

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN A PENNINE
COMMUNITY: THE TOWNSHIP OF STANNINGTON
c.1660-c.1900**

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Institute for Lifelong Learning

University of Sheffield

May 2002

Continuity and Change in a Pennine Community: the Township of Stannington, c.1660-c.1900.

ABSTRACT

The township of Stannington was a distinctive community on the north-western edge of Sheffield before being absorbed within the city in the twentieth century. By 1660 the inhabitants earned their living by a combination of farming and the manufacture of cutlery, albeit on a small scale.

This thesis will demonstrate how the life of the community was affected by the boom in the Sheffield cutlery industry from the mid-eighteenth century. At that time the rapidly expanding industry, needing more water-power, began to spread out from the town along the tributaries of the River Don. The steep falls of water down the Loxley and Rivelin valleys encouraged the building of grinding wheels, leading to an increase in the workforce, mainly from the surrounding area of Hallamshire.

Rural cutlery trades began to decline in the mid-nineteenth century, due to more efficient and economical methods of manufacture in Sheffield, but the employment gap in Stannington was filled by coal and gannister mining, together with work in the brickyards and paper mills. The continuing industrial growth altered not only the way of life, but the landscape itself as new works and houses sprang up, although farming continued to thrive.

We shall see that, in spite of these changes in the economy, there survived a solid core of families, some of whom lived in Stannington for generation after generation, throughout the period covered by this thesis – and beyond. A detailed study of these longstanding families who held public office in the township, the parish and the wider areas of Hallamshire, will show how they adapted to the economic change and continued to give stability to their community. Newcomers to the township accepted and integrated into the ways of the old established families and, in many cases, became part of the core themselves.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to place on record my gratitude to the numerous people who have helped and encouraged me in many ways during the research and writing of this thesis: to my supervisor, Professor David Hey, for his guidance and constructive advice throughout; to the staff of the Sheffield Archives and Sheffield Central Library's Local Studies Department; to the staff of the Brotherton Library, Leeds, and the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, particularly Vanessa Davison; to Bradfield Parish Council's Peter Heap, Melanie Smart and Malcolm Nunn; to members of the University of Sheffield Names Project; to Joy Allan-Sissons, Joe Atkins, Trevor Hudson, George Marsden, Norma Reaney, Milton Revitt, Connie Shepherd, Doris Siddons, Les Stenton, Joan Unwin, John Wilson and Betty Wood; and to my husband, John, for his patience and support.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACM	Arundel Castle Muniments	
BPC	Bradfield Parish Council records	
CA	City Archives	
Fairbank	BB	Building Books
	CP	Collected Papers
	FB	Field Books
	MB	Miscellaneous Books
	NB	Note Books
MD	Miscellaneous Deposits	
MP	Miscellaneous Papers	
NATCECT	National Centre for English Cultural Tradition	
RC	Ronksley Collection	
SD	Solicitors' Deeds	

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Stannington

An ancient scattered settlement of farmers in the Chapelry of Bradfield on the edge of Sheffield, the township of Stannington was not a typical rural community. Stannington still has strong agricultural connections, but in the past farming was often combined with industrial occupations which, in time, became dominant. Stannington formed part of the metal-working district of Hallamshire, i.e. the parishes of Sheffield and Ecclesfield with the Chapelry of Bradfield (see Figure 1.1, page 3). Parts of Hallamshire were industrialised long before the classic period of the Industrial Revolution, but the township of Stannington lay on the periphery of the cutlery district until the trade expanded rapidly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When that happened, the character of Stannington township was transformed.

Types of cutlery made in Stannington changed over the years. Knife making was replaced by razor making, which became one of the last main cutlery occupations in the area. Forging, grinding and scale pressing were separate branches of the razor industry. Gradually the metal industries declined in Stannington as steam replaced water-power and large works, requiring an increase in the labour force, were built in Sheffield. At the same time, however, new specialist industries, such as coal and gannister mining, and fire-brick making brought new workers into the township and temporary workers were engaged in the construction of reservoirs at Dale Dyke, Strines Dyke and Agden in the 1860s and 1870s. In spite of the influx of outsiders at this time families who had lived in Stannington for generations gave stability to the community and continued a way of life that had been passed on by their forefathers. In this thesis we shall be concerned with continuity as much as with change.

Although Stannington was geographically close to Sheffield, it was physically isolated from the town by the rough terrain. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, walking from Sheffield to visit the minister of Stannington Chapel in 1796, recorded:

'I trudged thither over hill and dale thro' a worse road than ever Flibbertigibbet led poor Tom¹ ... it was now dark; and into pits and out of pits and against stones I

contrived to stumble some mile and a half out of my way.²

Roughly three miles north west of Sheffield at its nearest point, the township of Stannington stretched for another seven miles west towards the Pennines. Its precise boundaries have varied at different times during its history, but, for the purpose of this study, I have kept to the boundaries which have been the accepted ones since the Middle Ages, incorporating the hamlets of Stannington, Storrs, Dungworth, Hollow Meadows and Moorwood, with scattered farms in the surrounding area. Ambiguities have occurred over time, but these old boundaries later formed the administrative ward of Stannington under the Local Government Act of 1894 when civil Parish Councils came into being. For much of its way, the township boundary followed the deep valleys of the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin which formed obvious, natural divisions.

In this study I have included all the water-powered sites on the Rivers Rivelin and Loxley, regardless of which side of the rivers the works occupied. I have not, however, included the hamlets of Ughill and Damflask (except the two water-powered sites at Damflask) because, although the two hamlets were closely associated with Stannington, they were outside the boundary that I have determined. The ancient hamlet of Ughill - the manor of 'Ughil' in the Domesday survey of 1086 - was counted as part of the township of Dungworth/Stannington in the seventeenth century, but at other times was included in the township of Bradfield.

The community underwent considerable change between 1660 and 1900, i.e. between the Restoration and the beginning of Stannington's incorporation within the Sheffield boundary. By 1901, with a population of over 400,000 people, Sheffield had become a city, which engulfed part of Stannington and other outlying communities. The population of Stannington itself rose rapidly once the cutlery industry spread into the Loxley and Rivelin valleys during the eighteenth century. The lord of the manor began selling land and absentee freeholders began to offer property to rent. These changes will be outlined in detail in the following chapters, though emphasis will be placed on the continuity of a stable core of long-resident families.

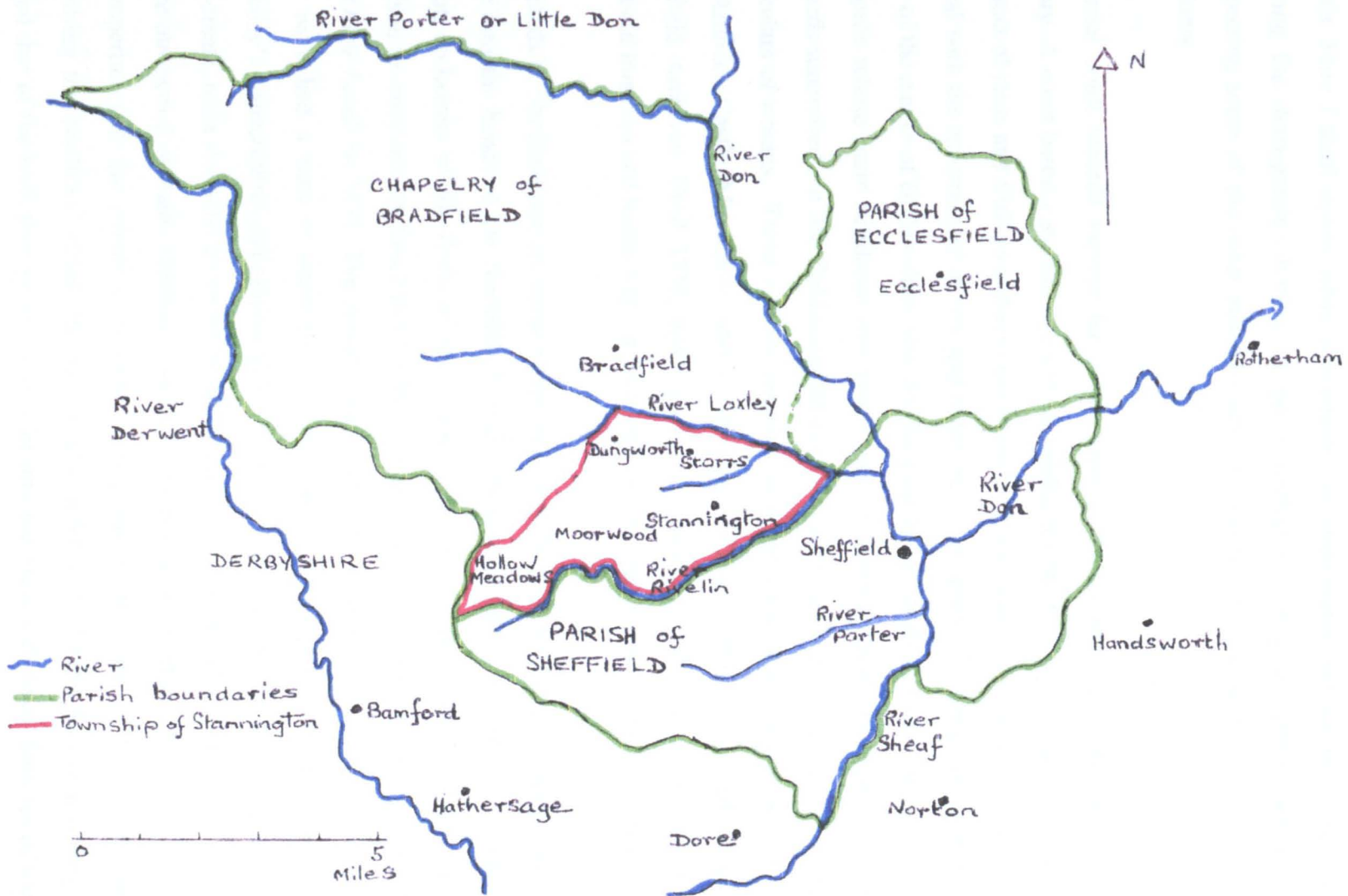


Figure 1.1. The Township of Stannington and its Environs.

2. Sources

Several sources of use to a local historian are usually available on a nation-wide scale. These include manorial records, parish registers, wills and inventories, taxation records, especially hearth tax returns, militia returns, census returns and trade directories, but the survival rate for the earlier records is variable. No single place has a complete set of records. Here I shall assess what is available for Stannington but we shall see that studying the demographic history of the township is not a straightforward task. Interpreting some of the other standard sets of records for local studies also has its problems.

Manorial court records survive for many parts of the country from the thirteenth century. A court baron was held every three weeks, for the transfer of copyhold lands, payment of rents and fridleys and services to the lord, etc., and a court leet twice a year, to deal with the enforcement of law and order, etc. Throughout the period of study the lords of the manor of Hallamshire were the Howard family, Dukes of Norfolk, absentee landlords whose main residence and estate was at Arundel Castle in Sussex. Their stewards supervised the Sheffield manorial courts and kept good accounts of leases and particulars of tenants. These records, together with other manorial documents, are in the Arundel Castle Muniments and certain miscellaneous deposits housed in the Sheffield Archives. Until 1733, apart from the Commonwealth years, most of the copyhold transfers and leases were, in line with national legislation, written in Latin.³

The lands of Sheffield and its surrounding area, including the township of Stannington, came into the hands of the Norfolks through Thomas Howard's marriage to Alatheia Talbot, co-heiress of the Earls of Shrewsbury. The new owners commissioned John Harrison to carry out *An Exact and Perfect Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield and Other Lands* in 1637. The survey, with numbered references to fields etc., must once have had a map to accompany it but this had disappeared by the time of Ronksley's transcription and edition of 1908. By computer, G. Scurfield has been able to re-create, most skilfully, a version of the original map.⁴ Although dated several years before our period of study, Harrison's survey gave background information on the size of properties and the names of tenants paying rent to the lord of the manor. In describing the Norfolks' estate, the survey also referred to freeholders whose lands abutted that of the lord, thus giving an insight into the more well-to-do families of the

area at the time. Many of the family names continued down the years, as did the names of farms, lands, and works situated on the rivers. In about 1660 a similar survey and valuation of property was carried out.⁵ At that time most of the water-powered sites on the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin were leased from the Dukes of Norfolk. These are well documented in the Arundel Castle Muniments. Unfortunately, a few sites on the River Loxley were owned by the sub-manor of Owlerton for which there are very few surviving records.

Parish registers are a major source of information concerning families before compulsory state registration of births, marriages and deaths began in 1837. The registers for many parishes are incomplete due to damage or destruction. Ecclesfield, for example, has marriage and burial registers from 1558 but the beginning of the baptism register has been destroyed, leaving 1599 as the earliest date of entry. Until Stannington became a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1830, the established place of worship was Ecclesfield's chapel-of-ease at Bradfield. The Bradfield registers, from their commencement in 1559 until 1722, with just a few gaps, were transcribed and edited by Rev. Arthur Briarly Browne (rector of Bradfield, 1888-1916), and printed in 1905. During the Commonwealth, births rather than baptisms were registered in accordance with national statute. Registers from 1723 onwards are available on microfiche in the Sheffield Archives and also in the Bradfield Parish Council office.

It is almost impossible to identify any of the individuals mentioned in the Bradfield registers, as entries include very few specific locations within the chapelry, but when studied in conjunction with other records a few can be recognised. Another problem is caused by different dwellings or districts having the same name, e.g. Spout House in Stannington and in Westnall; Hill Top in Dungworth and in Oughtibridge. By referring to other sources I have been able to discern which families connected with these places were the ones living in the Stannington township. Only 317 out of a total of 8338 baptisms recorded at Bradfield between 1559 and 1722 name the place of birth, of which 92 are within Stannington, and 375 out of a total of 6326 burials record the place of death, of which 94 are in Stannington. Of the 2025 marriages registered, prior to 1719, five couples were married elsewhere and another four give an outside parish for one or both parties. Between 1719 and 1722 the chapelry or parish to which the parties belonged was recorded with no mention of a township.

Underbank Chapel, known until 1860 as Stannington Chapel, originally built as an additional chapel-of-ease for Ecclesfield, but taken over by dissenters almost from its foundation in 1652, has registers surviving from 1718 onwards. Many members of its congregation continued to use Bradfield for their rites of passage and, as the chapel was nominally Anglican, the records of baptisms and burials performed at Stannington were often entered in the Bradfield registers. A transcript of the baptism register for 1718-1777 is housed among miscellaneous deposits in the Sheffield Archives. Stannington Church was built in 1830 and has its own registers of baptisms and burials from that date. Marriages were recorded from 1858. Until the nineteenth century Roman Catholic rites of passage were recorded in Anglican registers, as were those of early Methodists.

I have also studied the tombstones in the graveyards of the area: Bradfield, Underbank, Stannington, Knowle Top Methodist, Bowcroft Quaker and a small Jewish burial ground at Hollow Meadows. Sometimes information can often be found on gravestones that is not available from parish registers, for example the age at date of death is recorded, also family relationships. A group of volunteers, led by Norma Reaney and my husband, has recently completed a full survey of the epitaphs and memorials of Bradfield Church. The oldest gravestones, dating from the early seventeenth century, are in the church itself, but a lot have been moved around and damaged or covered by carpets, pews, etc. In the churchyard the earliest gravestone connected with Stannington is that of Ann, wife of Robert Rawson, who died in 1660. There are very few gravestones at Underbank before the nineteenth century, but the earlier ones commenced with that of Ruth, the wife of Samuel Smith of Stannington, who died in 1757, followed by her husband 'Rev. Mr. Samuel Smith, the Minister of Stannington,' who died in 1761. Knowle Top Methodist Chapel, founded in 1821, has a small graveyard dating from 1847, when William, the son of John and Caroline Wright, was buried. Stannington Church has had a graveyard since its foundation. The Quaker graveyard at Bowcroft has the remains of a single family, the Shaws of Brookside and The Hill, buried between 1708 and 1731. In the nineteenth century Isaac Bright, a Jewish jeweller of Sheffield, bought land close to Crawshaw Lodge, on the edge of Rod Moor, as a cemetery for himself and other members of his family. The mausoleum of Isaac's nephew, Horatio Bright and family, is near to Hollow Meadows Chapel.

In the period 1662-1688, a hearth tax was levied to finance Charles II's schemes for

running the country, but no such returns survive after 1674. Many areas have some returns although no county has complete records. The printed volume for Derbyshire, for example, had to use the returns of 1662 and 1670 to get complete coverage. Nottinghamshire's best returns are for 1664 and 1674, and Lancashire has records for all parts of the county at some time during the 1660s and 1670s. The records of many other counties are far less complete.

The fullest surviving returns for the two wapentakes of Strafforth & Tickhill and Staincross, which cover south Yorkshire, assessed on Lady Day 1672, have been transcribed by the Names Project team of Sheffield University. The returns give a list of householders in each area with their number of hearths, i.e. chimneys, at the date of assessment. Stannington township is covered in the areas of 'Staveington (Stannington) belonging to Bradfeild (sic) Bill,' and Dungworth (i.e. Dungworth, Storrs and Ughill) counted as another township within 'Bradfield parish.'

Returns for some areas were taken in a logical order, so that if one or two houses can be pin-pointed then it is possible to recognise whole areas. Taking Stratford-on-Avon as an example, Kevin Schürer and Tom Arkell state that

'Because the names of the exempt householders are interspersed with those of the liable, this list is clearly recorded in some kind of topographical order, rather like the schedules of a nineteenth-century census enumerator.'⁶

This proves to be the case for the Stannington area, except that there are only four households listed as poor, compared with the national average of between 30% and 40%,⁷ showing that the majority of the poor have been omitted from the list altogether. With the help of other documents, such as manorial records, I have realised that the 'route' commenced at Malin Bridge, continued up to Stannington hamlet then on through Moorwood to the western boundary. A similar pattern took shape in Dungworth with most of Ughill at the beginning of the list, followed by Dungworth hamlet and then Storrs, but in this case no poor were listed. Missing out a high percentage of poorer households, not only in Stannington but in other parts of the country, due to ambiguously written instructions to the enumerators, is a big drawback to the returns as sources of family and demographic information.

Many wills and inventories for Stannington from the seventeenth, eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries are housed in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York. Others, concerning the more prominent local families, are in various collections in the Sheffield Archives. The Stannington area, which was in the Doncaster deanery, has no inventories before 1689, whereas Lancashire, for example, has some dating back to the fifteenth century, although the survival is patchy.

In Stannington there is a good cross-section of wills of the gentry, yeomen, farmers and cutlers, plus a few unmarried women, for the period of study, with or without inventories. In all I have looked at the wills and/or probate inventories of 179 people, dating from 1652 to 1806. Wills and probate inventories provide much information. Relationships and family connections can be studied and details of a family can be built up. Wills, however, have their limitations in that they were only made by wealthier, usually male, members of society. Under normal circumstances married women were not allowed to make wills and very few were made by spinsters and widows. Of the 146 wills that I have studied, only eight were written by widows, six by spinsters, and none by married women. In the words of Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans:

‘Wills are undoubtedly a remarkably rich historical source but they survive for only a proportion of the early modern population and this survival is strongly biased by age, social class and gender.’⁸

Cataloguing the value of goods of the deceased, inventories give an indication of wealth and social status, although this is not always what it seems. A few of the 95 inventories studied gave a final account at the end, with one or two showing that debts wiped out the value of goods. On the whole, debts owing to the deceased were not included as the amount was not actually in his/her possession at the time of death. Professor Margaret Spufford has pointed out that

‘The inventory only legally listed goods belonging to the administrator, or executor, of an estate’, but combined with a will, ‘the two documents together do give a more balanced picture.’⁹

In addition to the 95 inventories giving the value of all possessions, I have found six which listed only the value of each room, and another two which simply gave a total value. I have also found twelve declarations, whereby the executor or administrator declared or affirmed that the personal estate of the deceased did not exceed a certain sum. The earliest I found concerned the estate of Elizabeth Hobson of Stannington,

administered by her husband in 1795. He declared that

‘the personal estate and effects of my late wife, Elizabeth Hobson, un-administered at the time of her death, did not exceed, to the best of my knowledge, the sum of £35.’

Other declarations continued into the nineteenth century.

Occupational information can be obtained from wills and inventories as, in most cases, the occupation of the deceased was written after the surname. Included, particularly in the inventories, are tools and materials etc. connected with various trades, e.g. the inventory of Benjamin Drabble, a cutler who died in 1710, includes ‘a pair bellows, stythy and stythy stocks, tongs, 3 vices, 6 hammers, files and other smithy tools.’ The size of a dwelling, i.e. the number of rooms, can also be ascertained. It is a pity that Stannington inventories are not available for the same period as the hearth tax returns, although it is possible to link one or two people, e.g. William Grey, who was assessed for one hearth in 1672. When his widow died in 1689 her inventory listed possessions in the house, parlour and barn. A ‘range’ in the house was her only heating.

One of the most important and invaluable sources of family information for the nineteenth century is, of course, the census returns. Taken every ten years from 1801, the returns provide personal details, i.e. addresses, occupations and ages, from 1841 onwards, with places of birth and family relationships from 1851 onwards. Generations of families can thus be traced, provided that each person could give his or her correct details to the enumerator. The total population of each enumeration district was given, allowing calculation of the increase or decrease during each ten-year period, and the returns can also be used to trace the development of an area as more streets and houses were added. Following the same routes as the census enumerators, I have noted which buildings had been constructed during the period between each return. There was hardly any additional building in Dungworth, Storrs or Moorwood; only Stannington showed an increase, in fact Stannington developed to the point of being unrecognisable in comparison with the original hamlet.

Filmed copies of the Stannington census returns are housed in the Local Studies Department of Sheffield Central Library and also in the Sheffield Archives. I have studied the six returns for the Stannington districts from 1841 to 1891. One slight

disadvantage of the Stannington returns is that, although the township is well defined by area, the whole is listed under 'Bradfield Township,' so that, in many entries, Stannington is not distinguishable from Bradfield regarding places of birth. However, this does not detract from studying where the population from beyond Bradfield originated.

Trade directories give lists of the working population with their occupations during the later part of this study. The Local Studies Department of Sheffield Central Library has almost the full range of nineteenth century directories for Sheffield with most covering outlying districts such as Stannington. Early ones do not give a lot of detail: Sketchley's of 1774 covers only Sheffield; Gales & Martin's of 1787 adds 'manufacturers in the neighbourhood' and includes Stannington cutlers among its knife makers; Montgomery's of 1797 is similar. Wardle & Bentham's 1814-15 *Commercial Directory* covers only Sheffield apart from 'Tilts, Forges, Grinding Wheels, etc.', so providing details of works on the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin. Gell's of 1825 includes a 'Directory of the Villages in the vicinity of Sheffield' which covers other trades in addition to cutlery. White's and Kelly's directories all give comprehensive lists throughout the nineteenth century.

A valuable local source of reference, a bonus for the Sheffield area, is the records of 'The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York.' This company, formed in 1624, governed the cutlers in Hallamshire, the area covered by the parishes of Sheffield and Ecclesfield, with the chapelry of Bradfield; plus the area within a six-mile radius of Hallamshire's borders. The Cutlers' Company apprenticeship indentures named the apprentice, his father's name, place of residence and occupation. Similar details of his master with the master's occupation within the cutlery trade are included, together with the dates of apprenticeship. Towards their end in the early nineteenth century some names and/or districts were omitted, and the records were kept rather haphazardly. Apprenticeship indentures between 1655 and 1660 and freedoms between 1655 and 1662 are missing but overall the records are thorough and full of useful information.

R.E. Leader transcribed the apprenticeship records in volume II of his *History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York*, published in 1906. His

transcription simply listed the apprentices in alphabetical order, with their apprenticeship details. Mrs. Joan Unwin, of Sheffield University's Hawley Building, has transferred these to a computer database so that any aspect of the records is far more easily accessible. Her studies show that there was a significant increase in the numbers of cutlery apprentices bound to Stannington masters during the 1760s and 1770s.

More local information can be found in the copious notes of John Wilson (1719-1783) of Broomhead Hall in Bradfield. He recorded a wide variety of local subjects ranging from the prevailing weather conditions to meticulous transcriptions of numerous sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century documents. Many of his papers were used by Joseph Hunter when writing his *History of Hallamshire* in 1819. Over the years much of John Wilson's writing was lost but what remained, now bound into about 250 volumes, was finally bought by Montague Burton and presented to Leeds University's Brotherton Library. I have sifted through relevant volumes, none of which are yet fully indexed, and found miscellaneous deeds, wills, poorhouse matters, churchwardens' and overseers' accounts, indentures, etc. to gain much information on the period. Extracts from Wilson's writings, transcribed by J.G.Ronksley (1851-1916), together with additional material collected after Wilson's death, form the Ronksley Collection in the Sheffield Archives.

Bradfield Parish Council office houses a veritable gold mine of local eighteenth and nineteenth century documents. Stannington's affairs were closely linked with Bradfield, not only ecclesiastically, but on a day-to-day basis, e.g. rating matters, constables, etc. After the Wortley Union was organised, the Bradfield poorhouse, also serving Stannington, was divided into cottages and leased out by the feoffees. In 1894, when civil parish councils were formed, many of the feoffees' and parish documents were left in a cupboard in one of the cottages. At some stage the cupboard had been boarded up, wall-papered and, over the years, forgotten. During the 1950s the council was made aware that the cupboard existed, but the elderly tenant of the cottage was adamant that no-one should have access until after her death. This occurred in 1975, when the parish clerk was at last allowed to open 'Aladdin's cave.'

The list of documents seems endless - settlement certificates, removal orders, pauper apprenticeships, bastardy orders, appointment of overseers, poorhouse meetings and

business, etc. Many of the records help to build a picture of the nature of the community and its administration. The most important documents found were the militia lists of the Bradfield area, covering the period 1819-31, with only the year 1830 missing. Throughout the country very few of these lists survive, so Bradfield is extremely fortunate in having such a full list; most places are satisfied with an odd year or two if any at all. The Bradfield lists give details of names, ages, occupations, marital status and places of residence within the chapelry of the younger men in the two decades before census returns began. Another bonus is the inclusion of those who were exempt from any necessary military service i.e. those who were already serving or who had served in the local Militia, apprentices, the infirm and the poor.

Very few places can have been better surveyed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than Sheffield and its surrounding area. Four generations of a Quaker family of surveyors, named Fairbank, operated continuously in the region from the early eighteenth century until 1848, after which their thousands of maps, plans, field-books, building books etc. were preserved and now form the Fairbank Collection in the Sheffield Archives. In the Collection

‘we find much Sheffield history, extending for about a hundred and fifty years from Queen Anne to Queen Victoria, written not in words but in maps; and this form of local history brings into prominence many topographical facts and interesting events which are not to be found elsewhere.’¹⁰

These surveys covered not only Sheffield but the wider area of Hallamshire and beyond, conducted both for private individuals, and more public concerns such as the enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

I have consulted minor sources in the Sheffield Archives and printed matter in Sheffield Central Library, borrowed private deeds and been given plans of several gannister mines in the area. Walking round the Stannington boundary and throughout the area has allowed me to study the topography at first hand. Sites on the rivers are well documented in Arundel Castle Muniments and other collections, which I have used in addition to *The Water-Mills of Sheffield* and *Water Power on the Sheffield Rivers*.

3. The aims of the study

Several books have been written on the industrial development of Hallamshire, notably

David Hey's *The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire: Sheffield and its Neighbourhood 1660-1740*. The subject of this has been continued by Neville Flavell's unpublished Ph.D. thesis on 'The economic development of Sheffield and the growth of the town c1740-c1820.' *Mesters to Masters: A History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire*, edited by Clyde Binfield and David Hey, describes aspects of the cutlery industry within Sheffield, and Ken Barraclough's *Sheffield Steel*, together with the works of Geoffrey Tweedale, such as *Giants of Sheffield Steel*, *The last of the Little Mesters* and *The Sheffield Knife Book*, continue this metal industry theme.

Although detailed research has thus been done on the history of Sheffield's industry and growth within the central area, outlying districts such as Stannington have not been included. The township is mentioned briefly in Hunter's *History of Hallamshire*, as part of the chapelry of Bradfield, and Stannington Local History Group published a history of *Stannington* in 1974, followed by an updated edition in 2000. Joy Sissons studied the 'Enclosure Awards in Stannington' for her Certificate in Local History at the University of Sheffield in 1989 and Norma Reaney researched the centre of the village based on the 1851 census returns, published in 1993 as *Stannington in 1851*. However, despite the spread of water-powered works into the Loxley and Rivelin valleys, which led to the industrialisation of the area, very little of this wider aspect of the township has been studied. Part of this thesis is therefore a contribution to the understanding of Sheffield's industrial expansion. The second part concentrates on the families who formed the local community of Stannington. We shall also see whether or not my research agrees with that of historians' work on other areas.

In *A Tour Through The Whole Island of Great Britain*, written between 1724 and 1776, Daniel Defoe described trade passing through the town of Bawtry and noted 'wrought iron and edge tools of all sorts from the forges at Sheffield and from the country called Hallamshire.'¹¹ The term 'country' in this sense refers to a specific area with boundaries, but people also used the term to describe their home ground, the areas they knew and felt comfortable in. This area stretched beyond their village and even their parish. Professor David Hey, in his Phillimore Lecture of 1997, stated that 'well into the nineteenth century people thought of the district with which they were familiar as being their "country".'¹² He stressed that

'Local historians are now well aware that the composition of pre-industrial

communities was constantly changing. Yet family historians often find that their ancestors were rooted, if not in the same parish, then in the same 'country' for centuries.'¹³

He pointed out that local surnames, sometimes derived from the name of a single farmstead, could be used to define the borders of these countries. Core families, whose surnames could be traced back through generations in the same area, gave stability to the area in spite of change. Many families today 'bear surnames which are peculiar to the "countries" where the name was found six or seven centuries ago.'¹⁴

Peter Spufford's essay on 'The comparative mobility and immobility of Lollard descendants in early modern England' begins with a general description of mobility, and comes to the same conclusion as others that 'Most rural mobility, however, took place within a distance of only ten miles and very little of it exceeded twenty miles.'¹⁵ By using parish registers Dr. Spufford studied the turnover of surnames to obtain a rough idea of mobility within a community. He concluded that, in general

'where there were few surnames and many families per surname, this indicates a relatively closed society, with low mobility in the preceding generations.'¹⁶

In that case the reverse would also be true. He also pointed out, in agreement with Professor Hey, that the minority of families which had stayed in one place for generations became the core of their community.

Ann Mitson, writing on 'The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-west Nottinghamshire,' describes the dynastic or core family as a stable group 'resident over several generations in the same parish or, more significantly, dispersed over a group of contiguous parishes.'¹⁷ Her research covered a group of eleven parishes bordering on the county town of Nottingham. These parishes fall into three separate neighbourhood categories, although the dividing features overlap to a certain extent. Mobility occurred between the neighbourhoods, thus agreeing with the general view of historians that moving was normal in the past 'even though the distances travelled may not have been great.'¹⁸ Research has shown that less than a quarter of the population stayed in one place all their lives but this number was important in providing stability within the community and the area around. Dr. Mitson pointed out that 'these core groups kept alive and passed on the local culture. They set patterns to which newcomers into the area conformed.'¹⁹ She felt that in covering a

larger area than a single parish she could demonstrate that 'part of the mobile population can be described as stable within the context of this wider community.'²⁰ In studying several parishes she could also see how each developed individually but, to a certain extent, they were dependent on each other and the surrounding area.

In contrast to the size of Dr. Mitson's area of study, Mary Prior concentrated on a comparatively small neighbourhood, just a few streets in the heart of Oxford. Here fishermen, bargemen and canal boatmen and their families formed a close-knit community. This, Dr. Prior called an 'occupational' community, and described it as 'an urban rather than a rural phenomenon,'²¹ being within the larger built-up area of a town. As in any community, not everyone was related but naturally there was intermarriage in addition to newcomers arriving in the community by marriage. Families worked on the water for many generations, the jobs being passed down from father to son. Dr. Prior agrees with the concept of mobility and the effect it has on a community, stating that

'If there is a high turnover of newcomers while a substantial group of native families continues, the effect will not be serious, but if over the years it is the oldest established families which are emigrating the structure of the parish will cease to be stable.'²²

The writings of Richard Gough, a yeoman freeholder in the part pastoral, part woodland parish of Myddle, Shropshire, at the beginning of the eighteenth century formed the basis of David Hey's research into that area. Gough observed what went on around him in a similar way to John Wilson of Broomhead Hall. *Antiquities and Memoirs of the Parish of Myddle* was begun by Gough in 1700 and included *Observations concerning the Seates in Myddle and the families to which they belong*. This referred to families owning pews in the church, giving a biography of each family. Professor Hey has added to Gough's work, in the light of more modern sources, to build a picture of the rural parish community. The people of Myddle regarded the wider area of surrounding parishes as their 'country,' where they intermingled for marriage, work and residence. Mobility, as seen in other places,

'usually took place only over a short distance, and though families may have moved out of the parish they usually remained within the neighbourhood.'²³

By the time of Gough's writing

'the tenant farmers were still the backbone of the community and (apart from one or two gentry) the longest established families in the community.'²⁴

In examining the histories of the tenements and tenants Professor Hey perceived that 'It was these families that formed the core of the community, that helped to give it some sense of permanency.'²⁵ Myddle still had its tradesmen and craftsmen serving the local community although these men continued to combine their work with farming. They did not stand out as being separate from the farmers and 'The families that were distinct from the rest were those who plied the same trade for generation after generation.'²⁶ The trade was 'not by any means a mere by-employment that provided that little bit extra to keep people above the poverty line; all classes of people benefited from it.'²⁷

Further east in the Midlands, the village of Wigston Magna, four miles south of Leicester, has been studied by Professor W.G. Hoskins. By the seventeenth century Wigston was entirely a peasant village and remained as such until 1766 when 'the enclosure award altered the face and the whole economy of the parish for all time.'²⁸ Towards the end of the century families who had lived in the village for several generations had intermarried to such an extent that 'By one marriage whole dynasties of peasant families were brought into relationship.'²⁹ This was one of the strengths of the community, another being that these families were deeply rooted in the one place. During the century framework-knitting spread through Leicestershire, including Wigston. Industrialisation continued throughout the eighteenth century when new families, seeking work, increased the population. By 1801 'about 60% of its population were engaged chiefly in trade and industry.'³⁰ The agricultural face of the village had almost disappeared.

Discussing 'Dynasty and Community since the Seventeenth Century' Alan Everitt observed that

'in studying any provincial society, we need to identify the core of dominant families who for one reason or another come to form the focus of influence within it.'³¹

Most of these families were spread throughout an area rather than a single place. In any society a group of 'focal' families almost always emerges

'through marriage and descent to form a more or less extensive and cohesive network...once established it often comes to form a tenacious element of continuity at the heart of the society in question.'³²

Usually these families are those who have stayed in the same neighbourhood for

generations. Linking with similar families eventually forms a dynastic network.

‘Though these groups of focal families rarely formed more than a minority in any individual community, they often bred into it an extraordinary toughness of fibre. It was through them that the fabric of provincial society was woven together.’³³

The continuity and change, particularly the change, or mobility, of population in communities has been studied recently by Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull using a somewhat different approach to the subject. They enlisted the help of ‘amateur’ family historians who had ‘searched for their ancestors in every available documentary source...to help build up a life history as complete as possible.’³⁴ In answer to their request for assistance through Family History Societies the authors were able to study over 16,000 life histories which gave access to nearly 74,000 moves during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several family historians were able to pass on diaries and autobiographies giving much more insight into families than could be gleaned from records such as parish registers, census returns etc. From these case histories they came to the conclusion that, in spite of some people migrating over long distances,

‘many moves took the form of rural circulation and it can be suggested that movement between villages and small towns within one locality enabled migrants to adjust to employment and family changes without losing touch with either their kin or place associations of their local area.’³⁵

In other words, many only moved within their own ‘country.’ This conclusion agrees with the consensus of opinion among other historians that most people move at sometime during their lifetime but usually only over short distances.

This thesis, therefore, is about a township in Hallamshire which underwent considerable change in the period 1660-1900. The history of Stannington will be studied as part of the industrial history of the Sheffield district. My particular concern, however, is with the families of the township. I shall show that, despite all the change, a core of families remained in the area throughout the period. These core families are studied in the light of other research on local surnames, which is being undertaken by my fellow members of the Names Project Group at the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition at the University of Sheffield.

¹ Referring to Shakespeare’s *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene I.

² F. T. Wood, *History of Underbank Chapel, Stannington* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend, 1944), p. 59.

³ Between two pages of a bound volume I found a slip of paper signed by the historian, T. Walter Hall,

intimating that he had not the time to carry out a full, written translation, but 'it would make an interesting study for some future historian.'

⁴ G. Scurfield, 'Seventeenth century Sheffield and its Environs' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 58 (1986), pp. 147-171.

⁵ ACM S77.

⁶ Kevin Schurer & Tom Arkell (eds), *Surveying The People* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd., 1992), p. 31.

⁷ D. Hey, (ed.), *The Hearth Tax Returns for South Yorkshire, Lady Day, 1672* (Sheffield: Names Project Team, University of Sheffield, 1991), p. iii.

⁸ Nigel Goose & Nesta Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source' in Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans & Nigel Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd., 2000), p. 38.

⁹ Margaret Spufford, 'The limitations of the Probate inventory' in John Charters & David Hey (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 142.

¹⁰ T. Walter Hall, *The Fairbanks of Sheffield 1688 to 1848* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend, 1932), pp. 1-2.

¹¹ Pat Rogers (ed.), *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, by D. Defoe* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1989), p. 171.

¹² D. Hey, 'The Local History of Family Names' The Phillimore Lecture, published as a supplement to *The Local Historian* vol. 27, no. 4, (Nov. 1997) by the British Association for Local History, p. iii.

¹³ Hey, 'The Local History of Family Names,' p. iii.

¹⁴ Hey, 'The Local History of Family Names,' p. xix.

¹⁵ Peter Spufford, 'The comparative mobility and immobility of Lollard descendants in early modern England' in Margaret Spufford (ed.) *The World of Rural Dissenters 1520-1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 310.

¹⁶ Peter Spufford, p. 323.

¹⁷ Ann Mitson 'The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-West Nottinghamshire' in Charles Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850* (Leicester; London: Leicester University Press, 1993), p. 25.

¹⁸ Mitson, p. 34.

¹⁹ Mitson, p. 50.

²⁰ Mitson, p. 56.

²¹ Mary Prior, *Fisher Row: Fishermen, Bargemen and Canal Boatmen in Oxford, 1500-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 13.

²² Prior, p. 34.

²³ D. Hey, *An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts* (Leicester; London: Leicester University Press, 1974), p. 200.

²⁴ Hey, *An English Rural Community*, p. 121.

²⁵ Hey, *An English Rural Community*, p. 141.

²⁶ Hey, *An English Rural Community*, p. 143.

²⁷ Hey, *An English Rural Community*, p. 154.

²⁸ W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant: The Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1965), p. 185.

²⁹ Hoskins, p. 196.

³⁰ Hoskins, p. 228.

³¹ Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), p. 312.

³² Everitt, p. 312.

³³ Everitt, p. 329.

³⁴ C. Pooley & J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 29.

³⁵ Pooley & Turnbull, pp. 130-131.

CHAPTER 2

THE TOWNSHIP OF STANNINGTON

1. Introduction

1.1 Description

Commencing at the confluence of the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin at Malin Bridge, the southern boundary of the township of Stannington ran along the Rivelin as far as Oaken Clough, where it followed the clough up onto Hallam Moor. Crossing the moor to Crow Chin on Stanage Edge it joined the Yorkshire/Derbyshire boundary as far as Moscar Cross. There the Stannington boundary turned eastward to what was a continuation of Rod Side Road, then it took a straight north-easterly line across Ughill Moor to Royds Clough, at the bottom of which it met Ughill Brook. This led down-stream to the River Loxley at the hamlet of Damflask, from where the boundary continued down the Loxley valley to Malin Bridge. It can be seen from Figure 2.1. (page 20), that the township was very clearly defined, bounded for the most part by rivers in deep valleys. In the 1840s part of the Rivelin boundary was covered by the two Rivelin reservoirs and, within thirty years, the Ughill Brook/River Loxley junction similarly disappeared under Damflask reservoir.

Physically, the township of Stannington had an area of just under 6,000 acres. Millstone grit was the prevailing rock system throughout the Rivelin valley but coal measures, which included gannister, were increasingly found towards the Loxley valley. John Harrison, surveying the manor of Sheffield in 1637, recorded: ‘alsoe very good millnstones are hewen out in Rivelin or stone edge’.¹ These stones were used for grinding corn.

John Wilson, writing in the mid-eighteenth century, noted that

‘In Riviling has been got great quantities of mill stones and many still remain, about 1710 the work was discontinued since when the millstone edge near Hathersage has been in vogue. Mr Rotherham has taken this in Riviling and will not let it be worked least it should damage the sale of the other’.²

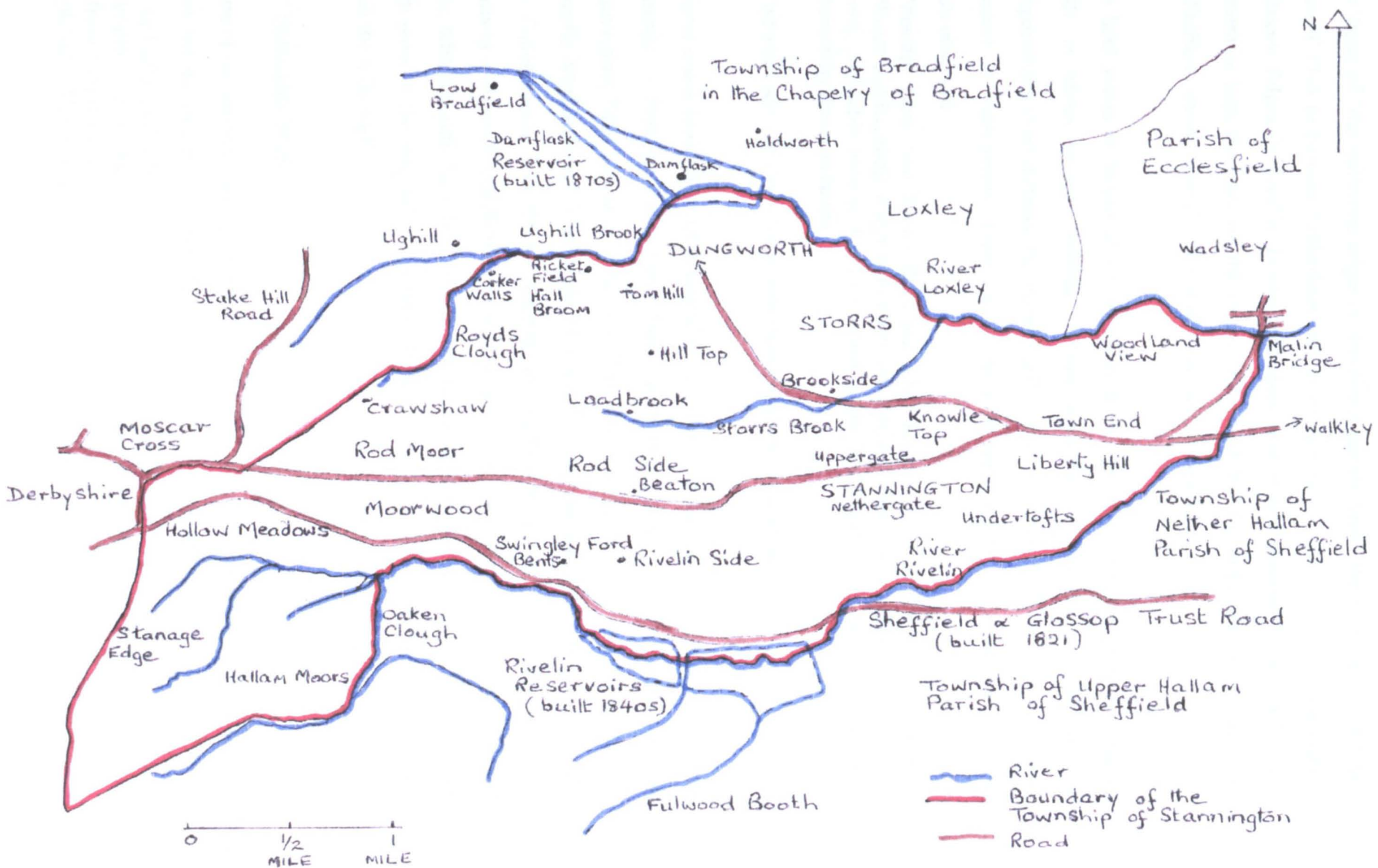


Figure 2.1. The Township of Stannington.

In 1714 Mr. John Rotherham of Dronfield and his son Mr. Samuel Rotherham took a new lease of 'the millstone edges in Bradfield parish' from the Norfolk estate.³ The lease of 1741 to Samuel Rotherham was more specific - 'all those the said Duke's Millstone Edges in Rivelin, Loxley and elsewhere in Hallamshire.'⁴ Presumably Mr. Rotherham kept the lease on the sites in Bradfield, but found Hathersage either more profitable or easier to work and did not want any competition.

The land varies in height above sea-level from almost 1,500ft. on Stanage Edge to 230ft. at Malin Bridge. Because of this significant difference in height over a comparatively short distance the streams and rivers were, from early times, put to use as a source of water-power. Harrison, referring in particular to the Sheaf and the Don, again observed:

'besides these two Rivers there are other Rivers called Porter Water, Loxley Water and Rivelin Water with other small Rivers and brookes. These Rivers are very profitable unto ye Lord in regard of the Mills and Cutler wheelles that are turned by their streames.'⁵

As we shall see, the rivers were used increasingly to provide water power.

Several cruck buildings in the township survive from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries - Parkside Farm, Pond Farm, Well House Farm and Townhead Farm in Stannington; Syke House, Hall Broom, Tom Hill and Briers House in Dungworth, and Throstle Nest in Storrs. The crucks of Tom Hill are now standing skeletal against the sky. Other houses from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example Corker Walls in Dungworth and White House in Stannington, are still inhabited in their original state, whereas some have been replaced on the same sites, e.g. Hall Cliff and Brookside, with parts of the original left in ruins. Ricket Field Farm house has been rebuilt apart from the back wall.

1.2 Domesday Book

None of the hamlets making up the township were mentioned by name in the Domesday Book but the area came within the manor of Hallam. The entry reads:

'In Hallun, with 16 berewicks, there are 29 carucates of land taxable. There Earl Waltheof had a hall. There 20 ploughs are possible. Roger [de Busli] has this land from Countess Judith. He has there 2 ploughs and 33 villagers who have 12 ½ ploughs. There meadow 8 acres, woodland pasture 4 leagues long and 4 wide. The

whole manor 10 leagues long and 8 wide. Value before 1066 eight marks of silver, now forty shillings.'

Past historians have spent a great deal of time trying to locate where this 'hall of Waltheof' was actually situated. Joseph Hunter suggested Sheffield township but then changed his mind and decided it was either near Haugh Park [i.e. in Stannington] or, more probably, 'in the vill of Hallam, wherever that might be.'⁶ According to T. Walter Hall, this 'village of Hallam' was referred to in a mortgage of Stumperlowe Grange Farm, dated 24th November 1562, which satisfied him beyond doubt that that was where the hall, which he describes as part manor-house part hunting lodge, would be.⁷ The village would have been to the south of what is now Redmires Road, roughly opposite Hallamshire Golf Club.

S.O. Addy decided that 'if Hallam were the actual name of the place to the south of Burnt Stones, there could be no doubt as to the site of the old hall of the Lords of Hallamshire'.⁸ Later Addy had second thoughts and suggested that Stannington might have been the site of the hall. He was made aware of the aforementioned 1562 mortgage in 1923 and agreed that the lost village of Hallam, and therefore the hall of Waltheof, had been found.⁹ However, a year later, writing about Stannington Hall, first mentioned in a deed of 1441 and subsequently in deeds of 1446, 1465 and 1580, he argued that in 1747 William Fairbank had 'made a plan of a small farm at Stannington on which a homestead called "the manor house" is roughly sketched.'¹⁰ The site was that of the hall of the earlier deeds so Addy decided that, as Stannington was not a manor, this house must be the hall or court of the Manor of Hallam in the Domesday survey, ignoring the fact that 'hall' could simply mean a better type of dwelling house. Ronksley noted that in 1890 both 'Manor House' in Stannington and 'Stannington Hall' were for sale.¹¹ The hall stood on the south side of what is now Stannington Road, near Stannington Infant School, and the Manor House is remembered through the name of sheltered accommodation now standing on the site. Addy noted that Hau Moor (Hanmoor) was in the vicinity, and there are other, similar, features nearby eg. Hall Cliff, Hall Field Lane (Oldfield Road), and, of course, Hall Park.

Evidence weighs heavily against Addy's final conclusion. Although names such as Hallam Fields point to the village of Hallam being on the opposite side of Rivelin valley to Stannington, was the 'hall' there? In the 1920s, during excavation of the foundations

of Sheffield Castle, another suggested site of the hall of Waltheof, remains of a Saxon timber homestead were uncovered. Hall came back with an argument against this theory, stating that ‘it must have belonged to Swein, the last Saxon lord of the manor of Sheffield and not to Waltheof the lord of Hallam.’¹²

Regardless of where the village and hall stood, the names of Hallam and Hallamshire were perpetuated. The manor of Hallam was incorporated into that of Sheffield after the Conquest but, by 1268, Hallamshire was accepted as the area covered by the parishes of Sheffield and Ecclesfield including the Chapelry of Bradfield.¹³

We must conclude, therefore, that although there is no absolute proof that Stannington existed at the time of the Domesday survey, some of the un-named berewicks of Hallam may have been in Stannington township. Dungworth, for example, is an Anglo-Saxon place-name and nearby Ughill, Onesacre, Holdworth and Worrall were named in Domesday Book.

1.3 Rivelin Chase

Land on both sides of the River Rivelin, known as Rivelin Firth or Chase, was a large area granted by royal charter to the lords of Hallamshire for hunting. In Harrison’s 1637 survey he observed:

‘ye Old Laund reserved for ye Deare being Invironed with Rivelin note that Robert Rawson and Richard Ibbottson two of ye keepers have each of them a horse grasse within this piece which cont. 62ac.00r.28p.’¹⁴

In 1659 four men were charged at York with ‘breakeing into the forrest of Thomas Earle of Arundell, called Riveling Forrest and killing a stag.’¹⁵ John Wilson noted that ‘This Riveling was formerly full of wood and a chase of red deer therein and had a keeper or forester appointed to look after it till the year (?).’¹⁶ No date was recorded but it must have been very soon after the above event, because in 1661 Robert Rawson of Brookside bequeathed to his son, Robert,

‘all my title interest and tenant right which I now have to one close called the Old Lannes which doth belong to the Rt. Hon. Earl of Arundel and Surrey.’

The deer had gone. A century later the 62 acre site included farm buildings and became known as Lawns Farm. In the 1851 census return the holding had increased to 75 acres due to land awarded to the Duke of Norfolk by the Enclosure Award (1791-1805).

Thomas Furnival, Lord of Hallamshire, 1294-1332, in an undated charter but probably from about 1297, when he also gave a charter to the town of Sheffield, granted

‘to Thomas, son of William de Stannington, and to all the men of Stannington, Morewood, Hallam and Fullwood herbage and foliage throughout the whole of his forest of Rivelin as it lies in length and breadth between Malen-bridge, Belhag and Whiteley Wood of the one part and a place called Stanedge and the common way which leads from Sheffield towards Darwent on the other.’¹⁷

For this benefit they had to pay him and his successors ‘£4 of silver yearly.’¹⁸ Harrison’s survey included a rent payable to the lord of the manor for ‘Tharbage for Stannington £2.’¹⁹ Tenants of Upper Hallam, on the other side of the Rivelin, likewise paid £2, to make up the £4 required. Tenant farmers on this land were therefore allowed to graze their livestock and collect wood without hindrance. The payment was abolished by the Enclosure Award.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were still plenty of trees, mainly oaks, on the slopes of the river valleys. Referring again to Harrison’s survey:

‘There are also within this manner very stately timber especially in Haw Parke which for both straightnesse and bignesse there is not ye like in any place that you can heare of being in length about 60 ft. before you come to a knot or a bow, and many of them are two fathoms and some two fathoms and a half about and they grow out of such a Rocher of stone that you would hardly thinke there were earth enough to nourish the root of ye said trees.’²⁰

Harrison commented further on Haw Park:

‘It lyeth open to Rivelin Firth but it is at ye pleasure of ye Lord to Inclose it ...This piece is full of excellent timber ...in so much that it hath been said by Travellers that they have not seene such Timber in Cristendane. This piece contains 75ac.02r.0p. The Little Haw Parke with Timber in it which lyeth now as common but it may be Inclosed at ye Lord’s pleasure contains 3ac.0r.3lp.’²¹

In 1662, however, John Evelyn, the diarist, was told that although trees in Rivelin had been of great girth and height, these had gone and

‘now Rivelin itself is totally destitute of that issue she might once have gloried in of Oaks, there being only the Hall Park adjoining which keeps up with its number of Oaks.’²²

Two years later the manorial woodwards’ accounts²³ included the felling of 300 trees in Rivelin, valued at £570 ‘towards building of the hospital,’ i.e. the Shrewsbury Hospital in Sheffield. Tenants were allowed to buy timber as noted in the accounts, e.g. ‘Richard

Revell a tree for his barn kittching and two great barn doors £2.15s.0d.’ By the end of the century there was very little timber left, due not only to building but to the use of charcoal as fuel in the ever-growing cutlery industry of Hallamshire.

It was very firmly impressed upon the populace that the lord of the manor was ‘master of all he surveyed.’ The land and everything on it belonged to him, but by the middle of the seventeenth century the original role of Rivelin Chase had changed. The removal of trees had also changed its physical appearance as the land was cultivated.

2. Ecclesiastical Affairs

2.1 The Parish of Ecclesfield and the Chapelry of Bradfield

The township of Stannington had a complicated system of government, both ecclesiastical and civil. It was in the parish of Ecclesfield and chapelry of Bradfield, the wapentake of Strafford & Tickhill for national taxation purposes, and the soke of Sheffield for manorial administration.

Hallamshire was originally a single ecclesiastical parish with a church in the village of Ecclesfield, although there is no mention of a church there in the Domesday survey. At the end of the eleventh century a new church was built there by the de Lovetot family, lords of Hallam, who gave it, by monastic appropriation, to St. Wandrille’s Abbey, a Benedictine house near their home village of Louvetot in Normandy. Later, a priory was established in Ecclesfield by the monks of St. Wandrille’s, who supervised the running of a newly built church, but in 1310 the priory and church became dissociated except for the appointment of vicars by the prior.²⁴ The priory was transferred into the hands of the Carthusian monks of St. Anne of Coventry from 1386 until the Reformation, when the patronage of the church passed from the prior to the lords of the manor.²⁵

The parish covered such a wide area that, shortly after the building of the new church in Ecclesfield, chapels-of-ease were founded in Sheffield and Bradfield. Within a comparatively short time Sheffield became an independent parish, but Bradfield remained a chapelry until 1868, although to all intents and purposes it acted as a separate parish almost from its foundation. Even today, the vicar of Ecclesfield is the patron of Bradfield Church. The chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was served by the

curates of Ecclesfield, who carried out baptisms, marriages and burials, but the tithes went to Ecclesfield. Higher ecclesiastical jurisdiction came from the See of York via the Archdeaconry of York and the Deanery of Doncaster. One chapelwarden was chosen from each of the four townships within the chapelry: Westnall, Waldershef, Dungworth/Stannington, and Bradfield.

John Wilson (1719-83) interpreted from hieroglyphics in Bradfield chapel's east window, now gone, that its Norman predecessor had been 'founded in the year one thousand, one hundred and nine.'²⁶ There is architectural evidence that the first chapel was replaced at the beginning of the fourteenth century, using much of the original stone. A third building, in the Perpendicular style, was erected, again incorporating some of the old masonry, at the end of the fifteenth century.

Externally this still appears the same, apart from windows that have been added, but the interior has undergone many changes. Over the years galleries have come and gone, including 'lofts' constructed in 1631. The wardens' accounts for that year recorded that

'these persons hereafter named by a general consent of the parishe and churchwardens have bought and paid for such stalls and seats in the newly erected lofts as are now and by them usually occupied and enjoyed.'²⁷

The twelve names included Stannington's 'William Revell, Richard Greves, Edward Adamsonne and Nicholas Rownksley,' each of whom paid 9s. per seat. There followed a memorandum that 'William Matley had a seate confirmed unto him in the new lofts for his father's paynes and helpe in the recoverye of the church lande.' This referred to problems from when the chapel's lands, and therefore the rents, had been taken over by the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord of the manor, in 1568. They stayed in the hands of the Earl until 1616 when a Commission for Pious Uses finally ordered their return to the people of Bradfield (see pages 58-59).

An external addition to Bradfield took place in 1831 when a watch house was built at the chapel gates. During 1816, a private medical school had been opened by local surgeon, Hall Overend, in Church Street, Sheffield, opposite the parish church graveyard. Amid rumours of illegal dealing in bodies for dissection these premises received official recognition in 1828, as did a rival establishment in Surrey Street the following year. Despite official indifference to the situation, public outrage increased

and the townspeople protested with violent demonstrations outside the two premises. For safety the Overend school was moved to Eyre Street, with Wilson Overend taking over from his father, but it did not escape burning by rioters in 1835. It is rumoured that, in 1831, Hall Overend died as a result of wounds sustained while grave-robbing.

Only the bodies of hanged criminals could be legally dissected prior to the Anatomy Act of 1832, which ambiguously permitted the use of 'unclaimed' paupers' bodies. As a result local churchyards, particularly isolated ones, became prime targets of body snatchers or 'resurrectionists.' The first recorded prosecution of a grave robber in Bradfield, in 1830, led to the building of the watch house, where friends and relatives of the recently deceased were allowed to mount a day and night armed vigil. Rev. A. Briarly Brown (Rector, 1888-1915) noted that parishioners could still recall gunmen at the windows. The house is one of only a few to survive and is now the home of the church vergger.

On several occasions I have read that the watch house was built in 1745 but it is clear that there would be no need for such a building at that time. The authors were probably confused by John Wilson's reference to 'watch houses built at Bradfield and Oughtibridge.'²⁸ These were, in fact, look-out posts erected when Sheffield was in a state of panic, thinking that 'Bonny Prince Charlie,' the Young Pretender, was heading across the Pennines after taking Manchester. The town waited with trepidation for the arrival of the Pretender, but the fear was unjustified as his army veered south and headed for Derby.

2.2 Stannington Chapel

The chapelry of Bradfield was itself very large, covering an area of over 38,000 acres. Within the chapelry two further medieval chapels, at Bolsterstone and Midhope, founded in the early fifteenth century as private chantries for the lords of the manors, came to be used by the inhabitants of these respective hamlets. A further ecclesiastical subdivision took place in 1652, when Richard Spooone bequeathed land to the people of Stannington, the rent to be used for the support of 'a preaching minister.' There was no mention of an actual chapel, but within a short time a barn or part of a house had been converted for worship. It was intended as a further Anglican chapel-of-ease for the parish of Ecclesfield, similar to Bradfield, but founded during the Commonwealth it

remained Puritan-dominated. Although Anglican in theory, in practice it was virtually a dissenters' chapel. However, it remained connected to Bradfield for several years and in 1660

'the Bradfield feoffees and other inhabitants of Bradfield Chapelry have agreed that Richard Greaves of Stannington should hold to farm that part of houses and lands in Stannington called Spooe Farm for 21 years at rent of 50s. yearly and also paying to the feoffees for the use of the parish £20 and towards the maintenance of a minister at Stannington Chapel £10.'²⁹

In addition, Spout House, Stannington, had been given by Mr. Thomas Marriott of Ughill to provide rent for the chapel. By 1713 the chapel had fallen into disrepair so Spout House was then licensed for worship as well as becoming the residence for ministers. Through the generosity of Mr. Marriott's nephew, another Thomas Marriott, a new chapel was built and opened for worship in 1743. Rev. Peter Wright (minister 1814-54) preferred to live in Sheffield, where he had an academy, so Spout House was leased to the Revitt family in whose occupancy it remained until the 1940s. A new manse on Stannington Road was provided by the chapel trustees in 1875.³⁰ Both houses, in private hands, are still standing.

Answering questions to Archbishop Herring's Visitation Return in 1743, Christopher Butterfield, (curate of Bradfield 1742-67), wrote:

'In ye part of ye Chapelry which more immediately concerns me [i.e. excluding Bolsterstone and Midhope] there are about 423 Families in a very wide and dispersed Neighbourhood; of which about 75 or 80 Families are in the Presbyterian Way, most of them in, or near, a remote Corner of ye Chapelry call'd Stannington.'

In reply to the next question he continued:

'There is at Stannington an old building call'd Stannington Chapel, in which I am inform'd ye Service of ye Church of England was perform'd for some time after ye Restauration - It is entered - & continues to pay ye same Fees to ye Court as ye Chapel of Bradfield does, - tho it has for a long time been us'd only as a Meeting-House - but now I suppose ye Dissenters are going to quit this, having almost adjoyning thereto built a new One, which they have got Licens'd, & this very Day (viz.) June ye 2nd it is opened - They assemble every Sunday - And I believe ye Families mention'd in ye foregoing Answer chiefly make up ye number.'³¹

The new chapel, in a similar way to Bradfield, has not changed externally since it was built, apart from slight alterations to windows. Again, like Bradfield, large galleries, which overshadowed the ground floor, were removed in the nineteenth century.

Architecturally it is 'widely regarded as being a distinctive and interesting example of its type as a Dissenters' Meeting House of the eighteenth century.'³²

In the eighteenth, and again in the early nineteenth centuries, there was dissension when some of the congregation wanted to remove the minister, Peter Wright (1814-54), because of his Unitarian leanings. A petition to this effect was sent to the senior trustee, Mr. Samuel Shore of Meersbrook, but he ignored it and the minister stayed.³³ During the controversies several of the congregation moved back to Bradfield Chapel or to the Upper Chapel in Norfolk Street, Sheffield. Despite all these upheavals, worship continued and the building remained as Stannington Chapel until 1860, when the name was changed to Underbank Chapel. Its congregation still adheres to the Unitarian doctrine.

2.3 Roman Catholicism

During the reign of Edward VI the Catholic Mass was abolished. After a period of respite for Catholics in Mary Tudor's reign, Queen Elizabeth reverted to the intolerance of Edward VI. Even a century later, the Toleration Act of 1689, suspending penal laws against dissenters, excluded Catholics. There was obviously no official Catholic chapel in Stannington, nor anywhere else for that matter, but priests still did their best to administer the sacrament of Mass to those adhering to the old faith. It was easier for priests to remain hidden in out-of-the-way places than in towns. In spite of persecution several families refused to compromise their beliefs, and priests served them in secret, knowing that they would all be severely punished if found out.

Until his death about 1712 a Jesuit priest, Fr. Pennington, served Stannington for many years, probably living in the Revell household at Steel Farm, Nethergate, where they had a small, illicit chapel.³⁴ The Revells were devout Catholics whose estates suffered greatly because of their non-conformity. Other priests continued to celebrate Mass for them and for like-minded neighbours who joined them.

In his answers to Archbishop Herring in 1743, Christopher Butterfield continued -

'and in ye same Neighbourhood are about ten Families who are Papists ... I have heard yt ye Papists now and then meet to hear Mass at a Gentleman's House in Stannington call'd Mr. Revill'.³⁵

By 1744 the Revell name had died out in Stannington after Thomas Revell died and his daughter, Anne, had married Richard Broomhead. The couple moved from the old family home on Nethergate to New House (Revell Grange), where a private chapel was incorporated.³⁶ In 1810 Steel Farm was referred to in a letter from Rev. Rowland Broomhead, whose mother was Anne, (née Revell), to his nephew, Richard Broomhead:

‘the priest formerly kept there, was the chief cause of the Catholic religion being kept up at Sheffield and the neighbourhood as well as Stannington.’³⁷

The Broomhead descendants carried on the Catholic tradition, which was made easier for them by a further Toleration Act of 1779, when priests were again allowed to celebrate Mass and Catholic laymen could purchase land. Between 1827 and 1854 no priest was available for Stannington so the chapel was temporarily closed for services. An enlarged chapel remained in use at Revell Grange until the 1950s when the family connection ceased and the property was sold.

2.4 Protestant Nonconformity

Although Loxley Chapel was built on land allotted at the enclosure of Loxley Chase, just outside the boundary of Stannington, it had close connections with the township. The curate of Bradfield, John Webster (1773-96), was also curate of St. Swithin’s, Holmesfield, and never actually lived in Bradfield. Some of the Bradfield congregation made it known that they preferred the deputy curate, Benjamin Greaves, to John Webster and founded Loxley Chapel in 1787, taking Benjamin Greaves with them. Ironically Greaves himself left in 1796 for a living in Stoney Middleton, only returning to Loxley for occasional services.

In theory Loxley Chapel was another chapel-of-ease for Ecclesfield but it remained Anglican only until 1799, when the congregation, which included several from Stannington and the surrounding area, decided to follow a simpler form of worship. In 1804 many people, including William Armitage of Mousehole Forge and his three sons, William, George and Charles, added their signatures to an agreement to abide by the rules of the Congregationalists.³⁸ The building is still standing but was closed for worship in 1991.

John Wesley visited Sheffield on several occasions during the 1740s, converting many people to his way of thinking at a time when the established church was lax. Although

Wesley himself was a Church of England minister, and never actually left this church, his followers broke away to form the Methodist movement. Converts were at first persecuted by members of the established church but were finally left in peace to build their own places of worship. The first Methodist chapel in Stannington township was at Storrs, established in 1821. This was replaced by a larger building in 1884 when Miss A. Green, daughter of an early schoolmaster in Storrs, laid the foundation stone. This is now privately owned, with the apt name of 'Wesley House.'

Stannington was not far behind Storrs in catering for Methodists, and a chapel was opened at Knowle Top in 1822. The trustees dictated that the minister

'do preach no other doctrine than those in the Notes of the New Testament and from the first four volumes of sermons published by John Wesley.'³⁹

To accommodate a growing congregation, a larger chapel was erected on roughly the same site and opened in 1878. This chapel is now closed but the congregation still meets in the old school building.

Dungworth got its own Methodist chapel in 1850. In Kelly's 1865 *Directory of Sheffield* it was noted that 'The reform Wesleyans have a chapel there,' but later it was described as a Primitive Methodist Chapel. Although now attended by a very small, elderly congregation, it has managed to keep open for Sunday services and still has its 'Sermons Sunday.' Another small group of Primitive Methodists commenced by holding services in houses around Malin Bridge. In 1859 they decided to build a chapel and schoolroom as individual houses could not accommodate the growing number of converts. A site on the new Woodland View estate proved unsuitable for their needs so Maria Armitage, a widow of Wood Lane House, gave them a plot of land at Stannington Wood End, just above the 'Anvil Inn.' Her son, Morgan Davies Armitage, laid the foundation stone in 1860. The chapel was pulled down in the 1980s when the congregation moved to a new building, Stanwood Methodist Chapel, higher up Stannington Road.

A tiny chapel at Hollow Meadows, attached to the Methodist New Connexion, was built in 1876 by industrialist, Mark Firth, for his employees. Workers from the steel firms visited the area during the summer months to tend their allotments, where some had small houses. The chapel remains open for services every other week except during the

winter months. A Free Methodist mission room, now known as Rivelin Glen Methodist Chapel, was built at Rivelin Glen in 1890.

2.5 The Church of England

In 1818 the 'Million Act' was passed, by which one million pounds was agreed by Parliament for building new churches in increasingly populous districts. The Lords Commissioner of the Treasury, administrators of the fund, stated that the churches had to be built

'with a view to accommodating the greatest number of persons at the smallest expense within the compass of an ordinary voice, one half of the number to be free seats for the poor.'⁴⁰

As a result of the Act, several churches in the Sheffield area were built within the next few years: Christ Church, Attercliffe, and St. Philip's, Netherthorpe, both now demolished; St. Mary's, Bramall Lane, St. George's, now part of Sheffield University; and Christ Church, Stannington.

Christ Church was completed in 1830 at a cost of just under £3,000, funded partly through the Million Act and partly by a donation from the Misses Anne and Elizabeth Harrison of Weston Hall, who owned land and property in the area (see page 120). It was originally served by the curates of Ecclesfield and Bradfield until the independent parish, with roughly the same boundaries as the township, came into being in 1843 under the Peel Act for the sub-division of parishes. The patronage of the church was with the Vicar of Ecclesfield until 1987, when it passed to the Bishop of Sheffield.

The exterior of the church remains as it was built, in the Gothic style. The designers of the interior certainly took the Commissioners at their word, erecting galleries on three sides and filling most of the church with pews. Kelly's 1895 *Directory of Sheffield* recorded that it was 'capable of seating 1,000 people,' although this was probably an exaggeration. As in many other churches the galleries were taken out and the interior altered over the years. The pews have now been replaced by chairs, which can be moved around as needed.

So, from early times, Stannington's religious needs were satisfied by Ecclesfield's chapel at Bradfield. After the Reformation this became 'Church of England,' along with

every other church and chapel in the country. However, in spite of persecution, Roman Catholicism continued in a small way. Protestant nonconformity spread throughout the area, beginning with the congregation of Stannington Chapel at Underbank who, in time, accepted the non-Christian doctrine of Unitarianism. During the nineteenth century Methodism spread rapidly from the small beginnings in the previous century.

2.6 Education

In his will of 1652 Richard Spoone bequeathed Sim House and lands

‘towards the paying for the learning of poor children within the said Byerlow [i.e. Stannington] whose parents are willing but not able to keep them to school.’⁴¹

A day school, built on land opposite Stannington Chapel, was further endowed by Mr. Thomas Marriott in 1715, when he bequeathed

‘the housing and two closes which I bought of George Hall to the School at Stannington for teaching seven or eight poor children, to be chosen out of Morewood, Stannington and Storrs by the Trustees of the School.’

The first school master was Ralph Wood, who was also first minister of the chapel, but very soon the two jobs were separated.

According to a ‘Return of the Number of Schools in each Town, Parish, Chapelry or Extra-parochial Place’ sent out by Lord Melbourne in 1833, the school had grown to accommodate 24 boys and 22 girls, entering at six years old and leaving at twelve years. The school was endowed with a house and lands worth about £18 a year for teaching 20 scholars.⁴² In 1853 a new school was built on the same site where it continued as Underbank Day School until its closure in 1911. The children were transferred to the new Council School which is now Stannington Infants School, and the schoolroom continues to be used by the chapel congregation for meetings and social events.

Shortly after its opening in 1821, Storrs Chapel was also used for Sunday teaching. At first secular, as well as religious, instruction was given according to the Sunday School system which had been founded by Robert Raikes of Gloucester (1735-1811). In answer to questions in the Schools Return of 1833 the schoolmaster, John Green, replied that 30 boys and 30 girls were taught in the school where they could ‘enter at six years old and quit at twelve.’ The school was supported by an annual public subscription and was confined to the religion of the Wesleyan Methodists. The superintendents at the time of

the return were Samuel Hallam, a farmer of Brookside, and John Hallam, a farmer of Storrs Green.⁴³ When the new chapel opened the old one continued solely as a school. Since its closure it has been a private house.

It would appear from the School Returns of 1833 that there was a Wesleyan Sunday School connected to the chapel at Knowle Top, Stannington, as early as 1817, but maybe that was a mistake and it should read 1827. By 1833 the number of scholars was 36 boys and 20 girls between the ages of six and fourteen. The school was funded by the Annual Sermons and religious teaching was confined to Wesleyan Methodism. This was joined in 1826 by a Day School, with the same religious leanings, to cater for 66 boys and girls of between six and twelve. The discrepancy in leaving age between the two schools can be explained by the fact that parents would not want their children still at school when they could be working and bringing a wage into the home, especially when the school was funded by payments from the scholars. In practice many children left before the maximum age in order to begin work. A new schoolroom was erected next to the chapel in 1866 and continued in use until 1911, when the Council School was built close by and Knowle Top amalgamated with Underbank to form the new school. The headmaster of the Wesleyan school became the first headmaster, with the headmistress of Underbank, as head of the Infant Department.

A day school opened in Dungworth 'in the year 1823 or 1824, not sure which.' Such was the answer schoolmaster, Edward Wright, gave in the 1833 Schools Return. By then the school was catering for 45 scholars of both sexes, 21 boys and 24 girls, who entered from between four and six years old and quit from between six and twelve. The school was not endowed and was run by payments from the scholars. The religion taught was 'Not confined (nominally or virtually) to the Church of England nor to any other Religious Persuasion but at the same time free for All.'

The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England had been established in 1811 by Andrew Bell (1753-1832). Popular education was maintained by the unaided efforts of this agency and a rival one, the British and Foreign School Society (established 1808), until 1833. Then state aid was given to education in England in the form of a grant of £20,000 divided equally between these two societies. This was to be devoted to the building of schools but before his

death, Bell handed over a further £120,000 to trustees, to be devoted to education. The school in Dungworth was replaced in 1837 on land given by the Duke of Norfolk,⁴⁴ when it received a grant from the National Society and was licensed for Divine Service. It survives as Bradfield Dungworth Infant and Junior School.

A school connected with Stannington Church was built on Greenside shortly after the church's construction. The inscription on the building reads:

‘Stannington Established Church Sunday School erected by voluntary subscription of the inhabitants aided by a grant from the National Society for the Education of the Poor MDCCCXXXI. Enlarged 1898.’

The School Return of 1833 recorded that it had been established in 1828, before the church itself had been completed. The return stated that the school had 42 boys and 45 girls who could enter at six and quit at sixteen. It was run by funds from yearly collections and ‘The teaching gratis.’ On the subject of religion it was ‘Stannington National Sunday School,’ i.e. it was run as a Church of England school. The building is still standing and is now used as the church hall.

By 1855 need was felt for a Roman Catholic School in Stannington. Mrs. Teresa Sutton, the Revell and Broomhead heiress, provided what was left of the old family residence on Nethergate, which had mostly fallen into ruin, for the purpose. Michael Dignam, an Irish-born Catholic, became the first headmaster, assisted by his wife, son and daughter. The census return of 1871 shows ‘St. Mary’s Boarding School’ having twelve boarders between the ages of seven and thirteen. There were four from Sheffield, three from Southport, two from Leeds and one each from Wigan, Manchester and Preston. All were boys apart from a seven-year-old girl who attended with her brother from Leeds. By 1881 there were only two boarders, one from Sheffield and one from Ireland. The school closed in 1905 and is now a private house.

A further National School, another day school, was established at Hollow Meadows about 1857. This was also licensed as a chapel where ‘divine service is held on the first Sunday in the month by the incumbent of Stannington.’⁴⁵ By 1888 this had increased to every alternate Sunday.⁴⁶ The building has now been converted into a private house.

3. Local Government

For administrative purposes within the manor, Sheffield was divided into 'sokes'. In his description of the manor in 1637, John Harrison wrote:

'you see then that this manor is and hath been anciently divided into four soakes, viz.: the soake of Sheffield (which also containeth Sheffield Town and Handsworth), ye soake of Southall [i.e. Southey], ye soake of Ecclesfield and ye soake of Bradfield, and according to these four soakes will I devise this Survey booke.'⁴⁷

Within his survey, therefore, are categories such as 'Rents within ye soake of Sheffield and ye parish of Bradfield' referring to Stannington, and 'Rents within ye soake of Bradfield: Dungworth' when referring to Dungworth, i.e. part of the township of Stannington. It appears strange that Stannington, although in the chapelry of Bradfield, should be included in the soke of Sheffield.

As a civil as well as an ecclesiastical parish, Bradfield was split into further divisions, i.e. townships (Figure 2.2., page 37). John Greaves, writing in 1690, noted that

'Bradfield parish or chapelry is divided into four barleys and a halfe viz. Waldershelf, Westnall, Bradfield, Dungworth and Stannington ye halfe barley. And for serving ye office of constable Bradfield, Dungworth and Stannington always find ye constable.'⁴⁸

Waldershelf and Westnall alternated yearly in providing a deputy constable for Bradfield. Each bierlow, or division, nominated its own churchwarden, overseers of the poor and of the highways, but there was only one constable and his deputy serving the whole chapelry. In 1718 the division of the chapelry was altered to remedy this situation:

'Whereas the township or chapelry of Bradfield in the parish of Ecclesfield and West Riding of Yorkshire, being of very large extent and wherein are five several divisions called Westnall, Waldershelfe, Bradfield, Dungworth and Stannington, And yet being but one constabulary great many inconveniences and neglect happened as well in the dispatch of the business of government as of the parochial affairs for remedying whereof and to the end to divide the said chapelry into two or more townships.'⁴⁹

Two 'townships' were formed, each with its own constable. Bradfield, Dungworth and two-thirds of Stannington formed one constabulary and Westnall, Waldershelf and one-third of Stannington the other. It seems rather illogical that the area in question should be chosen to share a constable with Westnall and Waldershelf when they were at opposite ends of the chapelry with the township of Bradfield between them.

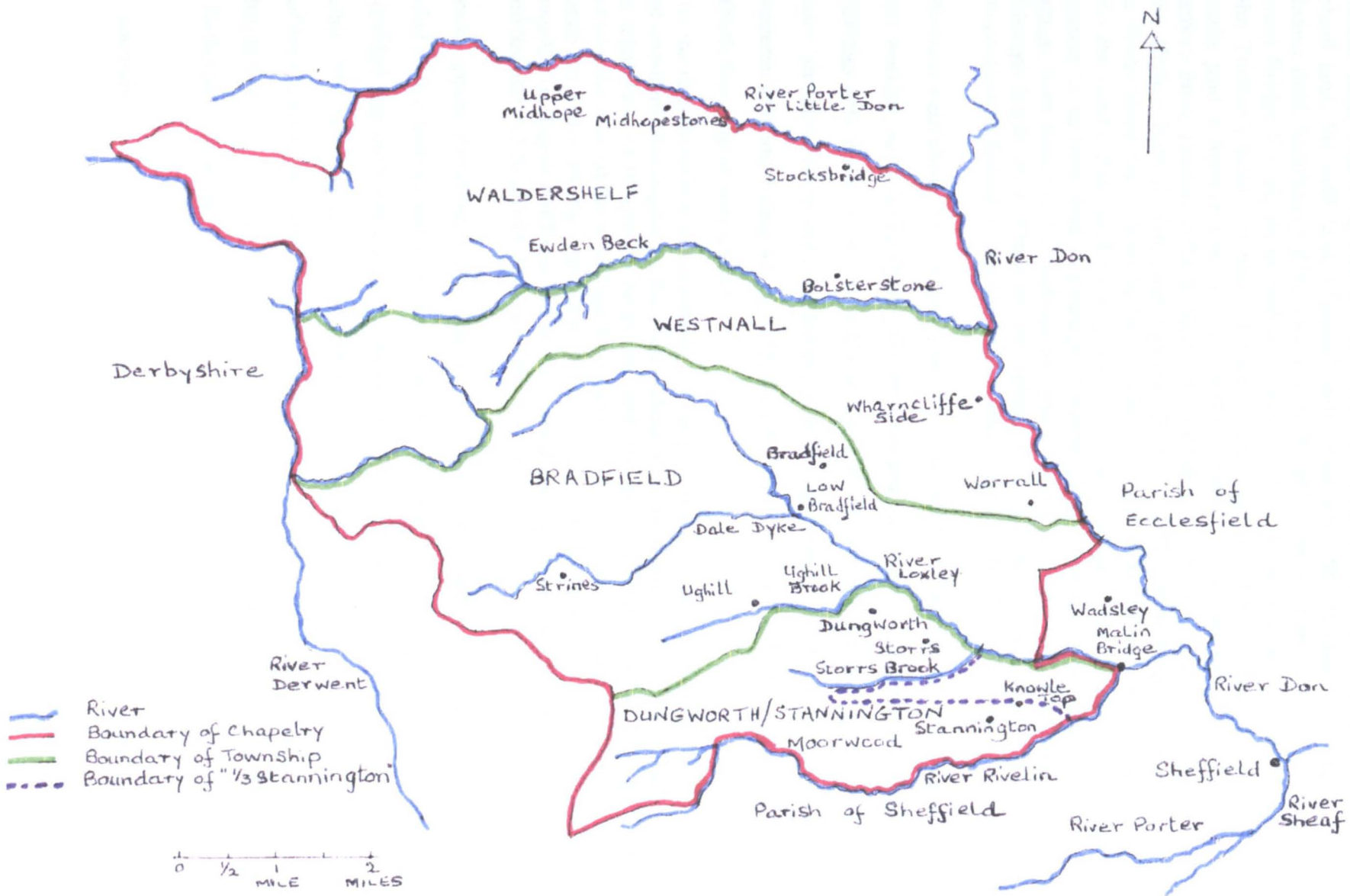


Figure 2.2. Townships in the Chapelry of Bradfield.

A list of properties within the 'one-third of Stannington' shows that this area was mainly around the hamlet of Stannington itself together with land to the east bounded by the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin:

'Beeton land, Hopwood House, Hill land, William Hall's farm, Broad Oak, School land, Marshall land, Chappel land, Spout land, Mr. Woodrooff's land, Modrey field, Jonathan Drabble's farm, John Ridge's farm, his part of Steel farm, Rowel Bridge Wheel, Barns Holme, James Hobson's farm, Mousehole Wheel. John Trickett's farm, so much of Holden farm and of Little Holden as have usually paid to Stannington, Thomas Darwind's farm, Lord house Bank, Edward Barber's farm, Thomas Pollard's farm, Widow Oates and Spooner's farm, Bolton land, Francis Barber's farm, and Samuel Spooner's farm ...from the place called the Seven Stone Stack down by the Crowberry Cragg on the South, from thence onto the Lord's Bank and so to Joseph Trickett's cottage, from thence on the highway to the Norr Bank to a cottage of Benjamin Dungworth and including that cottage, from thence on the highway to a place called Little Haw Park to an house of Joseph Green, from thence on the highway to Jeremy Bromeley's house, from thence down to Easson's cabin, and from thence down to the River Rivingling.'⁵⁰

The division went ahead, but within a few years it became obvious that the new system was not working, not only regarding constables but also in business concerning charities and dealings with the poor. In 1749 a Commission for Pious Uses decided that the two divisions 'should be taken and regarded as part of the said chapelry of Bradfield.'⁵¹ This was apparently ignored because, in 1755, the inhabitants of Bradfield, Dungworth and two-thirds Stannington sent a letter:

'To the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Westnall and Waldershelfe and one-third Stannington in the West Riding, County of York: Take notice that the inhabitants of Bradfield, Dungworth and two-thirds of Stannington do intend to move the court at the next Pontifract sessions to hold for the said Riding to obtain an order for the appointment of overseers of the poor for the whole township or chapelry of Bradfield as they were formerly before the division of the said township of Bradfield and to reunite the division.'⁵²

It would appear therefore, from these records, that the chapelry of Bradfield was regarded at that time as just a single township within the parish of Ecclesfield, which was divided into more manageable 'barleys,' i.e. bierlows, the old Viking word for a township. The name 'bierlow' remained in use for several townships in the area, e.g. two of the six townships which formed the parish of Sheffield - Ecclesall Bierlow and Brightside Bierlow - retained this title. Even today the village of Brampton Bierlow, near Rotherham, keeps this old name.

This anomaly of township divisions continued into the next century in certain

circumstances. Correspondence regarding the formation of the Wortley Union for relief of the poor in the 1830s, and also the 1841 census returns, have Dungworth, Storrs, Stannington and Moorwood all registered as being in the township of Bradfield. In contrast to this however, a map of the parish of Sheffield, drawn by William Fairbank & Son in 1795, shows very clearly the 'Township of Stannington' bordering on Sheffield.

Whereas the southern part of the England was divided into 'hundreds' for the system of central government, the north was divided into wapentakes, another Viking word. Together with the wapentake of Staincross, the wapentake of Strafford (North and South) & Tickhill made up the administrative area which eventually, after being part of the West Riding, became the county of South Yorkshire in 1974, when local government was reorganised. Bradfield came under the jurisdiction of Upper (i.e. South) Strafford & Tickhill. From 1662 until 1689 national taxes, based on the number of hearths per house, with each head of household paying one shilling per hearth twice yearly, were levied on Lady Day (25th March) and Michaelmas (29th September). The surviving hearth tax returns for this area, assessed on Lady Day 1672, divided Bradfield into Bradfield Parish, Dungworth, Bradfield Waldeyshelf (Waldershelf), Westnall, and 'Staveington (Stannington) belonging to Bradfield Bill.'⁵³

It can be seen from this account that the system of local government was full of anomalies. I wonder how many local people fully understood it. In spite of this and other problems I have still kept to the ancient boundaries of the township in this study.

4. The Population of the Township

Most theses in this subject area feature a detailed discussion on population, but problems occur with Stannington because of the difficulty in isolating the township. The following is the best assessment I can make because of the meagre records. Because it was a township within the chapelry of Bradfield, it is nearly always impossible to treat the two areas separately except on odd occasions. Even the figures in the early census returns only show Bradfield as simply a chapelry in the parish of Ecclesfield, with no further division into townships. Bradfield's parish registers date back to 1559, but there are very few place names recorded, by no means enough evidence on which to base any population figures for Stannington.

Based on the hearth tax returns of Lady Day, 1672, and allowing for discrepancies in the number of poor households counted, there were approximately 170-180 dwellings in the township to include Stannington, Dungworth, Storrs, Moorwood and Rivelin. It is difficult to give a more precise figure due to the fact that the returns were collated for areas which sometimes overlapped. Stannington had 81 houses recorded, followed by Dungworth, with 40 houses recorded within the area that must be included in the Stannington township. As discussed in Chapter I, by comparing names in other records, I realised that roughly the first half of the Dungworth return, i.e. 32 houses, were in Ughill.

Any numerical conclusion from the return can, therefore, only be an approximation. Of Stannington's 81 houses two were unoccupied, leaving 79 households. The list included four families in Stannington too poor to pay the tax, i.e. 5%, and none in Dungworth. It is known that throughout the country some surviving returns are complete and give the total number of the poor, with exemption rates between 30-40%.⁵⁴ Taking an average of 35% under recorded, but allowing 5% for those recorded in Stannington, suggests that there were approximately 113 family units in Stannington township in 1672.

Only the heads of families were recorded, so this figure must be multiplied to obtain the number of persons making up the population. It is thought that the average household from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century was made up of approximately 4.75 people, but was possibly as low as 4.25 during the late seventeenth century.⁵⁵ The 113 family units in Stannington can therefore be estimated as somewhere between 480 and 540 persons. Allowing for 40 of the households in the Dungworth return being part of Stannington, a figure of 61 family units, with between 260 and 290 persons, is obtained, giving a total of between 740 and 830 people (Table 2.1.).

Table 2.1. Estimated Population of the Township of Stannington, 1672.

	Household	30% exempt	35% exempt	x 4.25	x 4.75
Stannington	79	113		480	540
Dungworth	40	61		260	290
Total				740	830

In comparison, the whole of the chapelry of Bradfield, including Stannington and Dungworth, had 407 inhabited dwellings, including twelve 'poor,' approximately 3% of the total. Working on the same principle as Table 2.1, the number of households in the chapelry was about 600, giving a population of between 2,550 and 2,850. These figures seem high but the population of Stannington and part of Dungworth still amounted to approximately 29% of the chapelry.

Although the parish of Sheffield covered around 22,000 acres, compared with Bradfield chapelry's 38,000, Sheffield had a larger population by the seventeenth century, with just under 1,000 households recorded in 1672. These were mainly concentrated in the central Sheffield township, where there were approximately 500 family units. The number of poor recorded throughout the parish was 141, i.e. over 10%. Therefore, taking the under-recorded poor as about 25%, the parish held about 1,333 families giving a population of between 5665 and 6332, of whom about half lived in the town itself. The townships of Upper and Lower Hallam, rural areas bordering on Bradfield Chapelry, were the least populated with the number of households being about 113 and 93 respectively.

Ralph Gosling's *Plan of Sheffield* in 1736 gave a population of 9695 in the central town area, but, as a census carried out in the same year proved, he had missed out Roman Catholics and Quakers.⁵⁶ The population according to this census was 10,121, well over three times the number recorded 60 years earlier. This was due to the rapidly expanding cutlery trade, which brought many more workers to the town from rural areas. The population increase continued throughout the eighteenth century as technological innovations, such as Benjamin Huntsman's crucible steel, encouraged more workers into the trade. At the same time Thomas Boulsover's discovery of the fusion of silver and copper to make what became known as Old Sheffield Plate, created a new industry and brought silver craftsmen to Sheffield.

The Rev. J. Eastwood stated that 'At the Parliamentary Survey in 1707 it [Stannington] contained 80 families.'⁵⁷ On the basis of multiplying by 4.75 this gives a figure of 380 persons, a big drop from the calculated figures of the 1672 hearth tax returns. It is possible that the 79 households recorded in Stannington included a much higher percentage of the poor than the national average, but surely Dungworth must have been

omitted from the 1707 figure.

Again Eastwood, quoting John Wilson of Broomhead Hall (1719-1783), and listing population figures for several places in the chapelry of Bradfield, stated that there were '78 families in Stannington.'⁵⁸ There is no date to this statement, nor is Dungworth mentioned in the list. James Ronksley, who transcribed parts of John Wilson's manuscripts, wrote that in about 1730 there were '105 distinct families in Stannington of which about nine are freeholders.'⁵⁹ The former, Eastwood/Wilson, figure would give a population of approximately 370 persons and the latter up to 500 persons. There is no indication whether or not Dungworth was counted in either of these statements but it is very doubtful that it was.

In 1743 Christopher Butterfield replied to the Archbishop (see page 28), that there were 423 families in the chapelry of Bradfield, excluding Bolsterstone and Midhope, which themselves accounted for about 125 families recorded in the returns.⁶⁰ This brought the total for the whole of Bradfield chapelry, including Stannington, to 548 families. As noted previously, in 1672 the population of Stannington was roughly 29% of the total population of Bradfield. By the census returns of the nineteenth century this percentage had increased to about 34% (see below). Taking 31% as the average figure about halfway between the two dates, the population of Stannington in 1743 can be estimated as 170 families containing up to 807 persons; a huge increase from the estimated figure in 1730, but closer to the estimation of 1672.

Because of the intermingling of Stannington's statistics with the wider area of Bradfield chapelry and the changing of township areas between Stannington and Dungworth I have been unable to find any satisfactory figures for Stannington's population before the census return of 1801. Even then no separate figures are available for Stannington from the census returns prior to 1841 (Table 2.2.). Stannington was included in Bradfield chapelry within the parish of Ecclesfield until 1861 after which the system changed as new ecclesiastical parishes were formed out of Ecclesfield. Rev. J. Eastwood observed that 'in 1830 a church was built at Stannington ... and in 1843 a district was assigned to it then containing 2173 souls.'⁶¹ The new parish covered the same area as the old township.

Table 2.2. Population of Bradfield (including Stannington) from Census Returns.

Year	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Males	2,168	2,284	2,814	2,910	3,417	3,698	4,859
Females	1,934	2,070	2,484	2,594	2,901	3,167	4,230
Total	4,102	4,354	5,298	5,504	6,318	6,865	9,089
No. of households	750	758	987	1,048	1,161	1,315	1,696
Persons/ household	5.47	5.74	5.37	5.25	5.44	5.22	5.34

The population of Stannington from 1841 onwards is available from the enumerators' records - Table 2.3. I have used Tables 2.2. and 2.3. to calculate that the population of Stannington in the years 1841, 1851 and 1861 averaged about 34% of the total for Bradfield, including Stannington. From this the population of Stannington can be estimated from the earlier returns - Table 2.4., i.e. multiply the Bradfield figures by 0.34 to find the number of households in Stannington, then multiply by the average numbers of persons per household in Bradfield to obtain the number of persons in Stannington.

Table 2.3. Population of Stannington Township taken from Census Returns.

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Males	1,164	1,308	1,554	1,872	1,778	1,779
Females	1,008	1,048	1,355	1,602	1,611	1,575
Total	2,172	2,356	2,909	3,474	3,389	3,354
No. of households	394	453	595	710	649	649
Persons/ household	5.51	5.20	4.89	4.89	5.22	5.17

Table 2.4. Population of Stannington estimated from Table 2.2.

Year	1801	1811	1821	1831
Households	255	258	336	356
Persons	1,395	1,480	1,804	1,869

Taking the chapelry of Bradfield as the whole, and beginning in 1672, it will be noticed that the percentage of the population living in Stannington was gradually increasing as the township became more industrialised than the rest of the chapelry. Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull state that 'Movements to sites of rural industrial development were also

an important feature of the British migration system.⁶² Tables 2.3. and 2.4. show a continuing increase in the population during the nineteenth century until after 1871, when there was a very small decrease, possibly due to the cutlery trade moving away.

Sheffield's population, however, continued to grow in line with its industry. The 1801 census shows a population of 45,755 in the parish. By 1891 this figure had risen to 324,291. Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull suggest that in Britain there was a period of urbanisation as industries grew from about 1750 to 1840, followed by a period from 1840 to 1879 'which saw sustained economic growth, in which urban living became the dominant feature of life.'⁶³

Table 2.5. gives a further breakdown of Stannington's population. Fluctuations are due to slight differences in the boundaries of the enumeration districts, especially more of Stannington being included with Storrs. The increase for Dungworth in 1871 was mostly due to an influx of labourers constructing new reservoirs (see page 266).

Table 2.5. Population of the Different Districts in Stannington Township.

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Dungworth	331	367	391	592	416	435
Moorwood	138	286	348	316	401	324
Storrs/S'ton	220	221	171	330	331	510
Stannington	1,483	1,482	1,999	2,236	2,241	2,085
Total	2,172	2,356	2,909	3,474	3,389	3,354

In the nineteenth century most new building in Stannington concentrated around Knowle Top and Liberty Hill, where the 1881 census return recorded 12 houses in the process of construction, before spreading down to Woodland View. In 1887 a public meeting, chaired by Francis Sutton of Revell Grange, was held in Bradfield

'to take into consideration the proposals of the Board of Guardians of the Wortley Union to charge the expenses of providing drainage accommodation for the villages of Oughtibridge and Woodland View upon the whole of the Township of Bradfield.'⁶⁴

The ratepayers of the more rural areas thought it very unfair that they should have to

contribute 'as no benefit or advantage will be derived by the residents,' and agreed that only the residents of Oughtibridge and Woodland View should be asked to contribute to the cost of the scheme.

Despite the lack of data for the early period it is evident that the population of Stannington remained fairly static until the mid-eighteenth century. It then began to grow and continued to expand in the nineteenth. The population increased from between 740 and 830 in 1672 to 3,394 in 1891, thus causing the character of the township to change considerably.

In 1894 the township of Stannington, together with the rest of the old chapelry of Bradfield, came under the administration of Bradfield Parish Council. Between 1901 and 1914 Sheffield acquired land in Stannington, stretching northward from Rivelin Reservoirs to Bingley Lane, across the main road at Town End and over to the River Loxley. Since 1900 the area from Hall Park to Acorn Hill and east to Malin Bridge has gradually become part of Sheffield's urban sprawl despite brave attempts by the 'Stannington Association' in the 1960s to 'Keep Stannington out of Sheffield.'

¹ J. G. Ronsley (ed.), *An Exact and Perfect Survey of the Manor of Sheffield with Other Lands by John Harrison, 1637* (Privately printed for Arthur Wightman by Robert White & Co., Worksop, 1908), p. 3.

² Wilson Collection, vol. 159, p. 79.

³ ACM S376 I.

⁴ ACM S377.

⁵ Ronsley, p. 3.

⁶ Rev. A. Gatty (ed.), *History of Hallamshire, by Joseph Hunter* (Sheffield: Pawson & Brailsford, 1869), pp. 27-34.

⁷ T. W. Hall, *South Yorkshire Sketches* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend, 1908), p. 8.

⁸ S. O. Addy, *The Hall of Waltheof* (Sheffield: William Townsend & Son, 1893), p. 194.

⁹ Hall, p. 11.

¹⁰ S. O. Addy, 'Stannington Hall', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* vol. II, 1924, p. 129.

¹¹ RC 155, items 5492 and 5493.

¹² Hall, p. 15.

¹³ D. Hey, *The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire* (Leicester; London: Leicester University Press, 1991), p. 4.

¹⁴ Ronsley, p. 152.

¹⁵ Rev. J. Eastwood, *History of The Parish of Ecclesfield* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), p. 506. (Transcribed from 'Depositions from York Castle', printed by the Surtees' Society, vol. xl.)

¹⁶ Wilson, vol. 159, p. 79.

¹⁷ Gatty, p. 55.

¹⁸ Eastwood, p. 64

¹⁹ Ronsley, p. 7.

²⁰ Ronsley, p. 3.

²¹ Ronsley, p. 152.

- ²² A. Hunter (ed.), *Silva: or a Discourse of Forest-Trees, by John Evelyn, 1662* (London: printed by A. Ward, 1786), vol. II, p. 200.
- ²³ ACM S127.
- ²⁴ Gatty, p. 238.
- ²⁵ Gatty, pp. 430-431.
- ²⁶ RC 155, items 1908-1911.
- ²⁷ RC 155, item 4620.
- ²⁸ RC 159, item 13638.
- ²⁹ RC 159, item 11774.
- ³⁰ MP 2897M.
- ³¹ S. L. Ollard & P. C. Walker (eds), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743, Vol I* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. 71), p. 73.
- ³² Leaflet produced for Underbank Chapel's 250th Anniversary Celebrations, 1992-3.
- ³³ F. T. Wood, *History of Underbank Chapel, Stannington* (Sheffield: Northend Ltd., 1944), p. 76.
- ³⁴ St. Vincent's Centenary Souvenir, 1953.
- ³⁵ Ollard & Walker, pp. 73-4.
- ³⁶ Charles Hadfield, *History of St. Marie's Mission and Church* (Sheffield: Pawson & Brailsford, 1889), p. 13.
- ³⁷ Hadfield, p. 12.
- ³⁸ Loxley Chapel Records.
- ³⁹ Stannington Local History Group, *Stannington* (Sheffield: Stannington Local History Group, 2000), p. 29.
- ⁴⁰ S. Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (London: Chancellor Press, 2000), p. 314.
- ⁴¹ Stannington Local History Group, p. 89.
- ⁴² BPC, 75.
- ⁴³ BPC, 75
- ⁴⁴ Dungworth, Storrs and District Local History Group, *A Walk into History* (no publisher, no date). No page numbers.
- ⁴⁵ Kelly, *Directory of Sheffield 1865*.
- ⁴⁶ Kelly, 1888.
- ⁴⁷ Ronksley, p. 2.
- ⁴⁸ RC 159, item 11830.
- ⁴⁹ Wilson, vol. 53, p. 68.
- ⁵⁰ Wilson, vol. 53, p. 68.
- ⁵¹ Eastwood, p. 476.
- ⁵² Wilson, vol. 53, p. 62.
- ⁵³ D. Hey (ed.), *The Hearth Tax Returns for South Yorkshire, Lady Day, 1672* (Sheffield: The Names Project Team, University of Sheffield, 1991), pp. 10, 11, 62, 63.
- ⁵⁴ Hey (ed.), p. iv.
- ⁵⁵ J. V. Beckett, 'Introduction' in W. F. Webster (ed.) *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax, 1664:1674* (Thoroton Society Record Series XXXVII, 1988), p. xxi.
- ⁵⁶ D. Hey, *A History of Sheffield* (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 1998), p. 57.
- ⁵⁷ Eastwood, p.485, note 1.
- ⁵⁸ Eastwood, p. 465.
- ⁵⁹ RC 155, item 1373.
- ⁶⁰ Yorkshire Archaeological Society Records vol. 71 I, p. 75.
- ⁶¹ Eastwood, p. 487.
- ⁶² C. Pooley & J. Turnbull, *Migration & Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 332.
- ⁶³ Pooley & Turnbull, p. 53.
- ⁶⁴ BPC, 3.

CHAPTER 3

WEALTH AND POVERTY

1. Wealth

Chris Husbands has found that

‘As early as the last decade of the seventeenth century the hearth tax material was being plundered by political arithmeticians for information on wealth distribution.’¹

He came to no firm conclusion as to whether the number of hearths determined the wealth of a household, but he thought that it might allow comparison between the economies of different areas. If this is the case, then the township of Stannington would be ranked as a fairly poor community, the vast majority of households having only one or two hearths. Because no probate inventories survive for the Doncaster deanery before 1689, there are very few for the people who paid the hearth tax, though in certain cases they can be identified.

Eric Carlson, whose conclusions are based on the research of Margaret Spufford, suggests that ‘hearth tax can be used as a general guide to social and economic position, especially at the level of three hearths and above.’² As only nineteen of the 121 houses in Stannington/Dungworth, plus the exempted poor, had three or more hearths it could be that there were only nineteen households of a better standing than their neighbours. The proportion was similar throughout the whole Bradfield chapelry, typical of a rural area where there were few ‘landed gentry,’ and industry was, comparatively speaking, in its infancy. Nevertheless the nineteen householders were fairly substantial.

Mr. Revell, with six hearths, can be identified as ‘Richard of Steel Farm,’ on Nethergate. The Revells were one of the most notable families in the district although their estate had declined during the Civil War, due in part to continuing fines for their recusancy. Harrison’s 1637 survey recorded Mr. Rowland Revell at

‘A Tenement called Steele ffarme with a Dwelling house of three Bayes, an Oxhouse of two Bayes and a Wainhouse and a peatehouse two little Bayes, a Barn two Bayes.’³

with lands totalling 92ac.00r.35p. Steel Farm fell into ruin after the family moved to Bingley Lane in the 1740s but a small part was restored for use as a school in the 1850s.

Thomas Creswick and Francis Taylor each paid tax on five hearths. Thomas Creswick had inherited Bingley House from his father, Francis, in 1640. On his death in 1675, Thomas bequeathed the property to the use and benefit of 'all the inhabitants of Stannington,'⁴ and appointed trustees to administer what became known as the Bingley House Trust. Unfortunately there was no inventory attached to his will. Francis Taylor was a cooper living at Sickhouse (Sykehouse), in Dungworth, which belonged to the Shaw family of Hallbroom. His son, John, also a cooper of Sickhouse, died in 1751, leaving goods valued at £41.18s.0d. including £30 owing to him but his inventory has no indication of the number of rooms or hearths and no division into individual items.

William Shaw, a yeoman of Hill, paid tax on four hearths. He died in 1712 leaving a will in which he bequeathed a silver tankard to his daughter but there is no surviving inventory. However, his widow, Fines, was still at Hill at the time of her death in 1731. Her inventory, amounting to £62.4s.8d., only listed ranges in the house (i.e. the living room, sometimes known as the 'hall' in other parts of the country) and out-kitchen. J.V. Beckett suggests that ranges or grates were not always included in inventories as they were assumed to be part of the building.⁵ This would account for the fact that Hill had the two extra hearths listed in the 1672 tax return. The dwelling also contained a parlour, two chambers, a passage and a closet over the back chamber. In addition to the usual household necessities, Fines's 'comforts' included a squab (a wooden settle with an upholstered seat), two warming pans, several leather chairs, a writing desk, two seeing glasses, a fashioned (i.e. new as opposed to old fashioned) chest of drawers, and a dress box. The 4 ½ stone of pewter was valued at £2. 10s.0d., linen at £2, a watch and five spoons at £4 and a clock at ten shillings. Incidentally, Margaret Spufford has deduced that 'A clock is one of the really significant possessions in the late seventeenth century.'⁶ There are very few clocks listed in the inventories I have studied so their shortage and prestige must have continued throughout the next century. Fines's will contained many monetary bequests including one guinea each to Joseph Drabble and his wife who were her tenants at Cliffe House in Dungworth. Joseph Drabble, a cutler,

did not live long after Fines Shaw. In 1733 his inventory, valued at £69. 12s.10d. plus £20 owing to him, included smithy tools, farming equipment and animals, three wool wheels and certain yarn, 10 yards of harden cloth (a coarse cloth similar to linen) and four yards of woolsey (a cloth of cotton and wool mixture). While carrying on dual occupations, it is likely that his wife spun and wove to increase the household earnings. More personal effects included a clock and case, valued at £2.7s.6d., also brass, linen and a squab. Cliffe House at that time consisted of a house, parlour, parlour chamber, kitchen, buttery, barn and smithy.

John Bacon, a yeoman living in Storrs, also with four hearths in the tax returns, died in 1691. His son, John, inherited the property. By his will of 1709 he bequeathed various legacies including £100 to each of his two nieces. His inventory, including £101.17s.10d. 'money found in the house' and £20 in bonds, totalled £224.13s.8d. He also owned free and copyhold land and tenements including his own house, which consisted of a house, parlour and kitchen, each with a chamber over, a hack with a garret over, a stable and cart-house, but only two hearths were indicated. There appears to have been little comfort in the house apart from 'certain quishins' (cushions). I have not been able to identify the property.

Of these nineteen 'better off' householders, the others, each with three hearths, were Thomas Webster, Widow Lord, George Shaw, George Shaw, Edward Revill, John Revill, Edward Bramall, Richard Woolen, Robert Eyre, John Brumhead, John Mariott, John Stead, (whose property was empty), William Greaves, and Richard Greaves, although the latter's third hearth was noted but not taxed.

Thomas Webster was renting Rivelin Bridge Wheel from the lord of the manor in 1676.⁷ I have recognised that the 1672 hearth tax return for Stannington began around Malin Bridge so it seems reasonable to suppose that he lived near the works but I have not been able to identify any other details. Only the tail goit of the wheel remains with no sign of any other property.

Listed next to Thomas Webster was Widow Lord, whose husband and members of the

family rented Grogram Wheel between 1664 and 1704. She had moved to Sheffield before her death but her son, Joseph, of 'Mousehoyle' Wheel, took John Trickett as a cutlery apprentice in 1691. John Trickett remained at Mousehole until his death in 1736 when his inventory included three ranges (hearths) in the house, parlour and kitchen. Other rooms were chambers over the three downstairs rooms plus a cellar, smithy and barn. In addition to smithy tools, farming equipment and basic household items there were more 'luxuries' listed than in most other early inventories: smoothing iron, warming pan, 20 pewter dishes, 15 plates and other pewter, a delft case and delft, clock and case, candlesticks, cushions, looking glass, leather chair, clothes press, feather beds and bedding, close stool (commode), elbow chair, salt box, mustard ball, and window hangings, which were another example of increasing comfort.⁸ His is the earliest, and one of the few, inventories I have found which included pictures. 'Certain little cottages' valued at £40 brought the total of his goods to £225.5s.4d. By his will he bequeathed three houses in Campo Lane to his three sons.

John Trickett's eldest son, Joseph, a cutler of Mousehole Forge, who died in 1779, had four hearths, i.e. in the house, kitchen, parlour and the chamber over the parlour. A chamber over the house and a smithy completed the property, which was enlarged during the nineteenth century when another cottage was attached to it. The whole is still standing but has been altered internally. Joseph's inventory included his smithy tools, farming equipment, cereals and animals. His basic household possessions were added to by a feather bed, bolster, pillows, blankets, 'coverlid,' clothes press and close stool. He had 18 pewter dishes and other pewter weighing 68 lb., two salt boxes, a bread cratch, two smoothing irons, two brass candlesticks, and a clock. He also had a 'house in the Camper Lane' worth £20, a croft on the Vicar's land worth £7 and three houses at Malin Bridge worth £60 bringing the total to £163. 12s.7d.

George Shaw, a yeoman of Dungworth Storrs, paid tax on three hearths, but his inventory of 1690 listed only a range in the house; another case of the hearths being counted as fixtures rather than fittings. It is possible, but unlikely, that he had moved during the time between the hearth tax returns and his death. His inventory goods, which included farming equipment, cereals and animals also listed, among the usual

household necessities, sheets and table linen, a desk, cushions, pewter and brass. Wool, woollen cloth, yarn, linen yarn and 'harden cloath' brought the total to £124. 3s.6d. Outward debts of £34 were also recorded.

The second George Shaw listed in the tax returns was a yeoman living at Brookside. Unfortunately, his inventory has not survived and his will has a page missing, the surviving part listing only monetary bequests. Brookside was occupied by successive generations of the Shaw family until it came to a niece, Martha Patrick, in 1773. She married Thomas Halliday, a dissenting minister of Norton, to whom she gave all her inheritance. The Brookside of George in 1672 has fallen into ruin but a newer house occupies the site next to it.

A cousin of the Revells of Steel Farm, Edward Revill (Revell), inherited Ricketfield from his father, Thomas, in 1671.⁹ The next name on the tax return of the following year is John Revill, Edward's son, also with three hearths. I have only found references to John at Ricketfield so I presume that he was living there. Neither inventory has survived and there is nothing in John's will of 1734 to show any detail apart from a reference to 'barns, stables and outbuildings.' The old farmhouse has been replaced by a Georgian building with just a small part of the original incorporated in the back wall. Interestingly, it is divided into two separate households, owned by father and son.

Edward Bramall, a yeoman of Storrs, died in 1721. Again only one range, in the house, was listed in his inventory although there were several other rooms - parlour, kitchen, nether house, nether chamber, kitchen chamber, chamber over the house, little chamber, buttery, lathe, stable, weenhouse (sic.) and wainhouse chamber. There was very little comfort in the house, with the greater part of his inventory value of £105.10s.4d. tied up in cereals and animals.

In 1683 Richard Woolen was a tenant at Netherhouse, Storrs, when the house became the property of George Dale and his wife, Ruth, grand-daughter of the late John Shaw of Rotherham.¹⁰ I have no other reference to Netherhouse, which is no longer standing. In 1685 Robert Eyre surrendered 'a messuage in Dungworth in which the said Robert Eyre

now lives.' John Brumhead was a miller, (the only occupation mentioned in the hearth tax return for Stannington). He can be identified at Bradfield and Damflask corn mills in the 1690s although I have found no other trace of him in Stannington.

John Mariott lived at Spout House, in Stannington. On his death in 1680, the property passed to his son, Thomas Mariott of Ughill, who gave it to Stannington Chapel as a meeting house and manse. William Bagshaw (minister of the chapel, 1697-1713) died there in 1713. At that time the house had at least five chimneys, with ranges listed in the house, kitchen, parlour, chamber over the house and chamber over the parlour. It is recorded that there were additions, the last being in the 1670s,¹¹ so this must have included two more chimneys. There was also a chamber over the kitchen, a nether chamber, a 'selor' and outbuildings. The minister owned farming equipment, animals and usual household goods together with a clock and case, books, three table cloths, two dozen table napkins, five blankets, a looking glass, certain pewter and close stools giving a total value of £156.4s.4d. However, debts in and out 'make clear sum £99.18s.9d.' Spout House is still standing as a private residence. Incidentally, the minister of Stannington Chapel in 1672 was Thomas Mellor ('Mr. Millar' in the tax returns), who paid tax on only one hearth.

John Stead also paid tax in Stannington but the house was 'empty.' He was presumably the landlord with a vacant tenancy at the time. William Greaves, son of William Greaves of Beacon, was baptised at Bradfield in 1663. Assuming, as before, that the tax was collected in a roughly geographical order, this William Greaves, the father, can be identified as being in the vicinity of Beacon, but again, I have found no other reference.

Richard Greaves, a yeoman, paid tax on two hearths although a third was being constructed, i.e. 'one of these not lyable but unfinished.' After his death in 1690 his inventory showed that he then had hearths in the kitchen and house, with the third in the new parlour. The dwelling, which he had purchased from William Littlewood, also contained the old house, old parlour, parlour, buttery, and chambers over the old house, house, parlour and new parlour. Outbuildings were a barn and 'whainehouse.' His household goods included plenty of cushions, two smoothing irons, an hour glass and

‘5st. 5lb and a halfe of pewter.’ A new chest with certain bedding in it was valued at £4 and there were also linens, a set of curtains, and old books. As well as farming equipment, cereals and animals, there was malt valued at £34, wool at £8.10s.0d. with looms and a wool wheel, and ‘certain sawen ware and other wood on the greene before the dore’ at £51.1s.6d., giving a value of £275.3s.0d. plus ‘some oake trees and certain wood wrought and unwrought in Sheffield Park’ worth another £107.14s.4d. Other property, of which he owned the tenant right, included a farm at Loadbrook, where his son, Thomas, lived; a house where his son, Richard, lived; the Hollow Meadows and a house there, ‘newly erected’; and a farm, occupied by Thomas Hague, which he bequeathed to his son, Robert.

Of the inventories I have studied, twenty-six were valued at under £20, eighteen between £21 and £50, thirty-one between £51 and £100, fifteen between £101 and £200, ten between £201 and £500 and only two, those of James Swallow and John Barnes (see page 56), over £500.

It was not always the smallest houses which revealed the least value nor the largest which revealed the most. Edward Brammall, a husbandman of Townfield Head, who died in 1721, lived in a dwelling comprising simply a house, chamber and one other chamber, but his inventory came to a total of £76.10s.6d. There was nothing of really great value but he had £6.4s.6d. in ready money and £42 in bills and bonds. John Thompson (1734), a husbandman of Moorwood, had just a house and parlour, but in addition to household necessities he owned books, pewterware, linen and wool together with farming equipment, cereals and animals. This brought the value of his inventory to £87 but he did, however, owe £15.7s.0d. James Crapper (1738) of Stannington, classed as a yeoman, had a house, parlour and chamber, with an outhouse and barn, but his inventory totalled £100.10s.0d., of which £92 was invested in animals.

Joshua Drabble (1742), a Dungworth cutler, had a simple ‘two up and two down’ dwelling plus a buttery, ‘smythe’ and barn. His inventory included 3st. 2lb. of pewterware, a clock, feather bed, 2 bolsters, 3 pillows, a desk and table linen bringing a valuation of £155.2s.4d., although outward debts reduced this amount to £95.2s.4d.

Similarly, William Carr sen. (1750), of Stannington, had a house and parlour, both with chambers over, plus a barn, but again his inventory, in addition to household necessities, showed comforts such as a feather bed, bolsters and drawers, pillows, six blankets, a rug, two coverlets, a clothes press, seven pairs of linen sheets, twelve napkins and a tablecloth. He also owned a 'cottage house' worth £20 and had £80 owing to him. His outward debts of £17. 9s.11 ¼d. brought the total to £117. 6s.0 ¾d.

William Shaw (1746), a Stannington cutler, had a house, parlour, chamber, kitchen, and barn. Although there was very little of value among his goods, he had a cottage house and croft worth £20, the tenant right of a wheel plus utensils worth £30 bringing the total to £95.18s.8d. His was one of the few I found which include books and the only one which specifically noted a Bible. John Darwent (1748), another cutler, had a house and kitchen with chambers over, a buttery and barn. His purse, apparel and inward debts totalled £95.5s.0d. Goods, cattle and cereals brought a final value of £156.8s.2d.

Richard Marshall (1762), another Stannington cutler, had only a house, parlour, chamber, buttery and barn, but his inventory totalled £271.11s.0d. This included three grinding wheels worth £200, wheel tools £7.10s.0d. and an apprentice £12. Other goods included a warming pan, squab, pewter, a clock, bedding and household linen, together with farm animals. His widow, Sarah (1772), left goods valued at £62.5s.0d. of which the lease of a cutlers' wheel accounted for £60. However, an attached note indicated that she had already disposed of the rest of her estate.

These are all examples of the occupiers of smaller properties having more wealth than we would imagine. Similarly, at the other end of the spectrum, those with larger accommodation did not always have larger inventory values. Richard Revell (1714), gentleman of Moorwood, had a kitchen, house with chamber over, parlour with chamber over, dining room with chamber over, a little chamber and barn but his inventory goods were only valued at £59.2s.0d. with £35.1s.5d. 'owing to several persons.'

Likewise, Edward Greaves (1723) had a parlour and kitchen with chambers over, a

house, passage and cellar plus a barn and stable. His goods included pewter, brass, linen, bedding 'belonging to an eyreloome,' and coal, together with farming equipment and animals, also £14.15s.7d. 'due from the parish,' making a total value of £87.7s.2d. Unfortunately his outward debts, including his funeral costs of £4.15s.7d., came to £76.6s.7d. giving a final total of only £11.0s.7d. John Burley sen. (1751), a Stannington yeoman, had a house, great parlour, little parlour, great chamber, little room, old chamber, cellar, brew-house and barn. In addition to household needs, he owned pewter and pewter case, a clock, a squab and an 'old silver pint' plus farm animals, giving a total value of just £35.5s.4d.

A great disadvantage of probate inventories is that, in most cases, the outward debts of the deceased were not recorded, thus giving an unbalanced view of the wealth of a person. In theory, the outward debts should not have been included as they did not belong to the deceased. Of the inventories I have studied, only seventeen recorded any outgoing debts and even those do not always give the complete value. In most wills the first request was that debts and funeral expenses be paid, yet only four out of the seventeen included actual funeral expenses: Anne Gray (1689), £2.8s.8d., Mary Rawson (1708), £4.17s.0d., and Edward Greaves (1723), £4.15s.7d. The funeral expenses of John Barnes (1798) are given in much greater detail: £1.5s 0d. to William Wilson for a coffin, a shroud from Sheffield (no value stated), meat for the funeral dinner £1.17s.6d., ale from Sheffield and Stannington 13s.4d., expenses and dues at Bradfield £1.4s.4d.

Margaret Spufford states that 'probate inventories can mask the actual state of a man's finances.'¹² She has found a source to redress the balance in the probate or administrator's account. This lists expenses paid out of the estate and gives a final total of what money is left.¹³ These documents are quite rare and, according to Dr. Spufford, only about 27,000 are in existence, mainly from the mid-sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries. More recently the much larger figure of 43,000 accounts has been put forward by Amy Erickson, based on the findings of the British Record Society Probate Accounts Project.¹⁴ The Borthwick Institute in York houses several, the majority of which are there because they were used as, or produced for, evidence in a testamentary dispute in the ecclesiastical courts. Many of the documents are from the

fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and about a hundred from 1607 to 1646. Around 500, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, have been listed and indexed by person, place and occupation, during a project run by Ralph Houlbrooke. These include twenty-five from the Sheffield area but, unfortunately, only one has any connection with Stannington, that of John Barnes, a grinder, who died intestate in 1798.

Barnes's widow, Anne, together with Joseph Greaves of Malin Bridge and Charles Eyre of Sheffield, administered his estate. Probate was granted in 1801, but no inventory was attached to the administration document, which included the valuation of his household furniture, working tools, and all incidentals as £25. There must have been a dispute over this because his widow had to produce a full inventory and accounts in 1804. The new inventory included the value of three grinding wheels, amounting to £363.8s.10d., £132 and £140 respectively, which had since been sold. Household goods, animals and cereals brought the total to £790.18s.0 ½d. There were also

‘debts due and owing to the intestate which have not been got in or received and which may be considered as advanced by the intestate to his children in part of their respective shares of his personal estate,’

amounting to £238.1s.1 ½d.

Anne Barnes stated that, at the time of her husband's death, he rented a small farm in Stannington, consisting of a house and about 16 acres of land, from the Duke of Norfolk, on a year to year basis. Since then the Duke had leased it to her for 21 years at £20 per annum but

‘she trusts that she shall not be charged with any price or value of the said small farm as the continuance of her as tenant thereof was of his Grace's benevolence and what he was in no wise obliged to do.’

Her expenses from the date of her husband's death, including maintenance and repairs to the wheels, solicitors' fees, etc., amounted to £746.13s.5 ½d. and were listed in great detail hoping that they would be ‘what the worshipful Judge of this venerable Court shall think reasonable in the event thereof.’

Another drawback to inventories is that they only included moveable goods and leasehold land, leaving out real property.¹⁵ This omission makes a big difference to

knowing how much a person was actually worth. For example, according to his inventory, John Stringer (1782), yeoman of Tom Hill in Dungworth, had a house, parlour with chamber over, kitchen, pantry with chamber over, cellar, smithy and outhouses. His dwelling was very comfortably furnished with a squab and cushions, pewter case with twelve pewter dishes and eighteen plates, clock and case, candlesticks, three smoothing irons, coffee pot, tea kettle, warming pan, delft case, salt box, six china cups, saucers and a 'bason,' two glass decanters, two pints, one gill, fourteen different wine glasses and waiter, silver pint, silver coast, two tablespoons, six teaspoons, desk, book case, dressing table, seeing glass, feather bed, boulder, pillows, blankets, quilts, dressing chest, mahogany 'tea cote,' five pairs of sheets, twelve pillow cases, two boulder cases, five small table cloths, six napkins, a close stool and smithy tools. Farming goods brought the inventory total to £160 but that did not show the full picture.

John Stringer, who died intestate, was in serious debt. His estate was administered by Isaac Ronksley of Hollow Meadows, the principal creditor on bond, Kenyon Parker of Sheffield, and Edward Girdler of Sheffield Park. An agreement was made between Isaac Ronksley and Richard Revitt, who was also a creditor of the deceased, that Isaac Ronksley would collect in and pay out all John Stringer's debts. The administration stated that 'Isaac Ronksley and Edward Girdler are held and firmly bound to Richard Revitt in £300.2s.0d.' That was to be paid in advance before Isaac Ronksley and, presumably, other creditors would get any of the money owing to them. On its own this appears to wipe out the estate, but Stringer's real estate was not mentioned in the inventory. Because he died intestate no clues were given as to the rest of his estate, but by the will of George Shaw of Brookside, who died in 1773, John Stringer had inherited

'all the messuage at Hill House in the possession of Henry Fearn, also a messuage at Storrs in the possession of Thomas Oxley and Robert Bamford and a close in Storrs called Hoyland Field in the possession of George Hawksworth, on condition that he, John Stringer, pay out to his two sisters £100 each, to the children of his deceased sister £100 equally divided, and to George Shaw's niece, Martha Patrick, £100.'

Hopefully, the sale of some of this property would cover his debts.

Most families in Stannington lived in small houses, often 'two up and two down,' with very few gentry residing in the area. Looking at probate inventories, I have concluded

that even households with three or four hearths were, in the main, no richer than those with one or two hearths. On average, Stannington was a comparatively poor to middling community with only a minority better off than their neighbours. In fact this applied to the chapelry of Bradfield as a whole at that time, with only 13 households out of a total of 412 (i.e. just over 3%) being taxed on five or more hearths in 1672. In comparison, the township of Sheffield had 68 buildings out of a total of 406 (i.e. almost 17%) taxed on five or more hearths. The largest of these was the Manor Lodge, occupied by the Lord's agent, Mr. Ratcliffe, with 36 hearths, while coaching inns accounted for several of the multi-hearthed buildings although, surprisingly, the Cutlers' Hall was taxed on just one hearth.

As the cutlery trade increased in the Stannington area throughout the eighteenth century, those who combined cutlery with their farming activities became more prosperous. As a result more substantial houses were built and extra comforts were added to the furnishings as an older generation's luxuries became the next generation's necessities. At the same time, however, as the population continued to grow, fewer families were able to follow their former way of life and so became dependent on employment in local industries.

2. Poverty

Before the 'welfare state' of the twentieth century was put into operation, the poor were helped by local rates, assessed by elected officials, i.e. the overseers of the poor, the charity of the Church and the generosity of individuals. The chapelry of Bradfield had a charitable trust run by a group of feoffees, in a similar manner to the parishes of Ecclesfield and Rotherham. The earliest mention of the Bradfield feoffees, or trustees, was in the fifteenth century, when a messuage and twelve acres of land at Thornhouse in Westmondhalgh were bequeathed by the will of John Moulson to the 'Trustees of the Chapelry of Bradfield for repair of the church and relief of the poor of the Chapelry.'¹⁶ Further land and property was acquired through bequests from time to time, but in 1592 the Earl of Shrewsbury succeeded in claiming the rentals of these gifts on the grounds that since the Reformation all church land and property belonged to the lord of the manor. The Bradfield feoffees must have agreed with him in a similar way to those of Ecclesfield who 'made a bargain with the Lord of the Manor, George, Earl of

Shrewsbury, “by fraud and covyn” to sell the estate to the said earl.’¹⁷

After intervention by Lord Ellesmere, the Lord Chancellor, the property was returned to the chapelry and new feoffees were appointed. These, clearly some of the leading men in the community, were

‘John Morewood, gent, John Greaves of Hallfield, William Revel of Riccadfield, Robert Ward of Woodseates, Richard Revel of Stannington, Thomas Bromhead of Nether Bradfield, Ezra Morton of Spout House, John Ibbotson of Wigtwistle, Reginald Tomson of Brightholmlee and John Coldwell of Waldershafe, yeomen.’¹⁸

A survey of the feoffees’s estate, taken at that time, shows that it comprised, in addition to Thornhouse, a messuage and land near Nether Bradfield Mill, bequeathed by John Birks about 1485, the rent of 12d. per annum of Roger Croft, given by Thomas Hawksworth, a cottage and close in St. Mary’s Croft, Dungworth, certain lands called Lady Dole, Stubbing Close in Holdworth ‘in which close the inhabitants felled wood for the church use if need required,’ a messuage and land at Nook in Stannington, a messuage called Hollyn House, a messuage and croft called Dorehouse, and four houses in Bradfield.¹⁹ By 1851 land at Sykehouse, Dungworth, houses and the poorhouse near Bradfield Chapel, the watch house, land by the churchyard and common allotments, i.e. Strines Moor, had been added to the feoffees’ property. The rentals from these donations helped to alleviate poverty while keeping down the poor rates.

In addition, the Rev. John Tyas, vicar of Ecclesfield who died in 1580, bequeathed property to both Ecclesfield and Bradfield, the rents to be for the use of ‘the most nedye and pore people being of honest behavior within the said parish of Ecclesfield and Chappell of Bradfield for ever.’²⁰ Very few of the wills studied included charitable donations. In Stannington, however, Gregory Revell, who died in 1588, left property to his son, Rowland, on condition that he

‘pay and distribute or cause to be paid or distributed to the poor people of the parish of Bradfield aforesaid the annual or yearly rent of two shillings upon the Friday in passion week called Good Friday for ever.’

William Crapper, a cutler of Storrs, who died in 1776, requested that

‘At my funeral £10 be distributed amongst such poor persons in the Chapelry of Bradfield as they [his executors] shall judge proper objects of charity.’

Fines, the widow of William Shaw of Hill, was more specific as to whom she was being charitable; in her will of 1731 she bequeathed

‘to my friends called Quakers belonging to Sheffield meeting £5 to be put into the stock of the aforesaid meeting and the profits accruing to be given to supply the necessities of the poor that receive no collection and belong to Sheffield meeting.’

In accordance with the Poor Law Acts of 1597 and 1601 overseers of the poor were appointed yearly for each township. They were given the power to raise a local rate in addition to bequests and voluntary contributions. This money was used either in cash or kind to make provision for the township’s own ‘deserving’ poor. The evidence from the chapelry of Bradfield shows that, until the population rose dramatically and the problem of poverty became acute, the parishioners made ample provision. In 1699, for example, Mr. Richard Revell of Townfield Head was an overseer of the poor, responsible for Dungworth and Stannington. His accounts included monthly payments to thirteen pensioners, amounting to £22.12s.0d., plus one-off expenses such as ‘paid for funeral charge of Ann Bromaly 5s.; two shifts for Elizabeth Swallow 5s.; paid towards putting forth Richard Webster 10s.; for Widow Bagshaw’s rent 5s.; for clothing Steven Dungworth 10s.; given to John Hoyland of Storrs 2s.’ etc., which amounted to £7.7s.2d.

‘Putting forth’ describes the practice of overseers having to find apprenticeships for poor children. This was very unpopular with residents, who would use various excuses for not taking on such an apprentice; for instance, at a vestry meeting in 1820 it was recorded that ‘William Greaves says that if the Overseers of Bradfield bind an apprentice to him he will throw two women on the parish.’²¹ Similarly, in 1822 Edward Hall ‘says he is keeping a child of his sister, aged 7 years, an illegitimate one, Isaac Ronksley the reputed father.’²² If no acceptable excuse was forthcoming then the parishioner was forced to take an apprentice. By an indenture of 1711, for example,

‘The Churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Bradfield have placed and put forth Benjamin Morton as apprentice with William Woollen and Samuel Hawksworth of Dungworth until 24 years old during all which time the said William Woollen and Samuel Hawksworth doth covenant to find unto the above named Benjamin Morton their apprentice sufficient meat and drink, washing, lodging and all manner of apparell whatsoever and at the end of the said term to give him two suits of apparel, the one for holidays, the other for working days.’²³

Parish apprentices were bound until the age of 24 instead of the customary age of 21.

Richard Revell's figures also included payments such as 'for removing Susanna Machin by order 2s.' 'Removing' was one of the overseers' duties as stated in the 1662 Act of Settlement. Although townships accepted their responsibility of looking after their own poor, they felt no obligation to look after the poor from other areas. Incomers were therefore checked by the overseers in case they were likely to become a burden on the rates. If this was so they were removed to the parish in which they had legal settlement. After 1691 certificates were issued to the effect that a certain parish or township would be responsible for their welfare. In 1722, for example,

'Richard Broomhead and John Dyson, being overseers of Bradfield and Dungworth, hath removed Benjamin Waterhouse, Mary Waterhouse and Ann Waterhouse the 16th day of August last past out of ye liberty of Dungworth within ye chapelry of Bradfield into ye liberty of Hayfield within the parish of Glossop in ye County of Derby, by an order granted at Rotherham sessions, being upon examination his last legal settlement.'²⁴

This procedure worked both ways - in 1735, for example,

'John Bromehead is lately come to the Parish of Hathersage, in the County of Derby, wanting to settle himself without notice of the house of his abode and the said John Bromehead is likely to become chargeable and the examination of the said John Bromehead taken in writing upon oath that he was last settled in the hamlet of Stannington in ye parish of Bradfield, County of York, therefore the said John Bromehead is to be removed from Hathersage to Stannington.'²⁵

Nineteenth-century records, kept in the Bradfield Parish Council office, show that many of the poor applied to their place of legal settlement for relief, without actually moving back there. Many applications came from Sheffield, showing that people had moved from their rural surroundings to work in the town. The following examples, show a variety of reasons for distress: In 1822 William Bagshaw applied on behalf of Joseph Morton of Eyam, Derbyshire, stating that

'he says that he is about 23, served his apprenticeship with James Mallinson of Stannington, grinder, is now married with one child and that he is ill with typhus fever. He produced a surgeon's certificate.'²⁶

Sarah Thompson's mother of Wellgate, Rotherham, applied for her daughter in 1823:

'mother says she was born a bastard in Rotherham... she went to live with Mr. Woollen of Rivelin Mill about three weeks after Martinmas at the rate of 6 guineas a year till the Martinmas following. Three weeks before Martinmas (at Rotherham statutes) she says her mistress hired her again at the rate of 6 guineas per annum but she only stayed till hay harvest following and has not done any other act to gain a settlement and that she is with child likely to be born a bastard

and that John Dickenson of Hoyland Lane End, iron stone getter, is the father.'

The Bradfield overseers decided that her place of settlement was Rotherham.

In 1826 David Loftus, a 36-year old grinder from Bolton, Lancashire,

'says he was an apprentice with John Inman of Stannington and has never done any act or deed to gain a settlement since; was married to Elizabeth, his present wife, about 11 ½ years ago at Bradfield; went to Bolton about 2 ½ years ago to grind machinery for Thomas Swift & Co., mill wrights. Has four children whom he has left at Bolton about a fortnight ago quite destitute. He wants the overseers to give him something to fetch his family back from Bolton to Bradfield. Is at present working for Mr. Fairest at Stacey Weir.'

The same year, Joshua Mallinson, a cutler of Syke House, Fulwood, applied:

'settlement by apprenticeship with Thomas Carr of Stannington; has been cut for stone at the Infirmary, is not well. Has worked for George Barnes in Campo Lane, worked last for Mr. Crow, Philadelphia, grinding. His wife left him three years since and he has not seen her since.'

Matthew Jackson, a grinder living in Burgess Street, Sheffield, applied in 1828 for:

'settlement by apprenticeship with Francis Townsend of Stannington, at age 18 he enlisted for a soldier and his master sold his indenture to the soldiers for 7 guineas, remained 14 years and was then discharged at Chatham being over age with 6d. a day pension. Received his pension about three weeks ago and paid it to Mr. Foote, agent to Mr. Young, his landlord, for rent. Says his wife was relieved about 8 years ago, he being in prison for neglect of work.'

Later in the year, James Ibbotson, a forgerman, 'late of Mousehole Forge but now of Codney Park, near Alfreton', applied:

'his father was apprentice with Mr. Kenyon and lived at Oughtibridge, he then removed to Mousehole and next lived with and worked for his father until 21 and then continued to work for Messrs. Armitage for 4 years, removed to Sheffield and worked for Mr. Skelton at Pond Forge, left about 5 years ago and went to Codney Park and about August last was turned off in consequence of the depression in trade. Came over to Mousehole Forge week after Christmas last and has been employed by Mr. Armitage since that time to Saturday night last when he received his wages amounting to (he does not know what), has a wife at Codney Park and 4 children.'

In 1829 Peter Bradshaw of Eyam applied:

'Bound apprentice with Matthew Darwent of Stannington, grinder, and served his time, when he was loose he went to Stoney Middleton and weaved, after that he went to work at Dronfield at his own trade and has been returned to Eyam nearly

a year, working at weaving. Is now ill and in no sick club, he has one child aged 4 years and his wife nearly at down lying. Aged 26, Betty 26.'

Joshua Mallinson applied on behalf of George Wolstenholme in 1830:

'says that his father's settlement was in Bradfield by serving an apprenticeship in Stannington to a cutler, he has never done any act to gain a settlement. His father also kept the public house in Stannington now occupied by Charles Cheek. He is now 79 years of age and wife 77, receives 4s. a week from Stannington Sick Club - is quite ill and incapable of work.'

(Gell's 1825 *Directory of Sheffield* listed Charles Cheek as victualler at the 'Crown and Glove.')

Later in the year Sarah, wife of John Gregory of Sheffield Park (near the sign of the 'Haigh Tree') applied:

'says she believes he was bound apprentice to John Gregory, his father, and that he lived all the time in a house next to George Armitage on Stannington side the water near Malin Bridge, is by trade a puddler. Two children. She says her husband left her on Monday to go about the country seeking work.'

The cholera outbreak of 1832, which killed over 400 people in Sheffield, including the Master Cutler, John Blake, brought applications for relief: Elizabeth, widow of Septimus Inman of Shalesmoor, Sheffield,

'says she was here Friday last for relief for her daughter, Mary Wilkinson, whose husband was dead of cholera: that she left her husband, Septimus, well and when she returned to Sheffield the same day she found her husband dead of the same complaint. His father's settlement was at Stannington; her husband was a saw grinder and worked for Mr. Millington. She has five children at home.'

In 1833 Ann, widow of another Peter Bradshaw, a 39-year old grinder, late of Matthew Street, Sheffield, applied:

'her late husband died at the Infirmary about three months ago in consequence of hurts he received in a quarrel three weeks before that. Five men have been committed to York for manslaughter. Born Sheffield Workhouse, illegitimate, afterwards bound apprentice to Robert Bradshaw of Rivelin and served him and the widow until 21. One child. Expects to receive something from Grinders' Society.'

Another widow, that of Samuel Jeffcock, a grinder late of Marlborough Street, Liverpool, applied in 1836:

‘Samuel Jeffcock was bound apprentice with John Goodison of Stannington, razor grinder, indenture dated April 1818, for 9 years and 20 days which he duly served. Married Ann Hallam in Sheffield 1827. Went to Liverpool the following year. Died 6 weeks ago. Sold part of the furniture and remainder brought with her about 3 weeks since. She is now living in Stannington with her father, John Hallam, she is 30 years of age and has three children.’

The winter of 1837/38 was obviously bad and caused distress to workers. Joseph Morton of Stoney Middleton applied:

‘Aged 38, wife 36, apprenticeship with James Mallinson of Stannington, now a mason, cannot work owing to the severity of the weather. Seven children.’ Similarly, Enoch Wragg of Dungworth Bottom applied: ‘Aged 62. Cannot work on account of the severity of the weather, breaks gannister for a living.’

Unfortunately, in most cases, the records do not show if relief was actually given to these and many more pleas for help. It is possible that no relief was given if none was stated.

Ecclesfield churchwardens built an almshouse, which later became the workhouse, in 1638, but I have found no record of the Bradfield pensioners being housed, other than in their own homes, until 1750 when the feoffees property included a house used as a poorhouse. In 1769

‘The feoffees of the church lands have agreed to allow the inhabitants of the Chapelry of Bradfield the sum of £40 towards repairing the old housing now empty and belonging to the church being about 20 yards in length and six in breadth with some ground at the backside thereof, provided that the said inhabitants rebuild the said premises, converting them to the use of the poor and being used as a poorhouse and paying annually to the feoffees aforesaid the sum of 40s.’²⁷

The new building was completed in 1770.

I have found no record describing the state of the poor in the Bradfield chapelry at the end of the eighteenth century but, in Ecclesfield, Sir Frederic Morton Eden found that there were places for about 64 in the workhouse with another 96 receiving a weekly pension and 38 needing occasional assistance.²⁸ In 1794 the cost of this care, managed by a contractor, was £760 and was expected to be £860 the following year. After then ‘the parish intend to take their Poor into their own hands.’²⁹ Sheffield catered for about

148 persons in the workhouse, in 43 beds, with another 972 out-pensioners.³⁰

According to an examination of the Bradfield poorhouse at the end of 1814, there were eight dormitories, at that time occupied by 52 paupers although the numbers varied from week to week. Paupers had to share beds, and both men, women and children shared the same rooms: in George Handley's Garrett (sic) on the top floor there were two beds for the four inmates; in the Great Garrett were five beds shared between eleven inmates, of whom William Stephenson, 'very old and infirm' had a bed to himself, Thomas Inman shared a bed with Peter Inman who was 'lame of an arm' and John Parkin who was 'subject to Fitts'; Ann Bottom's Garrett had three beds with two paupers in each. There was also an empty lumber room. The first floor's Kitchen Garritt had two beds, one for a single inmate and the other for Enoch Ragg, his wife, son and daughter. It was noted that he was 'to have his goods fetched from Chesterfield.' The Lower Parlour Chamber accommodated seven inmates in three beds; the Great Chamber had John Shaw, his wife and three children allowed two beds, with another five inmates sharing two beds. A further three beds in the Back Chamber accommodated six inmates. On the same floor there was a store-room and a lumber room. The ground floor had a Low Parlour for three inmates sharing one bed. There was also a kitchen, pig hull with 'two piggs,' a cellar, a coal place 'with a good stock of coal' and a Vestry Room where the overseers had their meetings.³¹ Very often the first item on the agenda was the proposal, and unanimous agreement, that the meeting should be adjourned to the Cross Daggers Inn, sometimes referred to as Heaven House, next to the church. Incidentally, the vestry room was where the parish documents were recovered in 1975.

In 1818 the Bradfield overseers ordered that

'the people who are in the poorhouse under the age of 60 years are not to have any tobacco allowed by the Governor except the Doctor recommends that they should have it.'³²

I have found no record of the inmates' diet, but it was probably very similar to that of those in Ecclesfield workhouse (Table 3.1.), as various parishioners were ordered to supply Bradfield with meal, milk, flour, etc.

Table 3.1. Ecclesfield Workhouse 'Bill of Fare' 1790s.³³

	BREAKFAST	DINNER	SUPPER
Sunday	Milk pottage and bread	Butcher's meat, potatoes, broth and bread	Broth and bread
Monday	Milk pottage and bread	Bread and butter, 2oz. of butter to each adult	Milk pottage and bread
Tuesday	Milk pottage and bread	Puddings with sauce and beer	Milk pottage and bread
Wednesday	Milk pottage and bread	Butcher's meat, potatoes, broth and bread	Broth and bread
Thursday	Milk pottage and bread	Bread and butter, 2oz. of butter to each adult	Milk pottage and bread
Friday	Milk pottage and bread	Puddings with sauce and beer	Milk pottage and bread
Saturday	Milk pottage and bread	Puddings with sauce and beer	Milk pottage and bread

The governor, and also a matron, lived in the poorhouse. In 1821 a local man, Reginald Bramall, a 58 year old widower of Storrs, was accepted for the position of governor. His letter of application was accompanied by twenty-five signatures of persons who

'do think and recommend Reginald Bramall as a steady proper person for a Governor of the workhouse and we think that he will endeavour to discharge the duties with satisfaction to his employers.'³⁴

Bramall agreed to be paid £26.5s.0d. per year. At the beginning of 1834 he was taken ill and died. During his illness the poorhouse management was taken over by the matron, Hannah Bancroft, who had to resign through ill health later in the same year. A surgeon apothecary from Sheffield looked after the health of the inmates for a salary of about £18 per year. At a meeting of the overseers in 1828 it was decided that the then surgeon, Mr. J. Carr, should be given a present of £5 in addition to his salary

'he having had the amputation of John Ollerenshaw's leg during the last year and also for his strict attention to the pauper patients under his care.'³⁵

Between 1785 and 1832 the national poor rate increased from £2 million to £7 million, with one person in every seven classed as a pauper.³⁶ In 1814 the overseer's committee for Stannington quarter - William Ronksley, Charles Armitage, Jonathan Shaw and Thomas Greaves - reported that 'they had examined the outpayments for that quarter

amounting to £1,044.18s.8d.³⁷ An Abstract of Returns relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor, 1815, included figures for the parish of Ecclesfield. However, in only six years, 1816-21, was Bradfield separated from its mother parish (Table 3.2.).

Table 3.2. Money spent on the Poor of Bradfield.

1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
£2,600	£3,000	£3,800	£4,195.12s.0d.	£3,684.11s.0d.	£3,771.13s.0d.

It can be seen that although the first four years showed a steady increase in expense, this was followed by a drop in 1820 and 1821 to a figure less than that of 1818. In spite of rentals from the feoffees's charity, the poor rate had to be increased by the nineteenth century. These quoted figures well outstripped the feoffees's contribution. Even in 1907 the gross yearly income of the feoffees's estate was only £278.11s.6d.³⁸

It was hoped that the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 would rectify the situation, one clause of which abolished outdoor relief to able-bodied men. The severity of this is summed up by T. K. Derry and T. L. Jarman:

'If the poor needed help, let them come to the workhouse for it. If they came to the workhouse, let them find that the help they got - food and shelter for themselves and their families in return for task-work - was administered in such a strict, mean, and humiliating fashion that people would rather die than become paupers. If they would not become paupers, then they must either find a job, however hard and poorly paid, or emigrate, or die.'³⁹

Not all outdoor relief was abolished, but after 1834 the elderly out-pensioners had their relief lowered, often to a level where they could not survive, but the fear of the workhouse reduced them to the point of starvation. In addition

'non-resident relief was heavily curtailed and it was directed that all in receipt of relief should reside in the parish or Union to which they belonged.'⁴⁰

The new law certainly succeeded in its aim of deterring applications for relief.

The Act also decreed that parishes should unite to care for their poor, with each union under the guidance of a Board of Guardians. Until then applicants for relief knew, and were known by, the overseers, almost their equals, who would be sympathetic to their

needs, but the new guardians would, more than likely, be from a different parish and certainly from a higher social class, out of touch with poverty.⁴¹ The Wortley Union was intended to include the large area comprising Wortley, Ecclesfield, Bradfield, Tankersley, Thurgoland, Oxspring, Hoylandswaine, Penistone, Ingbirchworth, Hunshelf, Langsett and Thurlstone. However, these boundaries were amended in 1849 when a public meeting of the ratepayers of Bradfield was held

‘to take into consideration a letter which has been received by the Guardians of the Wortley Union from the Poor Law Board wherein they state that they are prepared to divide the Wortley Union as at present constituted and that the townships of Wortley, Ecclesfield, Bradfield and Tankersley should for the future constitute a separate Union.’⁴²

For once the ratepayers agreed with a proposal by the Poor Law Commissioners.

The new measures were not greeted with enthusiasm by many of the parishes involved, particularly in the north of England where overseers were slow to put the law into practice. After a meeting of the chapelwardens, overseers of the poor and the ratepayers of Bradfield in 1837, a letter was sent to the Poor Law Commissioners stating that

‘it is desirable that the management of the poor in this township shall be continued under the control of the inhabitants of this township, subject to such rules and regulations as the Poor Law Commissioners may think it expedient to enact for their government, and that it would not tend either to the comfort of the poor or to the advantage of the ratepayers to be united to any other parish or township, the inhabitants of this township being willing to bear the extra expense (if any) of carrying such orders or regulations of the Commissioners into effect.’⁴³

This was obviously ignored because a year later Mr. Francis Wright of Revell Grange, Mr. John Bedford of Oughtibridge and Mr. John Redfern of Onesacre were elected as ‘Guardians of the Poor of the Wortley Union’ on behalf of the township of Bradfield.

By 1842 Bradfield was under pressure to close its poorhouse in favour of a Union Workhouse being built in Ecclesfield parish. A copy of a meeting’s resolution was sent to the Board of Guardians stressing that

‘it would be exceedingly undesirable to discontinue the occupation of the workhouse at Bradfield as recommended by the Poor Law Commissioners to the Guardians of the Wortley Union, the said workhouse being sufficiently large and commodious for all purposes and might at a small expense be rendered quite adequate to any classification which the Poor Law commissioners or the Guardians for the Union might think it needful to introduce and which expense

the inhabitants of the township would be willing to repay.’⁴⁴

The Bradfield workhouse survived only until a new Union Workhouse at Grenoside was completed in 1851. In the Bradfield Vestry minutes of 1880 the former workhouse was described as ‘all those two cottages situated in and belonging to the township of Bradfield.’⁴⁵ The building is still standing on Towngate, having been converted into five cottages. The Grenoside Workhouse became part of Middlewood Psychiatric Hospital and is now a day-care centre run by Community Health Sheffield NHS Trust.

During the 1840s, the Sheffield Union built a farm in Stannington. Kelly’s 1865 *Directory of Sheffield*, describing Stannington, referred to ‘a farm of about 50 acres held by the Sheffield Union under the Duke of Norfolk which is cultivated by able-bodied paupers.’ The 1851 census listed a farm bailiff, James White, employing about 30 labourers, five of whom lodged there. No boarders were recorded there in 1861 and 1871, and by 1881 the farm had been converted into a truants’ school. It later became an annex for Middlewood Hospital and is now a complex of private apartments.

Local records therefore show that the chapelry of Bradfield, in common with most parishes, was willing to care for its own ‘deserving’ poor, but was keen to get rid of others. Bradfield’s original poorhouse accommodated those who could not survive in their own homes. The system changed when the Poor Law Amendment Act forced parishes to combine into impersonal Unions after 1834 when the ‘dreaded workhouse’ became feared by all. The Sheffield Union farm at Hollow Meadows was built to force the able-bodied unemployed to work rather than be a burden on the poor rate. We can see, however, from the relief applications that, even before 1834, men and families sought work beyond the township. Stannington was part of the wider ‘country’ of Hallamshire but a few families had gone further away.

¹ C. Husbands, ‘Hearths, Wealth and Occupations’ in K. Schürer & T. Arkell, *Surveying the People* (Oxford: Leopard’s Head Press, 1992), p. 66.

² E. Carlson, ‘The origins, function and status of the office of churchwarden, with particular reference to the diocese of Ely’ in Margaret Spufford (ed.) *The World of Rural Dissenters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 199.

³ J. G. Ronksley (ed.) *An Exact and Perfect Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield with Other Lands, by John Harrison, 1637* (Printed privately for Arthur Wightman by Robert White & Co., Worksop, 1908), pp. 159-160.

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- ⁴ ACM S18, p. 125.
- ⁵ J. V. Beckett, 'Introduction' in W. F. Webster (ed.), *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax, 1664:1674* (Thoroton Society Record Series, XXXVII, 1998), p. xl.
- ⁶ Margaret Spufford, 'The limitations of the Probate Inventory' in John Chartres and David Hey (eds.) *English Rural Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 144.
- ⁷ ACM S129.
- ⁸ Margaret Spufford, p. 150
- ⁹ ACM S18.
- ¹⁰ MD 585, p. 29.
- ¹¹ MP 289 7M.
- ¹² Margaret Spufford, p. 151.
- ¹³ Margaret Spufford, p. 153-154.
- ¹⁴ Amy Erickson, 'Using Probate Accounts' in Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us part* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000), p. 104.
- ¹⁵ Margaret Spufford, p. 142.
- ¹⁶ Len Brookes (ed.), *A Guide to Bradfield Parish* (Bradfield Parish Council, 1990), p. 17.
- ¹⁷ Rev. J. Eastwood, *The History of the Parish of Eccles field* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1862), p. 276.
- ¹⁸ Wilson Collection, vol. 2, p. 4.
- ¹⁹ Eastwood, pp. 474-475.
- ²⁰ Eastwood, p. 305.
- ²¹ BPC, *Bradfield Vestry Minutes Book 1820-1852*.
- ²² BPC, *Bradfield Vestry Minutes Book 1820-1852*.
- ²³ Wilson, vol. 42, p. 13.
- ²⁴ Wilson, vol. 42, p. 13.
- ²⁵ Wilson, vol. 33, p. 30.
- ²⁶ BPC 8.
- ²⁷ Wilson, vol. 232, p. 291.
- ²⁸ Sir F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor - A Facsimile of the 1797 Edition* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 815.
- ²⁹ Eden, p. 815.
- ³⁰ Eden, p. 872.
- ³¹ BPC 1a.
- ³² BPC 1a.
- ³³ Eden, p. 815.
- ³⁴ BPC 60.
- ³⁵ BPC 1.
- ³⁶ *Longmans' Summary of English History* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906) p. 149.
- ³⁷ BPC 1a.
- ³⁸ Bradfield Feoffees' Records, *Charity Commission's Report on Regulation of the Feoffee Estate Charity*, 1907.
- ³⁹ T. K. Derry and T. L. Jarman, *Modern Britain* (London: John Murray, 1979), p. 164.
- ⁴⁰ K. M. D. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 123.
- ⁴¹ Snell, pp. 104-105.
- ⁴² BPC 1.
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CHAPTER 4

THE ECONOMY

1. Farming

Land more than 1,000 ft. above sea level was, and part of it still is, difficult to cultivate. Hallam and Rod Moors remain just as they were hundreds of years ago, peat covered with rough scrub, providing patches of summer grazing to hardy sheep and grouse. At a lower level some cultivation was possible but the soil was poor and the landscape rugged. Even today it is described by the locals as ‘uneasy’ farming and Joseph Hunter commented that ‘the inhabitants are as rugged as their soil.’¹ It can be seen from field names such as Lyme Peite and Lyme Leyes,² included in John Harrison’s survey of 1637, that the use of lime was necessary to break up the heavy soil and neutralise the acidity of peat in order to bring the moorland into cultivation. Thomas Cuthbert of Storrs, in his will proved in 1694, left ‘certain lime on the ground at Storrs’ worth £2.10s.0d.; Thomas Dungworth of Stannington (1697) left ‘manure and lime on the ground’ worth £2; Richard Revell of Morewood (1714) left ‘a certain parcell of lime and sacks’ worth £1.10s.0d.; George Thompson of Hopwood House (1761) left ‘muck and lime’ worth £4.14s.0d. Seventeen other inventories, of the 95 studied, included manure and two referred to ashes.

The donations of Gerard de Furnival, Lord of Hallamshire who died in 1219, to Worksop Priory included an oxgang, (about 13 acres), of land in Stannington field and pasturage for forty cows in Riveling at Fulwood Booth.³ Incidentally, this is the earliest reference I have found to Stannington by name. Gerard’s widow, who in her widowhood reverted to her maiden name of Maud de Lovetot, confirmed this gift:

‘one bovate of land with its appurtenances under Bolake Knol [Black Knoll] in the field of Stannington, and pasture for forty cows with their following under three years old in my forest of Riveling, for a perpetual possession.’⁴

Tenant farmers could graze their livestock in the ‘forest of Riveling.’ Grazing was also allowed on the commons, subject to manor court regulations. At a court verdict in 1663 it was ordered that:

‘We lay a paine that no person or persons shall put any scabed horses to the

common in any place within the soake of Bradfield in payne to forfeit for the doing 10s. ... We lay a payne that no person shall steal any other man's sheep of the common in any place within the soake of Bradfield in payne to forfeit for any default 3s.3d.'⁵

As the size or number of farms increased, and more food was needed, due to an increase in population, so more common land was enclosed. Harrison's survey gave an idea of this when he used the term 'intacke' describe a field, e.g. concerning the lands rented by Francis Fenton at Malin Bridge: 'an intacke called Myers (wood and some arable) lying between Loxley Water North and Stannington Wood South...cont. 2ac. 2r. 0p.'⁶ This land had been 'taken in' from the common of Stannington Wood. Such 'intakes' had to be with the permission of the lord of the manor, who then charged rent. Those who encroached on the commons without permission were duly reprimanded. In a verdict for the soke of Bradfield in 1669:

'We lay a paine that Robert Biltcliffe shall cast out a small piece of common formerly taken in adjoyneing to some land of Henry Worrall which Robert Biltcliffe hath in possession and that he cast out or cause the same cast out and so keep out the same from time to time before the 25th day of March next in paine to forfeit for not so doing 3s.4d.'⁷

Townfield Head Farm, a name still in existence, shows that Stannington once had a town field, called the 'Stannington field' by Gerard de Furnival or 'field of Stannington' by his widow. There cultivation took place on a communal basis. Although I have found no records of communal agriculture, the large unfenced fields would have been divided into strips and allocated to villagers. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries improved farming techniques were introduced and Stannington townfield was enclosed at an early period. In the 1707 will of George Hawksworth, a Stannington yeoman, he bequeathed to his daughter 'One close called Angry Dole in Stannington Town Fields,' and William Ibbotson, another Stannington yeoman, bequeathed to his grandson, in 1727, 'those four closes called Hudling Doles in Stannington Townfields.'

Holly trees abounded throughout the township, providing winter feed for farm animals, particularly sheep. Harrison recorded in 1637 that these cultivated trees increased the lord of the manor's revenue in the form of 'Hollin Rents'⁸ for land on which the hollies grew, e.g. Mr. Rowland Revell's rent for Steele Farm included 'Hagg of Hollin in the Wood bank and under the Toft Ends.'⁹ Abraham de la Pryme, writing his diary in

November 1696, observed:

‘In the south west of Yorkshire, at and about Bradfield, and in Darbyshire, they feed all their sheep in winter with holly leaves and bark, which they eat more readily than any grass. To every farm there is so many holly trees; and the more there is the farm is dearer; but care is taken to plant great numbers in all farms thereabouts.’¹⁰

The cultivation of holly died out in the early eighteenth century when it was replaced by root crops for animal feed, but there are still reminders of the trees in local names, such as Hollins Lane in Rivelin, and Hollins House Lane in Loxley.

Tenants held their farms by paying the lord of the manor a fine for admittance to their holding followed by a yearly rent. After the death of the tenant his heir could be admitted to the holding by payment of another fine. This system of copyhold tenancy, so called because the tenant was given a copy of the entry in the manor court roll, was, from the mid-seventeenth century, replaced gradually by a leasehold tenure for a set number of years, usually 21. Under this agreement a tenant could pass on his ‘tenant right’ to his heir for the term of his lease which would then have to be re-negotiated. Of the 146 wills and 95 inventories studied, nearly thirty wills included the passing on of this right to members of the family and on two occasions the right was counted as an asset in the inventory. The tenant right of William Darwind, a Moorwood husbandman, (1715), was valued at £16 and the ‘tenant right and term of years unexpired in two farms holden of the Duke of Norfolk’ of William Bullock, a Stannington scythe-grinder, (1730), was valued at £40. In addition another five inventories included the value of the lease: Thomas Fox of Swingley Ford Bents, (1696), £20; Robert Webster, (1700), £2.5s.0d.; George Crapper, (1753), £52; Ellen Brammall, widow, (1758), £8.13s.7d.; and Joshua Crapper, (1759), £20.

The more affluent yeoman farmers held freehold lands by paying a ‘chief rent’ to the lord of the manor. In addition to their own, they sometimes held two or three more farms, which they sub-let to their own tenants and, from the eighteenth century onwards, many became absentee landlords.

The average tenant at the time of Harrison’s survey farmed around 10 acres, notable exceptions being Margaret Revell and her son renting part of Auley Meadows, which

became Hollow Meadows, an area of 209ac.2r.3p., and Edward Ibbotson the other part with 219ac.2r.0p. The next was Mr. Rowland Revell with just over 92 acres attached to Steel Farm. Most of the rented land noted in the survey was specifically arable or pasture but some fields could be used as either.

Of the 182 people whose wills and/or inventories I have studied, 74 were yeomen or husbandmen. Another 63, recorded as having different occupations, also had land and stock for farming. Even the inventory of William Bagshaw, the minister of Stannington Chapel, who died in 1713, listed 2 apple trees, certain sheep, 3 cows, 1 calf, 6 young beasts, 1 gelding, 1 mare, 1 foal, 2 sows, geese, ducks and feathered fowl, 9 days mowing of hay, 5 days work of oats and parcel of wheat, certain manure and several farming implements.

I have noticed from inventories that the crops grown were mostly oats, wheat, corn and barley, and several farmers had made barley into malt for brewing. Hay was also harvested and straw stored. George Shaw of Storrs (1690) had '3 loades of pease,' Joseph Swallow (1755) and John Goodison (1783) had potatoes, John Stringer (1782) had 'some clover,' and George Green (1788) had 'lintels.' Farming implements included ploughs, harrows, spades, axes, forks, swine boards, wheel barrows, carts, horse harness and 'other husbandry gears,' as well as lime and manure. There were four references, of which two were widows, to owning a gun. Livestock was mainly horses, sheep, bulls, cows and calves but seven inventories listed pigs, which seems quite a low number, although others listed bacon. Seven listed bees or hives, which also seems quite low when honey was the only sweetening agent, three listed oxen, and one, John Drabble of Cliffe (1733), listed hens specifically, rather than a generalisation of feathered fowl.

The animals were highly esteemed and made a large contribution to the value of the personal estate. Included in the total of £34. 4s. 10d. for the goods of Jonathan Pitchford, a husbandman, who died in 1754, were '3 little cows £9, a mare £4.10s.0d., 17 ewes and 9 lambs £3.17s.6d.' or just over half of his assets. The loss of livestock could be devastating, and in 1744 Benjamin Shaw petitioned the Bradfield feoffees to help him in his distress:

‘That whereas your poor petitioner hath for some time past laboured under many insuperable straits and necessities having suffered much through indisposition of body and loss of goods particularly his losing a cow which died of the calving about a year and a half ago at a time when cattle were very dear and your petitioner being very unwilling to be troublesome to any has since that time laboured with all his might to retrieve his loss.’¹¹

The truth of this was attested by five local worthies, Richard Broomhead jun., William Spencer, John Crapper, Joseph Swallow and William Greaves, and the petitioner was given £2.

Although there had been a gradual encroachment on the commons, the largest intake of land took place at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries with

‘An Act for dividing and inclosing several Commons and Waste Grounds, Common Fields and Mesne Inclosures within the Manor of Sheffield in the West Riding and County of York.’

The controversial proposal for enclosure was put forward by the Duke of Norfolk and other land owners in 1787 but it soon encountered opposition. A notice appeared in the *Sheffield Register* of 8th September:

‘Notice having been given in the newspapers that application is intended to be made to Parliament next session for dividing and inclosing the several commons and waste grounds of Upper Hallam, Nether Hallam and Stannington in the Manor of Sheffield in the County of York, and several of the freeholders and inhabitants of the townships being well convinced that if such act be obtained it will be attended by very bad circumstances, they are determined to oppose the same so far as relates to their said several Townships or Districts; and do hereby give notice thereof accordingly and that proper measures will, in the meantime, be adopted for opposing the said intended application.’

This opposition appeared to delay proceedings for a while but in 1791 the Act became law. When the news was made public there were riots in Sheffield and disturbances on the moors as reported in the *Sheffield Register* of 29th July:

‘On Wednesday at noon there arrived here from Nottingham a detachment of Light Dragoons in consequence of application to Government for them. The grounds which gave occasion for the application were, we believe, a violent repulse given to the Commissioners of Enclosure for Stannington and Hallam in this neighbourhood some days ago, on their attending to mark the boundaries.’

Although the Act included both Stannington and Hallam, the rioting was probably

nothing to do with the enclosure of Stannington but that of Crookes Moor. However, the sight of the troops excited the crowds who surged through Sheffield bent on destruction. Reaching Broom Hall, the home of Rev. James Wilkinson, vicar and magistrate, they did extensive damage to the house and surroundings, setting fire to his furniture and haystacks. Five of the ringleaders were caught and sent to York for trial where one, John Bennett, used as a scapegoat by the others, was found guilty of arson and hanged.

Among the clauses of the Enclosure Act it was stated that the inhabitants of Hallam, Fulwood, Stannington and Moorwood should be allotted land in lieu of their right to herbage in Rivelin and they no longer need pay the £4 annual payment which had been paid 'for time immemorial' (see page 24). The Duke of Norfolk was, of course, well compensated for the loss of this revenue and 94 acres of land were added to his already large estate. One third of Stannington Wood, 98 acres, was also given to him in lieu of his manorial rights. In all, the Duke received 1,266 acres out of the total enclosure area of just over 2,000 acres in Stannington.

Enclosure took fourteen years to complete, with Stannington being one of the last areas. The township was surveyed in 1795 by Joseph Thackray who, with William Fairbank, was appointed by the terms of the Act to draw up maps and plans of the area.¹² The Duke of Norfolk was allotted parts of Black Moor on both sides of the Stannington/Upper Hallam boundary. The moor did not have to be enclosed unless the owners wished it, probably because it was thought unfit for further agricultural improvement. It could, however, be closed for grouse shooting. In the mid-nineteenth century the Duke let portions of moorland at Hollow Meadows to small occupiers. It was recorded in White's 1895-6 *Directory of Sheffield* that

'many of the enclosures have been brought into a good state of cultivation and some of the holders have built houses on their allotments.'

The 1851 census return showed 82 men occupied solely as a 'farmer.' In addition, another 26 combined farming with another trade. However, 93 of the entries gave the acreage of their farms, varying from Octavius Earnshaw, farmer of two acres and milk dealer in Rivelin to James Hallam, farmer of 200 acres, employing three labourers at Hall Broom. The average farm size was around 35 acres with fourteen more farmers

having less than 10 acres and three more having more than 100 acres.

Thus, during the seventeenth century, many people in the area cultivated a piece of land, however small, and supplied most of their own food. By the end of the nineteenth century the number of men occupied solely as farmers had decreased. Nearly all the farmers combined their activities with a trade or craft - a dual-economy. New housing was concentrated around Knowle Top and Liberty Hill, as occupations moved towards industry, but even now, in spite of urbanisation, farming is still important to the community, not only in Stannington, but in most of the parish of Bradfield.

2. Traders and Craftsmen serving the Local Community

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about half the working population in England had dual occupations, as the country moved away from an agricultural to an industrial economy. In his research into the village of Wigston, Leicestershire, Professor Hoskins discovered that, in the seventeenth century, most were farmers but there were a growing number of craftsmen who 'almost without exception combined their trade with the cultivation of some land.'¹³ In Leicestershire this was mostly framework-knitting, whereas around Sheffield this extra work was usually in the metal trades with, for example, farmer-nailers in Grenoside and Ecclesfield, and farmer-sicklesmiths in the Eckington area. Stannington and Wadsley produced farmer-cutlers, with Wadsley becoming renowned for its poor-quality knives - 'Wadsley flat backs.'

Before looking at the cutlery trades in detail, we can see that there were, naturally, other trades people and craftsmen, most of whom still had an involvement in farming. Seventeenth century wills often give indications of the testators' working activities, especially the later wills which have probate inventories attached that list tools, etc. Robert Revell of Townfield Head (1661), was a haberdasher; Thomas Darwend (sen.) of Lordfield House in Moorwood (1664), a joiner; Anthony Oates, of Stannington (1667) a mason; John Revell of Dungworth (1671), a notary, who also bequeathed 'husbandry gair'; John Bintcliffe of Stannington (1683), a woodmonger, with the tenant right of a farm; Richard Greaves of Stannington (1689), a yeoman, whose inventory, in addition to farming equipment, crops and animals, included 'certain looms, wool wheel, cardboard and an iron stithy.'

Eighteenth century wills and inventories continued to shed light on occupations: Henry Trickett of Storrs (1712), was a mason, with certain tools worth £1; Christopher Hague of Stannington (1717), a cooper, with certain tools and cooper timber; Thomas Brammall of Stannington (1721), a blacksmith, who left his smithy tools, worth £1.17s.0d., to his wife; Joseph Trickett of Dungworth (1721), a freemason, with masonry tools worth £1.8s.0d., and an apprentice bound to him, assigned over, worth £1.15s.0d., plus crops and domestic animals; John Ridge of Nook, who left the tenant right of his farm to his son. His inventory included one loom and three wheels; John Rodger of Hill Top (1728), was a 'victualler' in his inventory, and a 'musician' in his probate administration; Joseph Shaw of Stannington (1733), a weaver, with, 'parcell of linnen 5s., 2 pr looms with gears £2.' plus domestic animals and husbandry gears; Joseph Hoyle of Corker Walls (1735), a tailor, with a loom and a wheel, also domestic animals; John Hudson of Bents (1735), a carpenter, with 'certain carpenters' tools and joiners worth £1.6s.0d.' plus two wheels, parcel of linen cloth, parcel of hemp and domestic animals; Anthony Staniland of Stannington (1748), shoemaker; Jonathan Bromeley of Stannington (1752), butcher; Jonathan Pitchford of Stannington (1754), husbandman, with certain wool and a wool wheel.

The workers of Stannington also served the wider community. As the town of Sheffield increased in size more stone was needed, both for roads and housing, and leases were granted by the Norfolk estate to get stone from outcrops in the Stannington region. In 1713 John Shaw of Stannington was allowed 'to take the stone Delf called Stoaps where slab and paves are late gotten near Stannington Chapel.' His rent was 10s. for one year during which time he had to 'furnish the Lord with what slab and paves he had occasion for at 18d. for 100 slab and 3d. per yard paves.'¹⁴ Eight years later Shaw leased adjacent land to increase his trade.¹⁵ John Morton, a mason of Upper Hallam, agreed to 'take the liberty of getting day stone on Rivelin Moor within the Chapelry of Bradfield' in 1738 followed, in 1740, by Ezra Morton, a mason of Ran Moor, who was allowed to get day stone on 'Rivelin ledge and Rivelin.'¹⁶

Nineteenth-century militia lists and census returns, not surprisingly, gave occupations. Again, many of those listed served the local community - shoemaker, coachman, butcher, publican, schoolmaster, joiner, tailor, mason, policeman, etc. The census

returns also recorded women's occupations - dressmaker, laundress, schoolmistress, char woman, grocer, etc., although most women were still employed at home.

3. The Cutlery Trades: pre 1750

The largest trade in the neighbourhood was that of cutlery. The earliest record of cutlery making in the Sheffield region is a reference to 'Robertus le coteler' in a Sheffield tax return of 1297.¹⁷ In a list of goods issued to the valet of Edward III's wardrobe about 1341 there was 'i cultellum de Shefeld'¹⁸ and later in the same century Chaucer described the Miller of Trumpington, in the Reeve's Tale, as having a Sheffield 'thwytel' in his hose.¹⁹ There is little evidence that Sheffield cutlery was of national importance at that time, but it was certainly in existence and continued to grow throughout the following centuries.

By the sixteenth century the cutlery trade had become well established in Sheffield and the town 'was acknowledged to be England's major provincial centre of cutlery manufacture.'²⁰ Cutlers came under the jurisdiction of the lord of the manor who granted individual cutlers' marks on payment of one penny per year. In 1565 regulations were laid down which affected cutlers carrying on their trade within the lordship of Hallamshire - the parishes of Sheffield, and Ecclesfield, including the chapelry of Bradfield, and the manor of Handsworth.²¹ The regulations were designed mainly to assist the trade by restricting outside competition. Together with a long term of apprenticeship, these restrictions combined to produce highly skilled, independent craftsmen able to perform every process required in cutlery manufacture.

An elected jury of cutlers, who had to report to the manor courts, enforced further regulations and restrictions that were introduced in 1590. Any fines for infringement of the rules were paid to the lord. Gradually the cutlers became aware of the advantages to be gained as an independent body rather than being subservient to the lord of the manor. The death of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1616, without a male heir, robbed Hallamshire of its resident lord of the manor, giving the cutlers a further incentive for self-government. The incorporation of 'The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York,' in 1624, severed the feudal link.

All makers of

'Knives, Blades, Scissors, Sheeres, Sickles, Cutlery wares and all other wares and manufactures made or wrought of yron and steel, dwelling or inhabiting within the said Lordship and Liberty of Hallamshire or within sixe miles compasse of the same'²²

came under the jurisdiction of the Company which was made up of a Master, two wardens, six searchers, twenty-four assistants and a general commonalty. To become a member of the commonalty, i.e. a freeman, an apprenticeship of at least seven years had to be served, freedom gained and an individual mark granted.

Stannington produced many cutlers but very few got beyond the ranks of the commonalty. Richard Fenton, of Mousehole, was elected Assistant in 1675; John Trickett, of Stannington, Assistant in 1733 and from 1735 to 1740 and Searcher in 1741 and 1742; William Crapper of Storrs, Assistant in 1760 and 1761; William Spencer of Stannington, Assistant in 1768; William Greaves of Dungworth, Assistant in 1770 and Enoch Drabble, of Hill Top, Dungworth, Assistant in 1771.²³

Because of the vast numbers of workers wanting to join the Company, an act of 1791 cancelled the statutory seven-year term of apprenticeship, allowing any metalworker to become a freeman and have a mark granted on payment of £20. During the following year alone 1,346 men were admitted and 482 apprentices were enrolled²⁴ and the number kept rising. No apprenticeships were recorded after about 1820 and most men in the metal trades bought their way into the Company.

Records show that over the period of the Cutlers' Company's indentures, Stannington was host to 912 apprentices. Of these, 146 lived in Stannington and served their apprenticeships with their fathers; another 159 lived in Stannington at the time of their apprenticeships, but were apprenticed to masters other than their fathers. The remaining 607 came into the township from other areas to serve under Stannington masters. Most only travelled short distances, including other parts of Hallamshire and north Derbyshire, but others came from further afield, e.g. Henry, the son of Thomas Ransley, of Scotter, Lincs., was bound to Joseph Green in 1736; James the son of Thomas Jones, of Stockport, to George Crapper in 1740; John, son of Thomas Spicer, of Eastwell,

Leics., to Thomas Darwent in 1752; Thomas, son of Edward Hall, of Warrington, to George Allison, in 1798. In addition to these figures, another 179 lads moved out of Stannington to serve apprenticeships in other parts of the cutlery region.

The hearth tax returns of 1672 listed only three smithies in Stannington - Rowland Bramall, Francis Fenton, and George Marriott, who was recorded in the Norfolk estate's woodwards' accounts of 1664; 'building a smithy, planking his barn floor and three doors making a tree £3.'²⁵ There was just one smithy hearth in Dungworth, that of George Gillott. In addition, however, different references show that there were other cutlers working in the township at that time: The Cutlers' Company apprenticeship lists show that both Thomas and William Dungworth were masters taking apprentices.²⁶ Their sons gained freedom from their fathers in 1672 and 1673 respectively; William Grey moved to Stannington as an apprentice in 1626, stayed there and died in 1678, presumably still a cutler; the Lord family rented Grogram Wheel from 1664 to 1704 and bound apprentices throughout that period; the Webster family leased Rivelin Wheel during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Although these numbers are still small, they help to confirm the picture of later growth.

Smithy hearths were distinguished from domestic ones in the returns during the time when the Cutlers' Company was protesting against the taxing system. The trouble began in 1670 when the tax, which had been imposed on domestic hearths in 1662, was extended to include smithy hearths. As the livelihood of the cutlers depended on the use of a hearth they thought it a great injustice that they should be taxed on this necessity. The Cutlers' Company vigorously contested the legality of this tax on behalf of its members. The struggle continued for almost two decades until the hearth tax was abolished in 1689.

As with other trades, wills and inventories give an insight into the possessions of cutlers. In the period up to 1750, looking at 110 wills and/or inventories, I have found one blacksmith, one scythe grinder, and fourteen cutlers. This showed that just over 14.5% of these people were recorded as metal workers. For example, in his will of 1681, William Dongworth of Stannington, left his vice to his father. Benjamin Drabble had in his smithy in 1710 'A pair of bellows 18s.; stythy and stythy stocks £1.10s.0d.;

tongs and harth scumor 2s.; 6 hammers 4s., 4 pair presses £1.10s.0d.; 3 vices, 2 hirones, 2 great saves and a little save £1.0s.6d.; little witing hammers, files and other cutlery tools 7s.; iron and steel £1.' He also had domestic animals and '8 days work of corn seed and ploughing.' Similarly, George Hallam of Stannington, who died in 1717, had in his smithy 'pair of bellows, a stithy and other necessary tools £3.5s.0d.' plus 2 cows, a mare, hay and 'an acre and a halfe of corn.'

In 1736 John Trickett of Mousehole, bequeathed his smithy tools to his sons, John and Moses, and to his eldest son, Joseph, 'ye new dung cart instead of his part of ye smithy tools.' In the smithy were '2 pair of bellows, 2 stithys, stocks, and hammers £5.12s.0d.; a pressing vice, 3 presses, 5 small vices £4.0s.6d.; 54lb. weight of iron 9s.; 3 quarters and 24lb. weight of steele £3.18s.0d.' He also had husbandry gear, animals and a haystack. His son Joseph, also a cutler of Mousehole, had in his smithy, in 1779, 'large hark of tools £3; lesser ditto £2; 3 vices 10s.; large pressing vice £2; lesser ditto 16s.; 3 pair of presses 12s.; 3 old vices 7s.6d.; 6 pair of tongs 1s.6d.; 3 hand hammers 3s.; old iron and lumber £1.' plus hay and corn.

I have also observed from the wills and inventories, but not counted them in the percentage of metal workers, that several of the 'yeomen' had interests in the cutlery industry: Edward Barber of Loxley End (1664), was the owner of Mousehole Forge and four scythe wheels in Wisewood; the inventory of William Ibbotson of Stannington (1721), included a cutlers' wheel valued at £10; Joshua Spooner of Stannington (1754), bequeathed 'To my son Thomas the tenant right, rents and profits of the uppermost wheel in the Copy'; the inventory of Joseph Swallow of Stannington (1755), included 'In the wheel' goods with a total value of £14.6s.6d.; and that of John Stringer of Tom Hill (1782), included 'In the smithy' three vices, two presses and two hammers valued at £2.15s.0d. Sarah Marshall, a widow of Stannington, who had inherited wheels from her husband (1772), bequeathed to her executors

'two cutlers' wheels which wheels I hold of the Duke of Norfolk, the one standing on the common and the other in the Copy, both adjoining to Riving Water, in trust for the benefit of my sons and sons-in-law.'

The lease was valued at £60.

It is noticeable that, although several had tools of the trade recorded, only three cutlers had actual materials or finished products mentioned by name. John Trickett of Mousehole, (1736) mentioned above; Joshua Drabble of Dungworth (1742) had in his barn ‘7 gross and a half of knives and some hefts and skales’ valued at £4.9s.0d.; and George Green of Storrs (1788) had ‘In chamber over the house’ knives worth £15 and, ‘In the smithy’ bone scales 5s. and bone 10s.

Incidentally, very few inventories mentioned household cutlery by name. Francis Ronksley, of Rivelin Side (1754), had knives and forks valued at 2s.6d.; Ellen Bramall, of Stannington (1758), had knives and forks valued at 1s.; and George Thompson, of Hopwood House (1762), had knives and forks valued at 5s. It is possible that, in most cases, cutlery was grouped together with other odd items in ‘husslement,’ or even in ‘purse and apparel.’

Grinding, a skilful and highly dangerous job, was one of the first processes of cutlery making to become a separate branch of the trade. Sitting directly behind and bending over a rapidly revolving grindstone, the grinder was in constant danger of the stone either shattering or breaking loose from its bearings. If one of these disasters happened the grinder stood little chance of escaping serious, if not fatal, injury. The Duke of Norfolk’s agent was aware of these dangers when he leased Rivelin Bridge Wheel to William Battie in 1745. His lease stated:

‘Nor suffer the grinders at the said wheel to work thereat till each of them has effectively secured the seat whereon he sits with iron hoops to prevent such accidents as might otherwise happen in case the grindstone breaks.’²⁷

Another danger was a comparatively long-term one in the form of ‘grinders’ disease,’ a type of pneumonia caused by the continuous inhalation of dust and fragments of iron.

In a Norfolk lease of 1721 Jonathan Trickett of Stannington was allowed ‘the getting of grindstones upon the common within Bradfield called Lee Bank or Sugworth Edge.’ His widow, Mary continued in 1724 and it was noted in 1728 that she had ‘made over her part of this lease to her sone Joseph Morton.’²⁸

In the early seventeenth century there were twenty-eight grinding wheels on the rivers

of Sheffield and its surrounding districts. Each one was leased by cutlers whose wheel rents continued to be a fairly substantial source of income to the manor estate, even after the incorporation of the Cutlers' Company. The lessees in turn rented grinding troughs, run off the water-powered wheel, to other cutlers. John Harrison recorded:

'These Rivers are very profitable unto ye Lord in regard of the Mills and Cutler wheelles that are turned by their streames, which weeles are imployed for the grinding of knives by four or five hundred Master Workmen that gives severall marks.'²⁹

At the time of this survey there was only one grinding wheel on the River Loxley, namely Ashton Carr, and three on the River Rivelin: Hind, Spooner, and Grogram.

During the period up to around 1750 the cutlery trade in Stannington was very much in its infancy. Although there were some cutlers in the township, most men were yeomen or husbandmen. This was about to change, however, as the cutlery trades spread out from Sheffield along the rivers.

4. The Cutlery Trades circa 1750-1800

We shall now look at how the cutlery trades expanded in Stannington during the second half of the eighteenth century. To begin with, compared with the previous period, the number of persons whose wills and/or inventories I have studied showed a big increase in the percentage of cutlers and other metal workers. The 18 cutlers, six grinders, including one scythe grinder, and one forgerman, in a total of 60, raised the percentage from 14.5 % to just over 41.6%.

Studying the Cutlers' Company records, I have noted the number of masters in Stannington binding at least one apprentice in a twenty-year period - Table 4.1.

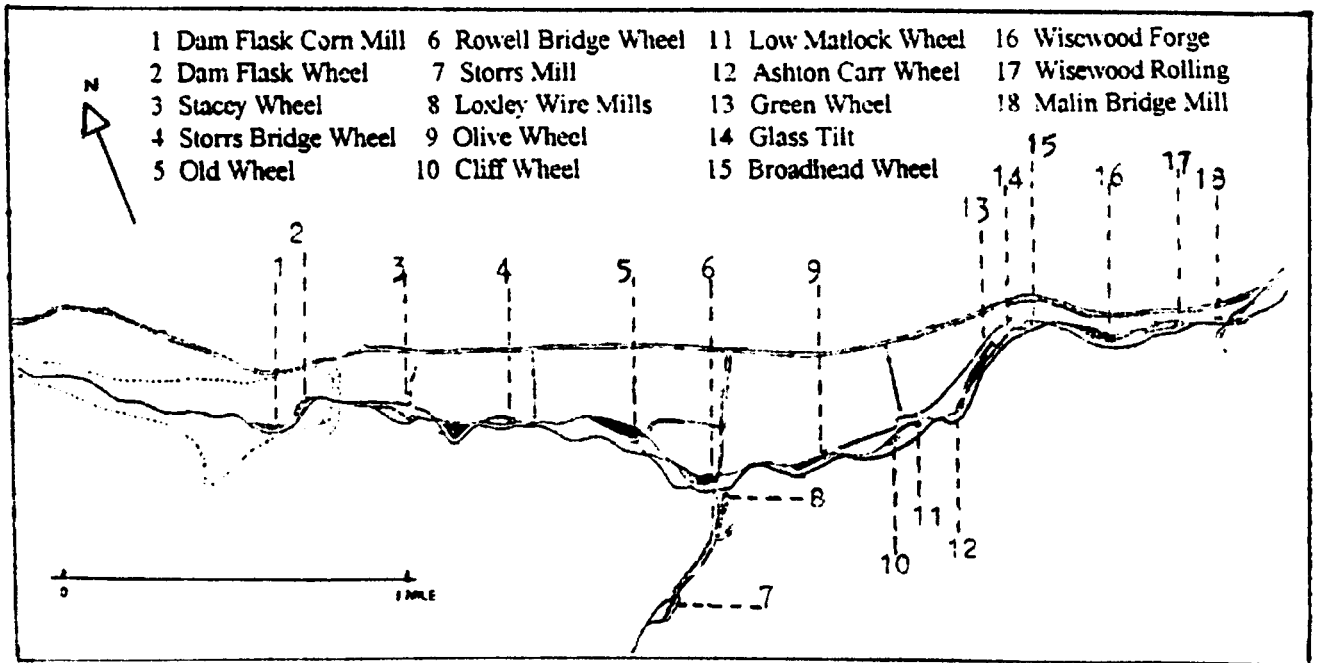
Table 4.1. Number of Masters binding at least one Apprentice.

Years	Pre 1700	1700-20	1721-40	1741-60	1761-80	1781-1800	Post 1800
No. of masters	21	27	57	68	80	132	88

We can see from this that the number was low until about 1720. An increase then began, in line with the building of cutlers' wheels on the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin.

This trend continued for the remainder of the century when, between 1781 and 1800, 132 masters bound apprentices. After 1800, when the Cutlers' Company was abandoning apprenticeships, the number of masters appeared to drop, and 1814 was the last year in which apprentices in Stannington were bound by the Company.

Figure 4.1. Water-powered Works on the River Loxley and Storrs Brook.



By the end of the eighteenth century the 200 ft. fall of water on the River Loxley, in the three and a half miles from Dam Flask to Malin Bridge, had given rise to sixteen water-driven works. Another two were in operation on Storrs Brook, which joins the River Loxley (Figure 4.1.).

Although the Rivelin valley began to develop as a hive of industry slightly earlier than the Loxley, I shall look at each works on the River Loxley first, as it could be said that the River Rivelin is a tributary of the River Loxley. The River Loxley is less well recorded than the River Rivelin because a lot of the land belonged to the sub-manor of Owlerton, where leases were haphazard and rents were often not collected for years. After reaching a peak, the number of works dropped after about 1850 (Table 4.2.). Some were never rebuilt after the Bradfield flood and others closed as the rural cutlery trade declined. Although there is very little left of most of the wheel sites, remains can

still be traced down the valleys.

Table 4.2. Approximate time span of Works on the River Loxley and Storrs Brook.

	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950
Damflask Corn		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Damflask					■	■	■		
Stacey					■	■	■		
Storrs Bridge				■	■	■	■	■	
Old			■	■	■	■	■	■	
Rowell Bridge				■	■	■	■	■	
Storrs					■	■	■	■	■
Loxley Wire			■	■	■	■	■	■	
Olive				■	■	■	■	■	
Cliff				■	■	■	■		
Low Matlock				■	■	■	■	■	
Ashton Carr	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Green					■	■	■	■	
Glass					■	■	■	■	
Broadhead				■	■	■	■	■	
Wisewood Scythe			■	■	■	■	■	■	
Wisewood			■	■	■	■	■	■	
Malin Bridge				■	■	■	■	■	

The highest works on the River Loxley within the township of Stannington was Damflask Corn Mill, although there was another mill upstream in the hamlet of Nether Bradfield. Both mills were mentioned in the Shrewsbury bailiffs' accounts at the end of the sixteenth century, but by Harrison's survey in 1637 rents included: 'Edward Adamson for halfe of Danflaske Mill £6.13s.4d.; Robert Rawson for ye other Halfe of Danflaske Mill £6.13s.4d.'³⁰ Robert Rawson's daughter married Edward Adamson in 1641. When Rawson died in 1664 he bequeathed 'and to my son-in-law and Anne his wife, my daughter, £100.' By 1654 a Widow Fox had joined Adamson and Rawson, the partnership also leasing Low Bradfield Corn Mill.³¹ In the Stannington hearth tax return of 1672 John Brumhead, with three hearths, is specifically noted as miller and in 1690 the tenants of both corn mills were John Broomhead and Thomas Corbridge.³² Soon after, the lease was taken over by Mr Fox of Bradfield, who subsequently went bankrupt and died in gaol.³³ During the major part of the eighteenth century the lessees were

members of the Whitham family, beginning with Abraham Whitham who joined Thomas Corbridge in 1707.³⁴ Benjamin Hague took over in 1771, and his son, John, bought the mill from the Norfolk estate in 1801.³⁵

The Sheffield Water Company was always demanding more water in order to meet the ever-increasing need to supply the rapidly growing town of Sheffield. Provisions were made in the 1853 'Water Works Act' for the Water Company to build reservoirs at Agden Dyke, Dale Dyke and Strines Dyke. These would give compensation water to the mill owners on the River Loxley. By March 1864 the Dale Dyke reservoir, over a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, was reaching its full capacity of 691 million gallons of water. On the evening of 11th March a workman noticed a slight crack in the side of the embankment and just happened to mention his discovery to a colleague, who passed the message on. Gradually the crack became wider although those who had gone to see for themselves, in spite of realising that something was wrong, did not appreciate the magnitude of the danger. Eventually efforts were made to alleviate pressure on the dam wall but shortly before midnight a large section of the embankment collapsed and the power of almost 700 million gallons of water was unleashed down the unsuspecting Loxley valley. Very few had time to escape the deluge and over 200 people were drowned or died later (see page 268). The corn mill was one of the first buildings to be demolished by the flood.³⁶ The site was taken over by the Water Company and covered by Damflask reservoir in the 1870s.

The other works at Damflask began in 1750, when Jonathan Whitham leased land from the Norfolk estate to 'erect a cutlers' wheel' on the tail goit of the corn mill.³⁷ In the 1794 list it was 'not employed' and Samuel Norris, a Sheffield razor-smith, then converted it to a paper mill.³⁸ By 1864 it was a wire mill run by Messrs. Shaw & Co. The buildings were badly damaged in the flood and four workmen, John King, Charles Platts, William Longden and John Ibbotson were drowned while working overnight.³⁹ The wheel's owner, J Tasker, applied for compensation and eventually received £1,475 although he had asked for £2,500.⁴⁰ Many claimants employed agents to work on their behalf so the Water Company, working on the principle that agents would inflate the claim to increase their commission, cut down on all claims to the detriment of those who were honest in their valuation. The wire mill site finally disappeared under the

Damflask reservoir.

Stacey Wheel was constructed in 1749 when Thomas Stacey, of Ballifield, leased a site 'to erect a cutlers' wheel on land between the upper cutlers' wheel on the Loxley and Whitham's corn mill.'⁴¹ William Brightmore took a lease in 1787,⁴² which continued through members of his family until 1865. William's son, Robert Brightmore, was Master Cutler in 1808. The wheel was completely swept away by the flood but fortunately no-one was at work.⁴³ The site became part of the overflow and other workings of Damflask reservoir.

Jonathan Sanderson, a tailor of Bradfield, and Enoch Drabble, a cutler of Langhouse, took a lease of Norfolk land in 1720 to

'take a convenient place upon the River Loxley in or about the place called Stubbin Pit being about a quarter of a mile above Loxley Wheele now in the occupation of Christopher Broomhead and William Ibbotson for the building of a new wheel with one or two ends and as many troughs as they shall think fitting.'⁴⁴

This became known as Storrs Bridge Wheel. In 1741, when the wheel was let to Jonathan Sanderson, a grocer, and Enoch Drabble, a cutler of Brookside, sons of the original lessees, it consisted of two ends and eight troughs.⁴⁵ The Drabble family was connected with the wheel until about 1785 when John Harrison, a Sheffield cutler, took the lease.⁴⁶ A series of tenants enlarged the works, so that by 1794 there was a tilt in addition to the grinding troughs.

Thomas Harrison, of Sheffield, bought the works in 1800 and increased the property to a forge, two tilt hammers and the grinding troughs, powered by three water wheels.⁴⁷ In the 1820s problems arose between Harrison's daughters and Samuel Newbould (Master Cutler 1800), of Loxley Old Wheel, regarding back-watering. The dispute appears to have been solved in 1825 when a marker stone was erected, indicating to what height the water should be allowed to rise.⁴⁸ About the same time the works were sold to Messrs. Tingle who were still the owners in 1864. Surprisingly, there was not too much flood damage and within three weeks production was back to normal.⁴⁹ Miller noted in 1936 that 'There are still two water wheels here, but the tilt hammers and the grinding wheel have gone, and have been replaced by rolling mills.'⁵⁰ Water-power continued to be used until the 1950s when the mill closed and was demolished.

Loxley Old Wheel was built by William Ibbotson and John Dungworth, who were paying rent to the Norfolk estate by 1690.⁵¹ Another member of the Dungworth family, Thomas, was working at the wheel although he had no part in the lease. His 1697 inventory included: 'certain tools at the wheel: 16 rough stones and two whitning stones £4 10s. 0d.; 6 axletrees, 4 hack hammers and 4 bands £1; 4 buckets, 4 horsings, 10 yards of boards 16s.; 1 pan, 1 spade, 2 stithies, 1 hamer, 14 pulleys and other small things £1.' Christopher Broomhead, a Sheffield cutler, took John Dungworth's portion of the lease in 1710.⁵² William Ibbotson's inventory in 1727 listed a cutlers' wheel valued at £10. Thomas Mitchell of Stannington leased the wheel in 1737.⁵³

In 1758, after alterations in the partnerships, the wheel was leased by Robert Greaves, a grinder, and William Greaves, a yeoman, both of Stannington.⁵⁴ Members of the Greaves family stayed at the wheel until 1807, when Samuel Newbould bought their share of the lease.⁵⁵ Similarly the descendants of Jonathan Pitchford, who had become a partner in 1782 sold their share.⁵⁶ As well as having trouble with Storrs Bridge Wheel Newbould had problems with Rowell Bridge Wheel, the next works downstream. This time Newbould became the victim as the Rowell Bridge Co. raised the height of their dam, causing back-watering at Old Wheel. Messrs H. & E. R. Denton leased the wheel from Newbould in 1845.⁵⁷ Joseph Denton, aged 14, was drowned in the 1864 flood while working overnight at the tilt. His younger brother, John, and another workman were lucky to escape.⁵⁸ Incidentally, John's grandson still lives in Worrall. The works were repaired and continued in the ownership of Newbould until 1884. Thomas Wragg bought him out and used waterpower for crushing refractory clay until 1956.⁵⁹

Rowell Bridge Wheel was 'newly erected' with two ends when it was leased to Thomas Mitchell and Robert Greaves in 1734, although within three months Greaves had passed his portion of the lease to his brother William.⁶⁰ The next lease, in 1755, which stated that the wheel was 'erected by the said William Greaves and George Ibbotson in 1734,' was to Robert and William Greaves prior to their lease of Old Wheel.⁶¹ The tenants changed again in a lease of 1782 when Jonathan Pitchford, a razorsmith of Upper Hallam, joined grinders John Darwent and John Goodison.⁶² The following year John Goodinson died, leaving to his wife

'all that moiety or half part of a cutlers' grinding wheel (moved by water) being

the west part thereof commonly called or known by the name of Rowell Bridge Wheel situate upon the stream called Loxley. Likewise all that moiety or half part of another wheel known by the name of Darwin Wheel being the east part thereof situate upon the stream called Loxley.'

His inventory included: 'Rowel Brig Wheel one half £120; Darwin Wheel one half £80,' also axletrees, glaziers, grinding stones, horsings, pulleys and bands.

The 1794 list gave the tenants' widows having 24 troughs. They subsequently bought the wheel from the Norfolk estate and in 1811 it was noted as two old grinding wheels with 15 penknife and nine table-knife troughs.⁶³ In 1864 it appears there were two separate partnerships. Harrison described the situation:

'The grinding wheel of Messrs Darwin & Oates was completely swept away...The grinding wheel of Messrs Elliott & Pitchford shared a similar fate except one portion which is left standing in a ruinous condition. About sixty persons were employed at these grinding wheels; all their tools were carried away, and they themselves thrown out of work.'⁶⁴

One grinder, William Bradbury, working late at the wheel to earn extra wages, disappeared in the flood and at the time of Harrison's report had not been identified. Luke Oates took over the wheel from the other partners, restored it and in 1907 was running two water wheels.⁶⁵

At Rowell Bridge the River Loxley is joined by Storrs Brook, which supported two water-powered works. The higher of these was Storrs Mill, built by George Eddowes, a tobacconist of Sheffield, who was allowed 'the liberty of erecting a snuff mill...above the smelting mill' on land leased from the Norfolk estate in 1749.⁶⁶ Robert Bradley, a paper maker from Ecclesfield, converted the premises into a paper mill in 1783⁶⁷ and it continued as such, under different tenancies, until the 1850s. Used for a short time as a grinding wheel and a corn mill, the works finally closed in the early 1930s.

Almost at the junction with the Loxley was what became known as Loxley Wire Mills, although wire drawing was only carried on there from about 1875 until its closure in about 1926.⁶⁸ Erected as a cutlers' wheel in the 1690s, it was leased by the Norfolk estate to the widowed Rebecca Hoyland (daughter of Joseph Yates) and her sons George and Joshua in 1700.⁶⁹ John Yates, a cutler of Cow Pit Lane in Ecclesall, took a

lease in 1716.⁷⁰ The following year the lessees were three cutlers - George Hoyland and John Darwent of Stannington, and Richard Creswick of Upper Hallam. On Hoyland's death in 1718 his widow, Ann, became tenant.⁷¹ This partnership had ceased by 1735 when Thomas Hardy, a Sheffield millwright, took the lease.⁷² Westby Hatfield, a Sheffield linen draper, converted the wheel into a lead-smelting mill in 1736, but by 1754 it was again in use for grinding in the tenancy of Joseph Parkin.⁷³ The Parkins bought the wheel in 1806 but sold it again six years later.⁷⁴ Another sale in 1829 brought it into the hands of John Stanley who changed it into a corn mill. In 1838 Stanley's tenant, Jonathan Revitt, obtained a licence 'to sell liquor to be drunk on the premises' at what became the 'Rowell Bridge Inn.'⁷⁵ In the flood the tenant, John Waters, and his family managed to escape but the house and mill were badly damaged.⁷⁶ Directories show that the buildings were restored and used as a wire mill.

Further downstream, Olive Wheel was built about 1716 by John Yates and George Hoyland, with two wheels running four troughs, to be occupied by the Hoylands and John Yates who had all been tenants on Storrs Brook.⁷⁷ The following year John Yates surrendered his lease. After George Hoyland's death in 1718 rent was paid by his widow, Anne, together with Richard Creswick and John Darwent.⁷⁸ In 1738 Joshua and Enoch Drabble leased one end of the wheel and William and Charles Darwent joined their father at the other.⁷⁹ The latter died in 1748 leaving

'to my son William Darwent 1s. ...to my son Charles Darwent my carts and other husbandry gear...to my son Thomas Darwent my cutlers wheel tools and utensils to ye cutlers wheel belonging.'

His son Charles, who took over the lease of the wheel, died in 1750. His bequests included

'Also to my wife Mary ye profits and income of George Holdsworth my apprentice during the remaining part of his term. To the said apprentice George Holdsworth £1.1s.0d. ...the rest of my estate to my brother William Darwent and my brother-in-law Joseph Goodison in trust for the use and benefit of my son Robert Darwent...If my son Robert dies before the age of twenty one years then my estate is to be divided equally amongst my brother William and my six sisters or their children.'

His inventory listed 'wheel bands 17s.6d.; glaziers £2.2s.0d.; axletrees £1.11s.0d.; grinding stones £1.11s.6d.; horsings, pulleys £2.10s.0d.; the value of the wheel lease £60.' One trustee, Joseph Goodison, worked at the wheel, and left grinding stones and

the wheel tools worth £4.16s.0d. when he died in 1773.

William Darwent was the next lessee of the wheel, renting it until his death in 1773. He left 'all that my cutlers grinding wheel situate in Loxley near to Rowell Bridge.' He wished the wheel to be sold and the money shared between his children. In his inventory was 'tenant right of one grinding wheel in Loxley £100.' Half the wheel was taken by his brother-in-law, John Goodison, who in 1783 bequeathed it to his wife, Margaret (see page 221). In 1782 the wheel was leased by John Hibberd and John Goodison, William's brothers-in-law, at one end and Matthew Ibbotson, plumber and glazier of Hathersage, William's niece's husband, at the other.⁸⁰

The wheel was bought by the tenants or their descendants in 1806,⁸¹ but by 1827 Ibbotson's end was in ruins.⁸² It was sold to John and Abraham Webster who converted it to a paper mill. It then had a succession of owners including members of the Woodward family. They were there in 1864, when the mill was badly damaged in the flood. The grinding end, then owned by Messrs. Kenyon & Hibberd, was almost totally demolished.⁸³ The works were rebuilt, but by 1894 the paper mill was closed. The grinding wheel was converted to a rolling mill, which closed in the 1930s.⁸⁴

Westby Hatfield, connected with the Loxley Wire Mill, built Cliff Wheel in 1737 when he was allowed 'the liberty of erecting a cutlers' wheel on the River Loxley about 200 yards above a wheel called Cliffe Wheel lately erected by Mr. James Balguy.'⁸⁵ John Hobson, a cutler, and Richard Gillott, a grinder, both of Wadsley, took a lease to occupy one end each in 1759.⁸⁶ A series of tenants followed, with Kenyon, Gillott, Barber and Genn listed in 1794, working 14 troughs in two ends. The 1864 flood destroyed the works completely, so much so that Harrison, in his account of the flood, did not even realise that any wheel had been standing there. Claims for flood damage were put forward by Henry Jubb of Rotherham,⁸⁷ and the wheel was never rebuilt.

Lower Cliff, or Low Matlock, Wheel was built in 1732 by James Balguy of Stannington who was allowed to 'build a new cutlers' wheel with one or two ends and as many troughs to be employed in the same as the said James Balguy thinks proper.'⁸⁸ Tenants changed rapidly and the 1794 list showed Newbould, Ridge and Wilde running ten

troughs. Arnold Wilde bought the works prior to 1806.⁸⁹ Within a short time the wheel had been divided into three works - one with two tilts, another similar plus two forge hammers and a third with a plating hammer.⁹⁰ Cadman & Kenyon owned the works for several years but by 1864 they had been sold to the manor of Owlerton. The occupiers were Messrs Thomas & Daniel Chapman in one tilt and Mrs Denton, whose family lost a son at Old Wheel, in another. The flood kept up its destruction and 'very little remains to mark the spot where the works stood.'⁹¹ The Chapmans lived in a row of houses very near to their works: Daniel Chapman, his wife, child, nephew, two apprentices and a servant girl were drowned as the house collapsed around them. Next door Thomas Chapman and family managed to survive, apart from one son who was swept away through a bedroom window. Mrs. Denton's son, John, who was an apprentice working overnight at the Chapmans' wheel had a narrow escape, but his colleague, John Bower, drowned.⁹² After the flood one hammer and tilt was rebuilt plus a rolling mill and water power continued until 1956.⁹³ One of the water wheels is still in situ but the rolling mill is now powered by electricity.

The next wheel, Ashton Carr, dated back to at least 1549.⁹⁴ It belonged to the sub-manor of Owlerton for which a map drawn by Bartholomew of Rotherham in 1777, showing 'The Estate late belonging to Mrs. Bamforth in the Manors of Owlerton, Sheffield and Ecclesfield,' referred to the tenants.⁹⁵ At that time John Barnes held the wheel. In 1864, when occupied by Jonathan Proctor, the wheel was totally destroyed⁹⁶ and not rebuilt.

Green Wheel, also on Owlerton land, was tenanted by John Hawksley in 1777. By 1864 Edwin Denton was the occupier of the tilt and forge. There was very little flood damage because the dam and works were on higher ground than others along the valley.⁹⁷ Denton continued as tenant under different owners and formed the Green Steel Works which used water-power until closure early in the twentieth century.

Glass Tilt was first traced on the 1777 map, which gave Mr. Schofield as the occupier of Owlerton land. John Wilson was tenant from the early part of the nineteenth century until after the flood, by which time the firm was Messrs Wilson, Hawksworth & Co.⁹⁸ There was extensive damage to the works. Repairs included conversion from a tilt to a

wire mill, which was run by Thompson Bros. until about 1925.⁹⁹

The earliest record, around the 1740s, of Broadhead Wheel, which also belonged to the manor of Owlerton, showed William Broadhead at one end, and John and Thomas Darwent at the other.¹⁰⁰ George Hallam, Joseph Broomhead, Joseph Loy and Hugh Fenton were there in 1777. The 1855 OS map showed Broomhead (sic.) Tilt and Broomhead Wheel as two separate works. The tenants in 1864 were Thomas Harrison at the tilt and Groves & Son at the wheel. Both works were severely damaged in the flood and two apprentices, Joseph Gregory and Walter Booth, were drowned at the tilt.¹⁰¹ The little that remained was rebuilt as Loxley Steel Works, recorded in White's 1876 *Directory of Sheffield* as run by 'John Denton, shear-steel maker and iron forger.' Steam power was being used by 1907, and the firm had closed by 1931.¹⁰²

Edward Barber's will of 1664 bequeathed 'also all those my ffour sythwheeles with theire and every of theire appurtinances in Wisewood.' These wheels, together with 'all that my new fforge' on the River Rivelin (see page 106) were sold to George Bamforth of Owlerton. By reference to Owlerton rentals it has been deduced that these four wheels became the two works known as Wisewood Scythe Wheels or Forge and Wisewood Forge or Rolling Mill.¹⁰³ At the beginning of the eighteenth century one of the scythe wheels, at the upper site, was rented by J Goddard and Widow Bullock. William Bullock's inventory in 1730 included 'At the scythe wheel: wheel tools and grinding stones £17.2s.2d.' His estate was administered by his widow, Maud. The next tenants were Jeremy Ridge, son of John Ridge of Nook Farm, and Edward Barnes of Wadsley. The 1777 map showed John Barns as occupier. There was a continuous change of tenants until 1864, when the tenant was William Horn. Only one part of the building was left standing with 'the water wheel and ponderous machinery being laid bare, and massive iron castings being scattered about in the vicinity.'¹⁰⁴ Horn later bought and restored the site which was advertised in the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* of 5th July 1873 as a 'freehold forge, tilt and rolling mill, with modern machinery.'

The lower Wisewood works had a similar history of tenancy changes after it became part of the Owlerton estate. The 1777 map showed 'John Bradshaw including buildings

on the west side of the dam' and 'John Bradshaw and George Savage including buildings on the east side of the dam.' The 1794 list recorded 21 troughs rented by William Armitage of Mousehole Forge. White's 1814-15 *Sheffield Directory* recorded that Armitage & Co. had rebuilt the site as a forge. The lease was taken over by William Horn & Co. in the 1830s, and another conversion produced rolling mills.¹⁰⁵ In the flood the works were swept away apart from 'that immense water, fly and other wheels.'¹⁰⁶ Horn restored the site and sold both upper and lower works to the Wood brothers who continued until the 1950s.

The last works on the Loxley before its confluence with the Rivelin was Malin Bridge Corn Mill, which started as an undershot grinding wheel. The 1794 list recorded Josephus Parkin, (Master Cutler in 1781), having 12 troughs. Joseph Butler held the property in 1864, in partnership with Thomas Wild and German Wilson, all working as wheelwrights. The premises were damaged in the flood but were rebuilt. White's *Sheffield Directory* of 1876 listed German Wilson, who bought the freehold from the Owlerton estate, as the sole lessee. It was converted to a corn mill by Wilson's son, John, around the turn of the century and was used later by 'corn and flour dealers.'¹⁰⁷ The building, still standing, has had a variety of uses and the water wheel is in place although somewhat neglected.

We shall now look at the rise and decline of water-powered works on the River Rivelin. The fall of water is 280 ft. in the three miles to its junction with the River Loxley. By the mid-eighteenth century this was supporting twenty water-driven works (Figure 4.2.). Records of the Duke of Norfolk's estates give good accounts of lessees of wheels on the River Rivelin as most of the land belonged to generations of the family, the exceptions being Walkley Bank Tilt and Mousehole Forge.¹⁰⁸

The only buildings surviving in the valley are at Mousehole Forge, but in a similar way to the Loxley valley, the remains of other works can be seen. The Rivelin Valley Nature Trail gives good access to the sites, although Uppermost and Mousehole Forge are on private land.

It can be seen from Table 4.3. that the number of works began to decline at the end of the nineteenth century. Only Walkley Bank Tilt survived until the 1950s, the others having closed before 1940.

The highest wheel on the Rivelin was Uppermost, dating from 1751. Leased from the Norfolk estate by John and Edward Nicholls the site comprised 'all that new erected wheel consisting of one end and four troughs situated and being on the top of Rivelin Water in Stannington.'¹⁰⁹ Edward Nicholls' inventory in 1762 included 'a wheel £30.' In 1794, in the tenancy of William Greaves, it was recorded as having only three troughs. Various tenants held leases until 1845 when the wheel was described as 'now pulled down.'¹¹⁰ The site was later bought by Sheffield Water Company as were, eventually, all the sites, and now belongs to Yorkshire Water, being part of their land surrounding the new filtration plant.

Rivelin Corn Mill can be identified among rentals in Harrison's 1637 survey: 'John Swift for halfe of a mill in Rivelin £3.6s.8d. Robert Rawson for the other halfe of ye said mill in Rivelin £3.6s.8d.'¹¹¹ Edward Adamson was mentioned in rentals around the same time and both he and Rawson held half a wheel each at Damflask (see page 86). By 1711 the corn mill was in ruins and was leased to Mr Rowland Revell, James Crapper, William Ibbotson and Edward Barber jun. They agreed

'for themselves and the rest of the inhabitants of Half Bierly [Stannington] to take to ffarm all that one water corn mill and kill called Rivelin Mill situated in the Half Bierley aforesaid.'¹¹²

Together with Mr Richard Revell they came to an agreement with the Duke of Norfolk's agent that Robert Corbedge

'shall have and enjoy to Farm, the mill and kill with the Appurtenances commonly called Rivelin Mill in the said Chapelry of Bradfield for the Term of One and Twenty Years provided that he give satisfaction to the Towne and be capable of holding it so long, Otherwise it is to be in the hands of the said Inhabitants Disposing of the Choice of a Millner.'

Forty-four inhabitants of Stannington township signed to say they would be responsible for the rent if the miller failed to pay. The lessees were all prominent in Stannington, and as such would want to be sure that their local corn mill continued to be run properly: William Bagshaw, Edward Greaves, Ralph Hoyle, Hugh Shaw, Richard Carr,

Thomas Pollard, Thomas Worrall, Joseph Shaw, Edward Greaves, Thomas Gelly, John Ridge, Lydia Crapper, John Oates, Robert Darwent, Joseph Green, William Carr, Thomas Brammall, John Hunt, Thomas Dungworth, Jeremiah Bromeley, Robert Kirkby, Nathaniel Brittan, Richard Hoyland, George Crapper, George Hoyland, Clement Pickford, Christopher Hague, John Darwin, Mary Swallow, William Shaw, John Maryot, John Mills, Abraham Sendas, Edward Nikeools, Edward Brammall, Henry Balgey, Nicholas Turner, Thomas Revell, James Ronksley, John Morton, William Darwind, George Gillott, William Shaw and Richard Greaves.¹¹³

W.T. Miller suggested that this was an unusual arrangement since Bradfield already had its own mill, probably thinking of Bradfield as just the village and not the chapelry.

The next lease, in 1732, allowed Edward Hall, yeoman, John Crapper, cutler, William Greaves, husbandman and Joshua Crapper, file-hewer, all of Stannington, to take 'all that water-born mill and kill called Rivelin Mill.'¹¹⁴ The mill was sold to the Sheffield Water Company in 1856 and continued to be worked until the 1920s.

In 1736 George Ibbotson was granted a lease 'to take the liberty of erecting a cutlers' wheel in the upper part of the Copsy in Stannington.'¹¹⁵ Thomas Spooner took a lease on what was to become known as Upper Coppice Wheel in 1761.¹¹⁶ In his will Joshua Spooner, who died in 1754, left 'To my son Thomas the tenant right, rents and profits of the uppermost wheel in the Copy to be entered into immediately after my decease.' Thomas was still the lessee in the 1794 list when there were four troughs. Prior to 1854 when the Sheffield Water Company bought the wheel, it had been converted to a wire mill with Samuel Fox as one of the wire drawers.¹¹⁷ After a short time he moved to Stocksbridge where his steel works gained international recognition. Upper Coppice finally closed about 1907.

The first record of Second Coppice Wheel was a lease from the Norfolk estate to Joshua Spooner, a Crookes grinder, in 1736 when he was permitted

'to take a convenient place on the River Ryvelin a certain piece of pasture there called the Upper Coppice now in the possession of Jonathan Ibbotson to build a new cutlers' wheel with one end.'¹¹⁸

This was the same Joshua Spooner who was in possession of Upper Coppice Wheel when he died. His widow Martha took over the lease of 'all that cutlers' wheel called the Middle Wheel' in 1757,¹¹⁹ after which it passed to their son and daughter William Spooner and Margaret Dixon, herself a widow. The wheel was listed in 1794 as having three troughs in the tenancy of Benjamin Barker. By the time the Sheffield Water Company bought it in 1854 part of it had been converted to a wire mill. A succession of tenants continued into the twentieth century.

The Third Coppice Wheel, already in operation by 1765, was leased by the Norfolk estate to John Hoyland, a cutler of Upper Hallam. However, it was then described as 'first erected by Joshua Spooner about twenty five years since and in the occupation of the said John Hoyland from Ladyday 1758.'¹²⁰ William Creswick was the lessee in 1794 when four troughs were recorded. In 1814 it was converted to a paper mill.¹²¹

Similarly, the next wheel downstream, known as Cobby or Frank Wheel, began as a cutlers' grinding wheel in 1737 when Richard Marshall and Stephen Parker, Stannington cutlers, were allowed 'to take the liberty of erecting a cutlers' wheel in the lower part of the Coppice in Stannington.'¹²² An extension was added by Richard Marshall in 1756, and a new lease was granted to him and his wife, Sarah, two years later.¹²³ In 1762 Marshall's inventory included '3 grinding wheels £200; wheel tools £7 10s.0d.; an apprentice £12.' By 1764 the apprentice, Francis Townsend, had become the Marshalls' son-in-law and took over the original end of the wheel. Between 1792 and 1800 Francis Townsend took on ten apprentices and had various partners. The 1794 list recorded eleven troughs, with Richard Howe in partnership with Townsend. This wheel too became a paper mill although not until 1854 when the lessees were Archer, Blake & Townsend, the Townsend being Francis' son, also named Francis. In 1851 Charles Marsden of Ringinglow was running the Third Coppice paper mill, and from 1889 until their closure prior to 1905, both mills were run by Marsden's sons.¹²⁴

Richard Marshall of Frank Wheel, partnered by Edward Hall of Swingley Ford Bents, had previously leased land from the Norfolk estate for 'the new building and erecting a cutlers' wheel to consist of one end and as many troughs as they shall think fitting,' in 1722.¹²⁵ This became Wolf or Rocher Wheel. Marshall's widow, Sarah, took over the

lease in 1766 and when she died six years later she left 'a lease of a cutlers' wheel £60.' Tenants changed over the years and in 1794 Elizabeth Inkersall of Hackenthorpe and Luke Staniforth of Mosborough held eleven troughs. Later the wheel was sold by the Norfolk estate and, in 1852, it was bought by the Sheffield Water Company, the first works on the Rivelin to agree to the Company's plan to purchase all the wheels and mills, but the owners only sold on condition that a bill to require this was passed.¹²⁶

'An Act for enabling the Company of Proprietors of the Sheffield Water Works to extend their works and to obtain a further supply of water from the Rivers Rivelin and Loxley and their tributaries and for consolidating the Acts relating to such Company'

received Royal Assent in 1853. The Water Company was empowered to purchase all the mills before carrying out its other powers except as stated in clause LXIX: 'the works on the said River Rivelin called Mouse Hole Forge and Grogram Wheel respectively'. Work at Wolf Wheel ceased in the early years of the twentieth century.

Among the Norfolk rentals for 1692 is a payment of £1 from Hugh Lockwood for the wheel which was to become known as Swallow Wheel.¹²⁷ By 1699 Joseph Swallow was at the wheel and on his death in 1709 his inventory included 'tenand right of a cutlers' wheel £3.10s.0d.' His widow, Mary, continued the tenancy until their son, Joseph, took the lease of the wheel in 1723 when he was required to make a 'good new damm to the said wheel.'¹²⁸ After his death in 1755, Joseph left

'In the wheel: 3 rough stone axletrees 15s.; whitning stone 5s.; 3 glaziers £1 4s.0d.; 17 pullies £1.6s.0d.; 3 stone chains £1.10s.0d.; 9 horsing 15s.; 3 lesser axletrees 7s.6d.; 2 of the largest axletrees £1.8s.0d.; 3 pulley evens and 11 planks 6s.6d.; 8 new stones and 8 colks £3.1s.6d.; 3 hack hammers and 2 pickers 2s.; wheel bands £1.5s.6d.; a hatchet, drivell, hammers, chizel and stedy 1s.6d.; 1 gavelock 2s.; 1 range 1s.6d.; 7 glaziers £1. 6s.0d.'

He also left smithy tools worth £5.14s.0d. and the benefit of three apprentices valued at £40. These apprentices were Thomas Worrall of Stannington, Joseph Beech of Hemsworth and Samuel Burgin of York. In all his estate was worth £918.7s.2d. He stated in his will that

'After marriage or decease of my said wife I give the remaining part of my estate to my brother-in-law Nathan Dixon and my nephew William Spencer in trust for my said children.'

A lease of 1766 for the wheel of one end and five troughs, was granted to Nathan Dixon,¹²⁹ in trust as requested, although Swallow's wife, Hannah, was still alive and had not remarried. By the time the wheel was listed in 1794 it had 13 troughs and was held by William Howe and John Dale. The Howe family continued their interest in the wheel where, in 1850, George Howe was subjected to a rattening attack. In the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* of 23rd February it was reported:

‘At this place three stones and one glazer belonging to George Howe and a glazer belonging to W. Coward were destroyed ...The parties aggrieved connect the injury with an attempt to recognise the union of this trade.’

Both men appeared in the 1851 census as table-knife grinders living on Albion Row, Stannington. The table-knife grinders' union was broken up in 1847 and for the next few years attempts were made to revive it. The press report continued:

‘Circulars have, however, been sent out since that period, signed "The Committee" requesting the parties in the trade to attend special meetings. The men whose tools have been destroyed allege that they are opposed to the formation of the union and for that reason have not obeyed these summonses, or attended any meetings to aid in the establishment of the union.’

Swallow Wheel was bought by the Sheffield Water Company in 1854 and by the end of the century it was in ruins.¹³⁰

In 1737 Joseph Swallow took a lease from the Norfolk estate to ‘erect a cutlers’ wheel to consist of one or more ends as the said Joseph Swallow thinks fit.’ It was noted that the lease was to be made to Joseph Swallow and Thomas Bower, a cutler of Lower Hallam.¹³¹ The next lessees, in 1759, were Joseph Swallow's widow, Hannah, of Stannington, and William Bower, of Clough Field.¹³² Robert Siddall and Robert Bower were tenants in 1794 when there were five troughs. The wheel, under a variety of names but usually referred to as Plonk, had a comparatively short life and was derelict when the Sheffield Water Company bought the site in 1856.

The next wheel, Hind or Iron Wheel, was one of the earliest on the River Rivelin, rented in 1581 to Thomas Hine, Joseph and Robert Webster and John Swinden.¹³³ By Harrison's 1637 survey ‘Robert Allan and ye Widow Hine hold at will certaine lands and a Wheele.’¹³⁴ This was further described as ‘halfe a Cuttlers Wheele in Rivelin Called Hyne Wheele Standing upon Rivelin Water’ so presumably they rented half the

wheel each. The Hine, or Hind, family continued to be associated with the wheel although a lease was granted to Thomas Bower and John Jackson in 1676.¹³⁵ The tenancy remained within the Bower and Jackson families until 1808 when a lease was taken by Joseph Greaves and John Tillotson.¹³⁶ Each of these bought his half of the wheel in 1816 and by 1870 the Sheffield Water Company owned it. In 1850 the *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, of 23rd February, continued to report on the rattening outrages:

‘One of these was the South Hind Wheel, which comprises two hulls on the ground floor, one occupied by table-blade grinders and the other by razor blade grinders. The wheel belongs to Mr. W Marshall of Crookes, himself a journeyman table-blade grinder, and working along with his tenants in one of the hulls. The tools destroyed at this wheel were worth from £10 to £12.’

The works closed early in the twentieth century.

Upper Cut, or Upper Cutford, Wheel was erected in 1749 on land leased from the Norfolk estate:

‘all that part of the stream of Rivelin near a cutlers’ wheel formerly erected by Edward Nicholls...and now in the possession of the said Mark and William Parker with the liberty of erecting a new cutlers’ wheel there.’¹³⁷

The next lease was in 1775 to Robert and Thomas Ward of ‘All that cutlers’ wheel of one end erected 24 years since by Mark Parker and William Parker of 4 troughs.’¹³⁸ In 1801 the wheel passed from the Ward family to George Bradshaw who subsequently bought it from the Norfolk estate.¹³⁹ During the Bradshaw ownership the works, named in the *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* of 23rd February, 1850, as the ‘Overcoat Wheel,’ were attacked: ‘At this place, as at the others, the whole of the tools belonging to the table-blade grinders employed there was destroyed.’ The Sheffield Water Company bought the wheel’s shares between 1855 and 1858, and it continued working until the 1920s.

Edward Nicholls, mentioned in the Upper Cut lease, had taken a lease of

‘a convenient place upon the Rivelin at the bottom of Haw Park for the building of a new cutlers’ wheel with one end and four troughs ...to erect and finish the same at or before Michaelmas 1719.’¹⁴⁰

The next lease, in 1740, was to Mark and William Parker for ‘All that cutlers’ wheel

consisting of four troughs ...previously belonging to Edward Nicholls.’¹⁴¹ This Cutford Wheel became Nether Cut after the building of Upper Cut further upstream. By 1794 there were nine troughs leased by John Alsop who later, in partnership with John Dale, bought the wheel.¹⁴² After changing hands several times it was sold to the Sheffield Water Company in 1854. Trouble with the trade unions flared in 1874, as reported in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* of 11th March:

‘Nethercut Wheel, Rivelin, belonging to Mr. Samuel Marshall, scythe and sheep shear manufacturer, was entered, and two wheel-bands were stolen. A reward was offered for the detection of the perpetrators of this outrage, but so little were the unknown offenders afraid of apprehension that they paid another visit to the wheel and carried off one band and broke four stones ... The sheep shear men employed at the wheel are not members of the union, with one exception, and even in that exceptional case the unionist had not paid any money for about two years. The wheel has been repeatedly entered by ratteners, although the cause of this conduct is not clearly known. All the scythe grinders at the wheel are unionists.’

Grinding continued until 1939, after which it was hoped that the buildings could be saved as were those at Abbeydale, but they were demolished in the 1950s.

Little London Wheel was established in 1752, when Robert Greaves, a Stannington cutler, leased

‘all that part of the stream of the River Rivelin between the cutlers’ wheel belonging to Mark Parker and William Parker and William Shaw and a wheel belonging to the said Mark Parker and William Parker with the liberty to erect a cutlers’ wheel there.’¹⁴³

By 1784 the rent was being paid by Thomas Spooner¹⁴⁴ who bought the wheel in 1816. After passing through John Hancock’s family, it became the property of the Sheffield Water Company in 1854. Although more or less derelict by the beginning of the twentieth century, the wheel continued to work for just a few more years.

The next wheel downstream, Holme Head, was built by Nicholas Morton, a tailor of Bingley Lane, and William Shaw, a cutler of Uppergate, both in Stannington. Their lease of 1720 allowed them to

‘take a convenient place upon the River Rivelin at the bottom of Haw Park within Stannington where Edward Nicholls first designed the same, for the building of a new cutlers’ wheel with one or two ends and as many troughs as they shall think

fitting... to finish by Michaelmas 1721.¹⁴⁵

When William Shaw died in 1745 he left

‘Also to my son William Shaw the tenant right and title of a cutlers’ wheel at twenty and one years...my wife Mary to enter upon ye said wheel and premises till such time.’

Included in his inventory were husbandry gear, animals and crops, together with ‘the tenant right of a wheel and utensils £30.’ His son William was at the wheel by 1752, in partnership with Matthew and William Parker.¹⁴⁶ Nicholas Morton died in 1753 without any interest in the wheel. Within ten years William and Robert Spooner has replaced William Shaw.¹⁴⁷ The Norfolk estate gradually sold shares in the wheel and by 1846 the whole belonged to John Pinder.¹⁴⁸ He decided to sell to Charles Cockayne in preference to Sheffield Water Company.

In 1860

‘An Act for increasing the capital of the Proprietors of the Sheffield Water Works; for extending the limits of the Sheffield Water Works Act of 1853 so as to comprise the Parish of Ecclesfield; for making further provisions with respect to the said Company; and for other purposes’

was passed. In making these ‘further provisions’ the Act stated:

‘The Company have contracted to purchase or have purchased all the mills, manufactories and works situate on the River Rivelin above its junction with the River Loxley except the works thereon called Mousehole Forge and Grogram Wheels respectively and also except the mill called Holme Head Wheel, the owner of which did not wish to sell it and has otherwise agreed with the Company respecting the same.’

A further Act, of 1866, authorised the Water Company ‘to make new works on the Rivelin...and to buy a mill on the Rivelin from Charles Cockayne.’ The same year the wheel was sold to Hounsfild, (Master Cutler 1820), Waterfall and Colley (Master Cutler 1821), with no mention of its having been taken over by the Water Company.¹⁴⁹ The Water Company eventually acquired the wheel and had several tenants until it closed in the 1920s.

Roscoe or Holme Intake Wheel was ‘newly erected’ when William Hoole rented it in 1725.¹⁵⁰ Ten years later he had been joined by Joseph Spooner. In a 1747 lease the

tenants were Christopher Bradshaw and William Hoole, the original Hoole's son.¹⁵¹ Members of the Hoole and Bradshaw families were still at the wheel in 1794 when there were 12 troughs. Shaw, Jobson & Co., fender makers, became tenants in the early nineteenth century,¹⁵² and it was later listed as a cutlery and saw-grinding wheel. It was sold to the Water Company in 1853 and closed in the 1920s.

In Harrison's survey, William Webster and Thomas Webster were paying rent for 'a wheel in Rivelin.'¹⁵³ The Websters rented the wheel until the latter part of the seventeenth century, and by 1709 it was in the hands of Webster and Bromley.¹⁵⁴ A lease of 1718 recorded Jeremiah Bromeley, a Stannington cutler, in the north end, and William Spooner, a cutler of Clough Fields, in the south end. Within a few months Jeremy Bromley gave his consent for Thomas Dungworth to have his part of the tenancy made over to him.¹⁵⁵ The Spooner family were tenants of the south end until the 1800s and gave their name to the wheel. Thomas Blake bought the wheel in 1850¹⁵⁶ and sold it to the Water Company in 1854. During Blake's ownership another dam was built, which was used as a public swimming pool after the works closed about 1915.

William Battie and James Balguy, a Stannington tanner, who leased the site from the Norfolk estate, erected Rivelin Bridge Wheel in 1724. They were to build a cutlers' wheel 'not prejudicial to the Rivelin or Holme Wheel above it or to the forge called Mousehole Forge below it.'¹⁵⁷ James Balguy died in 1725 but the lease was renewed in 1745 by William Battie jun.¹⁵⁸ In the list of 1794 Hague & Parkin were running six troughs. Shortly after, a lease was taken by Charles Procter, optician, and Thomas Bielby of Warwick.¹⁵⁹ A Fairbank survey of 1814 showed 'some troughs for glass in the chamber above.'¹⁶⁰ The wheel was sold to the Water Company in 1860 when it was converted to a corn mill by Richard Ibbotson. John and Henry Wilson, of Malin Bridge Corn Mill, took a lease from 1907 until the early 1930s.¹⁶¹

Walkley Bank Tilt, originally a cutlers' grinding wheel belonging to Sheffield Church Burgesses, was leased to its builder, Joseph Holmes, in 1751.¹⁶² About 1762 Jonathan Parker and William Hawksworth converted it to a tilt forge.¹⁶³ The tenants in 1794 were Hague & Parkin, who also leased Rivelin Bridge Wheel. In spite of changes in tenancy the Hawksworth family was connected with the tilt for over a century. George

Hawksworth had arguments with the Armitages of Mousehole Forge, ending with him seeking legal advice from James Wheat, clerk to the Church Burgesses, in 1838.¹⁶⁴ The Armitages backed down, but further disputes arose when they needed more water. Mousehole weir was damaged in a storm and, although Fairbanks supervised the rebuilding, the Armitages, according to employees at the tilt, added another three inches to its height. These extra inches caused back-watering, thereby decreasing the efficiency of the wheel. George Hawksworth again consulted James Wheat but Fairbanks finally had to conclude there was nothing the Church Burgesses could do about it.¹⁶⁵

The Water Company had bought the works by 1865 when Moss & Gamble were tenants, but the Hawksworths were still connected. In the 1871 census return, William Hawksworth was living at the tilt house with two of his family working at the tilt. In 1901 the tilt was converted to a wire mill and leased by George Hallam & Co. until its closure in the 1950s.

Mousehole Forge began its life as a lead-smelting mill. Its foundation date is unknown but in 1628 Edward Barber of Wadsley leased various properties to Thomas Revell of Stannington including 'the halfe of the smiltinge house of him the said Edward Barber and of all the land and ground of the said Edward Barber occupyed with the same.'¹⁶⁶ In Edward Barber's will of 1664 the smelting house had gone and had been replaced by 'all that my new forge with the appurtenances.' It was sold to George Bamforth in 1672 and became a possession of the sub-manor of Owlerton.¹⁶⁷ In the eighteenth century the Bamforths leased the forge to the Cockshutts of Huthwaite who employed managers, the last of whom was William Armitage. Cockshutt and Armitage formed a partnership during which time anvils, which became world famous, were first made at the forge.

The 1794 list gave the sole occupier as William Armitage, whose family controlled the forge until 1875. During the Armitage ownership they fought a constant battle with Sheffield Water Company regarding the amount of water each party could take from the River Rivelin. At its peak the forge was running four water wheels, and also needed large amounts of water for hardening the anvils. Their successors, Brooks & Cooper, were still carrying on the fight when the 'Sheffield Corporation (Consolidation) Act' was passed in 1918. The following year another bill was opposed by 'persons being

owners, lessees and occupiers of mills and works situate on the River Don, River Rivelin and River Loxley.’¹⁶⁸ John Cooper was the only owner on the River Rivelin to petition, but before the bill reached the House of Lords he suddenly capitulated and sold the freehold of his works to Sheffield Corporation, whose Water Department had taken over the Water Company in 1888. Brooks & Cooper leased the works until 1927. It then passed to Owen, Thomas & Co. who went bankrupt in 1933 and the site fell into ruin.

Grogram, the last wheel on the Rivelin, can be traced to the early seventeenth century but it is probably even older. In Harrison’s 1637 survey, rents were being paid by

‘Godfrey Birley and William Hydes for halfe of Malin Bridge Wheele; Thomas Parkin, John Wild and William Matthewman for ye other halfe of Malin Bridge Wheele.’¹⁶⁹

The Lord family ran half the wheel between 1664 and 1704.¹⁷⁰ In 1718 it was leased by Joshua and Francis Spooner, cutlers of Crookes, and Mary Spooner, a widow, of Malin Bridge.¹⁷¹ Joshua Spooner was joined by Thomas Wilson, a Sheffield shearsmith, in a lease of 1738.¹⁷² There followed different tenancies, with George and William Bradshaw named in the 1794 list as having 12 troughs. George Bradshaw bought the wheel in 1813,¹⁷³ and the family ran it for twenty years when they sold it to the Armitages of Mousehole Forge. By this time there were two water wheels, one powering anvil grinding and one pumping air back to the forge, in an attempt to conserve Mousehole’s water. Grogram was included in the sale of 1919 to Sheffield Corporation and it closed at the same time as the forge.

This detailed account of all the water mills on the two rivers has shown that local industry, especially on the River Loxley, where rolling mills and forges were built, increased on a large scale. Cutlers no longer worked through every process themselves, nor did many of them remain independent. By the end of the eighteenth century most troughs in the grinding wheels had ceased to be rented by cutlers; instead grinders were employed by the wheels’ owners or lessees. ‘Outsiders’, whose trades were often unconnected with the cutlery industry, leased wheels and mills as an investment, and employed workers to provide their profit. The ‘dual economy’ of previous generations had changed beyond recognition by the end of the century, and the township of Stannington had been transformed by the expansion of the Hallamshire metal trades.

5. The Cutlery Trades post 1800

Table 4.4. Occupations in the Bradfield Militia Lists, 1819-31.

Year	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1831
Men Brad'	561	496	439	541	457	550	572	624	558	610	573	727
Men Stan'	229	193	187	232	209	197	216	228	236	225	214	287
Farmer B	101	57	81	52	56	70	84	78	77	84	90	92
Farmer S	23	20	24	17	19	19	26	20	29	27	33	30
Labour B	95	102	85	109	108	106	115	138	126	151	130	167
Labour S	19	19	29	27	38	36	31	39	50	41	37	56
Servant B	54	76	59	85	50	83	77	71	82	67	64	120
Servant S	12	13	16	21	15	17	18	13	14	12	15	29
Cutler B	90	62	47	62	59	63	80	89	75	78	80	88
Cutler S	51	38	26	42	35	36	44	53	47	43	43	57
Grinder B	84	63	63	66	58	57	63	54	55	58	58	63
Grinder S	72	63	57	62	54	47	53	50	52	50	47	54
Files B	27	30	21	29	28	44	27	45	21	35	20	38
Files S	2	5	4	5	4	2	2	4	4	6	4	5
Razors B	8	10	4	9	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	2
Razors S	8	7	3	9	3	3	-	-	-	2	-	2
Scissors B	1	1	3	4	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2
Scissors S	1	1	3	4	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2
Nailer B	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	1
Nailer S	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
Forks B	-	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
Forks S	-	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
Tilter B	11	11	4	12	3	7	8	9	4	6	9	9
Tilter S	4	5	2	6	1	3	4	3	3	3	6	4
Forge B	4	1	2	7	3	7	1	8	4	2	4	5
Forge S	4	-	1	3	2	3	-	2	1	1	3	3
Anvils B	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	5	3	3
Anvils S	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	5	3	3
Wire B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Wire S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Roller B	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	3
Roller S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
B'smith B	11	10	6	10	4	10	10	10	10	10	11	13
B'smith S	1	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	4
Collier B	8	6	3	5	6	7	6	9	9	10	13	9
Collier S	5	3	3	3	4	5	5	8	5	6	10	8
Paper B	6	2	4	5	7	9	11	10	3	6	4	5
Paper S	5	2	2	4	7	7	8	8	2	4	2	2
Bricks B	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Bricks S	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Button B	-	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	-
Button S	-	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	-
Refiner B	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Refiner S	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Trades B	55	61	54	80	68	80	83	92	83	91	78	104
Trades S	20	11	12	21	21	13	17	16	17	19	15	23

B = the whole of Bradfield Chapelry

S = Stannington Township within Bradfield Chapelry

The Bradfield militia lists, census returns and trade directories provide good records of local occupations during the nineteenth century. In Stannington a high percentage of the occupations recorded in the militia lists were connected with the traditional cutlery trade, although the proportion gradually dropped from 63% of the 229 recorded in 1819 to 48% of the 287 in 1831.

Table 4.4., listing occupations in the chapelry of Bradfield, shows that over the years for which the militia lists are available the total number of men recorded and the number employed in the cutlery trade fluctuated. This apparent variation is due, in some extent, to the men giving different occupations or not being recorded continuously.

George Ronksley of Rivelin Side, for example, was listed as a farmer every year, apart from 1822 and 1827, when his occupation was given as a servant. Morgan Armitage was included in the list in 1822, when he was a servant at Mousehole. Not listed in 1823, 1825 and 1826, he was a farmer in 1824 and again in 1827, 1828 and 1831. The 1829 list recorded him as an anvil maker. His brother, Henry, also at Mousehole, was first listed in 1825 as a twenty-year old book-keeper but subsequently, apart from being omitted in 1827, he was recorded as a farmer. By the time of the militia lists the Armitage family owned Mousehole Forge, so it appears strange that anvil-making was recorded only once for Morgan and not at all for Henry when they were employers of other anvil-makers.

All the scissor-smiths listed belonged to the Beal family of Storrs, who made scissors for several generations. Both Gales & Martin's *Directory of Sheffield* 1787 and its later edition, published by James Montgomery in 1797, listed members of the family as 'common scissor-smiths.' This tradition carried on with Isaac Beal, who was recorded as a scissor-smith between 1819 and 1822. He did not appear in the lists again until 1826, 1827 and 1828, was listed in 1829 as a cutler and was missing in 1831. Luke Beal was only listed in 1822. Relatives, Benjamin and Samuel Beal, were scissor-smiths in the 1821, 1822 and 1831, lists but in White's *Directory of Sheffield* in 1833 they were 'steel swivel makers.' By the 1841 edition they were 'steel spring manufacturers.' Older members of the family carried on making scissors, with the census return of 1841 recording Isaac Beal, aged 80, of Lee House, Dungworth, and Samuel Beal, aged 70, of

Rails. Scissor making continued in the area with three brothers, Luke, Henry and William Dearden, and their families moving from Sheffield to new properties at Upper Hollow Meadows prior to the 1851 census return.

The nail maker in the militia lists was James Howe of Dungworth, carrying on an occupation usually associated with the village of Ecclesfield. John Nettleton was also recorded in 1819. Howe appeared on his own until 1826 then, in the 1841 census return, as a farmer/nailer of Barker House, Dungworth. He had died before 1851, when his widow was living at the same address. James Smith, a nail maker of Storrs, was recorded for the first time in the militia list of 1831 and was at Bents, Dungworth, by 1841. Recorded that he came from Duffield, Derbyshire, he continued as a nail maker in the 1851, 1861 and 1871 returns, but had died by 1881, the last nail maker in Stannington.

Fork making, a trade mostly connected with the Shiregreen area, north of Sheffield, was carried on by a single family in Stannington. Through all the militia lists from 1820 there appeared John Morris, joined by his brothers, George in 1822, and William in 1829. John was listed as a cutler in 1831. In the 1841 census return their father, also named John, of Hanmoor Side, was listed, with William and an apprentice, Benjamin Marshall. George and John junior had their own households at Knowle Top. By 1881 fork making had come to an end with younger members of the family working in the brickyards.

Although the working population of Stannington gradually increased during the nineteenth century, the number of cutlers, of all descriptions, reached a peak around 1861 before starting to decrease (Table 4.5.). This downward trend in rural cutlery trades continued through succeeding census returns.

We can also see, in both tables, that the majority of the men in the Bradfield area who were employed in the metal trades lived in the township of Stannington, over half the cutlers and very nearly all the grinders. Although in much smaller numbers, Stannington also had an almost total local monopoly on the razorsmiths, scissorsmiths, nailers and fork makers. The only exception to this is the number of filesmiths

recorded, as there were very few in Stannington compared with the chapelry as a whole.

Table 4.5. Occupations in the Stannington Census Returns, 1841-91.

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Total employed	723	924	1115	1332	1152	1237
Farmer	59	82	84	114	115	102
Servant	137	76	91	70	72	75
Agricultural Labourer	65	148	119	104	108	84
Labourer	-	-	32	65	56	72
Cutler	96	27	50	63	5	4
Grinder	114	-	-	-	1	-
Spring-knife cutler	1	25	79	62	77	74
Spring-knife grinder	-	2	4	-	1	5
Razor smith	17	10	8	4	5	4
Razor grinder	10	79	111	83	75	73
Pocket-knife cutler	-	55	-	12	23	19
Pocket-knife grinder	-	15	11	5	9	7
Table-knife cutler	-	4	3	4	2	3
Table-knife grinder	5	60	27	14	13	12
Saw smith	-	2	2	1	1	-
Saw grinder	7	14	13	2	5	1
File cutter	12	6	8	9	15	13
File grinder	-	6	9	8	8	7
Shear smith	-	-	-	-	2	7
Shear grinder	-	1	6	5	5	6
Scythe smith	-	-	1	1	-	-
Scythe grinder	-	-	3	5	2	4
Fork maker	5	4	2	1	-	-
Scissorsmith	3	5	6	4	4	3
Nail maker	2	1	1	1	-	-
Tool maker	-	-	1	3	2	2
Tool grinder	-	1	-	8	2	2
Anvil maker	3	4	11	5	4	4
Tilt/forge	8	13	9	7	8	8
Roller	-	-	2	1	2	2
Wire drawer	5	3	9	20	11	9
Scale presser	2	31	39	48	61	66
Saw handles	2	3	3	1	-	-
Haft presser	-	-	2	-	5	-
Wheelwright	1	2	3	9	3	2
Blacksmith	4	4	9	13	8	6
Paper maker	11	19	9	26	43	32
Coal miner	29	22	57	55	27	22
Clay miner	5	20	23	44	44	69
Brick maker	8	11	19	85	50	85
Other trades	112	169	249	370	278	353

N.B. The figures for 1851 do not include 11 gypsies in Moorwood who were riddle makers.

The figures for 1871 include Water Works excavators, mostly in Dungworth.

Looking at the Tables, we can see that the ordinary ‘knife’ cutlers were not distinguishable in the militia lists nor, to a lesser extent, in the census returns. Contemporary trade directories listed the Stannington cutlers as pocket-knife manufacturers and the census returns also showed that several Stannington cutlers became employers of local labour. In 1851 John Oates of Hangmoor Side was recorded as a master pocket-knife cutler, employing one man; this was his younger brother of the same address. Another member of the family, James Oates of Greenside, was also a pocket-knife cutler, employing one man. In 1861 Luke Oates, who was recorded every year in the militia lists, was employing ten men in his firm, Luke Oates & Co. at Alpha Works, Town End.

By the nineteenth century grinding was a separate occupation from cutlery forging, and firms employed both cutlers and grinders. Oates’s grinding was done, in a partnership, at Rowell Bridge Wheel, which was completely washed away in the flood of 1864.¹⁷⁴ Oates took over from the other partners and the firm used the repaired site until early in the last century.¹⁷⁵ Spring-knife making continued at Alpha Works where, in 1871, seven men, one boy and four women were employed. His sons, Luke Paris Oates and Squire Elijah Oates, took over the business, advertising as ‘manufacturers of original Spanish penknives and razors.’¹⁷⁶ Alpha Works is still there, once used for other small businesses and now a private house.

Smaller firms set up but did not last very long. The 1861 census return recorded Joseph Blackwell, a penknife manufacturer of Liberty Hill, employing six men and three boys. White’s 1862 *Directory of Sheffield* listed the firm as ‘Joseph Blackwell & Sons,’ and Kelly’s 1865 edition gave Joseph with his sons, Alfred and Henry, as ‘spring-knife makers.’¹⁷⁷ After 1868, when only Alfred Blackwell was listed, there was no further reference to the family or firm. Similarly Joseph Wragg, a spring-knife cutler of Nethergate, employing three men and three boys in 1861, disappeared from the records within a comparatively short time.

Although razor grinding was by far the most common grinding occupation in Stannington, followed by table-knife grinding, figures in the census returns showed that these articles had very few makers in the township (Tables 4.6. and 4.7.). Conversely,

spring and pocket-knife cutlery had very few grinders. Table-knife grinding, as Table 4.7. shows, had a surge in the 1851 census return. An example of this was shown by the ten cottages recorded on Albion Row, Rivelin, where every man of working age was a table-knife grinder.

Table 4.6. Cutlery Trades in the Stannington Census Returns, 1841-91.

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Cutler	96	27	50	63	5	4
Spring-knife cutler	1	25	79	62	77	74
Razor smith	17	10	8	4	5	4
Pocket-knife cutler	-	55	-	12	23	19
Table-knife cutler	-	4	3	4	2	3
Saw smith	-	2	2	1	1	-
File cutter	12	6	8	9	15	13
Shear smith	-	-	-	-	2	7
Scythe smith	-	-	1	1	-	-
Fork maker	5	4	2	1	-	-
Scissorsmith	3	5	6	4	4	3
Nail maker	2	1	1	1	-	-
Tool maker	-	-	1	3	2	2
Total	136	139	161	165	136	129

Table 4.7. Grinding Trades in the Stannington Census Returns, 1841-91.

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Grinder	114	-	-	-	1	-
Spring-knife grinder	-	2	4	-	1	5
Razor grinder	10	79	111	83	75	73
Pocket-knife grinder	-	15	11	5	9	7
Table-knife grinder	5	60	27	14	13	12
Saw grinder	7	14	13	2	5	1
File grinder	-	6	9	8	8	7
Shear grinder	-	1	6	5	5	6
Scythe grinder	-	-	3	5	2	4
Tool grinder	-	1	-	8	2	2
Total	136	178	184	130	121	117

On the increase was scale pressing, i.e. the making and fitting of folding handles on cut-throat razors and pen/pocket knives. In the 1841 census return George Ibbotson of Dungworth was recorded as an ivory cutter, and in 1861 John Wright of Green Head, Storrs, was a scale maker. In 1881 John Dyson and his son, William, of Hann Moor were pocket-knife hafters. Horn was frequently used for scales and the pressing was often carried on at home, in the kitchen or a lean-to, with members of the family helping. In the 1881 return Henry Shaw of Uppergate was recorded as a razor scale

presser as was his son, Herbert, aged 13. His eighteen-year old daughter was employed as a horn cutter. George Bacon of Woodland View was a stag horn cutter in 1891 when his son, also named George, was a bone cutter.

Horn was cut into slices but this unfortunately caused bending, so the next process was to straighten these scales. They were softened by boiling and then placed under a solid object, often the family Bible. The straight scale was put against the door jamb and a parcer, from the French *percer*, meaning 'to pierce,' pressed up to it, held in place by pressure from the worker's chest or stomach. A leather or steel breastplate or belly-plate, with a steel locating hole for supporting the parcer, was tied round the body. The parcer consisted of a wooden bobbin with a short, steel rod, pointed at one end, fastened through the middle. By pulling a bow-string, looped round the bobbin, from side to side the parcer acted like a gimlet with the steel point gradually drilling a hole in the scale. A scale was placed on each side of the prepared blade and riveted into place.

Like many other occupations scale pressing continued through several generations of families. Members of the Shaw family of Uppergate were recorded in all the census returns, as were members of the Wild and Vickers families. John Wild, a fourteen-year old apprentice to George Dyson of Knowle Top in 1841, was still a scale presser in 1891, when he was also a farmer at Little Park Farm, helped by his two sons. James Vickers of Griffs was recorded in 1841 and ten years later he was a 'master razor scale presser employing two men' at Park Head. By 1891 there were ten members of the family working as scale pressers. Shortly after this date a branch of the family took over a former cutlers' workshop at Knowle Top and remained in business there for several years. The workshop, a small, two storey building, still stands at the corner of Stannington Road and Oldfield Terrace.

The decline of cutlery manufacture in rural areas such as Stannington was brought about by the gradual evolution of more modern methods. In 1782 James Watt, a Scottish engineer, patented a steam engine capable of giving rotary motion to machinery. In spite of its being slow to be taken seriously, this meant that works need no longer be reliant on water power and could be sited where conditions were more amenable. The Sheffield Canal was completed in 1819, joining the town to the sea via

the Don Navigation and the River Humber. This provided a much easier way of transportation than by road, so firms sprang up within close proximity of the canal.

Other improvements during the nineteenth century led to iron and steel making on a large scale. In 1839 James Nasmyth invented the steam hammer, in 1856 Henry Bessemer introduced an economical process for making a similar product to wrought iron and, from 1863, William Siemens' open-hearth furnace was used for steel making. More workers moved into Sheffield from the outlying districts to become employees in crowded conditions rather than independent cutlers with their farms or smallholdings, although some stayed in Stannington as out-workers for the growing firms in Sheffield. As we have seen in Table 4.5., in 1841 41%, i.e. 297 out of 723, of the working population of Stannington was involved in the traditional metal trades. By 1891 this had dropped to 27%, i.e. 343 out of 1,237. Nevertheless, in the words of Professor Hey:

‘the rural metalworkers comprised a numerous body of men who made common knives, edge-tools, nails and other wares. They played a vital role in the development of the local economy.’¹⁷⁸

Railways played a big part in the changes in Sheffield, not only as a means of better transportation but rails and rolling stock were in great demand throughout the world. Sheffield took up the challenge of supplying this equipment and workers flocked to the town from poorer rural districts, eager to find work in the rapidly expanding steel industry. Cutlery was still made in large quantities but paled at the size of the steel trade. The rail track from Sheffield's east end to Manchester and on to Liverpool, was completed in 1847, giving easier access for exports to America. Mousehole Forge, for example, although the firm never moved from its site on the River Rivelin, took advantage of this route and made more anvils for America than for the home market. This trade was crippled during the American Civil War and workers had to be laid off, but it picked up well again afterwards in spite of higher tariffs.¹⁷⁹

A downward trend in rural cutlery trades continued through the nineteenth century as mass production of not only cutlery, but heavy machinery increased in Sheffield. After 1861, when grinding occupations reached their peak, their sudden decline can be attributed, to a certain extent, to the Bradfield flood of 1864. Stacey, Cliff, Ashton Carr and Broadhead Wheels were abandoned and several other works were rebuilt for

different uses. This reason however cannot be given for the River Rivelin, unaffected by the flood, where there were also closures and changes away from grinding. It was simply that the old methods of cutlery manufacture became outmoded.

6. The Coal and Refractory Industries

As less and less trees were available, more coal was needed to replace charcoal for the cutlery hearths. In 1756 George Smilter of Sheffield was granted 'the liberty of getting coal in Stannington Wood.' His rent was £10.10s.0d. per year plus an extra £5.5s.0d. per year for 'each and every Pickman or Master Collier that the said George Smilter shall employ at the said Colliery during the said term over and above two Pickmen.'¹⁸⁰ The industry did not expand in a big way, but in 1808 William Armitage of Mousehole Forge bought about 18 acres of land in Stannington Wood from the Duke of Norfolk.¹⁸¹ When William Armitage's great-grandson, George Armitage, inherited the estate in 1867 it included 'Middle Coal Pit Field, Top Coal Pit Field and Coal Pit Field.'¹⁸²

It can be seen from Table 4.4. that, according to the militia lists, there were very few men employed as colliers. The only other records I have found of the coal industry during the next few years were applications for relief. In 1819 Samuel Bailey had fallen on hard times -

'Says that he rented a house of Mistress Tingle in Stannington Wood at 7 guineas a year and that at the same time he bought a pit in Stannington Wood of Greaves & Bower.'¹⁸³

In 1830 Joseph Ward, a Stannington collier, applied for relief for his 18-year old son, Joseph,

'who got hurt in a coal pit in Stannington Wood about 8 weeks since, has been in the Infirmary 6 weeks, has had his arm amputated there, his eyes are bad, scarcely able to see of them.'

Martha Fearn, aged 63, of Ward Street, Sheffield, applied in 1838 for help with the burial of her husband, John - 'says that he got killed at a coal pit in Stannington Wood yesterday.'¹⁸⁴

In 1832 Samuel Inman applied for relief:

'Aged 70, father's settlement by renting upwards of £10 a year. He has never lived

anywhere but at Stannington, about two weeks ago, when banking at the coal pit he fell down in a fit, since that time his master dare not let him work for fear of him being killed. Is in Stannington club, has received two weeks club pay 8s. a week. Gave it up on Wednesday last. Wife aged 74.¹⁸⁵

In White's 1841 *Directory of Sheffield* George Dyson, was listed as 'colliery owner.' To this end he leased land from the Armitage family and opened what became known as the Woodend or Anvil Mine. George Armitage died in 1875 and his widow inherited everything. Later she married Edward Beardshaw and put part of her estate, including this land, into a trust. A portion of the mine survey is shown in Figure 4.3.¹⁸⁶

By this time George Dyson and his son, Jonathan, were 'coal and gannister merchants' of Myers Lane,¹⁸⁷ having found gannister under the coal. The firm expanded, and by 1888 was making fire-bricks as well as continuing with mining activities, Woodend Mine being reputed to produce some of the highest quality gannister in the area.¹⁸⁸ After his father's death Jonathan Dyson continued in business with his own sons until about 1910 when they sold out to J. & J. Dyson. The mine closed in 1959.

John Nichols, listed in White's 1849 *Directory of Sheffield* as 'coal owner,' and joined by Joseph Jackson in the 1852 edition, followed by other family members until the end of the century, leased land from the Armitage family and opened Stannington Wood Colliery. Whilst mining for coal in the 1870s 'Nichols & Jackson' also found gannister, in a similar way to George Dyson, which they extracted for just a few years before reverting back to coal as the seam of gannister ran out.

Throughout the century there were other colliery owners in the area. 'Ibbotson & Co.,' of Dungworth, appeared in directories from 1833 to 1879. There must have been an earlier mine in Dungworth, for in 1832 Thomas Hobson, a Dungworth collier, applied for relief:

'says he is about 53 years of age, when about 28 left Ecclesfield to work at the colliery at Dungworth. Wife ill and he got hurt at the coal pit at Dungworth about 15 weeks since and that he is at present unable to work at anything.'¹⁸⁹

During the 1830s the number of colliers increased, and there were 29 in the 1841 census return. Table 4.5. shows that the highest number, 57, was recorded in 1861, followed by 55 in 1871, before a decrease to the end of the century.

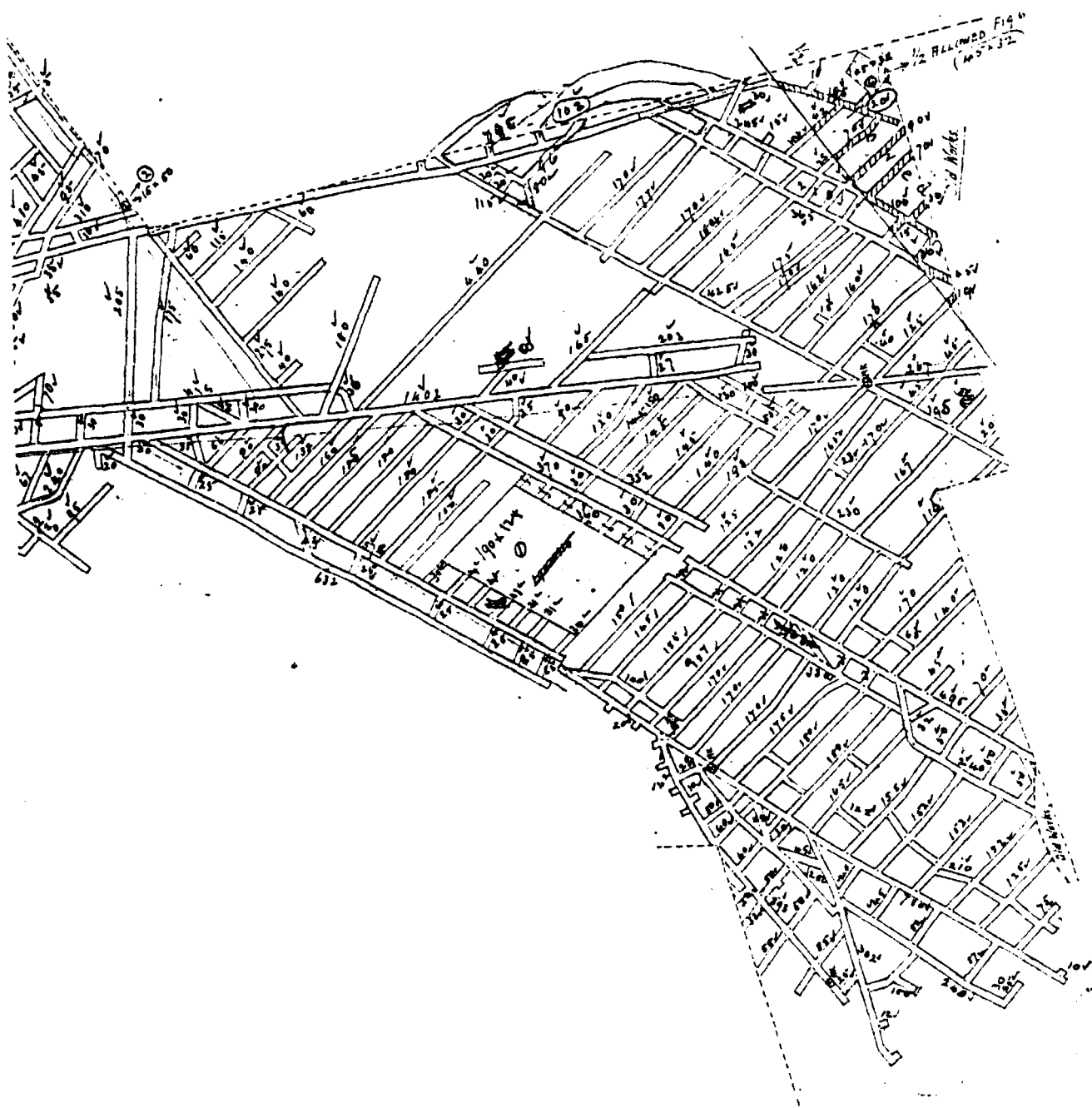
Figure 4.3. Survey of the Woodend Mine.

TRUSTEES OF M^{RS} E. T. BEARDSHAW.

— FROM COMMENCEMENT —

— TO —
JULY 1914.

Woodend Mine



In addition, firms in White's 1841 *Directory of Sheffield* were Joseph Hague Goodison, until 1862, Edward Radcliffe, at Little Matlock, until 1864, Joseph Ward until 1860, Joseph Gosney, Alice Greaves, and Joseph Hobson.

As cutlery making slowly diminished in the Stannington area the employment gap was filled, not only by coal mining but a new industry of gannister and clay mining, and fire-brick making. During the mid-eighteenth century Benjamin Huntsman, a Doncaster watch maker, moved to Handsworth, Sheffield, where he set out to improve the temper of steel. He experimented to produce a more uniform material suitable for his watch springs and eventually perfected the process by completely melting steel in clay crucibles subjected to great heat by means of coke. At first this crucible steel was ignored by the Hallamshire cutlers who found it much more difficult to work; in fact it took about thirty years for the cutlers to use it and even then it was only accepted reluctantly. Huntsman's work also paved the way for Sheffield's steel industry to expand.

In time it was realised that Stannington clay was ideal for making crucible pots. From small beginnings the work increased to keep pace with the ever-growing demand for refractory bricks to line the large furnaces in Sheffield. In the Stannington area of the Bradfield militia lists there was only one brick maker, a William Ibbotson of Bents, Dungworth, in 1820, although there certainly must have been brick makers who were listed as having other occupations. The census returns and local trade directories gave a better idea of the growth of the Stannington refractory industry. In the 1841 census there were just four clay miners, one clay dealer and eight brick makers, though they were still under-counted, simply giving farming or labouring as occupations. Ten years later there were thirty-four men connected with the industry and by 1891 the number had increased to one hundred and sixty.

Types of refractory material referred to in the trade directories included pot clay, fire clay, black clay and gannister. These were first encountered as outcrops by farmers ploughing their fields, but as demand grew so did the excavation from drift and then deeper mines. Small firms came and went as farmers speculated for clay and gannister on their land and went back to farming when the seams ran out. Others, such as George

Dyson & Son, and Nichols & Jackson, turned to gannister mining almost by chance. Some firms continued for many years, always looking for new refractory clay seams to keep the business going.

Miss Elizabeth Harrison of Weston Hall, the surviving benefactress of Stannington Church, had a survey of her lands at Dungworth carried out through her agent, F. W. Wilson Esq. She had inherited Padley House and lands which reached down to the River Loxley from her father, Thomas Harrison, and sister, Anne. In 1860 the surveyor reported on his findings:

‘With a view first to prove the coal we directed Mr. Nichols of Stannington to put down the bore holes numbered on plan 1. Bore hole no.1 was carried 10 yards deep without finding coal, when we gave directions for a trial to be made on the westerly side of the estate, no. 2, with a view to finding it at a less depth. In this hole we found coal at a depth of 8ft., again in no. 3 it was found at 3 yards from the surface.

We then had a shaft or trial pit sunk at no. 4 and, at a depth of 8 yards reached the coal which proved to be a seam about 16 inches thick lying about 20 yards, we believe, below the Dungworth bed. The quality of the coal was not very good, and, being so thin a seam, is not of much value. It would, no doubt, become better as the depth from the surface increased, and might probably be worth working in connection with clay works for engine purposes, or brick burning. The dip of the coal is about south-south-east and there is little doubt but it extends southwards from the outcrop line to the road boundary of Miss Harrison’s estate about 17 ½ acres.

Having reason to believe that a bed of fireclay outcropped on the lower part of the Estate, near the River Loxley, we directed a bore hole no. 5 to be put down, but after sinking some yards deep we perceived indications that it was beyond the outcrop and therefore put down a shaft no. 6, and at a depth of 12 yards discovered the clay we were in search of - the Black fire-clay. The shaft was then sunk 6ft more, but in consequence of the quantity of water running into it the difficulty of working became so great that the men were compelled to abandon it. The thickness of the seam therefore as proved was 6ft, about 4ft of which is apparently of very excellent quality and 2ft a little inferior.

The dip of the clay is as near as could be ascertained south-south-east the same as the coal, under which it lies at a considerable depth, and in all probability the seam extends over the whole area of the Estate southwards from the outcrop about 36½ acres.

In order to develop this Fireclay we should recommend a Right of Road to be purchased over the field coloured red in plan 2 accompanying this report belonging to Mr. Marple and up the occupation road leading on to the Loxley Road, from which the road is most excellent all the way to Sheffield. If this could be accomplished the saving in distance, besides the superior character of the road over that of any other one from the Estate to Sheffield, would add very much to the value of the minerals in the property.’¹⁹⁰

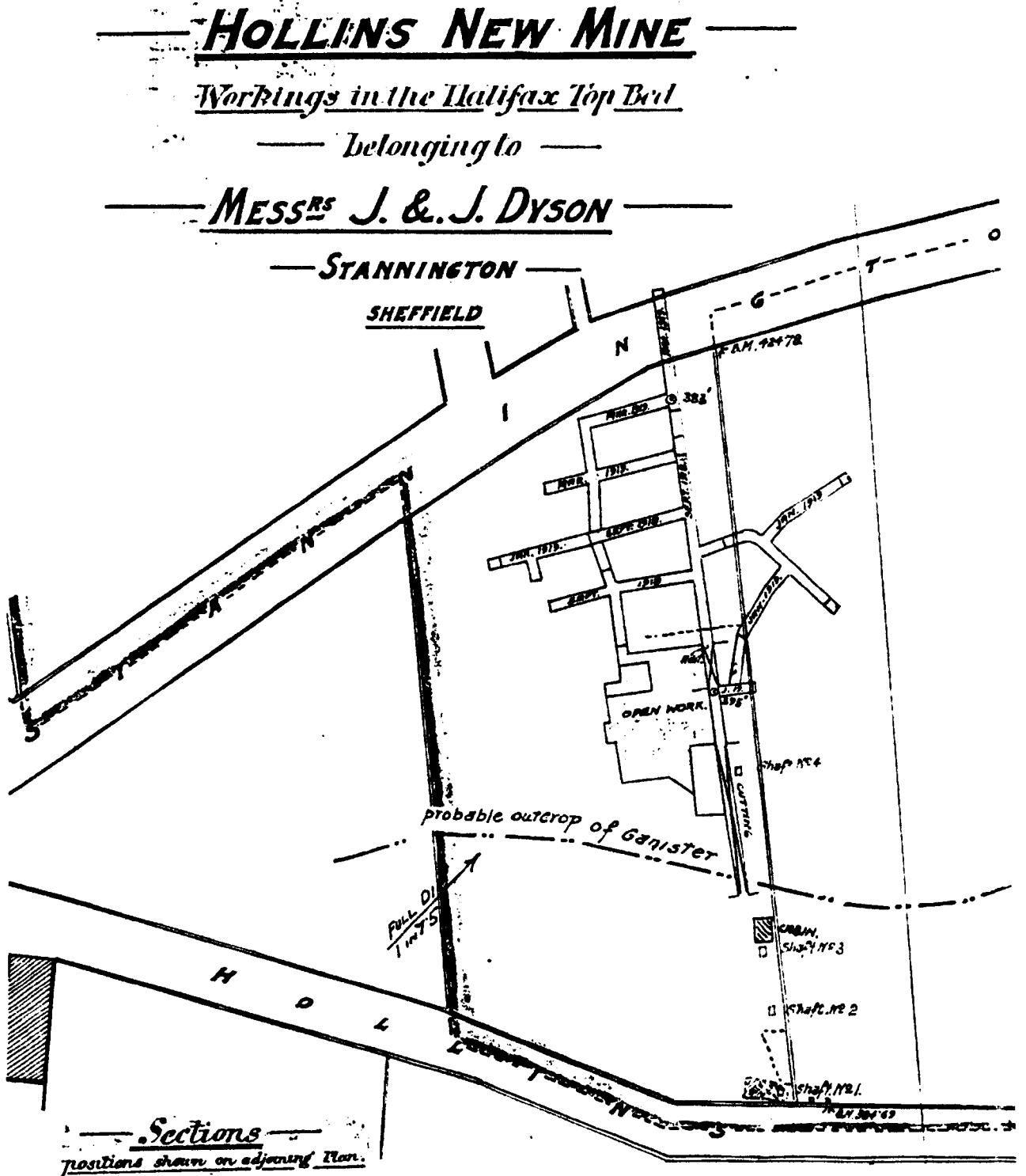
Unfortunately the plans mentioned in the report have not survived, but the document itself shows the interest in prospecting for the 'new' mineral. In 1866 Elizabeth Harrison conveyed her estate to William Trickett of Loadbrook,¹⁹¹ who was anxious to increase his position in the fireclay industry. His company had been started in the 1840s when he found fireclay outcropping on his farmland. Described in the 1851 census return as a farmer and clay worker, Trickett employed eight men and two boys. Ten years later his work force had increased to nineteen labourers and five boys. When he died in 1890 he left the works in trust for the benefit of his widow and seven children with his eldest son, Benjamin, in charge.¹⁹² This became B. Trickett & Co.

Clay is a heavy, sticky form of earth, basically aluminium silicate with varying impurities. Black clay refers to black basset clay, basset meaning 'outcrop.' This clay, as its name implies, was contaminated by a high carbon content which had to be burnt out before it could be of any use in the industry.¹⁹³ Fire clay was a purer form of aluminium silicate and pot clay the finest. These clays were extracted from seams throughout the Loxley side of Stannington, Dungworth and Storrs. Gannister, although used for the same purposes as fire clay, differs in character being a hard, siliceous rock. It is found under coal seams in such places as the Loxley, lower Rivelin and upper Don valleys. The word is sometimes used to describe the whole range of fire clays but this is not strictly accurate. Gannister is simply

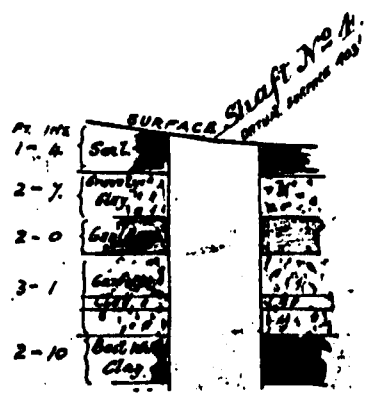
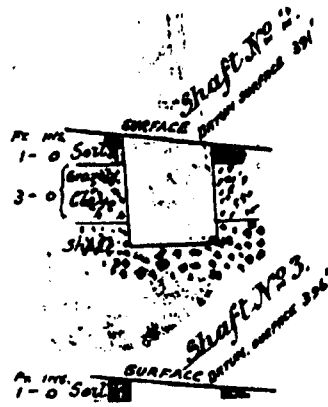
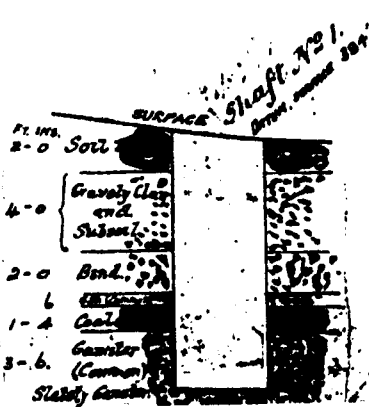
'the fossilised remains of the earth in which the carboniferous coal-forming forests grew and from which most nutrients were extracted by the vegetation.'¹⁹⁴

The coal seam was not necessarily present above the gannister as can be seen in the section plan of different shafts in Hollins New Mine (Figure 4.4.).¹⁹⁵ Coal and fire clays were often extracted at the same time as gannister, although before the potential of gannister was appreciated, coal had sometimes already been mined. This led to the danger of flooding when old coal mines were re-opened to claim the gannister. Clays and gannister have a similar method of preparation: both are crushed to powder and blended with water before they can be moulded into whatever shape of refractory product is required.

Figure 4.4. Plan of Hollins New Mine.



Sections
positions shown on adjoining Plan.



George Marsden, a clay and gannister miner who retired in the 1970s, spent all his working life in the Stannington area. The process of extracting refractory materials had changed little since it started over a century before. George's first job was at the Anvil Mine until 1949 when he moved to Wraggs' at Ughill. He then worked for Marshalls' before going to the Little Matlock or Robin Hood Mine where he took over from Billy Earnshaw. This was a one-man clay pit owned by Matthew Furness, the landlord of the 'Robin Hood' public house. Apparently Billy never had enough money as he was rather too fond of his ale. As soon as he got paid he spent all his money in the pub. He had to work overtime to get more money for more beer so, according to George, he was always tired out and drunk. He would often go straight out of the mine into the dram shop of the pub with his pockets full of powder for blowing the clay - and stand in front of the fire. Fortunately there was never an accident.

George's day at the Robin Hood Mine started at 6.00 a.m. when he lowered tubs to the bottom of the shaft, four at a time. A chain fastened the tubs together and the miner pushed the first tub along rails, dragging the other three behind. The descent was very steep so if the tubs started going too fast the miner grabbed a 'sprag' from the side of the track and locked it into the back wheel to slow down. At the bottom the tubs were uncoupled and one taken to the face where it was filled with lumps of clay, an average of 6 cwt. When the four tubs were full they were winched back to the surface and the process was repeated as many times as possible during the shift.

The latter part of the shift was spent clearing the face and putting props up and the last job of the day was to fire shot. Shot-holes were drilled using a hand-drill and pieces of powder were rammed down the holes with clay. This was known as 'stemming in.' A fuse was put in the last packet of powder. Blowing the clay at night allowed the dust to settle before work began again the next morning. Sometimes, however, not enough clay was blown so a second shot was needed before work could start. As the miners were on piece work they could not afford to waste time waiting for the dust to clear, leading to the lung disease, silicosis, in some cases. Workers were paid 3s. per tub until the mine closed in the 1960s. They were only paid for clay, so if the shot blew out the timbers, it could take a day or two to clear the mine - without pay. It was a very tiring job, in dirty and damp conditions, with water constantly dripping. George worked a 7 ½ hour shift

under ground as opposed to the 8 hour shift required in the brickyards.

The first mention of the refractory industry in local trade directories was in 1833, when John Dyson of Clay House and George Goodison of Griffs were both listed as ‘fire-brick makers.’ By 1841 George had retired and the firm of ‘George Goodison & Son,’ black clay miners and fire-brick manufacturers, was being run by his son, Jonathan. In 1862 the firm’s heads were Henry Drabble and George Elliott, Jonathan’s nephews, who continued in partnership for the next twenty years in the Stopes and Brookside area of Stannington. Henry Drabble’s son, Jonathan, took over and the family firm continued through succeeding generations of sons until closure about 1927.

John Dyson, the Goodisons’ neighbour, is thought to have been working clay from around 1810 or even earlier.¹⁹⁶ In the 1841 census return his occupation was recorded as ‘farmer,’ but his two sons, John and Jonathan, were both ‘brick makers.’ At that time the firm was ‘John Dyson & Sons, black-clay miners and fire-brick manufacturers.’ Ten years later it was ‘John & Jonathan Dyson,’ giving rise to the ‘J. & J. Dyson’ by which the firm, an important part of Dyson Industries plc, is still known. Jonathan’s son, John, took over in the 1860s and the firm included the manufacture of stove backs. Later, sanitary pipes and chimney pots were added to their range of refractory wares. By the 1880s the firm was employing between forty and fifty men in various jobs, and up-to-date machinery was powered by steam from two boilers. Just before Christmas 1885 one of the boilers burst and, according to the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* of December 23rd 1885,

‘the works were practically laid in ruins. The boiler sheds and the adjoining buildings, in which the various processes of pipe manufacture were carried on, had no existence. Their site was indicated by a piled up heap of bricks and stones through which it was difficult to grope about.’

The report continued with typical Victorian melodrama to describe the plight of two men, John Ibbotson of Stopes and Herbert Parish of Townhead, who were killed, and another three, Henry Morris of Woodland View, Henry Wainwright, aged 13, and Herbert Pearson, aged 14, both of Stannington, who were badly injured. Many others narrowly escaped injury.

After the accident John Dyson became very depressed. He had to lay off many of his men and lost money in rebuilding the works. When times had been prosperous at the beginning of the 1880s he had added extensions which proved unnecessary and he increasingly worried about finances. This 'unhinged his mind and made him at times hardly responsible for his actions.'¹⁹⁷ Early on 28th January 1888 he left the house on the pretext of seeing to his men but two hours later he was found drowned in the works' pond, having committed suicide. His distraught widow, with a family of two sons and eight daughters, was helped by William Lomas, a local schoolmaster, and five years later she sold the business to him. Under Lomas's guidance the firm expanded, taking over or opening other mines as the local clay and gannister seams were exhausted. Still chairman of the company, he died in 1942, within a month of his 100th birthday.¹⁹⁸ His son, Alexander, took over and Lomases are still connected with the firm.

Samuel Crapper of Storrs was listed in White's 1841 *Directory of Sheffield* as a black-clay miner, but was described as a farmer in the census return. Other members of his family became clay miners and by 1849 John Crapper was a partner in the firm of Marshall & Crapper, George Henry Marshall being a farmer at Throstle Nest, Storrs. Within the next five years William Crapper was in charge, with the Marshall interests being looked after by George Henry's widow, Ruth. The census return of 1861 recorded that William Crapper, living at Storrs Grange, was a farmer employing two men, and a miner employing five men and two boys. George and Ruth Marshalls' son, Thomas, joined the firm which, by 1862, had moved its premises to the Loxley valley, adjacent to Storrs Bridge Wheel. The freehold of this land had been purchased by Jonathan Marshall from James Wilkinson in 1821, subject to a 'reservation of all seams and beds of coal thereunder'¹⁹⁹

The new site was for brick making and consisted of 'kilns, a large shed in which was a boiler of considerable size, a large stock of bricks, and various appurtenances.'²⁰⁰ In 1864 while the works were still being constructed 'the whole place was completely carried away'²⁰¹ by the force of water from the burst Dale Dyke reservoir. The damage was later repaired and the site became Storrs Bridge Clay Works.

William Crapper retired from the company and moved to Loxley Grange. In 1879

Thomas Marshall died, leaving a widow and nine year old son, Arthur. The business became 'Thomas Marshall & Co.' and was run by trustees, headed by Charles James Hayward, until Arthur was twenty-one. Arthur then led the company as sole proprietor until it became Thomas Marshall & Co.(Loxley) Ltd. in 1936, after which he remained chairman until his death in 1943. During that time he enlarged the site by the purchase of two houses at Stacey Bank in 1916.²⁰² The freeholder, James Swift, later sold his own residence, Claremont House, to the firm as the workers' social club.

The fireclay firms were always in search of new sources of clay and/or gannister. In 1955 Hector Hallam of Padley House Farm sold 'the minerals underlying his property at Dungworth' to Marshall's for £2,500. Three years later Marshall's bought the 'freehold hereditaments known as St. Mary's Croft, Dungworth,' from the Estate Trustees of the Feoffee Estate Charity in the Chapelry of Bradfield for £800. In 1965 Hector Hallam bought the Croft from Marshall's for £200, 'the minerals under to remain with Thomas Marshall & Co (Loxley) Ltd other than coal which is vested in the National Coal Board.'²⁰³ Within the last ten years the firm has been taken over, firstly by Genefax, then by Hepworth Refractories Ltd. Most of the buildings were demolished by the latest owners, Yorkshire Water, to make room for a water treatment plant.

Thomas Wragg, born in Bamford, Derbyshire, was first mentioned in White's 1849 *Directory of Sheffield* as a black-clay miner in Storrs. The 1851 census return recorded him as farmer of 67 acres at Storrs Hall and clay merchant employing three labourers. By 1864 his works had transferred to near Loxley Old Wheel which, as with Marshall & Crapper, proved to be an unfortunate move. The Bradfield flood destroyed the entire premises, including 'all the stock of bricks, sheds, kilns and other appurtenances.'²⁰⁴ The works were rebuilt and by 1879 Wragg's sons were working in the business - Joseph, Thomas jun. and William, with John a clay merchant in Burton-on-Trent. They increased the size of the works when they bought Loxley Old Wheel in about 1885.²⁰⁵

Thomas sen. retired and the firm continued as Thomas Wragg & Sons at Storrs Fire Clay Works, Loxley. In 1925 Wragg's took over Intake Clay Pits, Loadbrook, belonging to B. Trickett & Co.²⁰⁶ When W. T. Miller visited the site in the 1930s there was a water wheel 'in regular use for driving two pan mills.'²⁰⁷ Water power continued to be

used for crushing clay until 1956.²⁰⁸

The firm was taken over by Hepworth's, who closed it in 1995. Since then Hepworth's have been trying to develop the site but planning permission has repeatedly been refused. Unfortunately, all Wragg's historical records, together with those of Marshall's, seem to have disappeared during the various takeovers.

The discovery of fire-clay and gannister in the Stannington area helped to fill the gap in the employment market left by the decline of the local cutlery trades. Although still giving a comparatively small amount of employment, the fire clay industry itself has declined, due again to the evolution of modern methods of steel production, where fire bricks are no longer needed. This recent decline, however, was not in evidence during the nineteenth century.

This chapter leaves us in no doubt that the character of the township of Stannington in Victoria's reign was considerably different from what it had been two hundred years earlier. During that period, changes brought about by the expansion of the Hallamshire cutlery trades and other industries into the Loxley and Rivelin valleys altered the environment in a way that no-one could have imagined.

¹ Rev. A. Gatty (ed.), *History of Hallamshire by Joseph Hunter* (Sheffield: Pawson and Brailsford, 1869), p. 460.

² J. Ronksley (ed.), *An Exact and Perfect Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield with Other Lands, by John Harrison, 1637* (Printed privately for Arthur Wightman by Robert White & Co., Worksop, 1908), pp. 156, 158.

³ Gatty, p.462, note 2.

⁴ Rev. J. Eastwood, *The History of Ecclesfield* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1862), p. 62.

⁵ Wilson Collection vol. 48, pp. 21-22.

⁶ Ronksley, p. 153.

⁷ Wilson, vol. 48, p. 15.

⁸ Ronksley, p. 32.

⁹ Ronksley, p.159.

¹⁰ M. Spray and D. Smith, 'The Rise and Fall of Holly in the Sheffield Region', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, vol. 10, part 4, p. 245.

¹¹ Wilson, vol. 234, p. 9.

¹² Fairbank, MB 19, 20, 21.

¹³ W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1965), p. 228.

¹⁴ ACM S 376 I.

¹⁵ ACM S 376 III.

¹⁶ ACM S 377.

¹⁷ D. Hey, 'The Establishment of the Cutlers' Company' in C. Binfield and D Hey (eds), *Mesters to Masters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.12.

¹⁸ Gatty, p. 59, note 3.

- ¹⁹ D. Wright, *Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales* (London; Toronto; Sydney; New York: Granada Publishing Ltd, reprint 1982), p. 75.
- ²⁰ David Hey, *The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire* (Leicester; London; New York: Leicester University Press), p. 2.
- ²¹ R. E. Leader, *History of the Cutlers' Company in Hallamshire in the County of York* vol. I, (Sheffield: Company of Cutlers, 1905), p. 17.
- ²² Leader, p. 21.
- ²³ Leader, pp. 37-45.
- ²⁴ D. Hey and Joan Unwin 'The Company, its Freemen and its Apprentices, 1624-1860' in Binfield and Hey (eds), p. 38.
- ²⁵ ACM S 127.
- ²⁶ Leader, vol. II, p. 194.
- ²⁷ ACM S 377.
- ²⁸ ACM S 376 II.
- ²⁹ Ronksley, p. 3.
- ³⁰ Ronksley, p. 31.
- ³¹ ACM S 124.
- ³² ACM S 147.
- ³³ ACM S 154.
- ³⁴ ACM S 158.
- ³⁵ ACM S 412.
- ³⁶ S. Harrison, *A Complete History of the Great Flood of Sheffield 1864* (Dewsbury: Evans & Longley Associates, Republished 1974), p. 28.
- ³⁷ ACM S 378.
- ³⁸ ACM S 383.
- ³⁹ Harrison, p. 28.
- ⁴⁰ CA 7/4834.
- ⁴¹ ACM S 378.
- ⁴² ACM S 383.
- ⁴³ Harrison p. 29.
- ⁴⁴ ACM S 376 I.
- ⁴⁵ ACM S 377.
- ⁴⁶ ACM S 383.
- ⁴⁷ ACM S 412.
- ⁴⁸ Fairbank CP 27/43, 44.
- ⁴⁹ Harrison, p. 29.
- ⁵⁰ W. T. Miller, *The Water-Mills of Sheffield* (Sheffield: Pawson & Brailsford Ltd., 1936), p. 81.
- ⁵¹ ACM S 147.
- ⁵² ACM S 158.
- ⁵³ ACM S 377.
- ⁵⁴ ACM S 378.
- ⁵⁵ Fairbank, BB 95.
- ⁵⁶ Fairbank, CP27/42.
- ⁵⁷ CA 76.
- ⁵⁸ Harrison, p. 30.
- ⁵⁹ D. Crossley (ed.), *Water Power on the Sheffield Rivers* (Sheffield: Sheffield Trades Historical Society and University of Sheffield Division of Continuing Education, 1989), p. 30.
- ⁶⁰ ACM S 377.
- ⁶¹ ACM S 378.
- ⁶² ACM S 380.
- ⁶³ BPC 64.6.
- ⁶⁴ Harrison, p. 30.
- ⁶⁵ ACM S 558/25.
- ⁶⁶ ACM S 378.
- ⁶⁷ SD 868/180.
- ⁶⁸ Miller, p. 84.
- ⁶⁹ Crossley, p. 33.
- ⁷⁰ ACM S 376 I.

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- 71 ACM S376 I.
72 ACM S 377.
73 ACM S 378.
74 ACM S 431.
75 BPC 73.
76 Harrison, p. 31.
77 ACM S 376 I.
78 ACM S 158.
79 ACM S 377.
80 ACM S 380.
81 ACM S 431.
82 BPC 64.6.
83 Harrison, pp. 33-34.
84 Crossley, p. 34.
85 ACM S 377.
86 ACM S 378.
87 CA 7/3869.
88 ACM S 377.
89 ACM S 431.
90 BPC 64.6.
91 Harrison, p. 32.
92 Harrison, p. 33.
93 Crossley, p. 36.
94 Wheat Collection 224.
95 Fairbank NB 1.
96 Harrison, p. 34.
97 Harrison, p. 34.
98 Harrison, p. 34.
99 Miller, p. 87.
100 Tibbitts Collection 348/37.
101 Harrison, p. 34.
102 Crossley, p. 39.
103 Crossley, p.40.
104 Harrison, p. 34.
105 Miller, p. 88.
106 Harrison, p. 34.
107 Crossley, p. 43.
108 Crossley, p. 50.
109 ACM S 378.
110 ACM S 158.
111 Ronksley, p. 31.
112 ACM S 376 I.
113 RC 7.
114 ACM S 377.
115 ACM S 377.
116 ACM S 378.
117 Miller, p. 65.
118 ACM S 377.
119 ACM S 378.
120 ACM S 378.
121 BPC 64.6.
122 ACM S 377.
123 ACM S 378.
124 CA 569(6).
125 ACM S 376 III.
126 Crossley, p. 55.
127 ACM S 148.
128 ACM S 376.

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- 129 ACM S 379.
130 Crossley, p. 56.
131 ACM S 377.
132 ACM S 378.
133 ACM S 114.
134 Ronksley, pp. 127-128.
135 ACM S 129.
136 SD 867/121.
137 ACM S 378.
138 ACM S 380.
139 ACM S 423.
140 ACM S 376 I.
141 ACM S 377.
142 Crossley, p. 60.
143 ACM S 378.
144 ACM S 158.
145 ACM S 376 I.
146 ACM S 378.
147 ACM S 378.
148 Crossley, p. 61.
149 Crossley, p. 61.
150 ACM S 158.
151 ACM S 378.
152 Miller, p. 70.
153 Ronksley, p. 32.
154 ACM S 158.
155 ACM S 376 I.
156 Crossley, p. 64.
157 ACM S 376 III.
158 ACM S 377.
159 Crossley, p. 65.
160 Fairbank FB 135.
161 Crossley, p. 65.
162 Fairbank CP-37-142.
163 Fairbank FB 23.
164 CP-37-140.
165 CP-37-146.
166 Grammar School Deeds 153.
167 Tibbitts Collection 115.
168 Sheffield Corporation House of Commons Bills and Petitions, 1919.
169 Ronksley, p. 32.
170 ACM S 158.
171 ACM S 376 I.
172 ACM S 377.
173 ACM S 444.
174 Harrison, p. 30.
175 Miller, p. 79.
176 W. White, *Directory of Sheffield and surrounding Hamlets* 1879.
177 Kelly & Co. *Directory of Sheffield* 1865.
178 David Hey, *Fiery Blades*. p. 114.
179 Sheffield Water Bill, 1866, House of Commons Minutes of Evidence.
180 ACM S378.
181 MD 3850.
182 MD 3833.
183 BPC 23.
184 BPC 8.
185 BPC 8.
186 Maps given by Les Stenton.

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- ¹⁸⁷ Kelly's *Directory of Sheffield* 1879.
- ¹⁸⁸ Ray Battye, unpublished dissertation, *A Study of the Gannister Mining Industry in the Wudsley, Worrall and Loxley areas of Sheffield from its rise in the mid-eighteenth century to its decline in the mid-nineteenth century*. Part of M. A. Degree, University of Sheffield, 1997. p. 52.
- ¹⁸⁹ BPC 8.
- ¹⁹⁰ Personal documents of Wilf and Betty Wood, Stacey Bank Farm, Loxley.
- ¹⁹¹ Personal documents of Wilf and Betty Wood.
- ¹⁹² MD 595, p. 83.
- ¹⁹³ Conversation with Milton Revitt, Business Manager of Dyson Holloware, Stannington.
- ¹⁹⁴ Battye, p. 3.
- ¹⁹⁵ Maps given by Les Stenton.
- ¹⁹⁶ J. & J. Dyson advertisements.
- ¹⁹⁷ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* 30th January 1888.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Sheffield Telegraph* 29th October 1942.
- ¹⁹⁹ Personal documents of Wilf and Betty Wood.
- ²⁰⁰ Harrison, p. 29.
- ²⁰¹ Harrison, p. 29.
- ²⁰² Personal documents of Wilf and Betty Wood.
- ²⁰³ Personal documents of Wilf and Betty Wood.
- ²⁰⁴ Harrison, p. 30.
- ²⁰⁵ Miller, p. 78.
- ²⁰⁶ Stannington Local History Group, *Stannington* (Stannington: Stannington Local History Group, 1974), p. 18.
- ²⁰⁷ Miller, p. 78.
- ²⁰⁸ Crossley, p. 30.

CHAPTER 5

FAMILIES IN THE TOWNSHIP OF STANNINGTON, LADY DAY, 1672.

So far, the emphasis in this thesis has been on the ways that the township of Stannington developed during the period, 1660-1900, and, therefore, on the considerable changes which took place. In these two following chapters I turn to a detailed study of the local families who were recorded in the hearth tax return of 1672, and the census return of 1871, to see whether the industrial changes brought an influx of new people who replaced the old or whether the old families continued to form the core of the local population. This detailed biographical approach is necessary to answer this crucial question. It also allows us to see whether or not Stannington's experience was similar to the communities which have been studied elsewhere (see pages 12-16).

My starting point is the hearth tax return of Lady Day, 1672, the first list of householders that we have. This is not a complete list as not all the exempted poor were recorded, but it covered the whole township and we can follow the collectors on their chosen route. I propose to look in detail at every family recorded in the hearth tax return, rearranged in alphabetical order, in order to determine how long they lived in the township and what role they played in the local community. As we shall see, a high proportion of families lived in the Stannington district for centuries.

Bacon: John (four hearths), John (two hearths), both in Dungworth.

In 1379 Adam Bacun and Margareta, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Bradfield. Adam de Bakon was living in Bradfield in 1402.¹ The 'de' points to Bakon being a place, perhaps Beakon, which later became Beacon and then Beaton, but the insertion of 'de' is a common clerical error and, as it occurs only once, the surname is more likely to come from the Old English personal name *Bacco*. The earliest mention of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1568 when Margret, daughter of Rychard, was baptised. This long-established family continued to flourish in the area until the early part of the eighteenth century.

John Bacon of Storrs died in 1691, having been a feoffee of Bradfield Chapel from 1687 until his death.² He was succeeded by his son, also named John, who was constable in

1699³ and an overseer of the poor in 1706.⁴ This John died in 1709 leaving no children and willing his estate to his nephew, John, of Chesterfield. By 1730 this had passed to his heir's son, Daniel, in the Province of West New Jersey, in America,⁵ a community founded by a group of Yorkshire Quakers who had sailed from Hull in 1678.⁶ He also left 5s. to the overseers of Stannington Chapel for repairs. His inventory amounted to £224.13s.8d., including four bullocks at Chatsworth.

John Bacon of Cliffe, a kinsman of John of Storrs, died in 1730, having been an overseer of the poor in 1701.⁷ His gravestone in Bradfield churchyard recorded that he was 'in the 80th year of his age.' His two daughters, Alice the wife of John Champion, and Mary, the wife of Charles Steer, the curate of Bradfield, inherited his estate. With his death the male line died out, and the name of Bacon disappeared from any documents I have found concerning Stannington apart from the census return of 1871, which recorded George Bacon, his wife and young son, all born in Yorkshire, living at No.2 Tim Well, Dungworth.

Barber: Francis (two hearths), in Stannington.

No Barbers paid the poll tax in the township in 1379, the nearest being Henre Baube and Idonia, his wife, who paid 6d. in Sheffield. Roger Barber was living in Wadsley in 1531.⁸ Barbers were in the Stannington area by 1571, when Rychard Barbar married Jane Revell at Bradfield. In the same year Margret, the wife of Wyllm Barbar, died. After that date several members of the family appeared in the registers.

In 1622 Thomas Greaves surrendered a messuage and lands in Stannington to William Barber who surrendered it to the use of his son, also named William, in 1647.⁹ In a survey of the manor in 1637¹⁰ William sen. was mentioned as having land near Hawe Park and Little Hawe Park, plus other lands in Stannington. This William was an overseer of the poor of Bradfield in 1632.¹¹ In the same survey Richard Fenton held land at Malin Bridge 'next ye land of Mr. Burton.'¹² This was land with two leadsmelting houses leased to Michael Burton of Holmesfield in 1631 by Edward Barber of Loxley End (i.e. part of Malin Bridge) and his father, Francis Barber.¹³ By the time of Edward's death in 1664 the lead mills had been converted to an iron forge, which was subsequently sold to George Bamford II, joint lord of the manor of

Owlerton. Edward had no issue and his estate was divided among his sisters, one of whom was married to another Edward Barber.

The 1672 hearth tax returns showed that William Barber was living in Greenhowfirth (Grenoside) and his half-brother, Francis, was in Stannington. Francis, in his will dated 1686, bequeathed his messuage in Stannington to Edward, eldest son of his brother, Richard. After Francis' death in 1688 Edward was admitted to the estate. Edward, who had been a chapel-warden of Bradfield in 1683,¹⁴ was also a Stannington feoffee administering the Bingley House Trust,¹⁵ set up by Richard Ibbotson who had surrendered the house and land in 1567 to trustees for 'all the inhabitants of the village of Stannington' for charitable uses.¹⁶ In 1692 he was appointed a trustee of Stannington Chapel's Spooone Ministerial Trust,¹⁷ established in 1652 by the will of Richard Spooone to pay for 'the maintenance of a preaching minister' in Stannington.¹⁸ Edward was still a trustee of both charities in 1722.¹⁹

When Rivelin Corn Mill was in ruins in 1712 Mr. Rowland Revell, Mr. Richard Revell, James Crapper, William Ibbotson and Edward Barber jun. agreed with the Duke of Norfolk's agent that Robert Corbedge, the miller, should take over the mill for a term of 21 years 'provided that he give satisfaction to the Town...otherwise it to be in the said inhabitants disposing of the choice of a millner.'²⁰ Other members of the community added their signatures to guarantee a satisfactory miller and the rent being paid.

In a list of chief rents payable in 1692 Edward paid 12s. for a copyhold messuage and 30 acres of land.²¹ This was the property which he and his wife, Anna, surrendered to the use of their son, yet another Edward, in 1702: 'all that messuage with stables, gardens, orchards and land called Robwell or Barley Croft and also Acornhill situated in Stannington.'²² Unfortunately, in 1708, Edward sen. had to mortgage the messuage, called Fairbarn, and some of the land to Thomas France of Sheffield,²³ followed by a re-mortgage in 1714.²⁴ His son Edward mortgaged his share of the land to John Guest of Coal Pit Lane in Ecclesall in 1711²⁵ and again in 1718 when the rest of the Fairbarn land was added to it.²⁶ In 1721 the whole estate was sold to George Bamforth of the High House, Owlerton.²⁷ The name of Fairbarn continues in Stannington as an estate of council houses on the same site.

Two of Edward jun's sons, Edward and Joseph, left farming and served cutlery apprenticeships with Samuel Stones in Sheffield.²⁸ Edward commenced in 1716 but did not obtain his freedom until 1749 or 1751. His younger brother gained his freedom in 1731. Their other brother, John, remained in the area where his grandsons, Thomas and Isaac, were listed in Montgomery's 1797 *Directory of Sheffield* as pocket-knife cutlers in Moorwood. Thomas and Isaac's sons, also named Thomas and Isaac, appeared in the Bradfield militia lists between 1819 and 1831 as cutlers at Town Field Head.

In 1840 and 1850 Isaac of Town Field Head was returned as a juror by paying the poor rate.²⁹ In 1841 he was a farmer/cutler, living with his wife, Mary, her three children, George, Henry and Deborah Grayson, and two of his own, John and Isaac. In 1861 Isaac sen. was recorded as a farmer of 30 acres, employing one labourer and a boy. Ten years later Isaac jun. had taken over his father's part of the farm and was there with his wife from Cheshire, and young family. He was still there in 1881 when his brother, John, was a farmer of 40 acres, living on Wood Lane with his wife and young children.

Also in 1841, Thomas was a cutler at Town Field Head. He was a widower with a five-year old daughter, Hannah, and three-year old son, Isaac. Thomas was there in 1861, a farmer of 19 acres employing one boy. His son was also living at the farm, working as a milkman, married to Frances and had a son, Fred. Thomas's daughter was by then married to Henry Wingfield, from Sheffield, who had moved from Tofts and taken over Thomas's part of Town Field Head by 1871. Ten years later Henry and Hannah's son, Henry, was running the farm with his sister, Harriet, and brother, Fred. Branches of the Wingfield family were in Stannington in 1891 but no Barbers were recorded. From being a single household in 1672, the Barber family had multiplied locally, before disappearing from Stannington in the late Victorian era.

Bockin: William (two hearths), in Stannington.

Bockins (or Bockings) were in the Bradfield area in 1397 when John Bocking was connected with Ughill Wood.³⁰ In 1681 William and his wife, Anna, surrendered a messuage in Stannington, called Skinner House, in the occupation of John Whiteley, together with land called Townfield in William's own occupation to Joseph and Mary Parr of Stannington.³¹ Seven years later William and his son, Thomas, a Sheffield cutler, surrendered the whole property to the then occupier, Joseph Swallow.³² Thomas

was at that time serving his cutlery apprenticeship with Thomas Mycocke in Sheffield.³³ William died in 1702 and Thomas remained in Sheffield. Although Bockins were recorded in other parts of Hallamshire, including Ughill, in the hearth tax return, I have found no record of them in Stannington after the death of William.

Booth: Henry (one hearth), in Stannington.

In 1379 Johannes de Bothe and Agnes his wife paid 4d. poll tax in Bradfield, and John Bothe was in Bradfield in 1441.³⁴ It is possible that they took their name from Old Booth Farm, a cattle-rearing site belonging to the lords of Hallamshire. Although in the Bradfield registers from the middle of the sixteenth century, the family was small, with only Henry in Stannington in 1672. Two sons, Henry and Edward, were baptised at Bradfield, of whom Henry served a cutlery apprenticeship with John Allen of Ecclesall.³⁵ After gaining his freedom in 1692 he probably did not return to Stannington. Henry sen. was a tailor. By 1723 a message in Stannington was referred to as 'late in the tenure of Henry and Edward Booth.'³⁶

Booths remained in the area but I have found no more in Stannington until 1841 when Ruth was on Albion Row with her son, John, a grinder, his wife, Elizabeth, and their two children. John, born in Hallam, and family were still there in 1851. Also in 1841 Edward, from Sheffield, and his wife, Martha, were at Crow Royds. Twenty years later they were at Tofts with their family. In 1841 George Booth, a grinder born in Hallam, was at Knowle Top with his wife, Hannah, and young daughter. By 1861 they were at Tofts with six children. Their son, Isaac, was a table knife grinder. In 1871 they were living on Liberty Hill. Hannah, a 73 year old widow, was still there twenty years later. Their son John, a table knife grinder, was also on Liberty Hill with his wife and three children. Also, in 1871, William, a miner from Dronfield, was lodging with the Womack family at Knowle Top. Twenty years later he was on Uppergate with his wife and children. Their son, George, was a coal miner and son, Herbert, a clay miner.

Bower: Nicholas (one hearth), in Stannington.

In the poll tax returns of 1379 Willelmus del Boure and Ricardus Bowere each paid 4d. in Ecclesfield. Harrison's 1637 survey showed Nicholas Bower holding at will

'a tenement with a dwelling house and smithy of two bayes and an intack (pasture and arable) being in Stannington Towne... the Shottacker (pasture)... an Intacke

called the Holme, pasture lieing betweene Stannington Wood E. and Rivelin Water W.³⁷

In a similar survey taken about 1677 Nicholas occupied the same: 'a messuage and intacke in Stannington, Skotacre, the Holme.'³⁸ In 1835 descendants, Joseph and Isaac, of Malin Bridge, claimed votes by owning freehold land at Stannington Wood.³⁹ Bradfield overseers' accounts for Dungworth and Stannington showed items concerning Nich Bower, including an allowance of 13s. for twelve months in 1694. 1697: 'cloth for Nich Bowre 17s.8d., paid for making up best breeches for Nich Bowre 2s.7d., frocks for Nich Bowre 6s.' 1700: 'paid for a coat and breeches for Nich Bower 14s.2d., for going to Rotherham for Nich Bower cloths 1s. 1703: for clothing Nich Bower £1.'⁴⁰

In 1739 George, son of Robert Bower of Bolsterstone, was bound apprentice to Henry Trickett, a Stannington cutler. He gained his freedom in 1748⁴¹ and bound apprentices of his own commencing with Henry Mellor of Chapel-en-le-Frith in 1750.⁴² Thomas, son of Isaac of Malin Bridge was bound to, firstly, Enoch Oates in 1782, and secondly to George Kent in 1788. He gained his freedom in 1791.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded just two members of the family: John, a cutlers' apprentice, of Stannington Wood, and Jonathan, a cutler of Stannington. In 1841 John, a labourer with a wife and two small children, lived in Storrs. Also in 1841, Jonathan, born in Stannington, was a cutler, living at Greenside with his wife from Hallam, and son, Jonathan, born in Stannington. They were still at Greenside in 1861, but by 1871 Jonathan sen. had died. Jonathan jun. was at Roscoe with his wife, Elizabeth, their young son and his mother, a 78-year old widow.

Bramley: Edward (two hearths), in Stannington.

I have not found any other reference to Bramley but variations of Bromley occur in other documents. In 1370 John de Bromelegh was living in Wortley,⁴³ showing that the name comes from the hamlet of Bromley, just beyond the Hallamshire boundary. The hearth tax returns for south Yorkshire in 1672 listed only four Bramleys/Bromleys, including Edward, two others being in the Rotherham area and one in Doncaster.

The earliest entry of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1573 when Ellen, daughter of John Bromelye, was baptised. Edward, son of Robert and Ellen, née

Ibbotson, was born in 1620. After Robert died in 1664 Edward was admitted to the messuage in Stannington.⁴⁴ In 1652 Richard Spoonc, a Stannington ycoman, surrendered Sims House in Stannington to the uses of his will. After the death of his wife the house was to go 'to Ralph Hawksworth, John Hoyland, John Revell and Edward Bromely and their heirs as ffeoffees to maintain a minister.'⁴⁵ There was no mention of a chapel in Spoonc's bequest, just money for a 'preaching minister' but very soon there were records of the 'Feoffees of Stannington Chapel,' concerning money they had collected for the use of the chapel, although it was probably only part of a house or barn.⁴⁶ In 1672 the chapel feoffees surrendered 'a messuage with lands in the occupation of John Marsden called Chappell.'⁴⁷ At that time John Marsden was minister at Midhope and became minister of Stannington Chapel in 1676.

Edward died in 1689 having surrendered his farm to his eldest son, also named Edward, two years previously.⁴⁸ Edward jun. was listed in the 1692 chief rents of Stannington and Morewood, paying 10s. for 'one messuage and 20 acres of land freehold.'⁴⁹ Of Edward's other sons, Samuel became a tailor in Dungworth, while Jonathan and Jeremiah served cutlery apprenticeships and remained in Stannington where they took apprentices.⁵⁰ Jeremiah added his signature to others guaranteeing the working of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.⁵¹

The last member of the family for whom I have found any record was Jonathan, a Stannington butcher, who died in 1753 leaving everything to his wife including a building in Uppergate. His widow sold it to Richard Broomhead of Stannington in 1758.⁵² The Bowers were therefore a Stannington family for two or three generations before the name died out.

Brammall: Rowland (two hearths including a smithy), Rolland (one hearth), Edward (two hearths), all in Stannington; Edward (three hearths), in Dungworth Storrs.

The name is derived from Bramhall in Cheshire and it became widespread in south-west Yorkshire. Three Humfreys, two Elizabeths and three Thomases were noted in Dungworth in 1543.⁵³ Generation after generation of Rowlands, Edwards and Thomases were recorded in the Bradfield registers from all parts of the chapelry, thus causing problems of distinguishing the ones from Stannington.

Elizabeth Smilter, née Cowell, co-heiress of her father's land in Storrs, married Thomas Brammall as her second husband, and settled these lands on her two sons, Thomas and Humphrey Brammall, in 1545.⁵⁴ After her death, her sons Lionel Smilter, from her first marriage, and Thomas Brammall went to arbitration over their mother's estate.⁵⁵ Her grandson, also Lionel Smilter, was the complainant in a suit against her other grandsons, Edward and Thomas, sons of Thomas Brammall. Edward's grandson, also named Edward, was assessed for the 1672 hearth tax in Dungworth. This Edward died in 1682 when his estates passed to his son, yet another Edward.⁵⁶ In the 1692 list of chief rents he paid 5s.3d. for 30 acres of copyhold land in Dungworth.⁵⁷ He was an overseer of the poor of Dungworth/Stannington in 1709.⁵⁸ Upon his death in 1721, Edward's estate, apart from bequests to his four daughters and their husbands, passed to his son, Joseph. His inventory amounted to £105.10s.4d. By 1744 Joseph was a cutler in Coalpit Lane, Sheffield. At that time he mortgaged his Storrs inheritance,⁵⁹ increasing the amount borrowed the next year.

A John Brammall, son of John, was apprenticed as a cutler to Jonathan Shaw of Storrs, gaining his freedom in 1730⁶⁰. He remained in Storrs after his freedom and took apprentices from 1766 onwards including his son, Nicholas, who gained his freedom in 1784.⁶¹ Other Brammalls also served cutlery apprenticeships in Storrs and Stannington. John was a subscriber to Queen Anne's Bounty when Bradfield's chapelwardens applied to the charity in 1768 for help to increase the curate's stipend.⁶² In all, the subscriptions amounted to £293.17s.0d. including John's 2s.6d. Another John, of Storrs, possibly John the cutler's son, was a razorsmith whose son, Elias, gained his freedom from his father in 1804.⁶³

In Harrison's 1637 survey 'Nicholas Bramall holdeth at will ye Lyme Leyes by ye yearly rent of xv shillings,'⁶⁴ but I have found nothing more about him. One of the Bradfield feoffees from 1650 was Edward Brammall of Moorwood. He died in office during 1652.⁶⁵ The Edward who was recorded in 1672 was probably his son, for he lived at Townfield Head, Moorwood. In the same year John Shaw of Hallbroom surrendered this messuage 'in the tenure of Edward Brammall sen. and Edward Brammall jun. ... to the use and benefit of John Stead of Combes.'⁶⁶ Edward sen. died in 1682, leaving Townfield Head to his son, Edward, together with land and housing at Grenoside. Other sons, Joseph and Benjamin, were to receive land and housing at

Denby after the death of William Hey of Rotherham. Edward jun. was one of the guarantors of the continued working of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.⁶⁷ He died in 1721, leaving the bulk of his estate, after several bequests to other Brammalls in Hallam, to Thomas Brammall of Whiteley Wood.

One of the Rowland Brammalls from Stannington appeared in the Bradfield registers as 'the smith,' having been granted his mark by the Cutlers' Company in 1654.⁶⁸ From 1694 until his death in 1706 he had his house rent paid for by the overseers of the poor.⁶⁹ His son, Thomas, a blacksmith, was another of the signatories guaranteeing the running of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.⁷⁰ Thomas died in 1727, leaving all to his wife, Helen, including their home, with the rent from a house occupied by Samuel Armitage to pay for the maintenance of his son, John, and four daughters until they reached the age of twenty-one. The Cutlers' Company recorded the other Rolland, whose son Edward began his apprenticeship in 1675, as a husbandman⁷¹ although in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1686 he was a tailor.⁷² He died in 1687.

The Bradfield militia list of 1819 recorded John Brammall, a Stannington cutlery apprentice, followed by a Benjamin of Storrs from 1822 to 1829. In 1821 Reginald, of Storrs, was appointed Governor of the Poorhouse.⁷³ A John was listed among those claiming a vote in 1841, by virtue of a freehold house in Uppergate in Stannington⁷⁴ but he did not appear in the Stannington census return of the same year. The only Brammall in Stannington was James (Bramold) with his family on Roscoe Bank who, according to the 1851 census, was born in Sheffield. Brammalls were listed in Stannington in 1861, 1881 and 1891 but they came from other parts of Bradfield or Sheffield. None were recorded in 1871. This prolific local family had disappeared from Stannington, but there were still Brammalls in the surrounding area.

Brumhead: John (three hearths), in Stannington.

The Broomhead family, including those living around the area today, descended from the Broomheads of Broomhead Hall on the Bradfield moors, two or three miles north of the Stannington boundary. Henry del Bromeheude, of Waldershelf, was a witness in 1209⁷⁵ and Willelmus Bromhed and Isabella, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in 1379. However, I have found hardly any early connection with Stannington. John was

as a miller in the 1672 hearth tax returns and in the 1690s he was in partnership with Thomas Corbridge at both Low Bradfield and Damflask Corn Mills.⁷⁶

Joseph, the son of Henry, a deceased husbandman of Stannington, began a cutlery apprenticeship in Sheffield in 1680⁷⁷ and Francis, the son of William of Stannington, deceased, in 1775.⁷⁸ In the will of James Crapper who died in 1738 his estate included in Stannington 'one little house where Francis Broomhead now or lately lives.' Others moved in from surrounding areas to serve apprenticeships with Stannington cutlers.

Richard Broomhead, of Bradfield, went to Stannington in 1742 when he married Ann Revell. The couple lived at Steel Farm until 1744 when they were admitted to all Ann's estate⁷⁹ and moved to New House (see Revell, pages 177-179). He donated £1.1s.0d. towards Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768.⁸⁰ Ann died in 1792, followed by her husband in 1798, when the estate passed to their elder son, Richard. Their other son, Rowland, became a priest. Richard married Sarah and had one son, also called Richard, and five daughters. Richard sen. died in 1803. His son was a juror from 1824 onwards by reason of his freehold estate worth over £150 per year.⁸¹ He died in 1835 leaving the estate to his only surviving sister, Theresa. She married Francis Wright before 1841, the couple had no children, and Theresa was widowed in the 1840s (see Wright, page 265).

Burdikin: Widow (one Hearth), in Dungworth.

There were very few Burdikins recorded in the Bradfield registers, the earliest being in 1598 when Mary, the daughter of John, was baptised. In 1667 Edward Brammall, a blacksmith of Wortley, and his wife, Anne, surrendered land at Storrs to Jonathan Burdikin, a husbandman of Storrs, and Maria, his wife.⁸² Anne and Maria were sisters. Two years later Maria, by then a widow, surrendered the messuage in Storrs, in which she lived, to the use and benefit of John Bacon of Storrs.⁸³ Maria, then, would be the widow paying tax in 1672.

I have found no other records of the name in Stannington until 1763 when John, the son of John Burdikin of Fulwood, deceased, began a cutlery apprenticeship with Abraham Nicholls of Stannington.⁸⁴ He gained his freedom in 1781 and took apprentices between 1789 and 1807. Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed him as a pocket-knife cutler of Stannington as did Montgomery's 1797 edition. In 1818 and 1819 John

of Stannington was a pauper, given several payments by the Bradfield overseers.⁸⁵ The poor of 1838 included Betty of Stannington, aged 57, who was 'unable to maintain herself.'⁸⁶ She was given 1s.6d a week. In the 1841 census she was recorded as a 60-year old widow living on Uppergate. Ten years later she was still there, described as a pauper, a grinder's widow, born in Nether Hallam. By 1861 she was 82, living with her daughter and son-in-law, Thomas Loxley, at Clod Hall. Later census returns recorded Burdikins in Stannington but none stayed long.

Butlebanke: John (one hearth), in Stannington.

I have found no other reference to this name, so perhaps it was a clerical error for Britebank. Even references to Britebank are very sparse; the Bradfield registers recorded 'Ann, daughter of John, baptised March 1672' and 'Elizabeth, wife of John, buried June 1681.' The Bradfield Easter Book of 1686 included John Britebank in Stannington,⁸⁷ after which I have found no other references to the name in Stannington.

Crapper: William (one hearth), in Stannington.

Crapper is a distinctive West Riding surname for a worker in either the textile or iron industry. In 1348 John Crapper was a witness concerning Chapell⁸⁸ (Chapelton) and in 1379 Ricardus Crapper and Johanna, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield. Although Crapper became a common name in Stannington, the first entry in the Bradfield registers was not until 1634 when Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry, was baptised.

In 1637 Henry held a tenement in Stannington Town with lands near Hall Park, the Quaker meadow near Racker Way, an intack called the Holme and the pearl pasture between Stannington Wood and Rivelin Water.⁸⁹ In a survey of about 1611 the tenement had been held by Joshua Crapper.⁹⁰ Another survey about 1660 showed 'a croft in Stannington Towne formerly Henry Crapp' including the same land, but by then leased to George Crapp and occupied by Jonah Crapp.⁹¹ In 1670 the tenant was John Wainwright⁹² but by 1677 the tenement belonged to Joshua Crapper⁹³

The hearth tax returns of 1672 listed only three Crappers in south Yorkshire: William in Stannington, Anthony in Sheffield and Henry in Ecclesfield (Souther Soke). Anthony was William's son who had gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company as a scissor-smith in 1664;⁹⁴ Henry was Henry's son, baptised in 1636. William was

described as a wood cutter when his son, Joshua, was bound as a cutler's apprentice in 1677.⁹⁵ He appeared in the 1664 woodwards' accounts for Rivelin, having purchased four lengths of wood.⁹⁶ There was also a James Crapper recorded in the Bradfield registers of the 1660s and 1670s, but he was not recorded in the hearth tax returns. He was possibly one of the 'poor' who were not recorded in the returns. When he died in 1675 probate was granted to his widow, Annie. By 1699 she was receiving a pension from the overseers of the poor.⁹⁷

In 1712 William's son, James, joined with Mr. Rowland Revel, Mr. Richard Revel, William Ibbotson and Edward Barber jun., to form an agreement with the Duke of Norfolk's agent re the appointment of a miller for Rivelin Corn Mill and the upkeep of the Mill.⁹⁸ Signatories included Lydia Crapper and George Crapper. George was a cutler who died in 1753. There was an interesting footnote to the probate copy of his will:

'George was found dead, slumped over the table, about one hour after making his will which was written for him by Wm. Fairbank of Sheffield, yeo, at Joseph's in Sheffield. Joseph was of the Company of Quakers.'

George bequeathed his tenant right to Joseph, also half his estate, with the other half to be divided between his (George's) two daughters. One daughter, Lydia, had an illegitimate son, Ellis, to whom George bequeathed all his wearing apparel. Ellis was bound to Edward Hall sen. by the parish in 1756.⁹⁹

James, Joshua, George and two Johns were listed under Stannington in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731.¹⁰⁰ William became a successful cutler in Storrs and reached the office of Assistant in the Cutlers' Company in 1760 and 1761.¹⁰¹ He was a subscriber to Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768, when he was prefixed 'Mr.'¹⁰² When he died in 1776 he left instructions in his will that, at his funeral, his trustees should share £10 among the poor of the chapelry of Bradfield.

In the nineteenth century several members of the Crapper family became prominent in local public life: William of Corker Walls, recorded as a farmer in the Bradfield militia lists, was a collector of taxes in 1821, and John was the constable for Stannington from the 1820s onwards followed by his son, also named John. William was still farming at Corker Walls in 1871, aged 79. His wife, Ann, and 32-year old son, Henry, were with

him but ten years later Henry had taken over the farm, married Ruth, and had four children. The family was still there in 1891 with more children. Henry died in 1897.

In 1851 William and Ann's son, William, was a shoemaker living at Syke Side with his wife and three children. He was an overseer of the poor in 1858 and 1859.¹⁰³ By 1871 the family had moved to No.1 Futterill Cottages. William and Ann's son, John, was a wheelwright living at No.2 Futterill Cottages in 1861. With him was his wife, Rachel, from Sheffield, and her son, Henry Fairest, a 19-year old black-clay miner born in Oughtibridge, and the couple's six children. In 1871 their son, Albert, a labourer, was living next door with his wife, Elizabeth. Ten years later Albert was the lodge keeper at Crawshaw Head. By 1891 John and Rachel were on New Road, Dungworth, at the side of the reservoir at Damflask. Also on New Road were John's brother, Joseph, and wife, Harriet. Joseph had been a farm labourer at Hill Farm in 1871 and 1881.

Tracing this family became complicated because of an inter-marriage. John and Joseph's brother, George, had married widowed Ruth Crapper, née Hallam of Hall Broom, in the 1860s and was farming at Hill in 1871. With them were Ruth's three adult children from her marriage to Ebenezer Crapper in the 1830s. Ebenezer had been a juror in 1840 and 1855,¹⁰⁴ and claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857,¹⁰⁵ the year he died, aged 43. In 1881 George was a widower, Ruth having died in 1877. In 1891 Hill Farm was run by Henry Drabble. His cousin Claudia, Ebenezer and Ruth's daughter, was staying with him and his wife to look after their six-day old daughter. At that time Ebenezer and Ruth's son, Harvey, was farming at Wadefield.

In 1841 John was a shoemaker living at Greenside, Storrs, with his wife, Catherine, born in Loxley, and family. By 1871 their son, Elias, was living in Storrs with his wife, Rose. Ten years later the couple had five children. In 1871 John and Catherine's son, Hugh, had married Claudia, daughter of Ebenezer and Ruth, and had two children. He was farming at Hanmoor in 1881, when Claudia's brother, Reginald, was living with them. Hugh and family were in Storrs in 1891 and Reginald was working as a horse carrier at Hazelhurst. By 1881 John had died and Catherine was farming at Hall Broom, helped by her son, Edwin.

In 1841 Jonathan, also a shoemaker, was living at Bingley Seat with his wife and young daughters. He was an overseer of the poor for several years between 1854 and 1866.¹⁰⁶ By 1871 Jonathan was a widower and ten years later he had moved to Hazelhurst. His son, Jonathan, was at Bingley Seat with his wife, and five children, the eldest four having been born in Sheffield.

Another John became a successful farmer and clay miner, going into partnership with George Marshall about 1848¹⁰⁷ (see page 125). William Crapper, living with his wife and daughter at Greenhead, Storrs, in 1841, continued in the firm, which became 'Marshall & Crapper, firebrick & fireclay makers', of Storrs Bridge. William, a juror in 1855,¹⁰⁸ retired to Sheffield in the 1860s to live with his only daughter, giving her all his Stannington and Storrs property in 1883.¹⁰⁹ Marshall & Crapper's works were destroyed in the Bradfield flood of 1864¹¹⁰ but were re-built. Other members of the Crapper family were not so lucky: Joseph, his wife and children were drowned at Malin Bridge. They are remembered on a family gravestone in Bradfield churchyard, although Joseph himself was never identified.

Also in Storrs in 1841 was William's father, Joseph, a 68-year old widowed miner, living with other members of his family. By 1851 Joseph's son, Thomas, had established his own household, in Storrs, with his wife from Loxley, and family. He was a juror in 1855.¹¹¹ By 1881 Thomas's son, Heber, was married and living at Syke, Dungworth, with his wife, three young daughters, and his 13-year old sister, Sarah Jane. In 1891 Thomas, a farmer, was still in Storrs with his wife and two adult children at home. Son, Seth, was farming in Storrs with his wife and three children.

The Crappers were clearly one of the core families of Stannington from the reign of James I to that of Queen Victoria, and beyond. They played their part in the cutlery industry and accepted the challenge of other work. There are still many Crappers living in and around Stannington.

Creswick: Francis (one hearth), Thomas (five hearths), William (one hearth), Thomas (one hearth not finished), all in Stannington.

The Creswicks were a local family who originated from a hamlet of that name, now gone, near Ecclesfield. Robert de Creswik was a witness in Onesacre in 1344¹¹² but none in the area paid the 1379 poll tax. They appeared in the Bradfield registers in 1561 when 'Robart, son of Laurance Creswike' was baptised.

In 1549 Thomas Creswick had permission to build a wheel at Ashton Carr on the River Loxley. His son, John, took over the tenancy in 1557.¹¹³ In 1603 Richard Ibbotson surrendered a messuage with lands, called Bingley House, in Stannington, to a Francis Creswick.¹¹⁴ This property passed to Thomas in 1640 and remained his until 1675 when he bequeathed it to the use and benefit of 'all the inhabitants of Stannington'¹¹⁵ and appointed trustees to administer what became known as the Bingley House Trust.

In 1637 Harrison recorded that Francis held part of Highfield called Hawksworth Field¹¹⁶ but by the time of a similar survey about 1660 this had passed out of the family.¹¹⁷ Although there were four households of Creswicks living in Stannington in 1672 I have found none recorded after the end of the century. Later members of the family owned property in Stannington but did not live there. They remained a prominent family in other parts of Hallamshire, and six of them served as Master Cutler between 1630 and 1667.

Cutbert: Thomas (one hearth), in Storrs.

There were very few Cutberts (Cuthbert etc.) in the Bradfield registers, the first being recorded in 1643, when Edward married Grace Lord. Thomas was one of only three Cutberts who paid the hearth tax in south Yorkshire, the others being his brother, William, in Wadsley, and a widow in Thorp Salvin.

In 1690 Thomas married Rebecca, widow of George Shaw whom she had married in 1664. Thomas died in 1694, bequeathing money to his step-children Jonathan, Rebecca and Ann Shaw. His brother William received £1, with the rest of his goods being divided between his wife, brother and sister equally. His inventory value came to £128.4s.0d.

I have found no other record of Cutberts in Stannington until the 1871 census when John, a 25-year old farm servant, from Heighton, Lincolnshire, was living with the

Nicholls family at Beaton. He was listed in White's 1879 *Directory of Sheffield* as a farmer in Dungworth Wood, and in 1881 was at Broomvale (Dungworth Wood), with his wife Martha, née Crapper. Her nine-year old brother, Fred, and William T. Crapper, aged 21, were living with them. They had moved from Stannington by 1891 but William Thomas Crapper remained at Broomvale until his death in 1914.

Darwent: James (one hearth, poor), Thomas (one hearth), both in Stannington.

The name originated from the hamlet of Derwent, now submerged by Derwent Reservoir, in the neighbouring parish of Hathersage. Stephen Darwent was in Hawkesworth, Bradfield, in 1500.¹¹⁸ The first mention of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1584, when Thomas Darwen married Betryce Morton. In a survey of 1611 Edward Morton, Francis Drabble and Thomas Darwin each had part of a tenement in Moorwood and a close between Beaken Green and Swingley ford Bents 'formerly Bettrice Darwyn's.'¹¹⁹ Harrison's 1637 survey listed similar property: 'Bettris Darwent, widow, holds at will a tenement in Moorwood and land lying between Beacon Green and Swingley fforth Bents.'¹²⁰

Thomas of Beaton Rod died in 1675 leaving sons, William and John. William added his signature to others guaranteeing the working of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.¹²¹ John gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company in 1704¹²² and was one of the tenants of Loxley Wire Mill on Storrs Brook from 1717 to 1722.¹²³ He was also in partnership at Olive Wheel, where he was joined by his sons Charles and William.¹²⁴ After John's death in 1748 Charles took over the lease, followed by William from 1750 to 1773. Their youngest brother, Thomas, had a son, John, who joined Jonathan Pitchford in leasing Rowell Bridge Wheel in 1782.¹²⁵ The family maintained an interest in the wheel until 1864 when it was 'completely swept away' by the Bradfield flood.¹²⁶

Thomas, a grinder, appeared in all the Bradfield militia lists from 1819 to 1831. He became a tax collector for Stannington in 1823¹²⁷ and was a juror in 1824, 1825 and 1826 by reason of freehold property under £150 a year.¹²⁸ He claimed a vote in 1835 by virtue of a 'freehold grinding wheel, Rowell Wheel, Loxley'.¹²⁹ He was again a juror in 1840¹³⁰ when he was a farmer on Nethergate, but by 1845 he had moved to Pepper Alley, Sheffield. Matthew, a Stannington grinder, recorded in the early militia lists, was exempt in 1819 because of his duties as constable. Another Matthew, born in Nether

Hallam, was a table knife grinder on Albion Row in 1851. His wife and family, including a four-month old daughter, all came from Nether Hallam. Mark, a Stannington grinder, appeared in the militia list of 1829. By 1841 he was living on Uppergate with two brothers and a sister. Ten years later his brother, Alfred, a razor grinder, was at Knowle Top with wife, Mary, and young daughter. Alfred and Mary were on their own in 1871.

Francis Inman Darwent (see Inman, page 237), succeeded his step-father as licensee of 'The Hare and Hounds.' In 1871 his widowed mother was living with him, his wife and family. He was a constable for Stannington from 1863 to 1868 and a waywarden in 1885.¹³¹ By 1891 his son, John was licensee of 'The Peacock' at Knowle Top.

The Darwents were clearly another core family, with local origins, who can be traced throughout our period of study.

Drabble: John (one hearth), Francis (one hearth), both in Stannington.

This is a Peak District name with members of the family paying the poll tax in 1379 and 1381 in Thurlstone and Bakewell. The name is derived from an Old English personal name, *Drabba*, or perhaps a nickname. William Drabull was in Birley in 1430, and John Drable was in Bradfield in 1441.¹³² 'Rycd, son of Thomas Darabill', baptised in 1560, was the earliest entry of the name in the Bradfield registers. In 1672 the only Drabbles recorded in south Yorkshire, apart from the two in Stannington and one in Westnall (Bradfield), were five in the Doncaster area.

There was no record of the family in Harrison's 1637 survey but a similar one of about 1660 noted Francis leasing

'part of a tenement in Moorwood and the close, part of the Lordsfield divided lying between Beaton Green and Swingley fforth Bents formerly Beatrice Darwins.'¹³³

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Francis's son, John, was a pensioner having his house rent paid and was given an extra 7s. towards the burial of his wife.¹³⁴

At the other end of the social scale was Enoch, of Brookside, who was a chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1709. He became constable from 1729 until 1735 when he was appointed

an overseer of the poor.¹³⁵ Joseph had been an overseer in 1728,¹³⁶ and Joseph of Hill Top held that position in 1753.¹³⁷ Enoch of Hill Top reached the rank of Assistant in the Cutlers' Company in 1771.¹³⁸ Five members of the family subscribed towards Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768.¹³⁹ In Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* Enoch, William and Joshua were listed as pocket-knife cutlers in Dungworth. Enoch was also in Montgomery's 1795 edition. The Bradfield militia lists recorded an Ezra, William, George and Joshua, all at Hill Top, Dungworth, from 1819 onwards. In 1823 Joshua sen., a farmer, claimed a vote by reason of his freehold estate worth over £150 a year,¹⁴⁰ and made a similar claim in 1835. In 1841 Joshua, a 75-year old, of independent means, was living at Hill Top with his sons, Ezra and William, both journeyman cutlers. William's wife, Mary, born in Sheffield, and their four children were also in the household. By 1851 William, a pocket-knife cutler, was at Greenfold with his family and his brother, Joshua, an agricultural labourer. Ten years later William had died and his widow, with two adult children and a young grand-daughter, was living at No.3 Harrison's Cottages, Dungworth. Son, Francis, was a spring knife cutler living at Malin Bridge with his wife, Mary Ann from Norton, and two young children.

In 1841 George was a farmer at Far Cliffe. With him were his wife, Ann, daughter of George Goodison and sister of Jonathan Goodison, and three children. Two older children were living at Griffs with their grandfather George, and another at Griffs with his uncle, Jonathan. By 1851 George was a farmer, clay miner and licensee of 'The George Inn' at Hill Top, with two of his sons, Jonathan and George, back home from Griffs. In 1871 George jun. had taken over the inn and lived there with his wife, Mary Sophia. George sen., a 73-year old widower, was next door. Ten years later George jun., working as a joiner at Hill Top Green, had been widowed, married to Mary, and had four children. They were still there in 1891.

In 1861 George and Ann's son, Jonathan, was at Brookside, a farmer of 21 acres and clay miner employing one man and a boy. He was married to Sarah and had two children. By 1881 he was a farmer of 40 acres and brick maker employing five men and two boys. Ten years later his son, George, a brick maker, was boarding with Harriet Goodison at Brookside with his wife, Elizabeth from Brightside, and two children. Son, Vincent, an agricultural labourer, was on Brookside Bank with his wife and young daughter. Son, Henry, a farmer, was at Hill with his wife and six-day old daughter.

Also in 1861 George and Ann's son, Enoch, was a clay dealer, living at Hill Top with his wife. Twenty years later three children were at home, including his daughter, Annie, who had married Joel Thorpe, and had a young daughter. George and Ann's son, Henry, a fire-brick maker, was at Stopes with his wife, Deborah, and three children in 1861. He was in partnership with his cousin, George Elliott, as fire-brick makers and fire clay dealers, claiming £30 compensation for flood damage in 1864.¹⁴¹ They were at Stopes in 1881, but ten years later Deborah was a widow with five adult children at home (see gannister, page 124).

We can see from this that the Drabbles, too, were long-resident in the township of Stannington and became part of the stabilising core.

Dungworth: Joseph (one hearth), Thomas (two hearths), Francis (one hearth), William (two hearths), all in Stannington.

William, son of Ann, was recorded in Storthes (Storrs) in 1323,¹⁴² and Johannes Dongword and his wife, Alicia, paid the 1379 poll tax in Sheffield. There were many entries in the Bradfield registers beginning with the marriage of Thomas Dungworth to Agnes Bacon in 1567. Harrison recorded in 1637 that a Thomas Dungworth held at will a parcel of waste and a croft near Dungworth Green.¹⁴³ The Cutlers' Company recorded Thomas as a master cutler when his son, John, was bound to him and gained his freedom in 1672. Similarly, William's son, also named William, was bound to William and gained his freedom in 1673.¹⁴⁴ Francis was a husbandman when his son, Henry, began a cutlery apprenticeship in 1679, and Joseph was a labourer who had died by 1681 when his son, William, began his. In 1676 Thomas leased Rivelin Wheel in partnership with Abraham Bright,¹⁴⁵ and John joined William Ibbotson in leasing land to build Loxley Plane Wheel in 1690.¹⁴⁶

The Bradfield Easter Book of 1717 listed Joseph, John and Benjamin in Dungworth and two Williams, Samuel, Joseph, two Thomas and Benjamin in Stannington.¹⁴⁷ However, in 1728 a certificate of settlement was given to Thomas and his family to move to Sheffield¹⁴⁸ and after that date I have found no more references to the family in Stannington. They did not move far, for the surname is still concentrated in the Sheffield district.

Eyre: Robert (three hearths), Edward (one hearth), both in Dungworth.

No Eyres, a north Derbyshire family in origin, paid the poll tax in the area in 1379. Joan Eyre, daughter of John Shagh, was in Dungworth in 1496.¹⁴⁹ The earliest recording of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1559, when Godfray Eare was buried.

In 1669 Robert Eyre of Dungworth and Maria, his wife, and Ellenora Rogers of Nethertowne (i.e. Low Bradfield), widow, surrendered a 'messuage in which Edward, father of Robert lives, situated in Dungworth, called Cow Gap, to Robert, his heirs and assigns.'¹⁵⁰ In 1675 Edward of Cow Gap and his wife, Maria, surrendered land in Dungworth to the use and benefit of Robert Shaw.¹⁵¹ In 1676 Robert surrendered a messuage in Dungworth to the use and benefit of John Beighton. This was Tom Hill where he, Robert, was living.¹⁵²

I have found very few records of the Eyres in the eighteenth century, apart from in the Cutlers' Company apprentice lists. Edward, son of Joshua of Hallam, was bound to George Hallam of Stannington in 1717, John, son of Joseph of Hope, to Thomas Nixon of Stannington in 1749.¹⁵³ Other apprentices came from Hathersage and Bradwell in north Derbyshire. Ellis, son of Ellis of Stannington was bound to William Spencer of Stannington in 1764, followed by his brother, George, in 1774. George gained his freedom in 1785 and was the only Eyre in Stannington to take apprentices, beginning with George Vowel of Wincobank in 1791.¹⁵⁴ In Montgomery's 1797 *Directory of Sheffield* George was listed as a pocket-knife cutler of Stannington. He was a juror in 1823, having a freehold estate.¹⁵⁵

George's son, also named George, was recorded in the Bradfield militia lists from 1819 onwards, joined by his brother, James, in 1826. George was farming at Cliffe Hill Top, Dungworth, in 1841 with his sister, Margaret, keeping house for him. At the same time James was a servant with the Howe family at Barker House. Ten years later George was still at Hill Top but died in 1856. He had been a juror in 1850 by paying the poor rate. James was farming 60 acres at Beaton Rod, with his wife, Elizabeth, and young daughter. By 1861 James had increased his land to 90 acres and was employing two labourers. He was a juror in 1850 and 1855 by paying the poor rate¹⁵⁶ and an overseer of the poor in 1864.¹⁵⁷ He was also a feoffee of Bradfield from 1859 to 1873.¹⁵⁸ Elizabeth

died in 1871 followed by James in 1879. Their son, George, farming at Beaton Rod by 1881, was still there in 1891 with his wife and growing family.

In 1776 Mary Steer of Manchester, daughter of John Bacon, deceased, of Cliffe, surrendered a messuage at Loadbrook, and lands belonging, in the occupation of Joseph Eyre, to his use and benefit.¹⁵⁹ Another Joseph, of Ashopton, claimed a vote in 1832 by reason of owning freehold land at Loadbrook¹⁶⁰ and Isaac from Woodland, near Ashopton, was farming at Loadbrook in 1851. With him was his wife, Mary, born in Castleton, and a two-year old daughter born at Loadbrook. He was a juror in 1850 and 1855 by paying the poor rate.¹⁶¹ He had died by 1891 when his son, Robert, was farming at Loadbrook together with brother, John, and sister, Emily.

The Eyres are still widespread in north Derbyshire, but this junior branch, or branches, crossed the border and lived in Stannington for at least two centuries.

Fenton: Francis (two hearths including a smithy), in Stannington.

It is not known from which Fenton the name was derived. No Fentons paid the poll tax in the area in 1379, and I have not found the name until 1531 when Robert, living in 'Malyn Bridge,' was a witness.¹⁶² The first reference in the Bradfield registers was in 1579 when Johan, daughter of Robert, was buried.

In 1637 Harrison recorded that Francis Fenton held at will 'an intacke at Malin Bridge in Stannington lying betweene Loxley Water and a Highway,' and also four other intacks nearby. Richard Fenton held at will 'the Wheel intacke lying near Malin Bridge between Rivelin Water, Stannington Wood.'¹⁶³ Ralph Lord, gaining his freedom as a cutler in 1655, was apprenticed to Francis Fenton, a tenant of Little Turnholme.¹⁶⁴ This property, later known as Mousehole Farm, had a small cutlers' workshop attached to it. The original farmhouse is still standing although other buildings have been added to it on three sides. Francis's son, Francis, was the tenant in 1672. His other son, Richard, gained his freedom in 1670 and became an Assistant of the Cutlers' Company in 1675.¹⁶⁵ Other branches of the family lived in Malin Bridge but on the other side of the River Loxley in Wadsley.

The Fenton family disappeared from Stannington before the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1758 the Shaws of Hall Broom mortgaged their property to John Fenton, a Sheffield apothecary, whose son and nephew were both named Francis.¹⁶⁶

Gillott: George (two hearths including a smithy), in Dungworth.

No Gillotts paid the 1379 poll tax in the area, the nearest one being at Hooton Pagnell. The first mention of the name in Bradfield was in 1439, when Richard Gellott was in Wigtwistle.¹⁶⁷ The earliest entry of a Gillott in the Bradfield registers was in 1560, when Elizabeth, daughter of John, was baptised. There have been many entries since that time with numerous descendants still in Bradfield and district.

In 1672 George, of Tom Hill, Dungworth, paid tax on one domestic hearth and a smithy. Twenty years later the ownership of Tom Hill passed from John Beighton to Edward and Thomas Taylor of Ughill Woodside but George Gillott was still the tenant.¹⁶⁸ In 1719 George obtained the copyhold of Briers House from Hannah Morewood of Oakes.¹⁶⁹ He was the feoffee collector for church lands in 1729¹⁷⁰ and overseer of the poor the following year.¹⁷¹

Seven Gillotts served cutlery apprenticeships in Stannington during the eighteenth century.¹⁷² One was George, son of George, a Stannington cutlery grinder, who began his apprenticeship in 1772. George sen. took an apprentice, William Musgrave, of Pogmore, in 1768¹⁷³ and his son took on Nicholas Morton, of Stannington in 1782.¹⁷⁴ When George died in 1804 probate was granted to his widow, Mary. His estate was valued at under £300.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded several Gillotts in Stannington and Storrs. Peter, a grinder, was listed from 1819 to 1824 by which time he was exempt on grounds of poverty, having two children. In 1831 his wife, Amelia, applied to the overseers for relief: 'settlement by apprenticeship with Thomas Womack of Stannington. In pleurisy fever. Receiving 8s. per week from Stannington Sick Club.'¹⁷⁵ In 1836 she was applying again:

'is ill with rheumatic fever and has been for one week. Seven children at home - John (aged 15) works with his father, George (13), William (10), Elizabeth (9), Thomas (7), James (5), Henry (2). Sick club 4s. a week.'¹⁷⁶

By 1841 Peter was dead but Amelia was living at Knowle Top with her six sons, the three eldest working as grinders. She and her family were the only Gillotts recorded in Stannington in the 1841 census return. The eldest son, John, was married and living on Uppergate in 1851. He and his family were on Nook Lane in 1861 but had moved from the district by 1871. Also in 1851 son George, married to Hannah Goodison in 1849, was living at Hanmoor Side with his wife and one-year old son, Frank. They had moved to Knowle Top by 1861. In 1871 Hannah was a widow, living with younger members of the family at Stopes. Frank was boarding close by with the Pearson family. By 1891 he had his own wife and family on Rye Lane, Dungworth. He and two sons were working as sanitary pipe makers. Amelia's son, William, a razor grinder, had also established his own household on Hanmoor Side by 1851 with a wife, Esther, and young son. They were not recorded in Stannington in 1871, but they were at Knowle Top ten years later. By 1891 Esther was a widow living on her own on Nook Lane, and her son, also William, a razor grinder, was living with his wife and family at Hanmoor. By 1861 Amelia's son, Thomas, a labourer at the wire mill, was with his wife and family at Greenside. Ten years later they had moved away from Stannington. Amelia herself died in the 1860s.

Other than Amelia's family, the only Gillott in Stannington recorded in the 1851 census was Joseph, a 13-year old razorsmith's apprentice from Norton, living with the Morton family on Uppergate. By 1861 he was a razor scale presser married to Emma, from Ecclesall. Joseph was the only Stannington Gillott listed in trade directories, beginning in 1876 and continuing for the remainder of the century. The family was still recorded on Uppergate in 1891 when Joseph's two sons, Robert and Joseph, were also razor scale pressers. According to F. Wood 'the last razor scale presser who worked at the trade in the Sheffield area was a Unitarian and lived and worked in Uppergate, Robert Gillott. (died about 1940).'¹⁷⁷

The Gillotts were obviously another core family who were deeply involved in the local cutlery trades since at least the time of the hearth tax returns.

Greaves: George (two hearths), Ralph (two hearths), Christopher (two hearths), Richard (one hearth), Richard (three hearths, one not finished), William (three hearths), John jun. (one hearth, poor), all in Stannington.

In 1379 Robertus Grayff and Juliana, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield, and John del Greyfe was recorded at Thornsett, Bradfield, in 1407.¹⁷⁸ The baptism of Christopher, the son of Edward Greaves, in 1559, was only the second entry in the Bradfield registers. By then part of the family had been living at Hopwood House for just 50 years; Robert Parker of Sheffield sold the property to Richard Greaves in 1509.¹⁷⁹ The house remained in the family name until 1762 when another Richard Greaves died and it passed to George Thompson.¹⁸⁰

Harrison's 1637 survey included several members of the family in Stannington: William and Edward leased a wheel in Rivelin¹⁸¹ (Uppermost); Robert and Edward together with Richard Hawksworth held land near Hall Park;¹⁸² Edward sen. also held land near Hall Park;¹⁸³ Edward jun. held a tenement and land near Hanmoor¹⁸⁴ and Elizabeth, a widow, held land called the Townfield Dole near Hopwood Lane.¹⁸⁵

In 1694 and 1698 Thomas was a constable for Stannington. Also in 1698, Richard was a chapelwarden at Bradfield.¹⁸⁶ In 1676 Richard became a trustee of Stannington Chapel, a responsibility taken on by Edward in 1721. Feoffees of the Spout House Trust, in connection with the chapel, included William in 1731, William jun. in 1762 and another William in 1785.¹⁸⁷ In 1712 two Edwards and a Richard added their signatures to the guarantee for Rivelin Corn Mill,¹⁸⁸ Mr. Robert Greaves of Stannington gave a subscription of 10s.6d. to the Queen Anne's Bounty appeal in 1768¹⁸⁹ and William of Dungworth became an Assistant in the Cutlers' Company in 1770.¹⁹⁰ Other members of the family were cutlers, beginning with Edward, son of Edward of Stannington, who was bound to John Dungworth of Stannington and gained his freedom in 1626,¹⁹¹ just two years after the formation of the Company.

The family had representatives in the Bradfield militia lists of 1819-1831. Joseph first appeared in 1822 as a farmer at High Matlock. He was an overseer of the poor for Stannington in 1822 and a collector of assessed taxes in 1824.¹⁹² Thomas, who was a labourer at Hollow Meadows in 1827, was a farmer and publican at 'The Surrey Arms,' Hollow Meadows by, 1841. He was married to Sarah, nēe Green, and, at that time, the couple had one son, Thomas. He was a juror from 1840 onwards by paying the poor rate¹⁹³ and claimed a vote until 1850 by reason of his leasehold house and land at Hollow Meadows.¹⁹⁴ Thomas was the victim of a 'Daring Robbery' in 1843, and a £10

reward was offered, by the Bradfield Association for the Prosecution of Felons, for information leading to an arrest.¹⁹⁵ By 1851 Sarah was a widow with five children. Within the next ten years she had married James Grayson and was still at 'The Surrey Arms' with her husband, three of Thomas's children and three of hers and James.

In 1841 Alice, from Rotherham, was a widowed farmer, living at Nook with her seven children. Twenty years later her youngest son, George, an agricultural labourer, was head of the household on Uppergate. Unmarried, he was looked after by his 77-year old mother. George was not recorded in Stannington in 1871 but in 1881 he was at Nook Farm House with a wife, Sarah, and five children, the two eldest of whom had been born before 1871. The whole family was recorded as having been born in Bradfield so they cannot have been far away in 1871. They were recorded in 1891 when there were three adult children still at home.

Alice's son, Edward, was an agricultural labourer at Hollins Top in 1871. With him was his wife, Elizabeth and eight children. Edward and Elizabeth were still there in 1891 with two adult children at home. Their eldest son, Edward, was a gannister quarryman.

William and his wife, Eliza, were farming at Turner's Place in 1851. In 1857 he claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire by reason of his freehold land at Top Acorn Field.¹⁹⁶ By 1861 the couple and four children had moved to Acorn Hill, High Matlock. The family increased, but in 1891 William and Eliza had only two adult children at home. Their son, Henry, a 32-year old brickyard labourer, was on Acorn Hill with a wife and two young children.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Greaves family had been a prolific local family for centuries and is still remembered for giving their name to Greaves Lane which runs to Acorn Hill.

Grey: William (one hearth), in Stannington.

John was in Ecclesfield in 1515¹⁹⁷ and the earliest record of a Grey in the Bradfield register was in 1625 when Mary, daughter of Doritie Smith and Thomas Graye, bastard, was buried.

William was the only Grey in the area in 1672. He came to Stannington as a cutler's apprentice in 1626: 'William Grey, son of Thomas, Langwith, to Wainwright, John, Stannington, cutler.'¹⁹⁸ He stayed in Stannington, married Ann Littlewood in 1633, and died in 1678. His widow died eleven years later, bequeathing her cottage in Stannington to her son-in-law, John Wainwright. Her son, John, of Wortley, and his daughter, Anne were to receive £12 each but her inventory, the earliest I have found for Stannington, totalled only £14 including £10 due to John Wainwright.

I have not been able to trace any Greys/Grays in Stannington after the death of Ann in 1689 until Thomas, the son of John, of Dore, began a cutlery apprenticeship with John Shaw of Stannington in 1808.¹⁹⁹ It is more than likely that this was the same Thomas who was recorded in the 1819 Bradfield militia list as a razor smith in Dungworth. He was certainly the one recorded in the 1851 census return when Thomas, a 55-year old agricultural labourer, born in Dore, was living at Rye Lane Bottom, Dungworth. In the 1841 return his birth place was recorded as 'not Yorkshire.' He was married to Elizabeth and had two sons, Benjamin and James.

By 1861 Thomas had died but his widow was employed as a schoolmistress, living at Lee Moor with their son, James, his wife, Mary, from Knottingley, and their baby son, Thomas. In 1871 James had moved to Town End where he was inn keeper at 'The Sportsman.' Ten years later the family was at Fold Farm, Storrs, and in 1891 was at Moorwood. Son, Sidney, was at that time a brickyard labourer living on Syke House Lane with his wife and family. Later in the decade he became landlord of 'The Hare and Hounds,' Uppergate. He died in 1898, aged 34. James died in 1901.

In 1861 Thomas and Elizabeth's son, Benjamin, a coal miner living at Hill Top, was married to Sarah and had two sons. Ten years later they were living at Dungworth House where Benjamin was a farmer. They were at Greenfold House in 1891 with more children still at home. The youngest was Willie whose grand-daughter, Betty Wood, lives at Stacey Bank, Loxley. Son, Thomas, was farming at Hill Top with his wife and family. By the end of the century Reuben was master of the National School at Stannington and Mark was a farmer on Syke House Lane with his wife, Florence. Benjamin's wife, Sarah, died in 1897 and Benjamin in 1902. Greenfold Farm, then occupied and farmed by William, was for sale in 1903.²⁰⁰

In 1851 a John was an agricultural labourer at Lane End, living with his wife Harriet, née Wilson. In 1861 he was a milk carrier at Hill Top. Although the family was not recorded in the Stannington census returns of 1871 and 1881 they were at Hill Top in 1891 with two grown-up sons, John William and Albert, Albert's wife, Elizabeth, born in Sheffield, and two grandchildren. John sen. died in 1896. Although the family recorded in 1672 moved from Stannington soon after, the Grays had been well-established in the township for most of the nineteenth century.

Hague: Thomas (one hearth), in Stannington.

Although Hague is a West Riding name it is not local in origin. Robertus de Hegh and Margareta, his wife, paid the 1379 poll tax of 4d. in Bradfield, and Oliver Hagh was in Medop (Midhope) in 1548.²⁰¹ Raphe, the son of John was baptised at Bradfield in 1562 and the family flourished in the area but I have found very few records of the Stannington branch until the nineteenth century, except in parish registers, wills and Cutlers' Company records.

Thomas, who died in 1711, had one son, Christopher (1663-1717). Christopher, a cooper, signed the agreement re Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.²⁰² He stipulated in his will that if his wife remarried his two sons should have the house between them and even stated which rooms they should have:

'John to have the house and all below with the backside only, a square piece at the back of the shop reserved for Thomas, with the parlour and chamber over it and the shop.'

Both sons carried on the family business but John's son, John, became a cutler, gaining his freedom in 1740.²⁰³ Thomas was an overseer of the poor in 1756.²⁰⁴

By the end of the eighteenth century, members of the family were in Dungworth. William was listed as a pocket-knife grinder in Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* and also in Montgomery's of 1797. In 1838 William and his wife were receiving 1s.6d. a week from the parish because of 'their age and infirmity.'²⁰⁵ They were recorded in Dungworth in 1841. Their son, William, a widowed milk dealer, also lived in Dungworth with his three children and daughter Mary's month old son. By 1851 the family had been joined by daughter Ann's husband, Benjamin Beard, and their young daughter. Mary married George Wilson in the 1850s.

Joseph, a cutler exempt because of poverty, was in the Bradfield militia list of 1819. In 1825 his father, Benjamin, applied for relief on his behalf:

'in custody for debt of £5 owing to Parkin of Sheffield, factor. Ann, (aged 12), troubled with fits, Sarah (nearly 8), Joseph (6), Hannah (3) and wife now lying in. Supposes he will work in gaol.'²⁰⁶

In 1836 Joseph's wife, Sarah, applied: 'Husband ill and incapable of work. 4s. a week from Club, been ill three weeks, (aged 54), wife (47), Hannah (13), Teresa (6).' He was allowed 3s.6d. a week. By 1841 Joseph had died and Sarah was living with her father-in-law at Greenside, Stannington. Daughter Teresa was a servant with the Jarvis family at Storrs Paper Mill.

Thomas was listed in directories of 1825 and 1833 as a pocket-knife cutler. He was a juror in 1822 and 1823 by reason of his freehold estate worth over £150 a year.²⁰⁷ By 1841 he was an 80-year old farmer at Greenfold with his widowed son, Thomas, and four children.

Thomas jun. was recorded every year from 1819 in the Bradfield militia lists. He claimed a vote in 1832 by having freehold houses in Syke House Lane,²⁰⁸ and similarly claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857.²⁰⁹ He was still at Greenfold in 1871. He died in the 1870s, leaving £50 to his son, Henry, and the rest of his estate to his son, Thomas, who was living with him. Thomas was married to Martha, nee Brammall, and was at Greenfold with his wife and family. They were still there in 1881, but by 1891 Greenfold belonged to Benjamin Gray. Thomas's descendants still live in Stannington.

In 1841 Thomas sen.'s son, George, was farming at Tom Hill. With him were his wife, Elizabeth, and five children. George claimed a vote in 1839 and 1840 for his occupation of a farm worth £50 a year in Dungworth²¹⁰ and was a juror in 1840, 1850 and 1855 by paying the poor rate for Tom Hill²¹¹. By 1871 George was a widower, cared for by his son, Elijah, and wife, Elizabeth. George's son, John, his wife, Catherine nee Fearn, and family, who had been at Loadbrook in 1871, were at Tom Hill in 1881 and 1891 when his brother, Elijah, and father-in-law, George Fearn, were living with them.

In 1851 Thomas sen.'s son Benjamin, a pocket-knife cutler, was living on Syke House Lane with his wife, Elizabeth, son, Mark, daughter-in-law, Hannah, and three

grandchildren. Mark, a spring-knife cutler, and family were at Yews Fold in 1861. Twenty years later Hannah was a widow, living with her son, Arthur, and two grandchildren in Stannington. Her son, Hugh, a clay miner, was in Storrs with his wife, Elizabeth, and young family. They were still there in 1891. Her son, Harvey, with his wife, Matilda, and young daughter, Edith, were living with Matilda's parents, Thomas and Mary Tattersall, at Town End. By 1891 Harvey had been widowed and was married to Fanny. The couple were on Liberty Hill with Edith and their young son. At that time Hannah was back on Yews Lane with grandson, William Henry, a 22-year old brick maker. Arthur was a clay miner living in Storrs with his wife, Elizabeth, and young son.

In 1851 Alfred, a grocer and butcher, was in Dungworth with his wife, Hannah, from Deepcar, and son, Alfred. The family increased, but by 1871 Hannah was a widow, continuing as a grocer and butcher at New Shop. In 1881 she had retired and was living at Throstle House, Storrs, with her son, Charles, a silver plater. Son, Alfred, with his wife, Harriet, and young family living at Syke House, was carrying on the grocery business. Ten years later Hannah was with her daughter, Elizabeth, and son-in-law, Thomas Gray at Hill Top.

Also in 1851 John, an anvil smith, was living on Wood Lane with his wife, Elizabeth, from Hallam, and young family. They were still there in 1871 but by 1891 he and his wife were at Town End, aged 79 and 75 respectively. Their son, John, a pocket-knife cutler, was living at Town End in 1881 with his wife, Lucy, and two young children.

In 1861 Benjamin, a spring-knife cutler born in Dungworth, had come to live on Yews Fold with his wife, Esther, from Hull, 10-year old son William born in Sheffield, and two younger sons born in Dungworth. The family had increased by 1871 but ten years later Benjamin was a widower, looked after by his daughter, also named Esther. In 1891 he was on his own.

By the end of Victoria's reign the Hagues were a long-established Stannington family although they do not appear to have had much involvement in the running of the local community.

Hall or Bulley: John (one hearth), in Stannington.

The only record I have found of Bulley was in the Bradfield register of 1701, when John Bulley was buried. The name could be a corruption of Bullock but I have found very little about that name either. Thomas Bullok and his wife, Margareta, paid 4d. poll tax in 1379 and one entry in the Cutlers' Company recorded: 'Joseph Bullock, son of John, late Stannington, scythe grinder,' commenced an apprenticeship with Thomas Dungworth, in Stannington, in 1695.²¹²

Hall: Edward (one hearth), George (one hearth, empty), both in Stannington.

Although Hall was a common Sheffield name and Richard, father of John, was recorded in Dungworth in 1347²¹³ no Halls in the area paid the 1379 poll tax. However, Alice, daughter of John Hall, was baptised in 1560 in Bradfield.

In Harrison's 1637 survey Edward Hall held 'a tenement with a dwelling house and land called Stoney Intacke, also an Intacke called Catterstorth.'²¹⁴ In a similar survey of about 1660 an Edward held 'a tenement in Moorwood called Swingley fforth Bents viz. two dwelling houses, a kilne and intacke divided into several parts.'²¹⁵ The Hall family remained in possession of the property, which Edward had purchased from the Smith family, until the 1930s when the Duke of Norfolk's estate sold it to a Mr. Clark. One house is now called Swinglee Grange and the other Swinglee Farm, which has been rebuilt.

Through generation after generation the head of the Hall family at Swingley Ford Bents was almost always an Edward. One was a chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1705 and constable in 1708.²¹⁶ Edward jun. was an overseer of the poor in 1727 and 1758, also a constable in 1733, for land held at Moorwood and Loadbrook.²¹⁷ Edward was a trustee of the Stannington Chapel Spooone Ministerial Trust in 1721.²¹⁸ His son, John, commenced a cutlery apprenticeship with Jonathan Hall, of Crookes Moor,²¹⁹ in 1741. Subscribers to the Queen Anne's Bounty appeal in 1768 included Mr. Edward of Moorwood and Mr. John of Swingley Ford Bents.²²⁰

The Bradfield militia lists recorded Halls in Stannington and Dungworth including, in 1827, John, a labourer of Swingley Ford Bents. There was also Isaac Hague, aged 19, of Swingley Ford Bents in 1831, son of Edward's sister, Nancy. The 1841 census recorded

her and her husband, Thomas Hague, an army pensioner, living there together with Isaac. In 1822 Edward Hall had been asked by the overseers of the poor why he would not take a parish apprentice. His reason was that he was keeping an illegitimate child of his sister, Isaac Ronksley being the reputed father.²²¹ The child was brought up with his 'adopted' father's name of Hague but when he inherited Swingley Ford Bents on the death of his uncle Edward Hall in 1856, he reverted to his mother's maiden-name of Hall.

Isaac married Mary Ann who died in 1860. The couple had three daughters, the eldest of whom, Sarah, took over Swingley Ford Bents after Isaac's death in 1880. She later married George, son of Martin Kirkby of Weathercotes, Hollow Meadows, and had one child, George, in 1886, the year before she died. The Kirkby family continued to live at Swingley and George sen. had remarried by 1891. Isaac's second daughter, Nancy, died in 1875, aged 18. His youngest daughter, Mary, married Alfred Twigg and by 1891 the couple, farming at Over Laith Farm, Hollow Meadows, had three children. In 1841 Edward's brother, Benjamin, was farming at Loadbrook. He was still there in 1851, aged 80, a farmer of 16 acres, employing one man.

The only other Hall in Stannington in 1851 was Charles, born in Plymouth, living at the School House on Greenside. He was the schoolmaster, assisted by his wife, Emma, from Rochdale. The couple's elder son had been born in Thame, Oxfordshire, and their two younger children in Sheffield. Ten years later they were living at Knowle Top, where Charles was the postmaster and accountant. Charles was still the postmaster in 1871 but by 1881 his widow had taken over as postmistress. Their daughter, Clara, was the letter carrier.

The Halls were in Stannington, mainly connected with farming, from at least 1637. They resided there throughout our period but the name died out on the marriage of Isaac's daughters towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Hancock: John (one hearth), in Dungworth.

In 1379 Willelmus Hancok and Agnes, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield. In 1392 Agnes was in Darnall.²²² The earliest record in the Bradfield registers was in 1610 when John, the son of Roland, was baptised. In 1661 Ellen, widow of Rowland, and John

surrendered 'one cottage or tenement in Dungworth and one close now in the occupation of the said John Hancock.'²²³ In 1665, a rental of Parish Land, i.e. land belonging to the Bradfield feoffees, recorded John paying £32.16s.0d. for St. Mary's Croft, Dungworth.²²⁴ John died in 1674, predeceased by his wife, Alice, née Wainwright, who had died in 1670.

The Bradfield Easter Book of 1717 recorded a Godfrey Hancock living in Stannington.²²⁵ Daniel, a mason, was at Broad Oak in 1738 when his son, Timothy, was bound as a cutlery apprentice to Thomas Bramall of Wadsley.²²⁶ He gained his freedom in 1759. Timothy's son, also named Timothy, was bound to John Ibberson, a Stannington cutler, in 1772, after Timothy sen. had died.²²⁷ He gained his freedom in 1784 and took apprentices of his own, commencing with William Goddard in 1785.²²⁸

William, son of Joseph Hancock, a deceased shoemaker of Dronfield, was bound to John Sykes, a Stannington knife grinder, in 1795. It is possible that William was a relative of Joseph, who was first recorded as a 34-year old farmer in Stannington in the Bradfield militia list of 1824. The 1851 census recorded Joseph, a 63-year old farmer/shoemaker, living on Nethergate, as born in Eckington. He was listed as a boot and shoemaker in White's 1856 *Directory of Sheffield* but I have not found any other reference to Hancocks in Stannington after that date. They lived in the township for much of our period, but were never prominent.

Hartley: Robert (one hearth), in Stannington.

There are several places called Hartley but it is likely that the local family originated from near Hartley Brook, which runs between Ecclesfield and Shiregreen. Ricardus de Hertley and Alicia, his wife paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield in 1379, as did Willelmus de Hertelay and Agnes, his wife. Johannes de Hertelay, a mercer, and Johanna, his wife, paid 12d. Agnes, daughter of Richard of Oughtibridge was in Birley in 1408.²²⁹ I have found no other reference to Hartleys in Stannington, apart from one entry in the Bradfield registers recording that Robert Hartley died in 1674. However, they are still in evidence in other parts of Hallamshire.

Hawksworth: Richard (one hearth), William (two hearths), Christopher (one hearth), William (two hearths, poor), all in Stannington.

Adam Hawkesworth was recorded in Hawkesworth in 1284.²³⁰ Hawkesworth is a Bradfield name with Hawkesworth Firth recorded in Harrison's 1637 survey. Johannes de Haukesworth, a wright, and Juliana, his wife, paid 6d. in the 1379 poll tax in Bradfield, as did Willelmus de Haukesworth, a wright, and Johanna, his wife. By the sixteenth century the Hawksworth family was extensive with three baptisms, two weddings and two burials on the respective first page of the Bradfield registers.

In 1637 Richard Spooone and Richard Hawksworth held a tenement with land called Nether Hall Field.²³¹ The feoffees of Stannington Chapel in 1654 included Richard Spooone's brother-in-law, Ralph Hawksworth,²³² and freeholders in 1662 included Ralph and Dyonese, his wife, having a messuage called Hall Cliffe in Stannington.²³³ A survey of about 1677 recorded Richard holding part of Nether Hall Field and Lime Leys.²³⁴ In a survey about 1660 Henry and Francis held a tenement called Barker House, fold and close called Barker Field.²³⁵ Similarly, in a survey of rents in 1667 Francis, on his own, held 'all ye messuage, folds and outhousing called Barker House with a close called Barker Field.'²³⁶ The same appeared in the survey of 1677.²³⁷

The Bradfield Easter Book of 1686 listed, in Stannington and Dungworth, John, Adam of Bents, Henry (Christopher's son), Christopher, Richard (Christopher's son), and two widows.²³⁸ By 1717 there were William, two Richards, Ralph and one widow.²³⁹ Christopher's grandsons, Aaron, of Dungworth, and George, of Storrs, subscribed towards obtaining Queen Anne's Bounty for Bradfield in 1768.²⁴⁰

George, a cutler, had his two sons, George and Jasper apprenticed to him, their freedoms being in 1781 and 1786 respectively.²⁴¹ Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed George as a pocket knife cutler in Dungworth. Jasper was a knife maker of Cliffe who had his own apprentice by 1802.²⁴² Jasper's widow, Ann, applied for relief in 1826, claiming that her husband had rented Cow Gap Farm in Dungworth.²⁴³ She was then living at Cow Gap with her son-in-law, John Swainson.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded George as a cutler at Cow Gap in 1819 and John, also a cutler, at Cow Gap in 1829 and 1831. William of Bents was recorded as a cutler

from 1820 to 1824. In 1841 both John and William had separate households at Cow Gap. John was a journeyman cutler, married to Mary, and had three young children. By 1871 John was a widow, looked after by his eldest daughter, Ellen. Her brother, John, and two of John sen.'s grandchildren, Samuel and Elizabeth, were also in the household. Ellen was still housekeeper to the family in 1881 but ten years later none of them were recorded in the area apart from Samuel, who was a spring-knife cutler, living at Cliffe Hill with his wife, Annie, and two young children. In 1841 William, at Cow Gap, was married to Lydia and had one son, George. By 1861 George, a farm labourer at Loadbrook, was married to Ann, from Cortworth, and had one daughter. His parents were not recorded. In 1871 George and family were at Cabin in Stannington but they had moved away by 1881.

Another John, a widow with four children, was farming at Ricket Field in 1841. Ten years later his son, also named John, had taken over the farm with his niece as housekeeper. His nephew, Robert from Crookes, was employed as a servant. John jun. was married to Ann by 1861 and the couple had four children. Ann was a widow by 1871, helped on the farm by her son and daughter. She was still there with family in 1881 but by 1891 they had gone. John's nephew, Robert, was in Syke House Lane in 1861, an agricultural labourer married to Hannah. The couple had two young children. The family had increased by 1871 when they were living at Bents Cottages. Ten years later their son, John, was a clay miner. Son, Robert, also a clay miner, was living on Cliffe Hill with his wife, Teresa, and son George, a general labourer, was at Croft Top with his wife, Sarah. In 1891 Robert sen., a labourer at a stone quarry, was a widower living at Yews Fold. With him were two adult sons, his daughter, Mary Ann, her husband, Herbert Hall, and their two children. By the end of the nineteenth century the Hawksworths were still to be found in Stannington, but they were no longer the prominent core family they had been in earlier times.

Hill: Thomas (one Hearth), in Stannington.

Robert del Hill was in Hallam in 1277,²⁴⁴ and in 1379 Willelmus and his wife, Isabella, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield. The marriage of Thomas Hill to Elizabeth Creswick in 1670 at Bradfield is the only record I have found of the name in the Stannington area.

Hinchcliffe: Edward (one hearth), in Stannington.

The name is of Holmfirth origin. Although William was in Sheffield manor in 1454²⁴⁵ and the name appeared in the Bradfield registers as early as 1564 with the baptism of Agnes, daughter of Gennet, the family did not increase very much in the area. Edward, the son of Francis, was baptised in 1605 and died in 1690, after which his property passed to his son, Francis.²⁴⁶ This Francis, by his will of 1717 bequeathed, after small legacies to married sisters, his house and the remainder of goods to his brother-in-law, Edmund Barber of Ridin House, Derbyshire, so Francis was the last of the male line.

Hoyland: Richard (two hearths), Francis (one hearth), both in Stannington; John (two hearths), William (two hearths), George (two hearths), William (one hearth), John (one hearth), John jun. (one hearth), all in Dungworth.

The origin of the name is probably the village of Hoyland, near Barnsley. Alice was recorded in Dungworth in 1567.²⁴⁷ But, in spite of their being many Hoylands recorded in the Bradfield registers, the Stannington and Dungworth branches disappeared during the eighteenth century. Members of the family, although continuing to hold property, were non-resident.

Stannington Chapel feoffees included a John in 1654 and Richard in 1672.²⁴⁸ Francis was a chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1694²⁴⁹ as was George in 1702.²⁵⁰ Richard, a cooper, and Francis, a yeoman, both had sons called Richard who served cutlery apprenticeships and gained their freedoms in 1693 and 1699 respectively.²⁵¹ In a survey of about 1677 Richard paid a rent of 10s. for an intack called Holme lying between Loxley Water and the Cliffe.²⁵² George and Joshua, sons of George of Stannington, were apprenticed to their father. They built Olive Wheel between 1714 and 1716 on the Holme site.²⁵³ George died in 1718 when his inventory included an axletree and two wheelstones. His widow, Anne, was paying rent for Olive Wheel in 1724.²⁵⁴ After that date I have found no records of the family in Stannington.

Hoyle: Henry (one hearth), in Dungworth.

Henry de Hoyll was a witness to a deed in Dwarriden, Bradfield, in 1379²⁵⁵ and he and his wife, Cecilia, paid 4d. poll tax in the same year. Isabella del Hole also paid 4d. in Bradfield. The baptism of Ann, daughter of William Hoyle, in 1583 was the first mention of the family in the Bradfield registers.

In a survey of about 1611 Henry held part of Wainwright's farm called Corker Walls.²⁵⁶ This was repeated in Harrison's survey of 1637²⁵⁷ and in a similar survey of 1660.²⁵⁸ In the survey of about 1677 Joseph was recorded at Corker Walls.²⁵⁹ Henry was a mason with sons Joseph, Jonathan and Ralph. The two latter served cutlery apprenticeships commencing in 1677 and 1682 respectively.²⁶⁰ Joseph was a tailor whose inventory in 1737 included a loom, wheel, and frame together with farming equipment. His son, Henry, commenced a cutlery apprenticeship in 1704. Ralph was a signatory for Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.²⁶¹ The last record I have of the family was in 1750, when Benjamin Stead of Dungworth was admitted to a messuage called Padley House, which had previously been in the possession of 'Ralph Hole.'²⁶²

Hudson: Richard (one hearth), in Stannington.

In 1379 Agnes, wife of Willelmi Hudson of Ecclesfield and Alicia, wife of Willelmi Hudson of Sheffield each paid 4d. poll tax. The earliest recording of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1564 when Francis, son of John, was baptised. In 1674 Samuel and Joseph Morewood, of Norton, surrendered Briers House with land, plus the herbage and privileges of Dungworth Moor and Ughill Wood, to the use and benefit of Richard Hudson.²⁶³ Richard had married Mary Downing in 1669 and the couple had several children before Mary's death in 1687. Richard died in 1719.

In 1721 Alicia Pearson of Wellhouse, in Tankersley, died 'seized of a messuage or tenement with land in Dungworth called Bents, in possession of John Hudson.'²⁶⁴ Five years later George Ibbotson, of Stannington, and Benjamin Marshall, of Sheffield, surrendered 'a cottage or tenement in Stannington ... to the use and benefit of John Hudson of Bents, carpenter.'²⁶⁵ John died in 1735, leaving money to his wife, Mary, plus the interest of £80 yearly for life. He bequeathed all his estate to his son, John. His inventory goods were valued at £149.19s.4d. including his carpentry tools. In 1737 George Ibbotson surrendered the cottage in Stannington to Mary for her life, then to her son, John.²⁶⁶ In 1768 Mary surrendered the cottage 'now in the possession of the said Mary to uses of her will.'²⁶⁷

After then I found no records of the family in Stannington until the Cutlers' Company recorded Robert, son of William, a Stannington butcher, as commencing his apprenticeship with John Revitt of Stannington in 1806.²⁶⁸ William was exempt from

paying his poor assessment in 1813 and 1814,²⁶⁹ and by 1818 was receiving several payments for relief as a pauper.²⁷⁰ In 1819 his application stated that he had a wife and five children and was 'out of employ.'²⁷¹ Two years later he 'applies for £2, says he wants a little money to buy a little meat - he shall be able to do without any further assistance.' He was given 30s. from the Game Penalties.²⁷²

The Bradfield militia lists recorded another William, a grocer, in Stannington, in almost every year. In the 1841 census he was living at Knowl Top with John, also a grocer, and two grocery apprentices. Ten years later he was recorded as coming from Wadworth. From 1827 to 1840 he was a juror by virtue of his freehold house and shop in Stannington,²⁷³ and claimed a vote from 1835 to 1850 for the same reason.²⁷⁴ In directories from 1825 to 1856 he was listed as a grocer and flour dealer.

In the 1861 census John, a 40-year old cattle dealer from Wales, Rotherham, was living on Glossop Road, Hollow Meadows, with his wife and family. His wife came from Market Weighton and their three children had been born in Whiston. By 1871 there were no Hudsons in Stannington. This long-established family had disappeared from the township.

Ibbotson: William Iberson (one hearth), John Ibittson (one hearth), both in Stannington. Although there were several women with the Christian name Ibbot paying tax in Sheffield in 1379 there was no-one with the surname Ibbotson. Henry was in Brythumley (Brightholmlee) in 1523, and Richard in Morewood in 1528.²⁷⁵ There were two marriages on the first page of the Bradfield registers: William married Jane Revell and Alyce married Robert Greene in 1559. In the hearth tax returns of 1672 there were 23 entries (of various spellings) in south Yorkshire.

In 1637 George held Hawksworth Farm and Wadefield, a tenement called Townefield Head with a dwelling house and other land.²⁷⁶ Richard held a close, an intacke lying next to lands of George and Edward,²⁷⁷ and Edward held part of Auley Meadows.²⁷⁸ George died in 1671 and was succeeded by his brother William.²⁷⁹ In 1674 William, of Bingley Seat, together with Richard Greaves of Stannington, sold four parcels of land called the Hudling Doles for 5s. and a peppercorn rent.²⁸⁰ William was one of the Stannington Chapel feoffees in 1692²⁸¹ and an overseer of the poor in 1702.²⁸² He was

also one of the five townspeople who, in 1712, promised the Duke of Norfolk's agent that they would keep Rivelin Corn Mill in good order and supervise the miller.²⁸³ When he died in 1727 he left the Hudling Doles to his grandson, Jonathan, and his son, John, was admitted to Bingley Seat.²⁸⁴ William's will stated that

'all lead pipes taking water into the kitching at my now dwelling house and in the chamber over the buttery and three stone troughs in the folds or swine hull should remain and go with the said house and be accounted as heirlooms.'

His inventory included a cutlers' wheel valued at £10.

William also had a son, George, of Bingley Seat, who was one of the original ten trustees of the Spout House Trust in 1714.²⁸⁵ George built Upper Coppice Wheel on a site leased in 1736.²⁸⁶ His son, William served a cutlery apprenticeship with Joseph Swallow of Stannington and gained his freedom in 1748.²⁸⁷ He bound William Newton of Nether Bradfield as apprentice in 1753.²⁸⁸ In 1763 Francis Chantry of Jordanthorpe (Sir Francis's father) surrendered a messuage in Stannington 'formerly in the possession of Mary Swallow and George Ibbotson, called Skinner House.'²⁸⁹

Other Ibbotsons served cutlery apprenticeships and bound apprentices throughout the eighteenth century. Joseph, son of Henry, of Rivelin Mill, was bound to James Beal, of Ecclesall, in 1794; Joseph and William, sons of Matthew, of Hathersage, were bound to Stannington cutlers in 1801. John, a Stannington cutler, bound apprentices from 1772 onwards, the last of whom, Edmund Kirk, gaining his freedom in 1791.²⁹⁰

Several Ibbotsons were recorded each year in the Bradfield militia lists. Benjamin, a farmer from Dungworth, appeared in 1819. By 1841 he was married to Elizabeth and had four children. The family was living with Benjamin's widowed father, Robert, who had been born in Hathersage. Robert had claimed a vote in 1835 by his occupation of land and a tenement at £50 in Dungworth²⁹¹ and was founder of 'Robert Ibbotson & Co., coal owners.' He was still with his family in 1851, aged 85, by which time Benjamin was also a widower. Ten year later Benjamin was landlord of 'The Royal Hotel,' Dungworth, and proprietor of the coal company of which his son, Joseph, was the manager. By 1871 Joseph was landlord of 'The Royal,' living there with his wife, Ann, and two young children. He died in 1908, aged 75.

Benjamin's brother, Robert, a cutler, was listed in the militia lists from 1822. In 1851 he, his wife, Elizabeth, and family were at Bents. Ten years later his son, Levi, born at Bents, was a spring-knife cutler. By 1871 Elizabeth had been widowed and married to Stephen Mellor. Living with them at No.5 Syke House was Levi and Elizabeth's grandson, Joseph. Next door was son, George, with his wife, Hannah. In 1881 Levi was on Rye Lane with his wife, Charlotte, and three children. Both families had increased by 1891 but by that time George was a widower.

In 1851 Robert and Elizabeth's son, John, a spring-knife cutler, lived on Dungworth Street with his wife, Mary Ann, and two young sons. By 1871 their son, Joseph, was with his grandmother. Ten years later, living on Hill Green, he was married to Sarah and had three children. By 1891 there were seven children at home. The Ibbotsons were clearly one of the long-established core families of Stannington.

Littlewood: William (one hearth), Ro (one hearth, demolished), both in Stannington.

The name is of Holmfirth origin. Thomas Lytlewod and Margret Morton were married at Bradfield in 1564. William, the son of Robert, was baptised in 1628 and married Ann, the daughter of Geoffrey Rowley of Woodhouses, in 1657. An indenture of 1671 showed that William settled land on his wife.²⁹² In 1677 William, 'of Halam,' leased a messuage and this land, plus another messuage and land, to Edward Rowley of Woodhouse.²⁹³ All the property was sold to Anne and Gertrude Revell of Stannington in 1691.²⁹⁴

Lockwood: Hugh (one hearth), in Stannington.

The family originated from a place of that name near Huddersfield. The first mention I have found of Hugh was in the will of George Marriott, a Stannington carpenter, who died in 1652:

'to Hugh Lockwood the use of my tools until my son or sons learn to be carpenters, and if they do not, then to Hugh Lockwood and his heirs for ever. Hugh Lockwood to remain with my brother, John Marriott, during the years he has agreed with me.'

'Huigh' married Mary Bacon at Bradfield in 1661, but she died four months later. In 1692 he paid rent for what became known as Swallow Wheel.²⁹⁵ When Thomas Dungworth died in 1697 his inventory included a debt of 6d. owing to Hugh Lockwood.

In 1718, when the boundaries of the Bradfield townships were being changed, the cottage of an Edward Lockwood was to be included within the one-third part of Stannington added to Westnall and Waldershelf. After that date I have found no further records of the family in Stannington.

Lord: Widow (three hearths), Edward (one hearth), both in Stannington.

The first entry in the Bradfield registers was in 1600 when Mr. Lord was buried. In 1654 Raph, the son of Robert, deceased, a former smelter of Malin Bridge (i.e. at Mousehole) gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company.²⁹⁶ Raph became his brother Edward's apprentice-master in 1655. Edward's son, Jonathan, was apprenticed to Joseph Crapper of Malin Bridge, and gained his freedom in 1691.²⁹⁷ The accounts of the overseers of the poor in 1703 included £1.10s.0d. paid for Jonathan's smithy tools.²⁹⁸

Members of the family rented Grogram Wheel between 1664 and 1704,²⁹⁹ and Joseph, of 'Mousehoyle Wheel,' took apprentices in 1691 and 1698.³⁰⁰ The only other record of the name that I have found was when Rebeckah, the daughter of Widow Lord of Sheffield, was buried at Bradfield in 1704.

Marriott: George (two hearths including a smithy), John (three hearths), both in Stannington.

The surname was derived from a pet form of Mary. Johannes Mariot and Johanna, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Bradfield in 1379 and John Marriott, sen., was living in Onesacre in 1442.³⁰¹ The first entry in the Bradfield registers was in 1565 when John Maryot married Grace Haukesworth.

In 1637 George Marriott held a tenement and lands in 'Stannington Towne' near Stannington Wood.³⁰² George, a carpenter, died in 1652, leaving this property and household goods to his wife.³⁰³ His sons were the George and John who paid the hearth tax in 1672. George jun. became a cutler, gaining his freedom in 1664.³⁰⁴ The woodwards' accounts for Rivelin in that year showed him paying £3 for a tree for 'building a smithy, planking his barn floor and three doors.'³⁰⁵ In 1692 John paid a chief rent for a messuage and 19 acres of freehold land.³⁰⁶ He was a signatory to the upkeep of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.³⁰⁷

After that time I have found no other references to the family in Stannington, although there were Marriotts in the adjacent neighbourhood. The most well-known was Thomas sen., who gave his Spout House estate to Stannington in 1714, and Thomas jun., who built the present chapel at Stannington in 1743 (Underbank). Both men lived in Ughill, just to the north-west of Stannington.

Marsden: John (one hearth), Henry (one hearth), both in Stannington.

The name comes from a village to the west of Huddersfield. It became prolific in the parish of Penistone and other parts of south-west Yorkshire. The Bradfield register's earliest record was in 1564 when Thomas Marsden got married. (His bride's name was not recorded). There were several Johns in the Bradfield registers at the time of the hearth tax but no way of pin-pointing the one in Stannington.

Henry, of Moorwood, died in 1676, bequeathing his goods to his wife and legacies to his married daughters. His wearing apparel was to go to his brothers, Thomas and Luke, who did not live in Stannington. The surname, therefore, did not survive locally.

Marsh: William (one hearth), in Stannington.

Ricardus de Marsche and Beatrix, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379, but there were very few entries for Marsh in the Bradfield registers. A William Marsh was the father of children being baptised in the 1640s, but I have not found any other references.

Marshall: Humphrey (one hearth), in Stannington.

Magot Marchall paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379, and Thomas Marshall was in Sheffield in 1549³⁰⁸ In 1562 Ellen, the daughter of William Marshall, was baptised at Bradfield. William bought a messuage in Stannington from Edward Brammall in 1599, which he passed to his son Thomas, in 1602.³⁰⁹ Thomas was there in 1637, also holding Little Braken Field, part of Highfield.³¹⁰ His son, William, was admitted in 1643, followed by William's son, also named William, in 1667.³¹¹ By his will of 1652 Richard Spone surrendered Sims House, which adjoined William's land.³¹² William was also mentioned in connection with the foundation of Stannington Chapel.³¹³ In a survey about 1660 Humphrey was paying rent for

'an intack at the Lane End, formerly Edward Webster, the Little Bracken Field being part of Highfield, formerly Thomas Marshall, also a cottage, late Mary Cole, in Stannington.'³¹⁴

He was still holding the same property in a survey of about 1677.³¹⁵ He died in 1685.

The Bradfield Easter Book of 1686 included William and Thomas Marshall in Stannington,³¹⁶ with other Marshalls in Dungworth. Of William's sons, Francis died in 1722, leaving a messuage and lands in Stannington to his brother, William,³¹⁷ who sold the estate to Thomas Marriott of Ughill. In 1743 Thomas Marriott surrendered this house and land to Stannington Chapel, the rents from the estate becoming known as Marshall's Charity.³¹⁸ William's son, Richard, baptised in 1652, had a son, also named Richard, who became a cutler, gaining his freedom from Joseph Swallow in 1714.³¹⁹ In the same year he married his apprentice-master's daughter, Sarah. Several of their children were baptised at Stannington Chapel. A lease, for what was to become known as Frank Wheel, was granted to Richard, in partnership with Stephen Parker, in 1737.³²⁰ Richard's brother, Jeremiah, also became a cutler as did Jeremiah's son, Jonathan. In 1766 Jonathan's son, Joseph, commenced a cutlery apprenticeship with a relative, Francis Townsend.³²¹

By 1813 another descendant, George, was living at Throstle Nest Farm in Storrs.³²² In 1835 he claimed a vote by his occupation of land and a tenement in Storrs valued at £50 a year,³²³ and was an overseer of the poor in 1843. He was listed in White's 1845 *Directory of Sheffield* as a black-clay miner. By 1849 he was in partnership with John Crapper. George died in 1850, when his widow, Ruth, from Tollerton near Easingwold, Yorkshire, continued in business with William Crapper until her son, Thomas, took over the Marshall share. After damage caused by the Bradfield flood the partners of Marshall & Crapper rebuilt the firm. This became 'Thomas Marshall & Co.' following the retirement of William Crapper. After Thomas's death the firm was run by trustees until his son, Arthur, was old enough to take over. Arthur died in 1943. In 1861 Ruth, aged 77, was living with her daughter, Charlotte, and son-in-law, Thomas Green, at Town End. Ruth's son, George, with his wife and family, was farming at Throstle Nest.

In 1841 James was a butcher living at Knowle Top with his wife, Mary, and young son, Alfred. By 1881 Alfred was at Throstle Nest with his wife and family. Also in 1841,

John was a coal and clay miner, living at Hanmoor Side with his wife and family. Ten years later his two sons, John and Henry, were employed at a pit. By 1861 son, John, was married to Annis and living in Dungworth, where the couple remained with a growing family. Ten years later they were at Little Matlock. By then Marshalls had lived in Stannington for centuries and had grasped the economic opportunities provided by local industry (see gannister, page 125).

Millar: Mr. (one hearth), in Stannington.

I have found no trace of a Mr. Millar but a Thomas Mellor was the minister of Stannington Chapel from 1671 until his death in 1673.³²⁴ He was buried at Bradfield.

Moorhouse: Richard (one hearth), in Dungworth.

Although William Morehouse was in Brightumle (Brightholmlee) in 1424 and Thomas Moorehouse was in Westnall in 1500³²⁵ the only records I have found of the family in Dungworth/Stannington were in the Bradfield registers: Richard had several children baptised between 1665 and 1680. His wife was buried in 1694, and Richard in 1710.

Morton: Nicholas (one hearth), in Stannington.

Although there are many other origins of the name, Morton is a lost local place name in the chapelry of Bradfield. Adam Morton was a witness in Westmondhalgh in 1300³²⁶ and Adam de Morton and Johanna, his wife, paid 12d. poll tax in 1379. The Bradfield registers contained many entries for Morton, beginning with the baptism of 'Robart, sonne of Philypp Morton' in 1559, but I have found very few references to the family in Stannington, though they were prolific in other parts of Hallamshire.

Nicholas, the son of Nicholas of Stannington, was born in 1610 and died in 1674, leaving to John Hattersley 'all my working gears whatsoever together with the tenters and looms and shears and all the gears also belonging to my trade.' Before he died he surrendered a messuage in Stannington called Sims House, where he lived, to his own use during his life, then to the use and benefit of John Hawksworth, his sister's son.³²⁷ A Benjamin Morton, son of John, of Stannington, gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company in 1700.³²⁸ Another Nicholas was an overseer of the poor in 1751.³²⁹ When he died the following year, his inventory included farming equipment. His son, Joseph, served a cutlery apprenticeship in Holdsworth in 1736.³³⁰

I found no other Mortons recorded in Stannington until the Bradfield militia list of 1819 when Christopher was a cutler and John was a farmer at Town End. In 1841 Christopher was a razor maker living on Uppergate with his wife and teenage son. By 1851 John's daughter had married Hugh Crapper and was living on Park Side. John, his wife, Mary, and three more daughters were also in the household. Twenty years later their son, William, with his wife and family, was farming at Town End.

In 1841 another John was a shoemaker, on Rye Lane with his wife, also called Mary, and young family. Ten years later the family had increased and they had moved to Yews Fold. In 1871 Mary, by then a widow, was working as a charwoman. Next door was son, Charles, a coal miner, with his wife, Esther, from Oughtibridge, and family. Charles and Esther were still there in 1891.

Oates: John (one hearth), in Stannington.

Thomas Otes was in Woodsettes (Woodseats) in 1539.³³¹ I have found very few of the name in the Bradfield registers, the earliest being in 1606 when 'John, supposed son of Richarde Ottes' was baptised. By the time of the hearth tax returns of 1672 there were eight households in south Yorkshire including a William in Ecclesall, taxed on seven hearths and two smithies.

Anthony Oates, a Stannington mason, died in 1667, leaving £12 and his best coat to his son. His son-in-law, Richard Hawksworth, was given boards and other wood to be sold 'for bringing up of Samuel Smith who in truth ought to have been educated by John, my son.' (Samuel the son of Jane Smith was baptised at Bradfield in 1660.) John followed his father's trade as a mason³³² and died in 1679, leaving his message to his elder son, also named John.³³³ His younger son, William, gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company in 1695.³³⁴ John jun. paid a chief rent for a house and three acres of freehold land in 1692.³³⁵ His two sons, John and James, became cutlers commencing apprenticeships in 1707 and 1710 respectively.³³⁶ Matthew, a son of James, contributed 2s.6d. towards Queen Anne's Bounty for Bradfield in 1768.³³⁷

Cutlery apprenticeships continued by the family throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed Matthew and William as spotted-knife cutlers. Montgomery's edition of 1797 gave them as pocket

and penknife cutlers. In 1823 Mary Oates, an 80-year old widow living with her son, John, at Portmahon, applied to the Bradfield overseers for poor relief:

‘says her husband, William Oates lived with his father James Oates and gained his settlement by his father being a freeholder at Stannington at John Dale’s place at Town End, died eight years ago.’

She was granted a pension of 2s. a week.³³⁸

Several members of the family were connected with Stannington Chapel and added their signatures to a petition concerning the Spooone Trust in 1825.³³⁹ Shortly afterwards ‘The Petition of the Inhabitants, Householders and Others of the Township of Stannington in the Chapelry of Bradfield and Parish of Ecclesfield,’ submitted to Samuel Shore of Meresbrook, attracted 358 signatures expressing either Unitarian or Trinitarian views.³⁴⁰ Unitarians, i.e. those against the petition and therefore wanting their present minister to stay, included Matthew, Luke, John and James Oates. Although the Unitarians appeared in the minority, Samuel Shore ignored the petition and the minister was allowed to stay.

The family was well represented in the Bradfield militia lists, beginning with Luke in 1819. By 1841 he was married to Catherine and lived at Town End with her and two sons. In White’s 1849 *Directory of Sheffield* Luke was listed as head of ‘Luke Oates & Co., pocket-knife & cutlery manufacturers,’ and his family became well established at Alpha Works, Town End. By 1864 Luke was also a partner in Rowell Bridge Wheel.³⁴¹ After the flood he bought out the other partners and rebuilt the wheel.³⁴² Catherine died in 1866 but Luke was still at Town End in 1871, described as a spring-knife and cutlery manufacturer employing seven men, one boy and four women. He died in 1875, aged 75, and was buried at Underbank.

Luke’s son, Luke Paris Oates, was married to Ruth by 1851, when the couple were living at Park Head with two daughters. He became a partner in the firm and was living at the works by 1881. He was a collector of taxes in 1879 and 1880, and a waywarden in 1880, 1881 and 1882.³⁴³ Luke sen.’s brother, Matthew, was a farmer at Rivelin Top in 1841. With him was his wife, Lydia, and family. By 1851 the household included George Thompson, a cutlery apprentice, who later married Matthew’s daughter, Olive. Matthew’s son, William, married with two young children, was a pocket-blade forger at Knowle Top in 1871. Also part of the family company was Matthew’s son, Squire

Elijah Oates, who, by 1861, was living at Park Head with his wife, Sarah Ann, nee Hague. By 1881 Squire Elijah was employing twenty men and six women but ten years later Sarah Ann was a widow, landlady of 'The Sportsman' at Town End. Other members of the family were also involved in the licensed trade. Matthew and his wife, Hannah, were at 'The Cricketers', Hanmoor, in 1841. They were still there in 1881 although, by 1859, the pub had changed its name to 'The Queen's.' It later closed as a pub and became the police station, of which the sign, and window bars, can still be seen. In 1851 Thomas was a victualler and needle grinder, working at 'The Crown and Glove' on Uppergate. Frederick was manager of 'The Hollins,' now 'The Holly Bush,' in 1902.

The Oates family had a continuous history of residence in Stannington township throughout our period and played their part in the local economy (see page 112).

Rawson: Widow (two hearths), in Dungworth.

In 1379 Willelmus Raufson paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield, and Thomas was recorded in Stannington in 1441.³⁴⁴ The earliest recording in Bradfield registers was in 1564, when Francis, son of John, was baptised. John Harrison, in his 1637 survey of the Manor of Sheffield, noted that Robert Rawson and Richard Ibbotson 'two of ye keepers have each of them a horse grasse within this piece.'³⁴⁵ This was Old Laund. The following year Robert, son of Robert of Brookside, was bound apprentice to Francis Newbould, a cutler of Hawslin Bank.³⁴⁶ In 1653 Robert's brother, Richard, surrendered Dungworth House, where he lived, to the use and benefit of his wife, Mary, during both their lives then for whoever of them lived longer.³⁴⁷ He died the following year.

After the death of Mary, Robert opted to pass Dungworth House to his son, also named Robert.³⁴⁸ He died in 1664, and in 1667 his son, Richard, of Hatfield House surrendered Brookside to George Shaw.³⁴⁹ Mary was the 'widow,' at Dungworth House, in 1672. She paid a chief rent for fourteen acres of copyhold land at Cliffe Top in 1692.³⁵⁰ She died in 1708 at the age of 90, the last Rawson in Dungworth. The family had left Dungworth, having founded a tannery at Wards End.

Revell: Richard (one hearth), Widow (one hearth), Mr. (six hearths), all in Stannington; Edward (three hearths), John (three hearths), both in Dungworth.

The earliest reference to the Revell family in this area was in The Sheffield Court Roll of 1287, when Adam Ryvell paid a fine of 2s. to be admitted to lands etc. called Hollysland in Dungworth.³⁵¹ Several members for the family paid the 1379 poll tax in Bradfield including Johannes Ryvell and Margareta his wife 4d., Richardus and Johanna his wife 4d., Thomas and Beatrix his wife 4d., Rogerus and Margareta his wife 4d. The family appeared in the Bradfield registers from 1559 when Anne, daughter of Robart Revell was baptised. At that time the family was living at Stannington Hall.³⁵²

Although they had to conform to the Church of England for their rites of passage, the family remained staunch Roman Catholics and as such were continually persecuted for their faith. In 1632 Rowland Revell appeared before H.M. Commissioners and made composition to pay a fine of 30s. twice yearly for his land and goods in Stannington.³⁵³ When Rowland died in 1646 he had added a codicil to his will of 1644 stating that his estate had declined since the original will had been written and his bequests to children and servants had had to be greatly reduced. In 1637 Rowland held at will Steel Farm and just over 92 acres of land.³⁵⁴ This property, on Nethergate, was the residence of the head of the family until 1744. Rowland fought in the Civil War on the side of the king and was taken prisoner under the Earl of Manchester in 1644.³⁵⁵

In his will Rowland stated that he had purchased land

‘butting upon the way which leadeth between Darwent and Sheffield upon the north and on a lane called Bingley Lane towards the south and have builded thereon divers houses part freehold and part copyhold.’

One of these houses was referred to in 1672 as ‘all that new house situated in Stannington with gardens.’³⁵⁶ Similarly in 1744 the last Revell heiress, Anne, married to Richard Broomhead, was admitted to a messuage in Stannington, called New House,³⁵⁷ after the death of her uncle Rowland and her father Thomas. Anne’s estates passed to her son, then to his daughter, Theresa Broomhead. It was only in the early nineteenth century, when it was fashionable to live in halls and granges, that New House became known as Revell Grange.

The Mr. Richard of Stannington in 1672 was Rowland’s son, living at Steel Farm. The other Richard lived at Moorwood and held the office of constable in 1673.³⁵⁸ Over the years other members of the family held office in the community. Bradfield feoffees

included Richard of Stannington 1616-29, Thomas of Stannington 1637-49 and Thomas of Riccardfields (Dungworth) 1637-58.³⁵⁹ Mr. Thomas of Bingley Lane was an overseer of the poor in 1730.³⁶⁰

In Harrison's survey Margaret Revell and her son John held a part of Auley Meadows, now known as Hollow Meadows, containing just over 209 acres.³⁶¹ This had passed to Richard of Stannington by 1660³⁶² who leased it to Edward Revell of Riccardfields. Edward and his son John farmed at 'Richardfields' until John died in 1734 and bequeathed the property to his cousin, Elizabeth Eales of Tideswell, Derbyshire. The present farmhouse, Rickett Field, is on the same site but only one wall of the original building remains.

There is no doubt that, in their time, the Revells were the most influential family in the township of Stannington. However, the male line died out in the first half of the eighteenth century. Those that were recorded in the township during the nineteenth century had come from elsewhere and did not get established. In 1861 there were two Revell families in Stannington, one at Crawshaw Lodge, headed by Thomas from Duckmanton, and one at Hollowmeadows Old House, headed by William from Walking, Nottinghamshire. William and family had gone by 1871 and Thomas by 1881.

Ronksley: Francis (one hearth), in Stannington.

The name originated from a farmstead, later destroyed in the construction of Derwent reservoir, in the parish of Hathersage, and it remains a rare one, largely confined to Hallamshire. Johannes de Ronkeslay and Alicia, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Bradfield in 1379, and Bartholomew was at Moorwood in 1445.³⁶³ The Bradfield registers recorded the baptism of Margret, daughter of Nicholas Ronksley, in 1560. This Nicholas also had a son, Francis, baptised in 1566. Nicholas, son of Francis, was baptised in 1590 and Francis, son of Nicholas, was baptised in 1619, being the Francis who paid the hearth tax in 1672. In 1633 John Smallfield served as constable for Francis Ronksley of 'Rieflensid'³⁶⁴ (Rivelin Side) but by 1672 Ronksley was at Moorwood.

Francis's son, James, inherited Moorwood. In 1696 he became chapelwarden 'for ye Chapel of Stannington' and a feoffee collector for chapel lands in 1697 and 1706.³⁶⁵ In 1705 he was a trustee of Stannington School³⁶⁶ and added his signature to those

supporting the running of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.³⁶⁷ James's son, Francis, was an overseer of the poor in 1708³⁶⁸ and also served as constable for Dungworth and Stannington.³⁶⁹ Jonathan, James's younger son, left the farming community in 1701 to serve a cutlery apprenticeship, gaining his freedom in 1709.³⁷⁰ Francis died in 1754 leaving his estate at Rivelin Side to his eldest son, James. He also left his copyhold messuage, Bingley Seat, to his second son, Francis, his copyhold messuage at Hollow Meadows to third son, Nicholas and land at Hollow Meadows to youngest son, Isaac. His daughters Mary, Martha and Anne, inherited property at Wharncliffe Side.

When Bradfield chapel needed money to obtain Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768 there were generous donations from the Ronksleys: two guineas from Isaac and one guinea each from James and Nicholas.³⁷¹ Their brother Francis had, by that time, moved to Thurgoland where he died in 1794, leaving his Stannington property to his son John, a cotton manufacturer in Ashton-under-Lyne. John sold it to George Woollen of Sheffield.³⁷²

In 1784 and 1785 James was a Bradfield feoffee.³⁷³ When he died his estate was divided between his three sons George, Joseph and William, apart from

'my half of lands in Loxley Chase on part of which the chapel is erected, the rents to be applied to repairing the said chapel by eleven of the chief seat holders if they shall retain the right to choose the minister.'³⁷⁴

The chapel was originally built as a chapel of ease for Bradfield and had only just been completed before James's death in 1795 (see page 30).

William was a chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1810 and again in 1820 and 1821. He was also an overseer of the poor in 1814 and a feoffee of Bradfield from 1813 until his death in 1829.³⁷⁵ He was a juror in 1821 and 1824 by reason of his freehold estate worth over £150 a year at Rivelin Side.³⁷⁶ William's son, George, recorded in the Bradfield militia lists, was an overseer of the poor in 1831 and 1834.³⁷⁷ He moved to Moor Oaks, Crookesmoor, in the 1840s. William's daughter, Maria, married George Ronksley of Tipton and died a week after the birth of her second son, James George, in 1851. Ten years later George died so James and his elder brother, William Francis, went to live with their uncle, also named George. James lost these two close relatives on consecutive days in 1862, so was left on his own at the age of eleven. Under the guardianship of

Charles Macro Wilson, of Waldershaigh, he grew to be a prominent local citizen. About 1880 he went big game hunting in Africa where he met H. Rider Haggard, a Colonial Officer in the Transvaal. It is a tradition in the Wilson family that Rider Haggard based the character of Captain Good in *King Solomon's Mines*, published in 1885, partly on James Ronksley.

James became a keen historian, having access to John Wilson's eighteenth century writings (now in the Brotherton Library, Leeds) and transcribed many, which became part of the Ronksley Collection in the Sheffield Archives. He is well remembered by historians for his transcription and editing of John Harrison's *An Exact and Perfect Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield with Other Lands, 1637*, published in 1908.

In 1841 John Ronksley, born in Dwarriden, Bradfield, was farming at Syke House, Dungworth, with his wife, Hannah. John was an overseer in 1845 and 1852,³⁷⁸ and a tax collector in 1848.³⁷⁹ He was overseer again in 1858 when he was also a guardian of the poor.³⁸⁰ By 1861 Hannah had died and John had married Sarah Ibbotson. With them were John and Hannah's four children, their three, and Sarah's daughter, Martha. In 1881 John and Hannah's son, William, was farming at Hill Top, having married Martha Ibbotson. By 1891 John was a 75-year old widower. With him at Syke House were William, Martha and their son John. William was a Bradfield feoffee from 1882 to 1907.³⁸¹ John sen.'s son, James, was farming at Cow Gap and his descendants still live in Stannington.

It is certain that the Ronksleys were an important core family in Stannington township, not only throughout our period, but also before and after. Most of the family remained in farming.

Scargill: Henry (one hearth), Elizabeth (one hearth, poor), both in Stannington.

The name comes from a village in north Yorkshire, but the family were in Hallamshire at the period when surnames were formed. Johanna de Skargill paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield in 1379, and Thomas Scargel, father of John, was in Little Sheffield in 1435.³⁸² Elizabeth, recorded in the Bradfield registers as baptised in 1644, was mentioned in connection with the foundation of Stannington Chapel.³⁸³ A prospect of

finances for Stannington and Moorwood in 1671 listed Sorsby Crook & Skargell, and Thomas Skargell.³⁸⁴

The only other reference I have found to the name in Stannington was in the 1871 census return, when Henry Scargill, an agricultural labourer from Woodrising, Norfolk, was living at Town End. Although the family soon died out in Stannington it was once prolific in Sheffield, but numbers there have declined considerably.

Sendus: Ro. (one hearth). in Dungworth.

Although the family was recorded in the Bradfield registers during the seventeenth century I have found no trace of a Sendus in Stannington in any document other than the hearth tax return. A John Wheatley married Elizabeth Sendus in 1640 but there is nothing to connect her to Stannington.

Shaw: William (four hearths), in Stannington. George (three hearths), George (three hearths), Thomas sen. (one hearth), Thomas jun. (one hearth), Henry (one hearth), Jonathan (one hearth), Robert (one hearth), Robert (one hearth), Widow (one hearth), William per a ... ? (two hearths), all in Dungworth.

Shaw must be one of the most common names in Bradfield with Isabella de Schagh, Willelmus Schagh and Johanna, his wife, Johannes Schagh and Isabella, his wife, Wilellmus de Schagh, and Ricardus de Schagh paying tax in 1379. Generation after generation were recorded in the Bradfield registers, beginning with Henry and Robart, sons of Robart, baptised in 1559.

By the hearth tax returns of 1672 most local branches of the family were in Dungworth and Storrs, the most prominent being at Hall Broom where Shaws were recorded from at least 1591.³⁸⁵ John, of that date, had a grandson, also named John, (born in 1608 at Syke House) who became a minister at Rotherham. He supported Parliament in the Civil War and on several occasions had to flee from one part of the country to another. In 1643 he narrowly escaped being captured and had a fine of 1000 marks put on his head. During the Commonwealth he preached before Oliver Cromwell but after the Restoration he was chaplain to the King for a brief period. After being in Hull for several years he returned to Rotherham where he died in 1672. His estates passed to the daughters of his two marriages.³⁸⁶

Jonathan Shaw of Hall Broom was a Bradfield feoffee from 1659 until his death in 1692. He was followed by his son, John, who remained in office until 1744.³⁸⁷ Jonathan was also a constable in 1674. Jonathan of Storrs was an overseer of the poor in 1697, similarly Joseph in 1703, William of Stannington in 1736 and another Jonathan in 1763.³⁸⁸ Hugh, Joseph and two Williams signed the agreement regarding the running of Rivelin Corn Mill in 1712.³⁸⁹ In 1777 a Jonathan of Hall Broom, a maltster in Sheffield, had to mortgage his property³⁹⁰ and shortly afterwards he was declared bankrupt.³⁹¹

Another branch of the family lived at Brookside and its neighbouring farm, The Hill. George Shaw bought the Brookside estate from Richard Rawson of Hatfield House in 1649.³⁹² George, his father, Robert (died 1671) and brother, William, of The Hill 'on several occasions between 1652-60 welcomed George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends or Quakers, to their home.'³⁹³ They were not so welcoming to George Fox, the curate of Bradfield, who sued them for not paying their tithes. The Shaws' reason was that they had no titheable property until recently and then they had paid.³⁹⁴ The case continued for several years and in 1684 the verdict was given against the Shaws who had to pay damages and costs.³⁹⁵ George died in 1708 and was buried in Bowcroft Cemetery, Stannington, where his tombstone records 'He suffered much for bearing testimony against payment of tythes.'

The Brookside estate passed through generations of the family until another George left it to his niece, Martha Patrick in 1772. She married Thomas Halliday, a dissenting minister of Norton, to whom she gave all her inheritance. After her death in 1808 her husband returned to his native Ireland where 'he fell upon evil times and died in considerable distress' in 1825.³⁹⁶

During the eighteenth century several Shaws served cutlery apprenticeships. Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* and Montgomery's of 1797 listed John as a razorsmith in Stannington. In 1838 a John applied for relief: 'Aged 64. Wife died this morning and has no means of burying her having no employment.'³⁹⁷ In 1841 and 1851 he was a pauper living on Uppergate, looked after by his daughter, Hannah, and her children. In 1881 Hannah's son, Henry, was a razor scale presser living on Uppergate with his wife, Amelia, and family. By 1891 he was landlord of 'The Crown and Glove.'

Also on Uppergate in 1841 was William, a razor presser, with his wife, Ruth, and family. In 1851 he was recorded as a 'pauper, formerly razor manufacturer.' His son, Jonathan, was a razor scale presser on Uppergate in 1861. With him were his wife and family. They were still there in 1891 when their son, Dennis, also a razor scale presser, had his own wife and family on Uppergate.

In 1871 Thomas, a stone mason, had moved, with his wife and five children, from Bolsterstone to Dungworth. His eldest son was a stone mason and the next two, Thomas and Frank, worked as clay miners. Ten years later son, Thomas, had his own household in Dungworth and in 1891 was a coal miner. At that time Thomas jun.'s brother, Alfred, had his own wife and family at Hanmoor. He was a grocer and sub-postmaster.

We can see that by the end of the nineteenth century the Shaws, a long-established core family, were still living in Stannington, though they were not as prominent as they had been in earlier times.

Smith: George (one hearth), John (one hearth), both in Stannington.

Considering the national commonness of the name I have found surprisingly few recordings of Smiths in Stannington. Rodolphus Smyth paid 4d. poll tax in Bradfield in 1379, and Ralph was recorded in Storthes (Storrs) in 1393.³⁹⁸ The first entry in the Bradfield registers was the burial of Thomas Smythe in 1559.

In a survey about 1660 John Smith, with Edward Hall, held 'a messuage in Moorwood called Swingley fforth Bents viz. Two dwelling houses, a kilne, an intack divided into several parts.'³⁹⁹ George Smith, with Edward Hall, held 'a messuage, garden, fold and close called Stoney intack, formerly Edward Hall's, an intack called Catterstorth.'⁴⁰⁰

I have found nothing more until Isaac, son of Charles, husbandman of Moorwood, commenced a cutlery apprenticeship in 1739.⁴⁰¹ Isaac's sons, Isaac, George and Charles, followed in their father's footsteps as did his grandson, Joseph, who gained his freedom in 1810.⁴⁰² James Smith, a nail maker of Storrs, was recorded in the 1831 Bradfield militia list. He was listed in the census returns from 1841 until 1871, a nail maker born in Duffield (see page 110). The only other Smiths in Stannington in 1871 were John, a wood sawyer from Northamptonshire and two excavators.

Stead: John (three hearths, empty), in Stannington.

John de Sted was recorded in Anesacre (Onesacre) in 1402.⁴⁰³ The Stead family owned much property in the Bradfield chapelry, including Stannington and Dungworth. I have found no records of them actually living in Stannington and, as the house of John was empty in 1672, I should think it was without a tenant at that time and John was somewhere else. The family owned Padley House in Dungworth for many years in the eighteenth century but that, too, was leased to tenants.

Stowen: George (one hearth), in Stannington.

I have found no trace of this name in any records but it is probably a mis-spelling of Steven. Robertus Steuen and his wife paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379, and John Steven was in Hallam in 1505.⁴⁰⁴ George Steven of Hanmoor died in 1672, when probate was granted to his widow, Margareta. In a survey of about 1677 Gervase, George's son, held at will a cottage and intack, part of Highfield called Hawksworth Field.⁴⁰⁵ After that date I have found no record of the family in Stannington..

Swinden: William (one hearth), in Stannington.

The surname is derived from a farm name in Langsett township, situated just north of the chapelry of Bradfield. Tristam Swinden was recorded in Bradfield in 1543.⁴⁰⁶ The baptism of Henry, son of William, in 1562 was the first recording of the family in the Bradfield registers. Another Henry was the father of William who was baptised in 1620. William's grandson, Henry, (son of George, husbandman of Stannington), commenced a cutlery apprenticeship in 1674.⁴⁰⁷ George was a chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1704⁴⁰⁸ and is listed in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1717,⁴⁰⁹ but then the name disappeared from Stannington.

Sykes: John (two hearths), in Stannington.

The only references I have found to Sykes, a Huddersfield district name, were in the Bradfield registers. Children of a John were baptised in 1591, 1605 and 1608 and a John married Susan Morten in 1692 but I cannot connect any of them with Stannington.

Taylor: Francis (five hearths), in Dungworth.

In 1379 Johannes Taylyowre and Johanna, his wife paid 4d. poll tax in Bradfield, and John, father of John, was recorded in Stannington in 1408.⁴¹⁰ Rychard, sonne of Henry

Tailior was baptised at Bradfield in 1560. The family acquired property in Bradfield, some of it in Dungworth.

Francis, a cooper, living at Sickhouse in 1683,⁴¹¹ surrendered a messuage called Overhouse in Ughill Woodside to his son, Francis. He, in turn, surrendered it to sons, Edward and George, in 1686.⁴¹² Edward was an overseer of the poor in 1700 and chapelwarden of Bradfield in 1704.⁴¹³ In that year he was also a constable.⁴¹⁴ Thomas, a yeoman farmer at Tom Hill in 1719, died leaving a messuage at Oughtibridge to his daughter, Elizabeth. Another daughter, Alice, received Overhouse, in Bradfield Dale, and a newly purchased messuage, occupied by his son, John. This son, of Green Farm, Dungworth, was a chapelwarden of Bradfield in 1736.⁴¹⁵

There were several Taylors recorded in the Stannington census returns but all were from outside the township and none of them stayed very long.

Trickett: Henry (two hearths), in Stannington.

The Tricketts were comparatively late-comers to Bradfield. The first entry in the Bradfield registers was in 1636, when Allice, daughter of George, was baptised. George's son, Henry, a farmer of Beeton Rod, had children baptised in the 1660s and 1670s. During the eighteenth century many Tricketts were baptised at Stannington Chapel.

Nineteen members of the family served cutlery apprenticeships, spanning the whole of the eighteenth century. The first was John, son of Henry, who began in 1691 and the last was Samuel, son of Samuel of Malin Bridge, who gained his freedom in 1807.⁴¹⁶ John became an Assistant of the Cutlers' Company in 1733. Another John was Assistant from 1735 until 1740 and Searcher in 1741 and 1742.⁴¹⁷ Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed William of Moorwood, John of Wadfield and John of Dungworth as pocket-knife cutlers, William of Storrs a penknife cutler and John of Stannington a spotted-knife cutler. Continuing generations of the family appeared in subsequent directories throughout the nineteenth century.

The family was represented each year in the Bradfield Militia lists and some members took on public duties. John of Storrs was a tax collector in 1814 and 1826, James of

Dungworth held the office in 1822.⁴¹⁸ He was also a constable in 1845 and 1850,⁴¹⁹ overseer of the poor in 1844 and was elected to the Board of Guardians of the Poor in 1852.⁴²⁰ James of Malin Bridge was a constable in 1852.⁴²¹ He was a farmer at the bottom of Stannington Road, directly in the path of the Bradfield flood of 1864. The farmhouse was completely swept away, taking with it the ten members of the household: James, his wife and three children, his father-in-law, a lodger, two men servants and one maid servant.⁴²²

William Trickett, although born in Wadsley, moved to farm at Loadbrook in the 1840s. He found gannister and fireclay on his land and in the 1851 census was described as 'farmer and clay worker employing 8 men and 2 boys.' The firm grew, and with his son, Benjamin, in charge in the 1890s it became 'B. Trickett & Co.' of Intake Clay Pits, Loadbrook. William's son, Matthew, with wife and family, was at Loadbrook in 1891 when he was recorded as a clay merchant and brick manufacturer (see page 121).

The Tricketts, therefore, were in Stannington throughout our period and constituted another of the core families, taking on not only local responsibilities, but those of the Cutlers' Company in the wider area of Hallamshire.

Wainwright: John (one hearth), Edward (one hearth), both in Stannington; Robert (one hearth), in Dungworth.

Geoffrey Wainwright, husband of Agnes, was in Bradfield in 1433.⁴²³ However, the first entry of the name in the Bradfield registers was the marriage of Peter Kay to Johan Wainwright in 1560. In 1622 Richard Wainwright of Hackenthorpe surrendered a messuage in Stannington called Walkden House to his second son, John,⁴²⁴ who surrendered it to his son, George, in 1659.⁴²⁵ George and his wife moved to York and his son, Henry, moved to London, leaving Walker House in the occupation of a relative, John Wainwright. When George died in 1688 his widow, Margaret, and son, Henry, sold the property to John for £60.⁴²⁶ John died in 1694 'seized of Walker House and land' which he bequeathed to his wife, Elizabeth, and son, John. The following year his widow sold it to Anne and Gertrude Revell.⁴²⁷

Harrison's 1637 survey recorded that Francis held half a tenement, called Corker Walls, Henry Hoyle holding the other half.⁴²⁸ Robert was the tenant in a similar survey about

1677⁴²⁹ and was included in the Bradfield Towns Book of 1698.⁴³⁰ He died in 1714. I have found no trace of Wainwrights in Stannington after that date.

Webster: Thomas (three hearths), Hugh (one hearth), both in Stannington.

Raynald Webster paid 6d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379, and John was in Westnall, Bradfield, in 1444.⁴³¹ The burial of Syr John Webster in 1562 was the first entry in the Bradfield registers. He was the curate of Bradfield with the title of Sir as he was a non-graduate priest. Of the family who would live more permanently in the area, the first entry was the marriage of Ryc Webster and Grace Jackson in 1579.

In 1637 Hugh held at will the Over Hall Field with a house.⁴³² A similar survey of about 1660 recorded that Robert held the Over Hall Field with a house, formerly Hugh's.⁴³³ Robert was still there in 1670⁴³⁴ and died in 1692, leaving his best clothes to his brothers, William and Richard, and everything else to his wife, Mary, whom he had married in 1690. Hugh died in 1685.

Rents in 1637 also included William and Thomas for a wheel in Rivelin.⁴³⁵ In 1660 Thomas was a tenant of land at Malin Bridge and Stannington Wood, formerly occupied by Francis Fenton.⁴³⁶ In partnership with Leonard Webster, Thomas leased 'all that part of the cutlers' wheel called Rivelin Wheel' in 1676.⁴³⁷ Thomas's son, George, began a cutlery apprenticeship with Thomas Marshall of Sheffield in 1699, and gained his freedom in 1708.⁴³⁸ He did not return to Stannington and the name died out in the township.

Wheatley: John (one hearth), in Stannington.

I have found no records of this name but it was probably a spelling variation of Whitley or Whiteley. The first entry of the name in the Bradfield registers was the baptism of John, son of Charles Whitley, in 1568. A John married Elizabeth Sendus in 1640, (see page 181), and the Bradfield Easter Book of 1686 included Elizabeth Whiteley of Stannington.⁴³⁹

Wildsmith: John (two hearths), in Stannington.

There are no references other than those in the Bradfield registers. A John, son of John, was baptised in 1655 but there is no way of connecting the family to Stannington.

Wilson: Jonathan (one hearth), in Dungworth.

The Wilson family was long established in Bradfield. They married into the Broomhead family in about 1385, thereby inheriting Broomhead Hall and estate in Westnall. John Wilson the elder was living at Bromehead in 1422.⁴⁴⁰ The first recording of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1563 when 'Ellen Wylson married Thomas Eyare.' In 1672 Mr. Wilson was paying tax on eight hearths. John Wilson (1719-83) was a keen historian, whose many surviving writings are now in the Brotherton Library, Leeds. The heiress of Broomhead, Mary Wilson, married John Rimington in 1784. The couple's grandson, James, added Wilson to his surname and although Broomhead Hall was pulled down in 1977, James's great-great-grandson, Benjamin Rimington-Wilson, still owns the estate.

In 1672 Jonathan Wilson was paying tax on one hearth at Tom Hill, Dungworth. John Beighton of Brighouses, Sheffield, surrendered Tom Hill, 'in the occupation of George Gillott and Jonathan Wilson' in 1692.⁴⁴¹ In 1670 Joseph, the son of Robert, a yeoman of Tapton Hill, began a cutlery apprenticeship with Richard Fenton of Malin Bridge.⁴⁴² He gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company in 1677. Richard Fenton also bound Emanuel, son of Thomas Wilson of Walkley Bank, from 1680 until he gained his freedom in 1687. Neither stayed to take their own apprentices in Stannington, nor did three apprentices, Robert, Samuel and Timothy Wilson, at the end of the eighteenth century; in fact I have found no other record of Wilsons in Stannington until the Bradfield militia lists which recorded the name every year, commencing in 1819 when Abraham, a 34-year old joiner with three children, and George, a 34-year old wheelwright with four children, were both exempt because of poverty. White's 1825 *Directory of Sheffield* listed George, also another George who was a millwright, and Abraham, a victualler, carpenter and wheelwright, all in Stannington.

In 1834 Sarah, the daughter of George, a carpenter of Stannington, claimed relief:

'aged 19, she had a child born August last, Benjamin Platt is the father (now living with his father at Bamford) has been ill about a year, not able to work. Wants to affiliate.'⁴⁴³

In 1838 Elizabeth, aged 74, of Little Matlock, was given 2s. a week because of her age and infirmity. She was still at Little Matlock in 1841.

Also in 1841 Abraham lived on Uppergate with his wife, Ellen, son, Joseph, a journeyman carpenter, and daughter, Amelia. Ten years later Abraham was a widower living at Hanmoor and his daughter had married Thomas Goodison. George was living at Knowle Top in 1841 with his wife, Martha, and four children. By 1851 Martha had died and George was living with his son, Alfred, a millwright. The census recorded that George had been born in Hope. Another George, a journeyman cutler, was lodging with the Hawksworth family at Cow Gap in 1841. In 1861 he was a cutler in Dungworth, living with his wife, Mary, and three children. Ten years later they had been joined by Mary's son, 29-year old Samuel Hague. George died in 1876, followed by Mary in 1877. In 1891 their son, Thomas, was a spring knife cutler living at Dungworth Cottage, Yews Lane, with his wife, Ann, and family. Thomas died in 1910, aged 56, and Ann in 1936, aged 72.

Samuel, an apprentice grinder from Ecclesall, was living with the Abel family on Uppergate in 1841. Ten years later he had married Mary, from Bolsterstone, and was living on Nethergate with her and four children. He claimed £7.16s.0d. for damage to his grinding equipment after the flood of 1864.⁴⁴⁴ He was a widower by 1871, at which time he was living at Clod Hall with six children, ranging in age from twenty-seven to three years old. His eldest son was a razor grinder and two younger sons were clay miners. In 1891 his younger daughter, Ann, was keeping house for her uncle, Walter Goodison, on Nook Lane.

In 1841 Thomas, from Ecclesall, was a journeyman grinder living with the Womack family at Knowle Top. By 1851 he had married Elizabeth and moved to Storrs. He claimed £2.7s.6d. flood damages in 1864. Elizabeth died in 1868, and Thomas the following year. In White's 1868 *Directory of Sheffield* Henry was listed as a gamekeeper and was at Hollow Meadows with his wife, Elizabeth, and two infants in 1871. Ten years later these children had died and the couple had three other young children. By 1891 Elizabeth had died and Henry was married to a young wife, Mary.

Although the Wilsons were long established in the chapelry of Bradfield and were probably the most affluent and influential people in the area, they never became established in Stannington.

Woollen: Richard (3 hearths), William (1 hearth), both in Dungworth.

The earliest recording of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1653, when William, son of William, was baptised. In 1683 the four heiresses of John Shaw of Rotherham, with their husbands, surrendered 'a messuage called Ewes in Dungworth in the occupation of William Woollen.'⁴⁴⁵ At the same time they surrendered 'Nether House, Storrs, in the occupation of Richard Woollen.'⁴⁴⁶

William died in 1694, leaving 1s. to his brother-in-law, 20s. to his brother and the rest to his wife. His inventory amounted to £18.11s.0d. In 1752 John Hatfield of Laughton was admitted to Ewes 'formerly in the tenure or occupation of Jonathan Woollen.'⁴⁴⁷ In 1698 the overseers gave 8s. to Richard 'in his illness.'⁴⁴⁸ He died in 1702, after which his son, also named Richard, began a cutlery apprenticeship with George Ellor of Wadsley.⁴⁴⁹ In 1794 John and Ann Ronksley surrendered Bingley Seat to George, a butcher of Sheffield. Three years later Mr. George, a miller at Rivelin Mill, leased lands at Bingley Seat to Mr. Joseph Blackburn for a year,⁴⁵⁰ and in 1802 the premises were surrendered to the use and benefit of George, miller, of Sheffield.⁴⁵¹

The only Woollen in Stannington recorded in the Bradfield militia lists was William, beginning in 1820. He was a book-keeper at Rivelin Mill, exempt from service in 1826, 1827, 1829 and 1831 because of his duties as constable. He was a juror in 1825 and 1826.⁴⁵² Although George Hawke Woollen was recorded in directories from 1841 to 1856 as a corn miller in Rivelin, no Woollens appeared in the Stannington census returns.

I have used all the sources at my disposal to work out relationships and prove the continuation of generations in each of these families. Wills, Cutlers' Company apprenticeship records and Bradfield chapelry registers have been the most helpful sources for the early part of our period, followed of course by the census returns of the nineteenth century. Where there are gaps in the evidence, land and property holdings, passed on through successive generations, point to the continuation of a family. For example, although there are very few eighteenth-century records of the Bower family we can see that the Bowers of 1637 and those of 1835 held the same land between Malin Bridge and Stannington Wood (pp.136-7), therefore we can deduce that the land

remained in the same family. The continued use of the same Christian name over the generations has also pointed to many cases where holdings descended with a family.

Having said that, there were thirteen families represented in 1672 for whom I have found no definite recordings in Stannington apart from in the hearth tax return itself: Britlebank (Butlebank), Bulley, Hartley, Hill, Marsh, Millar (Mellor), Moorhouse, Scargill, Sendus, Stead, Stowen (Steven), Sykes and Wildsmith. Although several of the names were recorded in the Bradfield chapel registers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was no indication that they were from the township of Stannington rather than other parts of the chapelry. The one exception was Mr. Mellor, the minister of Stannington Chapel, who died in 1673 and was buried at Bradfield. In the case of John Stead, it was noted in the return that his property, liable for payment on three hearths, was empty, thus indicating that Stead was the landlord but did not live in Stannington. Perhaps this could be true of some of the others.

Many of the families who were recorded in 1672 had disappeared from Stannington by the middle of the eighteenth century. I have not been able to find the causes for the disappearance of the Lockwoods, Marriotts, Mortons, Swindens and Taylors. In some instances, this apparent absence could be due to the shortage of eighteenth-century records. They could have moved to other parts of Hallamshire, their 'country' that was wider than their township and parish, as did the Bockins, Booths, Creswicks, Dungworths, Fentons, Greys, Hoylands, Hoyles, Marsdens, Lords, Rawsons, Websters, Wilsons and Woollens, although the Creswicks and Hoylands continued to own property in the township for some time afterwards. The Bockins, Fentons, Lords, Websters, Wilsons and Woollens remained in Hallamshire, mainly Sheffield township, either as cutlers or as apprentices in the cutlery trades. Another two families, the Burdikins and Hancocks, never really settled in Stannington and I have found only isolated references to these surnames. Seven families - the Bacons, Bramleys (Bromleys), Cutberts, Hinchcliffes, Littlewoods, Revells and Wainwrights - can definitely be seen to have died out through lack of a male heir before 1750.

Seventeen, just over 25%, of the 63 family names recorded in Stannington in 1672 were still there two hundred years later in the census returns of 1871: Barber, Bower, Crapper, Darwent, Drabble, Eyre, Gillott, Greaves, Hague, Hall, Hawksworth, Ibbotson,

Marshall, Oates, Ronksley, Shaw and Trickett. Another four families - Bramall, Broomhead, Hudson and Smith - had stayed until the early nineteenth century. Again, if records for the eighteenth century had been fuller this number might have been greater. The names of Booth, Grey (Gray), Morton, Wilson and Wainwright reappeared in nineteenth-century records but I have not been able to find connections to the earlier families.

It becomes clear from this analysis of the descent of all the families who were recorded in Stannington in 1672 that a considerable proportion remained in the township for generation after generation and that many were there for most, if not all, of the period 1660-1900. These were the core families, the people who, in many cases, served as local officers and held the community together in spite of change, particularly the change brought about by industrialisation.

We saw in Chapter 4 how the old dual economy of farming and cutlery-working gave way to more emphasis on the cutlery and allied trades after 1750 as the industry spread from Sheffield. In this chapter we have seen that just under 60% of the families listed in 1672 were involved in the cutlery trades at some time or other. Excluding the ones for whom I have found no records after 1750, the percentage increased to 100%, i.e. every family had some connection with the making and selling cutlery.

From about 1750 the population of Stannington increased as the cutlery trades developed but by the end of the nineteenth century the trades had, to a large extent, been replaced by other industries. However the township again adapted to the change in circumstances and still maintained its feeling of independence. We shall now turn to the Victorian era to see whether or not the families of Stannington were substantially different in 1871 from those who had been taxed in 1672.

¹ NATCECT computer data base *Hallamshire Medieval Records* (henceforth NATCECT).

² RC167.

³ Wilson Collection, vol. 48.

⁴ Wilson, vol. 2.

⁵ MD 589.

⁶ David Hey, 'Mahlon Stacy: An Early Sheffield Emigrant' in Melvin Jones (ed.), *Aspects of Sheffield I* (Barnsley: Wharncliffe Publishing Ltd., 1997), p. 39.

⁷ Wilson, vol. 2.

⁸ NATCECT.

⁹ ACM S 19.

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- ¹⁰ J.G.Ronksley (ed.), *An Exact and Perfect Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield with Other Lands, by John Harrison, 1637* (Privately printed for Arthur Wightman by Robert White & Co., Worksop, 1908), p. 152.
- ¹¹ Wilson, vol. 42, p. 9.
- ¹² Wilson, vol. 42, p.154.
- ¹³ Tibbitts Collection, 648.
- ¹⁴ Wilson, vol. 2, p. 89.
- ¹⁵ MD 585, p. 104.
- ¹⁶ Wilson, vol. 2, p. 8.
- ¹⁷ F. T. Wood, *The History of Underbank Chapel, Stannington* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend Ltd., 1944), p. 108.
- ¹⁸ Wood, p. 3.
- ¹⁹ MD 588, p. 149.
- ²⁰ RC 7.
- ²¹ ACM S151.
- ²² MD 586, p. 66.
- ²³ MD 587, p. 58.
- ²⁴ MD 588, p. 64.
- ²⁵ MD 588, p. 21.
- ²⁶ MD 588, p. 104.
- ²⁷ MD 588, p. 141.
- ²⁸ R.E.Leader, *History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York* (Sheffield: Company of Cutlers, 1906), vol. II, pp. 119-120.
- ²⁹ BPC 71.
- ³⁰ NATCECT.
- ³¹ MD 585, p. 8.
- ³² MD 585, p. 80.
- ³³ Leader, p.141.
- ³⁴ NACTECT.
- ³⁵ Leader, p. 142.
- ³⁶ RC 155.
- ³⁷ Ronksley, p. 45.
- ³⁸ Wilson, vol. 81, p. 41.
- ³⁹ BPC 52.
- ⁴⁰ Wilson, vol. 2, p. 132.
- ⁴¹ Leader, p.145.
- ⁴² Leader, p. 291.
- ⁴³ NATCECT.
- ⁴⁴ ACM S18, p. 25. (second numbering).
- ⁴⁵ ACM S18, p. 2.
- ⁴⁶ Wood, p. 10.
- ⁴⁷ ACM S18, p. 98.
- ⁴⁸ MD 585, p. 62.
- ⁴⁹ ACM S151.
- ⁵⁰ Leader, p. 154.
- ⁵¹ RC 7.
- ⁵² RC 156.
- ⁵³ NATCECT.
- ⁵⁴ RC 155, item 7988.
- ⁵⁵ RC 182.
- ⁵⁶ Wilson, vol. 48, p. 33.
- ⁵⁷ ACM S151
- ⁵⁸ Wilson, vol. 2.
- ⁵⁹ MD 589, p. 208.
- ⁶⁰ Leader, p. 149.
- ⁶¹ Leader, p. 149.
- ⁶² Wilson, vol. 41.
- ⁶³ Leader, p. 148.
- ⁶⁴ Ronksley, p. 158.

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- ⁶⁵ RC 167.
⁶⁶ MD 585, p. 107.
⁶⁷ RC 7.
⁶⁸ Leader, p. 149.
⁶⁹ Wilson, vol. 2.
⁷⁰ RC 7.
⁷¹ Leader, p. 149.
⁷² Wilson, vol. 28, part 7.
⁷³ BPC 85.
⁷⁴ BPC 53.
⁷⁵ NATCECT.
⁷⁶ Crossley, D. (ed.) *Water Power on the Sheffield Rivers* (Sheffield: Sheffield Trades Historical Soc. and Sheffield University Division of Continuing Education, 1989), pp. 25-26.
⁷⁷ Leader, p. 155.
⁷⁸ Leader, p. 155.
⁷⁹ MD 589, p. 213.
⁸⁰ Wilson, vol. 41.
⁸¹ BPC 71.
⁸² ACM S18, p. 27.
⁸³ ACM S18, p. 65.
⁸⁴ Leader, p. 159.
⁸⁵ BPC 6.
⁸⁶ BPC 70.
⁸⁷ Wilson, vol. 28, part 7.
⁸⁸ NATCECT.
⁸⁹ Ronksley, p. 154.
⁹⁰ RC 158.
⁹¹ ACM S77.
⁹² ACM S 129.
⁹³ Wilson, vol. 81.
⁹⁴ Leader, p. 178.
⁹⁵ Leader, p. 178.
⁹⁶ ACM S127.
⁹⁷ Wilson, vol. 2, part IX.
⁹⁸ RC 7 & 11.
⁹⁹ BPC 56A.
¹⁰⁰ Wilson, vol. 220.
¹⁰¹ Leader, p. 37.
¹⁰² Wilson, vol. 41.
¹⁰³ BPC 85.
¹⁰⁴ BPC 71.
¹⁰⁵ BPC 64.9.
¹⁰⁶ BPC 85.
¹⁰⁷ White's *Directory of Sheffield 1849*.
¹⁰⁸ BPC 71.
¹⁰⁹ MD 594.
¹¹⁰ S. Harrison, *A Complete History of the Great Flood at Sheffield 1864* (Dewsbury: Evans & Longley Associates, republished 1974), p. 29.
¹¹¹ BPC 71.
¹¹² NATCECT.
¹¹³ Crossley, pp. 36-37.
¹¹⁴ ACM S19.
¹¹⁵ ACM S18, p. 125.
¹¹⁶ Ronksley, p. 159.
¹¹⁷ ACM S77.
¹¹⁸ NATCECT.
¹¹⁹ RC 158.
¹²⁰ Ronksley, p. 164.
¹²¹ RC7.

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- 122 Leader, p. 186.
123 ACM S386 I.
124 ACM S377.
125 ACM S380.
126 Harrison, p. 30.
127 BPC 85.
128 BPC 72.
129 BPC 52.
130 BPC 72.
131 BPC 2.
132 NATCECT.
133 ACM S77.
134 Wilson, vol. 2.
135 RC 167.
136 Wilson, vol. 2.
137 RC 167.
138 Leader, p. 38.
139 Wilson, vol. 41.
140 BPC 52.
141 MD 7097.
142 NATCECT.
143 Ronksley, p. 109.
144 Leader, p. 194.
145 ACM S 129.
146 ACM S 147.
147 Wilson, vol. 2, part IX.
148 Wilson, vol. 232.
149 NATCECT.
150 ACM S18, p. 45 (second numbering).
151 ACM S18, p. 120.
152 ACM S18, p. 137.
153 Leader, p. 200.
154 Leader, p. 381.
155 BPC 71.
156 BPC 71.
157 BPC 1.
158 RC 167.
159 MD 592.
160 BPC 32.
161 BPC 71.
162 NATCECT.
163 Ronksley, pp. 152 & 153.
164 Tibbitts Collection 648.
165 Leader, p. 38.
166 MD 294.
167 NATCECT.
168 MD 585, p. 107.
169 Wilson, vol. 19, p. 15.
170 Wilson, vol. 2, IV.
171 Wilson, vol. 232, p. 274,
172 Leader, pp. 214 & 215.
173 Leader, p. 299.
174 Leader, p. 297.
175 BPC 7.
176 BPC 7.
177 Wood, p. 127.
178 NATCECT.
179 MD 5875.
180 MD 590.

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- 181 Ronksley, p. 31.
182 Ronksley, p. 156.
183 Ronksley, p. 157.
184 Ronksley, p. 157.
185 Ronksley, p. 161.
186 Wilson, vol. 2.
187 Wood, p. 108.
188 RC 7.
189 Wilson, vol. 41.
190 Leader, p. 39.
191 Leader, p. 220.
192 BPC 85.
193 BPC 71.
194 BPC 52.
195 BPC 76.
196 BPC 64.9.
197 NATCECT.
198 Leader, p. 219.
199 Leader, p. 219.
200 RC 158.
201 NATCECT.
202 RC 7.
203 Leader, p. 227.
204 BPC 56A.
205 BPC 70.
206 BPC 1.
207 BPC 71.
208 BPC 52.
209 BPC 64.9.
210 BPC 72.
211 BPC 71.
212 Leader, p.156.
213 NATCECT.
214 Ronksley, p. 162.
215 ACM S77.
216 Wilson, vol. 232.
217 Wilson, vol. 2.
218 Wood, p. 134.
219 Leader, p. 229.
220 Wilson, vol. 42.
221 BPC 85.
222 NATCECT.
223 ACM S18, p. 277.
224 RC 167.
225 Wilson, vol. 28.
226 Leader, p. 233.
227 Leader, p. 233.
228 Leader, p. 217.
229 NATCECT.
230 NATCECT.
231 Ronksley, p. 158.
232 Wood, p. 10.
233 RC 157.
234 Wilson, vol. 81.
235 ACM S77.
236 ACM S129.
237 Wilson, vol. 81.
238 Wilson, vol. 28.
239 Wilson, vol. 28.

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- 240 Wilson, vol. 41.
241 Leader, p. 240.
242 Leader, p. 351.
243 BPC 8.
244 NATCECT.
245 NATCECT.
246 MD 585.
247 NATCECT.
248 Wood, p. 134.
249 Wilson, vol. 232.
250 Wilson, vol. 2.
251 Leader, p. 258.
252 Wilson, vol. 81.
253 Crossley, p. 34.
254 Crossley, p. 34.
255 NATCECT.
256 RC 158.
257 Ronksley, p. 306.
258 Wilson, vol. 81.
259 Wilson, vol. 2.
260 Leader, pp. 258-9.
261 RC 7.
262 MD 590.
263 ACM S18, p. 112.
264 MD 588, p. 139.
265 MD 589, p. 13.
266 MD 589, p. 119.
267 MD 591, p. 139.
268 Leader, p. 259.
269 BPC 1a.
270 BPC 2.
271 BPC 23.
272 BPC 8.
273 BPC 70.
274 BPC 52 and 72.
275 NATCECT.
276 Ronksley, p. 162.
277 Ronksley, p. 163.
278 Ronksley, p. 165.
279 ACM S19.
280 MD 3055.
281 MD 585.
282 RC 156.
283 RC 7.
284 ACM S23, p 31.
285 Wood, p. 135.
286 ACM S377.
287 Leader, p. 263.
288 Leader, p. 303.
289 MD 590, p. 76.
290 Leader, p. 271.
291 BPC 52.
292 RC 155.
293 RC 156.
294 RC 156.
295 ACM S148.
296 Leader, p. 281.
297 Leader, p. 281.
298 Wilson, vol. 2, part IX.

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- 299 RC 160.
300 Leader, pp. 374 and 169.
301 NATCECT.
302 Ronksley, p. 155.
303 ACM S337.
304 Leader, p. 285.
305 ACM S127.
306 ACM S151.
307 RC 7.
308 NATCECT.
309 ACM S19.
310 Ronksley, p. 159.
311 ACM S19.
312 ACM S18.
313 Wood, p. 10.
314 ACM S77.
315 Wilson, vol. 81.
316 Wilson, vol. 28.
317 MD 588.
318 Wood, p. 44.
319 Leader, p. 288.
320 ACM S377.
321 Leader, p. 288.
322 BPC 1a.
323 BPC 52.
324 Wood, p. 18.
325 NATCECT.
326 NATCECT.
327 ACM S18.
328 Leader, p. 296.
329 RC 167.
330 Leader, p. 297.
331 NATCECT.
332 Wilson vol. 159, p. 93.
333 ACM S18, p. 172.
334 Leader, p. 307.
335 ACM S151.
336 Leader, p. 306.
337 Wilson, vol. 41.
338 BPC 8.
339 Wood, p. 73.
340 Wood, p. 76.
341 Harrison, p. 30.
342 ACM S558/25.
343 BPC 4.
344 NATCECT.
345 Ronksley, p. 152.
346 Leader, p. 323.
347 ACM S18, p. 43.
348 ACM S18, p. 96.
349 ACM S18, p. 33.
350 ACM S151.
351 RC 156, item 5170.
352 RC 155, item 1413.
353 Wilson, vol. 249, p. 28.
354 Ronksley, pp. 159-60.
355 RC 155, item 785.
356 ACM S18.
357 MD 589.

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- 358 RC 167.
359 RC 167.
360 RC 167.
361 Ronsley, p. 164.
362 Wilson, vol. 249, p. 24.
363 NATCECT.
364 Wilson, vol. 2.
365 Wilson, vol. 2.
366 MD 587, p. 14.
367 RC 7.
368 RC 167.
369 Wilson, vol. 2.
370 Leader, p. 332.
371 Wilson, vol. 41.
372 MD 592, p. 104.
373 RC 167.
374 RC 156.
375 RC 167.
376 BPC 72.
377 BPC 85.
378 BPC 85.
379 BPC 85.
380 BPC 2.
381 RC 167.
382 NATSECT.
383 Wood, p. 10.
384 ACM S 131.
385 MD 294.
386 Rev. J. Eastwood, *History of the Parish of Ecclesfield* (London: Bell & Daldy, 1862), pp. 467-72.
387 RC 167.
388 RC 167.
389 RC 7.
390 MD 590.
391 MD 593.
392 RC 155.
393 Wood, p. 3.
394 RC 157, item 4436.
395 RC 157, item 6873.
396 RC 156, item 4419.
397 BPC 7.
398 NATCECT.
399 ACM S77.
400 ACM S77.
401 Leader, p. 350.
402 Leader, p. 350.
403 NATCECT.
404 NATCECT.
405 Wilson, vol. 81.
406 NATCECT.
407 Leader, p. 365.
408 Wilson, vol. 2.
409 Wilson, vol. 28.
410 NATCECT.
411 MD 585.
412 MD 585.
413 RC 167.
414 Wilson, vol. 48.
415 RC 167.
416 Leader, pp. 374-5.

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- 417 Leader, p. 45.
418 BPC 85.
419 BPC 64.
420 BPC 85.
421 BPC 85.
422 Harrison, pp. 35-38.
423 NATCECT.
424 ACM S18, p.189.
425 ACM S19.
426 MD 585, p. 86.
427 MD 586, p. 31.
428 Ronksley, p. 307.
429 Wilson, vol. 81.
430 Wilson, vol. 2.
431 NATCECT.
432 Ronksley, p. 159.
433 ACM S77.
434 ACM S129.
435 Ronksley, p. 32.
436 ACM S 77.
437 ACM S129.
438 Leader, p. 389.
439 Wilson, vol. 28.
440 NATCECT.
441 MD 585, p. 107.
442 Leader, p. 399.
443 BPC 8.
444 MD 7097.
445 MD 585, p 28.
446 MD 585, p. 28.
447 MD 590, p. 80.
448 Wilson, vol. 232.
449 Leader, p. 404.
450 MD 5759.
451 MD 593, p. 125.
452 BPC 70.

CHAPTER 6

FAMILIES IN THE TOWNSHIP OF STANNINGTON, 1871.

1. The Core Families

In the last chapter we looked at many families recorded in Stannington in 1672, especially those who remained important in the community in later generations. In this chapter we shall look at the families who were recorded in the Bradfield militia returns of 1819-31, and the census returns of 1841-91, who were not recorded in the 1672 hearth tax return. I have taken the 1871 census return as a starting point as that record is 200 years after the hearth tax return. These families were recorded in Stannington by 1841 at the latest and we can see that many were in Stannington for several generations. By the nineteenth century the township of Stannington had been transformed into an industrial community which attracted a large number of new families. Some of these family surnames provide clues as to where the families originated. The families are again arranged in alphabetical order for ease of discussion.

Armitage: The surname is derived from Armitage Bridge, near Huddersfield, but soon spread to south Yorkshire. John de Armitage was recorded in Connesburghe in 1423.¹ The family appeared in the Bradfield registers from 1637, when John, son of John Armitage, was baptised, and continued until 1670 when John, son of Jonathan, was baptised. However, none paid the 1672 hearth tax. The nearest was Widow Armitage in Upper Hallam, with others in Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham etc. It is possible that members of the family were among the unrecorded poor or had moved out of the chapelry for a few years since they reappeared in the registers in 1697 when John, son of John, was baptised.

The first record I have found of the family in Stannington was when Samuel was included in the Stannington section of the 1731 Bradfield Easter Book.² The Stannington (i.e. Underbank) Chapel registers of 1739 recorded the baptism of Sarah, daughter of Samuel. This name can be connected to the Bradfield registers, which recorded the baptism of Samuel, son of John, in 1700, and his marriage to Ann Carr in 1738. In 1758 Aaron, son of Samuel, a husbandman of Stannington, began a cutlery apprenticeship with William Spencer, jun., also of Stannington. He gained his freedom

in 1769.³ By 1762, when Samuel's son, also named Samuel, began his cutlery apprenticeship with George Revitt, Samuel had died. This second Samuel became a razor grinder, taking on apprentices into the nineteenth century. These included his own sons, Samuel and John.⁴

During the 1770s William Armitage became manager of Mousehole Forge. Within a short time he went into partnership with his employer, Edward Cockshutt, and was soon outright owner. William's descendants remained in control of the forge until 1875 when the then owner, George Armitage, died and his widow sold the entire concern to Brooks & Cooper, disregarding the wishes of other members of the family. By 1881 she had married Edward Beardshaw. During the Cockshutt-Armitage partnership the firm began making anvils which became renowned throughout the world, particularly in America. William's sons, Morgan and Henry, gave their names to the famous anvil trademark 'M. & H. Armitage.' Members of the family were included each year in the Bradfield militia lists. Their main occupations were razor and anvil making (see pages 106 & 109).

William and his family were founders and trustees of Loxley Chapel, and Henry's widow gave land at Wood End for the building of a Primitive Methodist Chapel. Between 1813 and 1816 William's son, Charles, was an overseer of the poor. In 1816 he represented Bradfield at the General Quarter Sessions in Pontefract, to obtain equalisation of the County rates.⁵ Henry was a collector of local taxes in 1830⁶ and an overseer in 1832, 1837 and 1839. In 1837 he was chairman of the committee that proposed that the management of the poor of Bradfield should be kept to members of the township of Bradfield rather than them having to join the Wortley Union.⁷

Not all the family were as successful as the branch connected with Mousehole Forge. Some fell on hard times and had to claim relief from the overseers. In 1828 Ann, the wife of Samuel, a Stannington razor grinder, said

'her husband is in gaol for debt at the suit of Mr. Gillott for grind stones but she does not know the debt. His settlement is by renting a farm at Stannington. She does not know his earnings as they have been so irregular.'⁸

The same year Harriet, wife of Joseph, a Stannington razor grinder, applied similarly:

'husband in gaol for debt at the suit of George Hobson of Walkley £2.15s.0d, Mr. Andrew for 18s. Has 15s a week. Settlement by his father rented a farm at Stannington. Has three children, Sarah, John and Joseph.'

Mousehole Forge was not in the direct line of the flood when the Dale Dyke dam burst in 1864, but forging was halted for a time due to silt. For this stoppage and damage to boilers the company claimed £185.4s.0d.⁹ William and Greaves Armitage, who worked at the forge but lived near the river at Malin Bridge, lost their lives, together with their mother, wives and children.

The 1841 census return recorded John Armitage, a journeyman anvil maker, at 'The Anvil' public house where his wife, Charlotte, was the landlady. After John's death in 1848 Charlotte married Alfred Nuttall, a shoemaker, who took over the licence of 'The Anvil' in 1849.¹⁰ In 1851 Alfred had an apprentice shoemaker, Thomas Armitage, who had been born in Hathersage. Joseph, a razor grinder of Nook End, moved to Tofts in the 1850s when he became landlord of 'The Rivelin Inn.'

In 1871 there were three branches of the family in Stannington: George, the owner of Mousehole Forge, at Wood Lane House; Joseph's widow, Lydia, and family at 'The Rivelin'; and John, a razor grinder, and family in Tofts. Ten years later the only Armitage in Stannington was Mary Ann, widow of Alfred, (a razor grinder of Nook in 1841) living in Woodland View. The family had clearly been an important one in Stannington township for much of our period, although, by 1891, the family name had gone completely. However there are still descendants in the Sheffield area, one of whom, George Armitage, was Lord Mayor of Sheffield in 1979.

Bancroft: No Bancrofts paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire and none were recorded in the Bradfield registers until 1770, when Mary married Daniel Marsden. By the end of the century, however, a branch of the Bancrofts was established as cutlers in Stannington. Robert did not serve an apprenticeship in the township, but in 1766 he bound Haddarezer Coughin of Chapel-en-le-Frith as his apprentice,¹¹ followed by his own sons. George gained his freedom from his father in 1790.¹² His brother, Joseph, was apprenticed to John Richards of Stannington in 1782 (freedom 1791), and brother, Robert, to their father, gaining his freedom in 1797. George took his brother, Timothy, as apprentice in 1792. Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* included Robert as a manufacturer of spotted-knives and George was entered in Montgomery's 1797 edition as a pocket-knife cutler.

Robert died in 1810, but his three sons continued in the trade, although Robert and Timothy fell on hard times. In 1813 Robert was exempt from paying the poor assessment,¹³ and during 1818 he was receiving several payments as ‘casual poor.’¹⁴ The following year both Robert, and Timothy, married to Martha Beal in 1809, applied for relief, their settlement being through their father having rented a farm, Broad Oak, at Stannington.¹⁵ In 1822 Robert again applied for relief as his goods had been taken away to pay the rent. The next year he needed more help as he was out of work and had a wife and four children. He was then given a final three shillings.¹⁶ He found work and was listed in Gell’s 1825 *Sheffield Directory* as a pocket-knife manufacturer, as was his brother, Timothy. Another setback in 1826 led Robert’s wife, Harriet, to apply on his behalf:

‘says her husband is ill of cholera and has been since Sunday last. Receives eight shillings from the club and has six children at home, Joseph (aged 12), Thomas (10), Hannah (7), Harriet (5), Mary (3) and Henry (1).’¹⁷

Robert’s last entry in a trade directory was in White’s of 1841 and Timothy continued until 1853.

The census return of 1841 recorded Robert, aged 75, living on Reynard Lane with his wife, Harriet, son, Henry, and a younger son, Charles. By 1851 Harriet, born in Gleadless, was a widow, with Charles still at home. Their sons, Joseph, a pocket knife grinder living at Littlewood Lathe, was married to Nancy, and Henry, living on Green Side, was married to Mary from Hucklow, Derbyshire. Timothy, on Uppergate in 1841 with his wife and family, was still there ten years later, recorded as a 73-year old pocket-knife cutler employing two men. Two sons, George and Samuel, journeyman cutlers, were still at home, so it is reasonable to suppose that they were the men employed by their father. Timothy died in the 1860s.

There were six households of Bancroft in Stannington in 1871. Robert’s sons Henry and Charles, plus their families, were both living on Nethergate. Charles’s wife, Mary, was the widow of David Dearden, a coal miner of Town End. Robert’s grandson, George, (a son of Joseph) was a cutler with wife and family on Liberty Hill. In addition, George’s brother, Joseph, was lodging with the Mallinson family in Uppergate. Timothy’s sons, George and Samuel, remained together on Uppergate, working as spring-knife cutlers.

Another son, Timothy, also lived on Uppergate with his wife, Charlotte. His daughter, Sarah, was a servant with the Gray family at 'The Sportsman' at Town End.

There was also a William, spring-knife cutler, living with his wife at Nook End. He was not recorded in the Stannington census prior to 1871 but was still there in 1891. Also in 1871 Joseph, a shoemaker born in Wadsley, was a lodger with the Trickett family in Dungworth. Several Bancrofts appeared in the Bradfield militia lists, but they had gone by 1841. Three households recorded in Dungworth in 1841 had all moved away by 1861. Although I have not found any Bancrofts taking part in civic affairs, the families remained in Stannington throughout the nineteenth century. Henry, grandson of the first Robert, was listed in trade directories until 1893, and there are still Bancrofts living in the area.

Barnes: The surname is derived from the hamlet of Barnes, near Ecclesfield. Although Henry de Bernes was in 'Ecclisfeld' in 1267 and Robert was in 'Ecklesfeld' in 1307,¹⁸ very few of the family were recorded in the Bradfield registers, the first being in 1660 when John, the son of Lawrence, was baptised. None were listed in Bradfield in the 1672 hearth tax return, the nearest being James in Sheffield. Others were around Doncaster and Rotherham. The earliest reference I have found in Stannington was in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731, when Edward Barnes of Stannington was recorded.¹⁹

The Barneses in Stannington were connected with Underbank Chapel where John, a scythe grinder of Malin Bridge, had several children baptised between 1758 and 1768. He died in 1801, after which there was controversy regarding the valuation of his estate (see probate accounts, page 56). One of his sons, Edward, added his signature to a petition objecting to the removal of the minister in 1825, thereby agreeing to the chapel remaining Unitarian.²⁰ Edward had served an apprenticeship as a cutlery grinder with John Dale of Stannington, commencing in 1791.²¹ In the 1841 census return he was recorded at Hollins with his wife, Sarah. He died in 1843, aged 82, and was buried in Underbank Chapel graveyard. His daughter, Abigail (Mrs. Gallimore), was interred in the same grave in 1882, at the age of 85.

By 1871 there was just one branch of the family living in Stannington, that of Richard, a farmer of Bingley Lane. His name appeared all through the years of the Bradfield

militia returns. In the early years he was listed as a cutler of 'Bingley Lane or Stannington,' then as a labourer or servant. He had been apprenticed by his father, Joseph, a Stannington farmer, to John Barnes, a Stannington knife maker in 1814.²² In the 1841 census he was still in Bingley Lane, a 40-year old farmer employing a 70-year old agricultural labourer, Benjamin, recorded ten years later as Richard's 79-year old uncle from Edale.

Richard was listed as a farmer in trade directories from 1841 to 1879. He claimed a vote in 1841 by his occupation of land and tenement valued at upward of £50 a year in Bingley Lane and Stannington.²³ He was appointed the collector of land tax for Stannington in 1846²⁴ and was on the list of jurors in 1855.²⁵ He became an overseer of the poor in 1872.²⁶ His widow, Elizabeth, born in Hathersage, had taken over the Bingley Lane farm by 1881 and their son, John, with his family, was there in 1891. John appeared in directories from 1888 into the twentieth century.

By 1881 another Barnes family had moved into Stannington. William Henry Barnes, born in Sheffield, his wife, born in Crewe, Cheshire, and two-year old daughter, born in Sheffield, were living at Myrtle Villas, Wood Lane, where their 9-month old son had been born. William was an ironmonger in Sheffield, listed in trade directories from 1883 onwards. White's 1888 *Directory of Sheffield* also listed Thomas Hammerton Barnes as a private resident at Rivelin Glen. The 1891 census recorded him as a forging manufacturer, living with his Sheffield born wife, Elizabeth, nee Parke, his son, James, and both his mother and mother-in-law. By the end of the nineteenth century the Barnes family had been in Stannington for several generations.

Beal: In the early years of the Bradfield registers this name, and variations, was recorded as Beeley, from the Derbyshire village of that name, commencing with the burial of Genet, wife of James Beelay in 1570. The earliest spelling of Beale was in 1680 when Samuel married Alice Harrison. There was then a gap until the marriage of Enoch Beal to Betterice Grayson in 1747. These Beals may have had no connection with the earlier Beeleys.

There were no Beals listed in the 1672 hearth tax return for Stannington, the nearest being one in Tankersley, with one in Greasbrough and three in Brodsworth. The first

reference I have found to the family in Stannington was in 1766 when Charles Hope and Dorothy Stead surrendered

‘a message called Lee House tenements near Lee House in Dungworth, now or late in the possession of William Greaves and Thomas Beal or one of them,’²⁷

and by the last quarter of the eighteenth century family members were well established as scissormiths in the township. George of Stannington and Thomas of Storrs took their own sons as apprentices,²⁸ also other lads. George’s sons, John, Paul and William later had their own apprentices as did Thomas’s son, Isaac (see page 110).

Enoch of Dungworth, an overseer of the poor in 1780 and 1782,²⁹ and Jeremiah of Stannington also had apprentices. In Gales & Martin’s 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* William and John were listed as common scissormiths. Montgomery’s 1797 edition put George, Jeremy, William and Paul in the same category. George contributed 2s.6d. to Queen Anne’s Bounty in 1768³⁰ in an attempt to get a better stipend for the curate of Bradfield although he had associations with Underbank Chapel. His son, Paul, was baptised there in 1763, followed by Peter and Samuel but his daughter, Millicent, was baptised at Bradfield in 1775.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded members of the family every year, commencing with Isaac of Hill Top. Others were Benjamin and Samuel of Stannington and Luke of Rails. The 1833 and 1841 trade directories listed Benjamin and Samuel as steel swivel manufacturers in Stannington. In the 1841 census return Benjamin was living at Wiggin Hall. He claimed a vote from 1835 to 1841 by owning freehold land at Stannington.³¹ Samuel, at Rails in 1841, claimed a vote between 1835 and 1850 by owning freehold land and a house at Stannington.³² He was a constable from 1844 to 1849³³ and a juror from 1855.³⁴ By 1851 Samuel was a farmer living at ‘Between Fields’ with his wife, Elizabeth, the widow of Francis Revitt, her son, John Revitt, and the couple’s son, Samuel.

The 1871 census recorded six households of Beals in Stannington. Luke, widowed and living on his own at Rails was employed as a gamekeeper. Samuel, widowed, was farming at ‘The Surrey Arms’, Hollow Meadows, with his son, Samuel. In 1841 George, a saw handle maker born in Ecclesall, had moved to Knowle Top, Stannington, from Nether Hallam with his wife and four children. In 1871 his widow, Mary, was

living at Hollins Top. Their son James, also a saw handle maker, was at Nook End with his Sheffield-born wife, and family. Another son, Aaron, an edge tool grinder, was on Liberty Hill with his wife, born in Loxley, and family. Mathew, first recorded as a servant at Rails in 1841, was still there in 1871, living next door to Luke. Matthew's wife Mary, with him in 1851, came from near Bawtry. In the 1891 census Matthew's widow, their daughter and grandson were the only representatives of the Beals in Stannington. By 1900 the Beals had been in Stannington for a century and a half.

Beard: The surname comes from a place of that name near New Mills, not from the nickname that became a surname in other parts of the country. Thomas Beard was recorded in Ecclesfield in 1549.³⁵ The first appearance of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1636, when Robert married Ann Bromhead. After the marriage of Robert Beard and Mary Hobson in 1650 the name disappeared until 1718 when Thomas Beard was married. No Beards paid the 1672 hearth tax in the chapelry, the nearest being one in Ecclesfield, two in Grenoside, one in Maltby and one in Doncaster.

I have found no Beards in Stannington until 1819 when George, a cutler aged 31, was recorded in the Bradfield militia list. He continued in the lists for the next ten years, but he had gone from Stannington by 1841. In the militia lists George was joined by Joseph, an 18-year old, exempt from service because he was serving a cutlery apprenticeship. In 1830 Joseph's wife, Elizabeth, applied to the overseers for relief:

'she is about 32, married first to Joseph, the son of Joseph Ibbotson of Oakes, who died in 1822. They had four children. She married Joseph Beard in 1826 and has two children, Joseph aged three and Thomas aged one. Joseph Beard, aged 27, served his apprenticeship with Benjamin Hague of Dungworth, has done nothing to gain settlement since, is now very ill and has been for eleven weeks, was six weeks in the Infirmary and is now an out-patient and has had 8 shillings a week from the club in Bradfield. This is now reduced.'³⁶

In 1841 Elizabeth was a widow living on Syke House Lane, Dungworth, with her sons, Joseph and Thomas, both journeyman coal miners, and daughter. Joseph married a widow, Hannah Wragg, and in 1871 was living at Yews Fold with his wife, one of her sons and their sons, Thomas and Robert. Joseph died in 1887 and Hannah in 1893. Their son, Thomas, a clay miner, died in 1896. Joseph's brother, Thomas, and his wife, Anne, were on Yews Lane in 1871 and remained there until their deaths in the 1890s.

The only Beards in Stannington in the nineteenth century directories were Ann, a farmer, in 1833, and Benjamin, a pocket and spring-knife cutler, in 1854. The 1841 census recorded Ann, aged 70, and of independent means, living on Nethergate. At the same time Benjamin, a 25-year old journeyman cutler, was lodging with the Nichols family at Bents, Dungworth. Ten years later he was living with his wife, Ann, and daughter at his father-in-law William Hague's at Dungworth House. They were in Storrs in 1871. Ann died in 1874 and Benjamin before 1891. Their son, also named Benjamin, a cutler with a wife and two daughters, was living at Hanmoor in 1891. This family of Beards had lived in Stannington for most of the nineteenth century.

Chapman: Henricus Schapman and Agnes, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379 and John Chapmon was recorded in Granowe, Ecclesfield, in 1442.³⁷ The earliest record of Chapmans in the Bradfield registers was in 1613, when William married Dyonis Doongworth. William died in 1621 and his widow in 1625. No more were recorded until 1688 when Christopher, the son of Peter, was baptised. No Chapmans paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, the nearest being Anthony in Ecclesall, Christopher in Lower Hallam and George in Sheffield. Others were in Austerfield, Aston cum Aughton, Conisbrough, Laughton, Maltby and Thorn.

The first mention I have found of the name in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company apprenticeship records. In 1700 Christopher, son of Peter, a Stannington cutler, was bound to Thomas Barton.³⁸ James, the son of Benjamin Chapman of Hucklow, began a cutlery apprenticeship with Joseph Trickett of Mousehole Forge in 1764.³⁹ Another Richard, a deceased scythe grinder, appeared in the Cutlers' Company records in 1792 when his son, Benjamin, began an apprenticeship with George Watson of Machon Bank. He gained his freedom in 1802. Neither James nor Benjamin took apprentices in Stannington.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded members of the family in Stannington for each year. William, a grinder, was listed in most years, beginning as an apprentice in 1819. In 1831 he was exempted on grounds of poverty, living at Wood End with three children. He was not recorded in Stannington in the 1841 census, but in 1851 he was a 50-year old saw grinder, living at Myers Grove with his wife and family.

Daniel was also recorded in the militia lists, as a forgerman at Little Matlock. In 1841 he was there with his wife and family. The 1851 census showed that Daniel, born at Thorp, had a second wife born at Wath. By that time one of his sons, Thomas, had set up his own household close by, with his brother, Edward, as a lodger. A younger son, Daniel, had his own family by 1861. The brothers were listed in White's 1860 *Directory of Sheffield* as 'Daniel & Thomas Chapman, forgers and shear steel manufacturers, Little Matlock.' Their works and houses took the full force of the Bradfield flood in 1864. Daniel's house collapsed completely and the entire household, including two apprentices and a serving maid, was drowned.⁴⁰ Thomas and his family were luckier although one son, William, lost his life. He claimed £725 compensation for damage to the works.⁴¹ None of the family lived in Little Matlock in 1871. Samuel, a shear steel forger, claimed £17 for damage at Storrs Bridge⁴² and £10 as administrator for Rosena Chapman who lost her life⁴³ although she was not in Harrison's list of flood victims.

Henry, a saw grinder, was recorded with his family from 1841, but he too had gone from Stannington by 1871. In 1861 Richard, a 26-year old tailor from Hucklow, had moved to Knowle Top with his family, all born in Hope except for his wife and youngest son who were both born in Stannington. Richard's son, Robert, had his own household at Knowle Top by 1881. Both Richard and Robert were recorded in 1891, the former at Hanmoor. Richard was listed in White's 1898 *Directory of Sheffield*. We can see that the Chapmans had a continuous history in the township from the mid-eighteenth century.

Crawshaw: The local surname comes from a farmstead in Moorwood, though other place-names have also given rise to the surname in other parts of northern England. Henry Crawshay was a witness in 1539.⁴⁴ The earliest recording of Crawshaws in the Bradfield registers was in 1589, when George, the son of John, was baptised. Twenty Crawshaws were listed in the hearth tax returns for south Yorkshire in 1672 although none were in Stannington. The nearest were George and Thomas in Bradfield's township of Westnall, then William in Sheffield. The earliest reference I have found to Crawshaw in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company records: William, a cutler of Stannington, bound Samuel Bennet of Glossop as an apprentice in 1753.⁴⁵ He also bound his own son, William, who gained his freedom in 1788.⁴⁶

The militia lists recorded Crawshaws each year, but only two of these appeared in the census return of 1841: brothers James and William, living with their widowed mother, Elizabeth, at Knowle Top. James, a labourer was cited in 1832 as having fathered Martha Rodger's bastard daughter the previous year. In spite of the child being still-born he had to pay 20s. to the overseers, their expenses for bringing an order against him.⁴⁷ In 1851 he was married and living on Nethergate. Ten years later he was a widower, lodging with the Morris family at Clod Hall. William was a razor grinder who, in 1851, was living with his younger brother, Jonathan, on Uppergate. Neither appeared in later census returns.

In 1871 there were just three households of Crawshaws in Stannington: those of Joseph, George, and Mary Ann. In 1851 Joseph was a razor grinder, living with his wife and children at Roscoe Bank. By 1861 they had moved to Woodland View where the family remained until at least 1891. Joseph died before that date but his widow and daughter stayed. A son, William, a 17-year old razor grinder in 1871, married before 1781 and remained on Woodland View for the rest of the century.

George was first recorded in Stannington in 1871 when he was living at Cow Gap Farm with his wife, children, and father who had been born at Langsett. George himself was born at Middop (Midhope). By 1881 George was farming on Liberty Hill. Although a widower by then, he had a daughter and son at home. Directories between 1879 and 1898 listed him as a farmer. One of his sons, Henry, with his own family, was also living on Liberty Hill in 1891. Mary Ann, living on Uppergate in 1871, was a widow twice over. Born in Thurgoland, she brought her young son, Charles Battersby, who had been born in Penistone, to Stannington. Her son, William Crawshaw, had been born in 1852. By 1881 he was a razor grinder, married with a family in Woodland View, and ten years later he was on Uppergate. The Crawshaws thus became established in Stannington in the nineteenth century and were probably there fifty years earlier.

Dearden: There were no Deardens in south Yorkshire in 1672, and none in the Bradfield registers until 1852, when Elizabeth married John Metham. In 1841 there was just one Dearden household in Stannington, that of Thomas, a 22-year old coal miner and family living at Wood End. They had gone from the township by 1851 but his son, also a coal miner, was living with a wife and children at Town End in 1861.

Three other branches of Deardens settled into new properties at Hollow Meadows during the 1840s. All three heads, William, Henry and Luke, were scissor-smiths born in Sheffield. William had moved out of Stannington by 1861 but Henry and Luke followed by their descendants remained throughout the century. Henry's son, William, continued as a scissor forger (see page 110). By 1871 Luke's son, Charles, a scissor forger, had established his own household as had son, Thomas, by 1881. Younger sons, Frank and Joseph, did not follow the family trade but became a stone cutter and quarryman respectively. The Deardens had come into the township to mine coal but the second generation earned their livings from other local occupations.

Dronfield: John de Dronffeld, i.e. from Dronfield, Derbyshire, was recorded in Wyrseburgh (Worsbrough) in 1363.⁴⁸ The earliest recording of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1588 when Edmonde Dronfield married Margret Preestley, but there were no more recordings until the 1670s and very few after then. There were no Dronfields in south Yorkshire in 1672, but there were two Dranfields, a variation of the name: John in Barnsley and John in Waldershelf, Bradfield.

The earliest record of the family I have found in Stannington was in 1795, when Ephraim was listed in Fairbank's survey of the township.⁴⁹ A lease of 1798 showed Ephraim occupying a house and close in Stannington.⁵⁰ His son, George, began a cutlery apprenticeship with John Greaves, a Stannington knife grinder, in 1801 when the Cutlers' Company records named Ephraim as a filesmith.⁵¹ In 1809 Ephraim was an overseer of the poor and in 1820, in a return of jurors, he was exempt from duty.⁵² He was buried at Bradfield in 1835, aged 77.

One of Ephraim's sons, also named Ephraim, was the only Dronfield in Stannington in the Bradfield militia lists. He appeared every year until 1829 as a farmer in Stannington, although from 1826 he was exempt, being served by a substitute. In 1833, and again in 1843, he was a collector of taxes. In 1836 and 1840 he was an overseer of the poor,⁵³ also a juror in 1840.⁵⁴ From 1835 until his death he claimed a vote by owning freehold land at Stannington.⁵⁵ Although Ephraim's son, Henry, a servant with the Inman family at Nook, was the only Dronfield recorded in the 1841 census, Ephraim appeared in White's 1841 *Directory of Sheffield* as a farmer in Stannington. After his death in 1845, aged 59, Nook Farm was occupied by Henry, who claimed a vote in 1850

by reason of a house and land worth £50 a year at Nook and Town End.⁵⁶ In 1851 Henry lived at Nook with his younger brother and two younger sisters. He was a juror in 1850 and 1855 and an overseer in 1854 and 1855, when he also became a guardian of the poor.⁵⁷ In the 1871 census, living at Woodland View, his occupation was 'horticulturist.' By then he was married to Rhoda, born in Sheffield. His widow was recorded at Woodland View in White's 1879 *Directory of Sheffield* and again in the 1895-6 edition.

The 1851 census also recorded John Dronfield, a farmer, with his wife and family living at Bents. Directories listed him as a farmer in Stannington in 1845, Storrs in 1849 and 1852, and Bents in 1854 and 1859. He was an overseer of the poor in 1847 and 1852,⁵⁸ and constable in 1853 and 1855.⁵⁹ He claimed a vote in 1850 by owning a freehold house and land at Nook End, and was a juror in 1850 and 1855 by paying the poor rate.⁶⁰

Although not recorded in Stannington previously, in 1871 Charles Dronfield, a carter, was at Cliffe House, Dungworth, with his wife, Annis, and family. Ten years later they were at Loadbrook, where Charles was employed as an agricultural labourer. He died in 1887. In 1891 his widow was on Rye Lane with three of their sons, the elder two working as clay miners. She died the same year, by which time their son, Samuel, was a brickyard labourer living with his wife and family at Coke Farm, Storrs. By the end of the century Dronfields had been in Stannington for over a hundred years.

Dyson: Although John Dyson, a Calder Valley name, was recorded in Stannington in 1453,⁶¹ no Dysons paid the 1672 hearth tax in Stannington. The nearest was John in Grenoside, Ecclesfield, although his house was empty at the time. There were another fifteen in the areas around Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster. The first recording of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1683 when Sarah, the daughter of George, was baptised. The earliest record I have found of Dysons in Stannington was in 1722, when John served as an overseer for Dungworth.⁶² He was also recorded in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731.⁶³

Several members of the family served cutlery apprenticeships, some subsequently taking apprentices of their own. Charles, who gained his freedom in 1735,⁶⁴ had

apprentices from about 1740 onwards. He also taught his own sons, Abraham and Isaac, who both gained their freedoms in 1791. When another Isaac, a Stannington carpenter, died in 1763 Charles was joint administrator of his estate with Isaac's widow, Betty. Isaac's son, George, served a cutlery apprenticeship with Jonathan Pickford of Stannington, gaining his freedom in 1777.⁶⁵ George paid a chief rent for Bingley House between 1767 and 1786.⁶⁶ Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed George as a maker of spotted knives. Incidentally, when the Bingley House Trust disposed of the property in 1926 the trustees included J. W. Dyson of Clod Hall.⁶⁷

George, probably Isaac and Betty's son, a cutler taking apprentices in the late 1700s, fell on hard times as he got older. He was exempt from paying the poor assessment in 1813 and 1814.⁶⁸ In 1833 William Ronksley, his son-in-law, applied to the overseers for relief on George's behalf:

'his settlement is by renting upwards of £10 a year at Stannington, aged 85, lives with his son, John, who has maintained him for the last ten years and does now refuse.'⁶⁹

Other members of the family also had to seek relief. In 1819 another George, probably George's son, applied:

'settlement by renting a farm at Bingley Lane, has a wife and five children. Isaac, (aged 13), earns 4s. or 5s. a week, Patrick(11) earns 2s. or 3s., Thomas (7), Anne (5) and one younger.'⁷⁰

In 1820 a warrant was issued against George. William Guelder, agent to the overseers of the poor of Bradfield, had complained to the magistrates

'that George Dyson of Stannington, cutler, hath lately received of and from the Overseers of Bradfield divers sums of money by false pretences with intent to cheat and defraud the said Township.'⁷¹

I have found no details of the outcome.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded members of the family each year. George's sons, Isaac and Patrick, were employed as labourers at Flash and Crawshaw respectively. John, a 19-year old servant at Bents, was first recorded in the militia lists in 1826. His father, also John, a farmer at Bents, was a juror between 1823 and 1830 by reason of his freehold estate.⁷² Another John, in Stannington, was an overseer of the poor in 1821, chapelwarden at Bradfield from 1824 to 1830 and collector of the local taxes in 1838. He claimed a vote in 1835 for his freehold land and buildings in Stannington.⁷³ In

White's 1833 *Directory of Sheffield* he was listed as a fire-brick maker of Clay House. By the 1841 edition the entry was 'John Dyson & Sons, black clay miners and firebrick manufacturers of Griffs.' The same year the census recorded John, a farmer, at Clay House with his family which included his two sons, John and Jonathan, a widower with a 5-year old son, and another 5-year old John who was also John sen.'s grandson. John and Jonathan formed the company of J.& J. Dyson, still based in Stannington (see page 124). By 1861 Jonathan and his family were on their own at Clay House, the older generation and elder brother having died. Jonathan's son, John, eventually took over the firm and ran it until his suicide in 1888. He was waywarden for Stannington in 1870 and churchwarden of Christ Church, Stannington, from 1869 to 1880. William Lomas, who bought the firm from John's widow, Millicent, was churchwarden of Christ Church from 1880 to 1897. Millicent was still at Clay House with her family in 1891. By 1871 John, the 5-year old grandson of 1841, was farming at Stopes with his wife, Sarah, and children. Within the next ten years he had died and his widow had married John Platts, a general labourer of Liberty Hill. In 1891 her son, Wilfred Dyson, was a labourer, with a wife and two children on Woodland View.

The 1841 census also recorded George Dyson, a coal miner, with his wife and family at Knowle Top and White's *Directory of Sheffield* listed him as a colliery owner. In 1835 George had claimed a vote for his occupation of land and a coal mine valued at over £50 at Knowle Top and Stannington Wood.⁷⁴ By 1851 he had moved to Broomvale Farm, Dungworth Wood. In 1854 and 1855 he was constable.⁷⁵ In 1861 George, his wife and some of his children were back in Stannington, farming at Nook End. His son, George Henry, and daughter, Hester, were farming at Broomvale. Within ten years George was again at Broomvale, while his son, Jonathan, a coal miner, was at Nook End with his wife, born in Greasbrough, and his brother, George Henry, also a coal miner. In 1881 George was a widower living with Jonathan and family on Myers Lane. Both men were gannister and coal merchants. In 1886 and 1887 George was waywarden for Stannington,⁷⁶ and Jonathan was churchwarden of Christ Church from 1880 to 1897. George Henry had married and gone to New Zealand where his first three children were born. The family had, however, returned to Stannington by 1891 and was living at Stopes, where George Henry was a brickyard foreman.

In 1851 John Wragg, of Greenside, took his nephew, John Dyson, a 17-year old from Manchester, as a cutlery apprentice. Ten years later John Dyson, married to Mary, from Ulverston, was a spring-knife cutler with two children, on Nook Lane. Two of his sons became pocket-knife cutlers. In 1891 George William was living with wife and family at Hanmoor, and Herbert with wife and family at Town End. In 1871 'The Rose and Crown' public house on Back Lane was kept by another George and his wife, Sarah, born in Fulwood. In 1861 he had been a farmer at Knowle Top. By 1881 his widow, aged 77, was living on independent means at Nook Farm. In 1851 Stephen, born in Hallam, was a coal miner lodging with the Elliott family in Yews Fold, Dungworth. By 1871 he was working as a clay miner, married to Sarah Wragg, with a 13-year old son, William, also a clay miner. They were living at No. 4 Dungworth Street with two young sons of their own. By 1881 Sarah, a widow, was on Yews Lane with her three sons, a young daughter and her 77-year old father, James Wragg.

The Dysons were clearly one of the core families of Stannington during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, serving as officers in the local community and helping to boost the local economy.

Earnshaw: There were very few Earnshaws, a Holmfirth name, recorded in the Bradfield registers, the earliest being in 1573, when James married Elizabeth Townrowe. Only two baptisms were recorded during the seventeenth century. No Earnshaws paid the 1672 hearth tax in Stannington, the only one close by being William in the Ughill area of Dungworth, i.e. not in Stannington township. Others were in Rotherham, Treeton, Oxspring, Langsett and High Hoyland.

The first mention of the family I have found in Stannington was on a gravestone in Bradfield churchyard recording the deaths of Martha, Hannah and Benjamin, children of Nathaniel of Hall Broom, Dungworth, in 1786. In 1813 Jonathan, of Storrs, and Widow Earnshaw, of Beaton Rod, were ordered by the overseers to take apprentices.⁷⁷ The return of jurors for 1821-30 included Jonathan, a farmer, by virtue of his estate under £150 per annum.⁷⁸ In 1820 a warrant was sent to the constable of Stannington to apprehend James Herring following a complaint by Jonathan that

'James Herring of Sheffield, watchman, doth harbour, detain and keep a dog belonging to him the complainant, the said dog being stolen from his premises at

Stannington whereby the said James Herring hath forfeited any sum not exceeding £30 nor less than £20 for the said offence.'⁷⁹

In 1841 Octavius Earnshaw was a milk seller living with his wife, Elizabeth, and family at Rivelin Top. He had married Betty Wragg in 1816. The detail of the 1851 census showed that Octavius had been born in Masbrough, Rotherham. By 1851 his son, Abraham, had established his own household at Rivelin. Ten years later Abraham had moved to Hollow Meadows where he remained for the rest of the century. He was listed as a farmer in directories from 1862 to 1879.

Also in 1841 William, a 25-year old servant, was living with the Hives family at Beaton House. He was at Rivelin with the Oates family in 1851 but ten years later he had his own household at Loadbrook. By 1871 he had a wife, born in Epworth, and three children born in Bolsterstone. In 1881 only his daughter, Lucy Ann, married to Samuel Betsworth and with a 5-year old daughter, was at Loadbrook. Her brother, George, was lodging with them.

In 1851 the Dyson family at Yat House near Ponds, Stannington, had a 19-year old farm servant, George Earnshaw, from Anston. By 1861 he was living at Stopes with a wife and two children. In 1871 he was in Syke House Lane, Dungworth, but was back at Stopes in 1881 and 1891, when his son, George Henry, was boarding with the Ogden family. In White's 1895-6 *Directory of Sheffield* George sen. was listed at Broad Oak.

The Earnshaws, therefore, had a continuous history in the township from at least the 1780s and were one of the two families who remained exclusively in farming, with no cutlery connections.

Elliott: In 1379 Johannes Elyot and Johanna, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield. No Elliotts paid the 1672 hearth tax in Stannington, the nearest being Thomas in Waldershelf, Bradfield, and a widow in Sheffield. The earliest record of the family in the Bradfield registers and also in Stannington was in 1744 when Bridget, daughter of John of Storrs, was baptised. In 1768 Christopher of Storrs paid 5s. towards Queen Anne's Bounty. Cutlers' Company apprenticeship lists recorded that Christopher was a shoemaker who had died by the time his sons, Charles and James, began their apprenticeships in 1785 and 1788 respectively.⁸⁰ Another Christopher, one of three who

had served apprenticeships in Stannington, became a razor smith and took apprentices, beginning with William Paramore in 1794.⁸¹ Christopher was listed in Montgomery's 1797 *Directory of Sheffield*.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded several members of the family. Benjamin appeared in the list of 1824 as a labourer at Rivelin Side. By 1831 he was a collier with two children at Bents, exempt through poverty. He had married Hannah Crookes in 1825. In 1834 Hannah Crookes, his mother-in-law, applied for relief for him and his family:

‘settlement by hiring and service with Mr. Ronksley at Rivelin Side. Wife ill, four children, eldest 8 years old. Wife in a state of derangement. Wants a note to doctor.’⁸²

The surgeon's report was very blunt: ‘If this woman was removed I think she would be well. The children are both ill, more from filth than disease’.⁸³ The family was not recorded in Stannington in 1841 but appeared again, at Hill Top, in 1851. Benjamin, from Aston, Derbyshire, was, by then, a clay miner. Ten years later the family had moved to Yews Fold but by 1861 Benjamin, in Storrs, was widowed as was his son, John. In 1881 John had re-married and was living at Knowle Top with his wife, from Lincolnshire, and four children. In another ten years the two eldest sons were clay miners like their father. By 1871 another of Benjamin's sons, William, was established as a spring-knife cutler, with his own family on Syke House Lane. In the census return, his place of birth, about 1844, was given as Bolsterstone so it is possible that Benjamin and his family were there in 1841. William was a brick maker and fire-clay miner living at Storrs by 1891. His fifteen-year old son, Benjamin, was a labourer in the brickyard.

In 1841 Joseph, an agricultural labourer from Hope, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of George and Elizabeth Goodison of Griffs House. Their young son, George, was living with his grandfather, George, together with another grandson, Henry Drabble. These two eventually formed the firebrick firm of ‘Drabble & Elliott,’ listed in trade directories of 1862, 1864 and 1868. They joined their uncle, Jonathan Goodison, and the firm continued until 1927 (see page 124). The Elliotts were another local family with a continuous history in the township for over a century and a half.

Fearn: No Fearn's paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire and none were recorded in the Bradfield registers until 1746, when John married Ann Crapper. Two lads from

Bradfield both began cutlery apprenticeships in Stannington in 1767: Thomas, the son of John, was bound to William Barber, a Dungworth cutler, and gained his freedom in 1779. Thomas was listed as a pocket-knife cutler in Stannington in Montgomery's 1797 *Directory of Sheffield*. William, the son of William, was bound to John West, a cutler of Storrs.⁸⁴ A William, possibly Thomas or William's son, bound John, son of John West, deceased labourer of Cliffe, as an apprentice in 1810.⁸⁵ In 1832 he took a parish apprentice, William, son of Sarah Wright of Hill Top.⁸⁶ In 1819 a Thomas Fearn had applied for relief for his daughter:

'his settlement is in Bradfield and his daughter has never done anything to gain settlement elsewhere. She is now brought to bed of a bastard child by James Wright of Hill Top.'⁸⁷

The Bradfield militia list of 1819 included William Fearn, a 40-year old cutler with six children at Storrs. Two of his sons were recorded as cutlers in the militia lists from 1822 onwards. In 1841 he was at Storrs Green with his wife and one son, Alfred, a journeyman cutler, aged 20. His son, John, also a journeyman cutler, was living with a wife and daughter at Yews Fold. Ten years later William and his wife were at Hazlehurst House Farm, Storrs. He was listed in directories from 1825 to 1856 as a pocket-knife manufacturer and farmer in Storrs. By 1861 his son, John, had taken over the farm, but ten years later Hazlehurst was occupied by the Crapper family.

In 1841 an agricultural labourer, George, was living at Hall Broom with his wife and two children. By 1851 he was a cow keeper at Wadefield Farm where he was listed in directories from 1860 to 1883. In 1859 George applied to the trustees of Fulwood School to take over the tenancy of Wadefield, where he lived, as Robert Lowe had had notice to quit because of non-payment of rent.⁸⁸ Correspondence went back and forth to decide what rent George should pay. In 1866 he complained that he was paying too big a rent as the farm was 'in a disgusting state of repair,' and wished the trustees would inspect it for themselves.⁸⁹ It took until 1876 before both parties were satisfied. By that time George was a widower with his daughter, Ann, as housekeeper. In 1881 Ann was married to Harvey Crapper, when the couple and their 8-month old son were staying with George. By 1891 Harvey was running Wadefield and George was living with his daughter, Catherine, at Tom Hill. She was married to John Hague and had a young family. George's son, Thomas, had established his own household at Padley House Farm by 1871. Ten years later he was a widower but by 1891 he had re-married.

The Fearn had been attracted to the township by the cutlery industry but later families made a living in farming.

Furness: Thomas de Ferneus was recorded in Walkley, Sheffield, in 1337 and Ann ffernes was in Westmonhalgh in 1555.⁹⁰ The hearth tax returns of 1672 did not record any Furnesses in south Yorkshire, although the name appeared in the Bradfield registers from 1627 when Henry married Elizabeth Bromhead. The first note I have found of the family in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company records of 1747, when George, son of George of Bradwell, began a cutlery apprenticeship with Samuel Hallam.⁹¹ George's son, William, gained his freedom from his father in 1791. Other members of the family also became cutlers. Luke began his apprenticeship with John Hobson in 1748 and gained his freedom ten years later. In 1768 he donated 2s.6d. to Queen Anne's Bounty. Luke's sons served their apprenticeships with their father: Robert gained his freedom in 1786 and George in 1802. Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed Luke making spotted knives. Montgomery's 1797 edition listed William, Robert and George as pocket-knife cutlers.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded several members of the next generation of the family, all living in Stannington. Joseph was first recorded in 1822 and continued each year until 1829, when he was a 27-year old cutler. He was living at Knowle Top in 1841 and remained there until the 1860s by which time he had been married and widowed. In 1871 and 1891 he was recorded at Greenside, described as a retired farmer.

Matthew, listed as a 21-year old cutler in the 1829 militia return, was ordered to maintain Ann Grayson's bastard son in 1832, paying 2s. a week for as long as the township was keeping the child.⁹² By 1841 Matthew was living at Knowle Top with a wife, Eliza, and young family. They were not recorded in Stannington in 1851 but were on Liberty Hill in 1861. By that time their son, William, had left the district but son, Enos, was a blade forger, living at Town End with his wife and family. They had moved to Liberty Hill by 1881. Ten years later they were still there with their two youngest children and the two children of their eldest daughter, Hannah Wood.

In 1861 Matthew's son, Edward, a cutler, was living at home with his wife, Charlotte. By 1871 he was on Liberty Hill with his wife from Hathersage, having been widowed

and re-married in the ten years. Twenty years later, although the two eldest daughters had left, there were still ten children at home. In the 1891 census their son, Edward, was a cutlery manufacturer, with his wife working as a grocer. In 1871 Matthew's son, also named Matthew, a cutler, had his own household on Liberty Hill. In 1881 they had moved the short distance to Cabin where they stayed for the remainder of the century. By that time Matthew sen.'s sons, Ralph and Charles, both cutlers, had established their own households on Liberty Hill. Ralph's wife came from Hathersage, where their two eldest children had been born. Charles's first child had been born in Ireland in 1880. By 1891 Charles was landlord of 'The Robin Hood & Little John' public house at Little Matlock. His descendants became gannister owners in the twentieth century.

In 1851 Thomas Smith, a milk carrier from Penistone, was living on Greenside with his wife, Elizabeth, and her son, Charles Furness, a 16-year old brick maker born in Stannington. Ten years later Charles had married Mary, from Laughton, and was living at Stopes. Within the next ten years he was back on Greenside, working as a clay miner. In 1881 three of his sons were also clay miners and the fourth was a clay trammer. His eldest, Thomas, was living on Greenside with his wife from Barlow, Derbyshire. Other sons, Alfred and Charles Henry had established households on Greenside by 1891. By that time Charles himself, widowed before 1881, was a clay miner foreman.

The Furnesses were another well-established local family, mainly involved in cutlery, although some had turned to other trades by the end of the nineteenth century.

Goodison: Ricardus Godeson and Margareta, his wife, paid 4d. tax in Sheffield in 1379 and Robert Goddesson was in Onesacre in 1441.⁹³ Although Goodisons were well represented in the Bradfield registers, beginning in 1563, when Edward married Genet Walton, none of the family paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield. Even Samuel, who had married Martha Hall at Bradfield in 1671, and had several children baptised during the next few years, was nowhere to be found in the hearth tax returns. The nearest in south Yorkshire were two in Wentworth, one in Bentley and one in Hooton Levitt.

The first reference I have found to the family in Stannington was in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731, when George Goodison was listed in Dungworth.⁹⁴ He was overseer of the poor in 1733.⁹⁵ In 1742 John Norman of Beeley surrendered a messuage and land,

Dungworth Farm, 'formerly in the possession of George Goodison, now in the possession of George Trickett.'⁹⁶ By that time there was a Joseph Goodison in Stannington: in 1748 Richard Broomhead and his wife, Ann (née Revell), leased to Joseph 'another cottage at Greenhead wherein the said Joseph Goodison now dwells.'⁹⁷ Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph, was baptised at Underbank Chapel in 1744. Joseph, a grinder, died in 1773, when his estate was administered by his widow, Hannah. His inventory goods were worth £75.11s.6d.

Another Stannington grinder, John, died in 1783, bequeathing half of Olive Wheel, on the River Loxley, to his wife. He also left money to his sons, John, Thomas and Samuel, and daughters, Ann and Elizabeth. In the same year his son, John jun., gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company.⁹⁸ In 1822 his son, Thomas, was allowed one guinea from his poor rate on account of the wheel not being occupied.⁹⁹

Several members of the Stannington families were recorded each year in the Bradfield militia lists, including a Joseph, who was exempt in some years as the number of his children increased. In 1837 he was given a week's notice 'to repay the Overseers for money advanced for maintenance of his wife and children during his absence from them.'¹⁰⁰ The same year his wife, Hannah, again applied for relief: 'husband ill, pleurisy, no sick club, seven children.'¹⁰¹ In 1838 Louisa, who had married William, another Stannington grinder, in 1828, applied for relief: 'husband in gaol, debt to James Marshall 10s., Mr. Holland £2, Charles Morton £2. Aged 34, wife 33, three children.'¹⁰² In 1820 David Wood, a Stannington grinder, was ordered by the magistrates to pay for the maintenance of Hannah Goodison's bastard son.¹⁰³ The couple married in 1822, and by 1841, living at Knowle Top, had six children.

Other members of the Goodison families were in better conditions. In White's 1833 *Directory of Sheffield* George was listed as a fire-brick maker in Stannington. In the 1841 edition the firm was 'George Goodison & Son, black clay miners & fire-brick makers' (see page 124). George claimed a vote in 1835 by owning a freehold farm at Griffs in Stannington.¹⁰⁴ His son, Jonathan, claimed similarly in 1843. Jonathan was also listed in the return of jurors in 1850¹⁰⁵ and was an overseer of the poor in 1850, 1851 and 1852. George died in 1850, aged 81, after which time the firm was run by Jonathan who died in the 1860s. His widow, Harriet, from Middlewood, died in the

1890s. There were nine households of Goodison in Stannington in 1841. By 1871 this number had risen to fifteen as families increased and others had come from outside the area. In addition to Jonathan's widow, and an itinerant family from Great Barford, there were:

1. Thomas, a clay miner, living on Rye Lane, with his wife. He was the son of Joseph, a farmer and coal dealer of Wood Lane, who had married Emma, from Grenoside, in the 1840s. In 1851 they were at Chapel House with a young family.

2. Thomas's son, Frederick, a scale presser, was on Uppergate with his wife, Esther.

3. Another son, George, a 28-year old farmer and milk dealer, was living on Uppergate with his wife and ten-month old son. By 1891 they had moved to Underbank where George and his son, also George, were clay miners.

4. Thomas's brother, Benjamin, a 49-year old farmer, with his wife and family, was on Woodside Lane. He was churchwarden of Christ Church, Stannington, from 1869 to 1880. By 1891 he was a widower at Hollins Farm with his daughter as housekeeper.

5. Lewis, a 30-year old knife grinder, was living at Hanmoor with his wife, Emma, and two daughters. He was the son of William, a knife grinder, of Uppergate. By 1891 Lewis was a widower with his daughter, Anne, as housekeeper, and two sons at home.

6. Benjamin was a 56-year old widowed labourer, at Knowle Top with two daughters and a son still at home. In 1841 he was a grinder at Hanmoor Side with a wife, from Wortley, and two daughters. Ten years later, with five children, they had moved to Knowle Top.

7. Benjamin's son, Alexander, a 24-year old knife cutler, was at Nook End with a wife, Elizabeth, and three young children.

8. Thomas was a 51-year old razor grinder, living at Town End with his wife, from Camden Town, three sons, a daughter and grandson. There they remained, with a son, Belgrave, and grandson, Levi, until at least 1891.

9. Thomas's son, also named Thomas, was a razor grinder at Nook End, with his wife, from Barnsley, and daughter. By 1891 another son, Graham, also a razor grinder, was living at Tofts with his wife and young family.

10. George was a 51-year old farmer, with wife and family, at Town Head Farm. In 1841 he had lived with his parents, John and Elizabeth, at the farm. Ten years later he was helping his widowed mother to carry on farming. In 1891 his son, George Henry, was an agricultural labourer with wife and children at Loadbrook cottages.

11. Joseph, a 32-year old Sheffield-born razor grinder, lived at Tofts with his wife, from Hathersage, and three small children. Also with them was Joseph's 21-year old brother, William, a razor grinder, born in Stannington. Joseph and William's parents were at Tofts in the 1840s. Their father, John, was a Stannington-born razor grinder, married to Phoebe, of Sheffield, where the couple had lived with their four eldest children, including Joseph. In 1891 Joseph and his family were still at Tofts.

12. Although a Goodison was not head of the household there was a branch of the family living on Uppergate. In 1841 John and Hannah Goodison were living on Uppergate with their children, the eldest being Charlotte. Ten years later, on Reynard lane, Charlotte, unmarried, had four children. In 1861 she was a laundress on Uppergate with more children, the youngest only seven months old. In the 1860s Charlotte married Timothy Bancroft, a spring-knife cutler. In 1871 she was a widow, aged 62, living with her son-in-law, Henry Dearden and his wife. Timothy's elder brother, George Bancroft, aged 71, was lodging with them.

13. Charlotte's son, Joseph, a 28-year old grinder, was living with his wife, Priscilla, from Wadsley, on Liberty Hill. By 1891 Charlotte's son, William, a 38-year old brick maker, was at Stopes with his wife and two children.

The Goodisons had become a prolific family who had long been involved in the cutlery trades, especially grinding. They were also important in the gannister industry and the widow of a descendant still lives at Griff's House, Stopes.

Grayson: John Grayson was in Bradfield in 1414.¹⁰⁶ The earliest record of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1562 when Henry, the son of William, was baptised. There were no Graysons paying the 1672 hearth tax in Stannington, the nearest being Ralph and Thomas in Waldershelf. The first reference I have found to Graysons in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company apprenticeship records. John Grayson was bound to Enoch Drabble in 1749.¹⁰⁷ George, Joseph and Joel, sons of Henry of Bents,

were bound to other masters later in the century. In 1810 Florence Hope of Derby was admitted 'to a farm called Bents Farm in Dungworth then or late in the tenure of Henry Grayson.'¹⁰⁸ A George Grayson of Stannington took Thomas Hawksworth as an apprentice in 1812.¹⁰⁹

The Bradfield militia lists recorded members of the family each year. Samuel was recorded in 1819, exempt by reason of his cutlery apprenticeship. - 'Samuel, son of George Grayson, to Isaac Nichols of Stannington, knife-smith, 1814.'¹¹⁰ By 1831 Samuel was a 29-year old cutler, with one child, at Rails. Ten years later the census recorded him at Rails with his wife, Hannah, and family. In 1851 he was recorded as a pocket-knife cutler, born in Sheffield. By 1871 he had died but his son, Thomas, a spring-knife cutler, was living with his wife and family on Bingley Lane. This was probably Rails as he was recorded at Rails again in 1881. At the same time Thomas's sons, Benjamin and Levi, were servants with the Trickett family at Rivelin Side. Within the next ten years son, Charles, had married and had a family at Hanmoor. Samuel's son, Isaac, not recorded in Stannington in 1871, was back in 1881, living with his wife and two children on Nethergate. Ten years later his son, Samuel, was a wire drawer.

In 1841 William, a milkman, was living with his wife and family at Loadbrook. By 1851 he was a farmer at Hall Cliffe, employing his own son, Samuel, as a milk boy. He was recorded as being born in Ughill, his wife in Hallam and all the children in Stannington. They were still at Hall Cliffe ten years later but, by 1871, son, Samuel, married with a family, had taken over the farm. By 1881 William's son, Ernest, a clay miner, was married to Ann Shaw. The couple were living with Ann's parents at 'The Crown and Glove' on Uppergate. William's daughter, Mary, was at Nook End in 1861, an unmarried charwoman with a one-year old son, Alfred. Her sister, Annie, was living with her. In 1871 Mary had another three children. By 1891 she had married William Tattersall and her sons, Alfred and William, were both stone masons with wives and families, living on Uppergate, William with his father-in-law, William Abel.

The only other Grayson in Stannington in 1841 was Elizabeth, a widow, farming at Town Head with her daughter, Charlotte, and grandson, George. Elizabeth, aged 69, was living on her own in Uppergate by 1861. In 1851 George, a 29-year old table-knife grinder, was on Uppergate with his Irish wife, Ellen, and family. It is likely that George

was Elizabeth's son as he and family were farming at Town Head from 1861. George's widow was listed as a farmer in directories of 1888 and 1893.

The Graysons were another local family whose attachment to Stannington began with a cutlery apprenticeship. They remained in the township for 150 years.

Green: This is a common surname, but some families have local origins. Adam del Grene was recorded in Wirale (Worrall) in 1355.¹¹¹ Adam del Grene and Agnes, his wife, Willelmus de Grene, Agnes de Grene, Margareta de Grene and Johannes de Grene paid the poll tax in Bradfield in 1379. The first recording of a Green in the Bradfield registers was in 1559 when Robert married Alyce Ibotson. Although there were 55 Greens paying the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire none of them were in Bradfield, the nearest being one in Ecclesfield and one in Sheffield.

The earliest record I have found of Greens in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company's list of apprentices. In 1689 Joseph, the son of Robert Green, a cutler of Storrs, was bound to Thomas Beighton, also of Storrs.¹¹² He gained his freedom in 1700. Joseph took his son, Joshua, as an apprentice who gained his freedom in 1750. In 1711 Joseph added his signature to others in promising to keep Rivelin Mill in good order.¹¹³ He died in 1749, aged 72. In his will he bequeathed money to his wife, Ann, daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, and sons, Jonathan and Joshua. In addition he left the cottage where he lived, use of goods and smithy tools and the tenant right of a farm to his wife for life, then the farm to Jonathan, smithy tools between his two sons and household goods between his daughters. His son, Jonathan, died in 1758 when his estate was administered by his wife, Mary. His will requested that his share of his father's estate should be passed to Mary. He left 1s. each to his mother, brother and two sisters. His mother, Ann, died in 1766 when her inventory was valued at £85.8s.0d., including £30.12s.0d. owing from Joshua.

Robert's other sons, Robert and John, also served cutlery apprenticeships, gaining their freedoms in 1703 and 1706 respectively. John took apprentices in Stannington, beginning with Thomas, the son of Thomas Beighton of Storrs, in 1710.¹¹⁴ He was listed in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731 together with a Samuel Green of Dungworth.¹¹⁵

Another three Joseph Greens served cutlery apprenticeships in Stannington in the eighteenth century. In 1768 one of these gave 5s. towards Queen Anne's Bounty.¹¹⁶ In 1771 Edward Greaves of Penistone surrendered a messuage on Uppergate 'now in the tenure of Joseph Green...also lands to the use and benefit of the said Joseph Green for eleven years.'¹¹⁷ In the same year his son, George, gained his freedom as a cutler, having served his apprenticeship with John Pass of Coal Pit Lane, Sheffield.¹¹⁸ George, a cutler of Storrs, was listed in Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* as a maker of common table-knives. He died the following year, leaving all his goods to his wife, Hannah, for life if she remained unmarried, but he stipulated that she must not sell them.

'if she marries again or lives unlawfully with any man then the executors are to sell all the property for the benefit of my daughter, Letitia, except £10 to my wife from the sale of goods.'

His inventory goods were valued at £71.6s.0d. In 1795 his daughter married Anthony Shallcross.

In 1794 John Halewell (Helliwell) of Storrs died, leaving his property to his wife for life. After her decease it was to be divided into eight parts which included one part to each of his three grandchildren, Letitia, Thomas and John, the offspring of his late daughter, Hannah, and her husband, Jonathan Green, of Woodhouse. John was also to have 'the good will of my farm which I now enjoy and request the landlords to accept him.' This property was Coke Farm, Storrs. In 1831 Thomas Carill Worsley of Winster had dealings with the ownership of Coke: 'in the occupation of John Green.'¹¹⁹ The property was surrendered to John and his wife, Ann, who mortgaged it to Betty Mower of Sheffield.

In the Bradfield militia list of 1819, John was a 28-year old farmer in Storrs. In 1826 he was an overseer and in 1842 a collector of taxes.¹²⁰ He was listed in the return of jurors in 1825 by virtue of paying the poor rate, and in 1840 and 1850 by reason of freehold land and buildings.¹²¹ For this reason he claimed a vote in 1835 and 1840.¹²² He was the only Green recorded in Stannington in the 1841 census. By then he was a widower, living with his sons and daughters at Coke. Ten years later he was recorded as a 61-year old farmer of 45 acres, born in Woodhouse. At that time his son, Thomas, was a farmer at Town End with a wife, Charlotte, and young son. In 1848 Thomas was constable for Stannington¹²³ and in 1855 a juror by paying the poor rate.¹²⁴ He also claimed a vote for the Knights of the Shire in 1857 by occupying Fairbarn Farm.¹²⁵ Thomas's mother-in-

law, Ruth Marshall, was with the family in 1861, but none were recorded in Stannington in 1881.

In 1861 Benjamin, a 30-year old razor scale presser, was on Uppergate with his wife and family. They were still there thirty years later with members of the family. By that time two of his sons were also razor scale pressers. Also in 1861 Ellias, a 22-years old brickyard labourer, from Holmfirth, was lodging with the Loy family at Stopes. Within ten years other members of his family had moved to Stannington and in 1871 Ellias was lodging at Loadbrook with George Bradwell, his wife, Martha, from Holmfirth, and her son and daughter, Henry Green, and Sarah Jane Green, also from Holmfirth. Henry, a clay miner, was still with George and Martha in 1881 but by 1891 he had established his own household at Loadbrook with a wife from Hope, and two children.

In 1861 the Crappers of Hill Farm employed Charles Green, a 20-year old farm servant from Eyam. By 1871, and for the next twenty years he was a farmer and milk dealer living with his wife and family at St. Mary's Croft, Dungworth. In 1871 Joshua, a 27-year old stalker, was living at Oats Place with his wife, and son. Ten years later the family was at Wood Lathe. The 1881 census gave Joshua's place of birth as Holmfirth, his wife's as Melton Mowbray and the children as Stannington.

Like the Graysons, the Greens had become a long-established local family whose employment was chiefly in the cutlery industry.

Hallam: Roger Hallam was recorded in Stannington in 1284¹²⁶ and Willelmus de Hallom and Agnes, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in 1379. Despite the fact that Hallamshire included Bradfield there were very few Hallams recorded in the Bradfield registers, the earliest being in 1652 when George, the son of Robert, was baptised. It was noted in the register that he was born at Peak Forest. No Hallams paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, the only four in south Yorkshire being two in Conisbrough, one in Harthill and one in Rotherham. The first record I have found of Hallams in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company apprenticeship lists: Robert and George, sons of George of Stannington, a deceased joiner, began cutlery apprenticeships in 1695 and 1699 respectively.¹²⁷ George had his own apprentice in 1711 when Joseph Ridge of Stannington was bound to him.¹²⁸ When George died in 1717 he bequeathed his smithy

tools to his sons, George and Samuel. This George married Martha Hague in 1736 and Samuel married Elizabeth Shaw in 1739. These marriages took place at Bradfield but their first sons were baptised at Underbank: George, son of George, in 1739, and John, son of Samuel, in 1740. George donated 5s. towards Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768.¹²⁹

By 1782 a cutler, Robert Hallam, was living at Brookside, when Benjamin Taylor of Wadsley surrendered the property to his use and benefit.¹³⁰ Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed Robert as a maker of spotted-knives. He died in 1796, aged 52, leaving money to each of his sons, Samuel, John and James. The eldest took over Brookside and appeared in Montgomery's 1797 *Directory of Sheffield* as a pocket-knife cutler. In later directories he was listed as a farmer. He became an overseer in 1813,¹³¹ was a juror in 1825 by paying the poor rate,¹³² and claimed a vote from 1835 onwards by occupation of the farm worth £50 at Brookside.¹³³ Samuel was recorded at Brookside in 1841 and 1851, by which time he had been widowed twice. He died in 1856, aged 80.

Samuel's brother, John, a farmer in Storrs, was recorded in the Bradfield militia lists from 1819 to 1825 but he was exempt by the service of a substitute. In 1841 he was farming at Storrs Green. John died in 1847, aged 67, and his wife died the following year, aged 55. Samuel's youngest brother, James, was also recorded in the militia lists from 1820 onwards when he was a 37-year old farmer, with four children, at Hall Broom. The following years he was exempt because of an infirmity. He was an overseer in 1820, 1821, 1822 and 1829, surveyor of the highway in 1838 and chapel warden at Bradfield from 1844 to 1846.¹³⁴ He was a juror in 1825 by paying the poor rate¹³⁵ and claimed a vote from 1835 onwards by reason of his freehold land at Storrs.¹³⁶ In the 1841 and 1851 census returns he was recorded at Hall Broom with his wife and family. Directories of 1845, 1849 and 1852 listed him as a farmer but in 1854 he was a 'farmer and omnibus proprietor.' By 1861 James's son, Robert, and his family, had taken over the farm, with his brother, John living there also. Robert was listed in directories of 1854, 1856 and 1859 as a farmer at Hall Broom and claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire by reason of freehold houses and land at Storrs.¹³⁷ None of this branch of the family were recorded in Stannington in 1871.

Another John, a Stannington cutler, was recorded in the Bradfield militia lists, commencing in 1820 at the age of 39. In 1841 he was living on Nethergate with his wife

and two young family members, both called John, probably grandsons. John was a juror in 1840 by paying the poor rate¹³⁸ and claimed a vote in 1841 by occupation of land and a tenement worth over £50 at Hall Field.¹³⁹ John's son, Samuel, was a grinder, with a wife and young family, at Side Hall Field Gate in 1841. Ten years later they were on Uppergate with sons, George and James, as apprentice saw grinders. None of the family were recorded in Stannington in 1871; in fact the only Hallams in Stannington at that time was Thomas, born in Castleton, with his wife and young son, both born in Bamford, in Storrs. There were no Hallams in Stannington by 1881 but they had been a prominent family of cutlers for generations.

Hawke: Ricardus Hauke and Katerina, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379. At the same time Thomas Hauk and Beatrix, his wife, paid 12d., also in Sheffield. John Hauke was recorded in Bradfield in 1441.¹⁴⁰ Although the first record of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1578 when Brytric married John Broardbent there were only very occasional references. No Hawkes paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, in fact the only one in south Yorkshire was William in Sheffield.

I have found no recordings of the name in Stannington until the nineteenth century. In 1819 the Bradfield militia list included Martin, a 27-year old labourer, at Bents. He was exempt through poverty, having three children. In 1841 he was a farmer at Broom Vale, with his wife, Ellen, and a 25-year old son, George. From 1835 to 1850 Martin claimed a vote by occupying farms over £50 rent at Dungworth and Ughill.¹⁴¹ In 1840 he was a juror by paying the poor rate.¹⁴² By 1851 both Martin and his wife had died, and George had moved out of Stannington. Martin's son, another Martin, was also living in Dungworth in 1841, with his wife, Sarah, and one-year old son. Sarah died in 1843, and by 1851 Martin was married to Marianne, from Sheffield. In 1856 Martin was a constable¹⁴³ and was listed as a blacksmith in directories of the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s. In the 1871 census he was recorded as a master blacksmith. By then one of his sons, Edward, also a blacksmith, was living with his wife at Loxley View, Dungworth. None of the family were recorded in Stannington in 1881.

In 1841 John Hawke was a farmer at Moorwood, living with his mother, sister and brother. In 1852 and 1853 he was an overseer and in 1864 became a guardian of the poor.¹⁴⁴ He was a way warden in 1865 and 1872.¹⁴⁵ In 1840 and 1855 he was a juror by

paying the poor rate¹⁴⁶ and from 1843 to 1849 he was a constable.¹⁴⁷ In 1857 he claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire by occupation of Moorwood Farm.¹⁴⁸ By 1861 he had married Ruth from Thornhill, Hope. Ten years later John's younger brother, Robert, had set up his own household at Bents Farm, with a wife, Amelia from Wadsley, and two young children. In 1881 John and family were still at Moorwood but Robert and family had moved to Crawshaw Head. In 1871 another Robert, from Brampton, Derbyshire, was at Wood Lane Farm with his wife Mary from Hope. There were no Hawkes recorded in Stannington in the 1891 census, but they had been in Stannington for two or three generations, played their part in local affairs, and stayed in the area. A branch of the family still farms in Low Bradfield.

Helliwell: The surname has several origins from further north, in the West Riding. The earliest mention of Helliwell in the Bradfield registers was in 1586, when Jane, the daughter of Edward, was baptised. She was buried five days later. No Helliwells paid the 1672 hearth tax in Stannington, the nearest being Francis in Ughill, William in Waldershef and two in Sheffield.

The first reference I have found in Stannington was in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1717 when John was listed in Dungworth.¹⁴⁹ In a verdict of 1729 John of Storrs was appointed as a bearer.¹⁵⁰ In 1748 Mary, daughter of John of Coke (Storrs), was buried. His son, John, died in 1774, aged 23, and John himself died in 1794 leaving his goods and property to his wife, surviving daughter and grandchildren (see Green, page 226).

In 1816 Joseph of Syke House was exempt from the poor assessment¹⁵¹ and in 1822 was applying for relief: 'has had no employment for 12 weeks back, wife and two children and he is a cripple. Hannah(10), Martha (2).' His wife, Ann, applied again in 1826 and 1838. By 1841 she was a widow, living on her own at Dungworth Cross, and working as a charwoman. She was still there ten years later, joined by her daughter, Martha, son-in-law, John Wragg, and grandchildren. In 1861 Ann, aged 74, was a boarder with the Gray family at Hill Top. The census return recorded that she came from Darnall.

In 1841 John Helliwell was a servant with the Wright family at Hill Top. Ten years later he was a spring-knife cutler, living on Roscoe Bank with his wife, Ruth. She died in 1856, aged 36, but by 1861 John had re-married and had two children. Prior to 1871 the

family had moved to Liberty Hill where they remained for the rest of the century. The 1881 census recorded that John had been born in Hyde, Cheshire. In 1891 he was employed as an insurance clerk and both his daughters, one a widow, worked as dressmakers.

In 1851 Joseph, a 25-year old clay miner, was living with his elderly grandparents at Cliffe Hill Top. Ten years later he was there on his own but by 1871, having been married and widowed, he was with his uncle, William Crapper, at Corker Walls. In 1881 and 1891 he was at Crawshaw Lodge with a wife from Hathersage, and family.

Also in 1851 Charles, a farmer from Upper Hallam, was living at Broadhead Flats Farm, Stannington Wood, with his wife and young family. Charles put in a claim of £8.5s.0d. for damage to his property, which went down to the River Loxley, after the flood of 1864.¹⁵² In 1891 Charles's sons had taken over the running of the farm: Harvey with his wife, Rose Ann from Sheffield, and family, and William Arthur, with his wife and young son. By then the name of Helliwell had been in Stannington for almost two centuries although there were several different families.

Hobson: Rogerus Hobson, and Rodulphus and his wife, Agnes, paid tax in Bradfield in 1379. John Hobson was recorded in Smalfeild (a farmstead in Bradfield) in 1410.¹⁵³ Although no Hobsons paid the 1672 hearth tax in Stannington, there were thirty in south Yorkshire, the nearest being in Westnall, Waldershelf and Wadsley. About 1677, when a rental and survey of the manor was carried out, Robert Hobson paid £2.10s.0d. for the Over Hall Field with a house.¹⁵⁴ Around that time George, a cutler of Storrs, was taking apprentices, commencing with Jeremiah, son of Edward Bromelie (Bromley) of Stannington.¹⁵⁵ William, a filesmith of Stannington, bound John, son of Francis Barber of Wadsley, in 1682.¹⁵⁶ By 1702, when his son, George, was bound to Joshua Slack, William had died.¹⁵⁷ The Bradfield Easter Book of 1717 listed Thomas and a widow in Stannington.¹⁵⁸

Joseph, of Bingley Seat, contributed 2s.6d. towards Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768.¹⁵⁹ His son, Joseph Walshaw Hobson, became a razor grinder and took Samuel Armitage and Thomas Oates as parish apprentices in 1814 and 1826 respectively.¹⁶⁰ In 1821 he was a juror for his freehold estate of under £150¹⁶¹ and in 1827 he was an overseer.¹⁶²

He claimed a vote from 1835 to 1841 for his freehold land at Stannington.¹⁶³ In 1841 he was living on Wood Lane where he was listed in White's *Directory of Sheffield* as a coal owner. After outliving three wives he died in 1843, aged 80.

George was recorded in the Bradfield militia lists of 1829 and 1831 as a farmer at Hill. By 1831 he had three children. That year he was ordered to pay 2s. a week maintenance towards the upkeep of Mary Ann Nickson's bastard son.¹⁶⁴ From 1835 to 1848 he claimed a vote by occupying a farm at Hill worth £50.¹⁶⁵ He was still at Hill Farm in the 1841 census and in directories of 1841 to 1849, but that was the last mention of his family in Stannington.

Also in 1841 Thomas, a 15-year old apprentice brick maker, was living with the Dyson family at Clay House. Ten years later he was a coal and clay miner living on Nethergate with his wife, Charlotte, and young son. In 1861 they were at Brookside Cottage and in 1871, with more children, all were at Nook Farm, the only Hobsons in Stannington. None were recorded in 1881 but by 1891 Charlotte was a 70-year old widow living at Knowle Top with a young grand-daughter. The long existence of the surname in Stannington had almost come to an end.

Horsfield: Only three Horsfields paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire: John in Silkstone, Thomas in Darton and Luke in Waldershelf. Very few Horsfields were recorded in the Bradfield registers, the first being Sarah, the daughter of Luke, who was baptised in 1650.

The earliest date I have found of the Horsfields in Stannington was 1822 when Jonathan, an 18-year old blacksmith, was recorded in the Bradfield militia list. The only other Stannington entry was John, a grinder, recorded in 1827 and 1831. In 1841 he was at Knowle Top with his wife, Hannah, and family plus two lodgers, Sarah Horsfield, aged 25, and her two-year old daughter, Sarah. This was probably the Sarah whose mother, Mary Slowe, had applied for relief on her behalf in 1834:

'Daughter by a former marriage to the late Joseph Horsfield, a Stannington blacksmith. Her mother went to live at Newton, Cheshire, about 11 years ago and her children worked at a cotton factory. Sarah was then about 7 years old and while living at Newton never hired service to anyone. Mother been married to Edward Slowe about 8 years and left Hyde in October last and took a house at

Stannington where they are now living. Sarah is now about 18 and has been in Sheffield Infirmary about 6 weeks, now ill and incapable of doing anything towards a living.¹⁶⁶

In 1861 young Sarah was a dairymaid working for the Lowe family at Crawshaw.

John's lodgers had gone by 1851, but his own family had increased, with eight children at home. Ten years later they had moved to Hanmoor. By 1871 John's 63-year old widow was living there with two sons, Arthur and John. Within another ten years Arthur, a pocket-knife grinder, was married to Teresa and the couple were on Nook Lane with two children. They were on Liberty Hill in 1891. By then John was also on Liberty Hill with his wife, Eliza nee Horsfield, and family.

John and Hannah's eldest son, Joseph, was still at home in 1861 but ten years later he was married to Jane and had three children. By 1891 Jane was widowed and married to Arnold Revitt, living at Hanmoor with her children. In 1871 John's son, William, a pocket-knife grinder, was living with his wife and family at Rails, where they remained until at least 1881. They were not recorded in Stannington in 1891.

In 1841 George was an apprentice scale presser with the Revitt family at Town End. By 1851 he was living at Wood End with a wife, Sarah, and four children. In 1871 he and his wife were on their own at Park Side and by 1881 had moved to Liberty Hill. In 1891 Sarah had died and George was living with his daughter, Eliza, and son-in-law, John, son of John and Hannah, on Liberty Hill. By 1871 George's son Joseph, a razor scale presser, was married to Gloucester-born Mary, and they too were on Liberty Hill.

In 1861 Joel was a master corn miller employing two men at Rivelin Mill. His wife, Elizabeth, came from Outseats, Hathersage. By 1871 Joel had a drayman, Alfred Horsfield, with wife and family, living at the mill. Ten years later Alfred had moved to Frank Paper Mill, also on the River Rivelin, and by 1891 four of his family were employed as paper makers. His son, Harvey, was living at Tofts with a wife and family. By the end of the century the Horsfields had been an established Stannington family for about three generations.

Howe: No Howes paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire and none were recorded in the Bradfield registers until 1777, when Mary was buried. By then there were already Howes in Stannington. In 1774 Richard, a cutler, bound Joshua Crapper of Bradwell, as his apprentice.¹⁶⁷ Richard died in 1802, bequeathing to his wife, Hannah, all his goods, wheel tools etc. and tenant right of his house rented from John and William Alsop. At Hannah's death or remarriage Nether Coppice Wheel, on the River Rivelin, one trough of which was rented to James Richards, was to be equally divided between his two daughters, Ruth and Hannah. If they died then James Richards and his sons, Joseph and George, should have £10 each, with the residue to Thomas Muscroft. Regardless of this his three apprentices, George and Joseph Richards, and Thomas Muscroft, were to have £5 each if they stayed until the expiry of their indentures.

Robert Howe, a cutler, was also taking apprentices in Stannington, commencing in 1778 when he bound Amos Ingham.¹⁶⁸ Robert was a lessee of Swallow Wheel in 1785.¹⁶⁹ He died in 1791, when his estate was administered by his wife, Rachel, and son, William. His inventory totalled £31. Rachel herself died in 1802, her estate being administered by William and her four daughters, all married. Her inventory was valued at £57.17s.0d. William took over the lease of Swallow Wheel.

The Bradfield militia lists included James, a nail-maker of Hill Top, Dungworth, each year from 1819 to 1826 (see page 110). By that time he had four children. James was a chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1834 and 1835 and a collector of taxes in 1839.¹⁷⁰ He was a juror between 1823 and 1840 by virtue of his freehold estate¹⁷¹ and claimed a vote from 1834 to 1841 for the same reason.¹⁷² In 1841 he was living at Barker House with his wife, Elizabeth, and two daughters. Together with William Howe of Coppice, James mortgaged the Hill Top property.¹⁷³ He died in 1843 aged 57. In 1846 his widow and four daughters, Elizabeth, wife of James Eyre of Beeton Rod, Mary, wife of James Parker of Hill Top, Ecclesfield, Rachel, wife of William Hayward of Sheffield and Nancy, at that time unmarried, carried on the mortgage with William of Coppice. In 1851 James's widow was still at Barker House with Nancy and a grandson, James. Elizabeth died in 1853 followed by William in 1855. William left Nancy, by then the wife of George Morton, £100 and the messuage in Dungworth Hill Top in which she and her husband were living. Nancy's children sold the property to John Ronksley of Syke House in 1877.¹⁷⁴ William claimed a vote from 1839 to 1850 by virtue of a

freehold house and garden in Stannington.¹⁷⁵ In White's 1859 *Directory of Sheffield* William's son, Jonathan, was listed as farming at 'Coppys,' near the wire mill.

The militia list of 1820 recorded George, a Stannington grinder, as exempt because of his apprenticeship. He was again exempt in 1825 and 1826 because he was already serving in the militia. In the 1841 census he was a table-knife grinder on Albion Row, with his wife and two daughters. Ten years later he had been widowed, re-married and had more children. His second wife came from Lincoln. Whilst working at Swallow Wheel in the 1850s George was the victim of a rattening attack (see page 101). The Howes were at Tofts in 1861, when their two sons were also table knife grinders. After the flood of 1864 George, one of three partners, claimed £1,220 compensation for damage to Turner Wheel, on the River Loxley, just below Malin Bridge.¹⁷⁶

The only Howes in Stannington in 1871 were William Wilkinson Howe and his family living at Rivelin Mill. William and his wife had both been born in Upper Hallam, William being the grandson of William of Coppice. Although not recorded after that date as living in Stannington, William was churchwarden of Christ Church, Stannington, from 1897 to 1901. By that time the Howes had been in Stannington for about a hundred years.

Inman: Only four Inmans paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire, one in Sheffield, one in Clayton and two near Rotherham. The first recording of any of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1688, when George Inman married Bridget Kay.

The earliest mention I have found of Inmans in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company apprentice records. In 1749 Francis, son of George of Unstone, was bound to Thomas Darwent, a Stannington cutler.¹⁷⁷ He did not take his freedom until 1778, after which time he bound apprentices, commencing in 1791 with Thomas Wright from Rotherham.¹⁷⁸ Francis's sons, Samuel and John gained their freedom from their father in 1794 and 1796 respectively. Francis and his family were connected with Underbank Chapel where eight of his children were baptised between 1758 and 1776. Members of the family signed a petition in 1825 wanting the minister to stay i.e. they were Unitarians.¹⁷⁹ When Francis died in 1798 his estate was administered by his sons, George, Samuel, Thomas and Septimus, and sons-in-law, Thomas Womack and Richard

Revitt. His inventory totalled £45.6s.0d., including wheel tools. In 1811 Francis's son, Thomas, a grinder, owed £8.12s.2d. to Thomas Carr but could not pay him. The township settled to pay Thomas Carr 4s. per week and Thomas Inman would pay the township the £8.12s.2d. 'as soon as times will permit.'¹⁸⁰

John, also a grinder, was among the casual poor in 1819,¹⁸¹ and in 1821 applied for relief for his wife, Anne, and four children, due to his lack of work. He was ordered the 'scale and work.'¹⁸² He died in 1835, aged 66, and was buried at Underbank. In 1841 his widow was living at Knowle Top with two sons, William and Samuel, both grinders. Ten years later her family included Samuel's wife, Sarah, and three children. Ann died in 1852, aged 74, and was buried with her husband at Underbank. Samuel, with a grocer's shop, remained at Knowle Top. William, unmarried, was still with them, as he was in 1871. Samuel and William both put in compensation claims for damage to grinding equipment after the 1864 flood.¹⁸³ In 1881 Samuel's unmarried daughters, Ann and Mary, were helping him in the grocer's shop before Mary acquired her own grocery shop on Uppergate. Samuel died before 1891 when his 74-year old widow had three daughters still at home. Daughter, Ann, was running the shop. In 1871 Samuel's son, William, was an apprentice saw grinder. By 1881 he had married Helen Wragg and they were living on Nethergate with their young son. In 1891 they had moved to Uppergate.

Several younger members of the family featured in the Bradfield militia lists. Dennis first appeared in 1824 as a nineteen-year old grinder and continued to be listed each year. By 1841 he was living at Nook with his wife, Mary. They were on Nethergate in 1851 and Uppergate in 1861 and 1871. In 1842 he claimed a vote by reason of his freehold house, stable and barn on Uppergate.¹⁸⁴ He also claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857¹⁸⁵ and was a juror from 1841 to 1855.¹⁸⁶ Dennis died in 1872, aged 68, followed by Mary in 1873, aged 77. Both were buried at Underbank.

John was first recorded in the 1828 militia list, exempt for reason of being an apprentice shoemaker. In 1830 he was ordered to pay 18d. a week towards the maintenance of Elizabeth Oxley's illegitimate daughter.¹⁸⁷ By 1841 he had married Harriet Darwent and was inn keeper of 'The Hare & Hounds' on Uppergate. Harriet's 13-year old son, Francis, was living with them. It is likely that Francis was also John Inman's son as he was recorded, on different occasions, as Francis Darwent, Francis Inman or Francis

Inman Darwent. In 1841 John claimed a vote by leasing a house and land in Stannington¹⁸⁸ and was also a juror for the same reason.¹⁸⁹ John continued as a shoemaker and by 1851 Francis was a journeyman shoemaker. Ten years later he was a boot and shoemaker, married to Mary, and living on Uppergate with their young daughter, Harriet (see Darwent, page 148).

John died in 1867, aged 58, and was buried at Underbank. His widow, Harriet, ran the public house until Francis took over in about 1870. She died in 1882, aged 74. Francis and Mary had moved out of Stannington by 1891, but their son, John Darwent, was landlord of 'The Peacock' at Knowle Top. Francis died in 1895, aged 67, followed by Mary in 1897, aged 65. By then the Inmans had been in Stannington for a century and a half. They are yet another example of a family that came into the township through apprenticeship and long retained an interest in the cutlery industry.

Morris: Although Richard Moriz, living in Wyrale (Worrall), was a witness in 1200,¹⁹⁰ the family had not increased and there were only two Morrises paying the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire, one in Blaxton and one in Bawtry. There were no Morrises in the Bradfield registers until 1702 when Hannah, the daughter of Cornelius, was baptised. She died in 1706. The first record I have found of the family in Stannington was in the Bradfield militia list of 1820 which recorded John, a 20-year old fork-maker of Stannington (see page 110). By 1841 he was living at Knowle Top with his wife, Ann. Ten years later he was a widower at Clod Hall. He claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857 by reason of a freehold shop and land at Clod Hall.¹⁹¹ He was not recorded in Stannington after that date.

George, also a fork-maker, appeared in the militia lists from 1822 onwards. By 1841 he was living at Knowle Top with his wife and six children. By 1851 they had moved to Clod Hall where some of the family stayed for the remainder of the century. George died in the 1870s followed by his wife in the 1880s. Their son, John, also a fork-maker, had established his own household at Clod Hall by 1861 but, ten years later, his widow, Ann, was left with six children at home. Sons Henry, Harvey and Albert were brickyard labourers. In 1881 Henry was a firebrick maker, living with his wife, Ann, from Owlerton, and young son at Nook Farm. Albert was also a brick maker with a wife, Mary Jane, and young son, George, at Woodland View. Albert's younger brothers,

John, a drainpipe maker, and Arthur, a brick maker, were boarding with them. Ten years later Mary Jane had died and her widowed husband had married Annis. In 1871 George and Sarah's son, Joel, a musician and repairer of musical instruments, was living with his wife, from Ecclesall, and two children at Knowle Top. Another son, Joseph, a knife cutler, was at Clod Hall with his wife, from Oughtibridge, and young daughter. By 1891 there were eight children still at home. The eldest daughter was a dressmaker and two sons were spring-knife cutlers.

The 1841 census included John, a fork-maker at Hanmoor Side. From then until 1850 he claimed a vote by reason of a freehold house and workshop at Hanmoor Side.¹⁹² His son, William, a journeyman fork maker, and wife Elizabeth, were living with him. In 1842 the overseers of Ecclesall Bierlow complained that William, his wife and 10-month old son had moved to Ecclesall without gaining a legal settlement and were chargeable to the Bierlow. John was examined on oath concerning William's settlement:

'He (John) was 68 years old. At the age of 16 he had been bound apprentice to Joseph Beardshaw of Kimberworth for seven years. Just before he was 22 he married Mary Downing in Rotherham and lodged in Blackburn Moor. They then went to live with his wife's father, George Downing, in Stannington. John had paid £50 for a cottage which had been built upon the Waste at Han Moor in Stannington and had lived there ever since. His son, William, was born in that cottage and was about 29 years old.'¹⁹³

William also made a statement that he was a fork-maker but had never served an apprenticeship, nor had he been hired nor done any act to gain a settlement in his own right. He had married Elizabeth at Sheffield in 1831. He, his wife and son were then (1842) inmates of the workhouse of Ecclesall Bierlow. They were ordered to be removed from Ecclesall to the township of Bradfield as their last place of legal settlement. However, I have found no record of them in Stannington. Other Morrisises had been in the township for two or three generations.

Nettleton: No Nettletons paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire, although the Bradfield registers showed that John Nettleton married Mary Hall in 1645. The first recording I have found of Nettletons in Stannington was in the Bradfield militia list of 1819, when John was a nail-maker in Dungworth. That was the only entry and I have found nothing else apart from the following information in census returns.

In 1841 Richard was a journeyman coal miner living with his wife, Amelia, and family in Yews Fold. The 1861 census recorded that Richard, aged 71, had been born in Wath, Amelia, aged 68, in High Green, and two sons, Thomas and Joseph, in Dungworth. By 1871 the parents were dead and both coal miner sons had their own households. At that time Thomas was aged 52, living with his wife and eight children at Town End. He was not recorded in the 1861 census but cannot have been far away as his five younger children had been born in Bradfield parish. His three sons were coal miners. By 1881 the family had moved to Woodland View. In 1891 Thomas's son, Charles, had his own household, also at Woodland View.

Richard's son, Joseph, was living at Yews Fold in 1871 with his wife, Sarah, from Tipperary, Ireland, and two daughters. They were still there ten years later but were not recorded in Stannington in 1891. Records of the only other Nettleton family in Stannington commenced in 1841 when James, a coal miner, was living with his wife, Hannah, and daughter on Nethergate. Ten years later James was mining clay in addition to coal and his wife worked at the paper mill. They had moved to Knowle Top by 1861 and were in The Street, Dungworth, in 1871 and 1881. Their eldest son, John, a coal miner, was then living at Hill Top with his wife, Ann, and two children. Ten years later Ann was a widow, working as a washerwoman with three daughters still at home. In 1891 two daughters were domestic servants at home and the third, Annie, was a domestic servant with the Gray family at Hill Top. The Nettletons had been in Stannington for much of the nineteenth century.

Nichols: Juliana Nicolle paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield in 1379. No Nicholises paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, the nearest being three in Sheffield. The Bradfield registers however recorded generations of the families commencing in 1559, when 'Elyzabethe daughter of Rychard Nycols' was baptised. Cutlers' Company records included the binding of Edward, son of Abraham, to cutler George Hobson of Shooter House, in 1695.¹⁹⁴ Edward gained his freedom in 1704 and bound apprentices of his own, commencing with John Barnes of Wadsley in 1709.¹⁹⁵

Edward added his signature to those promising to keep Rivelin Mill in good order in 1712¹⁹⁶ and was listed in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731.¹⁹⁷ Another Edward, possibly his son, donated 2s.6d. towards Queen Anne's Bounty in 1768.¹⁹⁸ This

Edward's son, Abraham, gained the freedom of the Cutlers' Company in 1763 and son, John, in 1775.¹⁹⁹ Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* included Abraham of Stannington and John of Storrs as pocket-knife makers, plus Samuel and Abraham of Stannington as spotted-knife makers. Ten years later Montgomery's edition listed John, Abraham, Isaac and Samuel as pocket-knife makers, all in Stannington.

John was an overseer in 1807.²⁰⁰ He died in 1824, aged 73, leaving property to his son, Elias, and a close at Nook to his daughter, Mary Barrett. His sons, Elias and John, were trustees of his will. In the 1824 return of jurors both Elias and John, cutlers, were freeholders, owning property under £150.²⁰¹ In 1840 Elias was again a juror, and between 1835 and 1850 claimed a vote.²⁰² In 1841 Elias, a farmer/cutler, and his wife, Margaret, from Dronfield, were living at Syke, Dungworth, with their family. In 1857 Elias claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire²⁰³ He died in 1858. In 1825 John was the collector of assessed tax for Stannington.²⁰⁴ He claimed a vote between 1835 and 1850 by virtue of his freehold land and buildings,²⁰⁵ and was again a juror in 1850 and 1855 for the same reason.²⁰⁶ In 1841 John, a cutler, was living with his wife, Hannah, and family at Stannington Wood. Ten years later he had died, leaving his widow farming with their six grown-up children.

Several Nichols appeared each year in the Bradfield militia lists and there were eight separate households in 1841. These had increased to twenty by 1871 although one family had come specifically to work on the construction of the new reservoirs (see page 270). The others are listed as follows:

1. In 1861 Elias's son, John Ward Nichols, a cutler, was head of the household at Syke with his 73-year old mother, Margaret keeping house. Ten years later he was farming at Eyres Fold, Hill Top, and in 1891 was at Cliffe House, aged 71.
2. Elias's younger son, Elias George, had married Emma by 1861 and was a farmer/cutler at Green Side. Ten years later he had been widowed, married to Eliza and was working as an agricultural labourer, living on Tingle Lane, Myers Grove. They were still there, both aged 68, in 1891.
3. In 1851 John and Hannah's eldest son, John, was a collier. By 1861 Hannah had died leaving John head of his own household at Stannington Wood. He was at that time described as a farmer and coal miner, employing four men and a boy. He was married to

Elizabeth, from Nether Hallam, and had three young children. White's 1862 *Directory of Sheffield* listed him as a coal owner in the firm of 'Nicholls (sic.) & Jackson.' In 1868 he was a guardian of the poor, in 1870 and 1871 an overseer, and also in 1871 a waywarden.²⁰⁷ In 1881 he was employing eleven men. By 1891 his son, also named John, and married to Rebecca from Great Hucklow, had taken over the firm and was described as a farmer and gannister merchant (see page 117).

4. John and Hannah's daughter, Mary, never married and in 1871 was a 56-year old dressmaker living on her own at Wood Cottage. She was still there ten years later.

5. In 1841 Isaac was a journeyman cutler, living with his wife, Leah, and family at Bents, Dungworth. He became a spring knife cutler and by 1861 his wife was working as a midwife. In 1871 Isaac was a 64-year old widower living at No.1, Bank Top, Dungworth with his daughter, also called Leah, keeping house for him. Three grandchildren were also there. The eldest, John Wright, was also a spring-knife cutler.

6. Next door, at No. 2, Bank Top, was Isaac's son, Abraham, a 38-year old spring-knife cutler, with his wife, Esther, born in Attercliffe. In 1891 the couple were boarding with Hugh Jenkinson, landlord of 'The George Inn' at Hill Top, Dungworth. Abraham died in 1903, aged 70. His widow, Esther, married Hugh Jenkinson and died in 1911.

7. Isaac and Leah's other son, Isaac, a 36-year old penknife cutler, was living at No.3 Bank Top, with his wife, Harriet, and two sons. Twenty years later the sons were not recorded in Stannington but Isaac was at Brookside Bank with his wife and daughter.

8. In 1841 George was a farmer/cutler at Hill Top. Ten years later he and his wife, Susanna, were farming at Beaton with two of their children, Caroline and William, while their son, George, remained at Hill Top with two sisters. In 1861 George sen. and Susanna were at Crow Royds. He died in 1863, aged 74, followed by Susanna in 1868, aged 74. By 1861 George jun., at Hill Top, was married to Sarah, from Ughill, and had five children. In 1871 the family were on Uppergate where George and his son, Edwin, were both agricultural labourers. Ten years later George had died and his widow was with Edwin, a grocer, still on Uppergate. In White's 1883 *Directory of Sheffield* Edwin was listed as a hay and straw dealer.

9. George and Susanna's son, William, living at Beaton, was married to Martha by 1861 and had three children. The census recorded the middle child, Fanny Maria, aged four, as having been born in America. The family, including younger children, was at Beaton

in 1871, but the head of the family was George Nichols, married to William's wife. I can only think that William had died and his widow, Martha, had married another member of the family, George, the son of Edward. Ten years later the family included a grand-daughter, Martha, the child of their nineteen-year old daughter, Emma Jane. By 1891 Emma Jane had married John Gregory and was living at Wiggin Hall with her daughter and more children by her husband. Her brother, James, was also living with the family. In 1881 George's son, George, was a servant with the Thompson family at Lawns Farm.

10. Edward was a farmer at Rails in the 1841 census. He had married Phoebe Dyson in 1824 and had four children, including George. Edward was a juror in 1840 and 1850 by paying the poor rate.²⁰⁸ In 1871 Edward, aged 80, Phoebe, aged 68, and an unmarried daughter, Martha, were still at Rails with the children of their married daughter, Mary Ann, the wife of Jonathan Dyson.

11. Edward's son, William, was a farmer by 1871, living at Flash with his wife, Ann, and niece, Martha Ann Dyson. He was still at Flash in 1881 but ten years later had taken over the farm at Rails.

12. Also at Rails in 1841 was Abraham, a cutler, with his wife, Margaret from Cheadle, Staffordshire, and five young children. Lodging with them was Samuel Fox, a wire worker, the eventual founder of the steel works at Stocksbridge. Abraham claimed a vote from 1840 to 1850 by having leasehold houses at Rails.²⁰⁹ By 1851 the family had moved to Town End where Abraham was described as a spring-knife cutler. In 1861 they were at Underbank, and in 1871 on Nethergate. In 1881 Abraham, aged 76, and Margaret, aged 72, still had three sons, all spring-knife cutlers, at home. By 1891 the youngest, William, had married Lavinia and was living in Rivelin.

13. Abraham's son, Joseph, was married by 1871 and lived at Fox House, Uppergate, with his wife and five young children. Ten years later he was back with his parents on Nethergate but his wife, working as a charwoman, and children were still on Uppergate.

14. Abraham's son, Isaac, a cutler, was at Clod Hall in 1871 with his wife, from Chesterfield, and their young daughter. They were still there in 1891.

15. Abraham's son, Henry, a cutler, was living on Nethergate in 1871. He was married to Ann and they had two small children. By 1881 the family had moved to Albion Row. In 1891 Henry was a widower living at Clod Hall, looking after his family, ranging

from a 14-year old down to a 2-year old. His eldest son, Arthur, a pocket-knife cutler was married to Emily, from Wadsley. The couple lived at Nook End with two young children and Arthur's 9-year old brother, George.

16. Abraham's son, Abraham was married to Ann by 1861 when the couple were at Clod Hall. They were on Uppergate in 1871 but moved out of Stannington sometime during the next ten years.

17. In 1841 Thomas was a blacksmith living on Hanmoor Side with his wife, from Wortley, and seven children. By 1861 Thomas was a widower with his daughter, Sarah, keeping house for him and her younger brother, John. Thomas's son, James, a blacksmith, was at Knowle Top with his wife. In 1871 Thomas's son, John, also a blacksmith, was on Howe's Row with his wife and children.

18. In 1861 Joseph was a 57-year old labourer living at Knowle Top with his wife, from Eyam, and three children. Ten years later they were at Town End with two sons, both labourers, still at home.

19. John Hives Nichols had moved into Uppergate by 1861. He was a 42-year old farmer and tax collector, living with his wife, Matilda, and two daughters. The family was there in 1871 but ten years later both daughters had left home.

The Nichols family was in the township from the end of the seventeenth century, beginning when one served a cutlery apprenticeship, and they became one of the most prolific in Stannington during the nineteenth century. They played their part in the local community, taking on official duties and accepting the changes in the economy. Although William Nichols (no. 9) had taken his wife and family to America for a few years they came back to their roots in Stannington.

Ollerenshaw: The name originated near Chapel-en-le-Frith. No Ollerenshaws paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire and none were recorded in the Bradfield registers until 1773, when John married Mary Thompson. Prior to this, Edward's eight children had been baptised at Underbank Chapel, beginning with John in 1744. The only Ollerenshaw in the Bradfield militia list was John, recorded every year beginning in 1819, when he was an 18-year old labourer at Loadbrook.

In 1841 John was living with his father, George, a 66-year old agricultural labourer, and mother, Martha, at Rails. At that time his younger brother, William, was a servant with the Greaves family at 'The Surrey Arms', Hollow Meadows. Ten years later Martha had died and William had returned home to Rails. John, working as a stone labourer, had been married and widowed. By 1861 John and William, still at Rails, were both working as stone quarriers but ten years later John was on his own.

In 1851 Henry was a 21-year old stone mason, living with his wife, Teresa, and young son at his father-in-law, Luke Beal's, on Bingley Lane but that was the only recording of him in Stannington. In 1861 Edward, a 40-year old stone mason, was at Knowle Top with his wife, Sarah, and their 16-year old son, John, who had been born in Sheffield. Directories of the 1860s recorded Edward as a stone mason and much of his work as a monumental mason can be seen in Bradfield and Loxley graveyards. His son, John, married Maria but both he and his wife died in 1869, aged 23 and 19 respectively. Edward's wife died in 1870 aged 49. In 1871 Edward's 82-year old mother was living with him, together with his 13-year old nephew, Vincent, an apprentice stone mason. The only member of the family in Stannington in 1881 was Vincent, lodging with a widow, Ann Oates, at Acorn Hill.

The Ollerenshaws, like the Earnshaws, were a family never connected with the cutlery trades in Stannington, nor did they establish a foothold in the township.

Race: The only Race paying the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire was Edward at Woolley, near Barnsley. The first entry in the Bradfield registers was in 1675 when James married Margaret Seddons, followed by the baptism of their children during the next few years. Sarah Race married Samuel Womack in 1778 and in 1782 Joseph, probably Sarah's brother, son of Thomas, a cutler of Bradfield, was bound to Sarah's husband, a Stannington cutler.²¹⁰ Joseph gained his freedom in 1791. He remained in Stannington and took apprentices of his own, commencing with Timothy Wilson in 1794.²¹¹ He was exempt from paying the poor assessment in 1813 and 1814.²¹²

The Bradfield militia lists included Joseph Race, a Stannington grinder, commencing in 1823, when he was twenty-one. By 1829 he was exempt through poverty, having two children. In 1841 he and his wife, Sarah, were at Knowle Top with seven children. He

died in 1843, aged 39, leaving Sarah with six children still at home. By that time the four sons, John, William, Joseph and Dennis were all razor grinders. Within another ten years John had died, and William had married Amelia. The couple were living at Knowle Top with a young daughter. In 1871 Sarah was still there with her 31-year old unmarried daughter, also called Sarah, a dressmaker. Sarah sen. died in 1872, aged 69. Joseph was at Hanmoor with his wife, Hannah, and three children. In 1881 he and his family were at Knowle Top where his daughter, Mary Alice, was a grocer. By 1891 they had moved to Liberty Hill.

In 1871 Dennis was at Storrs with his wife, Elizabeth Ann, and young daughter. William and family were at Hanmoor where he combined grinding with a grocery business. He was a constable from 1870 to 1872.²¹³ Both Dennis and William had claimed compensation for flood damage to their grinding equipment in 1864.²¹⁴ They and their families were at Storrs Wheel in 1881. By then William had been widowed and married to Sarah Ann Inman. The only mention of any of the family in trade directories was in 1888 when William was listed as a razor grinder at Storrs Mill. In 1891 the family was at Cabin, Tofts.

The 1841 census included Luke, a razor grinder, living at Town End with his 75-year old widowed mother, Catherine. This was Catherine Oates who had married a Joseph Race in 1789. Ten years later Luke was there with his wife, Hannah, and young daughter. In 1871 Luke and Hannah were at Underbank by which time the Races had been involved in the Stannington cutlery trades for about four generations.

Revitt: No Revitts were paying the hearth tax in south Yorkshire in 1672 and none were recorded in the Bradfield registers until 1715, when William married Ruth Webster. The earliest record I have found of the family in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company apprentice list of 1729, when John Mason gained his freedom from John Revit (sic), a Stannington cutler.²¹⁵ Several Revitts served cutlery apprenticeships throughout the eighteenth century. Gales & Martin's 1787 *Directory of Sheffield* listed John and Richard, both of Stannington, as razor makers. They were also listed in Montgomery's 1797 edition.

In 1781 Francis Chantry, a joiner of Jordanthorpe (Sir Francis's father), together with John Atkin of Norton Syke, surrendered 'land in Stannington in the possession of John Revitt.'²¹⁶ By 1783 John Revitt was living at Skinner House on Uppergate.²¹⁷ In 1794 John Hatfield, of Rotherham, and members of the Ronksley family surrendered an allotment of land at Hall Park to the use and benefit of Richard Revitt.²¹⁸

The family was always connected with Underbank Chapel and many children were baptised there during the eighteenth century. The Revitts signed a petition in 1825 regarding the Spooone Charity and Christopher, Jonathan and John signed to keep the chapel Unitarian.²¹⁹ Spout House was originally given to the chapel to be used as the manse but Peter Wright, (minister, 1814-54), moved to live in Sheffield and the house was let to the Revitts.²²⁰ Spout remained in the Revitt tenancy until the 1940s.

The family was well represented in the Bradfield militia lists and in 1871 there were twelve Revitt households recorded in the census:

1. In 1841 George, a scale presser, was at Town End with his children. He died in 1846, aged 72, and was buried at Underbank. By 1851 his son, also George, had been the schoolmaster, living in the schoolhouse at Underbank, for seven years. He was married to Sarah from Outseats, Hathersage, and had two young children. His sister, Millicent, an assistant teacher at the school, was living with them. They were there twenty years later and George continued as schoolmaster until 1875. In 1869 he had been an overseer.²²¹ By 1881 his son, also George, was a farmer on Nethergate, with a wife, Bertha, and three children. Ten years later they had more children.

2. In 1841 John was a farmer, living with his wife, Mary, and four children on Nethergate. In 1847 he was a collector of the property tax.²²² He had died by 1851 when his widow was helped on the farm by their sons, Samuel and Francis. Another son, John, was a farmer at Spout House with his wife, Elizabeth, from Ecclesall, and five sons. Elizabeth died in 1853, aged 39. In 1850 and 1855 John was a juror by paying the poor rate²²³ and in 1857 he claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire by occupying a house and land worth £50 a year at Spout House.²²⁴ He died in 1888, aged 75. In 1871 this John's eldest son, John, had taken over Spout House with his father's sister, Mary Ann, as his housekeeper and father's brother, Samuel, as a farm servant. Mary Ann had moved into Spout Cottage by 1881. At that time John had married Thirza and had three

children. They were there in 1891 with their eldest son, Herbert, helping on the farm. Thirza died in 1918, aged 76, John in 1929, aged 85, and Herbert in 1951, aged 75.

3. In 1871 John jun.'s brother, James, was an agricultural labourer at Spout Cottage with his wife and two young daughters.

4. In 1851 John and Mary's eldest son, Jonathan, was an agricultural labourer living on Nethergate with his wife, Mary. He was constable for Stannington from 1853 to 1862.²²⁵ By 1871 Jonathan was a farmer and relieving officer. He and his wife had moved to Bingley House with his brother John's son, Vincent. Jonathan and Mary were still there until their deaths in 1896 and 1897 respectively. Ten years later Vincent was farming at Bents House, married to Lavinia and had two children. They were still there in 1891.

5. In 1841 Joseph was a razor maker living on Uppergate with a wife, Eliza, and two children, Elizabeth and Heber. Ten years later the family had increased to six children. By 1871 there were another three children but some had left home.

6. Their eldest son, Heber, was a razor blade forger living on Woodland View with his wife and four daughters. They were still there in 1891 with younger children. The eldest, Arthur, aged 17, was a razor blade forger.

7. Joseph and Eliza's son, Frank, aged 28, was also on Woodland View in 1871. He was a razor blade forger with a wife, Emma, a schoolmistress. By 1891 Eliza was a 72-year old widow, living at Knowle Top with two unmarried sons, Charles and Joseph, both razor blade forgers.

8. In 1841 William was a 20-year old filesmith living on Uppergate with his wife, Elizabeth, and two daughters. By 1851 they had added two sons, Walter and Morgan, to the family. William claimed a vote between 1841 and 1850 by occupying a farm in Stannington worth £50 a year²²⁶, and, in 1857 claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire for owning freehold land, in his own occupation, near Nook.²²⁷ William and Elizabeth were still on Uppergate in 1881, aged 69 and 70 respectively.

9. By 1871 their son, Walter, was a filesmith, living on Nethergate, with a wife, Hannah, and young daughter. Ten years later they had three sons. At that time Walter's brother, Morgan, a clay miner, his wife Betsy, and three children were living with Betsy's widowed father, Samuel Bark, on Nook Lane. Samuel died in 1888 but Morgan and family were still there in 1891.

10. In 1838 Mary, the wife of Joseph, a razor grinder of Stannington, applied for relief: 'was apprenticed to John Parker and served his time, was lamed about Christmas last and is now at Oldfield Lane and unable to do anything. Receives 5s. from Hallam Club. Aged 30, wife 26. Children Ann (6), James (4), William (1).'²²⁸

By 1841 the family was living on Uppergate where Joseph was a milkman. Ten years later he was again working as a razor grinder as were his two elder sons, James and William. In 1871 a younger son, Arnold, a razor grinder, was still at home. By 1891 he had married a widow, Jane Horsfield, who had two sons and a daughter.

11. In 1851 George was a 36-year old pocket-knife cutler living with his wife, Sarah, young son, Alfred, and his wife's daughter, Sarah, on Uppergate. They were still there in 1871 although young Sarah had left home. By 1881 George had been widowed and was taking in lodgers.

12. In 1841 Elizabeth was a widow living on Uppergate with three children including 11-year old Henry. In 1861 Henry was a milk dealer on Nethergate, with his wife and two sons, Percy and Wilfred. Ten years later Percy was head of the household, a farmer living with his widowed mother and younger brother, Wilfred, a 20-year old agricultural labourer. In 1891 a younger brother, George Henry, was a clay miner living with his wife, Elizabeth, and three sons at Stopes. His father-in-law, George Ronksley, and brother-in-law, also named George Ronksley, were with the family. In 1892 George Henry, farming on Nethergate, was a waywarden.²²⁹

The Revitts became a prolific family, much involved in the cutlery trades. By 1900 they had been in Stannington for the best part of two centuries, and descendants are still there, including Milton Revitt, business manager of Dyson Holloware.

Ridall: Thomas Rydel was recorded in Stannington in 1328,²³⁰ and Ricardus Redhall and Alicia, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Ecclesfield in 1379. No Ridalls paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire although the first recording of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1648 when Thomas, son of John, was baptised. Thomas's daughter, Sarah, was baptised in 1670 and daughter, Ann, in 1673. It is possible that they were exempt from paying the tax. Apart from the 1328 reference, the first record I have found

of the name in Stannington was in the 1841 census, when Ann was a servant with the Trickett family in Storrs.

In 1861 James, a 21-year old labourer from Edale, was lodging with the Watters family on Bingley Lane. By 1871, working as a labourer at the wire mill, he was married to Elizabeth and had two children. In 1891 their two girls were also employed at the wire mill. James died in 1908, aged 68, followed by Elizabeth in 1924, aged 86. Both were buried at Underbank. Despite the early reference to the name, the Ridalls did not become one of the core families.

Stringer: The surname is derived from a specialist occupation in the iron industry and has plural origins. Henry Stringer was in Hawkesworth in 1277,²³¹ and Willelmus Stringer and Matilda, his wife, paid 4d. poll tax in Sheffield in 1379. There were none in Bradfield in 1672, the only ones in south Yorkshire being one in Bentley, one in Brinsworth and Mr. George in Whiston, who had to pay tax on eleven hearths. The earliest record of the family in the Bradfield registers was in 1652, when James married Ann Couldwell.

The first recording I have found of a Stringer in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company apprenticeship lists. Sperlin, the son of John Stringer, was bound to Charles Stringer of Dungworth and gained his freedom in 1728.²³² Sperlin had been baptised at Bradfield in 1707. He was living at Bingley Seat in 1746 when his daughter, Betty, was baptised. Charles had married Mary, the daughter of Jonathan Shaw of Storrs, at Silkstone in 1719, and had children baptised in Bradfield. Their son, John, of Dungworth, was also taking on apprentices a few years later. Charles was recorded in the Bradfield Easter Book of 1731.²³³ In 1738 he was living at Cliffe, when George Wragg of Treeton and Robert Walker of Dungworth surrendered Tom Hill to his use and benefit for 21 years.²³⁴ The lease was renewed in 1759. In 1746 Samuel Sanderson bequeathed Hill House to John who was admitted through his father, Charles.²³⁵ Charles died in 1757, leaving his estate to John, his other son, Jonathan, having died in 1752, aged 24. John was an overseer in 1760 and 1762,²³⁶ and in 1768 donated 10s.6d. towards Queen Anne's Bounty.²³⁷ In 1773 John, one of the devisees in the will of George Shaw of Brookside, was admitted to Hill House, a messuage at Storrs and land at Storrs.²³⁸ John died intestate in 1782, aged 51, owing money to Isaac Ronksley,

Richard Revitt and others (see page 57). His only child, Millicent, was admitted to his estate through her mother, Ann, who died in 1818, aged 82.

The Bradfield militia lists recorded only Thomas, of Stannington, and Matthew and John, of Dungworth, in 1819, Charles of Stannington in 1820, and James, a labourer of Stannington, in 1821. He was exempt because of poverty, having three children. In 1829 his wife applied for relief:

'settlement by hiring and service with Mr. Holy of Crawshaw for three years. Married 13 years ago. Four children George (11), Sarah (9), Ann (6), Maria (4). Out-pensioner at the Infirmary. In Hallam Club, is now receiving 5s. a week.'²³⁹

In 1841 James was an agricultural labourer at Crow Royds with two children, Maria and Emma. Ten years later Emma was his housekeeper.

Also in 1841, Moses was an agricultural labourer living at Lane End, Dungworth, with his wife from Hollingclough, Staffordshire, and daughter, Sarah. By 1851 they had moved to Syke House Lane and ten years later were in Storrs, by which time daughter, Sarah, was not recorded in the area.

The only Stringer in Stannington in 1871 was Ann, a 61-year old housekeeper with the widowed John Thompson and his family at Lawns Farm. It is possible that this was the Ann Stringer who had cited William Marsden of Stannington as father of her son in 1833.²⁴⁰ In 1881 John, a 25-year old carter from Sheffield, was living at Rails with his wife, Clara, and two young daughters. Ten years later the family had moved to Hanmoor. John, by then a labourer, was also the sexton at Christ Church, Stannington.

The Stringers were another family attracted to Stannington through a cutlery apprenticeship. They were numerous in the township for well over a century.

Thompson: Willelmus Thomson and Idonia, his wife, paid 4d. tax in Sheffield in 1379 and John Tompsen was at Thornsett (a farmstead in Bradfield) in 1413.²⁴¹ In 1672 fifty-three Thompsens paid the hearth tax in south Yorkshire, the nearest to Stannington being George in Sheffield. The first recording in the Bradfield registers was in 1559, when Dianes, daughter of John Tomson, was baptised. Recordings continued throughout the seventeenth century.

The earliest record I have found of the family in Stannington was the baptism of George, son of John Thompson of Murrwood, at Bradfield in 1720. John died in 1734, leaving money and goods to his wife, Hannah, and children, Mary, the wife of Richard Greaves of Hopwood House, John, Martha, Hannah, Elizabeth and George. Elizabeth was to have £6 more than the others 'because of her infirmity.' John's son, George, inherited Hopwood House in 1762 but he died later the same year, aged 42. His estate was administered by his widow, Mary, and his brother, John, of Storrs. His inventory was valued at £277.1s.4d. In 1768 Mary and John each subscribed 5s. towards Queen Anne's Bounty.²⁴² John died in 1772, aged 82, having been a constable in 1754.²⁴³

George, the son of George of Moorwood, a deceased filesmith, began a cutlery apprenticeship with John Shaw of Stannington in 1770.²⁴⁴ A descendant, also named George, claimed a vote from 1835 to 1841 by occupying land and a tenement valued at above £50 a year at Moorwood.²⁴⁵ He was on the list of jurors in 1840 by paying the poor rate.²⁴⁶ He was recorded in the 1841 census with a relative, William Thompson, as farm servant. George had died before 1851 and William was not recorded but was at Moorwood in 1861 with his wife, Eliza, and family. The census recorded that he had been born in Wadworth. By 1871 the family had moved to Nook Lane. William and Eliza were there in 1881 with just one son, 26-year old George, an agricultural labourer, at home. In 1891 George was a grocer, with his wife, Mary, at Hanmoor.

John, son of George of Hopwood House, inherited his father's estate. He was a juror between 1821 and 1824 by virtue of his freehold estate valued under £150.²⁴⁷ He died in 1838, aged 75, and his son, George, inherited the property. George was chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1822 and 1823 and again between 1836 and 1840. He was also a collector of taxes in 1836.²⁴⁸ He claimed a vote between 1835 and 1841 by owning the freehold of Hopwood House.²⁴⁹ He was living on his own at Hopwood House in 1841, looked after by servants, and died in 1853, aged 70, having moved out of Stannington by that time. Hopwood House had passed out of the family by 1851. John's sister, Elizabeth, had married James Howe of Hill Top and died in 1853, aged 66.

White's 1833 *Directory of Sheffield* listed the firm of 'Thompson, Holden & Hawksley' as paper manufacturers in Storrs. By the 1841 edition this was 'Emanuel Thompson & Co., paper and mill board manufacturers.' In 1822 and 1824 Emanuel was an overseer,

and was chapelwarden at Bradfield in 1824. He was warden again in 1833 when he was 'chosen by the minister.'²⁵⁰ He claimed a vote in 1837 by occupying property worth £50 at Storrs and Broad Oak - Storrs being the paper mill.²⁵¹

In 1841 Emanuel and his wife, Ann, were living with their family at Broad Oak. Their sons, Joseph and Henry, were both scale pressers. Joseph had taken over the farm by 1851, living there with his wife, Sarah, from Shafton, and young family. In 1871 Joseph jun., Joseph and Sarah's eldest son, was a miner, living with his wife, Mary Ann, from Sheffield, at Town End. With them were three of Joseph's brothers and three sisters. Another brother, Samuel, a clay miner, was on Uppergate with his wife, Marcia, and his 2-year old sister, Sarah. The families were not recorded in Stannington in 1881.

In 1820 John Thompson, of Crawshaw, was the tax collector for Stannington.²⁵² He was an overseer in 1838 and 1839 and land tax collector in 1845. He claimed a vote from 1835 to 1841 by occupation of land and a tenement valued above £50 at Crawshaw²⁵³ and was a juror in 1840 by paying the poor rate.²⁵⁴ John was recorded at Crawshaw House in 1841, with his wife and family but they had moved away before 1851.

In 1819 George was at Lawns Farm. Between 1821 and 1824 he was a juror, having a freehold estate under £150²⁵⁵ and between 1835 and 1840 claimed a vote for the same reason.²⁵⁶ His son, John, at Lawns in 1841, was a juror in 1850 and 1851.²⁵⁷ By that time he was married to Mary Ann, from Hallam, and had a growing family. In 1871 John was a 57-year old widower. His son, Levi, had married but was still at Lawns with his wife and daughter. Younger son, Ezra, was a farm servant with the Hall family at Swingley Ford Bents. In 1881 Levi was head of the Lawns household but his father, John, and brother, George who was blind, were with the family. Ezra had married Sarah and was with her and two sons in the farm cottage. This was almost the same situation ten years later when John was aged 78. Levi and Ezra both had more children and George was not recorded in Stannington. Levi continued farming at Lawns until his death in 1925. He went into the cow house to let the cows out as usual but suffered a stroke and collapsed. The cows panicked and trampled on him. He died of his injuries five days later at the age of 82. By that time he also owned Rivelin Farm, Rivelin Side Farm, Flash Farm and land in Castleton. He was, at one time, Superintendent of Christ Church Sunday School. The *Sheffield Telegraph* of 1st December, reported:

‘Earlier in life he served as Overseer of the poor of Sheffield, and in the time of the Easter Court Leet held at Sheffield he was, for many years, foreman of the jury.’

Levi’s son, Ezra, remained at Lawns with his family and died in 1962, aged 90.

Also at Lawns in 1841 were two lodgers, Robert and James Thompson. Robert was not recorded again in Stannington until 1871, when he was a 47-year old widowed agricultural labourer lodging with the Topham family on Woodland View. With him was his son, 8-year old Frederick, born in Sheffield. In 1861 James was a 34-year old agricultural labourer living on Wood Lane with his wife from Handsworth. They had moved to Back Lane by 1871 and had three children. By the end of the nineteenth century the Thompsons had been a core family in the Stannington township for the best part of two centuries. They mainly had an interest in farming but some members of the family were employed in other trades.

Tingle: This is a Yorkshire name of uncertain origin, that is now widespread in south-west Yorkshire. No Tingles paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, the nearest being William in Upper Hallam. The Bradfield registers, however, recorded Tingles from 1637, when Betrise, the daughter of George, was baptised.

I have found very few Tingles in Stannington, the first one not until 1820 when Stephen, an eighteen-year old farmer, was recorded in the Bradfield militia lists. By 1822 he was a steel refiner. He continued in the lists through to 1831, when he was farming at Wood End. In 1827 he was the collector of land tax,²⁵⁸ from 1832 to 1847 he claimed a vote by reason of his freehold house and land at Stannington Wood,²⁵⁹ and in 1840 was a juror.²⁶⁰ In the 1841 census return he was a steel refiner, living at Myers Grove with a wife and three children.

The only Tingle in Stannington in 1851 was 20-year old Mary at Clay House, keeping house for her grandfather, John Dyson sen. None were recorded in Stannington in 1861 but ten years later there were three households including Joel, from Loxley, living with his wife and daughter at Ricketfield Farm. The family had gone by 1881. Joah, a 41-year old stone merchant employing two men, was living at Greenside with his wife, Ann, and daughter, Miranda in 1871. By 1891 he was a widower, looked after by his

daughter. Also in 1871 Harvey, a 35-year old stone merchant was at Rivelin with his wife and three children. By 1891 the family was living at Woodland View. Harvey and two of his sons were general labourers. The Tingles had been attracted to Stannington by local industry but did not get established until the end of the nineteenth century.

Twigg: This surname has several origins but was known locally in the Middle Ages. William Twigge, son of Henry, was recorded in Stannington in 1454.²⁶¹ Although no Twiggs paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, there were five in Sheffield, one in Attercliffe, two in Shafton and one in Wombwell. They first appeared in the Bradfield registers in 1797, when Mary Twigg married Benjamin Green.

The first evidence I have found of the family in Stannington was a warrant sent to the constable by a magistrate in 1819. Joseph Nicholls, the pinder, had complained on oath that

‘Samuel Twigg of Stannington, labourer, did on Saturday the 4th of September instant forcibly break down the pinfeld wall and take from thence two pigs which was impounded for damage flagrant contrary to law and in breach of the King’s peace.’²⁶²

The only Twigg from Stannington recorded in the Bradfield militia lists was Joseph, a grinder, who was included every year from 1821 onwards. With two children, he was exempt in 1828, 1829 and 1831. In 1841 he was a razor grinder, ‘not from Yorkshire,’ living at Under Tofts with his wife, Esther, and six children. One son, Henry, was an apprentice grinder with Joseph Watson and his family on Albion Row. Ten years later Henry, a table knife grinder, was married to Emma Godbehere and was living with their two-year old son, Fred, at Tofts with Emma’s widowed father. In 1861 Henry, Emma, and more children were on Woodland View. Joseph and Esther’s son, also named Joseph, was married and farming on Tingle Lane (named after Stephen Tingle), Myers Grove, in 1871. The couple’s eldest son, also Joseph, with a wife and family, was farming at Moorwood by 1891.

In 1841 Joseph Shaw, at Crawshaw Lodge, employed John Twigg, an agricultural labourer ‘not from Yorkshire.’ Also in the household was Ann Shaw, also from outside the county, and her four children. By 1851 John was farming at Upper Lathe, having married Ann in 1845. With them were Ann’s children and their three. It was recorded

that Ann was from Lytton, Derbyshire, but no place of birth was given for John. Ten years later, after having more children, Ann had died, and John was not recorded in Stannington. Ann's eldest daughter was married to John Broadbent, a farm bailiff at Moscar Cross. The six younger children, Ann, Alatheia, John, Wallis, Alfred and Jane were also in the Moscar Cross household. In 1871 John and Ann's son, John, was farming at Upper Lathe with his half-sister, Ellen, as housekeeper. His brother, Wallis, and sister, Jane, were also there together with their 81-year old grandfather, William Twigg, a retired farmer from Derbyshire. In White's 1883 *Directory of Sheffield* Wallis was the inn keeper at 'The Rivelin Hotel' and in the 1898 edition was at 'The Sportsman' but he was not recorded in Stannington in the census returns. By 1881 Alfred was farming at Upper Lathe with his wife. They were still there in 1891 with the addition of three children. In 1881 Alfred's sister, Alatheia, was married to Robert Johnson, a farmer, at Tofts. Alatheia's father, John, not recorded in Stannington since 1851, was with them. By the end of the century the Twiggs had been in Stannington for three generations.

Vickers: Although there were 15 Vickers (various spellings) in the 1672 hearth tax returns for south Yorkshire they were mostly in the Doncaster and Rotherham areas. The nearest to Stannington was George in Thurgoland. Joshua 'Vickers' was recorded in the Bradfield registers in 1706, when he married Hanna Hawley, but no others were recorded until 1836, when John Henry Vickers married Sarah Radcliffe.

The family was first recorded in Stannington in 1841 when James, a scale presser, was living at Griffs with his wife, Mary Ann, and young family (see page 114). By 1851 the family had moved to Park Head where it was noted that James, born in Ecclesall, was a master razor scale presser employing two men, in fact all the men in the family became razor scale pressers. James died in 1870, and was buried at Underbank, but his widow carried on the business, being described in 1871 as a razor scale manufacturer employing four men and one boy. In 1881 Mary Ann was living with her son, Alfred and his wife, on Liberty Hill. She died in 1891, aged 73.

In addition to Alfred, James and Mary Ann had another three sons, Jonathan, James and Benjamin, who all had their own households in the area in 1891. In 1851 James sen. had an apprentice, Thomas Vickers, born in Ecclesall. Ten years later Thomas had his own

household at Town End. By 1871 His mother-in-law, Elizabeth Wostenholm, had joined his family on Liberty Hill, where they were in 1891. By then Thomas's son, Walter, a razor scale presser, was living with his wife and young son at Hanmoor. Thomas's daughter, Teresa, was married to Joseph Gilman, and living at Underbank, where her husband was a labourer and chapel keeper. The Vickers were another family who had moved to Stannington to work in local industry and had put down their roots in the township.

Wagstaff: The south Yorkshire hearth tax returns of 1672 recorded only one Wagstaff, Joseph in Rawmarsh. The first recording, in fact the only one I have found in the Bradfield registers although I have searched to 1850, was in 1688 when Ellen Wagstaff married John Beighton at Woodhead.

The first mention I have found of the name in Stannington was in the 1831 Bradfield militia list, when William was recorded as a 24-year old miller in Stannington. He did not appear in any other document and no-one else was recorded until the census of 1841 when there was just one household. This was headed by Sarah, a shopkeeper, living with three sons at Cliffe Hill Top, Dungworth. Ten years later Sarah was married to George Loy, and lived in Stannington with her husband and her eldest son, George, a razor grinder. The census recorded that Sarah had been born at Hill Top and her two elder sons in Worsbrough. Charles was a servant with the Hawke family in Moorwood, and Farewell, born at Hill Top, was a farm servant with the Ronksleys at Rivelin Side.

In 1871 George, by that time employed as a miner, was living in Storrs with his wife, Ruth, and four children. Twenty years later Ruth was a widow, working as a dressmaker with one daughter at home. George and Ruth's son, John William, had established his own household in Storrs. Married to Mary Ann, he was a clay miner with four children. White's 1895-6 *Directory of Sheffield* recorded him as inn keeper of 'The Royal Hotel,' Dungworth, and by the 1898 edition he had moved to 'The Peacock,' Knowle Top.

Also in 1871 Charles, Sarah's second son, a clay miner, was in Storrs with his own family. He was married to Elizabeth, from Sheffield, and the couple had five children. In 1891 they were still in Storrs where one son, George, was also a clay miner. Their

elder son, John, a fire-clay miner, was also in Storrs, married to Sarah Ann and had a young son. The history of the local Wagstaff family is similar to that of the Vickers.

Wild: The first recording of the family in Stannington was in the 1841 census return, when Martha was a servant to the Tricketts in Storrs, William was an agricultural labourer at Swingley Ford Bents, and John was a scale presser's apprentice with the Dysons at Knowle Top. John, born in Sheffield, was the only one recorded in 1851. He was not in Stannington in 1861, but ten years later he was farming at Nook Farm with a wife and teenage children who had been born in Bradfield chapelry. In 1891 the family was at Little Park Farm. In 1881 and 1891 son, George, married with a family, was a razor scale presser and landlord of 'The Rose and Crown' on Back Lane, Stannington.

Womack: The surname is of unknown origin. One Womack paid the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire; Charles in Hatfield Woodhouse. The earliest entry in the Bradfield registers was in 1774 when Richard Womack of Stannington was buried. The Cutlers' Company apprenticeship registers gave the earliest recording I have found of Womacks in Stannington. The above Richard, son of Richard, a deceased husbandman of Thorpe, was bound to George Revitt in 1751 and gained his freedom in 1764.²⁶³ Richard stayed in Stannington and bound his younger brother, Samuel, as apprentice in 1764. Samuel also stayed in Stannington, married Sarah Race in 1778, and took apprentices of his own, commencing with Jonathan, son of Thomas Race in 1782.²⁶⁴ That year Richard's son, John, began his apprenticeship with George Revitt. Sons Thomas and William gained their freedom as razor grinders in 1785 and 1891 respectively and took apprentices of their own. William was exempt from paying the poor rate in 1813 and 1814.²⁶⁵

The family was represented every year in the Bradfield militia lists, beginning with another William, either William's son or nephew, in 1819. He married Amelia Rose in 1820 who, in 1829, applied for relief on her husband's behalf:

'husband is ill and been incapable of work for some time - consumption. In Stannington Sick Club, has received three weeks at 8s. a week. Four children, Deborah (8), William (5), Daniel (3), Elizabeth (6 months).'²⁶⁶

William survived for several years and in 1841 was living in Storrs with his wife and six children. Ten years later, however, William's elder son, William, a 27-year old

married razor grinder, was head of the household in Storrs. With him was his younger sister, Ann, but his wife, Hannah, and two young children were with her parents, James and Sarah Crawshaw, on Nethergate. In 1851 William and Amelia's son, Daniel, a razor grinder, who had married Alice Wright in 1848, was at Hazlehurst House, Storrs, with his wife, two young children and Daniel's ten-year old sister, Sarah. The family was still in Storrs in 1871, when two sons were razor grinders.

Thomas, a grinder, was first recorded in the Bradfield militia lists in 1826. By 1841 he had married Sarah and was living at Well House, Stannington, with his 76-year old widowed mother, Mary, his wife and two small children. He was listed in trade directories between 1841 and 1865 as a farmer and in 1850 and 1855 was on the list of jurors by paying the poor rate.²⁶⁷ He, his wife and some of their children were still at Well House in 1871, but, before the trade directories of 1876 and 1879, Thomas had died and 'Mrs. Sarah' was farming. By 1871 their son, also named Thomas, a razor grinder, had married Olive and was living on Greenside with his wife and five children. Twenty years later Thomas, Olive and family had moved to Tofts. The two elder sons were razor grinders.

Thomas and Sarah's son, William, was married by 1881 and lived on Uppergate with his wife, Sarah, and five young children. Ten years later Sarah had died and William, living on Greenside with his children, had become a coal and gannister miner. William's brother, Alfred, an agricultural labourer, was also married by 1881 and lived on Nethergate with his wife, Mary Ann, and two children. In 1891 they were at Rivelin Mill. By that time Alfred was employed as a road mender.

Benjamin, a grinder, was first recorded in the Bradfield militia lists in 1829. By 1841 he was living on Nethergate with his wife, Mary, and three children. Ten years later their eldest son, 14-year old Paul, was listed as a grinder's son. In 1871 Benjamin and Mary, with their son, Albert, were living at Knowle Top. Paul was then living on Greenside with his wife, Mary Ann, and six children. His eldest son, 12-year old Benjamin, was working at the brickyard. Twenty years later Paul and Mary Ann, living at Knowle Top, still had nine children at home, aged from 29 to 5 years old. The two eldest sons were razor grinders and the next two apprentice razor grinders. By then their son, Benjamin, was working as a razor grinder, living on Woodland View with his wife, from London,

and four children. Paul's brother, Albert, was also living on Woodland View with his wife, from Retford, Nottinghamshire, and two children. In 1871 Benjamin and Mary's son, Francis, a grinder, was at Knowle Top with his wife, Sarah, and two daughters. but had moved away by 1891. Also in 1871 Francis's youngest brother, Walter, a razor grinder aged 24, was living at Clod Hall with his wife. Ten years later the couple were at Nook Farm with a young daughter, and by 1891 they had five children.

The Womacks were another local family who came into the township through apprenticeships in the cutlery trades. Most of them continued to earn their living in that industry and descendants still live in Stannington.

Wostenholme: The surname, with variations in spelling, comes from a place in Lancashire, but it was known in north Derbyshire in the fifteenth century. The only Wostenholme paying the 1672 hearth tax in south Yorkshire was Sir Thomas in Cantley. The first recording of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1730, when Elizabeth married Samuel Marsden. The earliest notice I have found of the family in Stannington was in 1717, when Thomas of Stannington was listed in the Bradfield Easter Book.²⁶⁸ In 1730 George, the son of Thomas, began a cutlery apprenticeship with John Darwent.²⁶⁹ Another son, John, began his apprenticeship in 1733, the year that his brother, Joseph, gained his freedom. Joseph took apprentices of his own, beginning with Matthew Barker, from Hathersage, in 1737.

Members of the family served cutlery apprenticeships throughout the eighteenth century including George, the son of a Joseph, who gained his freedom in 1791. George was listed as a razor smith in Montgomery's 1797 *Directory of Sheffield*. In White's 1825 edition he was joined by his son, James, who continued to be listed as a razor manufacturer in editions until 1845. In the 1841 census James was living at Rails Top with his wife, Millicent, from Dore, and two sons, George and Thomas. Their eldest son, James, a razor maker, with his wife, Ann, was living with the Hatfield family at Rails. By 1851 James jun. had been widowed and was back home with his parents, James and Millicent, and brother, Thomas. At that time the three men were employed as scale pressers. In 1871 James was lodging with the Horsfield family at Rails, and working as a mason. By 1861 Thomas had established his own household at Knowle Top with his wife, Emma, from Baslow, and three children. Ten years later the eldest

son was a coal miner and second son a clay miner. In 1891 they were living on Nook Lane with four adult sons, three of whom were razor scale pressers.

In 1841 James and Millicent's son, John, a journeyman razor smith, was also at Rails with his wife, Elizabeth, and three young children. John and Elizabeth's family had increased by 1851 but in 1871 only one daughter was at home. Their son, Joseph, was living at Rails with his one-year old son, Arthur, having been married and widowed. In 1891 Joseph had married Elizabeth, from Sheffield, and was licensee of 'The Hare and Hounds' on Uppergate, having previously been licensee of 'The Robin Hood' at Little Matlock. His daughter, Annis, and son, Arthur, a razor scale presser, were living at Rails with Joseph's sister, Annis, and her husband, William Horsfield.

James and Millicent's son, Joseph, also a journeyman razor smith, with his wife Elizabeth and two children, was sharing a home with John and family in 1841. Ten years later Joseph had died and his widow was living with her father, Joseph Nichols, and her three children at Town End. By 1871 she was living with her son-in-law, Thomas Vickers, her daughter, Amelia, and their family on Liberty Hill. She was still with them in 1891, aged 79. By that time the Wostenholmes were a well-established local cutlery family.

Wragg: This surname is derived from an old Danish personal name and is widespread in Yorkshire and the East Midlands, with or without the 'W.' No Wraggs paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, the nearest being two in Ecclesfield. The first record of the name in the Bradfield registers was in 1703, when Matthew Ragg married Mary West. Although three Wraggs were listed in the Cutlers' Company apprenticeship records in Stannington in the late eighteenth century I have found no evidence to suggest that any of them stayed in the township.

William, the son of Samuel, a Holmesfield basket maker, was bound to Enoch Drabble of Dungworth in 1768.²⁷⁰ His son, also named William, was bound to George Harrop in 1808,²⁷¹ and later cutlers of this name were recorded in the Bradfield militia lists, beginning with another William, a grinder from Stannington, in 1819. He was joined the following year by Thomas, a grinder from Crawshaw, who was exempt because he had

already served seven years in the militia. James was a cutler's apprentice in Dungworth in 1825 and was joined by John and Jonathan of Stannington in 1831.

Joseph and Matthew were listed as pocket-knife cutlers in White's 1825 *Directory of Sheffield*. Joseph continued in editions until 1849. In 1830 his daughter, Sarah, aged 24, applied for relief:

'First place she lived at was with Mr. Skidmore in Broad Lane, was hired for a year but only staid 10 months, sometime afterwards she hired to Mr. Bacon, printer, Sheffield, only hired for about 11 months, then sometime afterwards hired to Mr. Rabin, Waingate, Sheffield, only served him 10 months since which time she has been living with her parents in Stannington, is now pregnant by George Dyson, razor smith.'²⁷²

Sarah's daughter was born in due course and George Dyson was ordered to pay maintenance. In 1841 Joseph, his wife, Jane, and five adult children, although without Sarah, were living on Nethergate. Ten years later Jane was a widow. With her were a daughter and grand-daughter.

Also on Nethergate was son, Joseph, a pocket-knife cutler, employing two men. With him were his wife, Sarah, and daughter. By 1871, when Joseph was listed as a master cutler, two teenage sons, Henry and John, were cutlers. In 1891 Henry, a pocket-knife cutler, was on Nethergate with his wife, Ann, and young family. Joseph and Jane's other sons, John and Benjamin, were both living with their wives on Greenside in 1851. John, recorded as having been born in Low Bradfield, was a 37-year old pocket-knife cutler employing five men. He suffered damage in the flood of 1864 and claimed £1.15s.0d. compensation.²⁷³ He was constable for Stannington in 1869. By 1871 he was a widower living at Nook House.

Benjamin was married to Hannah and had four young children. By 1871 two sons, Thomas and Samuel, were spring-knife cutlers. In 1891 Thomas was on Uppergate with his wife, Emma. Another son, Jonathan, was a pocket-knife cutler near the family home on Nethergate. With him was his wife, Charlotte. Twenty years later, living on Well Green, the couple had ten children, of whom the three eldest sons were also pocket-knife cutlers.

James, who was recorded in the militia lists, was a journeyman cutler at Dungworth Carr in 1841. With him were his wife, Sarah, and five young children. Ten years later, living at Yews Fold, he was a widower with younger children at home, looked after by his 17-year old daughter, Elizabeth. In 1871 James was living at No. 4 Street Houses in Dungworth. His son, William, was at No. 8 Yews Fold with his wife Sarah, and family. He and two sons were spring-knife cutlers. In 1891 sons, Eli and Fred, both had their own wives and families on Yews Lane.

In 1841 Jonathan was a shoemaker living at Rails Top with his wife, Frances, and two small children. By 1851 he was employing one man. Twenty years later he was farming at Speight House. His son, Henry, a shoemaker, was also living there with his wife. By 1881 Henry had taken over the farm, and his widowed mother, Frances, was living at Bingley Villa. She was still there in 1891, aged 72. In 1871 Jonathan and Frances's son, George, was farming at Flash. In his household were his wife, Sarah Ann, born in Owlerton, their month old son, John Bowden Wragg, Sarah Ann's father and mother, David and Sarah Bowden, born in Handforth and Storrs respectively, and William Wragg, a 9-year old servant from Sunderland.

Another shoemaker was recorded in the militia lists. John, living at Slater House, Dungworth, first appeared in 1827. By 1834 he had combined his shoe making with the conversion of his home into a beer house, calling it 'The Boot and Shoe.' His application for a licence was accompanied by a testimonial from his neighbours:

'We the undersigned being well acquainted with the House in Dungworth for which John Wragg is applying for a licence and also with the said John Wragg do hereby certify that we believe the House to be well situated for the purpose of a licensed victuallers' House and that if a licence be granted it would be a great convenience to the hamlet of Dungworth there being no Public House, and we further certify that John Wragg is a steady, sober man and of a good character and in our opinion fit to be trusted with a victualler's licence.'²⁷⁴

He bought the house from Thomas Wilkinson, of Holroyd Bridge, Huddersfield, in 1845.²⁷⁵ In 1850 John was a juror by reason of his freehold property.²⁷⁶ In 1855 Hannah, widowed, took over the licence²⁷⁷ and was recorded in directories of 1856 and 1860. In 1861 their son, Henry, was a 15-year old apprentice spring-knife cutler, bound to James Nixon of Lane End. Henry sold the public house property to John Ronksley, of Syke House, in 1869.²⁷⁸ By 1871 Hannah had married widower, Joseph Beard, and was living

at No. 9 Yews Fold with her husband, son, Henry, and two stepsons. By 1891 Hannah had been widowed again but the three sons were still with her.

In 1841 John, a labourer, and his wife, Martha, were living at Dungworth Cross. They were still there in 1871 with their 16-year old daughter, Elizabeth, but by 1891, although in the same house, Martha was a 71-year old widow living with Elizabeth and her husband, Charles Taylor, and family. An agricultural labourer, Samuel, was living at Upper Lathe in 1841 with his wife, Mary, and two daughters. Ten years later they were on Rye House Lane where Samuel was working as a besom maker. In 1871 their son, also named Samuel, was a spring-knife cutler living at Roscoe with his wife, Elizabeth, and four young children. Twenty years later he had been widowed and married to Fanny. His three sons from his marriage to Elizabeth were coal miners. Fanny's 12-year old son, born in Grenoside, was living with them and the couple had two younger children.

In 1851 Thomas, a farmer and clay merchant from Bamford, was living at Storrs Hall with his wife, Elizabeth, and three young children (see page 126). In 1850 and 1855 he was a juror by reason of paying the poor rate²⁷⁹ and claimed a vote in 1850 for his occupation of a farm in Storrs.²⁸⁰ For the same reason he also claimed a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857.²⁸¹ Thomas had moved into Loxley by 1871 but his son, John, was in Storrs with his wife, Maria, and two young children. He was a waywarden in 1873 and 1874.²⁸²

The Wraggs are yet another example of a family who were attracted to Stannington by the cutlery trades and who became prolific in the township. They are remembered locally for their involvement in the gannister industry.

Wright: William Wright was recorded in Walkleyfeild in 1394 and Geoffrey was in Bradfeld in 1469,²⁸³ but theirs was a common surname and they may not be connected to later Wrights. No Wrights paid the 1672 hearth tax in Bradfield, the nearest being in Sheffield, although the name was first recorded in the Bradfield registers in 1562, when Margaret was buried. Cutlers' Company apprenticeship records showed several Wrights bound to Stannington cutlers but the only one to bind apprentices of his own was John, starting with Thomas Webster of Beauchief Abbey in 1778.²⁸⁴ In Gales and Martin's

1787 *Directory of Sheffield* John was listed as a pocket-knife cutler and in Montgomery's 1797 edition as a penknife cutler.

In White's 1825 *Directory of Sheffield* a James was recorded as a pocket-knife cutler in Hill Top, Dungworth. Two years earlier he had been a collector of taxes.²⁸⁵ In 1825 he applied for relief on behalf of his 20-year old son, Edward:

'is now very ill and has been 20 weeks totally incapable of work. Has been with his father all his term, father occupies four acres under Mr. Alsop and six under Mr. Ronsley and £1 of land of his own.'²⁸⁶

In 1835 and 1836 James claimed a vote by reason of freehold land at Hill Top²⁸⁷ as did his son, James jun., from 1838. By 1840 James jun. had moved from Hill Top to Roscoe Bank although he claimed a vote by reason of owning a freehold house and garden at Hill Top.²⁸⁸ He was recorded at Roscoe in 1841, with his wife, Martha, and family. Ten years later their daughter, Maria, was a servant with the Crapper family at Greenhead, Storrs. Their son, John, a 27-year old cutler was at Lane End with his wife, Sarah, and two young sons. By 1871 John had been widowed and had six children still at home. In 1881 he was re-married, to Mary, and had two more children. Ten years later Mary was a widow living with John's son, Seth, and her own two children. At that time John's son, Harvey, was a boarder with the Goodison family at Stopes.

By 1841 James sen., a 70-year old journeyman cutler, and Edward, recovered from his illness and employed as a school master in Fulwood, were at Hill Top. They lived with James's son, Joshua, his wife, Mary, who was 'not from Yorkshire,' and their children. Joshua had claimed a vote in 1837, 1840 and 1841 by owning a freehold house and land at Hill Top,²⁸⁹ and a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857 for owning freehold houses at Nook End.²⁹⁰ By 1851 James sen. had died and Joshua's family, except for Edward, were at Lee House. In 1871 Joshua was a 72-year old widower living with his daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Joseph Leach, at Hill Top. With them was Elizabeth's son, William, a 13-year old clay miner. Joshua's son, James, a farmer, was at Lee House in 1871. With him was his wife, Ann, and three children. In 1891 Ann was a widow, farming at Lee House with her son and daughter. Her other son, William, a clay miner, was living at The Bents with his wife from Durham.

At a meeting of the trustees of Fulwood School in 1859 Edward, 'late schoolmaster', was paid the balance of £6.16s.0d. due to him.²⁹¹ After that time he taught at Dungworth School, being listed in directories from 1862 to 1868. In 1871 he was living in Storrs with his wife, from Marsh Side, Lancashire, their daughter, their 26-year old razor grinder son, James, and his wife.

Joel of Hill Top was recorded in the Bradfield militia lists of several years commencing in 1820. He was exempt in 1825 and 1826 because of the threat of poverty, having three children. In spite of this he claimed a vote from 1835 to 1841 by reason of a freehold house and garden in Dungworth.²⁹² This was also the reason for his claim of a vote for Knights of the Shire in 1857.²⁹³ In 1841 Joel was a coal miner, living with his wife and five children on Rye Lane, Dungworth. He was still there ten years later. In 1871 Joel's son, George, a clay miner, was living at Plantation House, Hill Top. With him were his wife, Ann, and three children. Ann died later that year, aged 39, and was followed by George in 1890, aged 57. Both were buried at Underbank.

Also in the Bradfield militia lists, commencing in 1827, was John, an apprentice grinder of Stannington. In 1841 he was at Roscoe with his wife, Caroline, from Hallam, and their one-year old son, John. Ten years later the family had increased and by 1871 John jun., a razor grinder, was on Liberty Hill with a wife, Emily, and three young daughters. Twenty years later the two younger daughters were still at home, both working as paper sorters. By then there were also younger children, of whom the eldest son was a razor grinder. John sen. died in 1864, followed by Caroline in 1869. John jun. died in 1920, aged 81, and Emily in 1924, aged 82. All were buried in Knowle Top chapelyard. In 1871 John and Caroline's son, George, was also on Liberty Hill, with his wife, Eliza, and three young children. By 1891 his son, William, was living on Liberty Hill with his wife and young son. George died in 1909, followed by Eliza in 1916. Both were buried at Knowle Top.

By 1861 another George, a coal miner from Unstone, was at Tofts with his wife, Hannah, from Darnall, an eleven-year old son born in Chesterfield and four younger children born in Stannington. In 1891 their son, also named George, was a paper maker living on Liberty Hill with his wife and son. In 1871 John, an 18-year old spring knife

cutler, was living with his widowed grandfather, Isaac Nichols, at Bank Top, Dungworth. By 1891 he was at Cow Gap with his wife, Hannah.

In 1841 Francis Wright was recorded at Revell Grange with his wife, Theresa, nee Broomhead. She was the grand-daughter of Richard Broomhead and his wife, Ann, heiress of Thomas and Rowland Revell. Francis had been a collector of taxes in 1837,²⁹⁴ and overseer in 1838 when he had also become a guardian of the poor of the newly formed Wortley Union.²⁹⁵ He died in the 1850s when his widow soon married Francis Sutton from Stoke-on-Trent. This Francis was a guardian of the poor from 1859 onwards and an overseer from 1867 onwards.²⁹⁶ He was also a waywarden from 1869 onwards.²⁹⁷ Theresa died in the 1860s and Francis inherited the Revell estate. By 1871 he had married Mary from his home town of Stoke-on-Trent and they had one son, Francis Revell Sutton. Although Francis jun. was no relation to the Wrights or the Revells he remained owner of Revell Grange and estates until the 1950s. The Wrights, too, had come into Stannington as apprentices in the cutlery trades and had become a numerous family.

Stannington became industrialised in the late eighteenth century and continued as such throughout the nineteenth, but surnames show that its population was generally local in origin, with very few coming from far away. Although none of the families in this chapter were recorded in Stannington in the 1672 hearth tax returns, nineteen of the forty-two families, (i.e. 45%) recorded in the township in 1871 were there before 1750. Another ten families had moved in by 1800 and the remaining thirteen came into the township before 1841. In addition, the seventeen family names recorded in 1672 remained as part of the core of the community, giving stability despite the industrial changes.

We can see that, in several cases, the first indication of a family in Stannington was in the Cutlers' Company records. Prior to 1750, five began with cutlery apprenticeships and stayed in the township. Edward Nichols came from Sheffield (1695), John Wright from Rotherham (1737), George Furness from Bradwell (1747), John Grayson from Sheffield (1749), and Francis Inman from Unstone (1749). Four families, out of the ten first recorded in Stannington between 1750 and 1800, also began with an apprenticeship: Richard Womack came from Thorpe (1751), Thomas and William

Fearn from Bradfield (1767), William Wragg from Holmesfield (1768), and Joseph Howe from Sheffield (freedom 1772). Others came into Stannington to serve apprenticeships but moved to neighbouring parts of Hallamshire after their freedom. The cutlers who stayed, however, together with those previously employed in other occupations but turned to cutlery, bred further generations who continued in the same trade. Many families passed on their skills from father to son from generation to generation. Only two families, the Earnshaws and Ollerenshaws, were not connected with the cutlery trades at some time during their Stannington history. We can also see that, when the cutlery trades began to decline in the area, many of the established workforce adapted to employment in the gannister and paper industries. Two families, those of George Henry Dyson and William Nichols, spent time in New Zealand and America respectively but went back to Stannington after a few years.

2. Incomers in 1871

We now turn to those families who came into Stannington in 1871, attracted by the prospect of work in an industrial environment. In addition to the usual turnover of apprentices and hired workers, the latter mostly agricultural labourers and house servants, the 1871 census recorded a great influx of excavators, labourers and stone masons working on the construction of reservoirs, necessary to satisfy the ever increasing need for water in the growing town of Sheffield. Most of the 74 excavators and 21 labourers recorded lived or lodged in Dungworth, where several cottages were erected to house them and their families.

‘An Act for better supplying with water the Town and Parish of Sheffield in the County of York’ had been passed in 1830.²⁹⁸ Until then Sheffield had received its domestic water supply from various springs in Hallam and Ecclesall and also from old reservoirs at Whitehouse and Crookesmoor. As a result of the Act a reservoir at Redmires was completed in 1836. A further Act of 1845²⁹⁹ allowed the Sheffield Water Company to build more reservoirs at Redmires, completed in 1849 and 1854 respectively, and Rivelin, Upper and Lower, completed in 1848. The Rivelin reservoirs were to compensate the mill owners on the river so that Wyming Brook and its tributaries could be diverted for the sole use of the Water Company. A further Act of 1853³⁰⁰ gave the Water Company the power to construct reservoirs at Agden Dyke, Dale Dyke and Strines Dyke, all leading into the River Loxley. The new reservoirs were scheduled to

be in use by 1863 but this was not accomplished and the deadline was extended to 1870. By March 1864 Dale Dyke reservoir in Bradfield Dale was nearing completion. It had almost reached its capacity of 691 million gallons of water when a large section of the embankment collapsed and the power of the water was unleashed down the Loxley valley. Most people in the path of the flood had no warning and almost 250 were either drowned³⁰¹ or died later from exposure or injuries.

After further delays, mainly caused by a stoppage of work after the flood, Agden reservoir was eventually completed in 1871, Strines in 1875, and a new Dale Dyke, rebuilt further up the valley, also in 1875. Damflask reservoir, which submerged the former hamlet, was completed just a few years later. All this activity created more jobs than the local labour force could supply. Workers from outside the immediate area obviously found out that labour was needed and travelled accordingly. Colin Pooley and Jane Turnbull found in their research that

‘work opportunities could spread in many ways and, in some instances, employers deliberately recruited workers to fit a labour shortage.’³⁰²

Men moved in from all parts of the country, some bringing their wives and families with them. I have noted the ages and birthplaces of children in the 1871 census, in order to show where and when the families travelled, as their labour was needed. I have listed the workers in the same order as the enumerators compiled the census return. From the point of view of studying migration one of the enumerators has caused confusion by recording the birthplace of anyone born in Stannington or Bradfield as ‘Ecclesfield’. The list is as follows:

Joseph Fisher was a 28-year old excavator, from Shrewsbury, lodging with the Dyson family at Broom Vale.

Thomas Thompson, a 34-year old excavator, from Lincolnshire, and his wife, born in Leicestershire, were living at No.1 Futterill Cottages.

James Laver, a 29-year old labourer, from Essex, was lodging with the Hodgeson family, from Derbyshire, at No.1 Briers Cottages.

At No.3 Briers Cottages was Edward Ward, a 28-year old labourer, from Suffolk. His wife had also been born in Suffolk, his five-year old son in Essex, his one-year old daughter in Lancashire and his three-month old son in Bradfield, (probably Dungworth, as 'Bradfield', according to some enumerators, covered the whole parish). Lodging with them were labourers John Mitchell from Dorset, James Wright from Warwickshire, John Goodwin from Lincolnshire and John Ruff from Norfolk.

At No.4 Briers Cottages was Henry Meese, a 40-year old excavator from Nottingham, living with his wife, from Derbyshire, and a lodger, George Starky, an excavator from Oxfordshire.

Living in New Hut were George Rooms, a 38-year old excavator, and his wife, both from Norfolk. Lodging with them were excavators John Trife from London, John Wallace from Peterborough, Thomas Garfett from Leicestershire and William Jones from Leicester.

Next door, at Nixon House, were William Harding, a 30-year old excavator, born in Gloucestershire, his wife, born in Staffordshire, a son, born in Glamorgan, a two-year old daughter, born in Bradfield, and a six-month old daughter born in Dungworth. Also lodging in the same household were excavators John Load from Worcestershire, William Taylor from Essex, William Lewis from Montgomeryshire, Richard Adkin from Cambridgeshire, John Mann from Warwickshire, Thomas Jones from Shropshire and Richard Sutton from Staffordshire.

John Knight, a 43-year old excavator from Warwickshire, was at No.1 Trickett Cottages with his wife, born in Herefordshire. With them were excavators Charles and Samuel Jones, William Smith, William Taylor, and Thomas Williams, all from Essex, and Edward Jenkin and John York from Middlesex.

At No.2 Trickett Cottages were John Shergold, a 37-year old excavator from Wiltshire, with his wife, from Dorset, two sons born in Hampshire, and two sons and a three-year old daughter born in Kent. Lodging with them were excavators John Ward, and Joseph and John Wood, all from Kent.

George Harris, a 35-year old labourer from Dorset, was living at Raw Gate with his wife and eight-year old niece, both from Suffolk. Lodging with them were excavators William Taylor, William Baldwin and George Wilson, all from Suffolk, Samuel and Thomas Williams from Bristol, John Ward from Worcestershire and John Johnson from Lincolnshire.

At No.5 Street Houses, which was divided into separate households, was Charles Crank, a 25-year old Barnsley labourer, with his wife and one-year old daughter from Derby. Another household was that of John Newman, a 27-year old labourer from Wiltshire, with his wife, from Shropshire, and their one-year old daughter born in Sheffield.

Lodging with the Hague family at Dungworth Cottage were excavators Joseph Williams, James Ford, John Reynolds, William Robertson, Francis Kay and Charles James Cole, all from Lincolnshire. In the 'New Room' of the cottage were William Holmes, a 42-year old excavator from Leicestershire, and his wife from Lincolnshire.

Thomas Nichols, a 27-year old labourer from Huntingdonshire, was at No.2 Top of the Croft with his wife and two-year old daughter, both born in Dungworth. Thomas's brother, Samuel, from Huntingdonshire and Frederick Hall from, Platts, Yorkshire, both excavators, were lodging with the family.

At No.1 Dungworth House were Samuel Watson, a 21-year old excavator, and his wife, from Cambridgeshire with their eight-month old son born in Dungworth. Lodging with them were excavators Samuel Smith and Fred Kinslow, also from Cambridgeshire.

Walter Boyse, a 36-year old labourer from Surrey, was head of the household at No.1 Gray's Cottage. With him was his wife, from Somerset, and six lodgers: George Greenwood, a labourer from Hampshire, and excavators Joseph Jackson from Staffordshire, John Roberts from Somerset, George Roberts from Berkshire, Thomas Charlesworth from Derbyshire and George Clark from Cambridgeshire.

At the Old Shop were 32-year old excavator George Williams, from Suffolk, and his wife from Derbyshire.

Next door, at Calf Hole, were Joseph Goodrich, a 31-year old excavator, his wife and eight-year old son, all from Bedfordshire.

With the Beard family at No.1 Stone Grove were excavators Benjamin Gladstone, from Hull, and Edward Ward from Lincolnshire.

Next door were 25-year old excavator Thomas Swindel, from Staffordshire, and his wife from Shropshire.

Excavator Henry Fitton, aged 49, from Denby, Yorkshire, was living at No.3 Yews Fold with his wife, from York, and 17-year old excavator son, born in Hull.

At No.2 Bents Cottages were William Markham, a 26-year old excavator, and his wife, both from Lincolnshire. Their four-year old son had been born in Goole and their eleven-month old daughter at Bents, Dungworth. Lodging with them were excavators George Jones from Lincolnshire, Thomas Johnson from Leeds and John Butcher from Warwick.

Samuel Pike, a 32-year old excavator, and his wife, both from Upottery, Devon, lived in Storrs. Their elder son had been born in Croscombe, Somerset, daughter in Axminster, Devon, and six-year old son in Hatch Beauchamp, Somerset. Lodging with them were excavators John Jones from Malvern, Worcestershire, and Thomas Smith from Reading.

Nearby were William Stoker, and his brother, John, both labourers from Worcester. With them was William's wife from Blandford. Lodging with them were labourers J. Martin from Nottingham, George Williams from Bedford, and John Rings and John Roberts from Cambridge.

Also in Storrs was James Cleat, a 43-year old excavator, his wife, and excavator son, all from Crewkerne, Somerset. Lodging with them were labourers Mark Bird from Lincoln, George Thomas Hewell from Kirton-in-Lindsey and Thomas Henall from Gosberton, Lincolnshire.

George Johnson, a 31-year old excavator from Kelby, Lincolnshire, was living in Storrs with his wife from Faldingworth, Lincolnshire. Lodging with them were William Fudge, a 23-year old excavator from Cardiff, and his wife from Sleaford, Lincolnshire, Thomas Brown, a 27-year old excavator from Kirby, Warwickshire, and another Thomas Brown, a 34-year old excavator from Littleport, Cambridgeshire.

Charles Abbitt, a 34-year old excavator from Yarmouth, Norfolk, was living at Town End, Stannington, with his wife from Inverness, Scotland, a five-year old son born in Yarmouth, and a one-year old son born in Ecclesfield (possibly Stannington).

In addition to the excavators and reservoir labourers, extra stone masons and stone cutters were needed, not only in the construction of the reservoirs but in house building as more people came into the area. The 1871 census recorded many who came from outside the immediate locality:

John Parker, a 35-year old stone mason, living at No.2 Broom Cottages, Dungworth, was originally from Woodseats, Derbyshire, and his wife from Sheffield. They had a seven-year old son born in Bradfield, a six-year old daughter born in Sheffield, and two children, aged three and one, born in Hoyland Common.

At No.1 Loxley View was Henry Betsworth, a 22-year old stone mason from Yorkshire. With him was his wife from Nottinghamshire, a ten-year old son born in Cheshire, a six-month son born in Yorkshire, and widowed mother from Derbyshire.

Next door, was Zacharias Whitehead, a 51-year old stone mason from Menston, Yorkshire. His wife was from Addingham, two sons, both teenage stone masons, had been born in Bradford and Yeadon respectively, and his seven-year old son in Sheffield.

Henry Riches, a 44-year old stone mason from Norfolk, was at No.1 Tim Well with his son, also a stone mason, born in Lincolnshire.

William Metcalf, a 41-year old stone cutter from Derbyshire, was living at No.2 Back Fold, Hill Top, with his wife from Scarborough, and two daughters born in Yorkshire.

Thomas Ellis, a 31-year old stone mason from Matlock, Derbyshire, was living at No.1 Rye Lane with his wife and son, both born in Dungworth.

Joseph Bellfield, a 41-year old Staffordshire stone mason, was living with his wife and family, all born in Ecclesfield, at Town Head, Stannington. In 1881 Joseph's widow was at Knowle Top with their son, John, a stone mason. Ten years later John, was at Rails with his own family.

Lodging with the Revell family on Uppergate was Thomas Needham, a 27-year old stone mason from Ashover, Derbyshire. The Revells themselves had moved from outside the vicinity.

Lodging with the Richards family at Crawshaw were two quarrymen: William Schofield from Hathersage and Thomas West from Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland.

Joseph Wostenholm, at Rails, had three lodgers including George Kelsey, a quarryman from Hatfield Woodhouse, Yorkshire.

James Sugden, a 41-year old stone mason from Kirk Heaton, was living at Tofts with his wife from Lepton, their 18-year old son, a stone mason, born in Bradford, a younger son, a paper maker, born in Kirk Heaton and four younger children born in Stannington.

Charles Taylor, a 45-year old stone cutter, was living at Crawshaw Lodge with his wife and eldest daughter, all from Ollerton, and three younger children born in Yorkshire.

At Moscar Cross was Henry Starbuck, a 40-year old gamekeeper, with his wife and three elder children, all from Breadsall, Derbyshire. Three younger children, the eldest aged six, had been born in Bradfield. With them was Henry's nephew, Robert Dobeman, a 20-year old stone labourer, from Breadsall. The family, including Robert, was still there in 1881 but had moved away by 1891.

Michael Wood, a 62-year old stone cutter, living at Hollow Meadows, plus his wife and family were all from Derbyshire, as was their next door neighbour George Snook, a 25-year old stone cutter. George's wife and three young children were Sheffield-born.

Job Wood, a 37-year old stone cutter, his wife and lodger, 37-year old stone cutter, James Schofield, all from Derbyshire, were also living at Hollow Meadows.

Not only the Water Company but also the brickworks and paper mills were recruiting extra workers as their industries grew. J. & J. Dyson was the largest employer in Stannington. Coal mining also attracted labour from different parts of the country. Immigrants who sought employment in these industries are now listed:

Benjamin Blackburn, living at No.7 Yews Fold, was a 48-year old coal miner from Buckinghamshire. His wife and elder son, a labourer, had been born in Harrogate, his daughter in County Durham and six-year old son in Dungworth.

At Stopes was John Headlington, a 27-year old labourer from Clayworth, Nottinghamshire. His wife was from Hathersage and their two-year old daughter had been born in Ecclesfield.

Jacob Harper, also at Stopes, was a 45-year old labourer from Great Barford. His wife was from Roxton, eldest three sons from Great Barford and other sons, the eldest 12 years old, born in Ecclesfield. The family was not recorded in Stannington in 1861 but they remained in the township after 1871. Jacob and his sons found jobs in the brickworks, where, by 1891, son Robert was a foreman. All the children married locally and the family increased in the area. The most famous member of the family was Ernest Harper who, among other running achievements, ran the marathon for England in three Olympic Games, winning the silver medal in Berlin in 1936.

Another family at Stopes was that of Mark Maskery, a 25-year old collier from Dronfield. His wife was from Nottingham, and their 11-month old son had been born in Dronfield.

Living at Griffs was John Poppleton, a 34-year old labourer from New Mill, Leicestershire, with his wife from Leicester, a son born in Rawmarsh, and a daughter, born in Ecclesfield. The family stayed in Stannington, where John and two sons worked in the brickyard. By 1891 John was a widow, living with his son, daughter-in-law and family. His other son was also in the household.

James Coggan was a 41-year old labourer from Souldern, Oxfordshire, living in Storrs with his wife from Sheffield. With them was a 14-year old son, born in Bradfield, two younger sons born in Rotherham and Hunslet respectively, and a five-month old daughter born in Bradfield. Lodging with the family was William Carrell, a 28-year old labourer from Everdon, Northamptonshire. This family also stayed in Stannington, where, in 1891, the eldest son was an earth sanitary pipe maker. Their lodger was also recorded in Stannington in 1881, working as a general labourer.

A lodger with the Clegg family in Storrs was Job Matlock, a 21-year old labourer from Barrow-on-Soar, Leicestershire. Lodging next door, with the Wright family, was Elijah Copley, a 28-year old labourer from Kexborough, Yorkshire. With the Womack family was Henry Headland, a 19-year old brick labourer from Bedfordshire, and with the Pike family was James Bartlett, a brick labourer from Yeovil, Somerset. By 1891 James was a farmer at White House Farm, Nethergate, where the nearby Bartlett Close is named after him.

John Hughes, a 35-year old labourer from Chester, and his wife from Alfreton, Derbyshire were also living in Storrs as were Robert Chapman, a 45-year old brick maker, his wife and eight children, the youngest being four years old, all from Greasby, Derbyshire.

In Storrs also were Joseph Machin, a 29-year old brick and pipe maker, his brother, James, a 21-year old labourer, both from Kings Newton, Derbyshire, Joseph's wife from Leicester, and three children, including a two-year old, born in Greasby. Lodging with them were John Swan, a 32-year old fireman from Sinesby(?), Derbyshire, and Joseph Neal, a 19-year old labourer from Glenfield(?), Leicestershire.

Thomas Hallam, a 28-year old labourer from Castleton, was living in Storrs with his wife and one-year old son, both from Bamford. Next door were Frederick Staines, a 26-year old labourer, from Folkestone, Kent, and his wife from Norfolk.

Francis Gilman, a 43-year old coal miner from Buxton, was lodging at Rowell Bridge with Thomas Carter and his wife, from Linthwaite.

At Hanmoor, with his wife, was John Roberts, a 44-year old brick maker from Wales, (not the Wales near Rotherham). Also at Hanmoor was John Hodgkinson, a 57-year old coal miner from Chesterfield. With him was his wife from Scotland, two sons born in Ecclesfield, his son's wife from Chesterfield and youngest son born in Stannington.

Thomas Talbot, a 22-year old clay miner from Deep Pits, Yorkshire, was living at Clod Hall with his wife and two young children, all three born in Cowley, Yorkshire.

George Mather, a 42-year old coal miner from Ashover, Derbyshire, was at Wood Cottage with his wife from Intake, Derbyshire, a four-year old son born in Dronfield, and lodger, William Talbot, a 20-year old coal miner, also born in Dronfield. At Wood House was William Miller, a 65-year old coal miner from Stockport, with his wife from Dublin.

Nearby, at Nook End, was John Flogdell, a 43-year old labourer from Glessing(?), Norfolk, wife from Rose Ash, Devon, and 12-year old daughter born in Ecclesfield. A few houses along was John Flogdell, probably John Flogdell's son, a 22-year old labourer from Bridgewater, Somerset, and his wife from Weston, Lincolnshire. Lodging with them was Matthew Alpin, a 36-year old Irish pensioner.

William Jackson, a 31-year old clay miner from Bolton, Lancashire, was living at Little Matlock with his wife, from Sheffield, and two young daughters born in Ecclesfield.

At Loadbrook, Thomas Harper, a 45-year old brick burner, his wife and two teenage children all came from Great Barford. Thomas was Jacob Harper's younger brother. Ten years later Thomas, a widower, was employed as a general labourer, but in 1891 he was recorded as a journeyman tailor.

The paper mills also recruited workers from further afield: Joseph Alcock, a 30-year old labourer at the mill, came from Alton, Staffordshire. He was living on Greenside with his wife and two young children, all born in Ecclesfield. The family was still in Stannington in 1881, living at Frank Paper Mill. Also on Greenside was Ralph Atkinson, a 34-year old paper maker from Thornton, Yorkshire, with his wife from Cropton, Yorkshire, and four young daughters born in Ecclesfield. Lodging with them

was Charles Alcock, probably Joseph's younger brother, a 26-year old paper maker from Hatton, Staffordshire. Ralph and his family were still in Stannington in 1891.

On Nethergate Elizabeth Oliver, a 50-year old widowed paper maker roller, from Lintzford, County Durham, was living with her three children born in Ecclesfield. Also with them was Elizabeth's widowed aunt, Elizabeth Cameron, an 82-year old former shopkeeper from Berwick on Tweed. In 1881 Elizabeth, a paper glazer, was living with her son, who worked at the paper mill, and family. Ten years later she was with her daughter and son-in-law, Samuel Horsfield.

George Greenwood, a 25-year old fireman at the paper mill, his wife and five-month old daughter, all from Rossington, were living on Wood lane. Next door but one were Richard Evans, a 42-year old smith at the paper mill, from Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire, his wife and elder son from Llarymynech, Shropshire (?), a daughter born in Baschurch, Shropshire, and an eight-month old son born in Ecclesfield. In 1881 Richard and his wife were living at Frank Paper Mill.

Peter Arnott, a 56-year old paper maker from Matlock Bath, was at Tofts with his wife and daughter, both from Alton, Staffordshire. Further along the Tofts was Robert Snell, a 40-year old paper manufacturer from Wilton, Norfolk. With him was his wife from Sunderland, three children born in Jarrow, one in Chester-le-Street, County Durham, one in Sunderland, and a one-year old daughter born in Stannington. Robert had become manager of the mill by 1881, when his three sons were paper makers. His son, Charles, had his own wife and family, on Woodland View, in 1891.

Lodging at the Rivelin Hotel with the Armitage family were Robert Williams, a 21-year old gentleman, from London, and James Standish, a 46-year old deaf and dumb paper finisher from Thorp Arch. Joseph Wright was a 65-year old paper maker, also from Thorp Arch, living at Tofts with his wife, from Tadcaster.

Other people moved in and out of the area as their work necessitated: The vicar of Stannington, 69-year old William Gill, came from Thorganby, Yorkshire, and the 28-year old curate, Anthony Topp, was from Cork, Ireland. The Unitarian minister of Underbank Chapel, living on Liberty Hill, was 36-year old Henry Hill from Rochdale.

With him was his wife, born in Holmfirth, son born in Rochdale, and daughter born in Manchester.

Lodging at Padley House with the Fearn family was William Henry Priestly, a 26-year old police sergeant from Yorkshire. Isaac Hepworth, a 33-year old police constable from Halifax, was living in the police station at Hanmoor with his wife from Pontefract, daughter born in Halifax and two sons, the youngest one-year old, born in Pontefract.

Because unskilled labourers from elsewhere could not rely on help from the parish if they were unemployed they, often with their families, would have to move about the country in search of work. The 'professional' classes would have been specifically asked to move into a job by their employers. All the excavators and reservoir labourers had left the area by 1881, by which time the reservoirs had been completed. The stone workers, apart from Robert Dobeman and the sons of Joseph Bellfield, had also moved on by 1881. However, several gannister and paper workers remained in Stannington until at least 1891, and integrated with the established families.

In the first part of this chapter I have treated the families in the same way as those in Chapter 5. However, in contrast to Chapter 5 where I dealt with all the families recorded in Stannington in 1672, in this chapter I have been more selective and ignored those who were not in the township prior to 1841, i.e. at least 30 years before my starting point of 1871.

We can see that of the 42 families who fit this criterion, only four, the Deardens, Ridalls, Vickers and Wilds, were first recorded as late as 1841 and nineteen had been in the township prior to 1750. We must add to this number the Booths, Grays, Mortons and Wilsons who were taxed in Stannington in 1672 but who disappeared from records during the eighteenth century; it is unlikely that they were directly descended from the previously recorded families.

Despite a large proportion of the 1871 families having been long-established in the township as an essential part of the workforce for generations, only 17 families (approximately 37%), i.e. Armitage, Barnes, Beal, Dronfield, Dyson, Goodison, Green, Hallam, Hawke, Hobson, Howe, Nichols, Revitt, Thompson, Tingle, Wragg and

Wright, appear to have been involved in official duties and decision-making. Again, we can perhaps put this down to the lack of eighteenth-century information.

These families joined the long-standing families of 1672 in maintaining the stability of the local population through the industrial changes of the nineteenth century. From a predominantly rural community at the end of the seventeenth century, within the next 50 or so years Stannington's cutlery trade increased in line with that of Sheffield although, obviously, not on such a large scale. Stannington was beginning to change into an industrial community. From then on families moved into the township, thus increasing the necessary workforce which, in turn, allowed more industry to develop; the increase in people and industry became interwoven. In contrast with Sheffield, however, where industry continued in the metal trades, Stannington diversified into the mining and use of gannister and fireclay. By the later part of the nineteenth century Stannington's conversion to industry was complete. In comparison with the working population of 1672 a much greater proportion of that of 1871 were employees rather than self-employed. Farms had increased in size, thus requiring more labourers than owners, works on the rivers were mostly owned as investments by outsiders who employed local labour and the up-and-coming industry of gannister and fireclay was controlled by a mere handful of employers.

Turning to the second part of this chapter we can see that there was a great increase in the workforce in 1871, although mainly on a temporary basis. Only by tracing all the families over time can the question 'Where did the workforce come from once Stannington was industrialised?' be answered. We have seen that until the nineteenth century most of the workers came from their 'country', the surrounding area of Hallamshire and north Derbyshire and were connected with the cutlery trades, but by the end of the century they had come from all parts of the country. It must be remembered, however, that this included the reservoir workers who moved out as quickly as they had moved in, once their job was finished, and the majority of the long-resident families had local origins.

We can see from the methodology used in this and the previous chapter that despite the industrial upheaval of the nineteenth century Stannington remained a close-knit and independent community which adapted to changing times. We have proved that family

continuity is evident not only in rural areas such as those previously studied - e.g. Myddle by Professor Hey, Wigston Magna by Professor Hoskins and parishes in south-west Nottinghamshire by Dr. Mitson - but also in communities that became industrialised, thereby demonstrating the value of this methodology.

¹ NATCECT.

² Wilson Collection, vol. 220 II.

³ R. E. Leader, *History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York* (Sheffield: Company of Cutlers, 1906) vol. II, p. 111.

⁴ Leader, p. 111.

⁵ BPC 1a.

⁶ BPC 85.

⁷ BPC 85.

⁸ BPC 7.

⁹ MD 7079.

¹⁰ BPC 73.

¹¹ Leader, p. 177.

¹² Leader, p. 118.

¹³ BPC 1a.

¹⁴ BPC 6.

¹⁵ BPC 23.

¹⁶ BPC 7.

¹⁷ BPC 8.

¹⁸ NATCECT.

¹⁹ Wilson, vol. 220 II.

²⁰ F. T. Wood, *The History of Underbank Chapel* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend Ltd., 1944), p. 76.

²¹ Leader, p. 123.

²² Leader, p. 123.

²³ BPC 53.

²⁴ BPC 85.

²⁵ BPC 71.

²⁶ BPC 2.

²⁷ MD 591, p. 111.

²⁸ Leader, p. 128.

²⁹ BPC 56A.

³⁰ Wilson, vol. 41.

³¹ BPC 52 & 72.

³² BPC 52 & 72.

³³ BPC 74.

³⁴ BPC 71.

³⁵ NATCECT.

³⁶ BPC 8.

³⁷ NATCECT.

³⁸ Leader, p. 169.

³⁹ Leader, p. 168.

⁴⁰ S. Harrison, *A Complete History of the Great Flood at Sheffield* (Dewsbury: Evans & Longley Associates, republished 1974), p. 32.

⁴¹ MD 7097.

⁴² MD 7097.

⁴³ CA 7/9.

⁴⁴ NATCECT.

⁴⁵ Leader, p. 133.

⁴⁶ Leader, p. 179.

⁴⁷ BPC 77.

⁴⁸ NATCECT.

⁴⁹ Fairbank MB 21.

⁵⁰ RC 156.

- 51 Leader, p. 193.
- 52 BPC 71.
- 53 BPC 85.
- 54 BPC 71.
- 55 BPC 72 & 52.
- 56 BPC 72.
- 57 BPC 71.
- 58 BPC 85.
- 59 BPC2.
- 60 BPC 71.
- 61 NATCECT.
- 62 RC 167.
- 63 Wilson, vol. 220 II.
- 64 Leader, p. 194.
- 65 Leader, p. 194.
- 66 ACM S392.
- 67 Wood, p.135.
- 68 BPC 1a.
- 69 BPC 8.
- 70 BPC 23.
- 71 BPC 77.
- 72 BPC 71.
- 73 BPC 53.
- 74 BPC 53.
- 75 BPC 54.4.
- 76 BPC 4.
- 77 BPC 1a.
- 78 BPC 71.
- 79 BPC 77.
- 80 Leader, p. 197.
- 81 Leader, p. 311.
- 82 BPC 8.
- 83 BPC 43.
- 84 Leader, p. 202.
- 85 Leader, p. 383.
- 86 BPC 36.
- 87 BPC 23.
- 88 MD 7259/13.
- 89 MD 7259/21.
- 90 NATCECT.
- 91 Leader, p. 210.
- 92 BPC 77.
- 93 NATCECT.
- 94 Wilson, vol. 222.
- 95 Wilson, vol. 232.
- 96 MD 589, p. 189.
- 97 RC, item 4609.
- 98 Leader, p. 217.
- 99 BPC 85.
- 100 BPC 8.
- 101 BPC 85.
- 102 BPC 85.
- 103 BPC 77.
- 104 BPC 52.
- 105 BPC 71.
- 106 NATCECT.
- 107 Leader, p. 220.
- 108 MD 593, p.130.
- 109 Leader, p. 240.

- 110 Leader, p. 220.
- 111 NATCECT.
- 112 Leader, p. 223.
- 113 RC 7,
- 114 Leader, p. 130.
- 115 Wilson, vol. 220 II.
- 116 Wilson. vol. 41.
- 117 MD 592, p. 32.
- 118 Leader, p. 223.
- 119 MD 594, pp. 1-22.
- 120 BPC 85.
- 121 BPC 1a.
- 122 BPC 72.
- 123 BPC 74.
- 124 BPC 71.
- 125 BPC 64.9.
- 126 NATCECT.
- 127 Leader, p. 231.
- 128 Leader, p. 327.
- 129 Wilson, vol. 41.
- 130 MD 593, p. 48.
- 131 BCP 1a.
- 132 BPC 71.
- 133 BPC 72.
- 134 BPC 85.
- 135 BPC 71.
- 136 BPC 52 & 72.
- 137 BPC 64.9.
- 138 BPC 71.
- 139 BPC 83.
- 140 NATCECT.
- 141 BPC 52 & 72.
- 142 BPC 71.
- 143 BPC 74.
- 144 BPC 2.
- 145 BPC 2.
- 146 BPC 71.
- 147 BPC 74.
- 148 BPC 64.
- 149 Wilson, vol. 28.
- 150 Wilson, vol. 48, p. 60.
- 151 BPC 1a.
- 152 MD 7097.
- 153 NATCECT.
- 154 Wilson, vol. 81.
- 155 Leader, p. 154.
- 156 Leader, p. 119.
- 157 Leader, p. 250.
- 158 Wilson, vol. 28.
- 159 Wilson, vol. 41.
- 160 BPC 56A.
- 161 BPC 71.
- 162 BPC 85.
- 163 BPC 52/72.
- 164 BPC 77.
- 165 BPC 52/72.
- 166 BPC 8.
- 167 Leader, p. 179.
- 168 Leader, p. 263.

- 169 ACM S381.
- 170 BPC 85.
- 171 BPC 71.
- 172 BPC 72.
- 173 RC 156, item 4441.
- 174 RC 156, item 4442.
- 175 BPC 52 & 72.
- 176 MD 7097.
- 177 Leader, p. 263.
- 178 Leader, p. 406.
- 179 Wood, p. 76.
- 180 BPC 1a.
- 181 BPC 6.
- 182 BPC 7.
- 183 MD 7097.
- 184 BPC 52.
- 185 BPC 64.9.
- 186 BPC 70.
- 187 BPC 77.
- 188 BPC 43.
- 189 BPC 72.
- 190 NATCECT.
- 191 BPC 64.9.
- 192 BPC 52 & 72.
- 193 BPC 60C.
- 194 Leader, p. 303.
- 195 Leader, p. 123.
- 196 RC 7.
- 197 Wilson, vol. 220 II.
- 198 Wilson, vol. 41.
- 199 Leader, p. 303.
- 200 BPC 56.
- 201 BPC 71.
- 202 BPC 52 & 72.
- 203 BPC 64.9.
- 204 BPC 85.
- 205 BPC 52 & 72.
- 206 BPC 71.
- 207 BPC 2.
- 208 BPC 71.
- 209 BPC 72.
- 210 Leader, p. 321.
- 211 Leader, p. 400.
- 212 BPC 1a.
- 213 BPC 2.
- 214 MD 7097.
- 215 Leader, p. 289.
- 216 MD 593, p. 34.
- 217 MD 593, p. 58.
- 218 MD 593, p. 104.
- 219 Wood, p. 76.
- 220 Wood, p. 95.
- 221 BPC 2.
- 222 BPC 85.
- 223 BPC 72.
- 224 BPC 64.9.
- 225 BPC 2.
- 226 BPC 72.
- 227 BPC 64.9.

- 228 BPC 8.
229 BPC 4.
230 NATCECT.
231 NATCECT.
232 Leader, p. 363.
233 Wilson, vol. 221 II.
234 MD 589, p. 130.
235 MD 590, p. 2.
236 Wilson, vol. 232.
237 Wilson, vol. 41.
238 MD 592, p. 63.
239 BPC 8.
240 BPC 77.
241 NATCECT.
242 Wilson, vol. 41.
243 RC 167.
244 Leader, p. 369.
245 BPC 52.
246 BPC 71.
247 BPC
248 BPC 1.
249 BPC 72.
250 BPC 1.
251 BPC 72.
252 BPC 1.
253 BPC 52 & 72.
254 BPC 71.
255 BPC 71.
256 BPC 72.
257 BPC 71.
258 BPC 85.
259 BPC 52 & 72.
260 BPC 71.
261 NATCECT.
262 BPC 78.
263 Leader, p. 401.
264 Leader, p. 321.
265 BPC 1a.
266 BPC 8.
267 BPC 71.
268 Wilson, vol. 28.
269 Leader, p. 404.
270 Leader, p. 405.
271 Leader, p. 405.
272 BPC 8.
273 MD 7097.
274 BPC 73.
275 RC 156, item 4429.
276 BPC 71.
277 BPC 73.
278 RC 156, item 4433.
279 BPC 71.
280 BPC 72.
281 BPC 64.9.
282 BPC 3.
283 NATCECT.
284 Leader, p. 390.
285 BPC 85.
286 BPC 8.

- ²⁸⁷ BPC 72.
²⁸⁸ BPC 72.
²⁸⁹ BPC 72.
²⁹⁰ BPC 64.9.
²⁹¹ MD 7259/6.
²⁹² BPC 72.
²⁹³ BPC 64.9.
²⁹⁴ BPC 85.
²⁹⁵ BPC 85.
²⁹⁶ BPC 2.
²⁹⁷ BPC 2.
²⁹⁸ *Acts of Parliament relating to Sheffield* vol. 1, no. 19
²⁹⁹ *Acts of Parliament relating to Sheffield* vol. 1, no. 20.
³⁰⁰ *Acts of Parliament relating to Sheffield 1853*.
³⁰¹ Harrison, pp. 93-97.
³⁰² C. Pooley & J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 2.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In order to examine continuity and change in the township of Stannington during the two-and-a-half centuries between c.1660 and c.1900, the aims of this thesis were, firstly, to add a contribution to the understanding of Sheffield's industrial history by looking at the effect of its growth on the Stannington community and secondly, although by no means less important, to examine in depth the families who made up this community at different times. In fact the two issues are intertwined.

We shall now see to what extent I have been successful in these aims and how the conclusions of my research compare with the theories of others described in Chapter 1. During the period in question the township of Stannington changed from an almost completely farming community to an industrial one although, in many cases, generations of the same families took part in the change. So how did this happen?

The change began towards the middle of the eighteenth century when the demand for Sheffield's metal products increased throughout the country. This led to rapid growth in the Hallamshire cutlery and edge tool trade which, in turn, necessitated a larger work force. By the end of the century the Cutlers' Company could no longer cope with the rising number wanting to learn the trade, and abandoned age-old rules of apprenticeships and admittance of freemen to the Company.

The building of grinding wheels on the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin was the natural progression as more water-power was needed, causing the trade to spread out along the River Don and its tributaries from central Sheffield. The steep fall of water over a short distance on the rivers made them ideal and the embryonic cutlery trade in the township of Stannington was about to be pushed into maturity. Between 1700 and 1750 ten grinding wheels were added to the six already working on the River Loxley and Storrs Brook, followed by another two between 1750 and 1800. Similarly, on the River Rivelin, eleven grinding wheels were constructed between 1700 and 1750, with another

four between 1750 and 1800, adding to the four grinding wheels and a forge already there prior to 1700.

Cutlers' Company records show that only twenty cutlers took apprentices in Stannington prior to 1700. There was a slight increase during the next twenty years but after that the number rose more rapidly, reaching 132 between 1781 and 1800. From 1800 to 1814, when the last apprentices were bound in Stannington, there was a slight drop in recorded masters, but this was due to the Cutlers' Company's relaxation of apprenticeships. This did not mean, however, that apprenticeships did not take place - there were just no Cutlers' Company records of them. Of those people who were in Stannington in 1672 and remained there beyond 1750, every family was involved in the cutlery and allied trades at some time during their Stannington history. Of those who had moved into Stannington some time after 1672, and were still recorded there in 1871, only two families, the Earnshaws and Ollerenshaws, were never connected with cutlery.

In line with these economic changes, the population figures of Chapter 2, although difficult to interpret because of the shortage and complexity of available data for the early period, show that numbers were fairly static until the mid-eighteenth century. The population increased from between 740 and 830 in 1672 to about 1,400 in 1801 with the growth beginning after the 1740s. The increase continued and by 1891 there were 3,394 people in Stannington. As metal workers and their families continued to move into the township the face of the landscape was changed, not only in the Loxley and Rivelin valleys, but throughout Stannington, with more houses built to accommodate the growing population. Also, over time, new religious establishments and schools were built to satisfy the spiritual and educational demands of the growing community.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the cutlery trades in Stannington began to decline, especially when compared with the rapidly increasing gannister industry. Nevertheless, various branches of metal work provided the largest amount of employment through into the twentieth century. The population increase continued and by 1891 there were 3,394 people in the township. By then the rural economy had been swept away by industry and the Stannington of 1891 was very different, both economically and physically, from that of 1672.

Dr. Peter Spufford, and others, used the turnover of surnames in parish registers to study the mobility and/or stability of a community.¹ My starting point for studying the continuity of Stannington families was the hearth tax returns for the area, taken on Lady Day, 1672. Unfortunately the poor were under-recorded but, using all the records at my disposal, I was able to find at least some details of the households listed. For some families these details were sparse and we know nothing more of what happened to them. Presumably, for one reason or another, they left the township.

A good proportion of the families had already been in Stannington for several generations by 1672, but, in some cases, the male line died out within a few years of that date. The outstanding example of this is the Revells of Steel Farm, at one time the most prominent family in the township, going back to the thirteenth century. By 1742, after the marriage of the last heiress, the name had gone. Other family names disappeared from Stannington at different times but a solid core of 17 families, just over 25% of the 63 surnames recorded in 1672, remained there for at least 200 years, from the reign of Charles II to the later part of Queen Victoria's. Another four families were there until the early nineteenth century. If eighteenth-century records had been fuller, these figures might have been even higher but I cannot prove whether or not the same families filled the gaps.

By looking, in detail, at families recorded in the Stannington census returns of both 1841 and 1871 we can see that many of these, also, remained there for generations. Although none had been recorded in the township 200 years earlier, i.e. in 1672, a high percentage appeared shortly afterwards. Twenty-one of the forty-two families examined in Chapter 6 had moved into Stannington before 1750 and went on to be recorded for at least another 120 years. Of these twenty-one, five came into the township as cutlery apprentices and stayed on, integrating with the established families. From Edward Nichols, who came from Sheffield in 1695, there grew a family who flourished in Stannington for over 200 years. In 1871 there were twenty households of that name recorded in the Stannington census returns. Several stayed in cutlery but one of Edward's descendants, in partnership with John Jackson, became a successful coal and gannister owner, in line with Stannington's changing industries. His family continued into the last century and is still remembered by the memorial lychgate of Christ Church,

Stannington, given in 1940. Another four families, recorded to the end of the nineteenth century, began with cutlery apprentices who came into Stannington between 1750 and 1800. All these apprentices had come as a result of Stannington's change to an industrial community, yet their families and descendants became part of the stable core.

Most of the in-comers recorded in 1871 had moved into Stannington, from all parts of the country, for just one purpose - that of building the reservoirs. Ten years later they had gone. Others recorded in 1871 had come to mine coal and gannister, or work in the brickyards and paper mills as these industries grew. Out of the 86 men and/or families in these latter groups, 22 remained in Stannington for at least another ten years. By 1891 some had gone but the sons of others had established their own households, bringing the number to 26. Of these, the best known is the Harper family. Ernest Harper brought Olympic glory to the township and is acknowledged by many as Stannington's most famous son.

So how does Stannington's stability and continuity compare with that of other communities? Professor David Hey, with regard to Myddle, Shropshire, observed that it was the families who had remained in the parish for many years 'that formed the core of the community, that helped to give it some sense of permanency.'² In the 1997 Phillimore Lecture he showed that core families whose surnames could be traced back through generations in the same area gave stability to that area in spite of change.³ Dr. Peter Spufford was in agreement with this and pointed out that regardless of mobility the families who stayed in one place for generations became the core of their community.⁴ Dr. Ann Mitson, studying a group of parishes in south-west Nottinghamshire, described the dynastic or core family as a stable group 'resident over several generations in the same parish or, more significantly, dispersed over a group of contiguous parishes.'⁵ She also found that 'These core groups kept alive and passed on the local culture.'⁶ Similarly, Professor W. G. Hoskins, studying the village of Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, realised that families who had lived in the village for several generations was one of the strengths of the community.⁷ Professor Alan Everitt stated that

'in studying any provincial society, we need to identify the core of dominant families who for one reason or another come to form the focus of influence within it.'

He came to the conclusion that usually these families were the ones who had stayed in the same neighbourhood for generations.⁸

Stannington certainly fits into this pattern. The longstanding core families were, for the most part, the ones who filled the local offices of overseers, constables, churchwardens, feoffees and, in some cases, assistants and searchers in the Cutlers' Company. They were the ones who made the decisions that affected the community, like their counterparts in the other rural communities that have been studied in the early-modern period. This high proportion gave the community stability and continuity despite all the changes brought about by industrialisation.

In addition to apprenticeship records, other documents, from the nineteenth century, tell us something about movement of population into and out of Stannington. The Bradfield applications for relief, surviving from the first half of the century, show that, in many cases, the applicants claiming settlement in Stannington were living in Sheffield. Between 1819 and 1850, 138 out of a total of 292 claimants gave addresses in Sheffield where they, or their husbands, had gone for work.⁹ Very few of the remaining claims were from outside Hallamshire. In the 1851 census returns, the first to record specific birth places, 254 (over 10%) of the 2,356 people recorded in Stannington gave Sheffield as their birth place. Another 327, the majority of whom were from north Derbyshire, bounding on Hallamshire, came from places other than Stannington, Bradfield and Ecclesfield. These figures show that the vast majority living in Stannington at that time had been born in Hallamshire.

Both these situations, showing movement between Stannington and other parts of Hallamshire or adjacent parishes, bring me to the same conclusion as researchers studying mobility - that the population was more mobile than earlier researchers had realised, but, in the majority of cases, this movement was only over short distances, mostly in the 'country' that the people felt 'at home' in, where they were not among total strangers nor far from their kith and kin. Of course there were exceptions to this, as we have seen in Stannington. George Henry Dyson and family tried life in New Zealand and William Nichols and family spent a few years in America, but both came back to Stannington. Others, such as Daniel Bacon, went abroad and remained away but they were a very small minority.

Reiterating what I quoted in Chapter 1: 'Family historians often find that their ancestors were rooted, if not in the same parish, then in the same 'country' for centuries.'¹⁰ Mobility 'usually took place over a short distance, and though families may have moved out of the parish they usually remained within the neighbourhood'¹¹ (Professor David Hey). 'Most rural mobility, however, took place within a distance of only ten miles and very little of it exceeded twenty miles'¹² (Dr. Peter Spufford). Mobility occurred between neighbouring parishes 'even though the distance travelled may not have been great'¹³ (Dr. Ann Mitson). 'Many moves took the form of rural circulation.'¹⁴ i.e. within their own 'country' (Dr. Colin Pooley and Dr. Jean Turnbull).

The people of the township of Stannington would consider not only the parish of Bradfield as their 'country' but also the broader area of Hallamshire. Involvement in the cutlery trades would form a common bond throughout the region. Obviously some lads came from outside Hallamshire to serve apprenticeships but the vast majority moved only within this localised network. Professor Hey, although describing the parish of Myddle as opposed to Hallamshire, discovered that 'the families that were distinct from the rest were those who plied the same trade for generation after generation.'¹⁵ This work bonding, although covering a much wider area, can also be likened to that of the fishermen and boatmen of Fisher Row, Oxford, covered by the research of Dr. Mary Prior. This she called an 'occupational' community and described it as 'an urban rather than a rural phenomenon.'¹⁶ The occupational communities of Hallamshire, other than central Sheffield, do not exactly fit into this description. Nevertheless, Hallamshire's sub-divisions into areas concentrating on different aspects of the metal trades, e.g. nail making in Ecclesfield, knife making followed by razor making in Stannington, within long established farming communities, is a reasonably similar situation.

Dr. Prior concluded that mobility could affect a community in two ways - if a core of the old established families remained, then newcomers would have little effect on the community, but if the old core disappeared then the 'structure of the parish will cease to be stable.'¹⁷ Stannington had a strong core of families into which newcomers integrated, so the stability remained. The change in the structure of the community was not brought about so much by newcomers as by new economic necessity. However,

generations of the older established families adapted to the economic change and the sense of community survived.

Looking at Stannington in the wider context of Hallamshire leads me to think that other townships within Hallamshire could be studied in the same way. Building a detailed picture of generations of families, and their occupations, has illustrated very clearly the continuity and change in a township. In fact, I would say that this methodology is valuable in the study of any specific community.

¹ Peter Spufford, 'The comparative mobility and immobility of Lollard descendants in early modern England' in Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 314.

² David Hey, *An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974), p. 141.

³ David Hey, 'The Local History of Family Names', The Phillimore Lecture, published as a supplement to *The Local Historian* vol. 27 no. 4 (Nov. 1997) by the British Association for Local History, p. iii.

⁴ Peter Spufford, p. 311.

⁵ Ann Mitson, 'The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-west Nottinghamshire', in C. Phythian-Adams (ed.) *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850*, (Leicester; London: Leicester University Press, 1993), p. 25.

⁶ Mitson, p. 50.

⁷ W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1965), p. 196.

⁸ Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London; Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1985), p. 312.

⁹ BPC, 8.

¹⁰ David Hey, 'The Local History of Family Names', p. iii.

¹¹ David Hey, *An English Rural Community*, p. 200.

¹² Peter Spufford, p. 310.

¹³ Mitson, p. 34.

¹⁴ C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 29.

¹⁵ David Hey, *An English Rural Community*, p. 143.

¹⁶ Mary Prior, *Fisher Row: Fishermen, Bargemen and Canal Boatmen in Oxford 1500-1900*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 13.

¹⁷ Prior, p. 34.

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