

STUPID QUESTIONS

**WENTWORTH, THORPE HESLEY &
SCHOLLES in 1861**

Stephen Cooper

Copyright © Stephen Cooper 2020

The right of Stephen Cooper to be identified as Author of this Work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, designs and Patents Act 1988.

Stupid Questions

For the laughing girl that I once knew.

Stupid Questions

“Only connect! That was the whole of her sermon. Only connect the prose and the passion, and both will be exalted, and human love will be seen at its height. Live in fragments no longer.”

E.M. Forster, *Howards End*

CONTENTS

AUTHOR'S PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER I THE ENUMERATORS OF 1861

CHAPTER II WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE

CHAPTER III THE VILLAGES & THE HAMLETS

CHAPTER IV OCCUPATIONS

CHAPTER V AFTERMATH

ABBREVIATIONS & SOURCES

STUPID QUESTIONS

WENTWORTH, THORPE HESLEY & SCHOLES in 1861

AUTHOR'S PREFACE & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the 'Great Lockdown' which was imposed because of the coronavirus pandemic on 23 March 2020, I was required by law to 'stay at home', especially since I was over 70; but in addition, I was truly on my own for the first time in over fifty years. Recently widowed or 'widowed', I had more than one reason to find things to do with my time, other than the daily (but originally limited) exercise permitted by regulation 6(2)(b) of the Health Protection (Coronavirus, Restrictions) (England) Regulations 2020;¹ and I turned to the books and DVDs on my shelves, and to the vast resources of the internet.

The result is this study of three South Yorkshire villages, but I had better explain the title and my choice. The main source I have used is the Census of 1861 and shortly before this was taken, a journalist objected strongly to the whole process and described some of the questions to be put to the public as stupid, whilst not suggesting that anyone should engage in acts of civil disobedience. However, the fact is that, whatever people thought in 1861, the Census is a mine of information for the historian.

Wentworth, Thorpe Hesley and the much smaller village of Scholes are closely linked by geography and history. They lie about a mile from each other and, nowadays, they sit in a kind of rural oasis between the conurbations of Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley, the heart of the oasis being Wentworth Park and the Fitzwilliam Wentworth Estate, which has preserved the agricultural topography and the traditional appearance of Wentworth village.

At the same time, there are important differences, the most noticeable of which is that the speech and accent of Sheffield and Barnsley, which meet but do not

¹ Statutory Instrument 2020 no 350.

Stupid Questions

mix, are not the same, whilst they are both very different from the language used south of the Trent, let alone in the Home Counties. I notice these things, having only moved to Thorpe Hesley some forty years ago, and having only become an honorary Yorkshireman by courtesy of my late wife, who was born and bred in Doncaster. Moreover, when we were about to buy our house here in 1979, I was warned by someone who lived in High Green (Sheffield) that Thorpe Hesley (mostly in Rotherham) was very nice but that the people there were inclined to be 'cliquish' (which she pronounced 'clickish'). Whether that is true, I dare not say; but there is some evidence for it being true in 1861 (see Crime below).

Wentworth was still an estate village in 1861, while Thorpe Hesley and Scholes were semi-industrialised since the 17th century, and were becoming more and more so, as a result of the spectacular expansion of the coal industry. Much of the land in all three belonged to the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam, but as Drake says, he was 'lord of the manor and sole owner' of Wentworth, while Wentworth Woodhouse had become his main seat when he succeeded to the earldom in 1857. This provided the village with an importance the other two did not share. It probably explains why Wentworth had a greater proportion of middle class men and women than the other two, whose presence we may detect through the Census, in the number and variety of shops in Main Street, as well as the number of people with well-paid jobs or positions, or of independent means - some of them retired people, or people with money invested 'in the Funds', or in property.

Why focus on 1861? Because the pictorial record is very sparse; but the documentary record is very rich. Photographs were being taken in the UK as early as the 1840s, but even Roy Young's compendious 'picture-history' of Wentworth *The Big House and The Little Village* has no photos are known to have been taken so early.² However, in addition to the Census Returns for 1861, *Drake's Directory of Rotherham, 1862*, the British Newspaper Archive for the period, and many interesting gravestones in Wentworth Old Churchyard also provide a wealth of material. I hope that a convincing picture emerges, when we look at these sources alongside one another.

The easiest source to access is indeed *Drake's Directory*; but it has its limitations. According to *The Local Historian's Encyclopaedia* (John Richardson, Historical Publications Ltd., 1974), 'local directories from the middle of the 18th century until the 1930s provide information on residents, trades, churches, gentry, public services and other facets of local history'; and they survive in abundance in England; but, Drake was mainly concerned with the people, and businesses, which 'mattered' to him and his readers - in other words, in Victorian terms, with the classes rather than the masses, and the services and goods they were interested in. So, large numbers of more 'ordinary' folk are left out, as are the wives and children.

² Roy Young died in 2019, and left his extensive collection of photographs etc to the Wentworth Woodhouse Preservation Trust, formed in 2017. These are only now being catalogued, and it is possible that more photos relevant to 1862 may come to light [written April 2020).

Stupid Questions

So, Drake lists 105 individuals in Wentworth village and its associated hamlets, but the Census of 1861 includes details of 293. In addition Drake only lists a handful of the principal servants at Wentworth Woodhouse, whereas the Census tells us that there were 101 in all, either in the 'Big House' itself, or in and around Wentworth Park.

Lastly, the *Directory* was put together by one person, or at any rate a private organisation, headed by the eponymous Drake, who aimed to publish and to make a profit, but was not always totally reliable: the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for 22 December 1862 carried an advert for his *Directory of Sheffield*, price 3/6d (three shillings and sixpence), but the same newspaper had published a story on 16 August, which gave details of a case brought against him in the Chancery Court (home of *Jarndyce v Jarndyce*, made infamous by Dickens ten years before):

INFRINGEMENT OF COPYRIGHT. WILLIAM: WHITE v. DRAKE & KERSHAW. WARWICK ASSIZES, Aug. 12. (Before the Lord Chief Justice, without a jury.)

The action was brought for infringement of the plaintiff's alleged copyright in the *Directory of Leicestershire*. It appeared from Mr. Macaulay's statement that in 1860 the plaintiff had announced his intention of bringing out a new edition of the *Directory* originally published by him in 1846, and that the defendant was employed to collect materials for it. Early in 1860, however, Drake himself issued an advertisement announcing that he was about to publish a *Directory of Leicester and Loughborough*. Afterwards he put forth another advertisement announcing a *Directory of the counties of Leicester and Rutland*, which was published by the other defendant, and was the alleged infringement of the plaintiff's copyright.

Mr. Macaulay went into minute and detailed comparison of *White's* original work with that of the defendant, pointing out that the latter was not only on the same plan and scheme as the *Directory* of 1846, but also that in the historical and topographical portions the defendant Drake had copied even the errors of the original *Directory*, and omitted to correct statements which though true in 1846 were no longer so in 1860. Eventually, the defendant consented to a verdict against them, and undertook to submit to the plaintiff having his injunction from the Court of Chancery, by the direction of which the present action had been brought.

Drake's Directory was published at the time. The Census of 1861 was an official document, and the full Returns were only published in 1971; it is a richer source but some words of warning may be in order.

First, although it is a far more complete guide than *Drake*, it is only concerned with those inhabitants of the villages under study who were at home when the Census Enumerator came to call. It does not cover absentees. So, we search in vain

Stupid Questions

there for the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam, if we only look at the pages concerned with Wentworth Woodhouse (sic). By contrast, the Earl does feature in *Drake*, indeed - as we might expect - his name appears at the top of the list (apart from the Post Office!), and alongside Wentworth House (sic). The explanation is simply that that the Earl and his Countess, and other members of his large family, were not at home on 7 April 1861. Instead they were staying with his younger brother George at Milton House in Northampton. (The reader may recall that this was because, on the death of the 5th Earl in 1857, the House passed, along with the title, to his eldest son; but Milton House passed to the second in line; and the two houses remained in separate ownership down to the early 1950s).

The other example of 'absenteeism' takes us to the opposite end of the social scale and specifically to the Rotherham Workhouse. Unfortunately for them, it is there that we find the following individuals in the Census of 1861: Joseph Ellis (an unmarried flax dresser aged 72), Charles James (an unmarried nailmaker, aged 45), Peter Chatman (a widowed farm labourer aged 68), John Chatman (a widowed shoemaker aged 77) and Samuel Jarvis (a married painter aged 50). Ellis was from Wentworth, the other three from Thorpe.

The other difficulty relates to common surnames. It goes without saying that it can be very difficult, not to say impossible, to trace people called Smith, but the same could be said about Cooper and Jackson or Jenkinson, and in the case of our three South Yorkshire villages, about Waller, Pilley or Allott, or Ardron (or is it Hardron?), or Burgin (sometimes spelt Burgan or Burgon), or Fallding (with one l or two?), or Hague (or is it Haig?).

There again, it seems that sometimes those interviewed lied about their age, or simply made mistakes. So, *Drake* found a tailor, Henry Copley in Wentworth, but the Census tells us that Copley was a widower aged 46, who lived at schedule no 86, Wentworth Street, with his daughter Jane Rodgers (22) and son in law, William Rodgers (23), a labourer at the iron works (doubtless in Elsecar). There were also three other children living there, all boys; and it would appear from their ages that two of these (aged 16 and 14) - who also worked at the ironworks were Henry Copley's sons, while the youngest boy (8 months) was the child of William and Jane Rodgers. However, the person who completed the schedule evidently became confused at this point, because while he tells us that the two older boys were 'sons' and that the baby was a 'grandson' of the head of the household, he gives all three the surname of Rodgers, while at the same time telling us that the baby also worked at the ironworks.

My third major source for this study was the local newspapers in the British Newspaper Archive. There really is a vast amount of information awaiting discovery here, on every topic one might think of, and many that one would never think of, because our assumptions about the world are so different now. There were clearly many more papers in circulation then than now; but fortunately they can now be consulted online, rather than by means of an arduous journey to Colindale; and the

Stupid Questions

great thing about them is that they enable us to put flesh on the bones - in particular to link the dry facts revealed by the Census with human stories which I hope will appeal to all.

Fourthly, I have been able, here and there, to include a few but vital details by reference to the extraordinary collection of Victorian headstones and tombstones to be found in the churchyard of what is now the Old Church in Wentworth village (the much more magnificent 'new' church having only been consecrated in 1877!). These stones can speak.

I ought to mention the existence of another very important but in my case only potential source, and that is the Wentworth Muniments in Sheffield Archives. These are vast and invaluable; but they are not something which one can access at home; and I was not able to use them in person during the great Covid 19 'lockdown'. However, a valuable if partial insight into the inexhaustible 'WWM' is provided by the numerous books and articles written by my friends Melvyn and Joan Jones.

I am most grateful to my friends, Melvyn and Joan Jones, for all the many discussions I have had with them over the years; and in Mel's case for permission to quote from his contribution to *Church, Chapel & Community, Thorpe Hesley and Scholes in 1840* (which we put together for the 150th anniversary of Thorpe Hesley church, in 1990).

Lastly, I want to pay tribute to the work of the late Professor David Hey, whose books have been an inspiration to me since I first came across his study of Ecclesfield in the mid 1970s. His last work *The Grass Roots of English History* is a masterly summary, in which he makes many telling points. One relates to the fact that the bulk of the population in England during the Middle Ages probably lived in hamlets rather than in nucleated villages we have become so familiar with. Another concerns the local origin of many common English surnames, examples from South Yorkshire being Armitage, Barraclough, Coldwell, Haigh, Hirst, Jagger, Marsden, Priestley, Senior and Sykes. On another page, he makes the point - new to me - that Burgan, Burgin and Burgon all indicate an origin in Burgundy.

Stephen Cooper
Thorpe Hesley
4 June 2020

CHAPTER I

THE ENUMERATORS OF 1861

The Census of 1861 was the work of Westminster and Whitehall, it was not intended for publication, although it involved the whole nation. However, the Census was the first since 1851, and the preparations for Census Day, which was Sunday 7 April 1861, attracted much attention in the Press. On Friday 5 April the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* gave details of the penalties which might be incurred by those who refused to comply with the authorities:

PENALTIES UNDER THE NEW CENSUS ACTS. In order to take the census of the United Kingdom with accuracy on Sunday next, several provisions for the levying of penalties, in case of default or refusal to comply with the law, have been framed. Any occupier who shall wilfully refuse or neglect to fill up and sign, or deliver any false return in any of the matters specified in the schedule, is to be liable to a penalty of not more than £5 or less than 20s, to be recovered in summary manner. The enumerators are authorised to ask questions in order to obtain correct information, and on refusal or a false answer similar penalty is imposed. In England and Scotland half of the penalty is to go to the informer.

This is extremely interesting, not least because it indicates that the enumerator may in some cases have stayed to help complete the Schedules - something which was probably necessary since (according to the Registrar General) only 75% of men and 65% of women are thought to have been literate at the time; but, in any event the *York Herald* for the following day gave voice to serious concern about possible invasion of privacy:

THE CENSUS OF 1861. We are on the eve of another Census. Already the various householders of England and Wales have been supplied with the official forms, and on Monday morning next, the 30,441 enumerators who have been engaged, will proceed to collect the schedules, which shall inform the Government what are our exact ages — whether we are married or single — what is our rank, profession, or occupation — where we were born —

Stupid Questions

whether we are deaf, dumb, or blind - and similar interesting information respecting ourselves and our households. At one time the Government wished to know what were our religious convictions, but on this point the Home Secretary was obliged to give way, before the voice of public opinion, so that now we can enjoy our private opinions on spiritual matters, without going into the confessional of the Census-office. In the place of this rejected question, however, we are directed, under a penalty of £5, to let the authorities know where we were born, and what is our sex. How the former question, in many cases, is to be legally answered, we are at a loss to know, and it is still more difficult to divine what would be the use of the information when obtained. The Government might as well ask "Where were you married?" "Where were you confirmed?" or some such stupid questions as these. And then we are to denote our sex by the letters "M" and "F", just as though our Christian names did not reveal the fact.

Melvyn Jones has explained the way in which the Census was organised in 1841 - the first year for which the detailed Returns survive.

Each county was divided up into Superintendant Registrars' Districts, which in turn were divided into Registrar's Districts. Each of these was divided into Enumeration Districts, relatively small areas with 50-100 households and populations of several hundred. For each Enumeration District, an enumerator was appointed. This was a local person, invariably a man who could read, write and add up, knew the area intimately and if possible was well known. Then as now, it was important that he was seen by the Census authorities as a person who would carry out his duties conscientiously, and by the population at large as someone to whom confidential information could be entrusted. It was the responsibility of the enumerator to distribute the forms on which information about each family was collected (called Schedules).³

This sounds simple enough; but English local government was complex, involving parishes, civil and ecclesiastical, as well as townships, villages and hamlets, so the boundaries of the enumeration districts are not at all what we might expect. We should also bear in mind that the enumerators had to travel their routes on foot or on horseback, collecting the information and recording it by hand. It must be for this reason that Rockingham Wood in Wentworth Park was recorded in Greasborough District 26; and Hooper, Hooper Stand, Hooper Hill, Street, The Lion Lodge, Lea Brook, Coaley Lane and parts of Cortworth Lane (all of which were in

³ Jones, in *Church, Chapel & Community*, pp 21-2.

Stupid Questions

the township of Brampton Bierlow) were recorded under Rotherham/Wath enumeration district no 10.

Returning to the main task in hand, Wentworth was in the civil parish and registration district of Rotherham, in the sub-division of Wath upon Dearne, within which there were no less than 3 enumeration districts, numbers 4, 5 and 6.

John Fallding

The Enumerator for Rotherham/Wath/District 4 was John Fallding, and Fallding (or Falding) was a common enough name locally,⁴ but it is most likely that this was the John Fallding, a married man, 30 years of age who farmed 142 acres and employed 4 men. This Fallding lived in Wentworth Street (now Main Street) in Wentworth village, which was in District 5, rather than 4.

District 4 comprised not only Wentworth Woodhouse, with its stables, kitchen gardens, botanic gardens, pleasure grounds, dairy, lodges, 'Wood Nook', the stud groom's lodge, and 'all within the Park', but also the hamlets of Ashcroft, Spittal Houses (sometimes spelt Spittle and sometimes Spital), Hoodhill [Hood Hill], Thorpefield, Barley Hole, Thorpefieldside [sic] Thornwell Hill, Kirby Lane, and lastly Thorpe Hesley. Pausing there, 'hamlet' may have been the right term to use for the other settlements; but not for Thorpe Hesley, as is shown by the fact that eleven pages of the Census Return for district 4 are devoted to it, and it comprises a large proportion of the population of what was undoubtedly the village of Thorpe Hesley.

Fallding started his task by visiting Wentworth Woodhouse, the Stables, the Kitchen Gardens and the Park, including four Lodges, and a building called Wood Nook (which is still used by the gamekeeper at Wentworth)⁵, then followed a route out which took him out of the village of Wentworth, possibly by the back of the church, and across the fields (or by the coach road?) to Hood Hill and then headed back via Barley Hole, along Kirby Lane. There he came into what he called Thorpe Hesley, which I think must mean that he turned left into Thorpe Street, continuing down the left-hand (or northern) side of it into what we call Wentworth Road, and then descending to the place where a stream crosses the road, before climbing steeply up the hill to Wentworth village again.

District 4 therefore comprised properties of widely varying quality - from the magnificence of Wentworth Woodhouse, with its stables, gardens of various kinds, pleasure grounds, dairy, lodges, including the stud groom's lodge, and 'all within the Park', but also the area South and West of the Park, and the hamlets or settlements at Ashes Farm, Ashcroft, Spittal Houses, Thornwell Hill, Harley, Hood Hill and Barley Hole, but also a major part of Thorpe Hesley. Wentworth Village

⁴ There is a tombstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard which has several Fallding names on it, where the name is spelt with a double 'll'.

⁵ Information supplied by Jonny Addy.

Stupid Questions

itself including houses or cottages at or in West Hall, Clayfield Lane, Glass House Green, Stump Cross, Cortworth Lane, Friar House Fold and New Road).

What sort of people did Fallding find on his round? He found what we might expect he would find, in an estate village which was entirely owned by the local lord: 6 small farmers, 19 farm labourers or servants; 1 farm manager; 7 woodmen and 2 labourers in the woodyard; 1 wood agent; 5 carters and 1 carter labourer; but only 2 coalminers, 1 pensioner coalminer, 1 coal labourer and 1 engine tenter (coal); and no nailers at all! On the other hand, there were around a dozen men recorded as ironstone miners or as working at 'the ironstone pits', and many others connected with the iron industry - including a dozen who worked either at 'the foundry', 'the ironworks', or 'the forge', but also an engine fitter, an engine smith, a 'cutter down or shearer at the iron rolling mill, a model puddler in iron, a model puddler's labourer, another model maker, a model maker's apprentice, an iron moulder, a timekeeper at 'the ironworks', a clerk at the foundry, and also the foreman at Elsecar ironworks.

It is this last individual, Thomas Lister, who gives us a clue to understanding the situation, which is that there was no ironworks or foundry in Wentworth itself. The iron industry was located in Elsecar, about a mile away, the other side of Elsecar Reservoir, where coal was also mined in large quantities and there was both a canal and a railway. So the probability is that most of the coalminers, ironstone miners and ironworks men who lived in Wentworth village worked in Elsecar.

There was a wide variety of men and women employed in the village in other trades, occupations and professions. Thus we find an accountant, 5 blacksmiths, 3 blacksmith's strikers, 2 apprentice blacksmiths, 2 boilermakers, a book-keeper and a commercial clerk,⁶ two boot and shoemakers, a brewer's clerk, a builder, 3 butchers and a pork butcher, 10 carpenters, 14 dressmakers a dressmaker's apprentice and a milliner/dressmaker, a grocer/drapery, another grocer and draper who employed 2 men, a grocer's shopman and a grocer's assistant, a grocer and tea-dealer, an innkeeper and a beerhouse keeper, 6 joiners, a joiner and postmaster, a labourer and local Methodist preacher (at the Wesleyan Chapel in Clayfields Lane), 2 launderesses, 1 painter, a Police Officer, 5 pupil teachers, a mercer/drapery, a 'monthly nurse' and a 'nurse girl', a plumber and glazier, 1 railway pointsman, a saddler and apprentice saddler, a sawyer, 4 schoolmistresses, a seamstress, 10 stone masons, a stone mason's labourer and his assistant, 14 or more tailors (some of whom worked in one firm) an upholstresses, and 1 joiner wheelwright.

Many of the above worked for Earl Fitzwilliam, especially those living in Cortworth Lane on the edge of Wentworth Park. Thus we find here the House Steward William Simmons, John Palmer the Park Keeper; several grooms (in addition to those who lived in the Stables); John Mirfin the gamekeeper; the game bailiff, William Dawson; Elizabeth Mansfield, the schoolmistress at the National

⁶ The commercial clerk, not mentioned by Drake, was recorded by the Census as living in Wentworth Street. He was 19 and unmarried. He lived with William Cooper the joiner.

Stupid Questions

School and likewise Harriet Ardron, the schoolmistress at the Infants School; William Butler, a 'whipper in to hounds'; and a coachman. We also find professional men - the curate, a vet and a GP.

So far as the hamlets were concerned, Fallding found men living in the hamlets of Barrowfield, Spittal Houses, Kirby Lane and Barley Hole who were employed in industry, but the employment must often have been in nearby Elsecar. Thus at 'no 6', Barrow Field, he found William Stephenson, 32, labourer and furnace man and his nuclear family, a boarder John Turner 33, who was also a furnace man, another boarder and a lodger. Next door lived Henry Gretton, 35, glass furnace man, his wife, an agricultural labourer, 56, who was Henry's father in law, William Flower, 25, who was Henry's brother in law and a blast furnace man, and a cousin Joseph Hirst, 13, who was a 'puddler'. This suggests that these men worked at the iron foundry in Elsecar. Fallding also found 25 coalminers, plus an apprentice and an engine fitter; 40 ironstone miners, 7 ironstone moulders and 7 ironstone labourers; and 1 nailer; a table knife grinder, file cutter. It should be said that in the same area there were however 9 farmers, plus a farmer, a carter and a cornmill; 19 agricultural labourers; a brickmaker, stone mason, blacksmith, a cooper, a 'monthly nurse',⁷ a grocer's assistant, a tailor, and a dressmaker.

Similarly, in the part of Thorpe Hesley which was in Wentworth township there were 11 coalminers plus 2 coalpit labourers and an engine tender; 22 ironstone miners plus 1 ironworks labourer; and 13 nailers, plus 1 pocket knife cutter; whereas there were only 6 farmers and 6 agricultural labourers, and 1 woodman; but also an unusual mix of other occupations - a schoolmaster, a joiner, 2 tailors, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a stonemason (and his innkeeper mother), a grocer, a charwoman, and 5 men who constituted a tobacco firm - the manufacturer, 2 'tobaccopipe makers' and 2 'pipe makers'.

The contrast between Wentworth village and the other settlements adjoining it and Wentworth Park, including the hamlets in Wentworth township, could not be clearer. Wentworth village had remained predominantly agricultural; but Thorpe Hesley, which had enjoyed a reputation as the home of 'agriculturists' as well as nailers, now deserved to be known for its coal and ironstone workers as well (as we shall also see when we look at the other parts of Thorpe Hesley, not included in Rotherham Wath District 4); and we shall also see that the same was true of Scholes. We may also note that Drake and the Census takers recorded 5 pubs and 9 beerhouses in Thorpe Hesley, and 3 pubs and 4 beerhouses in Scholes, but there were only two pubs (the *George & Dragon* and the *Rockingham Arms*) and a single (unnamed) beerhouse in Wentworth village.⁸ This suggests, either that the male population of the village (or that part of it employed in heavy manual labour) was less thirsty or less numerous than that of the outlying areas; but perhaps also that

⁷ A nurse who came for a month, when there was a new baby.

⁸ Drake also lists the *Horse Shoe* and the *Coach & Horses*; but the former was in Harley and the latter at Hood Hill Cottages (according to the Census).

Stupid Questions

Earl Fitzwilliam maintained a relatively tight control on the sale and consumption of alcohol, at least in the estate village - something which was certainly true in the early part of the 20th century.

William Green

The enumerator for Rotherham/Wath/District 5 was William Green. Now that too was a common name and there was a William Green who was a household servant of Earl Fitzwilliam's and lived at 'the Big House' in 1861; but our enumerator was in all probability William Green, the grocer and draper mentioned by Drake, who lived in Wentworth village, indeed at the heart of it on Wentworth Street, in District 5 itself. He was 32, married to Hannah, who was 28. The couple shared their home with a maid called Harriet Dronfield, who was only 14, but also with Harriet Barber, a married woman aged 39, who was a 'monthly nurse', a term which explains itself when we also learn that the Greens had two children, Edward Fallding Green, who was only 3 but was already stated to be a 'scholar' ie at school, and a daughter was as yet unnamed, because she was not yet one month old.

The birth of a baby daughter would certainly not have prevented a young man like William Green from walking his route in April 1861, since it was Spring time, and District No. 5 comprised Wentworth Village, the West Hall, High Farm, Glass House Green, Cortworth Lane, Stump Cross, Friar House Fold, Back Road, New Road and 'all outside the Park'. So, for Green this was little more than a stroll around his home village.

What is note worthy is that, in Carpenter's Yard, our enumerator found John Fallding, who was indeed a carpenter, aged 72 and lived on his own there, while at the next house he came to, he found Joseph Fallding aged 50, a carpenter and joiner, living with his wife Ellen, also aged 50, their daughter (at school aged 14) one female house servant aged 21 and three apprentices, aged 19, 16 and 14. As we know a younger John Fallding was the enumerator for District 4; but I do not know exactly what the relationship was between the Falldings and the Greens.

Alfred Murray

The enumerator for Rotherham/Wath District 6 was A.Murray aged 36, who must surely have been the same Alfred Murray listed by Drake as a schoolmaster at the Barrow endowed school; and so here again, this fell inside the very District he was responsible for, which comprised 'the remaining part of the township of Wentworth which lay North-West of the village, including Barrow, Barrowfield, Cock-Pit-Hill and Harley'. However, when Murray walked the route, he did not start recording in Barrow, though he lived there. Instead, he turned left on leaving the schoolhouse, walked up the hill as far as Wentworth and then turned left again down Barrowfield

Stupid Questions

Lane and Cock-Pit-Hill, then left again past Wentworth Mill, before turning right and going down to Harley Dyke, Harley Quarry, Harley Smithy, Milton Cottage, and Harley Row (by far the most populous part of the hamlet), before re-tracing his steps to the toll bar house in Barrow and finishing at the schoolhouse and the 'hospital'.

The hamlet of Barrow is well described by Melvyn Jones in chapters 7 and 8 of *Wentworth Woodhouse, the House, the Estate and the Family*.

The almshouses and the former Barrow School, as noted above lie just to the west of the village. Wentworth Barrow School was founded by the Hon. Thomas Watson-Wentworth in 1716 'for fifty poor children'. It closed in 1943. The complex of buildings, originally included a schoolroom, a house for the schoolmaster and a group of almshouses arranged around a quadrangle. It was enlarged in 1892. The big schoolroom contained a three-tier gallery along the south wall, an open fire in the centre of the north wall (with the head-teacher's desk close to it), two blackboards and a harmonium. It is said that in the playground the boys played football with anything that would roll, from a potty to a pig's bladder. Behind the old school lie the old almshouses or hospital as it was originally called. The hospital was built by Thomas Watson-Wentworth in accordance with his uncle's (the 2nd Earl of Strafford) will. Built of brick with stone slated roofs, around a pleasant grassed courtyard, the former almshouses are still lived in by the retired. There were originally twelve apartments. In the 18th century the occupants (retired estate workers or former tenants) wore a badge on the shoulder of a cape provided by the estate.

It was not difficult for Alfred Murray to record what he found at Barrow School! He duly noted his own presence, together with that of his wife Mary (42), and their six children, 4 daughters and two sons, all of whom (even 3 year old Edith) were at school, except for little Sydney, who was only one son. He also recorded the presence of their only servant, Mary Ogleby who was 15. We may note too that the Census tells us he was from Barnsley, his wife from Sheffield and that his second eldest daughter had been born in Gloucestershire around 1853.

Lastly, Murray recorded the occupants of the twelve almshouses comprising Barrow Hospital. All twelve were occupied; but there were only 4 married couples, the other houses being occupied by 5 widows and 1 widower, and 2 spinsters. The oldest woman was 82, the oldest man was 78. All occupants were of course retired, but the former occupations of the men were stated: they had been an agricultural labourer, a garden labourer, an engine fitter, a collier, a sawyer and a blacksmith. The occupations of the women were not stated, except in two cases: they had once been domestic servants. The only other occupants of the almshouses were either relatives (children and grandchildren) or servants.

Stupid Questions

Lastly, here we should note that there were two houses in Harley and three in Hood Hill which were 'enumerated', if that is the right word, not as part of District 6 in Rotherham/Wath but as part of District 1 in Wortley & Penistone/Wortley, being considered to be in the Township and Hamlet of Tankersley.

William Gillott

The enumerator in Rotherham/Kimberworth District 15 was William Gillott, who was 49 and married with two grownup sons (Edward and William) and a daughter (Betsy) aged 18. He farmed 130 acres, employing 5 labourers; near Kirby Lane (and therefore ironically in the part of Thorpe which lay within Wentworth township). He is mentioned both by *Drake* and the 1861 Census; but in the part of his home village which he called simply 'Thorpe'.

District no. 15 comprised 'all the houses and cottages in Thorpe Hesley that are in Kimberworth township, including South (that is Sough) Hall'; but it is noticeable that in the heading over the relevant column, someone (presumably the enumerator) has crossed out 'Hamlet etc.', and substituted an emphatic 'village: Thorpe Hesley', and subsequent pages, he does not do that, though he does sometimes cross out the word 'tything' so that the village is there reduced to the status of a mere hamlet. However, it is remarkable that in the body of the text, the words 'Thorpe Hesley' never appear (except in the box marked 'ecclesiastical parish'). I think this indicates that the block of houses in Thorpe which this enumerator was concerned with lay on the southern side of Thorpe Street, which was indeed where 'South Hall' also was. (It will be recalled that the northern side of the street was situated in a different enumeration district, which was John Fallding of Wentworth's responsibility).

William Gillott found 15 coalminers (plus 1 apprentice, 3 coal labourers; no less than 30 ironstone miners and one apprentice; 17 nailers, to which one might add that there was also a charcoal burner, a file cutter, a 'mechanick', a pattern maker, and a labourer at 'the iron works'. On the other hand, there were 4 farmers, at least 9 farm labourers and 2 carters; and many others who were not directly employed in either agriculture or industry. So, we find a general labourer, an unemployed labourer, a labourer who also had a beerhouse, a shoemaker who was had a beerhouse, a former innkeeper, several servants, two carpenters, a blacksmith, a cordwainer, a blacksmith, a butcher, a schoolmaster, a greengrocer and a grocer who was also a local preacher, and 2 dressmakers.

In Kimberworth Lane [now known as Kimberworth Lane/Brook Hill]/Sough Hall Gillott recorded an amazing 75 coalminers (plus a coalminer/publican and an engine tenter; 11 ironstone miners, 1 'ironmaker', 1 'ironfounder', a pattern maker and a 'moulder/stationer'; and 4 nailers; but only 8 agricultural labourers, plus 1 farmer and 2 woodmen. Lastly a general labourer, a book-keeper and a gentleman(!);

Stupid Questions

a builder and a slater; a dressmaker, a shopkeeper, a schoolmistress, and a (female) gardener.

Edward Gillott

The enumerator for Rotherham/Kimberworth District 14f was Edward Gillott, son of William Gillott (the enumerator for district 15, if I am right). He was 27 and an unmarried farmer's son. This district comprised 'part of Scholes, Scholes Lane, Thorpe Common, Grange Lane Farm, Grange Farm, Grange Hall [aka 'Thundercliffe Grange'] Grange Mill, and all the houses in Blackburn to Meadow Hall, Barber Wood and Walkworth Wood, to Lodge Lane'; and the relevant hamlets were said to be Scholes, Thorpe Common, Grange and Blackburn.

The route Edward Gillott had to take on Census day would again have been relatively easy for a man of his age. He had to walk through Scholes itself and climb up Scholes Lane to Thorpe Common, then (passing through the toll bar and going down Grange Lane), taking in Grange Lane Farm, the Earl of Effingham's Grange Hall aka Thundercliffe Grange, Grange Mill, and finally passing through Blackburn to Meadow Hall(!), before returning to Lodge Lane via Barber Wood and Walkworth Farm.

He found a truly surprising 66 coalminers in Scholes, plus a coal owner; while there are 20 more coalminers at Thorpe Common, plus a coal owner, colliery agent, 4 engine tenters and an engine stoker, and 2 coke burners. Living alongside them in Scholes were only 3 ironstone miners and 6 nailers, with only a further 3 ironstone miners and 1 more nailer at Thorpe Common. The farmers and their labourers were therefore in a minority, in both places: 10 farmers and 10 farm labourers or servants in Scholes, and 3 farmers and 8 farm labourers or servants at Thorpe Common. Admittedly there was a great variety of other occupations in both places, but the numbers employed in each were few: 4 boot and shoe makers plus a cordwainer in Scholes and only 1 at Thorpe Common; while the former had a silversmith, a blacksmith and a wheelwright, a pupil teacher, a seamstress, a plumber/glazier, a silkworker, a stone mason, a slater and a quarryman; and the latter had a horsedriver, a carpenter, a brickmaker and 2 stonegrate fitters.

The Anonymous of Ecclesfield

Lastly, the enumerator's name for Ecclesfield/Chapelton District no 9 was unfortunately not recorded; but we know that this comprised: Thorpe Hesley toll bar, Hesley Bar and the large population living in Hesley Lane, and these were stated to be in Chapelton 'hamlet' - though that was also true of Chapelton itself, which was very much more than a hamlet at the time. But the route is not difficult to discern. He (it was probably a 'he') must have started with Ecclesfield Common,

Stupid Questions

and then proceeded by way of Jackson Lane and Nether Lane and then climbed Cowley Hill by Smithy Wood to Hesey [toll] Bar, then passed by Hesley Park and Hesley Hall turned down Hesley Lane, to the end. Then he must have stopped, noting that he had reached the end of [his bit] Thorpe Hesley, and re-traced his steps, because he started recording again at Cowley Manor and Harcourt Lodge, before entering Cowley Lane and proceeding on to Chapeltown.

What this anonymous enumerator found is very significant, for in Hesley Lane he encountered 42 coalminers (plus 4 apprentices, 2 mines labourers, and an engine tender); 18 ironstone miners and one apprentice; 7 'miners', 2 apprentices and 1 miner's widow; 5 nailers, to which one might add that there was also one 'spring knife cutter' and 2 railway labourers. and it should also be pointed out that there was only one labourer recorded as being employed in agriculture, though there was a handful of men described simply as 'labourers', as well as 6 woodmen, a schoolmaster and a scripture reader.

I think we are justified in drawing some conclusions. First, the designation of hamlet was out of date. It had been overtaken by the growth of population in general, and in particular by the expansion of industrialised villages. Moreover, a mere list of hamlets does not begin to grapple with the complexities of ever changing local governmental and Anglican institutions, let alone the complexities of private landownership and lordship.

Second, there is a marked contrast between Wentworth village and the other settlements adjoining it on the one hand, and Thorpe Hesley and Scholes on the other. Wentworth village had remained predominantly agricultural; but Thorpe Hesley, which in the early 19th century had enjoyed the reputation of being home to 'agriculturists' as well as nailers, now deserved to be known for its coal and ironstone workers as well; and same was true of Scholes.

Lastly we may also note that Drake and the Census enumerators recorded 5 pubs and 9 beerhouses in Thorpe Hesley, and 3 pubs and 4 beerhouses in Scholes, but there were only 2 pubs (the *George & Dragon* and the *Rockingham Arms*) and a single (unnamed) beerhouse in Wentworth village.⁹ Given that anyone in manual work may develop a hearty thirst, this perhaps suggests that Earl Fitzwilliam maintained a relatively tight control on the sale and consumption of alcohol in his home village - something which was certainly true in the early part of the 20th century.

⁹ Drake also lists the *Horse Shoe* and the *Coach & Horses*; but the former was in Harley and the latter at Hood Hill Cottages (according to the Census).

CHAPTER II

WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE

The 6th Earl Fitzwilliam

The 6th Earl Fitzwilliam and his Countess had been married since 1838 and, famously, were to celebrate their golden wedding at Wentworth Woodhouse in 1888. They had 14 children in all, every one of whom was Christened inter alia with the name of William or Mary. This was a visible demonstration of the loyalty of the family to the descendants of King William III and his Queen Mary (see *Orangeism* below). Twelve of these children had been born at the time of the Census in 1861 - four at 'Wentworth House' (and three at Milton Hall in Northamptonshire); but the Earl himself was not at home on the day John Fallding called there, but eight of the younger children were there - four Williams and three Marys. Extraordinarily, the place of birth of William John, aged 8, was recorded as 'N.K.' - not known; but we do know is that this little boy had the misfortune to be killed in a riding accident in Wentworth Park in 1889. An inquest was held at the *Rockingham Arms*. The accident and the proceedings were fully reported in the *Sheffield Independent* on 11 and 12 September that year.

The Earls Fitzwilliam were enormously wealthy. Consider, for one thing, the estates which they owned. In addition to the Wentworth estate in South Yorkshire, they owned around 50,000 acres in County Wicklow in Ireland, which accounted for about half their rental income. Yet they were well thought of, not only by their servants and employees (who might have been expected to express a favourable opinion), but by the general public. As politicians, with a seat in the House of Lords, while their sons were often members of the House of Commons, they were liberal and progressive; but they were also thought of as philanthropists and generous landlords.¹⁰ However, this rosy picture does need some qualification. First, these great aristocrats were Whigs rather than Tories, and then Liberals, rather than Conservatives; but they never went so far as to support Radicals in the mould of John Wilkes, let alone revolutionaries like Tom Paine, and they were deeply opposed to the activities of the Sheffield Corresponding Society in the 1790s, and the Chartists

¹⁰ For only one example of philanthropy, see the photos reproduced here of the Almshouses at Barrow.

Stupid Questions

in the 1830s, though from a modern point of view, these 'agitators' were merely advocating an extension of a very limited franchise, not full democracy.

The Whigs stood for limited monarchy, representative government, and the Protestant Succession.¹¹ True, the 4th Earl Fitzwilliam favoured Catholic Emancipation, and even resigned his office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795 on this issue, just as his son resigned as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1819, in protest against the excessive use of excessive violence by the authorities at 'Peterloo';¹² but neither was above using the militia against the crowd when the occasion arose; and by the time the Great Reform Act of 1832 was progressing through Parliament, the 4th Earl had decided that he was against it, or at least, was not prepared to vote for it.

Further, benevolent landlordism had its limits, both in England and more especially in Ireland. Mee (1976) and Jones (2017) each stress that the 4th and 5th Earls Fitzwilliam had a traditional, paternalistic, relationship with his Household servants and other employees, without of course creating any doubt as to who was boss, as the detailed house rules for employees preserved by Roy Young demonstrate. The paternalism contrasted in particular with 'the exploitative attitudes of most colliery owners'. This paternalism manifested itself in many different ways - the provision of housing of good quality, at low rents; schools and almshouses, and Mechanics' Institutes; pensions, of various kinds, and of food in times of scarcity, or on special occasions (e.g. St Thomas's Day and at Christmas); and we could add that, in the 20th century, Fitzwilliam made arrangements for his employees to go on works 'outings', sometimes from his private railway station at Elsecar.¹³ On other occasions, selected guests were invited to visit Wentworth Woodhouse;¹⁴ but most importantly, the

¹¹ Contrast for example, Francis Hurt Sitwell of Renishaw Hall (1776-93), who was a Jacobite. Contrast also the owners of Wentworth Castle near Barnsley, the 1st and 2nd Earls of Strafford in the Jacobite Peerage.

¹² See Mee (1975), 12

¹³ E.g. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 20 July 1929 - 'The employees of the Elsecar Skiers Spring and Low Stubbin Main Collieries, owned by Earl Fitzwilliam, left Elsecar and Chapelton this morning in six special trains to Blackpool for their annual outing. The collieries employ over 3,000 men and the majority of the workmen were accompanied by their wives. Earl Fitzwilliam gave £1,500 towards the cost of the outing.'

¹⁴ E.g. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 1931: Members of the Yorkshire Branch of the National Association of Colliery Managers, yesterday afternoon, inspected the pit-head baths at Earl Fitzwilliam's Elsecar Colliery, and afterwards with their ladies, visited Wentworth Woodhouse, where they went over the extensive grounds and gardens, and the stately house. The party numbered nearly 500. The members were received at Elsecar Colliery by Mr. H. Danby, agent and general manager, who conducted them over the baths, a splendid and much appreciated product of the Miners' Welfare Fund. At Wentworth Woodhouse the party were received by Colonel Diggles who showed them over the various rooms and explained to them the numerous works of art and other treasures for which the mansion is famous. The Hickleton Main Silver Prize Band gave selections. The visitors were entertained to tea in the Riding School, where Mr. John Minnikin, President of the Yorkshire branch of the Association, proposed hearty thanks to Earl Fitzwilliam for his kindness, and paid tribute to Mr. Danby for arranging the visit.

Stupid Questions

Earls had a very good record when it came to pit safety. At the same time, the Earls were 'uncompromisingly anti-union, to the point of dismissing employees who defied them on this issue.'¹⁵ Ultimately, the Earl was master, and wanted to remain so. He did not want his workers deciding things for themselves, or organising, let alone encouraging others to withdraw their labour. Lastly, the vast Fitzwilliam estates in Ireland presented the Earls with problems of a wholly different magnitude, where English solutions were always likely to be overtaken by Irish nationalism

Notwithstanding the Fitzwilliams' good record in relation to safety, mining remained an inherently dangerous occupation, and there were many accidents sustained by individuals during the course of their work. For example, the *Sheffield Independent* for Monday 6 September 1869 reported on a:

SERIOUS COLLIERY ACCIDENT AT ELSECAR

On Friday morning, a serious accident occurred at the Simon Wood Colliery, Elsecar, belonging to Earl Fitzwilliam, to a young man named Thomas Hinchcliffe, who resides at Hemingfield. It appears that he was "ramming a drill hole up," which was made for the purpose of blasting. When the coal which was to have been blasted off suddenly gave way, knocking the poor fellow down, dislocating his neck, cutting half of his ear off, and otherwise seriously injuring him. He was removed home, and was attended by Dr. Clarke, of Wentworth.

Employees

Drake used an asterisk to show those who were 'in the employ of Earl Fitzwilliam'. The symbol \diamond is used by me as to indicate that the individual was mentioned in the Census of 1861.

*Airey George, gamekeeper, Rockingham Wood \diamond ¹⁶

*Biram Joshua, accountant \diamond ¹⁷

*Burrell John, saddler \diamond ¹⁸

¹⁵ See Mee (1975) Chapter 10 for paternalism.

¹⁶ Rockingham Wood was in Wentworth Park, lying on the south of the Morley Pond and Dog Kennel Pond, towards Scholes village. The Census of 1861 (for Greasborough District 26) lists George Airey as a gamekeeper aged 41, living in Rockingham Wood with his wife Ruth (35) and their five children, 2 daughters and 3 sons, the oldest of whom was James, who was 15 and already working as a groom. See further under Gamekeepers and Poachers.

¹⁷ Aged 30, West Hall Fold, wife, her sister, one female servant.

¹⁸ There is no saddler listed in the Census as living at the Stables; but John Burrell, saddler, is listed in Cortworth Lane. Aged 36, his wife was 42. They had 3 sons and a daughter.

Stupid Questions

- *Butler William, huntsman[◇]
- *Cobban John, wood agent^{◇19}
- *Dawson George, North Lodge keeper^{◇20}
- *Denton Jph. East Lodge keeper^{◇21}
- *Falding [sic] Joseph, joiner, builder, and clerk of works, Glass House green^{◇22}
- *Foster William, joiner^{◇23}
- *Henderson Joseph, head gardener^{◇24}
- *Kitchen Thomas, coachman^{◇25}
- *Lamb, Mrs C., housekeeper^{◇26}
- *Massey Richard B. secretary and superintendent to Earl Fitzwilliam; Hooper House^{◇27}
- *Oates Esh, stud groom^{◇28}
- *Palmer George, park keeper^{◇29}
- *Parkin Thomas, blacksmith^{◇30}
- *Peech John Darcey, veterinary surgeon, Chestnut Cottage[◇]
- *Simmons William, house steward^{◇31}
- *Smith John, head gamekeeper, Wood Nook^{◇32}
- *Stanger Matthew, West Lodge keeper^{◇33}

¹⁹ John Cobban, wood agent (32), his wife Mary Ann (30) and their daughter Annie aged 1 lived with a female house servant on Wentworth Street [Census, 1861]. He was from Ipswich in Suffolk, his wife from Penshurst in Kent, where their daughter had also been born.

²⁰ The Census lists George Dawson of a 'Park Lodge' as a garden labourer. He was 55, his wife Christian 52 and there was a daughter (32) and granddaughter (5), also living there.

²¹ Joseph Denton lived at 'Park Lodge'. He was 53 and a groom. His wife was 48 and they lived with their son, aged 10.

²² See under Aftermath below.

²³ And he ran the Post Office, see above.

²⁴ A 'Professional Gardener', 70, unmarried, lived at Wentworth Woodhouse.

²⁵ The Census for 1861 shows Thomas Kitchen (49) living in Friar Fold, Wentworth with his wife Hannah (53) with their son Charles (20) and two daughters (Selina 18 & Ann 16). Thomas was a coachman and Charles was a carpenter, but the girls do not seem to have had an occupation.

²⁶ Listed in the Census as living in the House.

²⁷ Listed in 1861 as living in the hamlet of Hooper, in the township of Brampton Bierlow, aged 42, he was 'Superintendent to Earl Fitzwilliam' and farmed 1,000 acres. er post of 'Agent'. Hooper House was not Hooper Hall, but nonetheless, he had a full company on Census night: wife, four children, three visitors and five servants, including a charwoman.

²⁸ See The Stud, below.

²⁹ See also under Park, below.

³⁰ Thomas Parkin, blacksmith was 66 in 1861 and lived on Wentworth Street (next door to William Buck the plasterer) with his wife Annis (55) and their niece (16).

³¹ Simmons was 54 and lived on Cortworth Lane with his wife aged 51 with their daughter, 23, their son, 15, and an unmarried female servant aged 18.

³² Smith is listed in 1861 as a gamekeeper, 50, living at Wood Nook with his wife Elizabeth aged 50, their 11 year old daughter and a domestic servant, Sarah Swift aged 15.

³³ Stanger is listed in 1861 as a gamekeeper, aged 37, with a wife Eliza (27), two children aged 4 and 2 and a servant, Emily Dronsfield(?), aged 14.

Stupid Questions

*Sykes Benjamin, mason³⁴

*Sykes Henry, head mason³⁵

*Sykes John, carpenter³⁶

*Watkins Mr Z. C. cook

*Wordsworth William, hall porter³⁷

*Wright Thomas, blacksmith³⁷

Shopkeepers [Marked * are Grocers & Drapers.]

*Green William³⁸

*Otty William, Harley

*Poles William³⁸

The House

By 1861 'Wentworth House' (the name in common use from 1695, when 1st Marquis of Rockingham's father Thomas Watson inherited the property and changed his name to Watson-Wentworth) had become 'Woodhouse Woodhouse' once again - that being the name that it had been known by since the Middle Ages; but *Drake's Directory* of 1862 still referred to it as Wentworth House, though the Census of 1861 referred to Wentworth Woodhouse. However, if we conduct an 'exact' search for the two names in the British Newspaper Archive for 1862, we find only 238 references to what was now the old name (many of them concerned with the birth of a son to the Earl and Countess Fitzwilliam³⁸) but over 3,600 to the original and new name.

As to the impression the House makes, it may seem odd to compare Wentworth Woodhouse with the house described in *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964); but as I stand on the lawn in front of the East Front of Wentworth Woodhouse, I am reminded of the poor tailor Tevye, who wanted to build something which would show the world, or at least his neighbours, that he was wealthy.

Right in the middle of the town.
I'd fill my yard with chicks and turkeys and geese and ducks
For the town to see and hear.
Squawking just as noisily as they can.
With each loud "cheep" "swaqwk" "honk" "quack"

³⁴ The Census has Sykes in Cortworth Lane, Township of Brampton Bierlow. 63, a widower and a mason, he lived with a widowed house-servant, 62. The next house was in Hooper.

³⁵ Henry Sykes, a builder aged 3, Clay Field, wife, 4 children and a servant.

³⁶ John Sykes, carpenter aged 40, Cortworth Lane, mother, wife Susanna (34), 3 children, 1 servant.

³⁷ I think this is probably T.H.Wright, blacksmith, recorded in 1861 in Cortworth Lane. He was 42, his wife Elizabeth 39 and they had 5 children, 3 sons and 2 daughters.

³⁸ Hon. William Reginald Wentworth-Fitzwilliam (12 April 1862 – 7 July 1906).

Stupid Questions

Would land like a trumpet on the ear,
As if to say "Here lives a wealthy man."

Ostensibly, though, Wentworth Woodhouse is intended to convey a Christian message: *Mea Gloria Fides* - 'my Faith is my Glory'; and the owners between 1750 and 1950 were known for their philanthropy, thereby demonstrating their Faith by good works. Nevertheless, my impression is of a family which enjoyed enormous wealth and power, and enjoyed displaying it.

This great House, (by which I meant the East Front) is the biggest in England, perhaps in Europe, in terms of width, at 616 feet. When it was built in the 18th century, it was a perfect expression of state of the art Palladian architecture, imported from Vicenza in Italy, and decked out with statues of Greek and Roman gods and goddesses, despite the undoubted Christianity of the owners. That wealth, which was originally based on agriculture, had now generated a considerable industrial empire, with dozens of coalmines and hundreds if not thousands of miners employed in them.

The House was large enough to enable its owners to entertain royalty. The earliest recorded visit, by the future King George IV and his brother the Duke of York had taken place in 1789, the year of the French Revolution, and the Prince of Wales came again in 1806, while the Duke of Clarence (later William IV) visited in 1827 (at the same time as he visited the Milton Colliery at Elsecar). Princess Victoria came in 1832, but never came as Queen, and intended to visit in 1857 but the death of the 5th Earl that year caused the visit to be postponed until 1861. However, the death of Prince Albert caused the idea to be abandoned; and the next royal visit was only paid in 1886, when the Duke and Duchess of Teck visited.³⁹

Visitors to the House often came from less exalted stations in society. There was a visit in the Summer of 1857 by the members of the Manchester Athenaeum, reported in the *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 25 July 1857. We get a good idea of the treasures which Wentworth once housed, now long since dispersed:

The members of the Manchester Athenaeum have arranged to make an excursion trip to Wentworth House today, the noble owner having kindly given permission for them to inspect his picture galleries and collection of statuary. In the fine collection of paintings which Lord Fitzwilliam has directed to be exhibited to the excursionists, are two by Titian, a Guido, and a Paul Veronese, of rare excellence. Vandyck's chef-d'oeuvre, the Earl of Strafford giving instructions to his secretary the night before his execution, the *Ecce Homo*, by Annibale Carracci, two by Salvator Rosa, two by Carlo Dolci, and others of great value by Teniers, Claude, Spagnoletto, Rubens, and Panini. The paintings by English masters include Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir G.

³⁹ Young, p 47, with photo of the visit in 1886.

Stupid Questions

Kneller, King, Hurlston, Shackleton, Stubbs, Sir T. Lawrence, &c, &c. The statuary in this noble mansion is of itself worthy of a visit. The museum of antiquities, and the costly cabinets of ivory and tortoiseshell, with capitals of pure gold, should be examined with attention. Few residences can boast of an equal number of artistic treasures. — The house will be closed next week, as his Lordship returns to Yorkshire for the season.

Wentworth Woodhouse must have been a good deal colder and darker before 1850 even than it is today; but we know that gas was installed at some date prior to 1872. However, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for Wednesday 3 July 1872 reported:

SERIOUS EXPLOSION GAS AT WENTWORTH HOUSE TWO MEN INJURED

Considerable alarm was caused among Earl Fitzwilliam's household yesterday afternoon, by report from the cellar in Wentworth House. The cause of the alarm was as follows: — About nine o'clock yesterday morning an escape of gas was discovered in the spacious passage from which all the cellars branch, and it was deemed advisable to send for some plumbers to find out and stop the leakage. Two plumbers residing in Wentworth, named respectively Joseph Woodward, a foreman, and Henry Greenwood, answered the summons. About twenty-five minutes past one o'clock yesterday afternoon these two men were in the cellar passage, which is of great height, and Woodward standing at the top of a ladder to investigate whence the gas escaped, but he had not been there many minutes before the explosion above referred to took place, and resounded throughout the mansion.

By the force of the explosion Woodward was thrown to the ground. His face and neck were severely scorched, and he sustained several bruises by the fall. That was the extent of the injury he experienced. From what we can learn, the man Greenwood was, at the time of the catastrophe, kneeling on the floor few yards distant from where his companion fell, notwithstanding which he received injuries of a more serious nature. He had a candle and some matches, but whether either these were lighted or not we were unable to ascertain. At any rate he was sadly scorched on the face and neck, and the hair of his head and his whiskers were completely burnt off. He was also badly scorched on the right arm and left wrist, and for a short time lay on the ground insensible, but soon recovered and was able to walk.

Both men were removed to their homes, where they were promptly attended to by Dr. Clarke, of Wentworth. The damage done to the premises was not so serious character was at first imagined, nevertheless it showed in measure that the explosion was attended with great force. For instance, the top of the steps leading from the cellar passage to the servants' hall above,

Stupid Questions

some 50 or 60 yards distant from the exact place where the explosion occurred, was a heavy door of timber, which was smashed to pieces.

By the force of the concussion it would appear that the body of escaped gas returned from this door near to the place whence it emanated, where it then completely destroyed the door of the butler's pantry. It also lifted the ventilators at the top of the cellar passage, which communicate with the servants' hall, directly above it, to the extent of about a foot. Beyond what we have described no damage to property was done. On subsequent examination it was found that the gas had escaped from a flaw, three four inches in length, in a brass pendant hanging from the main, which is supplied from his lordship's private gas works, contiguous to the house.

Electricity came along in 1904, as reported by the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for Thursday 17 November 1904:

The Household

Drake marked with a star those individuals in his list who were employed by Earl Fitzwilliam, but in general he did not include those who lived in the mansion at Wentworth Woodhouse: they would not normally come to the attention of the general public. For most of them, we therefore have to look at the Census taken the previous year. When we do, we find that there were 35 household servants of one kind or another, 10 men and 25 women. The men ranged in age from 20 to 70, the oldest being Joseph Henderson, who was described as a Professional(?) Gardener and the youngest being George Piper, who was a steward's room boy. The oldest woman was Eliza Wordsworth and the youngest Elizabeth Barker, aged 16, who was a nursemaid.

These men and women were nearly all unmarried, the exceptions being William Wordsworth, 53 and a porter, who was doubtless married to the aforesaid Eliza. He by the way is mentioned by Drake, who refers to him as a hall porter. James Carr, 66 and a house servant, who was also married; and William Green, 69 who was a porter and a widower (not mentioned by Drake). In addition, Emilia Seward, 36 and a nurse, was a widow. Interestingly, only 10 came from Yorkshire, the remaining 25 from a wide range of counties in England, and not just the North of England. There were servants there who came from Durham, Oxfordshire, Dorset, Hertfordshire, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire, Surrey, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Essex and even one from Ross-shire in Scotland; and there were two governesses from Park Lane and Paddington in London. We may well speculate that these two women had initially been recruited to work at the Fitzwilliam's town house in Grosvenor Square. We may also wonder whether the family had adopted a

Stupid Questions

deliberate policy at recruiting 'offcomers' to work in the big house, and whether the large number of people who were not from Yorkshire is related to their single status. To return to our only married couple, William Wordsworth came from Worsborough and his wife came from Hoyland, so they were local people.

Some servants were more equal than others; and certainly there must have been a huge difference in terms of status and pay, so far as the men were concerned, between the position of private secretary, held by Henry Joseph Moule aged 35, and the posts occupied by the footmen, or the under-butler, let alone the steward's room boy, although one imagines that the brewer may have occupied an intermediate position. So far as the women were concerned, there was likewise a huge difference between the housekeeper, and the maids of various kinds: house-, chamber-, nurse-, kitchen-, baker-, confectioner-, laundry-, and the two 'still' room maids, who worked in the distillery, dealing perhaps with the preparation of food grown in the kitchen gardens.

Lodges & Coach Roads

The revolution in transport which accompanied the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries did as much to transform all our lives - even in the long neglected North. In came canals, railways and eventually, if belatedly, bicycles and motor cars, facilitated by roads tarmacadam. It became possible to reach London (and Scotland) in a matter of hours rather than days, though Wales and Cornwall always seem to take longer. Our early Georgian ancestors had none of these things, except for a few canals, which were not intended for passenger traffic; but they had horses, in large numbers. Hence the numerous lodges and coach roads which surround Wentworth Park to this day, and the less visible toll gates and cottages which financed the turnpikes, until they were swept away - peacefully and otherwise - in the mid-19th century (see below).

Wentworth Park has a perimeter wall which is nine miles long; and around it there are lodges, the purpose of which was at one time to control access to the Park, which was private, although the Earls Fitzwilliam seem to have been generous landlords in permitting access for various purposes, including sport of various kinds. There are 11 such lodges altogether. Of these, seven - Doric Lodge,⁴⁰ Octagon Lodge, North Lodge,⁴¹ Mausoleum Lodge, Nether Haugh Lodge, East Lodge (the nearest to Parkgate), and Top Lodge (in Greasborough), adjoin the Park, usually where there were gates into it, whereas four - Hood Hill Lodge, Scholes Lodge, Rainborough Lodge in Brampton Bierlow, and Glossop Lodge in Cinder Bridge Road, Greasbrough now stand at a distance from it, but are connected by roads or

⁴⁰ At one time inhabited by P.C.Titcombe and his family - see The Park, below.

⁴¹ One of the photos in the *George & Dragon* at Wentworth shows an old woman standing outside North Lodge. I believe this is 'Granny Clarke', who lived there with her husband, and was at one time the oldest woman in the village: sse Roy Young, 2010, p. 29).

Stupid Questions

tracks which are still visible, if no longer used.⁴² So, there were Coach Roads at Hood Hill and Greasborough, which still bear the name. Doubtless this indicates that the boundaries of the Park have shrunk in the last 50-100 years. All are still inhabited; and all except one is visibly a Victorian or Edwardian stone building. The exception is Top Lodge, which was (re-?) built in brick in 1913.

Unfortunately, when John Fallding, the enumerator for no. 4 district, came to call on the inhabitants of the four lodges in Wentworth Park which lay within his 'round', he simply listed these as 'Park Lodges' and did not name them; and it is therefore not entirely easy to work out which was which. However, Drake tells us that the keeper of the North Lodge was George Dawson, the keeper of the West Lodge was Matthew Stanger, and the keeper of the East Lodge was Joseph Denton. Now, in the case of the North Lodge, this has the same name today - it is the one which faces the B 6090 and, in the old days, was the point of access to the Park for coaches arriving from the North, and proceeding by way of the Lion Gate, Rainborough Park and the Needle's Eye. And again the East Lodge still has the same name - it is situated at the bottom of the Park, down beyond the Morley Pond, Dog Kennel Pond and the Mill Dam, fronting onto The Whins and Greasborough Lane. That in turn means that the West Lodge must have been what we now call Octagon Lodge, by the Gun Park and the Home Farm, at the modern entrance to Wentworth Woodhouse itself.

What of the remaining fourth Lodge mentioned in the Census, which was occupied by James Hare (52 and his wife Sabina (47) only. Drake does not help us here. It is possible that this was Doric Lodge which, according to Harman and Pevsner, was built in the early 19th century, to the South side of the House, next to the Long Terrace (and which was mentioned expressly by the Census taker for Wentworth in 1881; but there again the 1871 Census simply refers to two lodge-keepers living on the Thorpe Hesley side of the Park, without naming the lodges); and not all the Lodges were on the perimeter of Wentworth Park: some were entirely inside it, as were Mill Dam Lodge, Morley Lodge, Peacock Lodge and the Stud Groom's Lodge, occupied by Esh Oates and his family (see Stables and Stud below).

Why did none of these four Park-keepers disclose their occupation on the Census Schedule? Denton stated that he was a groom and Dawson stated that he was a garden labourer, while Matthew Stanger was recorded as a gamekeeper and James Hare as a shepherd; but perhaps this is not so surprising when we realised that many men and women at the time had two or more occupations. Perhaps too, there were reasons to do with the security of the Park?

Pausing there, I have found a gravestone in Wentworth Old Churchyard which commemorates a John Loy of Morley-Lodge, aged 72, who died on May 26th 1860. Now this must obviously have been a lodge on the Morley Pond, in Wentworth Park, now a pleasant place to visit; but the Census of 1851 - which was

⁴² Rainborough Lodge is two buildings and incorporates The Lion Gate. Built 1798-1804, attributed to John Carr of York. Glossop Lodge was sold by the Fitzwilliam Estate in 1972.

Stupid Questions

taken on the basis of entirely different enumeration districts from that taken ten years later - has him at the age of 65, the farmer of 44 acres, and the head of a household which consisted of his wife Elizabeth (62) and a grandson named George, who was 14 and had been born in Thorpe, Northamptonshire (perhaps on the Fitzwilliam's Milton estates?). So, perhaps the word 'lodge' is sometimes misleading, if its normal meaning is taken to indicate a subservient relationship; but we cannot confirm any details by reference to the Census taken in 1861, because by that time John Loy was dead.

With regard to the coach roads, not all of which survive in their entirety, or in their old form, it would seem as if there was one which led out of the North Lodge, crossed over the modern road and went up the avenue between the trees to the Needle's Eye, before leaving the Park at Rainborough Lodge and then heading off to the North, and eventually to York; but the most impressive surviving example must be the 'Coach Road' between Hood Hill Lodge, Harley and Wentworth Village. It was long a puzzle to me, why this is called a coach road, when it only leads from Harley to Wentworth village, and not to the House; but the solution is that the road has been drastically foreshortened. At one time, it took a different route, after Spittal Houses (assuming we approach these from Harley). Whereas we now encounter a 'dog-leg' (before moving into what I presume was the 'New Road' referred to by the enumerator William Green), we would at one time have gone straight forwards across the fields and come out on Hague Lane, directly opposite Doric Lodge, and from there, we could have ridden along the Long or West Terrace and arrived at the [East] Front of Wentworth Woodhouse. The line taken by the Coach Road at that time is clearly shown on the Ordnance Survey Map for 1905 (see illustration), while one can still see traces of the old road on the ground, at the crossroads to the rear of Ashes Farm.⁴³

Confirmation of the route taken in former times by this Coach Road is to be found in a newspaper report which appeared in the *Sheffield Independent* on Saturday 31 August 1839, concerning an accident in which the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam's eldest daughter, Charlotte. The route taken by her runaway horses tells us that the coach road ran from Hood Hill Lodge to Spittal Houses, and then to the Stables via Doric Lodge, the South Terrace and the East Front of the House.

Stables & Stud

The Stable Block at Wentworth Woodhouse had been built by John Carr of York for the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782), with room for 84 horses; but it was not of much interest to Drake. However, the Census tells us that in 1861 the Stables

⁴³ There was once a public highway across Wentworth Park, which ran from the Morley Plantation, through Handkerchief Piece and Low Common as far as Scholes Ground, but it was stopped up by Earl Fitzwilliam in 1860: *Sheffield Independent*, Saturday 21 January 1860.

Stupid Questions

were home to 13 lads and young men (aged 14 to 28), one older man, John O. Flanagan (or was it O'Flanagan?) (47) and only one woman (aged 44).

The men were all grooms and unmarried. The woman, Ann Goddard was a widow and a general servant. Like the servants who lived in the Big House, these people came from various parts of the country. As his name would suggest O'Flanagan came from Ireland, specifically from Dublin; Ralph Waugh (16) from Hamilton in Scotland; Ann Goddard from Brecknockshire in Wales; William Taylor (26) from Boston in Lincolnshire; Robert Gosling (24) from Gloucestershire; Thomas Chapman (19) from Cambridge; and James Quinlan(?) (18) from Newmarket - which suggests previous experience in the trade or sport. The remaining seven came from various parts of Yorkshire - Charles Brigham (18) from Malton and Charles Hargreave (28) from Doncaster (both places where racing took place, and Malton being at the heart of the Earl's North Yorkshire estates).

The *York Herald* for Saturday 15 February 1862 reported:

Three sides of the stable-yard contain stalls, boxes, and harness rooms, the fourth being composed of coach-houses. It is large enough for drilling a regiment, and well appointed enough to make a hundred horses comfortable. In our walk through the stables, accompanied by a scion of the noble house, and the faithful stud-groom, Esher Oates [sic] we saw more than sixty hunters and hacks, and a like number was shown us in the racing and breeding department. For them there is no likelihood of a dearth of hay as 300 tons are made annually on the home farm. We began our inspection with twelve stalls and three boxes, all full of carriage horses of great size and power; then in a stable of fourteen stalls, six which are partitioned off as boxes, we found eight undeniable ponies, the wonder of the small party being a chestnut named *Wansford*; and *Consequence*, a very useful cob-hunter, to whom, said Oates, "no fence is of consequence" etc., etc, etc.

The Stable Block still survives; but there is no trace now of the Stud Farm, which was considered just as sensational by Victorian journalists. The *York Herald* for Saturday 3 May 1862 reported on a sale to be held in what was then the near future:

TURF ADVERTISEMENTS

At Wentworth House, near Rotherbam, *IGNORAMUS*, by The Flying Dutchman, out *Ignorant*, by *The Little Known*, her dam *Bohémienne*, by *Confederate*, out of *Gipsy*, by *Tramp*. Thorough-bred Mares at £10, Half-bred at £6 each Mare. Hay and Grass 10s. per week; Corn ordered. All expenses to be paid before the mares are taken away. Apply to Mr. E. Oates, Stud Groom.

The Stud was described in splendid detail in a later article dated 6 March 1875 in the *York Herald*. The writer started with a description of the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham's career in racing:

Stupid Questions

THE EARL OF FITZWILLIAM'S STUD AT WENTWORTH PARK

A century will have sped in 1876 since Lord Rockingham — one of the family — won the first St. Leger with *Allabaculia*, by Sampson, and thirteen years later Lord Fitzwilliam again came to the front with *Pewet*, by *Tandem*. This horse only come in second to the colt by *Laurel* out of *Moorpout*, but a jostle being proved on the part of *Mangle*, the rider of the latter, the stakes were awarded to Lord Fitzwilliam's horse. A greater than either of these, however, was destined to carry the Wentworth green to victory, in the shape of *Orville*. Bred in 1799 by Lord Fitzwilliam, this famous son of *Beningborough* beat six opponents for the St. Leger in 1802...

The connection the stud has had with the Turf... has only been slight, and has only resulted as a rule from the production of youngsters by the hunting mare that appeared to possess a degree of racing merit. With a pack of foxhounds and another of harriers connected with the establishment, a large stud of horses is unavoidable, and the soundness of the policy of breeding their own stock I fully endorsed, after looking through the stables and marking the difference in favour of the home production over the nags purchased from dealers. Thus, the whole breeding establishment is necessary for home use, and beyond the letting of the spare services of the sires located there, and the occasional draft out of a portion of the young stock when the stalls begin to be over-crowded, there is no further dealing with the outside public. Thus, now and then, something is found amongst the young stock that can gallop, and these are put into training for a trial of their merit...

The breeding establishment at Wentworth is situated about half a mile from the house on an eminence, and commands a beautiful view to the southward, with the lengthy sheet of water, forming a great lake, stretching along the valley below.

The stud-groom is Mr E. Oates. He commenced his stud career with Mr H. S. Thompson, and was an attendant on Sheet Anchor and the other horses located at that gentleman's place at Rawcliffe. Nine years were passed in this service. Twenty-nine years ago he took service with Earl Fitzwilliam, and for some years had charge of the whole establishment, both of brood mares and of hunters. "It was no joke. I can tell you," he remarked, "I have to look over the whole of such a stud, and to turn out fit, fresh, and well for the field as many as 130 horses in one season." The hunting stables are now in the charge of another man, who, if I may judge from the good, hard condition of the stock under his care, is fully up to his work. Mr Oates has now the charge of the breeding establishment, which is a source of good employment for him. etc., etc., etc.

It is clear from the newspaper reports that the stud farm was not located in the Stables. Rather, it must have been somewhere near Peacock Lodge; but there is

Stupid Questions

little or no trace of it now; and the Census tells us more about the stud-groom Esh Oates, who was also listed by Drake. In 1861 he was listed as living at the Stud-Groom's Lodge, in Wentworth Park. He was 40 in 1861, his wife was 37 and they had five children aged 10, 9, 7, 5, and ten months - 3 girls and 2 boys; but what is interesting is not so much the age difference between the couple, or the number of children, but the places where the children were born. These would seem to indicate or confirm, not just that Oates worked for Earl Fitzwilliam for a long time, but that he followed him around, or was at least peripatetic, between the several establishments which Fitzwilliam had. So, the eldest child of Oates's five children (Eliza) was born in 1851 in Northamptonshire, the next three (William, Anne and Elizabeth) in County Wicklow in Ireland in 1852, 1854 and 1857, and only the youngest (Richard) had only been born the previous year (1860) in Wentworth. The point being that whereas the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam had estates in Northamptonshire and Wicklow and at Wentworth, the 6th Earl (who succeeded him in 1857) no longer had the estate at Milton.

Esh Oates's tombstone in Wentworth churchyard has several interesting features. First, it bears the inscription

Come unto me all ye who labour, and are laden, And I will give you rest.

Second, Esh was said to have resided at 'The Lodge' Wentworth, when we know that there were many lodges, but only one studgroom's lodge; but, more important are the deaths. Esh Oates himself died at the age of 59 in 1880; but his wife Elizabeth in 1900 aged 77, so she was what my mother called 'a long widow'. More pathetically, their daughter Elizabeth, who had been a 5 year old at the time of the Census, died in 1879 aged 23.

Next to the main Oates tombstone is another recording the death of two of the couple's children who had not even been born at the time of the Census of 1861. These were their youngest daughter Margaret, who died aged 16 in 1885, and their son James, who died aged 44 in 1909. This is a sad reminder that it is impossible to generalise about the size of families on the basis of the Census alone, because of the high rate of infant - and indeed young adult - mortality in Victorian times; and indeed the Census of 1871 records them in typical Yorkshire language as still living at 'The Lodge for Stud Groom', with their nine children (though that is probably all there ever were, because Mrs Oates was now 47).⁴⁴

The reader may be interested to learn that, when the Census of 1881 was taken, Elizabeth Oates, now a widow, was now living at Peacock Lodge (thought to be near the Stud). Her occupation was described as 'Home duties, domestic', as she

⁴⁴ The Censuses of 1861 and 1871 tell us that Mrs Oates came from Kentish Town; but they are less clear about Esh's origins. The transcriber has 'Flaxton' in 1861 and 'Haxton' in 1871; but it looks more like 'Plaston' to me. Either way, it was said to be in Yorkshire, so it isn't Plaistow, though his wife did come from London.

Stupid Questions

still had six children at home. Her eldest daughter Eliza was now 30 but unmarried. Her son William (29) was now an Accountant, and her son Richard (20) was a Clerk to a Steel Manufacturer. By 1891 she still had five children at home, but had moved to a cottage in Wentworth Street, though it was at the eastern end of the village, towards the Big House and the Stables. By the time the next Census was taken in 1901 she had - as my old headmaster used to say - passed to higher service; and we find what must have been a grandson, Frederick William Esh Oates, born in Wentworth, but now 15 and living as a boarder in Castlegate, York, while Esh and Elizabeth Oates's eldest son William, who had been born in Ireland in 1852 was now living with his family at Glass House Green, where he worked, for Earl Fitzwilliam as a 'sub-estate agent'.

Park & Gardens

The following story involves George [Marsh] Palmer, a park-keeper who is listed by *Drake* in 1862, and had in fact been listed as park-keeper and at the park-keeper's lodge off Cortworth Lane, both in 1861 and even in 1851. We therefore know his family circumstances in those years.⁴⁵ But is interesting to find confirmation in a newspaper report that this was a man who himself had servants and had been in London on the night the alleged offence was committed - that was the reason he was therefore unable to provide the servant mentioned in the case with an alibi. I doubt that many modern park keepers have servants, or for that matter go to London very often.

According to the *Barnsley Chronicle* for Saturday 19 July 1862:

WENTWORTH. STEALING SMUTS

At the Rotherham Court-house, on Monday, Frederick Buswell was brought up, charged with obtaining a quantity of spirits from Messrs. Bacon and Hitching under false pretences. Mr. William Kitching, Millgate, deposed to a person calling at their establishment on the 26th ult., and saying that his master, Mr. George Palmer, of Wentworth, had given him order for bottle of brandy and a bottle gin, as he expected company that evening and thought "he might run short." Mr. Palmer had been customer of theirs. He gave him the spirits, and an invoice for the same. The invoice produced was the one had given the prisoner.

Police-constable Wade deposed to finding the prisoner lying drunk in Church-street about eleven o'clock on the night of the 20th ult. On searching

⁴⁵ The Census records him as Head of the household in Cortworth Lane. He was 66, his wife Mary 57. They lived with their son, who was a butcher aged 24, a boarder William, aged 23 and two servants, Emma and Daniel, aged 17 and 20. William and Daniel were assistant butchers.

Stupid Questions

him at the police office, found upon him the invoice produced. Seeing it was for two bottles of spirits, said to the prisoner, "You have got drunk with these spirits," and the prisoner said "No, that was all right," he had taken them to his master.

Mr. George Palmer, park keeper to Earl Fitzwilliam, Wentworth, deposed to being in London on the 26th ult. He never sent the prisoner for any spirits.

As Mr. Kitching did not think the prisoner was the man who obtained the spirits, the case was remanded.

Returning to George Palmer, we know from the register of deaths, and from his tombstone in Wentworth old churchyard that he died in 1874 aged 81, but the headstone also tells us that:

HE HAD THE HONOUR OF LIVING WITH THREE EARL FITZWILLIAMS AS
PARK KEEPER FOR 51 YEARS. HE WAS RESPECTED BY HIS NOBLE
EMPLOYERS FOR HIS STRICT MORAL CHARACTER

Now these 51 years must have spanned roughly the period between 1820 and 1870 (since we do not know if and when Palmer retired), which means that he 'lived with' or served the 4th, 5th and 6th Earls Fitzwilliam; and, since we also know from the marriage registers for Northamptonshire that George Palmer had married his wife Mary in Peterborough in 1830, this raises the possibility that he had been a park-keeper at Milton House before coming to Wentworth, although their eldest child, born around 1837 was certainly born here. Wherever it was performed, the quality of the headstone suggests that George's long and long and faithful service was well rewarded.

In their heyday (say, in the 1930s) the Gardens included many features which have now disappeared (for example, the gardeners' bothy, which had room for 14 gardeners, and a museum, with stuffed animals). Other features survive, but are in sore need of restoration - for example, the Camelia House - or even lie in ruins - for example, the Ice-House.

It is equally clear that the Gardens were then far more extensive, since they included the whole of what is now the vibrant and busy Garden Centre (at least it was before the Covid 19 catastrophe struck us all). In those days, the gardens included a kitchen garden (the old entrance to which can still be seen in Hague Lane), an Italian garden, a Japanese Garden (with duckhouses), a maze, a large motte (or mount), a bear pit, a pond, and Countess Maud's tea-house (now a photographer's studio). At one time, there were also greenhouses, glasshouses, a vinery and a menagerie (for birds and exotic animals e.g. llamas and a bear). In the 18th century, it is known that pineapples and peaches were grown here.

Drake pays little attention to the Gardens; but it is clear from the Census for 1861 that this was home to a number of Fitzwilliam's employees. So, two young

Stupid Questions

unmarried gardeners (James Rodger and George Whitham), lived in the Kitchen Garden, Henry Cooper (unmarried and 49), who was a Botanic Gardener, lived in the Botanic Gardens, William Hague (44), who was a garden labourer, lived in the Pleasure Grounds with his wife, Mary Maria (57!), as did two widowers, Reubin Booker (68) who was a game watcher, and William Fox (51) who was a groom. Nearby was the Dairy, where (at the time of the Census of 1861) the only residents were George Savage (52) who lived with his wife Mary (44) and 6 year old son, also called George. He was a farm labourer, his wife a dairymaid; and it looks very much as if little George was an only and late child.

Unfortunately, we know something about the subsequent family history. There are two headstones which tell it all. The first informs us that the first of the three Savages to die was little George, aged 14 in 1868; but he was followed by his father in 1869, at the age of 60. Not surprisingly, the tombstone which commemorates the pair - which looks as if it was engraved and erected when the son died, and amended by the addition of the father soon afterwards - has the most pathetic inscription I have found in that old graveyard. It begins by referring to the son George Thomas Savage 'of the Dairy, Wentworth Woodhouse' and after the brief facts has the following readings and verse:

*Oh praise the Lord with me, and let us magnify his name together. I called(?) on the Lord,
and he heard my call(?) and delivered me out of all my fears. Psl 34, v. 3,4.
Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. Phil. 1, v.23.*

FREED FROM SUFFERING, FREED FROM CARE,
I A CROWN OF LIFE SHALL WEAR;
WITH THE LORD FOREVER DWELL.
JESUS LOVE ME! ALL IS WELL.
I AM GOING CHRIST TO SEE.
MOURN NOT FRIENDS, BUT FOLLOW ME.
FIX YOUR HOPES ON CHRIST ALONE,
TILL WE MEET BEFORE HIS THRONE.

Naturally, the sadness does not end there. Mary followed her son and her husband, but only after another 25 years. Hers is the second remarkably fine headstone in Wentworth old churchyard, recalling her death on February 22 1894, 'in the 77th year of her age', and it conveys yet a third, more simple, message of consolation:

I HEARD THE VOICE OF JESUS SAY
"COME UNTO ME AND REST."

CHAPTER III

THE VILLAGES & THE HAMLETS

Let us have a closer look our three communities as they are presented in *Drake's Directory of Rotherham, 1862*, and in the Census of 1861. The first thing to notice is that they were quite different from one another in terms of local government, parochial arrangements, and the ownership of land; but, they had much in common in terms of the surnames, the size of the family and the numbers of people in a household. Specifically, we see nuclear rather than extended families, though it was common enough to have one or two in-laws, or lodgers living in the same household, and there may of course have been visitors on Census night. We also see larger numbers of children than we tend to have now (often 4 or five, sometimes more); and we note that it was very common - even for those of limited means - to have servants living with them, as well as lodgers and boarders. It is also clear that very many more people lived by farming, than is the case in the early 21st century. Whether they were prosperous or poor, or happy or miserable is much more difficult to gauge.

All three villages were more or less linear, though Thorpe Hesley had three streets rather than one. Most of the inhabitants lived in Wentworth Street (now Main Street), or in Thorpe Street, Hesley Lane and Kimberworth Lane (now Brook Hill), or in Scholes lane, though Wentworth also had important hamlets, at Barrow, the Ashes, Spittalhouses, Harley and Hood Hill. Wentworth was also different in that it was an estate village, its appearance remarkably unchanged over time. By contrast, Thorpe Hesley had long been an 'industrial village', of the type described by the late Dr David Hey in his pioneering *Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region*; and so was the much smaller village of Scholes.

The prosperity of Scholes village today would have greatly surprised our mid-Victorian ancestors, one of whom described the poverty he saw there, when he wrote an article for the *Sheffield Independent*, published on Saturday 17 August 1844:

Whatever dreams of lordly domains [Keppel's Column] might have conjured up, are here most miserably dissipated. Houses — not cottages — and these of most Irish aspect, salute the traveller, and bid him remember how closely tacked to the silken skirts of aristocracy is the frieze and worsted of helot labour and poverty. The entrance to Scholes is positively displeasing: if the tastes and habits of the miners dwelling therein, demand

Stupid Questions

and require no better accommodation, being the free tenants of an earl, and breathing the air common to his princely palace, occasion might be taken to give them the liking and use of better habitations.

This article assumes of course that Earl Fitzwilliam owned the entire village, which was indeed the case; but it seems unlikely that either he or the inhabitants of Scholes deserved the criticism; and a correspondent of the *Sheffield Independent* for 24 August 1844, wrote to protesting about the use of the term 'helot' (a term used by the ancient Spartans for their slaves).

I would beg to remark, too, that in one and the same paragraph, the colliers of Scholes are described by your correspondent as helot labourers and free tenants of an Earl. This is obviously inconsistent — they cannot be both slaves and free men.

In the early 1860s, Scholes was (then as now) a much smaller place than the other two villages, even when one looks at it alongside Thorpe Common, as the enumerator did. However, the numbers revealed by the Census are interesting.. The following people were employed in agriculture: 13 farmers, 19 farm labourers and servants, and 1 horse-driver. Of those employed in heavy industry there were no less than 83 colliers, 2 colliery owners, 1 colliery agent, 1 colliery book-keeper; 6 ironstone miners; and 6 nailmakers. There were 14 general labourers; 8 boot and shoemakers or cordwainers; 2 blacksmiths (including one apprentice); 1 brickmaker; 1 carpenter; 3 coke burners; 2 engine fitters; 1 engineer; 2 engine tenters; 1 engine stoker; 1 gardener; 1 grocer; 1 grocer and tea-dealer; 2 millers; 1 pupil teacher; 1 plumber/glazier; 1 quarryman; 1 silk-worker; 1 silversmith; 1 slater; 1 smith and fitter; 1 wheelwright; and 3 woodmen. The only specifically female occupation was dressmaking, but there was only 1; but there were also two publicans, of whom one was a woman.

There were two Froggatt families at enumeration numbers 26 and 48, Scholes Lane. The family at 'no 26' included 3 brothers, aged 18, 16 and 11(!), all of whom were colliers. At 'no' 48 the head of the household was John Froggatt (presumably the man listed by Drake as a farmer). At 52 years of age, he was described in the Census as an agricultural carter; but in his house, apart from his wife Mary Ann (48), there were no less than 4 lodgers, three unmarried and only one married. The married man was a blacksmith, but the others comprised 2 colliers and 1 labourer - of what kind we are not told.

Returning to Wentworth village, there were many here who worked for Earl Fitzwilliam. He employed gardeners, gamekeepers, lodge keepers, park keepers, huntsmen, wood agents, saddlers, stud grooms, coachmen, cooks, carpenters and housekeepers. There were also 21 farmers in the village, plus stone masons, boot and shoe makers, joiners, tailors and shopkeepers, a plasterer, a milliner, a corn miller, a

Stupid Questions

butcher, a blacksmith. However, *Drake* does not list coal- or ironstone miners, or foundry workers. For these, we have to go to the Census of 1861. This tells us that there were miners living in the village, and many more in the adjacent hamlets; and this is doubtless because the local coalmines had been sunk to exploit the Barnsley seam, especially in Elsecar (where there were now at least four mines); and likewise many ironstone pits were at Hood Hill, Thorpe Hesley and Tankersley (where their remains can still be seen in profusion).

As for the Earl and Countess's servants, there were 35 in the Big House, 15 in the Stable Block, and 51 more in the houses and cottages in the gardens, park lodges and at Wood Nook - so 101 in all. This compares with a total of 92 servants who were provided with food at the expense of the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham in 1772, and only 67 of them were at Wentworth, the remainder being at the family's town house in Grosvenor Square; but the contrast with the household maintained by the Sir Thomas Wentworth in the first years of the 17th century was even more marked. At that time, there had been only 64 people resident at Wentworth Woodhouse, including family members, visitors and servants.⁴⁶

Turning to the hamlets, the Census returns for 1861 contain details of 8 ironstone miners who lived at Spittal Houses. One of these was William Smith. He was 45 and lived there with his wife Mary Ann aged 35 and their son John, aged 10 and a 'scholar', and two younger daughters. William and Mary Ann and John have a tombstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard, which has the inscription:

THEN SHALL THE DUST RETURN TO THE EARTH AS IT WAS: AND THE
SPIRIT SHALL RETURN TO GOD, WHO GAVE IT.

Robert Wakefield, who also lies buried in Wentworth and was described on his tombstone as 'of Spittal Houses' was probably the same man who was living at The Ashes (now Ashes Farm) at the time of the Census. He was an agricultural labourer but had a son aged 14 who was an ironstone miner.

The 3 coalminers at Hood Hill cottages were all part of the Hague family, while the 13 'iron men' there included 7 ironstone miners, 2 iron moulders, a table knife grinder, a file cutter, an ironworks labourer and an ironstone labourer. The Census also lists a John Armitage there; and he is the only Armitage I have encountered during my researches, though David Hey told us it was a common name in South Yorkshire in the 1950s. This Armitage was originally from Chapeltown; but he now lived next door to the *Coach & Horses*. He was a cooper but he had a son, Joe, who was the file-cutter mentioned. He has a tomb in Wentworth Old Churchyard, which tells us that he died in 1874, at the age of 74.

⁴⁶ Joan Jones, *The Trouble with Servants*, in *Aspects of Rotherham* 3 p.101; also chapter 1 in *Wentworth Woodhouse, the House, the Estate and the Family* (Melvyn Jones, Joan Jones & Stephen Cooper, *Pen & Sword*, to be published in 2021).

Stupid Questions

The mix was different again in Thorpe Hesley, which was not an estate village but where Earl Fitzwilliam owned much of the land, and was lord of the manor, but did not employ as many people directly - not even Amos Brownhill the gamekeeper, who was an employee of the Earl of Effingham. In the early 19th century the Rev. Joseph Hunter had written of Thorpe as a place inhabited by 'nailers and agriculturists'; and *Drake* confirms that this was still true to some extent in 1862. He listed 22 farmers but also ten nailmakers, (including Thomas White, who also made bolts and screws), while his general list included a tobacco pipe maker, a colliery manager and three coal owners (one of whom, George Jarvis, was also the victualler at the *Effingham Arms* public house, and another was the firm of Geach and Bell, the owners of Scholes colliery). Curiously, *Drake* has no separate list of miners, whether of ironstone or of coal; but - as we shall see shortly - the Census of 1861 makes it clear that there was actually a very large number of coalminers living in Hesley Lane, in particular.

The overwhelming majority of the people who lived in all three villages were working class, but Earl Fitzwilliam was one of the most wealthy noblemen in the country, and there was also an important middle class - which consisted of the clergy, the professional men and a very few people of independent means. As to the clergy, *Drake* notes the Rev. Upton as the 'incumbent' at Wentworth; but his curate must have been the Rev. Buckler, because the *Barnsley Chronicle* Saturday 24 May 1862 reported as follows:

WENTWORTH. Presentations and Preferments. The Right Hon. Earl Fitzwilliam having presented the Rev. J.F.Buckler, late curate of Wentworth, to the Vicarage of Tinsley. The rev., gentleman preached his farewell sermon, on Sunday last, to a crowded congregation, and took an affectionate leave of them. Such the esteem in which he is held by the parishioners, that they presented him with a beautiful pocket communion service and to Mrs Buckler a handsome timepiece. Although having only been resident among them for a year and a half, his labours have been highly valued and successful.

It is interesting, at this point, to note the existence of two Missionary Societies in Wentworth, an 'Anglican' and a Methodist. Details appear in two reports from 1862: on Saturday 16 August, the *Barnsley Chronicle, etc.* reported:

MISSIONARY SERVICES—The annual sermons on behalf of the Wentworth Church Missionary Society were preached in Wentworth Church, Sunday last, by the Rev. Thomas Green, principal of the missionary college, Islington, when collections amounting £12 were made. The annual meeting was held in the infant school room on Monday evening, and was pretty numerously

Stupid Questions

attended. The Rev. T. Green addressed the meeting, in which he gave particulars of the cheering features connected with several of our mission stations, and also the calamities which had befallen some of the East Indian stations, owing the incursions of that cruel and barbarous monarch the King of Dahomey, who has with his rapacious hordes plundered and wholly destroyed several of the missionary villages, scattering or slaying the poor inhabitants of those settlements.

The second report mentions our old friend William Poles, the grocer and draper and appeared in the *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 1 November 1862:

WENTWORTH. — The annual meeting of the Wentworth branch of the Wesleyan Missionary Society was held on Thursday evening, in the Wesleyan chapel, Wentworth, when the chair was taken by Mr. William Poles. The Rev. J. Harrop read the report, which showed that the village raised in the past year the sum of £15. 48. 7d. towards the support of missions, thus placing Wentworth second in the amounts raised in the Wath circuit.

As for Thorpe Hesley, a new parish had been created, and a new church built there, on land donated by the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam. This was consecrated in 1840, as villagers recalled when the 150th 'centenary' was celebrated in 1990.⁴⁷ On 7 February 1862 the *Sheffield Independent* carried a report of a sermon preached by the minister recorded as incumbent in both the Census and *Drake's Directory*:

THORPE HESLEY.— On Wednesday night the Rev. W. Woollam preached a sermon in Thorpe Hesley , Church in reference to the late colliery accident at New Hartley. The congregation were much affected during the discourse. At the conclusion of the service it was announced that a committee would be formed to receive subscriptions for the sufferers.

Five months later, however, the Rev. Woollam was ready to move on. The *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 26 July 1862 reported:

The Rev. William Woollam, Incumbent of Thorpe Hesley , having been presented to the Vicarage of Buslingthorp, Leeds, a number of his old parishioners, wishful to testify their esteem and appreciation of his labours as incumbent of the parish of Thorpe Hesley for six years, determined to present him with a valuable and substantial testimonial consisting (amongst other things) of a very handsome dressing case, a complete set of the best table

⁴⁷ See *Church, Chapel & Community*, pp 4-6.

Stupid Questions

cutlery, with silver articles to match ; and some time ago the Rev. gentleman received from his parishioners a handsome timepiece.

Thorpe Hesley had a strong dissenting tradition, in that Thorpe had become a place where Methodism flourished, decades before the parish church was built. Whereas Drake noted the existence in Thorpe of Wesleyan, Primitive and Reform Methodist chapels here, there was only one (Primitive) Methodist chapel in Wentworth.

The divisions in Methodism were explained almost 30 years ago by the late Robert Chesman, first historian of Thorpe Hesley:

The Primitive Methodists were founded in 1810: they started to hold meetings in Thorpe Hesley in the 1850s, if not earlier; and they built their own chapel here in 1859, in what is now Heslow Grove. So far as the main body of 'Wesleyan' Methodists were concerned, there were a number of issues which were already a source of disagreement by 1840. Some had begun to agitate for changes in the way in which their Conference was organised; others wished to commit to teetotalism; and there were differences over forms of worship. Within ten years, these controversies led to the ejection of a number of people from the Conference. Within another ten years, the 'Reformers' had decided it was impossible to win the Conference round; and they decided to secede.

These events did not go unnoticed in Thorpe. A preacher in Thorpe Street Chapel, James Bromley, became an ardent supporter of the Reform movement, and as a result was expelled from the Conference in 1850. It is also important to mention the Butchers, father and son, who were regarded as 'the pride of the neighbourhood'. One of these was the Henry Butcher mentioned in *White's Directory* of 1849 as a shopkeeper, who appears in the Census of 1851 as a grocer aged 26, living in Thorpe Street with a wife called Charlotte. It was a grocer named Henry Butcher who threw in his lot with the Reform Methodists, and became one of the founders of the Hope Chapel in Brook Hill in 1856 - at some personal cost to himself, since many Wesleyans severed their business connections with him as a result.

(Henry Butcher is listed in the Census of 1861 as a grocer and local preacher, whereas Drake simply tells us that he was a grocer and provision dealer).

So far as the medical profession is concerned, there were confusingly two doctors called Erasmus Stone. According to *Drake*, one of these was a surgeon, living in Clayfield Lane ('Clay Field', Wentworth); but he does not say what type of surgeon - medical or veterinary. However, the Census of 1861 tells us that Stone was 72 and lived with his wife Anna, a son, his daughter and a servant, and was a General Medical Practitioner. The son (Benjamin) was still at home, but he was 41 and a mercer and draper; and but it looks as if they also had an older son, called

Stupid Questions

Erasmus after his father, who was both an L.R.C.P. and an M.R.S.C. (i.e. a physician and a surgeon), and also a GP, who lived at no 25 Masbrough Street, Kimberworth with his wife (38) and their six children.⁴⁸

The Census of 1851 tells us that old Erasmus Stone was an apothecary, surgeon and general practitioner! It also tells us that at that time, he had a son living at time home (Matthew), who was 26 and a veterinary surgeon,⁴⁹ and another son (Joseph, 23) who was a medical student; but there is no mention of another Erasmus Stone. However, I have found an Erasmus Stone aged 34 and living in Westgate, Rotherham in that year, with his wife and two baby daughters; and he is described as an M.R.C.S. [Member of the Royal College of Surgeons], so I feel sure he is the missing doctor.

Two years before this, in 1849, an Erasmus Stone had been moved to write a blistering letter to the editor of the *Sheffield Independent*.⁵⁰

To THE EDITOR —

Will you permit me, through the medium of your journal, to call the attention of the authorities to the truly filthy and unhealthy condition in which the village of Thorpe Hesley now is? More than one half of the cottages are in an unfit state to be inhabited, owing to the sulphuretted hydrogen generated from the accumulation of refuse matter by which the dwellings are surrounded. As medical officer of the district, I have already had one case of Asiatic cholera in this village during the past week, independent of the many cases of diarrhoea and dysentery which have come under my notice; and feel certain that, unless some immediate steps are taken, either cholera or fever of a typhoid character will, ere long, rage in this nursery of disease.

ERASMUS STONE, Surgeon.
Masbro' Bridge, Rotherham, Sept. 27, 1849.

Erasmus Stone senior was also one of the medics who attended to the miners injured in accident in a pit at Elsecar. The *Barnsley Chronicle* for Saturday 24 May 1862 reported :

The two men who were buried by a fall from the roof in the Elsecar coal pit, on Monday morning are still in a very precarious state. On their removal to their own houses, they were attended by Messrs Hallett of Hoyland, and

⁴⁸ Rotherham/Kimberworth no 3, RG 9/3506.

⁴⁹ Matthew Stone the vet. made regular visits to the animals in the menagerie at Wentworth Woodhouse: see Jones, *Wentworth Woodhouse, the House, the Estate and People*, forthcoming.

⁵⁰ *Sheffield Independent*, Saturday 29 September 1849.

Stupid Questions

Stone of Wentworth, when it was discovered that William Beaumont had been severely hurt in the back, and was also suffering from internal injuries. The case of John, his brother, is still more deplorable, his leg and thigh were broken, his head and face fearfully mangled, and internal hemorrhage was going on. The best medical skill has been secured for him, and everything that can contribute to his comfort is benevolently supplied by the family at Wentworth House.

Extraordinarily, Old Erasmus Stone of Wentworth was still practising as a surgeon and apothecary when the Census was taken in 1871, but, according to the inscription on his tombstone - which in May 2020 was largely hidden by foliage but still legible - he passed away in 1876 at the age of 88. The same stone commemorates the death of his widow, Anna, in 1883, at the age of 93 (a date confirmed by the relevant Death Index).

There were also a very few people of independent means (although we have recorded the presence of one 'fundholder'; and several 'annuitants', who were probably people who survived on charitable bequests rather than capitalists. Most surprisingly, we find 5 annuitants, and one Mary Upton, aged 84, who was from the City of London and described herself as 'fundholder' - someone with money invested in 'the Funds'. (Mary was originally from the City of London, as was the clergyman's wife who shared her home, along with another family member, a housekeeper, lady's maid and housemaid. Perhaps she was the mother of the Rev. Upton, who was the incumbent at Wentworth, but may not have been there on the night the Census was taken).

There were also two men described as 'gentlemen'. These were John Duke, who farmed at Barley Hall (or 'Hole'!) equidistant from Thorpe and Wentworth, and who was described in the Census as farming 100 acres and employing 3 labourers and a boy; and Richard Shaw, a colliery owner who lived on Thorpe Common, and employed 24 men and 11 boys in his colliery, which was probably at Scholes. The designation as 'gentlemen' did not mean that these men did not work for their living. Nor did it mean that they lived in the country, because in each case they lived cheek by jowl with the miners. Meanwhile, we may note that neither Drake nor the Census described William Beard, who farmed 107 acres at Hesley Hall Farm as such.

It was a very different world from the one we know now. So, there is little sign in the Census that men and women were regarded as equal before the law. If there was a man in the house, he was always put down as the head of the household, the exceptions being in general either widows or spinsters. In addition, men had an almost complete monopoly of almost all professions and occupations, except in the realm of domestic service.

Stupid Questions

An exception to this iron rule of patriarchy may have existed in the case of shops. Here, there are several cases where *Drake* lists women as shopkeepers, but there are others where he lists a married man as having that occupation, but - if I have made the identification correctly - the Census lists the husband as following another occupation altogether, whereas the wife (as usual) has none. In such cases, I think it is reasonable to suppose that the man had in fact two occupations, the second being shopkeeper, but that in practice, it was his wife who 'minded' the shop.

It was very common for boys to follow in their father's footsteps at work, and become agricultural labourers, masons, miners, and nailers whether as formal apprentices or not, at what seems to us an impossibly young age; but I have only found one example of a household where a girl (in fact three girls) took up their father's trade as a shoemaker. Benjamin Uttley lived in Harley Row; and the Census confirms that he was a shoemaker there in 1861. He was 46, and married to Elizabeth, 40. They had nine children, 5 boys and 4 girls. Three of children went to school; two were too young to attend; and the eldest boy (naturally, called Benjamin) was already an apprentice shoemaker at 13; but the real surprise is the three eldest girls, who were 19, 17 and 15. All three were already qualified shoemakers!

The people who lived in Wentworth, Thorpe Hesley and Scholes lived in nuclear, rather than extended families, though obviously we do find cases where single people lived with siblings or parents, widowed or otherwise, and it was common, even for people of modest means, to have one or more young servants, a farmhand or a 'maid', living under the same roof as they did. What is also very striking is the size of the families people had. It is not uncommon to find four or five children recorded in a household in 1861, but sometimes several more, and the Census of course is a snapshot, taken on one day in April, which tells us nothing about infant mortality.

By way of example, we could look at John Darcy Peech, whom *Drake* records as a veterinary surgeon living at Chesnut Cottage in Wentworth Street, in the village of Wentworth. Now, there is a headstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard, commemorating the deaths of no less than three of his children in infancy: John Darcy Peech, who died in 1868 aged 13 months, Amelia who died in 1871 aged 2 years and 2 months, and Mary Blanche who died in 1875 aged 13 years; but, like the Census, a gravestone is merely a snapshot; and we can see from later Censuses in 1871 and 1881 that Peech and his wife Mary had at least three more daughters. Likewise, we could cite as a cautionary tale the case of the studgroom Esh Oates and his children. On the other hand, it is striking that these communities do resemble our own in the high proportion of children who were 'scholars', meaning only that they attended school. Given that the Census preceded the Gladstone government's truly Education Act of 1870, which first made it compulsory to provide education for children between the ages of 5 and 13, this speaks volumes about the philanthropic endeavours of both Earl Fitzwilliam and the Church of England.

Stupid Questions

Unfortunately, men die more easily than women (as the recent outbreak of the Coronavirus once again confirms); and there were and are more old women than old men, and more widows than widowers. This is demonstrated time and again in the pages that follow, and more importantly by the inscriptions on the tombstones in Wentworth Old Churchyard. Modern, reliable methods of birth-control were unknown. The Malthusian League was only founded in 1877 and the first Marie Stopes clinic was not opened until 1921. In my own family, it is clear that the era of the small nuclear family only began in the early decades of the 20th century (and no-one ever talked about sex when I was growing up, even though that was partly during the so-called Swinging Sixties).

There were many more horses around in the 1860s, which explains why several pubs were named after them (think of the *Horseshoe*, the *Coach and Horses* and the *Bay Horse*, as well as the more mysterious *Horse and Tiger*); but although there were railways and turnpike roads, there were no aeroplanes, no skyscrapers, no motorways, no nuclear bombs, no cars, radios or telephones, televisions, computers or social media, no plastic, no paid holidays or social security payments as we know them today. Darwin had only just published his *Origin of Species*, Marx had not yet published *Das Kapital*, and Sigmund Freud was only four years old. The Church, whether Anglican or Methodist, was still the focus of many people's lives: there were Anglican Churches in Wentworth and Thorpe Hesley, and three Methodist chapels in Thorpe (Wesleyan, Primitive and Reform), though only one in Wentworth (of the Primitive persuasion). Capital punishment was still the penalty for murder, and sentences involving penal servitude (or hard labour) were imposed by the courts as a matter of routine. The old and the deviant could still be consigned to the local workhouse. Men and women still measured distance and height in terms of miles, furlongs, yards, feet and inches; they thought of area in terms of acres, roods and perches; they weighed themselves and their groceries in terms of stones, pounds and ounces; and they paid for everything with pounds, shillings and pence.

CHAPTER IV OCCUPATIONS

BUTCHERS

It is obvious from *Drake's Directory* that there were no butchers in Wentworth but there were five in Thorpe Hesley. However, it is not easy to identify these five in the Census. In fact, only Michael Pilley and Samuel Young (who both lived in Thorpe Street) are listed straightforwardly as butchers. However, there is a doubt about George Pashley, who lived in Hesley Lane, and whom *Drake* listed as a butcher, while the Census has him living at (enumeration) 'no. 73', Hesley Lane, and tells us that his occupation was miner/labourer; and I wonder whether the person who completed the relevant Schedule simply made a mistake, by confusing him with George James, who lived next door at 'no.72', and was described as a pork butcher.

There is some confirmation that George James may have been one of *Drake's* five butchers, because (admittedly some three years later) he ran into some trouble. The *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 10 February 1866 reported as follows:

George James, a butcher, of Thorpe Hesley, was accused by Police- constable Redfern with having removed a cow from Swinton station to Thorpe Hesley at half-past ten o'clock in the evening of the 24th ult., without having a license. Fined 40s and costs.

But, if *Drake* was right, there are still two missing butchers: John Burgin and Ambrose Sanderson. Now, as already noted, Burgin (and its variants) was a common name and the Census present us with several 'suspects': John Burgon [sic], who was a 35 year old ironstone miner at 'no. 81' Kirby Lane; John Burgan [sic], who was a nailmaker at 'no 17' Thorpe Street; John Burgan [sic], who farmed 20 acres at 'no. 30' Thorpe Street; and a John Burgin, who was an ironstone miner at 'no. 70' Hesley Lane. It seems to me most likely that it was the third these men - the farmer who was the fourth man.

As for the fifth, Ambrose Sanderson, this is by contrast an unusual name; but the only person of that name listed by the Census in Thorpe Hesley was described as a boot and shoemaker, who also ran a beerhouse - so not, on the face of it, a butcher at all; but it is possible that he is nevertheless our final butcher, who chose not to inform the authorities of this side of his business, but did inform *Drake*, when he

Stupid Questions

compiled his *Directory*. In any event, role of butcher was probably somewhat different from the one most of us have become familiar with today. They may simply have been men who were brought in to kill the animals which provided the meat required, rather than men who sold joints over the counter; and, as we shall see, it was not unusual to have multiple occupations.

FARMERS

Most of us nowadays live in towns; and we have grown used to the idea that only a tiny percentage of people earn a living by farming the land; but in 1861 this was very far from being the case. Moreover, the total population of Britain was only around 20 million, and the amount of land devoted to agriculture rather than to industry, services and housing was therefore far greater than it is now, comparatively. Both the Census of 1861 and *Drake's Directory* of 1862 confirm the important role which farming still played in the local economy. Having said that, most of the farms we are concerned with were very small, though the number of labourers employed in farming varied greatly, and not always in proportion to the size of the farm.

Thus Joshua Wigfield farmed 143 acres (and employed 3 labourers) at the Ashes; Richard Savile aged 44, farmed 130 (and employed 4 labourers) and Joseph Hoyland farmed only 30½ (and employed no-one) at Hood Hill Cottages; old John Duke (a married man aged 70) farmed 100 acres (and employed 2 labourers and 1 boy) at Barley Hall; while in that part of Wentworth Township which was in Thorpe Hesley, there were farms ranging between 8, 11, 19, 24 and 130 acres. The three smaller farms employed no labourers, while Sarah Chapman (a spinster aged 77, who had the 24 acre farm) only employed 1 boy, while William Gillott (who had the 130 acres) employed 5 men.

The picture in the hamlets near Wentworth Street and outside the Park at West Hall, Glass House Green, Cortworth Lane, Stump Cross, Friar House Fold and Back Road in Wentworth was similar. Sarah Ann Pepper (a widow aged only 26, but one with two sons under the age of 5) farmed 100 acres at West Hall and employed 10 labourers, though she lived with her brother in law - aged 50 and an agricultural labourer - and her sister aged 22, described as a servant. John Falding farmed 142 acres in Wentworth Street itself, but only employed 4 men; but Margaret Jackson (a widow aged 79) who farmed 90 acres employed no-one, nor did Martha Rawlin (of Wentworth Street again, 45 and a widow) though she farmed 56 acres. Nor did Hannah Hague (a widow aged 71) who 'occupied' 20 acres in Cortworth Lane.

It is remarkable that Margaret Jackson lived with her son (44, 'farm manager'), his wife (42, 'farmer's wife) and two farm servants, male and female, aged 19 and 17); Martha Rawlin lived with a daughter aged 22, a son aged 20 (and described as a farmer's son), and John Pilley, a carter and servant; but Hannah Hague seems to have had no help at all.

Stupid Questions

In the hamlets to the North-West of Wentworth village, Joshua Jackson farmed 44 acres at Wentworth Mill in Barrowfield, and employed 33 men and 1 boy; Henry Shaw farmed 24 acres at Harley Smithy and employed 1 labourer and 1 boy; Isaac Shaw farmed 17 acres at Milton Cottage and employed no-one; and Sarah Totty (a spinster aged 50) farmed a mere 5 acres and again employed no-one. At Barrow, James (or was it Thomas?) Carnelly farmed 80 acres, employing only 1 boy though he also had a son (aged 20, 'a farmer') and a 'farmer's boy' (also aged 20) living with him; Elizabeth Ardron (a widow aged 68) farmed 28 acres with the help of only 1 man; and the spinster Ann Wood, though 61, farmed 7 acres on her own.

In that part of Thorpe Hesley which lay in Kimberworth/Rotherham, William Young farmed 70 acres and employed 2 men; William Adamson farmed 25 acres; John Burgan farmed 20 acres; William Barber farmed 12, as did Joseph Sylvester. None of these had any employees. As for the part of Thorpe Hesley which lay in Chapeltown, in the Parish of Ecclesfield, there was only one farmer which caught the eye of the Census takers and then of Drake. That was William Beard of Hesley Hall (still extant). He farmed 107 acres; but no employees are mentioned, presumably because, although he was already 58 and a widower, he had two agricultural labourers, a carter and a housekeeper living with him.

Lastly, we come to Scholes and Thorpe Common; and here we find (in Scholes only) Edward Cooper, Mary Cox (widow aged 55), Samuel Butcher, Henry Cooper, Henry Ashforth, Joseph Heaton, Joseph Hague, and Edward Cooper, farming 96, 65, 28, 28, 18, 14, and 12 acres, but none of them had any employees, apart from Henry Cooper (a labourer). Given the size of these farms, the only surprises are Edward Cooper and Mary Cox; but the answer would appear to be that William Cooper had no need to employ anyone, because he was 40 and his wife 36 and he had a male farm servant living with them. (The couple also had 3 sons, 2 nephews and 2 daughters there, but none of them of an age when they could help much). Meanwhile Mary Cox had 3 sons and a farm servant living with her, and the eldest son, who was 20, was described in the Census as a 'farmer's son'.

Fire was a constant hazard for farmers, as the following report in the *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 6 September 1862 confirms:

SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION OF HAY STACKS.

At an early hour on Wednesday morning, a farm servant discovered that a large hay stack, on the premises of Mr. Thos. Lockwood, of Wentworth, was in flames. He gave the alarm, and in a short time the two fire engines⁵¹ from Wentworth House were taken to the place, but the fire was in the centre of the stack, and had made such progress before it was discovered that the engines

⁵¹ The earliest photograph of one of Wentworth Woodhouse's fire engines appears to be that reproduced by Young, p 75, dating from 1905.

Stupid Questions

were of little use. Nearly the whole of the stack was destroyed, the damage being estimated at £50, but it is covered by insurance in the Lancashire office. The fire was caused by the overheating of the hay.

GAMEKEEPERS

The newly enacted Poaching Prevention Act of 1862 allowed police officers to stop and search anyone on the road for evidence of poaching, and confiscate nets, snares and guns; but not everyone favoured the change. Some MPs wanted to repeal the new Act, while others went further and wanted to repeal all the statutes which made poaching illegal.⁵² One such gave three reasons. The first was that poaching was driven by a natural instinct, which was the love of sport. This reflected a common feeling, expressed even by the Rev. Gilbert White in his *Natural History of Selborne* (1802): 'the temptation [to poach] is irresistible, for most men are sportsmen by nature'.⁵³ The second reason was that men would inevitably be tempted to poach, because of "the hope of gain, strengthened by the greater facilities which now existed for getting game to market." The third reason was that game was at present being 'over-preserved', in places bordering upon densely-populated districts. In addition, it was good for the animal kingdom that it should be properly culled from time to time, and game was so abundant now that the gamekeepers were not capable of doing the job by themselves! However, many Conservatives opposed repeal because 'the important principle at stake was not the preservation of game, but the preservation of life, public morality and the rights of property'; and several MPs thought that the Act was very necessary. They argued that poaching was now thought by the Police to be 'the work of organized bands, who went out at night, and after sweeping the preserves, returned home with their spoil along the highway and despatched it from the next railway station; openly defying the constables who thus saw them go to the covers and saw them return with the result of their nocturnal depredations'.

Returning to our local sources, there is a George Airey listed both in the Census Returns of 1861, and by Drake in 1862, where he is described as an employee of Earl Fitzwilliam, living in Rockingham Wood. Now Rockingham Wood was in Wentworth Park, lying on the south of the Morley Pond and Dog Kennel Pond, towards Scholes village. Airey was the head gamekeeper and had several subordinates, as a report in *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for Tuesday 14 January 1862 makes clear:

⁵² *HC Deb* 17 March 1863 vol 169 cc1554-731554

⁵³ Quoted by E.P.Thompson, in *Whigs & Hunters*, p 162.

Stupid Questions

ANOTHER GAME TRESPASS.

James Reinsforth, Wm. Barton, Wm. Blood, and Thomas Wilmott, of Kilroyd, near Elsecar, were charged with trespassing in pursuit of game.—Mr. Whitfield prosecuted. He stated that the four defendants were charged with setting nets for the purpose of taking game on the 6th inst., in a wood known as King's Wood, which was preserved by Earl Fitzwilliam. They were observed in the wood in a kneeling posture, and on perceiving they were watched the gamekeepers they took to their heels. Wilmott was apprehended, and the other three defendants were all well known the gamekeepers.—George Burgin, gamekeeper, in the service of Earl Fitzwilliam, stated that between 11 and 12 o'clock in the day of the 6th inst. he saw Barton, Blood, and a man known by the cognomen of 'Big Jem', who was Reinsforth, and another man who proved to be Wilmott, kneeling down in King's Wood at some rabbit holes, over which they had placed nets. He followed Barton and took him into custody, and afterwards transferred Wilmott to the Elsecar policeman.—Reinsforth and Wilmott did not appear.—Barton said that he was walking quietly along with Burgin, and after proceeding with him over three fields, the latter struck him a severe blow on the head with a knobstick.—Burgin stated that Barton was the first to commence the assault.—John Mirfin and John Walker, two gamekeepers also in the service of Earl Fitzwilliam, also deposed to seeing Barton, Blood, Reinsforth, and Wilmott in King's Wood.—Barton said that there was no wonder at gamekeepers being shot if they were allowed to knock a man down in the manner he had been struck. He alleged that he was knocked down senseless, and then left.—Mr. Bosvile said that it was preposterous to imagine that a man would be guilty of such acts when it was well-known that they would cost him his situation. Neither noblemen or gentlemen would allow their keepers to use such violence.—Previous convictions having been proved against the defendants, they were each fined, as well as Reinsforth, 40s. and costs, or two months' imprisonment. Willmott, against whom no previous conviction was proved, was fined 20s. and costs, or one month's imprisonment.

The Census of 1861 for Greasborough confirms that the Airey family had five children, including Frederick aged 7 and William aged 1, the eldest son being 15 and a groom; and we know that at least the two younger boys followed their father into the gamekeeping profession.

One might get the impression from newspaper reports that Wentworth was home to the gamekeepers and Thorpe Hesley was the home of the poachers. Not so. There was at least one keeper, Amos Brownhill, who lived in Thorpe Hesley in 1862.

Stupid Questions

He was employed by the Earl of Effingham and then by Earl Fitzwilliam, and on one occasion, ran up against the notorious Joseph Beardshall (or Beardshaw). The *Sheffield Independent* reported on 29 May 1866:

Joseph Beardshall, a character well known to the police, appeared in answer to a summons charging him with trespassing in pursuit of game on land at Kimberworth. It seemed that Amos Brownhill, gamekeeper, observed the defendant on the day in question in a field between Hill top and Blackburn, and saw him shoot a hare. On being interrogated and requested to give up the hare, defendant denied that he had one. The gamekeeper seized the defendant, whereupon the latter took up a cinder and threatened to "knock his brains out."

This story may surprise those of us who, in 1956-7, watched the BBC TV series *Nathaniel Tidlark*, about a country bumpkin of that name. We grew used to the idea of the poacher as likeable rogue. After all Tidlark, played by Bernard Miles, was a lawbreaker. And, in those days, all 'Westerns', most dramas, and certainly all children's programmes portrayed the world in black and white, in more senses than one. There were cowboys and Red Indians, cops and robbers, heroes and villains, and you were not expected to sympathise with the second category. It was a novel experience to do so, and to be encouraged to do so.

But there was always a risk of violent death when men (it was usually men) handled guns; and, in 1865, there was a 'frightful gun accident' in our area, which attracted national attention. The following article appeared in the *Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser* on Wednesday 9 August 1865.

An appalling gun accident has occurred at Thorpe Hesley, near Sheffield. The victim was James Myers, aged 49, wood steward to the Duke of Norfolk. On Saturday the deceased took out his gun for the purpose of shooting a couple of rabbits for a Sheffield friend. In getting over a hedge or wall the piece fell from his hands and exploded, lodging its contents in the unfortunate man's head. Shocking to relate, almost one half of the unfortunate man's face was blown away. The charge had entered under the right jaw, and, taking an oblique upward direction, passed out the left side of the face under the eye, laying the inside of the mouth bare, and showing that the roof had been fearfully mutilated. Notwithstanding the appalling nature of his wounds, the deceased managed to walk back, a distance of 160 yards, towards his own garden wall. He stood there for a few seconds and was seen by his son, a young man, 21 years of age, against the wall.

Stupid Questions

HUNTSMAN

William Butler is described in the Census as a 'former Headranger and Huntsman', who lived in Wentworth Street. He was 69 and a widower, but lived with his unmarried son of the same name, 24, who was a writing clerk. Butler also had a nephew of the same name who lived in Cortworth Lane. Both men worked with the Fitzwilliam hunt, and foxhounds. Drake describes William Butler (senior) as a huntsman; and the *York Herald* for Saturday 15 February 1862 provides us with further information about this man:

That beautiful park is within three miles of Rotherham, and is tenanted by red-deer, fallow deer, Indian zebu⁵⁴, some very curious horned sheep which have lived there for more than a hundred years. The district has such wealth underground, that furnaces are to be seen at night in every direction— here from a coal-mine, there from a foundry, in which half-naked workmen, in boots, stir the molten metal. The whole park stands over coal; coal has been found near the surface under-draining, and coal forms part of the bed of the brook running through the lake. The 'Woodhouse' itself is built over coal, and needs must stand above a large quantity of the hidden treasure.

The main object of our visit was, however, the kennels, whither we were conducted by the veteran Will Butler, who shouldered his crutch, and, telling us his broken leg was no impediment, but that rheumatism doubled him down to his walking-stick, proceeded to point out 'the sort' he liked, and the sort did not approve of. It needed not a conjuror to discover, in two minutes, the old huntsman's fancies; the head of Hill's Boniface was his delight but on the peaked noses of another fashionable pack he bestowed a smile of withering contempt. Many a tale of olden times has Will, for many a winter has silvered his venerable locks.... 'Foxes," continued the old man, "could break in those days, for the coverts [near Harrowden]⁵⁵ in Northamptonshire] were not surrounded as they are here by foot-people ; and hounds could hunt them, for there were no stinking beards about, to spoil the scent, rob the barber and frighten the children.⁵⁶ Why, bless ye, sir, the hounds look up at them before begin drawing, to see what kind of 'vermin' they be". He entertains the profoundest objection to that part his lordship's country which he terms 'the Rocky Mountains of Canada'⁵⁷, which until lately hounds

⁵⁴ A kind of cattle.

⁵⁵ Great Harrowden Hall, Northants., where the Fitzwilliams had an estate, acquired by their Rockingham predecessors in the early 18th century. It is now a golf club.

⁵⁶ Prior to Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901) men were usually clean shaven. Then, fashions changed and beards proliferated to a quite amazing degree.

⁵⁷ Presumably Will was referring to the part of the Fitzwilliam estate near Bradfield; and also perhaps to Lord Milton's expedition to Canada, described in his *North-West Passage by Land*. Wharncliffe refers

Stupid Questions

had not entered in the memory man, he himself having been the first to draw Wharncliffe⁵⁸ with the Badsworth, which pack he hunted for ten years after leaving Lord Moreton. His nephew (Will Butler) is his first-lieutenant; he was a lad in the service of the late Earl, and has now been at the kennels for a year and half⁵⁹; Tom Davis acting as second whip, and coming from a good school namely, the Cambridgeshire, where he had occasionally ridden as second horseman to Mr Barnett.

The country hunted Lord Fitzwilliam is not very extensive, that on the Thrybergh side towards Doncaster being its best part, and Wharncliffe affording a litter or two, which are rattled now and then, and driven to the more rideable districts. In former years the old Fitzwilliam pack used to come here for six weeks before November, but they have now, as a matter of course, yielded precedence to the regular denizens of Wentworth kennels. These kennels are, as we have stated, only temporary; but should circumstances prove favourable, and the prospects of the pack continue as bright as they now are, new ones will be erected and we may ere long expect to find the Fitzwilliam Hounds a theme of praise not only in the pastures of Northamptonshire, but also in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The three yards and three lodging-houses at present are, we imagine, rather cold, for they face the east; but there is very good makeshift yard at the back, which faces the south, where the Marquis of Rockingham kept his staghounds.

The reference to 'the veteran' Will Butler is interesting, because we know that in 1862, he was only 69. In any event, he was evidently a man of fixed views, or prejudices, at least when it came to dogs and beards; but the puzzle is that the headstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard, recording the death and burial of William Butler's beloved wife Jane, refers to the wife of William Butler junior. It must have been raised in memory of the wife of his nephew and namesake, the William Butler who (according to the Census) lived on Cortworth Lane and was described as a 'whipper in to hounds'. Jane Butler died on January 8th 1862, but the journalists working for the *York Herald* found William junior working at the kennels only five weeks later.

to Wharncliffe Chase near Wortley, rough country indeed compared to Wentworth Park and its environs.

⁵⁸ Wharncliffe Chase near Wortley is rough country compared with Wentworth Park.

⁵⁹ This William Butler is listed by Drake and by the Census, where he is described as a 'whipper in to hounds.' Head of a family living at Friar [Frier] Fold, Wentworth, he was 39, his wife 35 and a dressmaker, and they had one daughter aged 5, who was at school.

MILLER

Joshua Jackson was visited by the enumerator Alfred Murray, who (as have seen) noted that he was the miller at Wentworth Mill, as well as the farmer of 44 acres, employing 3 men and a boy. Yet, according to documents preserved in the WWM and studied by Alan Whitworth around 20 years ago “There were two cornmills in Wentworth, one on Claypit Lane, the other in Barrowfield... The first had been taken down and re-built at Barrow in 1793, but ceased working by June 1835; but then Earl Fitzwilliam (apparently) paid his foreman John Sykes £135 1s 0d for converting Joshua Jackson’s windmill into 2 cottages, thus ending several centuries of wind-powered corn milling in Wentworth village”.⁶⁰

This cannot be right, since Joshua Jackson is listed as a miller at Wentworth Mill, not only in the Census of 1861, but also in those conducted in 1851, 1871 and 1881. In 1861 he was 36, and lived there with his wife, 32. They had no children but there were two other millers there, one of whom was Joshua’s brother in law, together with a nephew (who was a groom aged 13), an aunt (a house servant ,aged 54). Clearly the milling business was thriving at that date, not defunct.

In 1871, Joshua Jackson was 46, but the business seems to have shrunk, in that Joshua only had one other man with him now, who worked as a miller, though he and his wife now had a son, Joshua aged 5. Finally, it is pleasing to note that Jackson was still there, working as a miller, at the age of 56, in 1881. He now farmed 24 acres and employed 2 men and a boy. The two employees (aged 58 and 21) were a miller and a farm servant, while the ‘boy’ (who was 18) was a miller’s apprentice; and lastly Joshua Jackson junior, now aged 15, was already described as a corn miller. Accordingly, the Mill was a going concern for several decades; but Jackson does not appear in the Census Returns for 1891. The reason is that he died in 1884 at the age of 59, as his tombstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard reveals.

COALMINERS

If Wentworth was at the centre of the Fitzwilliams’ South Yorkshire agricultural estate, Elsecar was at the centre of their industrial empire. “Coal sales increased fourfold between 1800 and 1856, from approximately 70,000 tons to over 300,000 tons. In the fifty years between 1795 and 1845 more than 500 extra miners were employed.⁶¹ However, the pits which provided employment to so many local miners in 1861-2 were still relatively small: deep mining, in Thorpe Hesley for example, was a late 19th century development, undertaken by Newton

⁶⁰ Whitworth, *Corn Windmills of Rotherham and District* pp 56-9, in *Aspects of Rotherham* 3.

⁶¹ Graham Mee’s essay on *Employer-Employee relationships*, in Pollard. S., ed., *Essays*; and his book, *Aristocratic Enterprise* (1975).

Stupid Questions

Chambers and resulting in the sinking of Norfolk Colliery, Barley Hall Colliery (1887), Smithy Wood Colliery (1890), and Thorpe Colliery (1900-1903).⁶²

Accidents frequently happened. There was an inquest in September 1856, this time at the *Red Lion Inn* in Thorpe, presided over by Coroner Badger, regarding Samuel Smith, aged 20, and Samuel Hodgson, aged 14, who had been killed the previous day by an explosion of fire-damp, at the Grange Lane Colliery, not far from Thorpe Common, which belonged to Joseph Stenton of Ecclesfield. The pit had been sunk only recently, and the workings, which were not extensive, were not yet complete. Two other men, named Fox and Willoughby Wood, were seriously injured.⁶³

Despite the Factories Acts enacted in the 1840s and '50s, and despite the Mines Regulation Act of 1860, working hours were long, holidays were few and the working man's life was controlled by criminal as well as civil law. A good example of this was reported in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for Tuesday 31 July 1866.

Samuel Sanderson, miner, of Thorpe Hesley, was brought up a charge of unlawfully neglecting his work at the Grange Colliery, near Kimberworth. Mr. Whitfield appeared to prosecute on behalf of Messrs. Chambers and Son, and stated that the defendant was charged with absenting himself from his employment without giving the proper notice. The rules of the colliery provided 28 days' notice of intention to leave. There were, however, some aggravated circumstances connected with this case. At the time he left his employment the defendant was indebted to his masters to the extent of 30 shillings, which had been advanced to him. On the very day he left it appeared that he drew from his masters £5 or £6, a good deal of which was due to under-hands whom he went away without paying. He never gave notice of his intention to leave. The Bench evidently considered this an aggravated case, and ordered the defendant to be committed to the House of Correction for one month.

IRONSTONE MINERS

So far as ironstone mining is concerned, we cannot do better than recall Melvyn Jones's description of the industry, in *Church, Chapel & Community* (1990):

Ironstone mining in Tankersley Park in the 19th century, as in the ironstone pits operated by Newton Chambers, was organised on an undertaker basis. In this system, undertakers or contractors were appointed who then undertook to 'get' the ironstone and 'hurry' or 'tram' it to the bottom of the shaft in the

⁶² Jones, *South Yorkshire Mining Villages*.

⁶³ *Sheffield Independent*, Saturday 27 September 1856.

Stupid Questions

case of a deep pit, and to and to the surface in the case of a small, shallow pit. Each undertaker was paid an all in price per ton or 'dozen' for the ironstone he got and out of this he had to pay the workers he employed. In the small pits, there was one team per pit.

[The general method of working] was that a getters or getters would mine the ironstone with pick and shovel, and the hurries or trammers would take it in corves to the pit bottom. In putting together and, in the case of small, shallow pits, couple the corves to ropes or chains to be wound up the shaft by a gin boy who operated a pulley by leading a horse or pony round a circle at the pit top. The ironstone was then taken away to be banked prior to being taken to the furnaces, which in the case of the Tankersley ironstone were at Milton and Elsecar ironworks in Hoyland.

Getting was normally done by experienced miners in their prime; but, according to the evidence collected by the 1842 Commission some getters were as young as 17 or 18, though typically they were in their 20s, 30s, and 40s. Older men helped to fill the corves and were employed as 'hangers-on' and banksmen. Teenagers were employed as hurriers and the youngest of all as gin boys.

There were advantages in employing member of one's family: earnings were kept within the family; the young men and boys could be more easily controlled and directed; and they could possibly be worked harder too, and for smaller wages. One boy who worked for his undertaker father told the 1842 Commission that he had been 'getting' for two years and:

'I find it very hard work indeed; it tires me very much. I can hardly get washed of a night until 9 a'clock, I am so tired. My father always tells me what to get. I and another boy have to get 35 corves a day; each corve holds 4 cwt.. We work from five in the morning till nearly five in the evening and have about ten minutes for dinner.'

NAILMAKERS

The nailers had long suffered from competition with factory-made nails; and they had long sought protection in trade unionism.⁶⁴ It became common, in the metal trades in the Sheffield area, to coerce fellow workers into joining a union; and this resulted in the 'Sheffield Outrages' of the 1850s. These included 'rattening' (the removal of a workman's tools until he complied), damage to property, the maiming of horses, and even murder. All this is well known; but it is less well known that there was an outrage incident in December 1861 involving the nailers of Thorpe

⁶⁴ David Hey, *The Village of Ecclesfield*, The Advertiser Press (Huddersfield, 1968), 119.

Stupid Questions

Hesley. This did not involve rattening - since the tools of the nailmaking trade were simple and easily replaced; but it did involve planting crude explosives, consisting of tin cans packed with gunpowder and lit by means of a fuse, in homes and shops.

Some of the nailmakers in Thorpe were employed by a Mr Favell (or Flavell) of Westgate in Rotherham, who paid wages which were less than those recommended by the Nailmakers' Union. The Union men called a strike, which produced a hostile atmosphere in the village. On 19 October 1861 Thomas Jenkinson (who was not listed as a nailer in *Drake* the following year) was asked by a Union man whether he intended to begin making nails for Favell. Jenkinson had confirmed that he did, once he had 'worked up his common iron'. Despite being told that he had 'better be on strike and have 8s from the box per week', Jenkinson had insisted that he intended to take the chance of work while he had it, but he was told: 'If you do, it will be the worse for you'.

Thereafter, men from Belper in Derbyshire visited Thorpe on more than one occasion, to persuade the 'knobsticks' (or blacklegs) to join the strike. Union men held meetings in local pubs, in particular on 28 October 1861, but the so-called 'knobsticks' refused to attend. The Derbyshire men threatened to 'blow the b-----s up'; and, later that night, someone placed a can of gunpowder in the chimney of Charles Butcher's nailshop in Kirby Lane, so that it would explode next day when the fire was lit. On this occasion the bomb was discovered in time, before any damage was done, or injury sustained; but, since Butcher (and John Hattersley) still refused to join the Union, the bombers struck again on the Saturday before Christmas, this time successfully. Hattersley's nailshop in Thorpe Street was destroyed. The indications are that both men were put out of business by the blast.

The police arrested two brothers, Emmanuel Isaac Watson (aged 30) and James Watson (28), and a third man, Joseph Tomlinson (32), all said to be nailmakers from Chesterfield or Belper; and indeed the Census of 1861 lists a journeyman nailmaker called Joseph Tomlinson (aged 33) who had been born in Belper but now lived at 96 Commercial Yard, Chesterfield. The two Watsons and Tomlinson were brought before Rotherham magistrates early in January 1862, charged with an offence under the new Malicious Damage Act of 1861, section ten of which made it an offence to attempt to destroy buildings with gunpowder. Evidence was given by several of the inhabitants of Thorpe Hesley, and notably by Sarah Frost, *née* Butcher, daughter of Charles Butcher, who told the magistrates that she recognized all three defendants, in particular because 'they were not Thorpers' and clarified this by saying that 'she did not like their looks, because they were not belonging to Thorpe'. (Her change of name would seem to indicate that had participated in a shotgun wedding at some date between Christmas 1861 and March 1862). All three defendants were duly committed to stand trial at the York Assizes.

Among the witnesses who appeared at the trial Sarah Frost's new husband William Frost, who was a miner who lived at Barley Hole; John Strange, who was a Police Constable in Thorpe; Thomas Jenkinson, nailmaker in Thorpe; Matthew

Stupid Questions

Waller, a nailmaker in the employ of Mr. Favell there; and Mary Ann Hattersley wife of John Hattersley, manager to Mr. Favell and a principal victim; Samuel Tyers, a parcel porter at the Masbrough station; Joseph Allott, beerhouse-keeper in Thorpe; Jonathan Burgoyne, miner in Thorpe; Benjamin Burgoyne, ironstone miner, who lived about 150 yards from Hattersley's shop; John Fieldsend, also of Thorpe; and Charles Moxon, miner, again of Thorpe. The result of the trial was that the three accused were each sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude; but, following a public outcry, not least by their comrades in the Nail Makers' Union, they were all pardoned.

However, even this was not the end of the matter because, not long afterwards, a Royal Commission was set up to look into the Sheffield Outrages as a whole; and the following shocking conclusions were:

This union has its head-quarters at Belper, in Derbyshire, but the persons on whose property the following outrages were committed lived and worked at Thorpe Hesley. In December 1861 the nailmakers in the employment of Mr. Favell, of Rotherham, were on strike, but John Hattersley and Charles Butcher, who carried on their trade at their own shops at Thorpe Hesley, persisted in working for Mr. Favell. On the 21st December 1861 the shops of these men were blown up by a can of gunpowder suspended by a rope in the chimney of each shop, and exploded by a fuse. Isaac Emmanuel Watson, Joseph Tomlinson, and Samuel Proctor⁶⁵ committed these outrages, and were paid for doing them out of the funds of the union (by order of the committee) by Charles Webster, a member of the committee, the money being handed to him by the chairman, James Beighton, for that purpose.

Watson, Tomlinson, and a brother of Watson, were tried for these outrages at the York Spring Assizes, 1862, and found guilty, and sentenced to 14 years transportation [sic]. Upon strong representations being made of their innocence, they were pardoned and released. The men were defended by the union, and their defence cost the union £40 or £50.

We report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Nail Makers' Union.⁶⁶

PUBLICANS

According to *Drake*, Wentworth had four pubs, the *Rockingham Arms*, the *George & Dragon*, the *Coach and Horses* and the *Horseshoe* (at Harley), but no beerhouses at all;

⁶⁵ Samuel Proctor was not one of the three tried at York and sentenced to penal servitude. This was the principal reason why the original convictions were rightly overturned.

⁶⁶ See *Intimidation* and *The Sheffield Outrages*, cited in the Sources below.

Stupid Questions

but, meanwhile, there were three pubs and four beerhouses in Scholes,⁶⁷ and five pubs and nine beerhouses in Thorpe Hesley, the pubs there being the *Effingham Arms*, the *Red Lion*, the *Horse and Tiger*, the *Mason's Arms* and the *Sportsman Inn*. Perhaps this was due to the greater degree of control exercised in his estate village of Wentworth by the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam, who was known to be something of a Puritan?⁶⁸

In the 19th century, the *Rockingham Arms* and the *George and Dragon* in Wentworth were frequently used by the Coroner for the district for the purpose of holding an inquest - a procedure which involved a 'view' of the body, presumably displayed in an open coffin. The following report would seem to show that clinical depression sometimes played a role in suicide, as it undoubtedly does today. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for Wednesday 14 August 1861 carried the news of the:

SUICIDE OF A SHEFFIELD TRADESMAN.

Yesterday an inquest was held at the *Rockingham Arms*, Wentworth, before John Webster, Esq., deputy coroner, on view of the body of Mr. Thomas Binks, plumber, Suffolk road, who had that morning committed suicide by hanging. It appeared that on Monday the deceased went over to Wentworth, and wanted to have an interview with Mr. John Falding, wood agent to Earl Fitzwilliam. The deceased went to the residence of Mr. Falding on Monday evening, but did not succeed in seeing him.

Yesterday morning, about six o'clock, a man named Sykes⁶⁹ discovered the body of the deceased hanging in an apple tree in Mr. Falding's garden. A bag containing a six-barrelled revolver, with all the barrels loaded, a sharp pointed knife and a bottle of poison were found near the body. The deceased for some time previously had been in a desponding state of mind consequent upon serious losses in business, and also from the fact of several of his patents for water closets having proved unsuccessful. The deceased's father, it was also stated, was an eccentric man, and was considered of unsound mind. The jury, after short consultation, were unanimous in a verdict that the deceased had committed suicide whilst in a state of temporary insanity.

Some of the most interesting testimony given in the trial at York in 1861, of the three men accused of blowing up Charles Butcher's nailshop in Kirby Lane, Thorpe Hesley, related to what had happened in 'Senior's public house' (George Senior being the 'victualler' at the *Sportsman's Inn* on Wortley Road, Thorpe Common. John Strange, who was a Police Constable in Thorpe Hesley, testified as follows:

⁶⁷ The *Effingham Arms*, the *Old Gate*, and the *Bay Horse* were either in Scholes or on Thorpe Common.

⁶⁸ Jones, *South Yorkshire Mining Villages* pp. 35 & 45.

⁶⁹ Possibly one of the masons listed as being in Fitzwilliam's employ by Drake.

Stupid Questions

I was on duty on Saturday, the 21st of December, about nine o' clock in the evening, on Thorpe Common. I there met two men. They were the two Watsons, the prisoners at the bar. I met them about three quarters of a mile from Hattersley's shop. I talked to them about five minutes. They began talking to me first in some language which I could not understand but which they called Welsh. They then asked which was the road to Barnsley, and I directed them. Afterwards I saw them go into Senior's public-house. I subsequently heard the explosion, and went to Hattersley's shop.

John Evans, also of Thorpe, but a miner said that he knew all the persons present in the house, and was able to say that the two Watsons were not amongst them. About nine o'clock, two strangers came into the house, and were begging amongst the company. One of them spoke Welsh. The witness knew it was Welsh, because he had had a Welshman lodging with him several years. They remained in the house more than an hour. He was certain the two Watsons were nothing like the men who came in. He also said that he worked at the Newhall coke-ovens, near the public house. On that night the ovens were burning, but the hearths in front of them were out. There was light from the ovens, but not one-third so much as there would have been if the hearths had been alight. Senior's public-house was a quarter of a mile from the ovens. Under cross-examination from the prosecution, he admitted that he could not repeat anything that the men had said in Welsh.

A Mr. W. Wood, who was a collier, living at Scholes, said that he also went to Senior's public-house on the night of the explosion. He saw two strangers come in at about nine o'clock, and the police-man came in some time after. All the other persons in the room were neighbours of the witness. One of the strangers showed a trick with pipes, and got some beer as a reward. The two Watsons were not the men who came in. The men stayed in the house about an hour, and he heard one of them talking in Welsh. The men asked for some coppers for a night's lodgings, and some were given to them.

Lastly, Mary Ann Senior, who was the wife of George Senior the publican, recollected the evening of Saturday 21st of December, the night of the explosion. Between eight and nine o'clock, two strangers came to her house, and remained about an hour. One of them asked her for five pipes. She told him she would have no gambling, because the policeman would come. The stranger said he had left the policeman (Strange) at the door. She noticed the strangers, and heard them sing a song about Napoleon. One was tall and looked very respectable, and the other was "low." She was quite sure the Watsons were not the two strangers. She described the dress and appearance of the two men to the police.

A report in the *Barnsley Chronicle* for Saturday 31 May 1862 shows what may happen when 'things get out of hand' in a pub.

Stupid Questions

At the Rotherham Court House, the other day, Matthew Mellor of High Green, was charged with stealing one ounce of tobacco, under the following circumstances. The prosecutor, John Maugham, keeper of the *Horse and Tiger* public house, Thorpe Hesley, stated that the prisoner and several other men came to his house on Sunday night. They had something to drink, and ultimately requested to be permitted to stay all night. He knew two of the men very well, and as they gave the others a good character, allowed them to stay and sleep there. Some slept upstairs, and some downstairs on the sofa.

He awoke early in the morning, and on coming down stairs found his guests helping themselves to something eat. He looked round, and discovered that seventeen cigars and some tobacco were missing, and also saw that they had some brandy in a jug. He accused them of indecent behaviour, and told them he should expect payment for the various things they had been appropriating to their own use or would send for the police. They told him they did not intend to pay, and then coolly proceeded to the discussion of the morning meal, after which they regaled themselves with a smoke.

Police constable Strange, stationed at Thorpe Hesley, stated that the prosecutor fetched him to his house that morning about five o'clock, and charged the prisoner and five other men with having robbed him of bread and beef, and brandy, and tobacco. On searching the men, none of whom were sober, he found nothing upon them, with the exception of the prisoner, who hid about an ounce of tobacco in his box, which the prosecutor said was of a similar quality the tobacco which was missing.—The Bench dismissed the case, cautioning the prosecutor to be more careful in future.

Despite (or perhaps because of) the plethora of pubs, there was a strong temperance movement in both villages we are concerned with, associated with the mechanics' institutes, which were designed in part for this purpose. Thus, when a Mechanics Institute had been established in Wentworth in 1846, the *Sheffield Independent* had informed its readers that the building was 'designed for the use of the village clubs, for temperance meetings and lectures, and other occasions of a public nature'. The following report appeared in the *Sheffield Independent* for Friday 7 March 1862:

The annual social tea of the Wentworth Temperance Society took place in the Mechanics' Hall, on Tuesday evening. The attendance was good, but hardly so numerous as on previous years. J. Guest, Esq., of Rotherham, occupied the chair, and spoke of the many favourable signs there are that the temperance movement is gaining ground and powerful influence.

SHOPKEEPERS

Stupid Questions

As we have seen, *Drake's Directory of 1862* was compiled for commercial purposes. Drake wanted to tell his readership about places of interest, but also where they could buy the goods and services they wanted; and the tradesmen listed may well have had some say in the way he described their shops. (Indeed, for all I know, they may even have paid for a particularly glowing mention). This may well explain the reference to one particular shopkeeper in Thorpe Hesley, which is practically an advert: 'Edwards John (grocer, provision dealer, draper, and boot and shoe warehouse)'. By contrast the Census of 1861 had been compiled for official purposes, and the content is purely factual, although the system did rely on the honesty of the individuals who had to complete the Schedules distributed by the enumerators.

We read in the *Directory* that Wentworth village had ten shops, whereas Thorpe Hesley had 16 and Scholes only two. This was probably due to the greater population of Thorpe, clustered as it was along three main streets, rather than one. However, I also think that Wentworth had a better class of shop, to which we will return to this below. First, let us compare Drake's entries with the Census in detail.

He does not generally describe the nature of the shop that was kept; but in the case of Wentworth, he does tell us that there were three grocer/drapers; and the Census confirms that two of these were in Wentworth Street. These were those which were run by William Green, a Census enumerator, and William Poles, who employed two men; but there was also a grocer/tea dealer there: Mary Smith, a married woman living with her father, 'grocer's assistant'.

The 'heads' of the remaining shops in Wentworth Street, according to the Census, were Joseph Hakin (an iron moulder), James Smith (a mason's labourer) and Benjamin Harrison (a joiner); but did these men really wear the trousers, when it came to running the shop? Perhaps not. I put the question, because in each case the nominal head of the household had a wife of working age, who had no other occupation ascribed to her, and she could - at least sometimes - have 'minded the shop.' In addition, Joseph Hakin had a son at home who was 14 and was 'an errand boy'; James Smith's eldest son - also 14 - was an apprentice mason, at 14; and Benjamin Harrison had a son aged 19, who was a blacksmith. So Hakin's son could have helped out with deliveries, Smith and his son could have been selling stone of some kind, and Harrison and son could have been selling ironmongery along with wood. All this is speculation, but we will see later that these were not the only cases where the primary use of the premises stated in *Drake* does not correspond with the occupation of the head of the household given in the Census.

Before moving on to the shops in the hamlets of Wentworth Township, we may note that the grocer and draper William Poles had been recorded as a grocer in the Census of 1841 and as a grocer, & draper and 'master employing one apprentice' in 1851. Further, he was still in Wentworth Street (as a grocer and draper) in 1871; but there the story ended for him. We know this because William and his wife Charlotte are each commemorated (twice) in Old Wentworth Churchyard, once on a large family headstone, and again on a large tombstone of their own. Both

Stupid Questions

inscriptions record that William died on September 28th 1871, aged 63, and that Charlotte died on January 26th 1888, aged 75 (though, if the information given to the Census taker in 1861 was correct, she would only have been 72).

The shop survived William Poles's death. In 1881 a Charlotte Poles, widow, aged only 63 was recorded as living in [the?] Village General Shop and as a 'grocer, draper etc.'; and I think we can be fairly sure it is the same woman in each case, despite the chaotic way in which she had aged. Moreover, in his pictorial history of Wentworth the late Roy Young printed an advert which appeared in the *Church Magazine* in December 1911, for J.W.Poles, 'Grocer, Corn and Provision Merchant, French and Italian Warehouseman etc', who specialise in tea, if the advert is to be believed.⁷⁰ This may be the shop which is opposite *The George & Dragon* even today.

Drake noted three shopkeepers in Harley, about a mile down the hill in the direction of Tankersley Church, and he starred one of these (William Otty) as a grocer and draper, but I cannot find him in the Census. Nevertheless, we may remark that this is perhaps a surprising find, because Harley was mostly inhabited by coal and ironstone miners, and the best market for drapery might be thought to have been the middle-classes.

The second shopkeeper in Drake's Harley was Ezra Smith, who is recorded there in the Census of 1861 as grocer and tea dealer. There is a fine headstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard, commemorating Ezra's wife Emma, who died on 11 March 1866, aged 23; and unusually the inscription includes both a verse and a familiar Biblical quotation:

WEEP NOT FOR ME DEPARTED FRIENDS,
NOR SHAKE AT DEATH'S ALARM,
TIS BUT THE VOICE THAT JESUS SENDS,
TO CALL US TO HIS ARMS.

THEREFORE BE YE ALSO READY, FOR IN SUCH AN HOUR AS YE THINK NOT,
THE SON OF MAN COMETH. MATT, XXIV CH.4, 4 VR.

According to Drake, the third shop in Harley belonged to George Ogley, but he is listed in the Census as a 55 year old ironstone miner, living at Harley Quarry. (Indeed the Ogley family was the only family living there). Again, therefore we may wonder what kind of shop this was. But George had four sons at home, and two of them were also ironstone miners, though the eldest of these was 29 and the youngest was 9. Is it possible that the family sold stone from the quarry, using their skill with the pickaxe? They would hardly have sold iron ore, or finished ironware; but there is a simpler explanation, which is that their mother Mary Ogley, 51, is described in the Census as a grocer.

⁷⁰ *Big House, Little Village* p. 121

Stupid Questions

According to Drake, Thorpe Hesley had more shopkeepers than the whole of Wentworth (including its hamlets), in fact 16 in all; but again it is not always easy to tell what sort of shop they kept. The Census does tell us that there were four grocers: Kitty Ashton (a widow whose shop was situated next to 'South'/Sough Hall Reform Chapel); Henry Butcher (who was a grocer and local preacher, while Drake's Directory tells us that he was a grocer and provision dealer); John Edwards (who - according to Drake - was a grocer, provision dealer, draper, and boot and shoe warehouseman, but - according to the Census - was a mere grocer, though this does unusually confirm explicitly that the premises where Edwards lived was indeed a grocer's shop). William Jenkinson was listed by the Census as living in Thorpe Hesley, but also in Scholes (doubtless because he lived on Thorpe Common near the turnpike), and he is described as both a nailmaker and a grocer. Interestingly he was 36 and unmarried, but lived with his sister Eliza Norbron, 31, her two sons and her daughter. The eldest by John was 11 and a horse-driver. We might well wonder who minded the shop in this case.

In the case of John Burgin, if this is the same man as the farmer listed by Drake, then might also ask whether the shop that he ran was what we would call a 'farm shop'; but there was another John Burgin in Thorpe Hesley who was a nailer; and Burgin (and its variants) is a common name. Mary Booth was a widow aged 40, from Rotherham; but in this case, no occupation is given in the Census. Charles Butcher is described there as a 'moulder and stationer' (a moulder often being a kind of metalworker).

Sarah Downing was listed in the Census as a widow aged 72, who lodged in the 'South Hall' district with Sarah Priestley, who was a 25 and unmarried, and unusually it is in fact the latter who was listed in the Census as the head of the household and shopkeeper. Possibly Drake has simply made a mistake; but in any event, we have no clue as to what kind of shop this was. Likewise, we do not know anything more about the shops kept by Charles Goddard (who was an ironstone miner); George Hoyland (another ironstone miner); George Marsden (who was a farm labourer); Michael Parkin (who had a beerhouse); or Joseph Pilley (a builder who again lived near the Sough Hall Reform Chapel).

Lastly we come to Scholes, where Drake lists only two shopkeepers, or possibly only one, depending on where the boundary with Thorpe Common lay. This is Joseph Ashforth, whose very location in the Census return was (again unusually) given as grocer's shop, and whose occupation was given as grocer & tea-dealer. The other shopkeeper was William Jinkinson [sic], who was probably the same Jenkinson as is described above under Thorpe Hesley. He was another grocer, while also being a nailmaker; but then maybe he lived on Thorpe Common, and was therefore a 'Thorper' rather than a Scholesite, in local people's eyes; and the enumerators - we should not forget - were all local people.

Overall, we are struck by the number of grocers in these three communities, as well as the complete absence of many of the shops we used to take for granted,

Stupid Questions

before the recent revolutions in retailing: chemists, jewellers, toyshops, funeral directors, newsagents; and we may even note that, although there were many grocers in 1861-2, there appears to have been only one greengrocer, in Thorpe Hesley. But there could be many explanations for these phenomena, and for the anonymity of the unidentified shops. First, grocer's shops may well have stocked a wider range than they do now, including for example greengrocery; but secondly there was certainly a whole range of goods and services which were simply not available in 1861-2, outside the main towns and markets, or at all. Thirdly, people may have relied on the produce of local farms more than they do now; and fourthly many of the 'anonymous' shop must have been small, and may have sold a variety of small items, so that any particular appellation was not justified.

The other striking feature is that it is only in Wentworth that we find three 'grocers and drapers.' There were certainly grocers in Thorpe, but none that combined that with drapery. In addition, there are joiners in Wentworth, but carpenters in Thorpe. I think this indicates the presence in Wentworth of a greater number of people with money to spend, notably Earl Fitzwilliam (who, as we remember, whose principal seat was at Wentworth from at least 1857); but the village itself had several professional people in residence, as well as some property owners and at least one person who had money 'in the Funds'.

TOLL COLLECTORS

At one time, there were two toll bars in Main Street, Wentworth (on the Wakefield to Rotherham turnpike) and two in Thorpe Hesley (on the Wortley to Rotherham Turnpike). So far as the two in Wentworth are concerned, the late Roy Young told us that:⁷¹

Road maintenance was anciently a parish responsibility, but became an increasing burden so that in the 18th century the Turnpike system was evolved in which road users paid according to the use they made of the roads. This involved the erection of Toll Gates or Toll Bars, and when the village street became a length of the Wakefield to Rotherham Turnpike in the 1740s a gate was put across it and a Toll House built near the Rockingham Arms; but the gate was carried away in triumph and publicly burnt when the road was disturnpiked in 1869: look carefully when the gable end is slightly damp and you can still pick out the outline of the window through which payments were collected. A second Toll House is in the Barrow, with a bay window butting out onto the highway for toll collection, but it is not clear whether [these two] operated at the same time or whether this was the original and the brick one a replacement.

⁷¹ Roy Young, 2010 edn., 112 & 116.

Stupid Questions

Roy's story about the removal of the first toll bar in 1869 is confirmed by at least two newspaper reports for Saturday 2 January that year, in the *Sheffield Independent* and the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*; but Drake does not mention either tollhouse; and I cannot find the one in Wentworth opposite the Rockingham Arms in the Census; but I have found the one in Barrow, opposite the old school and Almshouse established in the early 18th century. In 1861 this was occupied by James Barraclough, described as 'shoemaker and toll collector', who was 53 and lived there with his wife Mary Ann aged 33, and their daughter Sarah Ann, aged 8.

With regard to Thorpe Hesley, the Rotherham to Manchester highway had been turnpike as long ago as 1741, and had tollgates locally at Masborough Bar, Grange Lane Bar, Hesley Bar and High Green Bar, before proceeding on to Wortley and the Pennines.⁷² The toll collector at Hesley Bar in 1861 was Elizabeth Hartley, who was 47 and unmarried but head of the household. She lived in the toll house with her brother, George, a miner, who was 45 and also unmarried.

Drake lists William Oates as the toll collector in Kimberworth, but this refers to the toll bar at Masbrough. He lists only one toll collector in Thorpe Hesley and that is James Bromhead [sic], who must have been stationed at the Grange Lane Bar. As for the Census, this records John Broomhead [sic] at the Grange Lane Bar. Broomhead was a woodman as well as toll collector. He was 37, his wife Sarah 32; and they lived there with their three children, the eldest of whom - George - was only 13 but already a coalminer. Also living with them was an unmarried servant aged 21, Jane Woodcock.

There is a fork in the road, where the traveller from the West has to choose whether to straight on for Rotherham, or turn down Grange Lane, and there were two gates at this point, controlling access to the main and minor roads. There was an incident at this toll bar in 1851 which confirms this; but first it is necessary to explain that in that year, the Census had recorded a William Firth (or was it Frith), aged 52 and also an agricultural labourer, living in there with his wife Elizabeth who was then 46, with their eight children, 3 boys (21, 19 and 15) and 5 girls (17, 13, 11, 6 and 4).

Mr and Mrs Firth were also equal partners when it came to collecting the tolls - or so I conclude after reading a report in the *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 13 December 1851:

ASSAULTING A TOLL COLLECTOR.

Thomas Yardley, farmer of Shire Green was charged with assaulting Thomas Frith [sic] toll collector, of the Thorpe Common side gate on the Rotherham and Wortley turnpike road. Mr. T. Badger appeared for the complainant, and Mr. Whitfield for the defence. Though the summons alleged the assault to

⁷² See the Fairbank maps and the Kimberworth & Wentworth Enclosure Act and Award of 1814/21.

Stupid Questions

have been committed on Frith, yet in reality it was on the person of his wife. It appeared that on the 25th of October the defendant passed through the side-bar, with a horse and cart, but as the woman thought he was carting manure, she made no demand for toll. On returning, however, she perceived that he had a quantity of iron bars in his cart, and thereupon she demanded toll. The claim was refused. On his attempting to go through a third time, Mrs. Frith closed the gates and again demanded the toll, which was still refused by the defendant., who pushed her aside, and forced his way through the gate. It appeared that some time afterwards the defendant sent the money to the complainant, who would not then receive it. For the defence, Mr. Whitfield contended that the case was not proved. The charge was laid for assaulting Thomas Frith and there was no evidence that any such assault had been committed; and if the Magistrates convicted on this charge, the defendant might be again charged with the assault on the woman. He argued that as Thomas Frith was the appointed collector, the defendant was justified in refusing to pay the toll to any other person than that man. Witnesses were also called to deny the allegations preferred by the complainant.... Mr Walker said the Bench were of the opinion that the toll collector was assaulted in the person of his wife, who was virtually the toll collector for the time being. Fined 20s and costs.

UNUSUAL OCCUPATIONS

We have seen that a majority of the men in these three West Riding communities earned their living by farming, in coal- or ironstone mining, or else (and especially in Thorpe Hesley) as nailmakers; and we have also seen that there were a good many men who were simply 'labourers' and many others (male and female) who were farm- or house- servants. We have even noted one 'chronic invalid'; and a very few individuals who were in receipt of 'parish relief', the late 19th equivalent of state benefits; but most of the other men who were employed engaged in a large number of other trades and occupations.

As for the women, there some women (usually spinsters or widows) who were listed as farmers, shopkeepers or publicans (for example Martha Tyne at the *Rockingham Arms* in Wentworth, and Elizabeth Pilley at the *Mason's Arms*, Thorpe Hesley); and we have also found three female shoemakers, all in the same family! But there were probably many more who 'minded the shop' while their husbands pursued another occupation; but there were no female coalminers or nailmakers, or craftsman, and of course women in general were not allowed to become doctors or members of the clergy. However, a good number were housekeepers, maids and

Stupid Questions

other house-servants, and there were also dressmakers (especially in Wentworth), at least one seamstress and one upholsteress.

There were also some comparatively unusual occupations or, in some cases, occupations which seem unusual to us today. So, we find a scripture-reader; a Police Constable; a screw and bolt maker;⁷³ a sewing machine maker; a family firm of tobacco pipemakers; a group of furnace-men; a master tailor employing 3 men; a road labourer; a railway pointsman; a 'sinker and driver' (a man who dug shaft and tunnels in coalmines); and a 'teamer' (a teamster, of horses).

There were also some individuals who had more than one occupation; and this seems particularly to have been the case with those who ran a pub or beerhouse.

Thus in Wentworth village the Census tells us that there was:

James Bamforth, mechanic and steam-engine maker.

Thomas Barker, groom and horse breaker.

William Foster, joiner and Postmaster.

John Fretwell, labourer and local Methodist preacher.

William Green, grocer and draper.

George Greenwood, joiner and wheelwright.

Joseph Hoyland, farmer and carter.

Frederick Humphreys, plumber and glazier.

Ann Kennerley, milliner & dressmaker.

William Poles, grocer and draper.

Richard Savile, publican, horse dealer and farmer.⁷⁴

Mary Smith, grocer and tea-dealer.

In Barrow, Barrowfield, Harley, etc we find:

Ernest Arnold, core maker or moulder (in Harley Row).

James Barraclough, shoemaker and toll collector.

Joshua Jackson, cornmillers and farmer (at Wentworth Mill - see above).

Thomas James, labourer and blacksmith.

Isaac Shaw, farmer and carter (at Milton Cottage).

William Shaw, 27, joiner and wheelwright (in Harley Row); and Thomas Eastwood, 17, apprentice joiner & wheelwright (who lived with his master in Harley Row)⁷⁵;

William Stephenson, labourer and furnace man.

⁷³ See advert in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* - Monday 29 September 1862: WANTED, BOLT, RIVET, and NUT MAKERS.—Apply WHITE and CO., Hope Works, Thorpe Hesley.—No connection with Thos White.

⁷⁴ Savile is listed in 1861 as living with his wife aged 40, daughter aged 4, 3 unmarried male farm servants (all aged 18), 2 female domestic servants (both 15) and his widowed mother Susanna, aged 77. The pub was at Hood Hill cottages and must have been the *Coach & Horses*, Harley - the two hamlets being contiguous.

Stupid Questions

William Young, mason and farmer.

In Thorpe Street, etc Thorpe Hesley we find:

Joseph Allott, coalminer and publican at *The Gate*, in Kimberworth Lane/Brook Hill, in the heart of the village.⁷⁶

William Ardron, farmer and 'teamer'.

Henry Butcher, grocer and local preacher.

Charles Emerson, blacksmith and beerhouse keeper.

Joseph Jenkinson, joiner and innkeeper. (*The Red Lion*).

John Mangan, miner and publican. (*The Horse & Tiger*).

Michael Parkin, labourer and [unnamed] beerhouse.

Ambrose Sanderson, a shoemaker with an [unnamed] beerhouse.

In Hesley Lane etc, Thorpe Hesley we find:

Luke Armfield, coalminer and [unnamed] beerhouse keeper.

John Cooper, slater and builder.

John Hawksworth grinder and victualler (who had *The Bull*, aka *The Ball*, aka *The Golden Ball*).

In Scholes and Thorpe Common we find:

Joseph Ashforth, grocer and tea-dealer.

George Jarvis, farmer and publican. (*The Effingham Arms*).

Thomas Lockwood, plumber, glazier and publican or beerhouse keeper (the *Royal Oak*).

Edwin Oxley, who (unusually) was specifically listed in the Census as living in a 'Beer House' at 'no. 64 Scholes Lane. However, his occupation is given as a wheelwright.

George Senior, who was listed in the Census as a collier, living with his wife Mary Ann at *The Sportsman Inn* by Thorpe Common (rather than Scholes). However, we know from evidence given at the trial of those responsible for the 'Thorpe Hesley

⁷⁵ Drake tells us that William was a 'wheelwright and victualler', the pub or beerhouse in question being *The Horse Shoe* at Harley.

⁷⁶ Joseph was 39 and lived at *The Gate* with his wife Ann aged 40 and their five children, two daughters and three sons, of whom two were also miners. One of these, 'Aron' was the father of another Aaron Allott, who kept a secret diary, the subject of my study *Flower Shows, Fraudsters & Horrible Murders*. Aaron (senior) became a wheelwright, and lived in Hesley Lane, but by 1901 had moved back to *The Gate*, where he was described as 'Innkeeper and Farmer'. The tradition of having two occupations was thus passed down.

Stupid Questions

Outrages' (not least the testimony of his wife) that Senior was also the victualler at the *Sportsman*.

CHAPTER V AFTERMATH

The British were shocked when the Prince Consort, Albert, died of typhoid in December 1861, at the age of 42; but the American Civil War of 1861-5 presented Her Majesty's Government with a long-lasting and painful dilemma. Officially, the U.K. was neutral; but there were many people, even in Lancashire (which was heavily dependant on the supply of cotton from the Southern States), who nevertheless supported the North. On the other hand the Prime Minister Lord Palmerston favoured the South; and even Gladstone, who was to become the leading Liberal of his day, made an infamous speech in the North of England in April 1862, in which he said that 'Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army, they are making a navy, and they have made a nation'.⁷⁷ At a public meeting held in Malton, North Yorkshire, Earl Fitzwilliam and his younger brother, the Liberal MP Charles Wentworth Fitzwilliam, each spoke. The proceedings were reported in the *Morning Post* for Saturday 8 November 1862

EARL FITZWILLIAM ON THE DISTRESS IN LANCASHIRE.

Earl Fitzwilliam moved the first resolution: " That this meeting regards with feelings of deep sympathy the widespread and increasing distress of our fellow-countrymen in the cotton manufacturing districts, and considers that some steps should be taken by the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood to assist in alleviating that distress."

In the course of his speech the noble lord said that a calamity of this kind falling so suddenly upon so large a body of our countrymen and from no fault of their own, called for deep and earnest sympathy. Those who were now suffering were honest, hard-working men, and had suffered with the utmost patience and resignation, even to starvation. It might be said that great wealth abounded in the cotton districts; but whether that was true or not, it did not relieve us from the responsibility of doing our duty.

The Hon. C. W. W Fitzwilliam, M.P. observed that it was impossible to foresee the end, but he thought the North and South could not possibly unite again; in fact the South would never submit to the North. Whether we ought to acknowledge the South as a nation now, he would not discuss, but

⁷⁷ Roy Jenkin, *Gladstone* (Macmillan, 1995), p. 235.

Stupid Questions

there was little doubt that England would do so in the long run. It was his opinion that the South would abolish slavery, but the black man should be first taught to think for himself. As a nation, the South would be bound to England by ties of reciprocal interest of the strongest possible nature. He then urged upon the meeting to give nobly towards assisting the sufferers in Lancashire to tide over the present calamity.

All this became irrelevant, because the North won the war, by 1865. In any event, most people were probably more interested in local affairs. In particular the presentation of a new set of bells to Wentworth (Old) Church attracted a great deal of attention. As the *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 30 May 1863 reported:

NEW PEAL OF BELLS AT WENTWORTH. This village, on Monday, was highly gay, having put on its holiday attire on the occasion of opening the peal of bells presented to the Church by John Duke, Esq., of Barley Hall. The new peal of six bells replaces a small peal of three, and has been supplied by Messrs. Warner. They possess great sweetness of tone, and although closely packed in a tower of small size, they received high encomiums from competent judges. The tenor bell (G) weighs 12 cwt., and has a fine effect when tolled. The bells reflect great credit on the eminent firm which has supplied them, and form a very useful and appropriate gift. The services of the Wath bell-ringers had been secured for the occasion, and they rang Treble Bob and various other peals with such skill and precision as to merit special mention. During the day several companies of ringers from Sheffield, Rotherham, and the surrounding villages were permitted to ring peals. All these testified to the ease with which this new peal can be rung. With the exception of the time during divine service, the bells were never silent until nine in the evening. The village was astir at an early hour, and from various houses, as well as the "old church tower," flags floated in the sharp northern breeze. The donor was conveyed in a carriage, preceded by the Wentworth brass band and numerous inhabitants, from Barley Hall through Harley and the Barrow to Wentworth, and having then made the tour of the village, was driven to the Church, from whose walls "the merry peal was ringing." Divine service was held in the church at half-past twelve. The churchwardens and committee afterwards entertained the donor of the bells at dinner in the Mechanics' Hall, which had been gaily decorated for the occasion. The dinner, which was supplied by Mr. Lockwood, of the *Rockingham Arms*, received high encomiums from all present. The Wath hand-bell ringers enlivened the company during dinner with several appropriate airs, and the Wentworth band performed several suitable pieces with considerable taste and skill. The chair was taken by the Rev. J. C. Cordeaux. Among the company were also T. R. Duke, Esq., of Liverpool, and Mr. Kaye,

Stupid Questions

nephews of Mr. Duke, of Barley Hall; Mr. Colley, of Sheffield; Rev. W. Robinson, Wentworth; Rev. W. Byers, Greasbro'; Dr. Clark, Rotherham; and many of the surrounding gentry and farmers. After the customary loyal toasts, and the health of Lord and Lady Fitzwilliam, the Rev. W. Robinson proposed the health of Mr. Duke, which was drunk with the utmost enthusiasm. Thanks on behalf of the donor were given by Messrs. Kaye and Duke, the nephews of Mr. Duke. They were delighted to see their uncle's gift so well appreciated and so gratefully received. They were pleased to see him so much respected, and felt that the gift was seasonable, suitable, and good in every respect. Various other toasts were then given. The health of the Rev. J. S. Upton, incumbent of Wentworth, was then drunk, amid general regret that his failing health prevented him from being present. Several other toasts were afterwards proposed, and one of the most pleasant meetings ever held in Wentworth was brought to a close early in the evening. The Rev. W. Robinson had invited the whole of the aged inmates of the Barrow Hospital to his house, and they were well entertained by him.

The donor of the bells was John Duke, who was listed in the Census of 1861. He was the gentleman who lived at Barley Hall and farmed 100 acres and employed 3 labourers and a boy. They lived with one female domestic servant aged 18 and one male farm servant aged 13. Barley Hall was the site of a hamlet and pit, which had been the scene of some of the earliest Methodist meetings, in the 18th century; and John Wesley had stayed there on several occasions.⁷⁸

From at least the 18th century, the employees at Wentworth Woodhouse were often given an honourable funeral and burial in Wentworth Old Churchyard, one presumes at the expense of the owner of the day. Sometimes therefore, it is relatively easy to find out what happened to them. In other cases, their story can be found in the articles in the British Newspaper Archive.

Starting then with those employed by Earl Fitzwilliam, we have George Dawson, North Lodge keeper. The Census lists George Dawson of a 'Park Lodge' as a garden labourer. He was 55, his wife Christian 52 and he lived with his daughter (32) and granddaughter (5). There is a headstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard which commemorates the death of George Dawson, aged 63 on June 19th 1869, and of Christiana on December 9th 1889, at the age of 84.

Joseph Fallding [sic] is described in the Census of 1861 as 50 years old, a carpenter and joiner and head of the household at Glass House Green. He and his

⁷⁸ See my *A House Divided*, Bridge Publications, 1987, p 5, which gives details of a riot, when a mob tarred and feathered a horse belonging to John Johnson of Barley Hall, because it had been used to take a preacher from Thorpe to Rotherham. See also chapter V in *Chapelton Researches*, M.H.Habershon, London & Sheffield 1893, which has a print of the Hall,.

Stupid Questions

wife Ellen (also 50) lived with their daughter Helen Jane (at school aged 14) one house servant (Lucy Utley) aged 21 and three apprentices, Edward Fieldsend (19), George Thompson (16) and Arthur Crossley(?) (14). The Census of 1871 shows Joseph and Helen Fallding living at Barrow Farm, and Joseph (though only 60) is now described as 'Retired farmer, builder and landowner'. Clearly he had come into money; and this is evident from the plain but large headstone in Wentworth Old Churchyard, which confirms that the couple also had a son, though only one. It commemorates the death of William Henry Fallding [sic], 'only son' of Joseph and Helen [sic], on February 18th 1866, at the age of 33. Clearly he had not appeared on the Census of 1861 because he was grown up and living away from home. Indeed he is listed in the same Census as living in Rotherham, aged 28 and a master draper, married to Ann P. Fallding (24), with their baby daughter, a sister, a nurse, a couple of servants and no less than three draper's assistants or apprentices. Clearly, it was a thriving business; but we know from the headstone that it did not last. The same headstone records that Ann Poles Fallding (Poles being another Wentworth family, of shopkeepers) followed her husband into the grave at Wentworth, but only after more than half a century. She died on December 7th 1919, aged 83. Her name is followed by the inscription:

UNTIL THE DAY BREAK, AND THE SHADOWS ARE GONE AWAY.

Thomas Kitchen was employed by the Earl as a coachman. Thomas and his wife Hannah both died within five years of the Census being taken - he died in 1865 aged 53, she died the following year aged 58. They are both commemorated on a headstone which records that their daughter Ann had predeceased them in 1862, aged 17.

Thomas Parkin was employed by the Earl as a blacksmith. There is a tombstone which records the burial of Annis, who died in 1863 aged 57, Thomas Parkin, who died in 1879 aged 85, and their grandson Thomas Parkin Senior, who had died in 1875 aged 7.

Sykes John was employed by the Earl as a carpenter. The *Sheffield Independent* for 28 June 1862 recorded the death of Mrs. Susannah Sykes, of Cortworth, relict (widow) of Mr. Samuel Sykes, formerly master mason at Wentworth House, in her 73rd year; but I don't know what the relationship (if any) between these various Sykeses was.

William Wordsworth, employed by the Earl as a hall porter, died only two years after he was noticed by *Drake*, in 1864, at the age of 56, and someone (presumably Earl Fitzwilliam) paid for a rather expensive tombstone to be erected in his memory, and indeed for a suitable inscription, which reads:

In Affectionate Remembrance of
WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

Stupid Questions

OF WENTWORTH
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE MARCH 30TH 1864
AGED 56 YEARS
AND WAS RESPECTED BY ALL WHO KNEW HIM
BE ALSO READY FOR IN SUCH AN HOUR AS YE THINK NOT THE SON OF
MAN COMETH

The following persons were not employed by the Earls Fitzwilliam; but nevertheless have headstones or tombstones at Wentworth which are of interest:

When he died aged 69 on 22 July 1873, James Beardshall was buried at Wentworth, and his tombstone tells us that he lived in Barrow; but it was not in one of the almshouses at Barrow Hospital, because the Census taken four years previously reveals that he lived independently in the New Road (probably the Coach Road, next to West Hall Fold and the church itself). He was one of those many agricultural labourers not mentioned by *Drake*, and was survived by his widow Sarah, though she died 6 months later on 1 December 1873.

Thomas Carnelly is listed in the Census as a farmer of 80 acres at Barrow, employing 1 labourer and 1 boy. His wife Elizabeth was then 56; and they lived with their two children, Martha (20) and Jarvis (18) also a farmer, and their farmer's 'boy' Henry Walker, aged 20. Carnelly has a headstone recording that he lived in Barrow, and died on March 18th 1866, aged 66.

The joiner William Cooper lived in Wentworth Street. He was 56 and lived with his wife Mary, 58, and their two children, a son and a daughter, 24 and 20, both unmarried. The son was a pattern maker. William and Mary Cooper are commemorated on a headstone which tells us that he died in 1875 aged 70, and she had died in 1863 aged 60. Also recorded there is the death of their daughter Mary, who had died at the age of 8 in 1846.

Harriet Cooper was a widow aged 63, living near the Wesleyan Chapel in Clay Field Lane, Wentworth. Apparently she had no other occupation; and lived with a housekeeper and a female house servant. I think this must be the same person as was recorded by the Census of 1851 as living in Worsborough. Harriet had then been 52, and originally from Bradford; and her husband had been a 'coal and ironmaster', which would explain how she could still afford to live independently ten years later, after he had died.

Alfred Cousins, 42 is listed in the Census as a joiner but *Drake* tells us the next year that he was also a wheelright. He and his wife Jane, 39, lived with their daughter Mary Jane, aged 2, in Wentworth Street, two doors away from the *Rockingham Arms* on one side, next door on the other side to John Dale. This Dale was an agricultural labourer, not listed by *Drake*, who was mentioned in local newspapers in 1862: according to the *Barnsley Chronicle* 19 July 1862, he was fined 6d. and costs for 'riding without reins'!

Stupid Questions

William Froggatt and his wife Elizabeth have a magnificent cross and tombstone which records that he died on Dec 18th 1876, aged 74; and she died in 1891 aged 82. There is a banner inscribed on the cross, which bears the simple words 'In Loving Memory'. Like the Wordsworth tombstone mentioned above, this seems an elaborate affair for a working man and his wife. In 1861, William stated he was 50, but he must actually (if the 1871 Census is correct) have been 57, though Elizabeth stated correctly that she was 52. They were listed in 1861 as living at 'no 37' Wentworth Street, and his occupation was 'carter', though Drake has him down as a farmer. They were living at the time with a boarder and their two sons, John and George, 20 and 17, the former a labourer in a coalmine and the latter a carter like his father.

The Mrs Hannah Hague whose name appears in Drake is far more likely to have been the Hannah Hague who lived at 'no 37' Cortworth Lane in 1861. She was a widow, 71 and the farmer of 20 acres. A person named Hannah Hague is commemorated on a Hague family tombstone which records her death in 1869 at the age of 82, whereas 'our' Hannah would then have been only 79; but if I am wrong and it is the same person, then her husband George Hague had died as long ago as 1848, aged 56, so she would indeed have been a 'long widow'. (There is also another expensive tomb at Wentworth which has the name of George Charles Hague 1816-1871 on one side and the name of Elizabeth Hague 1815-1891 on the other).

The Census of 1861 has a Thomas Jackson, a widower aged 47, living in Barley Hole Cottages (two 'doors' away from John Duke of Barley Hall) with his 5 children, 4 daughters and 1 son, who was not called Thomas. He is described then as a cornmiller; but I think this is the same man as the farmer whom Drake listed the following year. There is a Thomas Jackson buried in Wentworth, who died in 1900 aged 83; and this could well be the same man. Strictly, the date of death would be 1897, if he was really 47 in 1861; but perhaps some people were not always sure how old they were.

In 1861 Mary Kingston, widow, 75, had an (unnamed) beerhouse on Wentworth Street, where she lived with her granddaughter (16) and granddaughter (12). Nearby, but in Friar Fold, the Census enumerator came across George Kingston (40), an agricultural labourer, and his wife Susan (the same age) their four young daughters and their two lodgers, who both worked in a local ironworks. They are commemorated by means of a large headstone, which records that Susan died in 1879 aged 58, and that George died in 1886 aged 64. Whether George was related to Mary Kingston, I know not.

Drake mentions Mrs Mary Mann of Clayfield; and there is a large headstone which reads

TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES MANN OF WENTWORTH, LODGE STUD-GROOM
TO THE EARLS FITZWILLIAM, 27 YEARS, WHO DIED NOV. 7TH 1851, AGED 55.
ALSO MARY, RELICT OF THE ABOVE WHO DIED FEB 19TH 1867 AGED 79.

Stupid Questions

Remarkably James Mann had been recorded by the Census taker in 1851, as 54 years of age, and a Stud Groom, so there is no doubt that this is the same man, although there is no mention in the Census of Mary, or indeed of a wife, and it is puzzling that the Census refers to his living in Wentworth Woodhouse, rather than in a Lodge. As for Mary Mann mentioned by Drake, his use of 'Mrs' strongly suggests that she was a widow, and the absence of any occupation suggests that she was of independent means, as one would expect if her husband had served Fitzwilliam for 27 years (the Earl probably paid her a pension or annuity); and, although I have not been able to find her in the Census for 1861, I have found them both in the Census taken in 1841, when James (then 40) was the Stud Groom and living in Wentworth Lodge, and with a wife called Mary (then 50). The ages are not quite right - if he was 40 in 1841, he would have been 50 when he died, not 55 (as was recorded on the tombstone); and likewise, she would have been 76 when she died, not 79 (as was recorded on the same tombstone). However, I am in no doubt that we are looking at the same people here, and that the Mrs Mary Mann mentioned by Drake was the widow of the Lodge Stud Groom. Which would mean that they both lied, or were mistaken, about their age when they completed the Schedules attached to the Census of 1861, to make each appear younger.

There is a fine headstone commemorating the death of Emma Smith (the wife of the grocer and tea dealer, Ezra Smith of Harley) who died on 11 March 1866, aged 23; and unusually the inscription includes both a rhymed verse and a familiar Biblical quotation:

WEEP NOT FOR ME DEPARTED FRIENDS,
NOR SHAKE AT DEATH'S ALARM,
TIS BUT THE VOICE THAT JESUS SENDS,
TO CALL US TO HIS ARMS.

THEREFORE BE YE ALSO READY, FOR IN SUCH AN HOUR AS YE THINK NOT,
THE SON OF MAN COMETH. MATT, XXIV CH.4, 4 VR.

Drake lists a Mrs Elizabeth Thompson, in the general section of that part of his Directory devoted to Wentworth. That means that she was a widow, of independent means; and sure enough, we find her in the Census for 1861 as Eliza [sic] Thompson, widow, and only 41 years old and already an 'annuitant', living in Wentworth Street with her two sons, Oliver and William, aged 13 and 11, each of whom was a 'scholar', and one lodger, Joseph Sykes, 26, an unmarried builder.

What had become of her husband? He was William Thompson and we find the couple in 1851, living at her mother's house in Wentworth Street with the two boys mentioned, and a third son, William H. Thompson. We note that all three boys had been born in Wentworth; and perhaps the reason they were with Eliza's mother

Stupid Questions

(aged 71 on Census night 1851) was because young William had only recently been born there. The father (then 33) was described as a gardener, whereas of course, Eliza (31) had no occupation, other than being a Mum. It seems likely that young William died in infancy, at some date between 1851 and 1861, but so did his Dad. In fact, we know from the headstone that William Thompson senior died on 31st October 1854 aged 38; and that there were also two further sons whom we have not heard of before: Leonard, who was only born in 1853 but died two months after his father; and George William, who died in 1866 at the age of 22. Finally, we read that Eliza herself died after a long widowhood, but at the relatively young age of 67. She died, not in Wentworth but in Eccles, in Manchester, and was buried there two days later, on August 3rd 1887.

Two questions suggest themselves. How was it that Eliza was able to qualify for an annuity when she was left a widow at the young age of 34? The answer may lie in her mother's occupation, which was disclosed to the Census of 1851 as 'proprietor of houses' - in other words, the family had money. The second question is how did William Thompson die? Was he, for example a gardener to Earl Fitzwilliam, and did the widow thereby qualify for a pension of some sort that way? I have searched the British Newspaper Archive for an answer but cannot find anything relevant. Possibly there may be something in the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments.

The victualler at the *Rockingham Arms* in 1861 was Martha Tyne, who was a spinster aged 50, and lived with 2 nieces, a nephew and two servants, one male (63) and one female (15). Interestingly, the 1851 Census had recorded Maria Tyne, aged 69, as the landlady there; but she had an unmarried daughter called Martha, aged 40, living with her. So, it looks as if old Maria was succeeded by her daughter Martha at 'The Rock', as it is popularly known today. But sadly, Martha's tenure of 'The Rock' was cut short. According to her tombstone, she died two months after the 1861 Census was conducted, aged 50, 'highly respected and deeply lamented by a large circle of friends'. The inscription also mentions a John Tyne, who died in 1866 aged 56, but I don't know who he was.

Lastly, in 1861-2 John Hawksworth was the landlord of *The Bull* in Thorpe Hesley, a pub in question which was near to Hesley Bar, and by 1866 was called *The Golden Ball*,⁷⁹ though nowadays it is simply called *The Ball*. He was still landlord on the night of 28 September 1878, when he got into a fight with a customer, Frank, or Francis Laverty, who was a mason's labourer. Hawksworth was 54 years old, but a part-time soldier, and Laverty was drunk and no match for him. He gave Laverty a beating and threw him into the road, where he died. Now, Hawksworth was a well respected member of the community, and worked for Newton Chambers at

⁷⁹ This is the name used in a notice of an auction to be held there, which appeared in the SDT on 3/21866. The notice also refers to the pub as 'the House of Mr Hawksworth.'

Stupid Questions

Thorncliffe Iron Works, where he was also well liked; but the Police thought that he had gone too far and used excessive force.

A search of the British Newspaper Archive reveals that this incident was reported in a number of local papers, including the *Sheffield Independent*; but it is the *Illustrated Police News* for Saturday 5 October 1878 which paints the picture well:

SHOCKING AFFAIR NEAR SHEFFIELD MAN KILLED BY AN INNKEEPER.

On Saturday night a shocking affair occurred at Thorpe Hesley, near Chapeltown, resulting in the death of a mason's labourer, named Francis Laverty, of Mortomley. On the evening mentioned a "rearing" supper was being held at the house of Mr. John Hawksworth, the "Golden Ball," Hesley Bar, at which about thirty persons were present, including the contractors and bricklayers connected with the cottages, the successful erection of which was the cause of the supper. Laverty was not in any way connected with the supper, but had worked for the architect, Mr. George Downson, of Thorncliffe, for some years; and, hearing of the festivities at Hesley Bar, he made his way there. He was the worse for a drink, and was very excitable. He wished to obtain access to the room where the festivities were proceeding, and several times tried to get admitted.

Hawksworth must have decided he was not having any nonsense from Laverty:

Becoming importunate, [Laverty] was ordered off the premises, and refusing to go, Hawksworth, the landlord, endeavoured to forcibly eject him. It is stated that Laverty kicked the landlord in a furious manner, causing his leg to swell very much, and then left without Hawksworth retaliating. He, however, returned to gain permission, when Hawksworth tried to put him out. A scuffle ensued, and according to the information received by the police, Hawksworth seized Laverty, threw him down, kicked him, forced him to the door, and again kicked him severely in the loins, and then threw him into the road, where he was shortly afterwards found dead.

A Coroner's inquest was held soon afterwards, in the pub, where conflicting evidence was given. It was clear that Laverty had been unruly, and also that he was not in good health; but there was evidence that Hawksworth had 'gone over the top'. One witness said that he had tried to intervene during the course of the beating, telling the landlord "John, give up, you have done plenty; let him go out." The Coroner's Jury returned the following verdict:

Stupid Questions

That the deceased, Francis Lavery, on the 28th Sept. aforesaid, died from suffocation caused by an effusion of blood on the lungs, but how the deceased's injuries were received there is not sufficient evidence to show.

Nevertheless, Hawksworth was charged with manslaughter, and was committed for trial at Leeds Assizes. Some local people sympathised openly with the landlord, and they clubbed together to help him. The *Sheffield Independent* for Saturday 19 October 1878 reported:

On Thursday evening, a public meeting was held at the Workmen's Hall, Thorncliffe, to consider the desirability of forming a fund to assist Mr. John Hawksworth, landlord of the *Ball Inn* [sic] Hesley Bar, in defending himself against the charge of manslaughter. Mr. Joseph Pilley, Thorpe Hesley, presided, and there was a very large attendance. After a discussion it was decided to form a fund.

The trial in Leeds was reported in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for Saturday 8 February 1879. Medical evidence was given by a surgeon, Mr Stewart, to show that Lavery had died of suffocation

In reply to questions Mr Stewart said a person would be more easily suffocated after receiving a kick such as had been described. In cross examination he said that he did not find any traces of intoxicating liquors in the stomach of the deceased. He found the brain was congested. If a man was drunk and fell heavily on his face, the witness would not be much surprised if death resulted from suffocation. The jury consulted for a few minutes, and the foreman announced that they had found the prisoner not guilty, but they thought that undue violence had been used. The Judge said the question they had to answer was whether he was guilty or not guilty. The Foreman: 'Not Guilty, my lord'. The Judge – 'that is enough. I suppose you think that what he did, did not cause the death of the deceased'. The Foreman: 'Yes, my lord'. The Judge: 'That is Not Guilty'. The prisoner was then discharged.

We might have thought that this was the end of the story; but there is more. On Monday 29 September 1879 the *Sheffield Independent* reported as follows:

FUNERAL OF MR. JOHN HAWKSWORTH, OF HESLEY BAR, CHAPELTOWN.

On Saturday the remains of Mr. John Hawksworth, for many years landlord of the *Golden Ball*, Hesley Bar, Chapeltown, were interred at Ecclesfield in the

Stupid Questions

presence of a large number of friends and spectators. It may be stated that just one year ago on Saturday a disturbance took place at the *Golden Ball Inn*, which, as alleged at the time, resulted in the death of a man named Frank Lavery. [Notwithstanding his acquittal], the fact of his being charged with the death of the man, preyed upon his mind and affected him very much. At the same time he was in a weak state of health, and the two facts combined, led to his death on the 23rd instant. Mr. Hawksworth was 55 years of age.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SOURCES

Aspects of Rotherham 3, edited by Melvyn Jones (Wharncliffe Publishing, Barnsley 1998).

BNA: British Newspaper Archive.

Cooper, Stephen, Robert Chesman and Melvyn Jones, *Church, Chapel & Community, Thorpe Hesley & Scholes in 1840*, (1990, www.chivalryandwar.co.uk)

Cooper, Stephen, *Fraudsters, Flowershows & Horrible Murders* (2017, available at www.chivalryandwar.co.uk).

Cooper, Stephen and John Moorhouse, *Earl Fitzwilliam's Treasure Island* (Create Space, 2018)

Cooper, Stephen, *The Jubilee Poacher* (Create Space, 2018).

Drake's Directory of Rotherham, 1862s, www.my-history.co.uk

Drewry, Mick, *Intimidation* (Austin Macaulay Publishers, 2017)

Guest, John, *Historic Notices of Rotherham* (Robert White, Worksop, 1879).

Harker, James, *A Victorian Poacher's Journal* ed. (Garth Christian, Oxford University Press, 1961).

Hey, David, *The Grass Roots of English History* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016)

H & P: Ruth Harman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire West Riding, Sheffield and the South*, (Yale University Press, 2017).

Melvyn Jones, *South Yorkshire Mining Villages* (Pen & Sword History, 2017).

Melvyn Jones, Joan Jones & Stephen Cooper, *Wentworth Woodhouse, the House, the Estate and the Family* (to be published by Pen & Sword in 2021).

SDT - the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*.

Viscount Milton & W.B.Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land* (Cassell, Petter and Galpin, London, 1865).

The Sheffield Outrages, the Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, 1867, (re-published with introduction by Sidney Pollard (Adams & Dart, Bath, 1971).

E.A.Smith E.A., *Whig Principles and party politics, 1748-1833*, (Manchester University Press, 1975).

Young: Roy Young, *The Big House and the Little Village*, (Wentworth Garden Centre, 3rd revised edition, 2011).