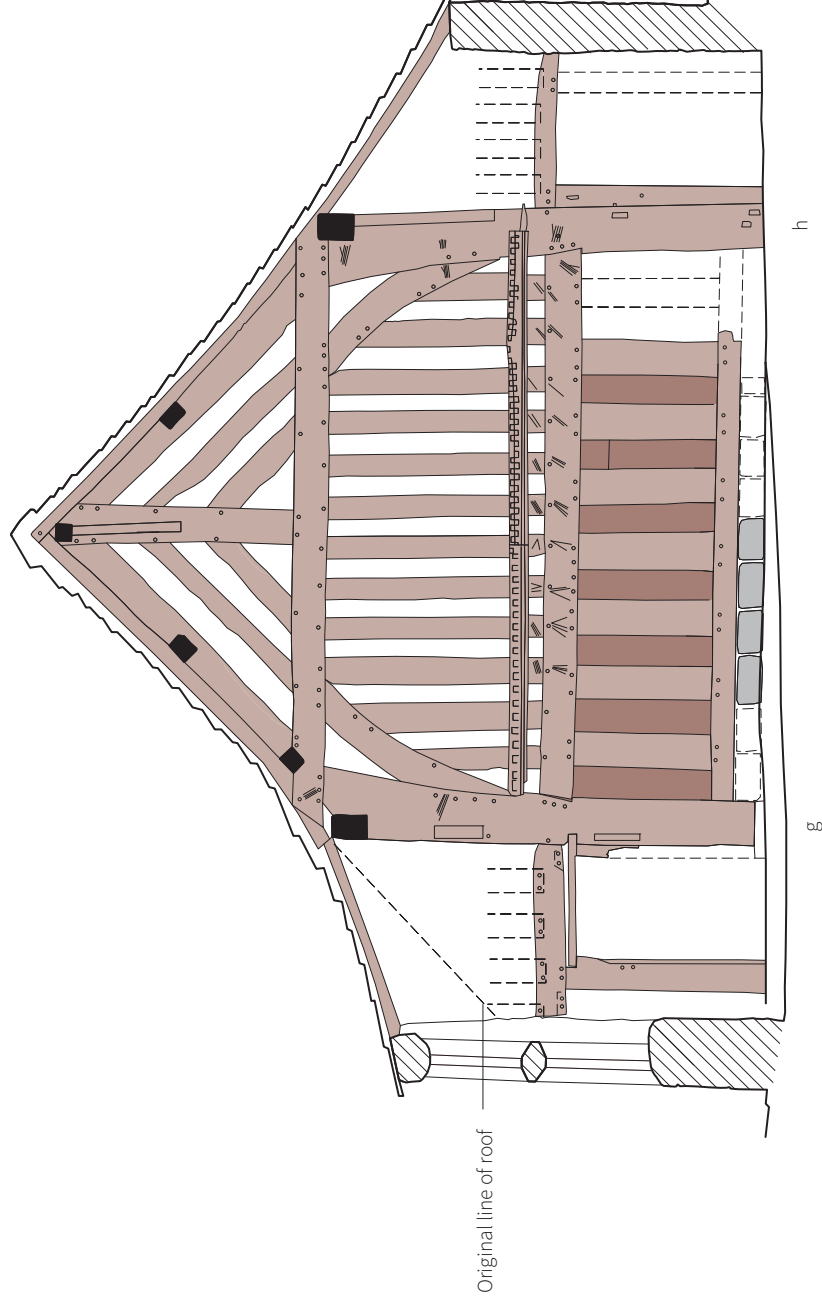
- Reredos(?)
- c 1600
- c 1600
- Later

Cross Section of Truss IIII
Broadbottom Old Hall
Hebden Royd
West Yorkshire

Surveyed: March and April 2018
Surveyed by JB, PB, CG and DC
Drawn by DA, HK and CH
NGR: SE 00789 26591

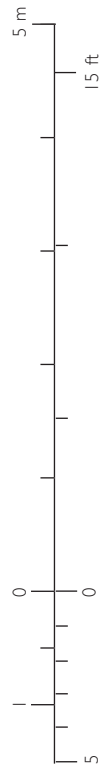
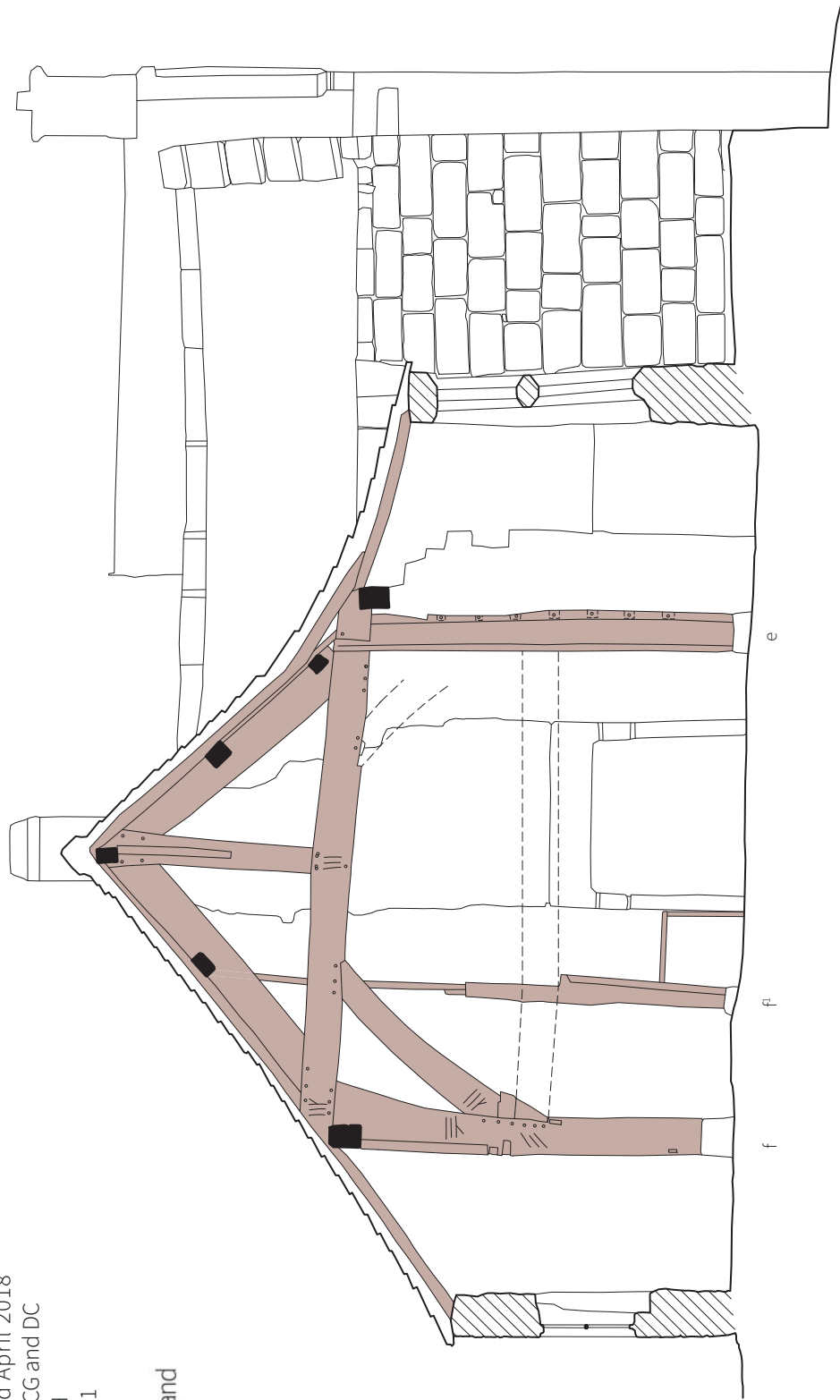


Historic England



Cross Section of Truss III
Broadbottom Old Hall
Hebden Royd
West Yorkshire

Surveyed: March and April 2018
Surveyed by JB, PB, CG and DC
Drawn by DA, HK and CH
NGR: SE 00789 26591

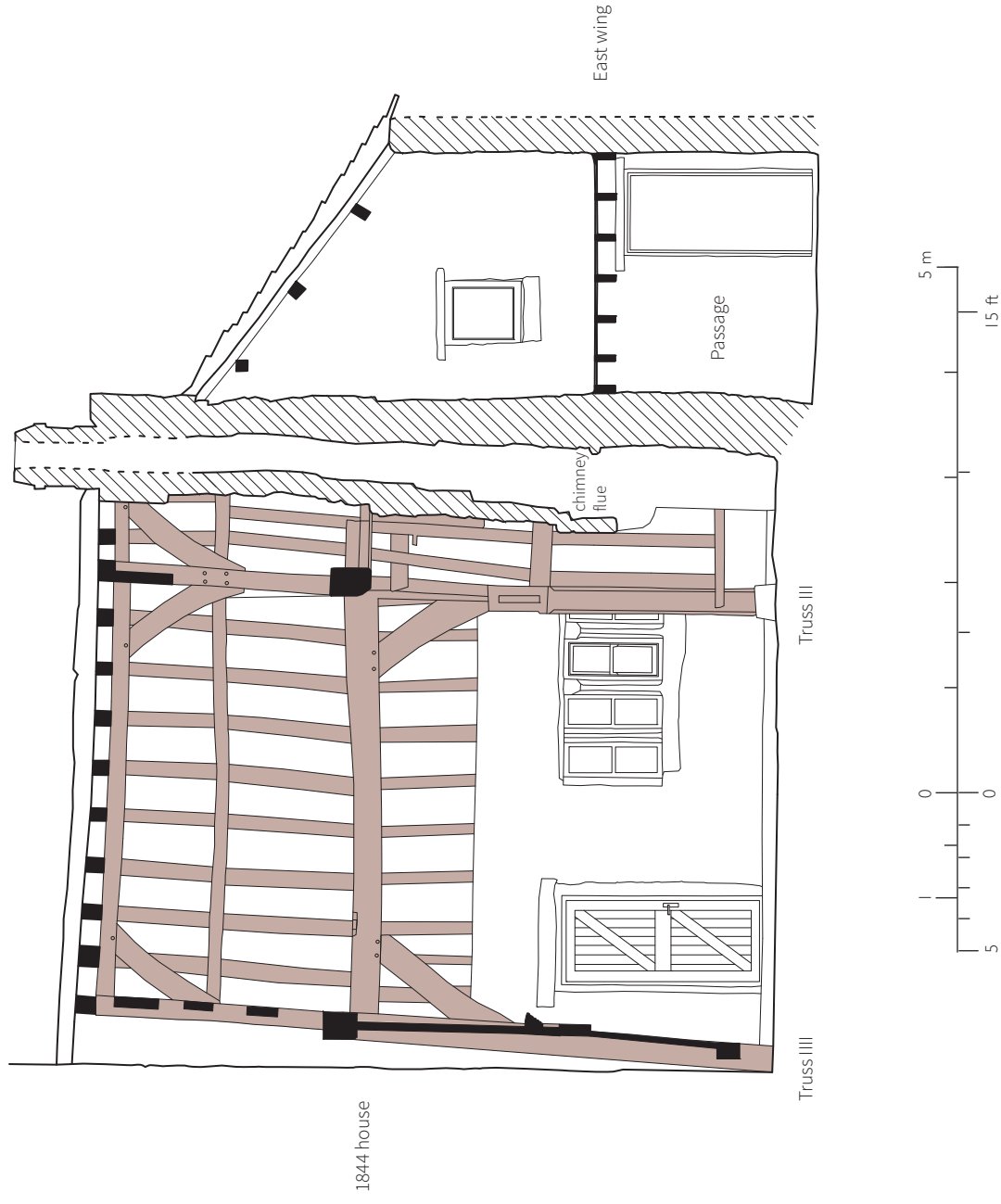


Long Section to North
Broadbottom Old Hall
Hebden Royd
West Yorkshire

Surveyed: March and April 2018
Surveyed by JB, PB, CG and DC
Drawn by DA, HK and CH
NGR: SE 00789 26591



Historic England



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ENDNOTES

- 1 Ogden 1903
- 2 Many appear to be held in West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale) (hereafter WYAS (C)) SU/B Sutcliffe Estate Papers but are unavailable at the time of writing, due to closure of this facility pending its delayed move to a new building.
- 3 For ease of description in this report, the house will be taken as facing south rather than south west.
- 4 Leyland 1879
- 5 Comfort c1920
- 6 WYAS (C) SU: 55/19
- 7 University of Leeds Brotherton Library Special Collections YAS DD 99 B23/16
- 8 Unusual word in this context, perhaps a mis-transcription; a 'shop' that might be expected at the lower end.
- 9 WYAS (C) DW: A/396; his identity has not been positively established.
- 10 Park Fold, Erringden, for example, was substantially rebuilt by the Thomas family, who put the date 1642 and their initials R and S over T on a door lintel. According to H P Kendall Robert was the son of William of Broadbottom Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society 1918 page 30.
- 11 WYAS (C) SU/B: 101
- 12 WYAS (C) WYC:1206/6
- 13 Hey 2007, 317-8
- 14 ECY William Thomas of Wadsworth, Pontefract D, May 1714. Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York
- 15 WYAS (C) RP 1091
- 16 Memorials in Heptonstall churchyard to Susey, wife of Henry Mitchell of Broadbottom (1807), and John Mitchell (1821); Directory of Leeds, York and the Clothing District of Yorkshire 1830 lists Henry and Thomas Mitchell, worsted manufacturers of Broadbottom.
- 17 For example, the Edwards family at Pye Nest, see Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society 1925.
- 18 Personal communication.
- 19 RCHME 1986
- 20 The house and settlement will be called Broadbottom in this report. This is the historical name of the place, the title 'Broadbottom Old Hall' appearing to be a modern invention. In West Yorkshire, the term 'Hall' was applied historically only to houses of gentry status.
- 21 Ogden 1903. See History section of the present report for Ogden's account.
- 22 Comfort 1913 (exterior view), Comfort 1920 (interior view)

- 23 Ralph Cross photographic archive, Heritage Trust for the North West, Barrowford: part of the archive has been digitised and is held by Pennine Heritage Ltd at the Birchcliffe Centre, Hebden Bridge.
- 24 Stell 1960
- 25 Stell 1965
- 26 Atkinson and McDowall 1967, 78
- 27 Mercer 1975, 15
- 28 RCHME 1986, 33
- 29 For a good summary of the arguments relating to the relationship between excavated medieval peasant houses and the earliest standing buildings, see Grenville 1997, chapter 5. The arguments have been further developed, notably by Mark Gardiner: see Gardiner 2000 and Gardiner 2014.
- 30 Wrathmell 2012, 341. Wrathmell draws on evidence from excavations at Wharram Percy, East Riding of Yorkshire, and at West Whelpington, Northumberland.
- 31 See the later discussion about the significance of Broadbottom and the group of Pennine aisled houses.
- 32 Historic England Scientific Dating Team: Broad Bottom Old Hall...Interim statement on the dendrochronological analysis, January 2018.
- 33 This is the common arrangement locally in later stone houses with an outshut or rear wing rather than an aisle.
- 34 Stell 1960, 19 and reconstructed long section
- 35 Stell 1960, 18-9
- 36 This arrangement survives at Bankhouse, Skircoat.
- 37 This configuration is found in the open trusses at other aisled houses of the area: Haigh's Farm, Sowerby; High Bentley, Shelf; Scout Hall Farm, Northowram (Atkinson and McDowall 1967, 81,84,90).
- 38 RCHME 1986, 30.
- 39 White Hall, Ovenden, retained its canopy until the demolition of the house: High Bentley, Shelf, also had a canopy (Mercer 1975, plate 12; Atkinson and McDowall 1967, 83).
- 40 Haigh's Farm, Sowerby, had an original cross wing. The tie beam in the closed truss at the upper end of the housebody continued as the wall plate of a storeyed cross wing (Atkinson and McDowall 1967, 81 and plate 18d). There is no evidence that this could have been the arrangement at Broadbottom.
- 41 RCHME 1986, 34
- 42 Peel House, Warley, for example, is dated 1598: RCHME 1986, 220-1
- 43 Pennine Horizons Digital Archive: Ralph Cross Collection "Broadbottom" RAC00109

- 44 Elsewhere in the country, for example in Essex, later alterations to aisled houses often eliminated the front aisle to provide a full-height wall (Stenning 2003, 1).
- 45 A similar configuration in the fire area is found also at Bankhouse, Skircoat. Quite how the heating system worked is not fully understood.
- 46 See Hutton 1973, 91 et seq for the common practice in Vale of York houses to have a half bay occupied entirely by the fire area, akin to smoke bays in houses in the south of England.
- 47 Arthur Comfort sketched the interior of the housebody in c.1920. His drawing shows a floor over the housebody, but there is little evidence for this in the standing building. Any flooring is likely to have been insubstantial. A floor may have been inserted to provide upper-floor rooms in the period when Broadbottom was subdivided into many cottages, as recorded in the Census returns of the 19th century.
- 48 Chapter 5, 'Peasant housing', in Jane Grenville's study of medieval housing (Grenville 1997) contains a good summary of evidence available at the time of the nature of peasant housing. The debate has continued more recently in a number of important articles: see especially Gardiner 2014. For a more local analysis of the relationship between early housing and the first standing structures, see Harrison and Hutton 1984, 2-16.
- 49 Aisled construction has been a focus of study since the early years of research into vernacular architecture. J T Smith began the debate in 1955 (Smith 1955); Kathleen Sandall listed and mapped known examples of aisled halls in two articles (Sandall 1975 and Sandall 1986), and discussion of aisled construction forms a part of discussion of medieval housing in many regional studies, some of which will be noted below.
- 50 Mercer 1975, 9; Walker 1999, 21
- 51 Hill 2013; Biddle and Clayre 1983; Jones and Smith 1960
- 52 Munby 1996; Stenning 1993
- 53 Sandall, K 1986, 23. The number of identified aisled houses has everywhere increased since 1986 due to the efforts of local recording groups. A recent study of medieval houses in the English Midlands identified a small number of aisled houses, but these were rare in comparison with the numbers found in south-eastern counties. It was noted that they were the earliest timber-framed buildings recorded in the study area: Alcock and Miles 2013, 22.
- 54 Stenning, 2003, 1,3,18. See also Walker 2002
- 55 Stenning 2003, 18-9; Pearson 1994, 76-9, 146.
- 56 For an early assessment of the two Yorkshire groups, see Michelmore 1973. For the distribution of aisled houses, see Harrison and Hutton 1984, 32, and RCHME 1986, 27. Since the publication of these two studies, further examples of aisled houses have been identified in both areas, but not such as to alter significantly the numerical relationship nor the overall distribution.
- 57 For the difference between gentry and yeoman houses, see RCHME 1986, chapters 1-4.
- 58 For the Vale of York houses, see Hutton 1973 and Harrison and Hutton 1984, 20-38. For the Pennine group, see Atkinson and McDowall 1967 and RCHME 1986, 27-36. Consideration of the differences between the two groups was assisted by conversations with Barry Harrison.
- 59 It has been suggested that the use of curfews, discovered in excavation, demonstrates that open hearths were known in pre-1450 houses in West Yorkshire, and at one house, Elland Hall, Elland, smoke-blackened timbers were re-used in a reconstructed roof in the 14th century: Moorhouse 1981, 812.

- 60 RCHME 1986, 2
- 61 Examples of 'gentry' unaisled timber-framed houses in West Yorkshire are Lees Hall, Thornhill, and Shibden Hall, Northowram: for Lees Hall, see RCHME 1986, 7-11, 218.
- 62 Moorhouse 1981, 821, note 229
- 63 Wrathmell 1989, 4-6. Although there was very little archaeological evidence for cruck construction at Wharram Percy, documentary sources indicate the common use of crucks in the Wolds, leading to the cruck house being proposed as the model for peasant housing.
- 64 For a fuller discussion of the use of the aisle in the Pennine houses, see RCHME 1986, 27-36.
- 65 Wrightson 2000, 31-2
- 66 For a discussion of household size in pre-industrial Britain, see Wrightson 2000, 30 et seq.
- 67 Clark 1973, 25
- 68 [Historic England](#), "[Stank Hall \(1375338\)](#)", [National Heritage List for England](#).
- 69 Bankhouse, Skircoat; Town House, Norland; Dam Head, Northowram; and the Old Hall, Heckmondwike: see RCHME 1986.



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