

FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE-CLASS URBAN CULTURE  
AND POLITICS: SHEFFIELD 1825-1880

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the  
degree of Ph.D.

The University of Leeds, Department of Social Policy and  
Sociology

Submitted March, 1990

## Abstract

This thesis examines the formation and development of the Sheffield middle-class through the focus of the Sheffield Club. In chapter two cultural institutions of the town prior to the formation of the Club are examined. The institutional formation and development of the Club is then traced from its foundation in 1843 through to 1880.

The third chapter examines the membership of the Club in some detail in order to substantiate the claim that it represents the elite strata of Sheffield society. Investigation of the involvement of the Club membership in other key locations of power in the town is then presented.

The fourth chapter examines the struggles concerning the gaining of a charter of incorporation for the town. The political and religious composition of the opposing groups are analysed. The intervention of the West Riding magistrates in the debate is also examined. Lastly, the role of the members of the Sheffield Club is assessed.

The fifth and sixth chapters look in detail at the 1852 and 1857 Sheffield elections, and the 1865 West Riding election. The description of the elections is focused through the Sheffield Club in order to assess the strength of party support of its members. The claim that 1868 marks the beginning of the defection of the Sheffield middle class to the Tory party is then examined. It is argued that the defection of the elite of the Sheffield middle class began much earlier than this date.

The conclusion draws together the main arguments of the thesis and examines the relationship between the elite and the middle class.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the following:  
My supervisor Janet Wolff and John Seed who was the Research Fellow on the ESRC project for which I held the linked studentship. They both read and commented on previous versions of chapters; the librarians and staff of Sheffield Central Library, Manchester Central Library, Westminster Library, Camden Central Library, the Public Record Office, the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, all of whom dealt with the most arcane requests with ease; the Committees of Management of both the Sheffield and Leeds Clubs for permission to inspect their archives; the Earl Wharnccliffe, for permission to inspect the Wharnccliffe Muniments in the Sheffield Local Archives; Mr W R Chapman, assistant secretary of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, for permission to inspect the archives of the Chamber deposited in the Sheffield Local Archives; the Rev. Peter B Godfrey, for permission to inspect the archives of the Upper Chapel, Norfolk Street, Sheffield; Debbie Murrells who has typed the thesis up in a very short space of time; lastly, Janet who has helped in ways too numerous to mention.

CONTENTS

Abstract		
Acknowledgements		
Table of Contents		
<u>List of Tables</u>		iv
<u>Abbreviations</u>		vii
<u>CHAPTER ONE</u>		
1:1	<u>Introduction</u>	1
1:2	<u>Sheffield's Industries</u>	4
1:2:1	<u>Sheffield's Light Industry</u>	5
1:2:2	<u>Sheffield's Heavy Industry</u>	7
1:3	<u>Conclusion</u>	9
	<u>Footnotes</u>	10
<u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	<u>THE SHEFFIELD CLUB : I</u>	
2:1	<u>Introduction</u>	12
2:2	<u>Precursors to the Sheffield Club</u>	15
2:3:	<u>The Sheffield Club</u>	30
2:3:1	<u>The Sheffield Club: 1843-1863</u>	31
2:3:2	<u>The Sheffield Club: 1863-1880</u>	38
2:4	<u>Conclusion</u>	44
	<u>Footnotes</u>	45
<u>CHAPTER THREE</u>	<u>THE SHEFFIELD CLUB: II</u>	
3:1	<u>Introduction</u>	58
3:2	<u>Occupational Analysis of the Sheffield Club</u>	58
3:3	<u>Analysis of Club Members Involvement in Other Local Institutions</u>	74
3:4	<u>Conclusion</u>	86
	<u>Appendix 3.1</u>	87
	<u>Footnotes</u>	90

<u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>	<u>THE SHEFFIELD CHARTER OF INCORPORATION</u>	
4:1	<u>Introduction</u>	98
4:2	<u>The Struggle for the Charter: 1836-8</u>	99
4:3	<u>The Struggle for the Charter: 1840-3</u>	113
4:4	<u>Social Composition of the Council</u>	134
4:5	<u>Conclusion</u>	137
	<u>Appendix 4.1</u>	140
	<u>Appendix 4.2</u>	143
	<u>Footnotes</u>	152
<u>CHAPTER FIVE</u>	<u>THE SHEFFIELD ELECTION OF 1852 AND ITS BACKGROUND</u>	
5:1	<u>Introduction</u>	163
5:2	<u>Politics in Sheffield prior to 1835</u>	165
5:3	<u>Electoral Politics in Sheffield: 1835-52</u>	173
5:4	<u>The Sheffield Election of 1852</u>	176
5:5	<u>Analysis of the Voting of the Sheffield Club Members in the 1852 Election</u>	184
5:6	<u>Conclusion</u>	188
	<u>Footnotes</u>	189
<u>CHAPTER SIX</u>	<u>THE SHEFFIELD ELECTION OF 1857 AND THE WEST RIDING ELECTION OF 1865</u>	
6:1	<u>Introduction</u>	197
6:2	<u>The Sheffield Election of 1857</u>	199
6:3	<u>The Involvement of the Sheffield Club Members in the 1857 Sheffield Election and the 1865 West Riding Election</u>	209
6:4	<u>Conclusion</u>	221
	<u>Appendix 6.1</u>	222
	<u>Appendix 6.2</u>	224
	<u>Footnotes</u>	228

<u>CHAPTER SEVEN</u>	<u>CONCLUSION</u>	
7:1	<u>Introduction</u>	232
7:2	<u>The Sheffield Club as an Object of Study</u>	233
7:3	<u>Elites and Elite Theory</u>	234
7:4	<u>Hegemony and the Urban Elite</u>	237
7:5	<u>The Elite and the Petty-Bourgeoisie</u>	240
7:6	<u>The Urban Elite and the Aristocracy</u>	242
7:7	<u>Politics and the Elite</u>	247
7:8	<u>Sheffield's Middle Class Elite: Success or Failure?</u>	250
7:9	<u>Conclusion</u>	254
	<u>Footnotes</u>	255
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>		259

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE NO.</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>PAGE NO.</u>
2.1	Members of the Monthly Club, 17th June 1783.	23
2.2	Membership of the Pitt Club; 29 May 1815.	28
2.3	Number of Members of the Sheffield Club 1844-1862	35
2.4	Expenditure on Newspapers for Selected Years of the Sheffield and Leeds Clubs.	38
2.5	Expenditure on Staff, Per Member of the Sheffield Club, the Leeds Club and the London Reform Club.	41
2.6	Number of Members of the Sheffield Club, 1863-1881	43
3.1	Aggregate occupational analysis of the membership of the Sheffield Club for 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.	61
3.2	Involvement of members of the Sheffield Club in the Town Council; 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.	76
3.3	Percentage of Sheffield Club Members who were Borough J.P.s for the years 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.	77
3.4	Percentage of members of the Sheffield Club who were West Riding - Sheffield Division - Magistrates over the period 1840-1889.	78
3.5	Names, Occupations, Religion and Politics of the 1868 Sheffield Magistrates Bench, by Club Membership.	79
3.6	Involvement of the Members of the Sheffield Club in the Church and Town Burghers for 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.	82
3.7	Involvement of Sheffield Club members in the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce for the years 1857, 1868 and 1880.	83
3.8	Officers of the Hallamshire Rifles, 10 May 1861, showing occupation and Sheffield Club membership.	85
4.1	Anti-Corporation Committee formed at Cutlers' Hall Meeting to 'Form and Arrange Business'.	109
4.2	£10 Householders in favour of the Sheffield Charter; by Townships.	125
4.3	Percentage of £10 Householders and Density of Inhabitants Per Acre and Inhabited House.	126

4.4	Names and Occupations of Those Who Signed Promissory Note, 18 May 1843.	133
4.5	Occupational Data on the Police Commissioners for 1841, and Sheffield Town Council for November, 1843.	136
5.1	The Results of the 1832 Sheffield Election.	169
5.2	Known Voting of Members of the Sheffield Club, 1832-65.	170
5.3	Voting of Those who invited Bailey to stand in 1832.	172
5.4	Poll for the 1852 Sheffield Election.	182
5.5	Voting of the 1854 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1852 Election.	186
5.6	Voting of the 1854 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1852 Election, By Occupational Group.	186
5.7	Voting of the Leeds Ward Members of the Leeds Club in the 1848 West Riding Election.	187
5.8	Voting of the Leeds Ward Members of the Leeds Club in the 1848 West Riding Election by Occupational Group.	187
6.1	Results of the 1857 Sheffield Election.	202
6.2	Voting in the 1854 Sheffield Election, by Townships.	202
6.3	Voting of the Executive of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, 1852 and 1857.	205
6.4	Analysis of Voting of the Executive of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, 1852 and 1857.	206
6.5	Voting of the members of the Sheffield Club in the 1857 Sheffield Election.	210
6.6	Voting of the 1857 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1857 Election, by Occupational Group.	210
6.7	Analysis of 'inflow' of votes of the members of the Sheffield Club, 1857.	211
6.8	Analysis of 'outflow' of votes of the members of the Sheffield Club, 1852.	212
6.9	Voting of the 1865 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1865 Election in the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire.	215
6.10	Voting of the 1865 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1865 Election for the Southern	

	Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, by occupational group.	216
6.11	Analysis of 'inflow' of votes in the 1857 election for the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire for all those identifiable individuals who were members of the Sheffield Club over the period 1849-1865.	217
6.12	Voting of Selected Members of the Sheffield Club: 1841, 1848, 1852, 1857 and 1865.	218
6.13	Flow Chart of Votes of the Members of the Sheffield Club, 1841-1865.	220

Abbreviations

EHR	<u>English Historical Review</u>
MAGMSC	Minutes of the Annual General Meetings of the Sheffield Club
MCMSC	Minutes of the Committee of Management of the Sheffield Club
NCRS	Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Sheffield (in the Local History section of the Sheffield Local Archives)
NH	<u>Northern History</u>
PRO	Public Record Office
SH	<u>Social History</u>
SI	<u>Sheffield Independent</u>
SLA	Sheffield Local Archives (in Sheffield Central Library)
SLR	<u>Sheffield Local Register</u>
ST	<u>Sheffield Times</u>
THAS	<u>Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society</u>

CHAPTER ONEINTRODUCTION

"The steam engine and its appliances, with numberless other mechanical inventions, many of them of exquisite ingenuity, have enormously increased the producing power of this country, and created a population busily employed in wielding it.....Under these circumstances, old instruments, old institutions, old methods of instruction and discipline, adapted (and perhaps well adapted) to a different state of society, must many of them submit to be set aside; or where they are retained to be enlarged or modified....."

"On Free Public Libraries, A Paper read before the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society on the 4th February 1853, by Samuel Bailey."

"The men who held the reins of the commerce of this country, could command the destinies of the country, if they chose. It was necessary, therefore, that they should be organised to exercise the power they possessed..."

Edward Smith speaking at the annual meeting of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, 12 January 1861.

1:1 Introduction

This is a study of the elite of the industrial and professional middle class in nineteenth century Sheffield. In particular, it is a study of the Sheffield Club: a meeting place for the occupants of the commanding heights of *political, economic and social power within the town*. A completely male institution, it was a social space where elite representatives of hostile political and religious groups could meet together outside of the play of normal inter-class conflicts. Its members were drawn from the largest employers of labour and the most prestigious professional positions within the urban sprawl that was industrial Sheffield. However, the Club also drew in members from the lower levels of county society and the holders of the largest estates in and around the town: i.e., the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Wharnccliffe. Thus, the Club also functioned as a forum for communication between those who represented the interests of the town and those who represented the interests of the country (although in reality the conflicts were not as simple as this formulation might suggest).

The comments that stand at the head of this chapter indicate that many individuals in nineteenth century Sheffield felt themselves to be representatives of a class of epoch making dimensions. Moreover, many

of the men on which this study will focus felt themselves to be the centre and organizing principle of this dramatic change. The speeches given at the opening of the armour plate mill at the Cyclops Works of Charles Cammell illustrate this point well. John Jobson Smith - a local industrial manufacturer - addressed the 2,000 workmen invited to a dinner to celebrate the opening, and speculated on the intellect of the individual charged

with coordinating such a vast number:

"He could not look around this large and crowded room, and remember that the direction of all the vast operations of this great assemblage of workpeople centred in the intelligence of one single individual, without exclaiming what a vast amount of nerve, anxiety, diligence, foresight, and power of organisation was required to direct such an aggregation of physical and intellectual power with efficiency and success."<sup>1</sup>

The Sheffield Club - and Clubs of a similar kind elsewhere - were one of a number of cultural institutions through which the industrial middle class came to achieve a sense of unity and cohesion.

Before we go any further it is necessary to say something about the current status of studies of the nineteenth middle class. That the middle class were not a homogeneous economic and cultural formation would now seem to be the orthodoxy. The emerging consensus argues that the middle class were not the unproblematic carriers of structural economic determinants. The image thus created is of a socio-cultural entity that could manifest itself in a myriad of ways: this being partly a function of the balance of economic and political forces in the area under study. As we shall see below when we come to consider the impact of the Municipal Reform Act, the conflicts - or lack of them - over the local implementation of this Act were a product of the locale.

The middle class had to work to create themselves. Their political representatives had to organise themselves to gain political and religious rights. Their ideological representatives had to organise themselves culturally to create the web of institutions and practices through which they established and then consolidated their position and power in a hostile social landscape. That the middle class - or at least the elite amongst the middle class - had vast economic power is undoubted. What is at issue is the relationship between this elite group and other fractions of the middle class and, in addition, the relationship between the middle class and the urban proletariat and the relationship between the middle class and the aristocracy.

Foster, in his study of class relations in Oldham, Northampton

and South Shields, devotes a chapter to an analysis of the bourgeoisie in these three towns (although the emphasis is on Oldham).<sup>2</sup> Given the space devoted to it, Foster's analysis could not help being brief and schematic (indeed, his main aim in the chapter and the book is to chart the strength of working class political power, and the responses made to it by the bourgeoisie) nevertheless, he does suggest that the Oldham bourgeoisie was not a unified group but was divided into two distinct groupings: the 'big' and the 'petty'.

Joyce, in his study of paternalistic factory employers in Lancashire continued the work on the level of class consciousness amongst the proletariat but also devoted a considerable portion of his study to the nature and composition of the elites.<sup>3</sup> Through detailed work on marriage and patterns of social cohesion he presents an image of an urban-industrial elite which although itself subject to major conflicts over political and religious issues, shared certain economic interests and ideological foundations, with a pre-existing landed fraction of the ruling class. Joyce views the urban-industrial nexus as increasingly forming the dominant fraction within this amalgam:

"If the first quarter of the century saw the making of the English working class, the second quarter may fairly be judged to have seen the making of the northern employer class. After mid-century the industrial bourgeoisie was to leave its iron days behind and enter on its inheritance of power and prestige."<sup>4</sup>

This is a view which is taken up by the authors of the Benwell Community Project Report on the making of a dynastic industrial elite on Tyneside.<sup>5</sup> Here the authors take a group of families who are politically and economically dominant and show how they manage to maintain this dominance over almost 200 years (despite the various vicissitudes of capitalism). As with Foster and Joyce, the emphasis here is on the analysis of wills, poll books, company directorships etc. (although some space is given to what could be termed cultural institutions).

Coming from a different direction to the problem of the middle class are authors such as Morris, who have devoted themselves to reconstructing the manner by which - in local situations - the middle class went about literally creating the urban terrain on which they lived their lives.<sup>6</sup> Here the emphasis of study has been on the dense network of voluntary institutions that the middle class created: e.g., assembly rooms, subscription libraries, theatres etc. but also hospitals, literary and philosophical societies etc.

Histories have also been produced which have taken single issues and sought to show how they illuminate the general process of middle

class domination outlined above: e.g., Cunningham's history of the Volunteer movement which - amongst other things - sees it as the "military expression of self-help".<sup>7</sup>

Turning to Sheffield itself, a number of recent histories that touch on the middle class have been produced in both published and Ph.D. form: Fletcher on the Sheffield liberal party, Reid on the growth of the 'bourgeois ethic of respectability' and Smith on the comparative growth of the middle class in Sheffield and Birmingham.<sup>8</sup> The latter appeared once this study had commenced and it might be thought that it obviates the need for further investigation of the Sheffield middle class. This might be the case were it not for one major problem with his argument. Smith claims in a number of places that the Sheffield middle class differ from their Birmingham contemporaries in that:

"...the urban elites of professionals and businessmen were integrated, loosely, through a web of private and semi-private ties rather than through participation in public and professional associations."<sup>9</sup>

Smith is here referring specifically to political disputes between two groups of medical practitioners in Sheffield which resulted in the establishment of two rival medical schools. This, he argues, is indicative of the fact that in Sheffield the elites exhibit intra-professional rivalries, whilst in Birmingham they are inter-professional. This is also a part of Smith's main thesis: viz, that the professional and industrial elite of Sheffield were splintered and fragmented, having no common point of reference. Whatever else Smith may be correct about, and there is much about his book that is excellent, on this point he is mistaken. The Sheffield Club was the main institution through which the elite came to be integrated: certainly in the period under investigation here. Many of the names that he associates with the founding of the two schools (the Overends, Favells, Jacksons) were present together on the membership lists of the Club in its early years. How Smith came to overlook such an institution will be discussed in the Conclusion; let us just note here that he is not alone in this oversight.

### 1:2 Sheffield's Industries

Sheffield's main nineteenth century industries can be divided into two sectors and two phases. The first 'light' sector was the dominant form of local productive activity up to the mid-point of the century. The second 'heavy' sector of local industry emerged with the various technological changes that increased the availability of

steel. Although the sector in which the major fortunes were made, the latter was not the main employer during the period of this study.

### 1:2:1 Sheffield's light industry

Sheffield has been a centre for cutlery production since the time of Chaucer. Over the course of the eighteenth century other areas of production added to the increasing prosperity of the town: silverware and silver-plating, steel and hardware manufacture and coal mining. The manufacture of saws began in the mid-eighteenth century and cast steel scissors were introduced in the 1760s. Of lesser importance were a group of industries which transformed the unfinished implement into a saleable product. These included the manufacture of handles from bone, ivory and wood and the manufacture of wooden cases.

Reid produces figures which show that in 1824 8,549 people were employed in the manufacture of cutlery and edge tools.<sup>10</sup> By the mid-point of the century this figure had grown to 18,950 in the cutlery and tools area, 2,100 in hafting and 300 in the silver and silver-plate sector: a total of 21,350.<sup>11</sup> By 1891 employment in the whole of the light sector stood at 32,100.<sup>12</sup>

This side of the local trades was little touched by the technological innovations of the first half of the nineteenth century. The one major change being the introduction of steam power. Over the period 1770-1865 the number of water-powered 'wheels' (the local name for the building in which grinding was carried out) declined from 133 to 32. Over the same period the number of steam-powered 'wheels' increased from 0 to 132.<sup>13</sup> This change had enabled the 'little mester' to move from their former positions on the sides of the fast-flowing streams in the hills surrounding Sheffield to the town centre. It also meant - of course - that the pace of production had been increased, as the cutlers were no longer dependent on the state of the water supply for their motive power. However, such a move had not brought about any change in the average size of the productive unit.<sup>14</sup>

The proliferation of the workshop mode of production produced a potentially amorphous set of economic relations between the 'datal worker' (e.g. in a literal sense 'paid by the day', the classic proletariat) and the 'little mester' on the one hand, and the merchants and manufacturers on the other. At one extreme the 'little mester' could be someone who owned their own tools and workplace. They would take in the roughly finished piece of raw metal and would apply to it some or all of the processes needed to produce the

finished product. This piece of cutlery, knife, sickle - whatever it may be - would be marked with either the corporate mark of the larger merchant or with that of the 'little mester'.

At the other end of the spectrum the 'little mester' could be a worker in a building owned by a merchant or manufacturer, paying rent for the use of his workspace and motive power and working on articles provided for him by the owner. Reid argues that this was the internal labour arrangement in the first of the large scale Sheffield factories built in the 1820s.<sup>15</sup> In this instance the distinction between the 'little mester' and the man he employed could be slight, whereas in the former, it was possible for the skilled artisan to act as if he were a 'free' economic agent who - through luck and abstemious habits - could one day rise to the rank of a large-scale manufacturer. Pollard is probably being over-simplistic when he describes the move from wage labour to manufacturer as "gradual and fairly easy".<sup>16</sup> Indeed, Erickson - in her study of the study of the social origins of steel manufacturers for this period - has found that "there were only a few examples of men from the working class in town or country who achieved leading positions in the industry."<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, it is probable that even the apparently economically independent small producer was not outside the influence of the larger capitalists. Although the workshop mode of production may appear to be outside of, or in contradistinction to, the factory mode, it can be argued that it has been formally subsumed under the relations of capital which take a real form in the factory. However, because the small producers look free, it is possible for both contemporary and modern historians of Sheffield to point to the continued existence of the small workshop as an indicator of a continuous rather than dichotomous class structure.<sup>18</sup> Evidence from Birmingham, where the small workshop mode also predominated, suggests that although the number of large productive units may have been few, they played a vital role in dictating the nature of social and economic relationships within the workshops.<sup>19</sup> Caught within what Behagg has called an 'inverted political economy' the 'little mester' could find himself imposing the discipline of industrial capital on his men.

It is the owners of these large productive units - who were few but cast a large shadow - that make up a substantial portion of the membership of the Sheffield Club. As we shall see when we come to look at the membership in detail, partners from almost all of the largest mid-century employers were present in the Club.

### 1:2:2 Sheffield's heavy industry

Strictly speaking this side of Sheffield manufacture did not really establish itself as a distinct area of industrial activity until after the mid-point of the century. Its forms of labour and capital investment showed striking similarities to the light sector. This is not surprising when one considers that the production and treatment of steel was still regarded as a mere adjunct to the main steel consuming industries of cutlery and tool production. For example, in 1852 of the 103 firms who produced steel, 66 also produced cutlery and/or tools and 17 more combined steel manufacture and rolling and tilting (that is, working with a tilt hammer) with the production of tools and cutlery.<sup>20</sup> Some of the firms which grew to dominate the heavy sector began in the cutlery and tool trade: John Brown served his apprenticeship with the firm of Earl, Horton and Co. (file and cutlery manufacturer)<sup>21</sup> and Charles Cammell came to Sheffield at the age of 21 from Hull, working for the firm of Ibbotson Brothers (file manufacturers) for 6 years before setting up in partnership in the steel trade in 1837.<sup>22</sup>

Other companies grew out of previous steel making concerns: Thomas Jessop was the son of a "practical steel melter" in Sheffield and although he served his apprenticeship with an edge tool maker, it is clear that his father had his own steel making concern.<sup>23</sup> Another example would be Mark Firth who was the son of Thomas, a steel melter first at Marshall's and then at Sanderson Brothers. Mark and his brother served their apprenticeship with their father at Sanderson's but in the early 1840s they left to start their own steel melting concern.<sup>24</sup> Lastly, there is T.E. Vickers, the son of Edward - a miller - and Anne Naylor, who was the daughter of George Naylor, a partner in a local steel melting firm of which Edward's brother - William - was also a partner (William also had a rolling mill of his own).<sup>25</sup> Most of these men were members of the Sheffield Club at some point in their lives.

As can be seen from this brief review, Pollard's claim that entry into the heavy trades was relatively easy and open to individuals without capital must be treated with caution. Indeed, the example he gives - that of John Brown starting "in business with a loan of £500" - is very misleading, since this sum was the amount asked by the senior partner in Earl, Horton and Co., to take him into partnership.<sup>26</sup> Pollard implies that Brown started up in business with this sum (that is, brought plant). That large sums of money were to be made is beyond doubt. In twenty years Charles Cammell went from

starting in partnership to purchasing the manor of Norton from the assignees of the Parker, Shore bank.<sup>27</sup> John Brown established himself in Orchard Street in 1844 and eleven years later bought the works of Armitage, Frankish and Barker - reputed to have cost £23,000 to erect - for £12,000.<sup>28</sup>

At first the heavy side of the industry grew slowly. One of the main factors determining this was the high cost of steel. Pollard gives figures quoting £45-£60 a ton for cast and shear steel, and £18-£22 for coach spring steel, in the period 1853-4. The comparable price for railway iron was £5-£8 a ton.<sup>29</sup> Prior to the introduction of the Bessemer and Siemens process of steel converting the main method employed was that of the 'cementation furnace'. This involved the packing of pure iron and charcoal into chests, which would then be heated for varying periods of time depending on the grade of steel required.<sup>30</sup> Due to the physical constraints on the size of the chest and the period required for heating and cooling down, it has been estimated that the total amount of steel any one furnace could produce was 250-450 tons a year.<sup>31</sup> The resultant 'blister steel' - so called because of the imperfections on the surface - had to be further refined by either the crucible (that is, melted) or shear (that is, cut and welded together) method for all but the most general uses.<sup>32</sup>

The only method open to the producer of increasing his steel making capacity was to add-on another cementation furnace. This did not lead to large economies of scale. However, the demand for steel showed a steady increase from 1850 onwards as its use in railways, engineering, shipbuilding and weapons increased.

In 1858-9 Bessemer built his own works in Sheffield to convert iron to steel. The convertor worked by blowing air through molten pig iron: the impurities in the iron being thus burnt out. Although slow to adopt the method - Brown and Cammell being the first - 7 out of the first 10 works using the Bessemer method were laid down in and around Sheffield.<sup>33</sup>

As a result of the increased capacity, employment in the heavy sector underwent a vast increase. Pollard estimates that in 1850 5,200 individuals were employed in this sector. By 1891 this had grown to 21,384.<sup>34</sup> The size of the average productive unit was also very large necessitating a degree of skill on the part of the owner in organising a uniquely large workforce (hence the comments on the opening of the Cyclops Works above). John Brown employed 200 men in 1856, 2,500 in 1863 and 5,000 in 1872; Thomas Firth's workforce stood at 20 or 30 in 1842, this rose to 500 in 1857 and 2,000 in 1890.

Cammell himself had a workforce in its tens in the early 1840s, this rose to 3,000 in 1865 and 4,000 in 1872.<sup>35</sup>

### 1:3 Conclusion

This study opens with an investigation of the Sheffield Club. In Chapter Two, following a brief summary of middle class cultural institutions in Sheffield prior to 1843, the formation and institutional history of the Club is discussed. In Chapter Three the membership of the Club is analysed and the involvement of its members in other local sites of power investigated.

Chapter Four broadens the study out from the Club to look at the struggle in Sheffield concerning the gaining of a charter of incorporation. The arguments for and against the charter are investigated as are the political and religious alignments of the individuals concerned. The struggle for the charter is placed within a broader context of the conflict between the town and the country. The involvement of the Club members is then investigated.

The final two Chapters look in detail at the Sheffield elections of 1852 and 1857, and the West Riding election of 1865. The description of these elections is focused through the membership of the Club in order to assess the degree of party support they show. This has been done not only to investigate the politics of an elite group but also to investigate the claim made by Fletcher - the historian of the Sheffield Liberal party - that the defection of the Sheffield middle class to the Tory party started in 1868.

Throughout the course of this discussion reference is made to the Leeds Club - where appropriate - to lend weight to the argument that the Sheffield Club is not alone in the traits that its members manifest. Reference will also be made back to one of the main arguments of this thesis: that the Sheffield Club is a space where antagonistic elements of the elite of the Sheffield middle class could meet on common ground.

N.B. PLACE OF PUBLICATION IS LONDON UNLESS STATED OTHERWISEFOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. S.I. 21 November, 1863.
2. John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution, Methuen, paperback edition 1977 (originally published, 1974).
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CHAPTER TWOTHE SHEFFIELD CLUB : 12:1 Introduction

"If a man loves comfort and has little cash to buy it, he should get into a crowded Club - a most select society."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, Theodore Hook on the course of action that the creation of "gentlemen's Clubs" held out to the "Mr. Vavasors" of the nineteenth century. (Mr. Vavasor is the character in Trollope's Can You Forgive Her?, who has drifted down from the class, and income, of his birth.)<sup>2</sup> Hook is of course referring to a form of Club that was unique to the nineteenth century. Clubs had existed in many parts of the country prior to this time. And, these Clubs had been established for many reasons: political, theatrical, musical etc.<sup>3</sup> However, it was the nineteenth century that saw the emergence of the notion of a Club as a continuous institution, with a building of its own. The previous Clubs had tended to be organisations that would meet in an ale house perhaps once a month, or to celebrate some event linked with its existence. It was the "Victorian era", so stridently individualistic, that created an institution that could only exist by its members making a "general effort", as Rev. Alfred Gatty said of the Sheffield Club.<sup>4</sup>

Hook is also referring to London, where there was a sufficiently large elite group for a high degree of differentiation to emerge in the nature of the Clubs. For example, there was The Reform Club for Whigs and Liberals; the Carlton for Tories; the Athenaeum for "artists of eminence", scientists or patrons of the arts (Trollope was elected a member in 1864); the Army and Navy etc. In actual fact, it has been established that there were 22 different Clubs in existence in London in 1850.<sup>5</sup> However, despite their diversity they all existed to serve what a historian of the London Clubs has called "the social and political groups ... (which emerged) after the long years of the Napoleonic Wars."; i.e., the middle class.<sup>6</sup>

The situation in the provinces in the early part of the nineteenth century was different. Here, if Clubs were to survive financially, they had to be able to attract members from a wide variety of political, religious and cultural backgrounds. There were just not enough elite individuals in the early nineteenth century town to make such a diversity as existed in London possible. Exactly how many of these provincial Clubs were formed is a matter for conjecture,

as apart from a number of antiquarian studies of the London Clubs<sup>7</sup> they merely flit across the pages of recent social history. For example, Joyce mentions the "Union Club (1857) and the Bradford Club (1866)" but only to say that they were part of a range of institutions that "Was to do much to weld the activities and outlook of the employers"<sup>8</sup>; the Benwell Community Project report, The Making of a Ruling Class mentions the Northern Counties Club (1829), but merely points out that its creation is "evidence of the emergence and social cohesion of a new ruling class"<sup>9</sup>; Davidoff and Hall argue that the emergence of the type of Club under consideration here was important in the creation of a social world divided into a public, male dominated sphere, and a private, female sphere.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, to the best of my knowledge, the Sheffield Club has only received a brief mention in Baxter's Ph.D. thesis whilst the Leeds Club (to which reference will be made below) is totally absent from any history of that City.<sup>11</sup> This fact alone would seem to make these institutions worthy of study. However, their absence is part of a greater deficiency in much current thinking on the nature of the nineteenth century middle class (although this has started to change over the last 15 years).

As Seed, and others, have argued, many descriptions of the nineteenth century middle class are not capable of explaining the extraordinary ability they possessed to expand their hegemony and incorporate the values and ideas of 'rival' social and economic groups.<sup>12</sup> There is also a tendency to produce models of class formation which ignore the deep divisions within the middle class. Divisions which manifested themselves in complex and contradictory ways in local and national institutional settings.<sup>13</sup> The importance of the Sheffield Club and the other provincial Clubs, is that they enable us to study the composition of the elite group in different local situations. Moreover, they remind us that however real the political and religious divisions were, those who had power had an interest in keeping and expanding it. In one sense then, the Sheffield Club existed as a neutral space outside of the local political arena in which the class interests of the ruling class could be recognised and articulated.<sup>14</sup>

One could argue then, that membership of the Club acted as a sign of status 'closure': that is, as signifying the existence of a social group who, drawn from different classes and class fractions and different political and religious backgrounds, could still 'recognise' each other as having a particular style of life, patterns of behaviour, cultural interests, economic interests etc.<sup>15</sup> The 1894

edition of Brewer's The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, signals this aspect of Club membership by defining a Club as "A society of persons who club together..".<sup>16</sup> Maxwell-Lyte, himself a Club secretary, wrote in 1919 that:

"In speaking of the evolution of Clubs, it is necessary to look back and recall how they originated in the old-fashioned coffee-house and remember that the object of the Club proper was primarily to ensure privacy to habitues of those coffee-houses whose members objected to the invasion of their circle by outsiders. Thus exclusiveness was the order of the day ..."<sup>17</sup>

However, exclusiveness is historically contingent, since a dominant elite will seek to maintain itself against new arrivals. Thus, the Quarterly Review in 1839 lamented the decline of the London "assembly" Club, Almack's : "the decline of Almack's is a clear proof that the palmy days of exclusiveness are gone by in England.."<sup>18</sup> Almack's was one of the places for London society, so the group whose decline is being lamented were not the representatives of new social and economic groups, but rather, the representatives of the old. For evidence of this one need only turn to the committee of the Club at the time of the Battle of Waterloo: this included, the Countess of Jersey, the Countess of Sefton, the Countess Cowper, the Viscountess Castlereagh, the Countess Lieven (wife of the Russian ambassador) and the Princess Esterhazy (wife of the Austrian ambassador).<sup>19</sup> As the historian of the Carlton Club (founded 7 years before the Quarterly Review passed its judgement) opined:

"For better or for worse the narrow and exclusive aristocratic society of the eighteenth century, which had revolved around Brooks' and White's was breaking up, or rather it was being permeated and expanded by that middle class into whose hands political power was passing."<sup>20</sup>

As we have seen above, when mention is made of these Clubs in histories of the northern cities it is always linked to two claims: firstly, that the Clubs were the creation of the elite amongst the middle class, and secondly, that they helped that elite achieve a degree of cohesion. This view would seem to be confirmed by contemporary opinion.

However, the creation of institutional Clubs in the provinces was also part of the general process of improvement that was taking place during the course of the nineteenth century. By improvement I mean not only the laying of drains, clearing of slums, creation of local boards of health etc., but also those activities best summed up by the 'municipal ethic' of Chamberlain and Dawson in Birmingham.<sup>21</sup> Here, the emphasis was on the creation of a sense of duty amongst the middle

class towards the town. The focus for this in Birmingham was the preaching of George Dawson, a pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church in Graham Street. Dawson played a large part in developing the notion that the most effective way that a christian could change the world was through direct action. For Dawson, the local council and the borough were, in both an ideal and a real sense, communities through which such direct action could be most effectively channelled. Thus, Christians must not, argued Dawson, hold themselves back from the political struggles of the world: this was then what we could call a socio-religious ethic. When linked to the pre-existing notions of civic pride, this ethic could manifest itself in the form of new and grander public and semi-public buildings to announce the importance of the town to its visitors. Improvement then, for the "Victorians" was a concept which, as Briggs has observed,<sup>22</sup> could stimulate the imagination to dream dreams of the perfectibility of the human soul since what went on in these buildings was - by and large - designed to "improve" the individual. In this sense, the Clubs, churches, mechanics institutes and all the paraphernalia of voluntary institutions which the middle class ran, at a greater or lesser distance - were just as much a part of, and productive of, a new social and economic order as were the factories.

A typical example of this desire for improvement was shown by local tool manufacturer Charles Atkinson,<sup>23</sup> who in 1875 produced a pamphlet called Sheffield as it was. Sheffield as it is. Sheffield as it should be. Atkinson argued:

"There is no town in the West-Riding that affords such scope for improvements as the long-neglected town of Sheffield. There is no reason why this ancient seat of manufacturing industry should not rank amongst the chief towns in Yorkshire, if the parties interested in her welfare would co-operate with a feeling of doing good to themselves by an amicable arrangement, and go along with the Duke of Norfolk, the Trustees of the settled estates, and the Corporation."<sup>24</sup>

In the rest of this chapter we will look at some of the cultural institutions in Sheffield that prefigured the Sheffield Club, and at the Club's formation and growth. In the next chapter we will look at the social composition of the Club, and at the involvement of its members in other institutions in the town.

## 2:2 Precursors to the Sheffield Club

A 'modern history' of Sheffield in the eighteenth century remains to be written. As Reid<sup>25</sup> has pointed out, apart from going to the primary sources, the contemporary historian has to rely on the works

of men such as Hunter<sup>26</sup> and the two Leaders.<sup>27</sup>

If we turn to the works of these men for a picture of eighteenth century Sheffield we find that they had a very low opinion of the town. Both R. E. Leader and Hunter agree that up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century the town had little to boast of in terms of its intellectual and cultural activities. This is Leader on the subject:

"...the tone of the town intellectually was low, while any signs of culture and refinement were rare. That part of the community which affected anything of the cultivation and graces of 'Society' was small and narrow."<sup>28</sup>

For Leader, this state of affairs came about due to the general exodus from the town of the seventeenth century merchants who had "passed away to places presenting larger opportunities, or to more attractive country estates."<sup>29</sup> Reid argues that as a consequence of this, the town developed a "backward and parochial" way of life, in which the master and craftsman "Created their own culture out of sport and drinking."<sup>30</sup> This is part of Reid's general thesis that it was only in the period after 1780 that the homogenous society began to separate into clearly identifiable classes.<sup>31</sup> Baxter however, comes to a different conclusion on the nature of Sheffield social classes. He argues that town society in the second half of the eighteenth century was dominated by commercial men, merchants and larger factors.<sup>32</sup> Of the two, I suspect that Baxter is closer to the truth, since it is possible to identify the emergence of a cultural elite at least as early as 1733; the year in which the town Assemblies began.<sup>33</sup>

Assemblies were, as Peter Borsay has pointed out,<sup>34</sup> one of the foremost activities in the shaping of the cultural terrain of provincial towns for the upper and middle class. Borsay's argument may be summarised thus: from the early eighteenth century there was, in many provincial towns, the emergence of a prosperous elite of merchants, traders, professional men and a wider stratum of comfortable shopkeepers, craftsmen and small masters. The growing prosperity within these towns meant the proliferation of service industries and luxury trades (hairdressers, bookshops, academies, circulating libraries) and of cultural institutions (theatres, concerts). These cultural transformations were, argues Borsay, a possible pre-condition for the transformation of England into an industrial urban society. But more than this, Borsay argues that these activities were predicated upon, and created, the town as an arena in which social status could be displayed and competed for.

This in turn was predicated on the economic growth of the town such that sufficient members of the community had a large degree of surplus wealth; since:

"The possession of surplus wealth is not simply an opportunity to buy more of the basic necessities of life; it is rather the key to a different style of living. Above all, surplus wealth allows entry to what may be called the world of social competition."<sup>35</sup>

In this sense then, the eighteenth and nineteenth century towns were not only physically a product of the new classes associated with the economic changes of the industrial revolution, they were also culturally produced by them. Indeed, one author has claimed that "the creation of the concept of the town as a discreet, self-aware, integrated social and constitutional entity." was a function of the consolidation of power of the middle class.<sup>36</sup>

Borsay creates four dimensions along which these transformations can be analysed: leisure facilities, the economy, public amenities and architecture.<sup>37</sup> The first and third of these dimensions will be dealt with below, the remaining two will be touched on briefly here. Firstly, Sheffield's economy; this underwent a rapid growth from the early 1740s due to two inventions. These were Thomas Boulsover's discovery of a new method for plating copper with silver (thus enabling the production of 'cheap' silverware), and Benjamin Huntsman's discovery of the process of crucible steel (this being of a far higher quality than 'Blister' or cementation steel).<sup>38</sup> In 1762 when Horace Walpole passed through Sheffield he wrote, "I passed through Sheffield which is one of the foulest towns in England ... there are two and twenty thousands making knives and scissors ...".<sup>39</sup> The growth in the local industry stimulated the influx of people into the town: for example, in 1755 the population was 12,571, whilst by 1801 this had grown to 31,314.<sup>40</sup> As a consequence many new houses had to be built, and this brings me to the second point, the architecture of the town.

Borsay argues that during the early part of the eighteenth century a new aesthetic emerged concerning the planning of the growth of towns. Prior to this, he argues, towns had grown in a random haphazard way. Now growth was to be regulated such that the town as a town (with streets of uniform, regular houses built to conform to an understood generalised norm: what Borsay calls "urban classicism" came to be a major component of urban consciousness.<sup>41</sup> The growth in population mentioned above meant that over the period 1736-1808 the built-up area of Sheffield more than doubled. During the shorter period of 1755-1796 the actual number of houses increased threefold.<sup>42</sup>

However, what is of interest is that there is some evidence to suggest that a number of the larger land owners had started to insist on certain controls on the appearance and composition of houses built on their land. For example, the Town Trustees (for an explanation of this institution, see below), who held 25,985 square yards of building ground in the town centre, started to lease out land for building in the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup> They inserted clauses into each of the leases such that they were able to "impose a uniformity, and determine the character and standard of the development."<sup>44</sup> However, this development was clearly not limited just to the Town Trustees since Leader notes that by the end of the century most of the frontages in Sheffield had been harmonised.<sup>45</sup> It would seem then, that on the two dimensions of economic growth to enable status competition, and architectural harmonisation, Sheffield corresponds to Borsay's model. Similar developments can be identified in Leeds and Birmingham, and the West Midlands.<sup>46</sup>

To return to the Sheffield Assemblies; these were instigated in the year 1733. In this, as in many other things, Sheffield lagged behind its neighbours.<sup>47</sup> In York the assemblies began around 1710 and had their own building by 1730.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the Leeds assemblies began in 1720 in the assembly rooms.<sup>49</sup> Sheffield however did not erect its own rooms until 1762. The Assemblies themselves were originally held in the Boy's Charity School (the luckless boys in whose sleeping quarters the dancing was held being moved elsewhere<sup>50</sup>). In 1762 this arrangement was superseded by the opening of the New Assembly Rooms and - one year later - the attached Theatre. The Directory for 1774 gives this description of them:

"The Theatre will contain about 800 spectators, is handsomely decorated, and has some good scenes belonging to it. The Assembly Room is 20 yards long, and 9 wide, has three elegant lustres of cut glass, besides side branches; and there are a card room, and other convenient offices belonging to it."<sup>51</sup>

Subscribers paid one guinea per annum to receive four tickets "for the admission of one gentleman and three ladies, to all assemblies in the year ...". As well as providing a social space where the elite strata of Sheffield society could meet, it acted as a "shop window" for parents anxious to secure the right match for their son or daughter. Chaytor, talking about his ancestor William Wilson (1765-1842), says that he subscribed to the Assemblies in 1819 as he had "daughters of marriageable age."<sup>52</sup>

Further to his view of eighteenth century Sheffield being a place of low cultural standing, Leader saw the Assemblies as being one of

the few means of introducing manners into the town:

"If the imitation of more distinguished places and people was poor and shoddy, it at least had the effect of setting an example of more polished manners, of infusing some sense of courtesy, and of suggesting that the be-all and end-all of existence was not represented by days spent at the factory or the counter, with evenings passed in the bar-parlour of an inn."<sup>53</sup>

That was Leader in 1901; 51 years earlier the Sheffield Times had said much the same thing, emphasising the intricate rules laid down in the regulations governing the conduct of the dancing in order to produce conditions that were then (i.e., 1850) created by "an innate consciousness of propriety.". It could of course be argued that the Victorians relied even more on a codified set of rules to handle social situations.<sup>54</sup> However, the Victorian writers felt that their times were an improvement on the cultural values and aesthetics of their grand-fathers. Indeed they could see all around them how the industrial age had transformed the world in manifest ways.<sup>55</sup> This perhaps explains their insistence on the 'backward' nature of eighteenth century Sheffield.

The eighteenth century Sheffield assemblies were confined to a narrow social elite of local gentry and the more genteel elements of the bourgeoisie. Representing the latter, for instance, were the Shores who in three generations - through careful investment and lucrative marriages - had moved from being simple tradesmen to substantial merchants and bankers with fine landed estates in the district.<sup>56</sup> Benjamin Roebuck, too, marked the rise from trade, through wholesale merchanting, to banking, and the ascent from the trading class to 'gentleman'.<sup>57</sup> In fact, the rules of the assemblies made it clear that those who sullied their hands in the manufacturing side of the cutlery trade and the lower kinds of clerk, were explicitly excluded. According to Leader, who clearly had access to membership lists which have since disappeared, the membership in the late eighteenth century excluded 'trade':

"The bulk of the subscribers to the Assemblies were the small gentry or land-holders of the neighbourhood; with the attorneys, apothecaries, parsons; and persons of private means in the town."<sup>58</sup>

The assemblies lasted through to the 1840s although in 1824 Thomas Ramsay was saying of the Rooms that they are:

"...convenient for the purposes they were designed, but the want of decoration and the general appearance of the entrance hall, staircase, and ball room, render them totally unworthy of the town of Sheffield."<sup>59</sup>

As Sheffield's industry increased there were efforts made to make the import and export of goods from the town easier. In 1726 the Cutlers Company (the body responsible for control of trademarks and entry into the trade) and the Corporation of Doncaster had obtained an Act of Parliament to make the River Don (or Dun) navigable as far as Tinsley (three miles outside the town). From there, a turnpike road was to be created to bring commodities into town. In 1732 the interests in the scheme were transferred from these two bodies to a new company called the River Don Co., comprising members of the Cutlers Co., the Doncaster Corporation and the Sheffield Town Trustees - plus 36 private individuals (wealthy local merchants such as Samuel Shore made up the bulk of this number). The work was completed by 1751 and gave Sheffield manufacturers a relatively quick and cheap route from Tinsley straight through to Hull, and thence to London. It was not until 1819 that the access was extended from Tinsley into the town itself. This was so late that within a few years it was overtaken by the construction of the railway network.<sup>60</sup>

Other forms of communication were also undergoing change. In 1755 the carrying of letters to London three times a week was commenced. The first stage coach service to London was instigated in 1760 by Samuel Glanville, the landlord of the Angel Inn. This, according to Hunter, was responsible for introducing "some of the refinements and elegancies of social life" into the town. Six years later, a twice weekly service between Sheffield and Birmingham was started.<sup>61</sup> These signs of awakening economic activity were, as one would expect, reflected in other cultural areas of the town.

In 1765 the first coffee room in the town was opened, also at the Angel Inn. A few years earlier, in 1754, Sheffield's first newspaper, the Sheffield Weekly Journal, was published. This only survived into the next year but was swiftly followed by the Sheffield Weekly Register (1755-60), the Sheffield Public Advertiser (1760-1793) and, what is regarded as the first newspaper of note, Joseph Gales' fiercely radical, Sheffield Register (1787-1794); relaunched by Joseph Montgomery as the meeker Sheffield Iris, (1794-1848).<sup>62</sup>

In 1720 work had begun on St. Paul's Church, then standing on the southern edge of town. Although this did not open until 1740 due to arguments over the right of presentation between the patrons of the parish church, the vicar of the parish church and Robert Downes - the main benefactor -, it quickly came to be a fashionable place of worship. It was also used for public concerts of religious music: Handel's 'Messiah' was performed there in 1769, a year after it was

performed in Leeds.<sup>63</sup> In addition, a number of the patrons of the assemblies also joined forces to subscribe to the short lived Sheffield Racecourse on Crook's Moor (1750)<sup>64</sup>, the re-building of the Theatre (mid- to late 1770s)<sup>65</sup>, the building of the Tontine Inn (1780s)<sup>66</sup> - the centre of pre-reform politics - and to the Sheffield Subscription Library.

If surplus income is necessary for the growth in cultural activities, then surplus leisure is necessary for the growth of libraries; normally the second comes in the wake of the first. Libraries were a means of introducing new ideas and new aesthetic values into the town. They quickly became a kind of touchstone by which one could gauge the level of cultivation amongst the inhabitants of any one town. Birmingham had a Book Club which dated from the 1740s, and was well established by 1758. Money notes that by 1775 the membership of the Club was increasingly coming from the representatives of Dissent, and especially Unitarians.<sup>67</sup> This link between the book clubs and conversation societies, and Unitarianism, is one that occurs often. The Leeds Library was founded in 1767, largely as a consequence of the actions of Joseph Priestly, the Unitarian Minister of Mill Hill Chapel.<sup>68</sup> When he moved to Birmingham in 1780 he reactivated the Birmingham Library which had been founded the year before.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, the Sheffield Library was largely the product of the activities of the Rev. John Dickinson, minister of Upper Chapel.

Joynes has provided an analysis of the earliest extant list of subscribers to the library - dating from 1778 - which shows the following features. Of the sixty names on the list, six are members of the clergy (Anglican ministers included); ten were steel, saw or razor manufacturers; five were what Joynes describes as "leading town merchants"; two were surgeons; two were attorneys; one was a painter (a clear indication of the growth of luxury consumer items).<sup>70</sup> The list itself is reproduced in Ward's 1825 history of the Library, and from this it is possible to see that once again the elite of Sheffield's society is present.<sup>71</sup> As well as the Shores and the Roebucks mentioned above, there are many other names that testify to its nature. John Parker is present as a representative of the family that would produce one of the town's first M.P.s (see below), and - in partnership with the Shores - its largest bank (until it failed in 1843). Also present are three generations of the Stainforth family - Samuel sen., Samuel jun., and William sen. - father, son and grandson. This family, who started as linen drapers, had by the third generation

produced William sen., who, as surgeon at the Sheffield General Infirmary, introduced cow-pox inoculation into the town and had what Leader described as the leading medical practice. Thomas Leader and Henry Tudor who were partners in the most successful silver-plating concern of the late-eighteenth century are also present.

The involvement of Unitarians in the founding of this institution is of some moment. During the later part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, they were at the forefront of most movements for radical change in Britain. In Sheffield their centre was the Upper Chapel mentioned above. This had been established in 1700 as a Nonconformist chapel, but within a few years its congregation had become Unitarians.

At first the presidents of the Library were mainly Unitarians. Of the first ten, six were Unitarian ministers, four were Anglican ministers and the tenth was T. R. Steuart, who was a physician at Sheffield Infirmary and whose religion has not been established. However, the involvement of Unitarians - certainly as presidents - appears to have lessened over time. Over the ten year period 1790-9, nine of the presidents were Anglican ministers. Quite why this should have happened is not clear, but it is a process that has been observed in both Leeds and Birmingham.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps events in France forced Unitarians to withdraw from public institutions and left the way clear for Anglicans to take them over. It is certainly the case that in 1793 a *Reading and Conversation Society was established amongst the congregation of Upper Chapel.*<sup>73</sup> This was a 'closed' institution, not open to people outside of the Chapel. Within a few months of its creation a purge took place of its membership. The most notable person expelled was Joseph Gales, the radical newspaper printer. It would seem extremely likely that this purge was due to the political repercussions of the French Revolution. Ramsay, writing in 1824, commented that the Revolution introduced divisions into the town.<sup>74</sup> These divisions are discussed further below (See Chapter 5). What is of interest here is that they spread further than book and conversation societies to touch 'convivial' eating and drinking institutions, such as the Monthly Club.

The latter was established at the Angel Inn in 1783 as a meeting place for eating and drinking. The following is a list of as many of the original members whose names can be read from the minute book. Also included is some indication of the prestige and standing of these men. This has been done by indicating - where appropriate - when one of the men is either a Commissioner under the 1783 Act to improve the

Sheffield markets, or a Trustee of the Wakefield to Sheffield Turnpike.

Table No. 2.1

Members of the Monthly Club, 17th June 1783.<sup>75</sup>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Turnpike Trustee</u>	<u>Market Commissioner</u>
James Allott	*	
William Ball		
John Booth	*	*
William Booth		
Rev. George Bossley		
Josh. Broadbent	*	
Dr. John Browne	*	*
Hugh Cheney		
John Coupland		
Earl Effingham		
Vincent Eyre		*
F F Foljambe		*
G Greaves	*	*
G B Greaves		*
John Greenway		
H Harrison		
H Harrison jun.		
Rev. W. Morewood		
Kenyon Parker	*	*
Peter Pegge	*	*
John Rawson	*	*
Thomas Rawson	*	*
C H Rhodes		
B Roebuck sen.		
B Roebuck jun.	*	*
Dr. J. Roebuck	*	
S Rotherham		
J Rutherford		
J Shircliffe		*
B Shore		
J Shore	*	*
S Shore sen.		*
S Shore jun.	*	*
W Shore	*	*
Rev. J Stacey		*
J Stainforth		*
W Stavely		
T Steade		*
S Tooker	*	*
H Tudor	*	*
Jms. Turner	*	*
Jos. Turner	*	
H Verelst		
John Walker		
Jona. Walker		
S. Walker		
T Walker		
W Walker		
J Wheat	*	*
I Wilkinson		
Rev. J Wilkinson		*
G Woodhead	*	*

### Notes

Lord Surrey (the future 11th Duke of Norfolk) was elected a member on the 9th September, 1783.

This table presents a fascinating insight into the elite of Sheffield. That these men were wealthy is beyond doubt. We have seen above that the Shores, Parkers and Roebucks were bankers, but the holding of a Commission under the market improvement Act by so many of these men shows the social level they occupied. The Act, which had been passed to obviate the chaos caused by market arrangements dating back to the feudal era (itself an indication of the improvement of the town), required that every commissioner should either himself, or his wife, receive £100 a year in profits from land or other source. Failing this, they had to be able to show that they were in possession of a personal estate of the value of £2,000 or above, clear of debts. If nothing else, this is clearly an economic elite.

However, it is more than that, as the inclusion of the 3rd Earl Effingham and Lord Surrey shows. The membership of these two men signals clearly that this is an institution that is drawing members from a national, as well as a local elite. Also present are some lesser members of the local land owning gentry. Peter Pegge, for example, was a large land owner at Beauchieff, south of the town. His seat was Beauchieff Abbey, and when he died his estate went to the son of Thomas Steade; himself a member of the Club and land owner at Onesacre. Also present is F.F. Foljambe, High Sheriff of Yorkshire.

The list also shows evidence of the close links that kept these elite families together. Present are Allott, Browne, Rawson, Shircliffe and Wheat, who were all partners in the Sheffield Lead Works. On his death in August 1783, Allott left the bulk of his property to George Greaves. Greaves was a partner with Woodhead in a factoring firm. Woodhead was related to the Tudors and married a daughter of John Parker (whose relative Kenyon is present). In addition, when compared with the list of the 1778 membership of the Sheffield Library, we have evidence of the continuity of an elite group. Fifteen of the names of that list are also present on this.<sup>76</sup> One person, Hugh Cheney, serving as president of the Library in 1788. This measure of stability of membership of different institutions is further evidence that this is not a random list of names, but a sample of the leading families of the town and neighbourhood.

Looking at the occupations of the members, there are many more men active in the merchanting and factoring side of local industry than there are in manufacturing. However, Tudor is a representative

of the large and wealthy concern of Tudor and Leader, and the Walkers are partners in Samuel Walker & Co., one of the largest steel smelters of the time. The latter were also, like the Shores and the Roebucks before them, to invest in a local banking concern; Walkers, Eyre and Stanley established in 1792 (this later became the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank). Of the professionals, James Wilkinson was Vicar of Sheffield; Browne, Cheney and Rutherford were successful medical men; Parker and Wheat were attorneys; Stainforth was a solicitor.

The two crucial figures here for the development of the town were the 11th Duke of Norfolk, and his local agent Vincent Eyre.<sup>77</sup> The Duke's father died in 1786 and he seems to have taken a less direct interest in his Sheffield estates than previous holders of the title (the historian of the Norfolks has described his attitude as "laissez-faire"). However, the consequence of this for the town was that large tracts of land were sold off to provide income for the restoration of the Duke's seats at Greystokes and Arundel castle. The site for the General Infirmary (est. 1793) was one such plot. More importantly, the sale of Norfolk lands instigated the first real urban growth of Sheffield outwards - as opposed to infilling of open spaces in the town centre. The development of Alsop fields into building plots in the 1790s was the first major development in this direction. The names of the streets laid out on this site celebrate the link with the two men mentioned above: Norfolk St., Eyre St., Charles St., etc. Eyre was also a partner in the bank mentioned above.

Politically, the membership of the Club included members from both of the great eighteenth century parties. At the local level there were the Shores, Rawsons, Cheney, Browne, Parker and Turners, all on the Whig side. Indeed, Eyre, Rawson, Browne, the Shores and Cheney were all members of the local committee during the great Yorkshire election of 1807.<sup>78</sup> Again, at the local level and on the Tory side are the Greaves, the Walkers and Wilkinson, the Vicar. At the national level, Thomas Howard, 3rd Earl Effingham had been a Whig, but during 1783 he left them and supported Pitt. He became Master of the Mint in 1784, a post which he held till 1789. In that year he became Governor of Jamaica, where he died in 1791.<sup>79</sup>

Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk had given up the Catholic religion of his family in order to fight an election at Carlisle in 1780 for the Whigs. He appears to have been a rather wild and colourful figure, fathering a number of illegitimate children. At times he could be politically outspoken. In 1798, for example, at a dinner of the Whig Club to celebrate Fox's birthday, he proposed a

toast to "Our Sovereign's health - the majesty of the people". For this he was removed from all of his official positions which included Deputy Lieutenant of Sussex, Deputy Earl-Marshall of England and the Lord-Lieutenancy of the West-Riding.<sup>80</sup>

In terms of religious affiliations, the membership illustrates that the elite group was not drawn from any one sect. The Shores were the leading lights of the Unitarian Upper Chapel, whilst the Rawsons were staunch Anglicans. Although religion was important to these men, these differences were not such as to prevent them from coming together. Or, at least not unless there was some particularly strong current issue inflaming political and religious feelings. The French revolution was just such an issue and its impact on the club will now be addressed.

In December 1792 the French Revolutionary Army was winning victories on all sides and, in the same month, the Convention "proclaimed that in every territory occupied by French armies existing taxes would be abolished, along with tithes, seigniorial dues, serfdom, nobility, and all privileges."<sup>81</sup> Could it be that the Duke of Norfolk's resignation in this same month was affected by these events? Certainly there were demonstrations on the streets of Sheffield in September 1792 "in celebration of the victory of the French Revolutionary armies at Valmy".<sup>82</sup> Again, in January 1793 (the month the French King was executed) the following cryptic entry appeared in the minutes:

"Fs. Parker, Jonathan Walker, Geo. Smith, Jo. Walker, John Duncan M.D., Thomas Steade.

The above six gentlemen have resigned being ..."<sup>83</sup>

The rest of the entry has been torn from the book. One further scrap of evidence that suggests that Norfolk may have left the Club because of his sympathy for the revolution, was the creation of a new Club named after him. In 1796 Arthur Elliott, a local Inclosure Commissioner, recorded in his diary an anniversary meeting of the Norfolk Club at the Tontine Inn.<sup>84</sup> He also records that 'Dr. Wainwright' was elected to serve as president for the coming year. Wainwright had been elected a member of the Monthly Club in 1793, and Elliott's later entries show that other members of the first Club were also members of this: e.g., the Parkers and the Shores. However, this, plus a brief mention in Leader's study of eighteenth century Sheffield, are all the records that survive of the Norfolk Club. Until more is known of its membership, it is only possible to speculate about the events which brought it into existence. But it is

certainly the case that over the time in which the Norfolk Club existed, the Monthly Club was going into decline.

By July 1806 the attendance at the Monthly Club had dropped to such a low level that the president recorded in the minutes:

"Present: Mr. Cooke, president, solus ... It is not well for man to be alone. After the usual toasts of the members absent and present; the support of etc. etc., and no one to say thank you, after 'here is to you' broke up."<sup>85</sup>

In December of the same year the hour of dinner was moved from two o'clock to three o'clock in the hope of attracting more members, but to no avail. Leader states that the Club came to an end in 1808 but this is not the case.<sup>86</sup> T.A. Ward records in his diary for the 7th November, 1810 that he "dined at Mr. James Smith's with the members of the Utile Dulci Club, of which I am become a member."<sup>87</sup> It is indicated in the commentary on this entry that this group are a continuation of the Monthly Club. However, the format of the Club has now changed. Instead of meeting in an inn once a month, they are now a group of "twelve members who, in turn, gave a frugal dinner at their own houses.". This would seem to mark a break in the nature of elite culture. With the growth in size and luxury of the homes of the wealthy it was no longer necessary to meet in Inns. Moreover, the change from an 'eating and drinking' Club, to a 'frugal dinner' Club also indicates a sea-change in the consciousness of certain groups within the bourgeoisie. The culture of the Inn was much too close to the culture of the artisans. In order to create a way of life that was unique to themselves, it was necessary to retreat into the home. It also reflects the growing influence of the rational utilitarian mode of thought. The name of the Club itself shows this: 'Utile' being an obsolete word for useful, and 'Dulci' presumably being related to the Latin 'dulcis', meaning to sweeten or make gentle. Indeed, a number of the men mentioned by Ward as being associated with the Utile Dulci Club were also associated with the short lived Sheffield Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge (1804-5).<sup>88</sup>

By-and-large the membership of the Utile Dulci Club consisted of merchants, retired partners from local silver smelters, medical men and ministers from the Upper Chapel and other local Unitarian chapels. In fact, apart from Hall Overend who was a Quaker, all of the men whose religion has been traced were Unitarians. This tendency toward a higher level of concentration of one group within the local elite was reflected in the formation of another Club; this time dedicated to the memory of William Pitt.



The Greaves, the Walkers and Thomas Leader were members of the Monthly Club. Present here are also the Newbould's, members of a concern that had risen in prominence since the turn of the century; S B Ward (half-brother of Thomas Asline) whose merchant concern was large; Francis Fenton, who married a daughter of Benjamin Roebuck (his partner), inherited the merchant side of the business on Roebuck's death, became a bankrupt on the failure of the concern in 1808 but recovered to become a trustee of the Sheffield Savings Bank in 1819. Also here are the Vicars of the two fashionable Anglican Churches (the Parish Church and St. Paul's) and the Lieutenant Colonel, Second Lieutenant Colonel and one of the Captains, of the Sheffield Loyal Independent Volunteers - a body established to counter the threat of a French invasion.<sup>91</sup>

This Club began to go into decline in 1822 when, whilst the 'official' dinner was being held in the Tontine, a rival one was taking place at the Angel. The following year the Club did not meet at all and in 1824 it held its final meeting under the presidency of J A Stuart-Wortley: soon to become 2nd Lord Wharncliffe, organiser of the West Riding Tory interest. The demise of the Pitt Club is indicative of the general failure of the Tory interest to gain a hold in Sheffield in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its members were a fairly isolated group, moving against the mainstream of political opinion in Sheffield represented by men like T A Ward,<sup>92</sup> Samuel Bailey<sup>93</sup> and James Montgomery.<sup>94</sup> It was to be another fifty years before the growth of the heavy sector and of a more stable political and economic situation favoured the shift of the town's political feelings to the right.

The failure of the Pitt Club coincided with a new phase in which the energies of the Sheffield middle class were channelled into the maintenance of institutions of a different kind. These included the Mechanics and Apprentices Library (est. 1823), the Mechanics Institution (est. 1833) and the Church of England Instruction Society (est. 1839). These institutions were created not for the middle class, but as bases from which they could attempt to influence the moral and intellectual growth of the working class; they are what one author has called 'patronage societies'.<sup>95</sup> The middle class did create institutions for themselves (for example, the Literary and Philosophical Society (est. 1822)), but by-and-large their cultural activity - certainly amongst the elite - took place in the home. This is certainly the impression one gets from reading the diaries of Ward. It was not until 1843 that the industrial, merchant and professional

elite of Sheffield came together to create an institution for enjoyment as opposed to good deeds or cultural elevation.

### 2:3 The Sheffield Club

Why should the propertied class of Sheffield need a Club? I think this question can be answered on three levels. Firstly, given the movement of the wealthiest of this group away from the town centre the Club provided a central meeting place.<sup>96</sup> Later on in the century, as the town grew still further, the Club provided bedrooms for its members.

Secondly, the Club created a space where its members could come to create for themselves a shared sense of identity and interests.<sup>97</sup> Kitson Clark, in his analysis of the Leeds elite, remarked on this function:

"It would be tedious to try to list all the names of the families involved. That can best be done by comparing the lists of various societies and clubs they attended, for what seems to define them as a recognisable group is the sharing of common intellectual and cultural standards rather than common economic interests, except those shared by all those who are reasonably well-off."<sup>98</sup>

He echoes here what was demonstrated above: viz. that these Clubs served to cement the unity of local elite groups. Sheffield was certainly not alone in having one. Mention was made above to references to some others. In addition to these, Leeds had a Leeds Club (est. 1849)<sup>99</sup> and Manchester a Union Club (est. 1825).<sup>100</sup>

Thirdly, its creation was part of the general move towards 'improvement' outlined above. Moreover, it could be viewed as part of the general move towards the creation of rational forms of amusement and recreation. This sentiment was expressed in the Leeds Mercury just before the opening of the Leeds Club (then called the Union Club). This Club was (and still is) situated in Albion Place in the centre of the city. The article is worth quoting at length as it illustrates both the rational aspect of its function and the way that the northern towns looked to London to provide a bench mark by which their status could be measured:

"The clubs in London, and in the country too, have had, we believe, considerable effect in bringing about the great and beneficial change that has taken place in the habits of the upper classes, we mean as to drinking and gambling. Before they were established Members of Parliament, professional men, and others, who found it inconvenient to dine at home, were almost of necessity driven to places where the sharper and the black-leg were on the look-out for them, or where they were sure to find company calculated to do them no good, and where there could be no check arising from the knowledge that the eyes of any were on them. But now the clubs, by their comforts, their accommodation, and their society, invite men to leave such haunts and to go to them instead where of necessity there must be a mutual surveillance and a favourable influence. The Union Club is in Albion Place, the most convenient site that could have been chosen, and it contains handsome coffee-room and dining-rooms, drawing or reading and writing rooms, spacious billiard room, excellent kitchen, lavatory, bedrooms, bathrooms etc. It is handsomely furnished and decorated, and still has an air of domestic comfort, whilst it may almost vie with any club house out of London."<sup>101</sup>

The Sheffield Club itself is hardly ever mentioned in the contemporary newspapers. It is also absent from all the published histories of Sheffield. This circumstance has enabled Smith to claim that during the 1830s and 1840s the "Larger employers and professional men ... were unable to establish strong collective associations amongst themselves."<sup>102</sup> As we shall see, although slow in stimulating its members to put up the capital to provide a purpose built Club House, once established, the Club survived and despite having to move out of its own premises in 1983, still exists on the top floor of the Cutlers Hall.<sup>103</sup>

The history of the Club can be conveniently broken up into two periods: from 1843 to the opening of the new Club House in 1863; and from that date up to 1880.

### 2:3:1 The Sheffield Club: 1843-1863

The first mention of the Club in the local press occurs in July 1843 when the following advertisement appeared:

"Wanted to Rent.

For a term of years in a central part of the town, premises suitable for the SHEFFIELD CLUB - Rent and other particulars to be communicated by letter to Mr. Wake."<sup>104</sup>

In December of the same year another advertisement appeared asking for a "middle aged married man" to act as steward.<sup>105</sup> The Club opened in January 1844 in a house in Norfolk Street which had been taken on a ten year lease at a rental of £60 p.a. At the 50th anniversary dinner, held on the 1 January 1894, the only surviving original member (Sir Henry Edmund Watson<sup>106</sup>) said:

"Before the present club was formed there had been a small club of professional men, merchants, and others, who meet from time to time for lunch, smoke and joke. A desire, however, arose among some of the younger generation for rather more extended accommodation. Seven daring spirits then agreed to form the present club and were delighted to find the elder gentlemen of the old club ready to join them."<sup>107</sup>

Unfortunately Watson does not go on to say who the seven were, or what the old club was. However, an entry in the minutes<sup>108</sup> for 25 October 1847 may cast some light on the former. It shows that £118.11s.7d had been repayed to William Wake,<sup>109</sup> Benjamin Huntsman,<sup>110</sup> William Watson,<sup>111</sup> and Richard Stuart in respect of £100 which they had lent the Club in 1843. A solicitor, coal owner, bank director and iron and brass founder, the mix was typical of Club membership throughout the period of this study. Of these four Richard Stuart is the odd man out, as his membership of the Club seems to have been tenuous. On the 22nd February 1844 the minutes of the general committee record that some discussion took place about "parties now wishing to back out" from paying their subscription money.<sup>112</sup> On the 29 June the problem came up again, and this time the men were named; they were "Mr Vickers" (possibly Edward Vickers, corn and flour dealer, and father of a later member T E Vickers), Thomas Branson (a solicitor and still a member in 1849), Alfred Sorby and Stuart himself.<sup>113</sup> Vickers and Sorby seem to have resigned whilst Stuart stayed long enough to collect his repayment in October 1847 and left in the December of the following year.<sup>114</sup>

In 1851 the club consisted of Two Billiards Rooms, a Reading Room, a Smoke Room, a Coffee Room, a Dining Room and sleeping accommodation for the steward (there was presumably a kitchen somewhere although this is not mentioned).<sup>115</sup> Apart from the steward and his wife - the cook - there were also a billiard marker, two 'boys' and a Housekeeper. At this time the steward and his wife were being paid £60 p.a. "on condition that they be subject to leave at a minutes notice - and that their children be not allowed to be in the Club at all."<sup>116</sup> By 1855 their wages had been increased to £71 p.a. and the staff had grown to two Waiters (£11.10s. p.a.), two Markers (£7.10.s p.a.), and two Maid Servants (£9 p.a.).<sup>117</sup> These rates compared with £180 p.a. for a Steward, £30 for a Waiter and an average of £19 for a maid that were being paid in the Carlton Club at around the same time.<sup>118</sup> The total wage bill for the year 1855-6 given in the accounts of the Sheffield Club is £127.<sup>119</sup> Over the same period of time the Leeds Club spent £293.<sup>120</sup> This would seem to indicate that the Leeds Club actually had more staff than Sheffield as the

disparity between the two sums stays roughly the same until the Sheffield Club moves into its new club house and takes on more staff.

In keeping with the London Clubs on which it was modelled, the Club had a Committee of Management which handled its day to day affairs. This in turn was divided into a Wine Committee, a House Committee, a Billiard Committee and a number of scrutineers for the election of new members. The committee consisted of twelve members, three of whom were to retire - with the possibility of re-election - at the end of each year. The report which the committee delivered to the first annual general meeting on the 5th January 1845 illustrated the great advantage to be gained by having at least one member of the Club from the various trades from which it would need to buy supplies. Expressing their aim of exercising "the strictest Economy consistent with the comfort of the Members and respectability of the Establishment"<sup>121</sup> they went on to thank the members who had provided goods on "liberal terms"; as the 'members' included Rodgers & Sons (Cutlery Manufacturers) it seems reasonable to assume that the committee was buying cutlery and furniture as well as food and drink.

At first the Club provided only one meal a day - a 'Table d'Hote' of meat, vegetables and cheese - at 2.00pm each day (except Sunday) at a cost of 1/6d. The anonymous author of the history of the Savile Club has suggested that this type of meal served to facilitate the making of friends and acquaintances.<sup>122</sup> However, given the small circle from which the Sheffield Club drew its members, it seems more likely that it represented the most economical use of the Club's cooking facilities. It certainly continued through to December 1851 when it was discontinued in favour of a more flexible arrangement with a meal of meat, soup and vegetables being available between 2.00pm and 5.00pm.<sup>123</sup> This situation lasted until 1855 when the table d'hote was started again. The only surviving full price list shows that by 1862 the Club was providing a full food service throughout the day, and that it had a reasonably well stocked wine cellar.

As we saw above, the Club occupied rented premises in the centre of town. In 1848 the Committee decided that "in order to insure as much as possible the quietness and privacy" of the Club, they would rent the two cottages adjoining it.<sup>124</sup> These seem to have been owned by the same landlady as the Club itself - Sara Woodhead - for it was she who in February 1853 sent the Club a letter informing them that the rent for the club house was to be increased by £20 pa to £80, whilst the rent of the two cottages would stay at £20pa.<sup>125</sup> This

seems to have stimulated the committee members into considering the possibility of the Club owning its own premises. At the same meeting a sub-committee was formed to look into the idea of either buying the land on which the club house stood, or buying what is referred to in the minutes as 'Mr. Colley's premises on the East'.<sup>126</sup> In March of the same year the committee discussed buying 'Mr. Dixion's house in Norfolk Row'<sup>127</sup> for the erection of a new club house (this would seem to be John Dixion, a solicitor and member of the Club who died in 1854). M E Hadifield<sup>128</sup> was asked to consult with Dixion and was given the power to offer up to £1,200 for the site. Nothing seems to have come of these inquiries and in July 1853<sup>129</sup> the committee agreed to the rent increases under threat of a years notice to quit.<sup>130</sup>

A further plan to raise capital in the form of £25 shares for the purchase of new premises was discussed at the committee meeting on the 27 April 1857.<sup>131</sup> It would appear that some preliminary costing had been done for the projected house, as the minutes of the AGM held in February of the next year give a planned cost of £6,000.<sup>132</sup> The minutes also reveal that due to the slump that occurred during 1857 the plan was abandoned.

Once again the scheme rested for a few years until 1860 when, at the AGM, the plan to sell £25 shares was revived.<sup>133</sup> This time the plan seems to have been successful because the Committee announced at the next AGM that it had purchased the site for the new club house and that Hadfield had been 'asked to draw up plans'.<sup>134</sup> The tenders having been placed, the committee recorded in its minutes for 1 April 1861 that the quotations received had exceeded the amount they were willing to spend and that the £25 shares should be increased to £30.<sup>135</sup> A week later the committee gave the building sub-committee the power to place the contract for the exterior of the building with a "Mr. Conran" at a cost of £3,990.<sup>136</sup> From this point forward the work on the new building seems to have gone at a smart pace, for at the AGM held on 10th February 1862 the committee recorded that the exterior of the house was completed and a year later the Club had moved in.

This move, which we will look at in more detail in the next section, was necessary if the Club was to accommodate the increasing number of members which it had. The table below shows the number of members, the number of new members and the percentage growth in total membership each year from 1844-5 to 1862-3.

Table No. 2.3<sup>137</sup>Number of Members of the Sheffield Club  
1844-1862

<u>Year</u>	<u>New Members</u>	<u>Total Members</u>	<u>Percentage Growth</u>
1844-5		99	
1845-6	16	118	119
1846-7	7	123	124
1847-8	10	121	122
1848-9	11	126	127
1849-50	7	126	127
1850-1	7	126	127
1851-2	1	122	123
1852-3	15	133	134
1853-4	16	141	142
1854-5	13	148	149
1855-6	10	150	151
1856-7	12	159	161
1857-8	7	157	158
1858-9	6	159	161
1859-60	18	166	168
1860-1	17	183	185
1861-2	17	195	197
1862-3	11	199	201

Notes

A. 1844-4 as base.

The ebb and flow in the number of new members is the result of too many factors to be fully untangled. On one side is the desire of the Club to take in new members to generate revenue from their entry fees. On the other is the desire of the present members to limit the pressure on the resources of the Club. Overlaying these is the cyclical nature of the staple trades and the resulting fluctuations in middle class prosperity which affected the number of men who would be able to join the Club. The drop in both new members and total members over the period 1856-7 to 1857-8 thus reflects the trade slump mentioned above.

The mode of election was much the same as that followed in other clubs. Each candidate had to be proposed by one member and seconded by another. The actual ballot took place on the first Monday of each month, between the hours of one and two in the afternoon. In order for a ballot to be valid at least ten members had to vote and "one black ball in five shall exclude." The actual limit to the number of members allowed was originally set at 100. This was soon found to be too small and was raised to 120 in June 1844, 150 in July 1847 and at various other times to the 1880 limit of 300.

When the Club first opened its doors the entry fee was 5gns and

the annual subscription was 3gns. The entry fee was increased by 100% during 1845 where it stayed until 1867. The annual subscription stayed at 3gns until the move into the new building. At the AGM on the 11 February 1856 the rules were changed so that if anyone joined after 30 June in any year they only had to pay half of the subscription rate instead of all of it. On the 14th February 1859 the rules regarding membership were changed once again, when it was decided that officers in "Her Majesty's Service on Duty, in or near Sheffield, and Barristers on Circuit may now, on introduction of three members be admitted temporary members of the Club, on payment of £1 11s 6d., as the subscription for any half-year."

The first extant copy of the rules of the Club dates from 1868.<sup>138</sup> Its structure and the clauses contained are very similar to the rules of the Leeds Club for 1849<sup>139</sup> and of the Reform Club for 1836.<sup>140</sup> Besides outlining the committee structure of the Club the rules laid out clear instructions for the moral and social behaviour of its members. No members were to be allowed to open accounts with the steward. Servants were not to be given 'gratuities' on pain of dismissal (for the servant). Members were not to take "the property of the Club" - newspapers etc. - out of the Club, nor were they to send food out of the Club. Its ordinance concerning 'leisure' was stricter than the other two clubs:

"No games, except billiards, chess, backgammon, drafts, and whist, shall be played in the club-house. And no game shall ever be played for money."

The other two clubs listed what could not be played - in both cases Hazard - and the highest stakes that could be played for: in the case of the Leeds Club a half-crown point, and the Reform, a half-a-guinea point. This rule was to cause one of the few flurries of excitement in the minute book. In October 1869 Lord Wharncliffe produced an anonymous letter he had received which claimed that a private dinner had been given at the Club at which cards were played until "4 o'clock in the morning." and at which T E Vickers had been present. Wharncliffe expressed his "strongest disapprobation of such a communication" and the letter was posted in the hall of the Club in the hope that the hand-writing would be identified. This did not happen and the notice was taken down on the 9 November.

Besides being a place where the elite of Sheffield's propertied class could meet, the Sheffield Club also acted as a centre for information on political and financial developments in the rest of the country and the world. As early as November 1854 the Club had looked

into the possibility of obtaining "political news, stock and share market, American news and general public intelligence" from the Electric Telegraph Co.<sup>141</sup>. The Club had been quoted an annual charge of £100 for this service but after trying to interest the Athenaeum (another local club) in sharing the cost the idea was dropped.<sup>142</sup>

One area in which it was prepared to spend money was in the buying of newspapers. At the Committee of Management's first meeting (5 January, 1844) they decided to take twenty different newspapers and periodicals. The titles reflect the political divisions within the club. On the Liberal/Whig side were the Sheffield Independent, The Examiner, The Illustrated London News, The Manchester Guardian and The Sun. On the Tory side Blackwoods Magazine, The Standard, The Morning Herald and The Morning Post. The Sheffield Independent and one copy of the London Times were to be filed in the hope that they would form a useful repository of knowledge. (In the 1870s the bound copies of the Times were relegated to one of the toilets whilst the committee tried to find someone who would take them off their hands.) Other 'political' newspapers were added over the years. The Tory Sheffield Times and John Bull, in 1846. The Liberal Daily News and Tory Globe, in 1849. The Leeds Mercury was first taken some time during the 1840s; was stopped in July 1851 but taken again in February 1852. As well as these publications, the Club also took a number of directories of Sheffield and London; 'business' journals like Perrys Bankrupt List and Lloyd's List'; professional journals like the Lancet, and towards the end of the 1850s - overseas newspapers like the New York Weekly Herald.

One way of assessing the importance of newspapers to the membership of the Club would be to measure the amount spent, controlling for the number of members at any one time. However, with the fluctuations in the price of newspapers such a comparison is probably only of interest if it is made across Clubs. Therefore the following table gives the number of members, the expenditure on newspapers and the amount spent per member, for both the Sheffield and the Leeds Club.

Table No. 2.4

Expenditure on Newspapers for Selected Years of the Sheffield and Leeds Clubs.<sup>143</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>	<u>Expenditure on Newspapers (£s)</u>	<u>£s per member</u>
1856	150 (246)	120 (119)	0.80 (0.48)
1858	157 (247)	100 (115)	0.64 (0.46)
1859	159 (233)	99 (122)	0.62 (0.52)
1867	255 (369)	84 (106)	0.33 (0.29)
1883	281 (310)	60 (144)	0.21 (0.46)

Notes

The figures in brackets are for the Leeds Club.

This shows clearly that the provision of newspapers in the two Clubs was viewed in different ways. For Leeds - apart from the dip of 1867 - outlay stays at roughly point-five of a pound per member. In Sheffield expenditure shows a steady decline, becoming sharper after the Club moves into its new building, a development that seems to have put a severe strain on the finances of the institution.

2:3:2 The Sheffield Club: 1863-1880

As we have seen, the original plan to raise the capital for the new club house had been to sell shares at £25. This, however, proved to be too small a sum and in April 1861 the committee agreed to increase each share by £5. In the meantime, the land on which the building was to be erected had been bought in December 1860 by M E Hadfield and Bernard Wake<sup>144</sup> for £2,020 10s.<sup>145</sup> The site - which stood on the corner of Norfolk Street and Mulberry Street - consisted of 447 square yards and was already built on.

The total cost of buying the land and erecting the new club house was £7,200 and the draft Deed of Association of the Sheffield Club shows that this was raised by the sale of 240 shares. Hadfield and Wake, as the nominal owners of the land and building, passed their ownership to 12 trustees - of which they were two - who in turn leased the property to six lessees for 21 years at £360 per annum. The trustees and the committee of management for the year 1863-4 were identical: viz., John Dixon (?), W F Dixon jun. (silver-plater), Hadfield, F T Mappin (steel smelter and tool manufacturer),<sup>146</sup> Richard Martin (silver-plater), C E Smith (accountant), Thomas Smith (solicitor), R B Streatfield (steel smelter and tool manufacturer), Bernard Wake (solicitor), Frederick Ward (cutlery manufacturer; son of T A Ward), H E Watson (solicitor) and Benjamin Wightman (solicitor).

If John Dixon is from the family of silverplaters then the trustees exhibit an even split between the interests of the professions and manufacturing.

A similar division of interests is found amongst the six lessees. They were W F Dixon (silver-plater; father of W F Dixon jun.)<sup>147</sup>, W P Milner (solicitor), Joseph Nelstrop (partner in firm of Joseph Rodgers & Son, silver-platers), William Wake (solicitor), William Watson ('Gent.', brother of H E Watson) and Henry Wilkinson (silver-plater).<sup>148</sup> Two things stand out from these two lists. Firstly, the family linkages show that we are dealing with a dynastic group. Secondly, the occupations show that we are dealing with a wealthy group. Silver-plating - by the nature of the raw material - could only be carried out by an individual with capital. Steel melting too was a very capital intensive undertaking. The legal practice and accounting were then, as now, highly paid professions.

It is possible to establish other links between these men. Taking the lessees, apart from Wake, they were all trustees or governors of the Sheffield Savings Bank (as were W F Dixon jun. and H E Watson from the trustees).<sup>149</sup> Moreover, apart from John Dixon and William Watson, all the trustees and lessees held shares in the Club House.<sup>150</sup>

The opening of the new building was reported in three of the local papers. The copy for the reports was virtually identical in all of them. The Independent, taking up the theme of 'improvement' began by stating that "The inconvenience of the old Club House has long been felt, and this new building is the result of a spirited effort on the part of the members, who determined to have a building worthy of themselves and the town."<sup>151</sup> In the layout of its rooms, and the floors on which they were placed the Sheffield Club seems to have followed the pattern of at least two London Clubs: *The Athenaeum* and *The Reform*.<sup>152</sup> On the ground floor were the Coffee Room, "45 feet long and 25 feet wide, and 14 high - a noble apartment"; the steward's office; a "breakfast or morning room, 18 feet by 14 feet" and "very complete lavatories and retiring rooms". On the first floor, the reading-room or library "45 feet by 27 feet, and 14 feet high.":

"This apartment is furnished in walnut and green Utrecht velvet, richly carpeted: but the chief attractions are the mantelpieces at each end of the room. A glass panelling of noble dimensions, in a walnut frame inlaid with tulip-wood and richly gilt entablature, surmounts an arch of green Belgian marble, in the keystone of which is inserted a timepiece, and on beautifully inlaid pedestals are tripod lamps, six feet high."<sup>153</sup>

The committee room and the 'private dining room' were on the same floor. Above them was the billiard room, plus "a small smoke room".

On the top floor were five bedrooms for the use of members staying overnight. Each of these floors was connected at the front of the house by a five feet wide staircase of "Elland-edge stone with electro-bronze balustrade", and at the back by a stone staircase which also went down to the cellar. Here the servant's quarters were located consisting of a kitchen, scullery, larder, wine cellars, servant's hall etc.

The Sheffield Times concludes its article:

"Of the exterior it is scarcely necessary to speak. It has a solid English and thoroughly genteel look, expressing with boldness and truth its purpose, being a town residence, such as abound in the older parts of London, of palladium architecture, of the school of Inigo Jones."<sup>154</sup>

The Independent of the next day (19 December 1862) continued the Times's theme of seeing the Club as a concrete expression of the tide of moral, social and architectural improvement. After giving a report on the inspection of the Club held the day before it said;

"We hail this new building as one of the marks of the spirit of improvement which is aiming to make itself felt in the general appearance and communication of the town ... Few things conduce more to the well being of a community than measures of improvement so well considered as to give increased stability and usefulness to its institutions, and we hope we may congratulate the members of the Club on having done well and wisely."<sup>155</sup>

Improvement, however, costs money. The Telegraph put the total cost of the building and furniture at £10,000.<sup>156</sup> This is probably an overestimate as in June 1863 the committee increased the insurance on the building from £2,000 to £2,500, and on the furniture from £1,000 to £1,500.<sup>157</sup> What is certain is that the increase in staff that a larger building required (on the 17th November the committee recorded that they had engaged a Cook, a Hall Porter, three Waiters, two Markers, two Housemaids, a Scullery Maid, a Kitchen Maid and "boys for fires etc." for the new club house<sup>158</sup>) had raised the average amount spent per member on staff for the five years before and after the move from 74p to £1.60.<sup>159</sup>

If we take two years dictated by the fragmentary nature of the Leeds Club records, one of which is before the move of the Sheffield Club and one after, we can get a clearer picture of the small scale of the Sheffield Club and of the jump in its expenditure. Figures from the London Reform Club are included for comparison.

Table No. 2.5Expenditure on Staff, Per Member of the Sheffield Club, the Leeds Club and the London Reform Club.<sup>160</sup>

	<u>1858-59</u>	<u>1867-68</u>
Sheffield Club	0.76p	£1.79
Leeds Club	£1.45 <sup>A</sup>	£1.40 <sup>A</sup>
Reform Club	£4.62 <sup>A</sup>	£4.56 <sup>A</sup>

Notes

## A. Estimate

As we can see, although the expenditure of the other two Clubs was more or less static over the nine years the Sheffield Club's amount increased by over 100%.

The move to the new building was occasioned by other drains on the resources of the Club. At the Annual Meeting held on the 8 February 1864 the committee reported on the fact that they had been instructed by the last meeting to "purchase entirely new Furniture for the Dining and Reading Room; this step was absolutely necessary to make the furnishing of the Club consistent with the building itself".<sup>161</sup> This had involved the committee in £1,000 worth of expenditure. In order to cover this amount they suggested that the members should make a loan to the Club - with interest - in sums of £120 each. However, as has been seen the membership of the Club does not seem to have been very willing to part with its money, and at the next General Meeting the committee had to report that the response had been so bad that they had "been obliged to give their personal guarantee to the Bank."<sup>162</sup> The bank in question is the Sheffield Banking Co., established in 1831 by a number of the towns leading merchants.<sup>163</sup> An investigation of the board of directors for the year 1864-5, and a comparison of that list with the committee and membership of the Club indicates yet another connection between the Club and other institutions. Of the five men who were directors of the bank for this period - Samuel Bailey, M J Ellison, J J Smith, W F Dixon, and W Watson - Dixon was the father of a committee member, Watson was the brother, Bailey and Ellison were themselves ordinary members of the club, and Smith had been a member in its early years. The minutes of the committee show that they had entered into an overdraft with the bank for £2,000.<sup>164</sup>

As an attempt to increase revenue the committee had recommended during 1863 that the annual subscription should be increased from 3gns - where it had been since 1843 - to 5 gns. This had been put into

operation but was not enough to reverse the trend. The crisis point was reached at a special general meeting called on the 6 March 1867. The committee had four resolutions to put before the members;

1. From the 1st July an extra subscription of 5gns shall be paid by members of the Club not admitted this year, or who shall be admitted after the date thereof.
2. The Committee be authorised to borrow from any members of the Club (not exceeding 20) the sum of £85 as regards each member; such sum, until repaid to the member lending the same, to entitle him to the privileges of a member without the payment of any subscription.
3. That the subscription be increased by any sum not exceeding three guineas per annum, for any period, to be sanctioned by the meeting.
4. That any other plan may be adopted which the meeting may think proper, either for the decrease of the debt or the increase of the income of the Club, or for both of these objects.

Despite the adoption of these measures the committee felt it necessary to call another special meeting five days later at which it was resolved that all the members of the Club who had joined before the 1st January 1867 would pay an extra subscription of ten guineas "...the money to be appropriated solely in payment of the debts of the Club."

For a while it looked as if the Club would go under. The trade of Sheffield after undergoing a 'boom' in the period from 1864 to 1866 had experienced a sharp downturn. On the 14 January 1867 there was a 10% reduction in the wages at the Parkgate Iron Works.<sup>165</sup> Most of the other large manufacturers followed suit, and the reductions were followed by a wave of strikes.<sup>166</sup> One index of the turn of events is the amount paid out in poor relief by the Sheffield and Ecclesall Poor Law Unions. This rose from a yearly average of £38,000 over the three year period 1864-6, to £44,500 over the following three years.<sup>167</sup> Over the same two periods the average yearly intake of the Sheffield Club dropped from 20 to 10.

Table No. 2.6

Number of Members of the Sheffield Club, 1863-1881

<u>Year</u>	<u>New Members</u>	<u>Total Members</u>	<u>Percentage Change<sup>A</sup></u>
1863-64	36	223	
1864-65	19	244	109
1865-66	29	270	121
1866-67	13	260	116
1867-68	8	255	114
1868-69	14	253	113
1869-70	8	243	109
1870-71	13	250	112
1871-72	14	273	122
1872-73	34	288	129
1873-74	19	293	131
1874-75	14	280	126
1875-76	14	278	125
1876-77	14	274	123
1877-78	13	288	129
1878-79	33	300	135
1879-80	5	294	132
1880-81	9	289	130

Notes

A. 1863-64 as base.

The number of new members once again seems to follow the trade cycle. After falling off with the bad trade of 1867 the figures reached a peak with the 'boom' year of 1872-3 and then fell off again with the 'slump' of 1879-80.<sup>168</sup>

1867 was not a good year in which to raise a large sum of money. The fact that the fund raising was a success is perhaps indicative of the importance placed on the Club by its members. At the General Meeting on the 10 February 1868 the committee announced that the special subscription had raised £2,478. This means that approximately 245 of the 255 members paid the ten guineas asked of them.

From this point on the finances of the Club remained on a firmer footing, the only other change being the introduction of a two-tier system of subscription. (This new membership category at Sheffield reflected the general movement of the middle class further away from the town centre.) Until December 1873 the subscription rate had been five guineas for all members. After this time a new rate of seven guineas was brought in for those who lived within a ten mile radius of Sheffield, whilst those who lived outside - and who would presumably not make such great use of the Club - paid the old rate of five guineas. (The Leeds Club had set its membership fees at 25 guineas

entrance fee and six guineas subscription per annum in 1865.)<sup>169</sup> This radius of ten miles had always been in use by the Club to determine who was a 'stranger' and similar geographical limits were also being used by the Leeds Club.<sup>170</sup> Indeed, from its creation, the Leeds Club distinguished between Borough and County membership.

The financial problems faced by the Sheffield Clubs were not unique. The Leeds Club spent a number of years in its early existence drawing up, and then abandoning, plans to purpose build a Club House. In the end it bought - in 1863 - the premises in Albion Place that it had been renting since 1849. But this did not solve all the Leeds Club's financial problems, for in 1874 the committee of the Club reported to the Annual General Meeting that the finances of the institution were in a poor condition.

The Manchester Union Club suffered none of these problems. Within ten days of the initial meeting of persons interested in establishing the Club, £6,000 had been raised for the purchase of a Club house. This sum - to be paid 5% interest by the Club - came from six men promising £1,000 each. They were Benjamin Heywood, Edward Lloyd, R W Barton, Thomas Ridgeway, S R Brooks and Aaron Lees. Heywood, Lloyd and Brooks were all wealthy local bankers. The trustees of the Club purchased a site in Mosely street, but were unable to move into it until 1827.<sup>171</sup>

#### 2:4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at some of the principal cultural institutions of the elite group in Sheffield prior to the establishment of the Sheffield Club. The creation and institutional history of the Club has been looked at in some depth. The argument has been advanced that institutions such as the Sheffield Club were a place "...where all parties could meet on common ground for the interchange of opinions on subjects of common interest."<sup>172</sup> (this is the Mayor of Leeds in 1849 on the Leeds Club). They were crucial, although not unique, in creating a sense of shared values amongst their members. In the next chapter we will go on to look at the membership of the Sheffield Club in some depth and at their involvement in other key sites of local power (excluding the overtly political, to which the remaining chapters are dedicated).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Theodore Hook, quoted in F. R. Cowell, The Athenaeum Club and Social Life in London, 1824-1974, London: Heinemann 1975.
2. Anthony Trollope, Can You Forgive Her?, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1982 (first published in book form in 1864).
3. See, for example, on Halifax Arthur Porritt, "18th and 19th Century Clubs in Halifax, in Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1964, pp. 65-93; on Manchester, John Harland, "Places and Institutions", in John Harland, Collectanea Relating to Manchester and its Neighbourhood, Vol. 2, Publications of the Chetham Society, Vol. 72, 1867; Nicholas Hans, "Political Societies and Clubs of the Eighteenth Century", in Adult Education, March 1936, pp. 214-25; Guy Boas, "The Nobleman and Gentlemen's Catch Club, 1761-1961", in The Quarterly Review, 1964 Part 302, pp. 422-34.

Cecil Maxwell-Lyte, in his article "A Club secretary on Clubs", (The Nineteenth Century, Vol. 84, July-December 1919, pp. 143-53) states:

"In speaking of the evolution of Clubs, it is necessary to look back and recall how they originated in the old-fashioned coffee-house..."

4. Rev. Alfred Gatty, Sheffield: Past and Present, 1873, Sheffield, p.221.
5. The Clubs are White's (1693); Boodle's (1762); Brooks's (1778); Royal Thames Yacht (1775); Lord's (1787); Union (1805); Guards (1810); United Service (1815); Portland (1816); Travellers' (1819); United University (1822); Oriental (1824); The Athenaeum (1824); Oxford and Cambridge University (1830); Garrick (1831); Reform (1834); Carlton (1832); Army and Navy (1837); Pratts (1841); Farmers' (1842); Gresham (1843); East India and Sports' (1849). Charles Graves, Leather Armchairs: The Chivas Regal Book of London Clubs, London: Cassell 1963.
6. George Woodbridge, The Reform Club, 1836-1978, 1978 (privately printed for members of the Club), p. 1.
7. Apart from the four books mentioned above, they include: Thomas Humphrey Ward, History of the Athenaeum, 1824-1925, 1926; John Timbs, Club Life of London, (2nd edition) 1872, John Camden Hotten; Henry Swanston Eeles and Albert Edward Spencer, Brook's 1764-1964, 1964; Louis Alexander Fagan, The Reform Club: Its Founders and Architect, 1836-1886, 1887, Percy Colson, White's 1693-1950, 1951; Sir Wemyss Reid, In London Club-Land, 1902.
8. Patrick Joyce, Work, Society and Politics, (first published by The Harvester Press Ltd., in 1980), 1982, Methuen, p. 38.
9. Benwell Community Project, Final Report No. 6: The Making of a Ruling Class, 1978, Benwell Community Project, Newcastle Upon Tyne, p. 19.

10. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes, 1987, Hutchinson, Chapter 10.
11. John Baxter, The Origin of the Social War in South Yorkshire - A Study of Capitalist Evolution and Labour Class Realisation in One Industrial Region c.1750-1855, 1976, Ph.D. Sheffield University. *passim*.
12. See the introductory section of John Seed, "Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830-50", S.H., Vol. 7 No. 1, 1982, pp. 1-25.

The work that has been done on the middle class includes: John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution, 1977, Methuen, Ch. 6; Joyce *op. cit.*, 1982, Ch. 1; Dennis Smith, Conflict and Compromise; Class Formation in English Society, 1830-1914, 1982, Routledge and Kegan Paul; John Seed and Janet Wolff, "Class and Culture in Nineteenth Century Manchester", in Theory, Culture and Society, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1984, pp. 38-53; A.J. Kidd and K W Roberts (eds.), City, Class and Culture: Studies of Cultural Production and Social Policy in Victorian Manchester, 1985, Manchester University Press; R J Morris (ed.), Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns, 1986, Leicester University Press; Davidoff and Hall, *op. cit.*, 1987; Janet Wolff and John Seed (eds.), The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle Class, 1988, Manchester University Press.

13. For example, Robert Morris, Organisations and Aims of the Principal Secular Voluntary Organisations of the Leeds Middle Class, 1830-51, unpublished Oxford University D. Phil., 1970: has shown that in Leeds the two big religious groupings (Church of England and dissent) produced rival organisations for the distribution of medical and financial aid. "The middle class", he says, "was divided within itself by factors other than status and wealth. The ability to act as a class was affected by divisions over politics and divisions into religious congregations and sects."p.44.
14. This is not to suggest that the divisions were somehow false, or that they were meant to distract attention from sites where, behind closed doors, the middle class conspired to become and stay the dominant class. The divisions within the middle class were real and so were the institutional sites where those divisions were manifested. However, the shared aims and interests were also real, and the Sheffield Club is one of the institutions where they were manifested, and where a communality of interests with other dominant groups could be achieved.
15. The allusion here is of course to the work of the German sociologist Max Weber and his work on status groups. In essence Weber argues that status groups achieve stability by a common life style which exhibits features of 'closure' (i.e., exclusion of 'others') and endogamous marriages. See, Max Weber, "Class Status, Party" in Kenneth Thompson and Jeremy Tunstall, Sociological Perspectives, 1971, Penguin, Middlesex, pp. 250-264.

16. Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, 1978 (reprint of the 1894 edition), Avenel Books, New York.
17. Maxwell-Lyte, op. cit., 1919, p. 143.
18. The Quarterly Review, Vol. 65, No. 129, December 1839, p. 249.
19. Stephen Turner, "Almack's and Society, 1765-1863", History Today, Vol. 26 No. 4, April 1976, p. 244.
20. Petrie, op. cit., 1955, p. 41.
21. See, Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, 1968, Pelican, Middlesex, Chapter 5; E P Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons, 1973, Edward Arnold; Derek Fraser, "Joseph Chamberlain and the Municipal Ideal", in History Today, Vol. 37 April 1987, pp. 33-9.
22. Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1867, 1979 (paperback edition), Longmans, Harlow, p. 3.
23. He was a member of the Sheffield Club in 1859 and in 1868. He was a councillor for Attercliffe Ward from 1846-1855; Chairman of the General Purposes and Parks Committee from 1856-58; Chairman of the Health Committee from 1856-58; Mayor in 1858; Master Cutler in 1864; a Borough Magistrate from 1859-74; a County Magistrate from 1865-79; President of the local Chamber of Commerce on at least two occasions (1864 and 1867) and held numerous other offices.
24. Charles Atkinson, Sheffield as it was. Sheffield as it is. Sheffield as it should be., 1875, Sheffield, pp. 12-13.
25. See the comments in the opening chapter of Caroline Reid, Middle Class Values and Working Class Culture in Nineteenth Century Sheffield. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis Sheffield University, 1976.
26. Joseph Hunter, Hallamshire. All references are to the "Gatty Edition" produced in London in 1875.
27. John Daniel Leader, 1835-99 (Member of the Sheffield Club in 1868 & 1880) whose works include, The Records of the Burgery of Sheffield Commonly called the Town Trust, Sheffield 1897; (with S. Snell) Sheffield General Infirmary 1797-1897, Sheffield, 1897, and Old Sheffield Jottings: A Lecture Delivered before the Sheffield Press Club, 4th April 1891, Sheffield 1891.

Robert Eadon Leader, 1839-1922 (Member of the Sheffield Club 1868 & 1880) whose works include, Reminiscences of Old Sheffield, Sheffield 1875; Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck, Sheffield 1897, and Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century, Sheffield (2nd edition) 1901.

They were both sons of Robert Leader, 1809-1885 (Member of the Sheffield Club 1859-1880) who was owner and editor of the Sheffield and Rotherham Independent. The family were Congregationalist, although Robert's father (also a Robert, 1779-1861) married into the Unitarian Smith/Pye-Smith family of Homerton, as did R E Leader. The Leader family

originally came from Little Easton in Essex and made its money in the 18th century in the family firm of Tudor, Leader and Nicholson, Silverplaters.

28. R E Leader, op. cit., p. 113. See also Hunter, op. cit., 1875, p. 157.
29. R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, p. 12.
30. Reid, op. cit., 1976, p. 21.
31. Reid, op. cit., 1976, pp. 26-7.
32. Baxter, op. cit., 1976, pp. 36-9.
33. See, N C R S Vol. 15 SF, pp. 160-66; S.T. 27 December, 1851; the Appendix of Sketchley's Sheffield Directory, 1774; R. E. Leader, op. cit., 1901, pp. 113-7; J D Leader, op. cit., 1891, pp. 6-7.
34. Peter Borsay, "The English Urban Renaissance: the development of provincial urban culture c. 1680-c. 1760", S.H. No. 5, May 1977, pp. 581-603.
35. Borsay, op. cit., 1977, p. 593.
36. R J Morris, "The Middle Class and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1870", in D. Fraser and A Sutcliffe (eds.), The Pursuit of Urban History, 1983, p. 299.
37. Borsay, op. cit., 1977, p. 581.
38. For a description of Boulsover's process see, John Taylor (ed.), The Illustrated Guide to Sheffield and The Surrounding Districts, 1879, Sheffield, p. 286.  
  
For a description of Huntsmen's process see, K. C. Barraclough, Sheffield Steel, 1976, Moorland Publishing Company, Buxton, pp. 12-13.
39. Quoted in R B Wragg, "St. Paul's Church, Sheffield", T.H.A.S. Vol. 11, 1981, p. 52.
40. The figures come from P. Aspinall, "Thomas Sambourne: A Building Speculator in Late Eighteenth Century Sheffield", T.H.A.S., Vol. 10, 1971-9, p. 161. Aspinall draws his data from the S.L.R. for 1830. However, Taylor, op. cit., 1879, gives the much higher figure 45, 105 for 1801 (p. 49).
41. Borsay, op. cit., 1977, pp. 588-90.
42. Aspinall, op. cit., 1971-9, p. 161.
43. D. Postles, "The Residential Development of the Church Burgesses Estates in Sheffield", in T.H.A.S., Vol. 10, 1971-9, p. 360.
44. Postles, op. cit., 1971-9, p. 361.
45. R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, p. 1.

46. See R. G. Wilson, Gentlemen Merchants, 1971, Manchester University Press; John Money, Experience and Identity; Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1800, Manchester University Press; R. G. Wilson, "Georgian Leeds", C. J. Morgan, "Demographic Change, 1771-1911" and M. Beresford, "The Face of Leeds, 1780-1914", all in D Fraser (ed.), A History of Modern Leeds, 1980, Manchester University Press.
47. For example, in the area of Literary and Philosophical Societies (or their equivalents) Sheffield was well behind other northern towns. Manchester had one in 1781; Newcastle in 1793; Liverpool in 1812; Leeds in 1819, but Sheffield did not create one until 1821. In addition the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society never had a purpose built building.
- In the area of Town Halls Sheffield was also behind other towns. Leeds opened its Town Hall in 1858; Bradford in 1873; Manchester in 1877, but Sheffield not until 1897.
48. Borsay, op .cit., 1977, p. 582.
49. R J Morris, "Middle Class Culture, 1700-1914", in Fraser (ed.), op. cit., 1980, p. 201.
50. R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, p. 113.
51. Sketchley's 1774 Directory of Sheffield, Appendix, p. 8.
- On the History of Theatre In Sheffield see, F T Wood, "Sheffield Theatres in the Eighteenth Century", in T.H.A.S. Vol. 6., 1944-50, pp. 98-116.
52. M H F Chaytor, The Wilsons of Sharrow: The Snuff-Makers of Sheffield, 1962, J W Northend, Sheffield, p. 44.
53. N.C.R.S., Vol. 15 SF.
54. For example, see "A Member of the Aristocracy", Manners and Rules of Good Society: or, Solecisms to be Avoided, London: Roderick Warne 1893 (19th edition). The following passage gives a flavour of the rule governed nature of Victorian "Upper Class" Society;
- "The Routine of Card Leaving - As regards the routine of card-leaving when driving, a lady should desire her man-servant to inquire if the mistress of the house at which she is calling is 'at home'. If 'not at home' she should hand him three cards: one of her own, and two of her husband's; but if her husband's name is printed on her card, one of his cards only would be required; her card is left for the mistress of the house, and her husband's cards for both master and mistress." p18.
55. As R G Wilson has said of Leeds, "The ... Victorian City ... casts such a deep shadow that the life of the town in the previous century stands dimly in the shade." "Georgian Leeds", in D Fraser (ed.), op. cit., 1980, p. 25.

56. On the Shore family see, Lady Stephen, "The Shores of Sheffield and The Offleys of Norton Hall", in T.H.A.S. Vol. 5, 1938-43, pp. 1-17.
57. See, Reid, op. cit., 1976, p. 9.
58. N.C.R.S., Vol. 15 SF, *ibid.* See also R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, pp. 113-4.
59. Thomas Ramsay, The Picture of Sheffield; or A Historical View of the Town of Sheffield in the County of York, 1824, Sheffield, pp. 197-9.
60. See Hunter op. cit., 1875, pp. 154-6 and 163; G. G. Hopkinson, "The Development of Inland Navigation in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire, 1697-1850", in T.H.A.S. Vol. 7 1951-7, pp. 229-251.
61. See, Hunter, op. cit., 1875, p. 157; S.E. Joynes, "The Sheffield Library, 1771-1907", in Library History Vol. 2, 1971, pp. 91-116.
62. See R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, pp. 131-2; Joynes, op. cit., 1971, p. 91.
63. See, Wragg, op. cit., 1981, p. 52; Morris, op. cit., 1980, p.202.
64. N.C.R.S. Vol. 13 SF, *ibid*; R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, p. 116.
65. Ramsey, op. cit., 1824, p. 198.
66. Baxter, op. cit., 1976, p. 39.
67. Money, op. cit., 1977, pp. 126-8 and 142-3.
68. Morris, op. cit., 1980, p. 204.
69. Money, op. cit., 1977, p. 126.
70. Joynes, op. cit., 1971, p. 93.
71. T A Ward, A Short Account of the Sheffield Library, its Founders, Presidents, and Librarians, 1825, Sheffield.
72. Money, op. cit., 1977, p. 127; Morris, op. cit., p. 205.
73. See, Rules of the Reading and Conversation Society Agreed upon at a meeting of the Members held in the Vestry of Upper Chapel, 29 March 1793, in the Vestry of Upper Chapel, Sheffield.
74. Ramsay, op. cit., 1824, pp. 66-8.
75. See, Rules and Orders to Govern the Monthly Club at Sheffield, including minutes of the proceedings, 1783-1808, in ms. form in the Jackson collection, S.L.A.; N.C.R.S., Vol. 2 SF, pp. 37-8; R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, pp. 117-8; S.I. 6 January, 1894; An Abstract of an Act for the Improvement of Sheffield, Just Passed, 1784, Sheffield; An Abstract of the Several Acts of Parliament, passed for

repairing the Turnpike Road, from Wakefield to Sheffield, 1798, (no place of publication is given).

76. The names are John Booth, Hugh Cheney, Vincent Eyre, George Greaves, John Rawson, Benjamin Roebuck jun., John Rutherford, John Shore, Samuel Shore jun., J. Stainforth, Henry Tudor, James Turner, James Wheat, Rev. James Wilkinson and George Woodhead.
77. This paragraph is drawn from, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 26, pp. 9-10; J M Robinson, The Dukes of Norfolk, 1983, pp. 171-82; Postles, op. cit., 1971-9.
78. See, Local Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, p. 23, in S.L.A., for a poem written by B J Wake, concerning the election and the committee members.
79. Burke's Complete Peerage, 1926, pp. 13-4.
80. Robinson, 1983, *ibid.*
81. William Doyle, The Old European Order 1600-1800, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1978, p. 337.
82. F K Donnelly and John L Baxter, "Sheffield and the English Revolutionary Tradition, 1791-1820", in eds. Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes, Essays in the Economics and Social History of South Yorkshire, Sheffield: South Yorkshire County Council 1976, p. 92.
83. N.C.R.S. Vol. 2 SF *Ibid.*
84. J B Wheat, "Extracts form a late eighteenth century diary (7th November, 1795-1st June, 1800)", in T.H.A.S. Vol. 3, 1925-8, pp. 171-185.
85. N.C.R.S., Vol. 2 SF, *ibid.*
86. R E Leader, op. cit., 1901, p. 118.
87. A B Bell (ed.), Peeps into the Past: Being Passages from the diary of Thomas Asline Ward, 1909, Sheffield and London, p. 164.
88. The men are Hall Overend, John Favell, John Moorhouse, D.D. Davis, S. Lucas, R. Ernest and Ward himself. On the Society for the Promotion of Useful Information, see S.L.A., Notes and Queries Vol. 2, pp. 35-6 and Vol. 3, pp. 17 and 23.
89. See, the Minute Book of the Pitt Club, 1810-1819, in the Jackson Collection (JC 1296), S.L.A.; Local Notes and Queries, Vol. 4, pp. 39-40, S.L.A.; N.C.R.S., Vol.1S, p. 51.
90. Sources, Local Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, p. 20; W. Brownell's Sheffield General Directory, 1817, Sheffield; R. Gell's, Sheffield General and Commercial Directory, 1821, Sheffield; R. Gell's, A New General and Commercial Directory of Sheffield and its Vicinity, 1825, Manchester; Bell, op. cit., 1909, *passim*.
91. On the Sheffield Loyal Independent Volunteers see, Bell,

- op. cit., 1910, pp. 14-21. The men are Fenton, Leader and Clarke.
92. Thomas Asline Ward 1781-1871. Cutlery merchant and manufacturer. Unitarian. Founder member of the Sheffield Literary & Philosophical Society. President of the Sheffield Political Union. Involved in almost every philanthropic and cultural venture in the first half of the 19th century. Unsuccessfully stood as a candidate in the 1832 election.
93. Samuel Bailey 1791-1870. Son of Joseph Bailey and Mary Eadon (father: John Eadon, Master, Free Writing School). Family firm Eadon, Bailey & Co. Educated at the Free Writing School and the Moravian School, Fulneck. Unitarian. Wrote a number of philosophical tracts, in the Benthamite/Utilitarian tradition: eg Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions, Dissertation on the Nature, Measures and Causes of Value, Essays on the Pursuit of Truth etc. Founder member of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society. Stood for Parliament in 1832 and 1835 as 'Liberal' both times without success. Died a bachelor. Left 2,000 to Sheffield Infirmary, 1,000 to the Sheffield Dispensary, 1,000 Literary & Philosophical Society and 100,000 to the Town Trustees. Sheffield Club member 1849-1868.
94. James Montgomery 1771-1854. One time editor of the Sheffield Iris (the renamed Gale's Register). In the 1790s was a 'Radical' although his two periods of imprisonment in York Castle seem to have cooled his ardour. On giving up the editorship of the Iris in 1825 he was given a Crown Pension of 150 a year. His father was the pastor of a Moravian Congregation in Irvine. Like Bailey he was educated at the Moravian School at Fulneck, just outside of Leeds. He himself was an Anglican. Like Bailey and Ward he was a founder member of the literary and Philosophical Society. Sheffield Club member 1849.
95. Morris, op. cit., 1970, p. 77.
96. See, Vanessa S. Doe, "Some Developments in Middle Class Housing in Sheffield 1830-1875". Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (eds.), Essays in the Economics and Social History of South Yorkshire, 1976. South Yorkshire County Council, Sheffield.
97. Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century, 1982, Pelican, Middlesex, p. 173.
98. G. Kitson Clark, "The Leeds Elite", in The University of Leeds Review, Vol. 17, No. 2 1975, p. 240.
99. The main source of the Leeds Club are the archives of the Club itself. These are still in the Club House in Albion Street. There are however, a set of Annual Reports (1884-96), a set of Rules (1863-1912) and a set of abstracts of accounts (1856-96) deposited in Leeds City Library, Local Collection at LF 367, L 517. There are also two copies of the rules and lists of members for 1849 and 1857 in the library of Leeds University. One set is in the Brotherton Collection, the other in the Special Collection.

100. The Manchester Union Club was established in 1825 in Norfolk Street. It merged with the Brasenose Club in 1933, and with the Clarendon Club in 1961. It is now known as the St. James's Club. See, Minutes of the Manchester Union Club (M 17.2 1) in the Archives Department, and the lists of members for 1835 and 1838 (367 M165) in the Local History Library of Manchester City Library.
101. Leeds Mercury, 29 December, 1849.
102. Smith, op. cit., 1982, p. 256.
103. See, the Sheffield Star, 1 April, 17 and 28 June, 1982; 14 and 19 December, 1983. Also, Sheffield Morning Telegraph 17 and 29 June, 8 September, 6 October, 6 December 1982; 7 October, 1983.
104. Sheffield Mercury, 8 July 1843.
105. Sheffield Mercury, 2 December 1843.
106. Henry Edmund Watson 1815-1901. Knighted 1886. Solicitor. Tory. Town Trustee 1876-1901. Church Burgess 1880-1901. Sometime Chairman Sheffield Conservative Association, Director Charles Cammell & Co. and Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding. Member of the Sheffield Club from 1849-1880.
107. S.I., 1 January, 1894. Due to the Second World War the 100th Anniversary seems to have been ignored.
108. Minutes of the Committee of Management of the Sheffield Club, hereafter M.C.M.S.C. These, along with all the other archives of the Club, have been deposited with the Archives Division of Sheffield City Library since this study was conducted.
109. William Wake 1819-1896. Solicitor. Anglican. He owned the freehold on which Sheffield County Court was built. TT 1873-96. Chairman of George Wostenholm & Son. Ltd. 1891-96. Member of Sheffield Club from 1849-1880.
110. Benjamin Huntsman, Coal Owner of Attercliffe. (Tinsley Coal Co.). Member of the Sheffield Club from 1849-1880. He was related to Francis Huntsman 1785-1879, steel refiner and converter - himself an Anglican but grandson of the Quaker, Benjamin Huntsman, the inventor of crucible cast steel.
111. William Watson 1803-1886. May have trained as a solicitor. Brother of H E Watson (See above). Member of Sheffield Club From 1849-1880.
112. M.C.M.S.C. Vol. 1, 22 February 1844.
113. Loc. cit. 29 June 1844.
114. Loc. cit., 11 December 1848.
115. Loc. cit., 6 March 1851.
116. Ibid.

117. Loc. cit., 11 June 1855.
118. Petrie, op. cit., 1955, p. 98.
119. See, the Minutes of the Annual General Meetings of the Sheffield Club (hereafter, MAGMSC) Vol. 1, 11 February 1856.
120. See, the Leeds Club accounts, loc. cit.
121. M.A.G.M.S.C., 5 January, 1845.
122. Anon, The Savile Club 1868-1923, Edinburgh 1923, pp. 6-7.
123. M.C.M.S.C., Vol. 1, 1 December 1851.
124. M.A.G.M.S.C., 8 January, 1849.
125. M.C.M.S.C., Vol. 1, 12 September 1853.
126. Op. cit., 15 February 1853.
127. Op. cit., 14 March 1853.
128. Matthew Ellison Hadfield 1812-1885 Architect. Catholic.

Hadfield's father (Joseph) came to Sheffield from Glossop in connection with the estates of the Duke of Norfolk. Hadfield continued the connection designing a number of buildings for the 14th Duke (Henry Granville Fitzalan-Howard), 1815-1860: Member Sheffield Club 1859).

Hadfield's company (1838-50, Weightman & Hadfield; 1850-64 Weightman, Hadfield & Goldie; 1864- M. E. Hadfield & Son. ) designed:-

#### Churches

St. John's Roman Catholic, Park, Sheffield; St. Vincent's Roman Catholic, Sheffield; St. Bede's Roman Catholic, Rotherham etc. etc.

#### 'Civic Buildings'

Norfolk Market Hall; The Fitzalan Market; the New Corn Exchange; The Norfolk Drill Hall; The Gas Offices; The Sheffield Club (all in Sheffield).

#### Mansions

Work on Queen's Tower for Samuel Roberts 1800-87 (Sheffield Club member 1868-1880).

'The Farm' for the Duke of Norfolk.

'Thornbury' for Frederick Thorpe Mappin 1821-1910 (Sheffield Club Member 1859 - 1880).

Plus, Cyclops Works for Charles Cammell & Co. (Charles Cammell 1810 - 1879: Sheffield Club member 1849 - 1868) and the Great Northern Hotel, Leeds.

Hadfield was a member of the Sheffield Club from 1849-1880.

129. Op. cit., 22 July 1853.
130. Op. cit., 15 February 1853.
131. Op. cit., 27 April 1857.
132. M.A.G.M.S.C., 8 February 1858.
133. Op. cit., 14 February 1860.
134. Op. cit., 12 February 1861.
135. M.C.M.S.C. Vol. 1, 1 April 1861.
136. Op. cit., 8 April 1861.
137. Based on information contained in the annual reports of the Committee presented at each AGM.
138. The Report of the Committee of The Sheffield Club ... etc., 1868, Sheffield.
139. Rules and Regulations of the Leeds Club, 1849, Leeds.
140. Woodbridge, op. cit., 1978, Appendix III.
141. M.C.M.S.C., 12 November, 1854.
142. On the Sheffield Athenaeums see, Alan White, "Class, culture and control: the Sheffield Athenaeum movement and the middle class", in Wolff and Seed, op. cit., 1988, pp. 83-115.
143. The selection of years has been determined by the extant accounts for the Leeds Club.
144. Bernard Wake ? - 1891 Solicitor. Anglican.  
1865-91 Chairman of Maring, Hall & Co.  
(Silver-platers)  
1876-91 Chairman of George Wostenholm & Sons Ltd. (Cutlery)  
(His brother William took over as Chairman after his death).  
1861 President Sheffield Literary & Phil. Soc.  
1869 Trustee Firth Almshouses.  
Family had legal connections with the Dukes of Norfolk.  
On death estate valued at £153,147.
145. Draft Deed of Association of the Sheffield Club, dated 1st January 1864. In the archives of the Club.
146. Frederick Thorpe Mappin 1821-1910 At first Nonconformist, then Anglican. Weak Liberal. He was originally a partner in the family firm of Mappin Brothers, merchants and manufacturers of silver and plated goods & table, spring and fruit knives, etc. In 1859 he became the senior partner in Thomas Turton & Sons; a position he held until the firm became a public company with a capital of 100,000 in 1886 at which point he was given a knighthood and retired. Mappin was involved in almost every aspect of Sheffield life. In 1845 he married Mary the daughter of John Wilson, partner in the Sheffield Coal Company. (Mary's brother, Thomas Wilson was also a member of the Sheffield

Club and also moved from Nonconformity to the Church of England).

147. W F Dixon 1801-1871 Methodist. Tory.  
 Son of James Dixon, co-founder of James Dixon & Sons, silver-platers.  
 1855-72 J P for South Yorkshire  
 1862 Director Sheffield Fire Office  
 1865 Deputy Lieutenant West Riding  
 1863-8 Lieutenant 1st West York Yeomanry Cavalry.
148. Henry Wilkinson 1788-1873 Liberal.  
 Henry Wilkinson & Co. Electro-platers and manufacturers of silver and plated wares.  
 1839 Guardian for Assay Office  
 1844 Founder member Sheffield Manufacturers and Tradesmens Protection Society.  
 1846-7 Mayor  
 1846-73 Town Trustee  
 1848 Borough Magistrate  
 1863 Vice-president School of Art  
 Member Sheffield Club 1849-1868.
149. R E Leader, A Century of Thrift:- An Historical Sketch of the Sheffield Savings Bank 1819-1919, Sheffield 1920, pp.
150. The 1860 membership list in the minutes of the AGM's has had written on to it the number of shares held by members of the club. It would seem that when this was done 90 of the shares had yet to be sold, as the total only comes to 150.
151. S.I., 18 December 1862.
152. See the plans in Cowell, op. cit., 1975 p. 15; Woodbridge op. cit., 1978 p. 55.
153. S.I., ibid.
154. Sheffield Times, 20 December, 1862.
155. S.I., 19 December 1862.
156. Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 18 December, 1862.
157. M.C.M.S.C. Vol. 1, 8 June 1863.
158. Loc. cit., 17 November 1862.
159. Figures derived from the reports at the A.G.M.s 1856/7 to 1865/6.
160. Sources: for the Sheffield Club, the annual reports of the Committee to the Annual General Meeting, recorded in the minutes of the General Meetings, Vol.11845-1929; for the Leeds Club, the annual reports of the Committee with Accounts, loc. cit.,; for the London Reform Club, Woodbridge, op. cit., 1978, pp. 12 & 70.
161. M.A.G.M.S.C., 8 February 1863.

162. Loc. cit., 13 February 1863.
163. See, R. E. Leader, The Sheffield Banking Co. Ltd.; An Historical Sketch 1831-1916, Sheffield 1916.
164. M.C.M.S.C. Vol. 1, 11 April, 1864.
165. S.L.R., 14 January 1867.
166. On the 2 February there was a strike of the 'puddlers' at the Atlas & Cylop's works against a reduction of 10%. On February 11 a strike began amongst the spring knife trade against a similar reduction. In the same year the Sheffield Gas Co. declared a dividend of 10% (18 April), J. Brown & Co. one of 6% (26 June), the Sheffield Union Bank 7% (18 July) and Sheffield and Hallamshire Bank one of 12% (19 July).
167. See, Pollard, op. cit., 1959, Appendix B, Table 13B.
168. Pollard, op. cit., 1959, p. 126.
169. See Minutes of Annual and Special Meetings of the Leeds Club, Vol. 1 (1849-1940), 8 March 1865.
170. See the 1849 'Rules of the Leeds Club' in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library.
171. See, Minutes of the Manchester Union Club, op. cit.
172. Leeds Mercury, 14 April 1949.

CHAPTER THREETHE SHEFFIELD CLUB: II3:1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we looked at the development of cultural institutions in Sheffield for the elite of town society. Towards the end of the chapter the Sheffield Club was introduced and an account given of its foundation and growth. In this chapter attention is turned to the membership of the Club and to various aspects of their involvement in key sites of political and economic power in Sheffield. Some mention will also be made of the political and religious aspects of the Club membership. This area will be approached with the previous arguments concerning the role of the Club to the foreground; viz. that the Club acted as a social space where groups who had antagonistic political and religious attachments could meet on common ground. This "common ground" was necessary since the membership of the Club was drawn from an elite level of society who shared common economic and class interests.

3:2 Occupational analysis of the Sheffield Club

If the membership of the Sheffield Club is drawn from an elite then an analysis of their occupations should confirm this. When the study was commenced only certain of the membership lists of the Club had been located. It was felt that a cohort constructed at ten year intervals would both serve the purpose of analysing the membership, and of showing any significant changes over time. Accordingly the years 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880 were chosen; these being the closest to ten year intervals that were to hand.<sup>1</sup> However, before we proceed to the analysis, a few words need to be said about the method used and some of the problems involved.<sup>2</sup>

Occupations have been derived from the membership lists and the local directories (with cross reference being made to any printed or archive sources in the Sheffield Local History section, and to any references to a particular individual in either the minutes or membership book of the Sheffield Club). Prior to 1868 the membership lists of the Club only gave the residence of any one individual if there was any danger of confusion within that membership list (that is, more than one member with the same name). This led to some problems when dealing with the pre-1868 membership and the

directories, since with some of the men, there would be more than one person with the same name in the town. Where it has proved impossible to determine which of the individuals named in the directory is the Club member, that person has been left as "not known". The number of these in any one cohort is, however, small.

Unfortunately the problems do not end there, since the actual designation for any one directory is not absolute. The occupation given could change over time; an individual could be listed in the classified section but not in the alphabetical (or listed under one occupation in the classified and another in the alphabetical); the occupation given could be vague, or there might be no occupation at all (or the individual might be absent). Moreover, the allocation of individuals to occupational groups assumes that the person concerned had only one area of economic activity, or, that the one selected for their designation was their main area of economic activity. An example of this latter issue would be Arthur Marshall Chambers, Club member in 1880. His directory entry reads thus:

"Newton, Chambers and Co., Coal owners, Iron masters, Gas and Water works engineers, agricultural machinists and manufacturers of plain and ornamental castings, stove grates, cooking and heating apparatus etc."<sup>3</sup>

In a case like this - and with no evidence to the contrary - the purely arbitrary decision has been taken of using the first listed economic activity to designate in which category the individual is placed. There is then, some element of indeterminacy in the listings that follow.

To turn from these general problems, to ones that are specific to the analysis of the Sheffield Club, two things need to be borne in mind. Firstly, each one of the individuals listed does not necessarily represent a separate company. Indeed, a large proportion of the count for some of the categories may come from the same family concern. For example, the three "Hair Seat Weavers"<sup>4</sup> listed in the 1868 occupational breakdown are all members of the Laycock family and represent two different companies: Thomas Laycock and Co., of Arundel Street, and Samuel Laycock and Sons, of Portobello Place and Millsands. Secondly, the category of "Gentlemen" needs to be treated with some caution. Where possible those who designated themselves as such in either the local directories or the Club membership book, have been allocated to the occupational category, they are known to have been contemporaneously active in. For some, this has not been

possible. Thus, the category of "Gentlemen" contains retired partners, "sleeping" partners, representatives of the local lesser gentry, and those who called themselves thus for reasons of status (or to whom such a title was applied as a honorific). With these caveats in mind, the analysis of the Sheffield Club membership will now be looked at in some depth. The full analysis is contained in Appendix 3.1, the table below summarises the findings:

Table No. 3.1

Aggregate occupational analysis of the membership of the Sheffield Club for 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.<sup>5</sup>

	<u>1849</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1868</u>	<u>1880</u>	
Manufacturers	44.3	55.4	51	46.4	%
	54	103	127	134	N
Merchants	0.8	0	0.4	0.3	%
	1	0	1	1	N
Total large proprietors	45.1	55.4	51.4	46.7	%
	55	103	128	135	N
<hr/>					
Wholesale grocers & druggist	2.5	1.6	1.2	1.4	%
	3	3	3	4	N
<hr/>					
Named merchants	4.9	4.3	6.4	4.8	%
	6	8	16	14	N
Total all proprietors	52.5	61.3	59	52.9	%
	64	114	147	153	N
<hr/>					
"Gentlemen"	4.9	2.7	4.0	5.9	%
	6	5	10	17	N
Peers	0	1.1	0.8	1.0	%
	0	2	2	3	N
<hr/>					
Professionals	38.5	32.3	31.7	36.3	%
	47	60	79	105	N
Total all non-proprietors	43.4	36.0	36.5	43.3	%
	53	67	91	125	N
<hr/>					
Not known	4.1	2.7	4.4	3.8	%
	5	5	11	11	N
<hr/>					
N =	122	186	249	289	
<hr/>					

Notes<sup>6</sup>Manufacturers

Includes those designated brewers, cigar manufacturers, colliery proprietors, cutlery manufacturers, steam engine manufacturers, flax manufacturers, hair seating manufacturers, ironfounders, manufacturing chemists, paper manufacturers, railway rolling stock manufacturers, silver-platers, snuff manufacturers, steel convertors and/or refiners, those who are listed as steel converters and/or refiners and manufacturers of cutlery and/or edge-tools, steel wire manufacturers, stove grate manufacturers, edge-tool manufacturers, typefounders, plus those designated as simply "manufacturer".

Named Merchants

Includes those designated coal, corn, cutlery, iron and/or steel, ivory, shell, bone etc., leather, timber, wine and spirit, as well as "swedish merchant".

Professionals

Includes those designated accountants, land agents, architects, assignees of Bankruptcy Courts, auctioneers, bank managers, barristers, clergy, consuls, dentists, doctors, draughtsmen, editors, journalists, engineers, factory inspectors, insurance agents, judges, law students, managers, managing directors, political agents, stock and/or sharebrokers, solicitors, stained glass artists, surgeons, surveyors, veterinary surgeons.

Over the period of this analysis manufacturers comprise the largest single group within the Club (between 44% and 55%). Indeed, proprietors of all kinds make up over 50% of the membership for all four cohorts. The second largest group are the professionals (between 31% and 38%). This pattern of occupational distribution is confirmed by an analysis conducted by Dr. John Baxter on the 1854 membership list. Using slightly different categories, he found that 52% of the members were "industrial employers", 37% were "professionals" and 11% were "other".<sup>7</sup>

An analysis of the 1849 membership of the Leeds Club has shown a similar pattern.<sup>8</sup> Here the figures are manufacturers 19.1%, named merchants 35.6%, professionals 35.1% gentlemen 2.6%, "not known" 7.7%. The preponderance of merchants is a reflection of the dominant cloth-weaving and spinning trades in Leeds and the surrounding countryside.<sup>9</sup> Totalled, the two proprietorial groups from the Leeds Club constitute 54.6%, a figure not dissimilar to that for Sheffield. On this evidence then, the division of occupations in the Sheffield Club could be an indicator of how similar Clubs were structured. What more can be discovered about this membership by going into the occupational groups in greater detail?

Appendix No. 3.1 shows the occupational analysis in greater detail and this section will summarise that appendix. Taking the "manufacturers" group first, it is clear that the group of men who combined steel manufacture with the production of tools and/or cutlery, are the largest single group (14.8% of membership in 1849, 22% in 1859, 22.9% in 1868 and 21.1% in 1880). If those who are listed as steel converters/refiners are added in, by 1880 this group constitutes over 25% of the membership. This is simply a reflection of the dominant local industry and its growth. (Pollard shows that over the period 1850-1891 employment in the heavy side of Sheffield trades rose from 5,200 to 21,384: over 10,826 of the 1891 figure being employed solely in iron and steel manufacture.<sup>10</sup>) The inclusion of such a large number of men from the steel refining sector is evidence of the economic wealth of Club members since, increasingly, the steel industry was becoming a very capital intensive enterprise. For example, the firm of John Brown and Co. (which had laid down four very large Bessemer convertors in 1860) found it necessary to become a limited company in 1864 to fund further expansion. The cost involved in installing a Bessemer convertor, or a Siemens furnace, would certainly have been beyond the means of a small producer.<sup>11</sup> Brown<sup>12</sup> was a member of the Club in 1859 and W D Allen - Bessemer's brother-in-law and a partner in the Bessemer company<sup>13</sup> - was a member in 1868.

Of the professionals, solicitors and barristers make up the single largest group (21.3% in 1849, 18.8% in 1859, 14.9% in 1868 and 17% in 1880). They, like the representatives of the Anglican Church present, were members of an old order of status and prestige. Linked closely to the interests of their clients, and deriving their income not from profits but from fees, their inclusion in the Sheffield Club can be seen as both an indication of the status of the Club and an attempt on their part to form links with the industrialists (although as we shall see below, the solicitors could themselves have active economic interests in industry). The list of professionals also shows the growth in size of this occupational group during the nineteenth century. The number of accountants rose from zero in 1849 to 6 in 1880; architects rose from 3 in 1849 to 6 in 1880; engineers rose from 3 in 1849 to 8 in 1880. These figures not only indicate the increasing professionalisation of these occupations, but also their increasing importance to an industrial capitalist economy. It is also evident from the list that new occupational groups are being created, and gaining admittance into elite status. Thus, we see the emergence

of the category of manager and managing director; also of stock and sharebroker (of increasing importance with the growth of joint-stock companies a development which saw Sheffield in the van)<sup>14</sup>. The inclusion of the factory inspector for Sheffield - Seymour Knyvett - in the 1880 list is of interest. Although there is no evidence that the large factory owners in the Club influenced him in any way, it could not have been to their disadvantage to have him in their midst. (W. T. Monsell, the sub-inspector of factories for Leeds, was elected to the Leeds Club in 1872).

The group of named merchants reflect the local trades: coal, iron and steel are of obvious use; "ivory, shell, bone etc." is less obvious, but these commodities were used for the handles of much that was produced in the cutlery side of the local trades; the "Swedish Merchant" was of importance for an industry that imported much of its raw material (iron ore) from that country; the growth in the number of wine and spirit merchants perhaps reflects the growth in standards of living and leisure that occurred after 1850 (although part of this growth is explained by an increase in the number of partners who were Club members).

The inclusion of wholesale grocers might, at first glance, seem to mitigate against the argument that the members of the Club represent an elite. However, the constant number of members - 3 - who are drawn from four local companies (George Walker and Son, of 35 Exchange Street, Charles Hoole, of 16 Castle Street, John Hall jun., of 4-8 New Haymarket and Thomas Porter and Sons, of 9 King Street) were more than their name might imply. Of the latter, R E Leader said that it was "the leading house in the trade".<sup>15</sup> Horace Walker - Club Member 1859 and 1880 - was a director of Sheffield and Rotherham Joint Stock Bank; Sheffield United Gas Light Co.; East Lincolnshire Railway Co. Great Eastern Railway Co.; Lidgett Colliery Co.; Samuel Fox and Co.; Stocksbridge Railway Co.; Yorkshire Engine Co.; and Chairman - in 1885 - of Wharncliffe Silkstone Colliery Co., a connection which his father (George Walker) had started.<sup>16</sup> Clearly not a simple shop owner! A similar story could be told for other representatives of these grocery concerns.<sup>17</sup>

It is however the inclusion of a landed elite (i.e. "Peers") amongst the members that signals the importance of the Club as a locus for social and political influence in the town. The Whig-inclined 14th Duke of Norfolk was the first from this group to become a member.<sup>18</sup> He was elected without the usual procedure of a ballot, at a Special General Meeting of the Club held on 10th June 1856. His

election marked a shift in interest by the Howard family back towards their Sheffield estates. As a result of this shift, M E Hadfield - local architect and member of the Club - was commissioned by Norfolk to design 'The Farm', a large house which stood in what remained of the ancestral Howard parkland, to the south-east of the town. The 14th Duke took a much closer interest in, what the historian of the Howards calls, "local affairs". This was evidenced by the fact that henceforth the holder of the Dukedom spent part of each year in Sheffield.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Club in the following year (1857) the Tory peer, Lord (later Earl) Wharncliffe was elected.<sup>19</sup> His family had made their fortune in the local metal industry, and had been raised to the peerage in 1826. This Baron was the 3rd, succeeding to the title in 1855; the same year in which he made a dynastic link by marrying into the family of the Earl of Harewood, "the leader of West Riding Toryism". In the 1880s Wharncliffe had an annual income of over £50,000 from just over 33,000 acres; however not all this revenue was derived solely from rents. Wharncliffe, like the Norfolk's and the Fitzwilliam's, had rights over large deposits of coal and other minerals. Thus, by the end of the century Wharncliffe's mineral holdings in the 9,000 acres around Wortley Hall, were producing more than £13,000 per annum.<sup>20</sup> Wharncliffe played a more active role within the Club than did Norfolk, being elected straight into the chair of the Committee of Management in 1866. Norfolk's architect - Hadfield - who had been chairman since 1855, took the post of deputy. Both of these men occupied these posts into the 1880s.

The last of the three large land owners to enter the membership lists was the Whig Earl Fitzwilliam, who was not elected until the Annual General Meeting held on the 12th February, 1861.<sup>21</sup> Fitzwilliam was the Lord of Wentworth Manor, near Rotherham from which he controlled his 115,000 acres, producing over £138,000 per annum. Like Norfolk, but unlike Wharncliffe, Fitzwilliam owned land in, or close to, the town centre. He also, again like Norfolk, owned land to the north-east of the town along the River Dun. This was the natural route in and out of the town for most of the first three-quarters of the century. Consequently, it was the land that was rapidly being covered by the factories of men such as John Brown, Mark Firth and Charles Cammell. Thus, the interests of these aristocrats were, to a greater or lesser extent, tied to the industrial fortunes of the town.

The 14th Duke of Norfolk having died in 1860, and his eldest son being still a minor, it was not until 1869 that the Howard family was once again represented.<sup>22</sup> The 15th Duke took his father's interest in "local affairs" a step further, becoming Mayor in 1895 and 1896, and first Lord Mayor in 1897. He was also first Chancellor of Sheffield University from 1905-1917. The historian of the Howards has said of the 15th Duke that he was the "Node of reverential politics in Sheffield", and that:

"Duke Henry's role in Sheffield is a good example of the way in which the traditional landowning classes adapted to life in the world's most advanced industrial society and not only survived but prospered in the nineteenth century."<sup>23</sup>

In the 1870s his estates in Sheffield were producing over half of his annual income of £100,000.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, his economic interest in Sheffield went further than the ownership of mineral reserves and rental of industrial and residential sites. Norfolk was also the owner of the rights for the eight main markets: this producing an income of £10,000 per annum in the late 1880s.<sup>25</sup>

Clearly it was in the interests of such a man as Norfolk to become a member of the Sheffield Club. Here he could discuss the economic fortunes of the town with its leading representatives. It was also in the interests of the leading propertied group - many of whom had Norfolk or Fitzwilliam as their landlord - to have a club where they could entertain them and seek to influence further development of their estates. Moreover, let us not forget that Norfolk, Wharncliffe and Fitzwilliam were political actors at the national level. They had at their disposal patronage and influence. They could aid or hinder the passage of legislation through both Houses of Parliament. They acted as conductors of knowledge and power into the town. To have such men as fellows was to make a powerful statement about the status of the Club. To have such a Club in the town was to make a powerful statement about the status of Sheffield. It is perhaps not too fanciful to see this triumvirate membership of the Club as traditional political power paying homage to Mammon.

One final point of interest concerning the 15th Duke and his election to the Sheffield Club is this: though a Whig he was elected to the Club on the recommendation of the Tory Lord Wharncliffe.<sup>26</sup> This is a fact of some moment, as it lends support to the argument that the Club is a 'space' outside of the normal play of political divisions. As we shall see below, when mention is made of the election book of the Club, this manifestation of cross-political

sponsorship was not unique to these two men.

Nor indeed was the patronage of the aristocracy unique to the Sheffield Club. The Club in Leeds exhibits a similar growth in representation of the landed grandees. In 1849 there are no members of the local landed aristocracy present. By 1873 Sir John Ramsden (150,000 acres producing over £181,000 per annum) and the Marquis of Ripon (21,770 acres producing almost £30,000) are members. Additionally, a lower level of county power is present in the form of individuals such as Ayscough Fawkes (11,000 acres producing over £12,000 per annum) and F C Trench-Gascoigne (19,000 acres producing over £16,000).<sup>27</sup> (However, the largest political and land owning family - the Earls of Harewood - do not seem to have had any contact with the Club.) Admittedly, none of the gentry members of the Leeds Club so far identified appear to have had any large scale involvement in industrial enterprises - the closest would seem to be the Marquis of Ripon, who sold a 7,000 acre estate in Lincolnshire to a Bradford business man<sup>28</sup> - and thus are a different class fraction to the aristocratic members of the Sheffield Club. (Although it should be made clear that such direct involvement as Norfolk et al. had in industrial enterprises was running down over the period of this study.<sup>29</sup>)

The nature of the relationship between the aristocracy and the industrial middle class in the nineteenth century is subject to many different interpretations. At its crudest, one version sees the aristocracy incorporating the industrial middle class into their cultural and political hegemony and 'draining' the class of its 'industrial spirit'. Another, and opposed model, argues that the industrial middle class displaced the aristocracy as the dominant class fraction within the state.<sup>30</sup> There is no direct evidence from the Sheffield Club to support either of these models. Indeed, once one moves away from large scale models of state formation, questions of class relationships can only be answered by close attention to the balance of class forces within the specific time and place under study. The question here would be "Who gained from the inclusion of the aristocratic triumvirate in the lists of the Sheffield Club?". In Sheffield the three families did have an interest in the - mainly - industrial fortunes of the town. It would seem hard to explain the involvement of Wharnccliffe as Chairman of the Club Committee unless he gained something from this involvement (or unless the post was simply honorific, which the minutes do not support). Such a man must have had many demands on his time. Why would he choose to spend some of it

deciding the affairs of a provincial Club unless he gained by so doing?

It is also the case that representatives of the industrial middle class had been making the move from active participation, to leisured relaxation long before the 1850s (the epoch normally identified as characterising the 'high-water' mark of British industry). An example from the 1849 membership list would be John Marshall, the son of Jonathan Marshall.<sup>31</sup> Marshall, sen. had been a pioneer steel smelter at Millsands who had sold the works to the new company of Naylor, Hutchinson and Vickers - later Vickers and Co. (on whom, see below) - in 1829. John Marshall had taken to describing himself as "gent." in the local directories. Another example would be Samuel Bailey who was the son of Joseph Bailey, a steel convertor. Bailey was one of the leading intellectuals of the town - being one of the founding members of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society - and wrote many philosophical tracts.<sup>32</sup>

The 1880 membership does, however, highlight the accelerated movement of sons of industrialists away from their companies. Henry Seeborn was a partner in Seeborn and Dieckstahl - steel convertors - but was also an expert on bird migration.<sup>33</sup> When he died he left his ornithological collection to the Natural History Museum. More typical of the disinterest in productive activity a la Wiener, are William Jessop - partner in William Jessop and Sons, steel convertors - who, we are told, "preferred the grouse moors to the steel trade"<sup>34</sup>; Sir Wilson Mappin - partner in Thomas Turton & Sons, manufacturers of steel and tools - who "finds pleasure in visiting the moors"<sup>35</sup>; William Wilson jun. - partner in the snuff manufacturing concern of Joseph and Henry Wilson, Sharrow - who, in 1878, took over the mastership of the Barlow Hounds and built kennels for the hounds on his estate at Holmsfield.<sup>36</sup> Of course, such developments were not limited to scions of industry: Dossey Wightman - legal partner in the firm of Wightman and Nicholson - knew "a good deal about practical farming, and is fond of shooting."<sup>37</sup> The question is, whether interest in such activities disbars such men from being rightly considered part of a capitalist middle class? I think not, for as Gunn has argued:

"It was perfectly plausible for a Victorian industrialist to ride with the local hunt, build himself a castle in the country, and adopt a 'neo-feudal' pose of paternalist employer, without consciously compromising in any way the imperatives of capitalist production or class commitment."<sup>38</sup>

Many of the members of the Club attempted to engage their workforce in paternal relationships. Arthur Marshall Chambers came from a family who had given large sums of money towards the construction of the Wesleyan Chapel at Mount Pleasant. From here, they ran its affairs like "a squire in some old Anglican church(es)"<sup>39</sup>. Perhaps one of the high points of mid-century paternalist relationships was the Volunteer Movement and, as we shall see when we come to consider it below, the members of the Club were prominent in its formation.

To return now to the membership of the Club: even if the local aristocracy were absent from the first surviving membership list, the representatives of at least one of them were not. M J Ellison who, with his father Michael, was Norfolk's local estate agent, is active in the Club (as a Committee member) from 1844. Bernard Wake - Norfolk's local legal agent - is also on the Committee of the club in 1844 and acted as its Secretary from 1844-1851.

This communality of interest outside of the Club is a feature that is common to all the lists investigated, and registers itself at a number of levels. In terms of family ties, the membership lists illustrate a dense undergrowth of links. For example, from 1849 there are Henry Jackson and Wilson Overend, who are brothers-in-law; from 1859 Jonathan Barber, (who was a cousin to Overend), and Robert Jackson, who married a sister of Thomas Jessop; from 1868 Michael Hunter jun. who married a daughter of J W Hawksworth; from 1880 Richard Browne-Greaves, the son of a previous member (John Bower Brown). The last example, of the dynastic link of father and son, is also a common feature of the membership lists. Sometimes it is manifest within a list: e.g., John Marsh and his son Theophilus were both members in 1849. More often it shows itself across lists: e.g., Mark Firth is first present in the 1859 list; his brothers - Charles Henry, and John - appear in 1868; Mark's 3rd son - Alfred - appears by 1882; his 4th son - Bernard Alexander - by 1888; John's 3rd son - Lewis John - is a member in 1886, and so on. In fact there are five other representatives of the Firth family in the membership lists of the Club between 1881 and 1886. (Indeed, the 1946 list records three members of the Firth family as members although - interestingly - none of their residences are in Sheffield.)

However, it is not just family ties that show themselves; business ones do also (although often the two coincide). An example of both links occurring together comes from the 1849 list where the silver-plating concern of Joseph Rodgers and Sons is represented by

four partners in the company bearing the family name, plus Robert Newbould who had married into the family and the company. In 1868 all three of the partners in John Brown & Co. are members: John Brown, J D Ellis and William Bragge. In 1880, Frederick Bardwell<sup>40</sup> - whose father had made the family fortune as an auctioneer and then sold the concern to Joseph Nicholson (a Club member from 1849 to his death in 1887) - was a director of J Rodgers & Son, and of Samuel Fox & Co.. Samuel Fox was a Club member in 1868; the son of a weaver's shuttle-maker from Bradwell, Derbyshire, he patented an umbrella frame in 1847 which brought "substantial profits to the firm".<sup>41</sup> In 1871 Samuel Fox & Co. became a limited company with a capital of £300,000. Joseph Nicholson, meanwhile had purchased an estate at Brough, near Bradwell. And so on.

The manner in which these ties could operate to secure membership of the Club is illustrated by the survival of its election book, dating from 1873.<sup>42</sup> As one would expect, there is evidence of partners sponsoring the membership of their own, and other partners' children: e.g. in February 1878, H. I. Dixon sponsored the membership of James Dixon Fawcett. As the name implies, Fawcett was the offspring of a marriage between his father - William - and a sister of H. I. Dixon. J D Fawcett was also a partner in the family firm.

More importantly, the membership book gives clear evidence of sponsorship for membership cutting across political and religious divisions. For example, William Greaves Blake (Tory and Anglican), joined forces with Thomas Jessop (Liberal and Unitarian), to sponsor the membership of R E Browne-Greaves. Or again, to go back to the example in the previous paragraph; here we have the Tory and Wesleyan Methodist, H I Dixon, joining forces with the Liberal and Roman Catholic, M E Hadfield, to sponsor J D Fawcett.

One last, and truly astonishing example will illustrate this cross-political process. On 8 February 1878, Joseph Nicholson and Francis Patrick Smith sponsored the membership of John Charles Shaw.<sup>43</sup> Nicholson - as we have seen - was an auctioneer, Smith was the son of William Smith of Barnes Hall (solicitor and partner in a brewers, but also land owner). F P Smith was also a solicitor. Shaw - who was elected - was the local Tory political agent. Nothing surprising here, given that F P Smith was the chairman of the Hallamshire Conservative Association. What is remarkable is that five days later - on 13th February - Nicholson together with Arthur Wightman, sponsored the membership of Benjamin Bagshaw jun.: the local Liberal political agent.

That Nicholson was a Tory is beyond doubt: his references in the Sheffield Local History department describe him as such, and, in 1874, he had been responsible for getting W C Leng, editor of the Tory, and highly successful Sheffield Daily Telegraph - elected.<sup>44</sup> His partner in this had been Bernard Platts Broomhead - solicitor - who had been described in a letter by Mundella in 1875 as "the Tory wire-puller in Sheffield".<sup>45</sup> The letter by Mundella had been addressed to Robert Leader, Sheffield Club member, but also editor of the Liberal Sheffield Independent; the newspaper which Leng would displace from its role as mouthpiece for the Sheffield middle class. What then is taking place here?

The only possible answer is that this is yet more confirmation of the role of the Club as a neutral space outside of normal political (and religious) conflicts. As we have seen here - and will explore further when we come to consider the 1852 and 1857 Sheffield elections - many of the leaders of the town's political life were Club members. The differences were real; yet so too were their interests.

This may explain why the two opposed political agents were elected within a few days of each other. That is, that this is a sharing of interest; a balancing of the status quo. There is no firm evidence to support this interpretation, only a clue. An attempt to get Shaw elected had been made some years before: in December, 1875. Could it be that he withdrew on that occasion due to the absence of an opposite to maintain the balance of party forces within the Club? Until further evidence appears this can only be conjecture.

If we turn to religion, the Club was also able to hold together representatives of most of the 'respectable' denominations. Anglicans obviously, but also Congregationalists, Unitarians, Independents, Catholics, Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists and Methodist New Connexion. A number of the members were active in helping to provide material resources for their religions. For example, Mark Firth - New Connexion - gave £1,500 for Broomhill Chapel (1862); £1,000 for New Connexion College, Ranmoor (1862); paid for the organ at the College (1864); gave £30,000 for the establishment of Firth Almshouses, these being for the use of "48 poor people of the Protestant faith"; laid the foundation stone, and gave towards the building of the Birley Carr Chapel.<sup>46</sup> From the Anglicans, there was John Brown who gave £12,000 for the building of All Saints (1869) and J N Mappin<sup>47</sup>, who gave £14,000 for the building of St. Johns, Ranmoor. Indeed, St. John's seems to have been a project of the members of the Club, J W Harrison<sup>48</sup> gave the site and the boundary walls, and Joseph

Nicholson<sup>49</sup> gave them a building to use as a school.

By and large, individuals kept within their own religions, but there are examples of them aiding other denominations. In 1868 William Wake, a worshipper at the Anglo-Catholic church of St. Michael's gave the site for the construction of St. Charles' Roman Catholic Church, Attercliffe.<sup>50</sup> In 1866 W E Laycock, a member of the Unitarian Upper Chapel, laid the foundation stone for the United Methodist Free Church, Carbrook.<sup>51</sup> (Laycock is also somewhat of a 'rogue' in terms of his politics since he - and indeed, the whole Laycock family - were Unitarians but Tory.) Quite why these men should become involved in the religious affairs of other denominations is not clear. Perhaps they did this out of some altruistic wish to spread the Christian faith in whatever form. In Wake's case it is reasonably easy to see how, being an Anglo-Catholic, he would find it easy to help Roman Catholics. Laycock's case is harder to explain. Until more evidence comes to light the most that can be said is that these two examples remind us that nineteenth century religions might not have been so hostile to each other as one might imagine.

The only ministers to become Club members were Anglicans. In 1849 the Rev. Edward Newman - curate of Ecclesall Bierlow - and the Rev. John Farrer Robinson - curate of Bradfield - were members. In 1859 and 1868 the Rev. Thomas Sale, Vicar of Sheffield was a member, and in 1880 the Rev. Edward Hawley, of Worksop. Sale was an active occupant of the Parish Church and launched, in 1865, the Sheffield Church Extension Society.<sup>52</sup> This raised £31,252 for the building of new churches, mainly in working class areas of the town (£5,000 of this sum coming from John Brown).

There is one other member of the Anglican Church who joined and left the Club in between the sample years. This is the Rev. John Livesey, the incumbent of St. Philip's. Livesey was a strong advocate of the Anglican Church as a necessary corrective against the excesses of Chartism and socialism. In an open letter to Robert Peel, written in 1840, he argued that the Anglican Church had made the mistake of building large churches when it should have followed the Methodist example of creating small groups of worshippers.

"The Church in our towns is too exclusively the church of the Higher Orders. Mechanics' churches would bring under the salutary influences of the doctrines and rites of the Establishment, that part of the population which has hitherto been so grievously neglected. When a church is reared on this plan, a congregation is at once secured, every member of which is personally interested, and feels himself and his family identified with its success."<sup>53</sup>

However, neither Livesey nor Sale were politically progressive. Livesey voted for the Tory candidates in the 1841, 1848 and 1865 West Riding elections, and the Tory candidate in the 1852 and 1857 Sheffield elections. Sale voted Tory in the 1857 Sheffield election and the 1865 West Riding election.

The Club also contained the architects of many of the Churches and Chapels built in Sheffield during the period of this study. Matthew Ellison Hadfield, and his son Charles, were both Catholic and connected with the Norfolk estates.<sup>54</sup> As one would expect they were architects for a number of the Catholic Churches in Sheffield - St. Vincent's and St. Marie's - but they also worked on some of the Anglican Churches in the town. M E Hadfield designed St. John's, and Charles was responsible for the restoration work on the Shrewsbury tombs in the parish church. They also executed a number of secular buildings in Sheffield: e.g., the new Sheffield Club building, the Farm (for the Duke of Norfolk), the Royal Hospital etc.

Also a member was Thomas James Flockton, an Anglican, who designed a large number of churches for the established religion, as well as St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church and the New Connexion chapel at Broomhill.<sup>55</sup> Flockton was also responsible for a number of secular commissions including, Endcliffe Hall (for John Brown), Firth College (established by Mark Firth in 1879 with an endowment of £25,000, it formed the nucleus of Sheffield University), Tapton Hall etc.

The membership lists of the Club also provide evidence of generational mobility. Benjamin Burdekin jun., for example, was a partner in the firm of Smith and Burdekin, solicitors.<sup>56</sup> His father - Benjamin Burdekin - gave his occupation in the town directories of the 1840s as "gentleman", but in fact he was a retired partner from the firm of Burdekin and Green, cutlers and silver-platers.<sup>57</sup> Another example would be Nathaniel Creswick jun.,<sup>58</sup> who was a partner in the firm of Pashley and Creswick, also solicitors. He was the son of Nathaniel Creswick who, with his two brothers Thomas and James, constituted the firm of James Creswick and Sons, silver-platers. The fact that both Creswick and Burdekin came from families engaged in silver-plating is not accidental. The amount of capital required to engage in an industry with such an expensive raw material indicates that these families were in the upper reaches of the artisan class.

Of course, the occupational move could be made in the opposite direction. The three sons of William Waterfall<sup>59</sup> - who had been manager of the Parker, Shore Bank until its failure in 1843, and who had then become manager for the Sheffield and Hallamshire Bank (est.

1836) - went into heavy industry, not banking. John Henry Waterfall and George Horace Waterfall became partners in John Kenyon & Co., steel and tool manufacturers. The third son - William Cowley Waterfall - became a partner in Inmann and Waterfall, merchants and steel manufacturers. William Waterfall himself made an occupational move from that of his father, who seems to have been one of the town constables in the early part of the century.<sup>60</sup>

Having given an analysis of the composition of the Club, I intend to turn to the position that these men occupied in Sheffield society.

### 3:3 Analysis of Club members involvement in other local institutions.

How far did these men constitute an elite in Sheffield society? Contemporaries thought so. According to John Taylor in 1879:

"The Sheffield Club is an institution for social purposes, similar to the Clubs in London. It is supported by the *elite* of the town, and carried on with great spirit."<sup>61</sup>

Of the 20 or so employers in mid-nineteenth century Sheffield with 200 or more workers, all but two - the cutlery manufacturers Thomas Ellison and S R Lindley - are represented in the Club during the period of this study. Indeed, more than 75% figure in the 1859 membership list. Baxter lists the men as follows:

"William Jessop; Naylor, Vickers and Co.; Sanderson Bros.; Thomas Firth and Son; Thomas Turton and Son; Johnson, Cammell and Co.; John Brown and Co.; Dixion's; Ibbotson; Thomas Ellison; G. Wostenholm; Joseph Rodgers; Marsh Bros.; Thomas Turner; S R Lindley; S Newbould; Samuel Butcher; John Keynon; Stuart and Smith; Laycock's."<sup>62</sup>

This is a list of the major capitalists of mid-nineteenth century Sheffield, men who acquired vast wealth and social prestige. John Brown's, for example, became a limited company in 1864 with a quoted capital of £1,000,000. A year later at its first shareholder's meeting it announced profits of £77,438. Brown was knighted and made Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding in 1867. In 1863 when he opened a new plate rolling mill it was visited by the Lords of the Admiralty and in 1875 he was host to a visit by the Prince and Princess of Wales.<sup>63</sup> T E Vickers<sup>64</sup> who gained control of the firm of Naylor, Vickers & Co. on the death in 1861 of G P Naylor turned it into a limited company in 1867 with a quoted capital of £155,000. He also served on a number of "Government committees connected with war materials".<sup>65</sup> Mark Firth was host to the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1875 when they came to open Firth Park and also to Prince Leopold in 1879 when he came to open Firth College. He was also involved in

the production of armaments and at one time had the exclusive contract for the manufacture of British guns. On his death he left a personal estate valued at £600,000.<sup>66</sup>

On the traditional side of Sheffield manufacture the amounts of money to be made were not quite as vast, but were still huge by contemporary standards. So, for example, H I Dixon on his death left a personal estate valued at £60,423.<sup>67</sup> George Wostenholm & Son became a limited company in 1875 with a quoted capital of £100,000; whilst George Wostenholm himself acquired the 'Kenwood' estate on the south-west outskirts of Sheffield which grew from two acres in 1840 to one hundred and fifty by the time of his death in 1876.<sup>68</sup> W S Laycock - who was a partner in his father's firm of Samuel Laycock & Sons - also set up W S Laycock Ltd. manufacturing railway carriage fittings in 1884, and had an estate valued at £71,145 on his death.<sup>69</sup>

Amongst the "professionals" the same picture emerges. The largest group - the solicitors - were occupants of a large number of the most lucrative and prestigious professional positions in Sheffield. John James Wheat<sup>70</sup> was solicitor to the Church Burghers, the Royal Infirmary and the Boy's Charity School; Henry Edmund Watson<sup>71</sup> was solicitor to the Sheffield Banking Company from 1850-1901; Ralph Blakelock Smith<sup>72</sup> was legal advisor to the Sheffield Water Company; Albert Smith<sup>73</sup> was clerk to the West Riding Magistrates from 1819-73 and to the Borough Magistrates from 1848-73; William Smith jun.<sup>74</sup> was Clerk to the Improvement Commissioners and took over as clerk to the West Riding Magistrates on the death of Albert Smith; William Overend<sup>75</sup> was the Chief Commissioner on the 'Sheffield Flood' Board of Inquiry in 1864, was Chairman of the Royal Commission on the 'Sheffield Outrages' in 1867 and stood twice as a Tory candidate (1852 & 1857); Edward Bramley<sup>76</sup> was the first Town Clerk from 1843-59; his son, Herbert Bramley<sup>77</sup> was also Town Clerk from 1895-7.

Amongst the other occupations there are, William Fisher Favell<sup>78</sup> who was surgeon at the Infirmary from 1858-93 and in 1870 was President of the Yorkshire Branch of the BMA; Ferguson Branson<sup>79</sup> who was a Physician at the Infirmary from 1843-56; Samuel Gregory<sup>80</sup> who was surgeon at the Infirmary for the ten years preceding W F Favell and was honorary surgeon at the Eye Dispensary in 1849; Henry Jackson<sup>81</sup> who was surgeon at the Infirmary 1832-66 and in the year of his death was made president of the Sheffield Medical School; his son, Arthur Jackson<sup>82</sup> was surgeon at the Public Hospital and Dispensary from 1866-77, secretary to the Sheffield Medical Society from 1871-6, secretary to the Sheffield Medical School from 1869-89 and was

honorary secretary to the Infirmary in 1877; Wilson Overend<sup>83</sup> was surgeon at the Infirmary from 1830-52 and on the Health Committee of the Town Council from 1843-47.

If, as seems fairly clear, the Sheffield Club constituted a social elite of local landowners, the great majority of the large industrial employers and most successful professional groups in Sheffield in this period, how far did it also represent the town's political elite? Here the situation is more complex. Political power was highly differentiated: the town council, the borough magistrates, the Church and Town Burghers, the Cutlers Company; all represented strategic positions of influence in the town. Indeed, the notion of political power can be broadened to include institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce, and 'movements' such as the Volunteer Movement.

Looking first at the council, Table No. 3.2 indicates that the Sheffield club was not a locus of the whole of the town's political elite by any means:

Table No. 3.2<sup>84</sup>

Involvement of members of the Sheffield Club in the Town Council: 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.

	<u>1849</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1868</u>	<u>1880</u>
Mayor	No	No	Yes	Yes
Alderman	3/14 21%	7/14 50%	8/14 57%	4/16 25%
Councillors	2/43 5%	3/43 7%	2/43 5%	4/58 7%

The first point of significance here is the very low representation of councillors as Club members. The impression created is in keeping with the description of the council advanced by Smith, namely, the dominance of small businessmen who were not part of the elite.<sup>85</sup> However, that dominance has to be viewed in context. Power and influence were not evenly distributed throughout the council. They were concentrated at the top. Hence, it comes as no surprise to find that the number of Club members who were Aldermen is large; although there may be an indication in the 1880 figure that this trend was changing. However, of the 32 men who were Mayor between 1843 and 1880, 19 of them were members of the Club. Similarly, within the council certain of the key committees were always under the chairmanship of Club members. Of the five men who were chairmen of the Libraries Committee over the period 1854-1893, all were members.

The same is true of the seven men who were Chairmen of the Improvement Committee over the period 1864-1881. Members of the Club also occupied the position of Chair of the Mappin Art Gallery, the Meersbrook Park Museum, the Water Works Department and the City Fever Hospital, in the year in which the history of the council was published (1893).<sup>86</sup>

This discrepancy between the upper echelons of town government and the broader mass of town councillors suggests the degree to which the broadening of local government after Sheffield's incorporation in the 1840s brought the middling classes into the exercise of local power. However it also indicates that the town's social elite, as notably embodied in the Sheffield Club, maintained control of the commanding heights of local government and power. This point is confirmed by an examination of the borough magistracy. Here again a substantial proportion of J.P.s belonged to the Club:

Table No. 3.3<sup>87</sup>

Percentage of Sheffield Club Members who were Borough J.P.s for the years 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.

<u>1849</u>	<u>1859</u>	<u>1868</u>	<u>1880</u>
10	10	10	18
50%	50%	38%	60%

A fuller picture of the involvement of the Club members in the administration of justice is given if we consider the 69 men who were appointed to the borough bench between 1848 and 1881, 43 (62.3%) of whom were members of the Club. Additionally, Albert Smith, Clerk to the Borough Magistrates, was a Club member up to his death. His successor - Henry Vickers - was not a member, but his successor and son - Charles Edmond Vickers, Clerk 1875-1933 - was. (As was his son H R Vickers who took over on his death).

If we turn to the magistrates appointed for the Sheffield Division of the West Riding a similar picture appears.<sup>88</sup> Of the 44 men placed on the bench between 1840 and 1889, 34 were members of the Club at some point (77%). Indeed, looking at an analysis of appointees in ten year cohorts, it is clear that the representation of Club members is increasing.

Table No. 3.4

Percentage of members of the West Riding - Sheffield Division -  
Magistrates who were Club members: 1840-1889.

<u>1840-49</u>	<u>1850-59</u>	<u>1860-69</u>	<u>1870-79</u>	<u>1880-89</u>
2/5 40%	5/9 55%	8/8 100%	7/8 88%	12/14 86%

Information is only available for the last two of the sample years and this would seem to confirm the increasing involvement of Club members in West Riding justice. In 1868 53% of the magistrates were members. By 1880 this had increased to 69%. The two clerks to the West Riding magistrates over the period 1819 to 1901 - Albert Smith and his son William Smith - were both Club members. (A further Club member - Ralph Blakelock Smith (also son of Albert) - was Clerk to the Eckington, Hemsworth and Dronfield Petty Sessions in 1868.<sup>89</sup>

The inevitable question presents itself: "What are the differences between the magistrates who were Club members and those who were not?" It is probable that no one explanation can be advanced. Individuals may have had many different reasons for not becoming Club members. Perhaps some men did not like joining such institutions. Moreover, it is probable that reasons will change over time. What is important for one cohort will not be for another. However, it is necessary to advance some explanations. The 1868 magistrate bench from Sheffield has been chosen for analysis. Not because it is thought to be particularly typical but because there is no reason to suppose that it is untypical. The names, occupations, religion and politics of the bench are given below:

Table No. 3.5Names, Occupations, Religion and Politics of the 1868 Sheffield Magistrates Bench, by Club MembershipClub Member

H Wilkinson - Silver-plater - Unitarian - Liberal  
 J W Hawksworth - Steel and tools - Congregational - Liberal  
 S Butcher - Steel and cutlery - Anglican - Tory  
 J Brown - Steel and tools - Anglican - Tory  
 R Jackson - Steel and tools - Unitarian - Liberal  
 W Fisher - Ivory, bone etc. dealer - Unitarian - Liberal  
 H Harrison - Cutlery manufacturer - ? - ?  
 T Jessop - Steel smelter - Unitarian - Liberal  
 W F Dixon - Silver-plater - Methodist - Tory

Not Club Member

J Webster - Solicitor - ? - ?  
 T R Barker - White lead manufacturer - ? - Liberal  
 J J Smith - Stove grade manufacturer - Methodist - Tory  
 E Vickers - Steel and tools - Methodist - Liberal  
 T Dunn - Coal owner - Congregationalist - Liberal  
 J Haywood - "Gentleman" - ? - ?  
 T Blake - Retired partner from Wm. Greaves and Son, steel and cutlery  
 - ? - ?  
 H E Hoole - Stove grate manufacturer - Congregationalist - Liberal  
 Rev. John Hand - Rector of Handsworth - Anglican - ?  
 Wm. Jeffcock - Coal Owner - Congregationalist - Liberal  
 R Bayley - "Gentleman" - ? - ?  
 J B Brown - Land agent - Liberal - ?

Notes

1. Dixon, Hand, Jeffcock, Bayley, and J B Brown were West Riding magistrates who sat on the Sheffield bench.

Taking religion and politics first, there would seem to be little to differentiate these two groups. The same religions and roughly the same mix of politics in both. Moreover, the men in both groups show similar levels of involvement in other town affairs: e.g. membership of the Town Burghers, the Church Burghers, bank directorships, involvement in the Literary and Philosophical society etc. In terms of occupation there does seem to be some degree of differentiation. The magistrates who are Club members are drawn solely from the staple industries of the town. There are some representatives of these activities in the group who are not Club members. But, there are also individuals who are retired partners, professionals and those who list themselves as "gentlemen". Occupation does not seem to be of great use in explaining club membership. Might residence be of more use?

Of the West Riding magistrates, Dixon is the only one living near the town. Jeffcock was a Club member in 1849 and 1859, and would be again in 1880, but his residence for the 1868 magistrates listing

is given as being in Ireland. Obviously he had resigned his membership whilst abroad. Bayley was residing at Castle Dyke, Hand at Handsworth and J B Brown, at Woodthorpe; all some distance from the town. (Although J B Brown had been a member in 1849. Presumably he resigned, finding that he did not use the Club enough.) Of the rest, Blake is listed as residing in London.

This still lives a residuum of non-Club members living in, or near Sheffield, to be explained. Unfortunately, the exact reasons will probably never be known. It is certainly not the case that they came from occupations, religions or political backgrounds that were absent from the Club membership. In fact, apart from Haywood and Barker, all of those non-Club magistrates who have not yet been mentioned had relatives, or partners who were Club members: viz., Webster, Smith, Vickers, Dunn, Blake and Hoole. Perhaps they just did not wish to join? Whatever the case, the massive involvement of Club members in legal administration - an involvement that increased over time - is a powerful indicator of the elite nature of the institution.

I wish to turn now to three institutions of a different kind: the Town Burghers, the Church Burghers and the Cutlers Company. The Town Burghers were - until 1873 - a self-elected body of twelve men who administered various plots of land within the town, given, in the early fourteenth century, by the then Lord of the Manor, Lord Furnival.<sup>90</sup> During the reign of Edward VI the parts of this land that had been diverted to the upkeep of three parish priests were confiscated. The remainder continued to be administered by a loose body of principal inhabitants until a decree in the Court of Chancery in 1681 re-established the twelve Burghers to hold the land in trust. Until 1873 the income from the lands was used for a variety of purposes in the town: mainly the maintenance of bridges and roads. However, after that date the Trustees, or Burghers, acquired an Act giving them much wider powers to purchase land and buildings within the town; to make or widen streets; create public parks; erect baths and public conveniences. Under this Act the Burghers ceased to be a self-selecting body, and voting powers were given to all those with freehold estates, or paying rates, in the town. In 1829 they held 78 acres, producing rents of £383. By 1865 this income had grown to £1,870 - an indication of the growth in the wealth of the town. In 1871 its income was more than doubled by the bequest of £90,000 of consuls from the late Samuel Bailey (Club member 1849-1870). In 1879 its Law Clerk was Henry Vickers - not a Club member, although his son

(Charles Edmond Vickers) with whom he held the post, had been elected in 1874 - and its surveyor was T J Flockton - Club member from 1859-1899.<sup>91</sup>

The lands which had been confiscated by Edward IV were returned by Mary Tudor to be held by a self-electing body of twelve men. The income from the lands was to be divided, five-sevenths to maintain three ministers to assist the parish vicar, repair the parish church etc. The remaining two-sevenths of the income to be used for the repair of bridges etc. Any income over and above this was to be used for charitable and educational purposes. Taylor described this body in 1879 as being "of considerable influence and utility". In 1829 it held just over 146 acres in the parish, producing rents of £1,421. By 1879 this had grown to £2,900. In 1879 its Law Clerk was J J Wheat, Club member from 1849-1916 (Wheat had been appointed clerk in 1853 and held the post until his death in 1913).<sup>92</sup>

The Cutlers Company<sup>93</sup> was incorporated in 1624 as a "late" medieval guild. The Company acted to control apprenticeship in the local cutlery and tool trades in "the Lordship and Liberty of Hallamshire". From its inception it was an elitist institution, with the communality having little say in its operation (although there were attempts to change this). By the start of the nineteenth century the Company was - in the opinion of its historian - something of a moribund institution. This had come about due to its large debt, its inability to make corporate decisions and the realisation amongst the manufacturers that they had greater freedom to make profits if they stayed outside of its jurisdiction. As a consequence of the latter, a Bill was obtained in 1814 stripping the Company of all its old powers regarding apprenticeship. Henceforth, it acted to protect and administer the registration of trademarks. In 1860 another Bill was obtained opening up the Company to manufacturers from the 'heavy' side of the Sheffield trades. From its inception the Company was administered by a Master, two Wardens, six Searchers and twenty-four Assistants.

All three were 'ancient' local institutions with some degree of economic power but, more importantly, were centres of status and 'political' power - in its broadest sense.

The following table shows the involvement of the Club members in the Church and Town Burghers:

Table No. 3.6<sup>94</sup>

Involvement of the Members of the Sheffield Club in the Church and Town Burghers for 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.

	<u>Church Burghers</u>	<u>Town Burghers</u>
1849	4/12	3/11
1859	7/12	4/13
1868	10/12	8/13
1880	11/12	9/13

Due to the large number of men involved in the running of the Cutlers Company, analysis has been restricted to the Master only. Taking the 36 men who were Master over the period 1840 to 1880, 21 (58%) were Club members at some time, and 17 (47%) were members in the year of the Mastership. If we extend the period of analysis to cover 1845 to 1925, 58 of the 73 Masters were members of the Club at some time (79.5%). Indeed in 1905 - the year that Leader produced his history of the Company - the Master, the two Wardens, the six Searchers, the twenty-four Assistants and the Law Clerk - Wilson Reginald Thorpe - were members of the Club. (Of the 109 Freemen of the Company listed by Leader, 68 (62.4%) were members of the Club. As the Club membership stood at 303, this means that 22.4% of the Club membership were Freemen of the Cutler Company.)<sup>95</sup>

Looking at these three institutions, we can see once again that involvement in them is concentrated, to an increasing extent, in the Sheffield Club. By 1880 the membership of the Church Burghers is virtually 100% drawn from the Club. This trend is not as strong in the Town Burghers - although increasing. This could be a manifestation of a political division noticed by Leader. He claimed that the Church Burghers (and the Cutlers Company) were the centres of Tory politics in the town, with the Town Burghers being of a more Liberal hue.<sup>96</sup> We will see below that some members of the Club moved from the Liberals to the Tories with Roebuck towards the end of the period studied. We shall also see in later chapters, that the Club membership had a bias toward Tory politics from its inception. A bias which increased as the century passed. This then could explain the relatively low numbers of Club members in the Town Burghers.

Until 1857 the Cutlers Company had been the only corporate institution in the town that could act to influence government policy regarding the local trades. From that date, however, a new body - the Chamber of Commerce - was established to specifically meet this need. The Chamber was an active body, arguing for greater protection of trade marks, overseas tariffs, technical education and other measures

to protect and extend local industry. The following table gives an indication of the involvement of the Club members for its founding year, and the two sample years of 1868 and 1880:

Table No. 3.7<sup>97</sup>

Involvement of Sheffield Club members in the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce for the years 1857, 1868 and 1880.

	<u>1857</u>	<u>1868</u>	<u>1880</u>
President	No	Yes	Yes
Vice-presidents	2/2	1/2	1/2
Honorary secretaries	2/2	2/2	2/2
Secretary & treasurer.	?	1/1	1/2
Committee	12/24	15/26	17/26
Total involved	<u>16(55%)</u>	<u>20(63%)</u>	<u>23(68%)</u>

Notes

1. By 1868 the Mayor and Master Cutler for the year were ex/officio members of the Committee.
2. Of the 1868 Committee 4 men who were not members of the Club in the sample had been, or would be: viz. Samuel Butcher (member 1849, 1859); Frederick Brittan (member 1880); W C Leng (member 1880); Mark Firth (member 1859, 1880).
3. Of the 1880 Committee 7 men who were not members of the Club in the sample year had been, or would be: viz. Edward Tozer (member 1886); J B Jackson (member 1886); J H Barber (member 1886); R Belfit (member 1886); J Bedford (member 1859); A A Jowitt (member 1886); J Marshall (member 1886).

Once again, the striking impression given is of large scale involvement. Additionally, it is an involvement that increases over the period sampled (a trend noted above). Concentrating again on the principal post within the institution (the President); of the 9 men who filled this position between 1857 and 1880, 6 were members of the Club. Indeed, from 1880 to the end of the century, every person that acted as President was a Club member.<sup>98</sup> (This means that 15 out of 18 Presidents in the period 1857-1900 were Club members.

The Sheffield Club is not alone as an elite institution in illustrating such close involvement with a local Chamber of Commerce. If we turn to the example of the Leeds Chamber of Commerec, we find that of the 25 men who constituted its original executive in 1852, 16 (64%) were members of the Leeds Club in 1850.<sup>99</sup> Of the remaining 9, 2

had joined by 1857, 1 joined in 1859 and 4 joined in 1863.<sup>100</sup> This leaves two men - Peter Fairburn and Henry Ludolf - who do not seem to have been members of the Leeds Club at any time (Although Fairburn's son - Sir Andrew Fairburn - joined in 1859). Clearly the membership of the Leeds Club is drawn from the same elite fraction of the local ruling class as is the Sheffield Club.

Turning finally to the Sheffield Volunteer Movement, this was an organisation of a very different kind. The movement began in Sheffield in May 1859 when Wilson Overend called a meeting of "persons favourable to becoming members of the Volunteer Rifle corp".<sup>101</sup> Ostensibly set up to counter the threat of an invasion from France, the historian of the movement has shown that its existence embodied ideas that went far beyond self-defence.<sup>102</sup> In essence, the movement became an arena in which certain key bourgeois fears about the working class could be registered. Four main concerns can be identified. Firstly, as the members of the corps were responsible for supplying their own uniform, membership would instigate self-help amongst the working class (this practice had to be quickly abandoned when it was realised that it was stopping working class men from joining). Secondly, that the drills and camps associated with membership would provide the working class with rational, sanctioned forms of recreation. Thirdly, that in urban areas, where a large number of the companies were raised from factory workforces with the factory owner as commanding officer, the movement would aid in maintaining work discipline and legitimating the role of the factory owner as a leader of men. Lastly, that it would help to bridge the social gulf that was opening up between the classes. The following table shows the officers of the Hallamshire Rifles in 1861:

Table No. 3.8<sup>103</sup>Officers of the Hallamshire Rifles, 10 May 1861, showing occupation and Sheffield Club membership.

<u>Rank and Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Club Member</u>
Lt. Col. Wharncliffe		1857-80
Capt. F T Mappin	Steel manuf. (Turtons)	1852-80
Lieut. (Vacant)		
Ensign W A Matthews	" " "	1854-68
Capt. T E Vickers	Steel manuf. (Vickers)	1854-80
Lieut. T J Flockton	Architect	1854-80
Ensign G Natrop	Steel manuf. (Vickers)	1861-73
Capt. (Vacant)		
Lieut. J Dixon	Silver-plater (Dixions)	1861-2
Ensign A . Bright	South American merchant.	
Capt. John Brown	Steel manuf. (Browns)	1854-73
Lieut. J. Ellis	" " "	1868-72
Ensign J. Brown	" " "	
Capt. W. Bragge	" " "	1868-73
Lieut. (Vacant)		
Ensign C. Wood	Engineer	
Capt. W. Prest	Wine Merchant	1857-80
Lieut. (Vacant)		
Ensign Mitchell	Steel manuf. (Vickers)	
Capt. A. Vickers	" " "	1860-62
Lieut. Harrop	Bellows manuf.	
Ensign A. Gibbs	Learning mercantile matters at Brooks and Co.	

Notes

1. The occupations are as given in the original document.
2. The many gaps in the names are an indication of the recurrent problems the Hallamshire Rifles had in filling posts.

Two things are clear from this table: the large scale involvement of Club members and the fact that the bulk of the officers are drawn from three industrial companies - Turton's, Vickers' and Brown's (a fact commented on by the Independent).<sup>104</sup> How effective the Volunteer movement was in allaying the middle class fears outlined above is not our concern here. However, in one form at least, it did have some impact. The historian of the Vickers company wrote that:

"Authoritarian by disposition, trained as a mid-Victorian ironmaster, Tom Vickers disciplined his shareholders as he did his workmen or the Hallamshire volunteers, whose commanding officer he was."<sup>105</sup>

What the table does suggest is that in addition to their involvement in political and economic institutions in the town, the membership of the Sheffield Club was also involved in organisations that were attempting to directly influence the culture and behaviour of their workforce.

### 3:4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked in some detail at the membership of the Sheffield Club and at its members' involvement in key local institutions. The picture that emerges from this study is that the membership of the Club embraced antagonistic religious sects and opposed political positions. Thus, to stress the point again, the Club acted as a social space where a sense of class unity could be constructed. However, this was not a unity of all the propertied classes in Sheffield since, as we saw when looking at the town council, the smaller manufacturers were excluded (in the shape of the councillors). The Club then, drew its membership from a narrow social and political elite.

As the century progressed there is evidence that the Club membership increased its representation in a number of the organisations studied. This would seem to indicate that the status of both the Club and its members increased over time. Weight is given to this argument by the lag from its founding to the inclusion in its membership of the local aristocracy. The increasing involvement of its members in local organisations may also be an example of a shift in the internal balance of political forces that we shall examine further in the chapter on the 1857 Sheffield election and the 1865 West Riding election. To point toward the discussion here: the argument was made above that the involvement of Earl Wharncliffe as Chairman of the Committee of the Club was evidence of his commitment. However, it is possible to advance another explanation. Wharncliffe was a Tory, and chairmanship could be seen as evidence of the tactical superiority of the Tory faction within the Club. It is certainly the case that whatever the relative strengths of the party factions within the Club at its creation, as the century progressed, a number of the members were to make the transition from the Liberals to the Tories. The 15th Duke of Norfolk made the move across in 1885;<sup>106</sup> Thomas Jessop and William Fisher moved with the ousted Sheffield MP, J A Roebuck. It is true that leaders of the Sheffield Liberal party such as Leader and F T Mappin were members, but the radical element was always excluded (for example H E Hoole).

In the next chapter we will look in detail at how the two political groupings lined up over the issue of incorporation and at the part that the membership of the Club played in this issue.

Appendix no. 3.1Occupation of Members of the Sheffield Club, 1849, 1859, 1868 and 1880.

	1849	1859	1868	1880
<u>Manufacturers and Merchants</u>				
Brewer	1	3	8	7
Cigar manufacturer				1
Colliery Proprietor	2	5	3	8
Cutlery	3	6	10	5
Steam Engines			1	
Flax	1	1	1	1
Hair seating	2	2	3	4
Ironfounder	3	5	5	3
"Manufacturer"			1	3
Manufacturing chemist				1
"Merchant"	1		1	1
Paper Manufacturer				1
Railway rolling stock			3	1
Silver-plater	13	14	18	12
Snuff	2	1		2
Steel converter and/or refiner	8	13	11	14
Steel plus edge-tools and/or cutlery	18	41	57	61
Steel wire			1	1
Stove grate	1	1	2	3
Edge-Tools			1	4
Typefounder			2	2
<u>Professionals</u>				
Accountant		2	4	6
Agent	2	2	2	2
Architect	3	5	5	6

	1849	1859	1868	1880
Assignee of Bankruptcy Court	1			
Auctioneer	1	1	1	2
Bank Manager	1	2	2	
Barrister	2		2	7
Clergy (C of E)	2	1	1	1
Consul			1	
Dentist			1	
Doctor	1	1	2	
Draughtsman			1	
Editor/journalist	1	1	3	4
Engineer	3	1	6	8
Factory inspector				1
Insurance Agent			1	
Judge		1		
Law Student				1
Manager				2
Managing Director			1	
Political Agent				1
Stock and Sharebroker			4	8
Solicitor	24	35	35	42
Stained Glass Artist				1
Surgeon	6	6	5	10
Surveyor		1	1	1
Veterinary surgeon		1	1	2
<u>Named Merchants</u>				
Coal	1	1	1	1
Corn				1
Cutlery				1
Iron and Steel	2	2	7	4

	1849	1859	1868	1880
Ivory, shell, bone etc.	2	2	2	
Leather			1	
"Swedish Merchant"			1	1
Timber				1
Wine and Spirit	1	3	4	5
<u>Others</u>				
Druggist				1
"Gentlemen"	6	5	10	17
Peer		2	2	3
Wholesale grocers	3	3	3	3
Not Known	5	5	11	11
N =	122	186	249	289

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The 1849 membership list is the earliest extant listing of members. It survives in manuscript form in MCMSC, Vol. 1; the 1859 membership list survives in a printed form (no printer given) pasted to MCMSC, Vol. 1; the 1868 membership list survives in a printed form (printer R. Leader); the 1880 membership list survives in a printed form (printer R. Leader).
2. For some general discussions on the problems involved in using nineteenth century trade directories see The Local Historian, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1974, pp. 85-8; Vol. 11, No. 8, 1975, pp. 457-65; Vol. 12, No. 3, 1976, pp. 152-6; Vol. 13, No. 4, 1978, pp. 205-6; Vol. 13, No. 6, 1978, pp. 349-52.
3. White's Directory of Sheffield, 1879.
4. Hair seat weaving was an established Sheffield trade. It involved weaving horse hair for stuffing chairs etc.
5. As well as that mentioned in footnote no. 3 the following directories have been consulted.

H A & T Rodgers', Directory of Sheffield and Rotherham 1841  
White's Directory of Sheffield 1841  
White's Directory of Sheffield 1845  
White's Directory of Sheffield 1849  
White's Directory of Sheffield 1852  
F. R. Melville's, Directory of Sheffield 1859  
White's Directory of Sheffield 1861  
F. R. Melville's Directory of Sheffield 1868  
White's Directory of Sheffield 1876  
Kelly's Directory of Sheffield 1881

Plus, for the later years, the Election Book of the Sheffield Club which lists the names, addresses, occupations and nominees of all those admitted to the Club from 1873 to 1970.

6. The occupational breakdown used here is based on John Garrard, Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80, 1983, Manchester University Press, Manchester, p. 15.
7. John Baxter was holder of the Knoop Fellowship in Economic History in the University of Sheffield in 1976. He acted as a supervisor to the author for a preliminary study conducted in 1979-80. He supplied this information from his own notes.
8. Sources, the 1849 Membership List of the Leeds Club in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library; Charlton and Archdeacon's Directory of the Borough and Neighbourhood of Leeds for 1849-50, 1850, Leeds; Slade and Roebuck's Directory of the Borough and Neighbourhood of Leeds for 1851, 1851, Leeds.
9. R. G. Wilson, Gentleman Merchants: The merchant community in Leeds, 1700-1830, 1971, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

10. Sidney Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield, 1959, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, pp. 332-3.
11. Pollard, op. cit., 1959, p. 160; Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation, 1983 (2nd Edition), Methuen, p. 378; Tweedale, op. cit., 1986, p. 18.
12. On Brown see N.C.R.S. Vol. 10 SF, p. 81-3; Vol. 13 SF, pp. 39-40; Vol. 27 SF, p. 181; Vol. 2 SQ, p. 188; Vol. 9 SQ, p. 92; J H Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, 1865-1914, 1924, Sheffield, p. 306; W. Odom, Hallamshire Worthies, 1926, Sheffield, p. 1612; A. J. Grant, Steel and Ships, the History of John Brown's, 1950, Michael Joseph, London.
13. Charlotte Erickson, British Industrialists: Steel and Hosiery, 1850-1950, 1959, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 143.
14. Smith, op. cit., 1982, p. 88. On the Sheffield stock exchange see, J. R. Killick and W A Thomas, "The Stock Exchanges of the North of England, 1836-1850", in N.H. Vol. 5, 1970, pp. 114-130.
15. R E Leader, The Sheffield Banking Co., 1916, Sheffield p. 74, Thomas Porter (1787-1856) was a Director of the Bank from 1837-1856.
16. On the Walkers see, P J Wallis, "Sheffield Church Burgesses; A Biographical Register", T.H.A.S., Vol. 7, 1951-7, p. 350; The Directory of Directors, 1880 and 1885.
17. John Hall jun. was also a director of various industrial concerns, including Wharncliffe Silkstone Colliery. See Directory of Directors, 1880.
18. Henry Granville Fitzalan-Howard, 14th Duke of Norfolk 1815-1860. See, NCRS Vol. 11 SF, pp. 12-15; Bateman, op. cit., 1971; J. Derry, The Story of Sheffield, (Originally published 1915; republished with an introduction by Mary Walton) 1971, p. 207; John Martin Robinson, The Dukes of Norfolk: A Quincentennial History, 1982, Oxford, pp. 204-211.
19. Edward Montagu Stuart Granville Montagu Stuart Wortley Mackenzie, 3rd Baron (1st Lord) Wharncliffe 1827-1899. See, NCRS Vol. 12 SQ, p. 78; Who Was Who 1897-1916, 1920; J T Ward, "West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws", in EHR, Vol. 81, 1966, pp. 256-272; Bateman, op. cit., 1971; Smith, op. cit., 1982, p. 27; David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the Age of Coal and Iron: 1830-1880", in The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1951, pp. 3-24.
20. Ward, op .cit., 1966, p. 265.
21. William Thomas Spencer Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, 6th Earl Fitzwilliam 1815-1902. See, Burke's Peerage, 1970; Ward, op. cit., 1966; F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in The Nineteenth Century, 1963, p. 264.

22. Henry Fitzalan-Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk 1847-1917. See, Derry, op .cit., 1971.
23. Robinson, op .cit., 1982, p. 233.
24. Robinson, op. cit., 1982, p. 231.
25. Spring, op. cit., 1951, p. 11.
26. S.I. 9 February 1869.
27. See, The Membership List of the Leeds Club, 1873; Bateman, op. cit., 1971.
28. F.M.L. Thompson, op. cit., 1963, p. 319.
29. Spring, op. cit., 1951.
30. This is the argument at its baldest and there are a number of variants. The debate emerged in the 1960s with the exchanges between Anderson and Thompson. It has recently received a stimulus through the work of Wiener and Rubinstein. In addition, Anderson has up-dated his thesis in a recent article.
- See, P. Anderson, "Origins of the Present Crisis", in New Left Review, No. 23, 1964, pp. 26-53; E. P. Thompson, "The Peculiarities of the English", in The Poverty of Theory, 1978, pp. 35-91; W D Rubinstein, "Wealth, elites and the class structure of modern Britain", in Past and Present, no. 76, 1977, pp. 99-126; Men of Property, 1981; M.J. Wiener, English Culture and the decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980, 1981, Cambridge; Perry Anderson, "The Figures of Descent", in New Left Review, No. 161, 1987, pp. 20-77.
- There have been two responses to the last article: David Nicholls "The City and industry in the development of modern British Capitalism", in Social History, Vol. 13 No. 1, 1988, pp. 71-83; Michael Barratt Brown, "Away with all the great arches: Anderson's History of British Capitalism", in New Left Review, No. 167, 1988, pp. 22-51.
- A review of the literature is offered in Simon Gunn, "The 'failure' of the Victorian middle class: a critique", in Wolff and Seed (eds.), op. cit., 1988, pp. 17-43.
31. John Marshall 1822-1869. See, S O Addy and W T Pike, Sheffield at the Opening of the Twentieth Century, p. 91; S L A, Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield, p. 282.
32. Samuel Bailey 1791-1870. See, SLA, South Yorkshire Notes and Queries, Vol. 1, p. 257; Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 230; R E Leader, op. cit., 1876, p. 326-32; op. cit., 1916, p. 63-5; NCRS, Vol. 13 SF, pp. 61-7; his obituary in SLA, JG 1245(A) - 23-24.
33. Henry Seebohm ?-1895. See, Derry, op .cit., p. 276.
34. William Jessop 1856-1905. See, Geoffrey Tweedale, Giants of Sheffield Steel, 1986, p. 55.

35. Sir Wilson Mappin. Son of F T Mappin, he married Emily Kingsford Wilson, daughter of George Wilson. He was, therefore, related to William Wilson jun. (See below). See, MHF Chaytor, The Wilsons of Sharrow: The Snuff-Makers of Sheffield, 1962, Sheffield, p. 107; Sheffield and District Who's Who, 1905, Sheffield, p. 98.
36. Chaytor, op .cit., p. 163.
37. Sheffield and District Who's Who, 1905, p. 120.
38. Gunn, op. cit., 1988, p. 29.
39. David G. Hey, "The Changing Pattern of Nonconformity, 1660-1851", in Pollard and Holmes (eds), op. cit., 1976, p. 210.
40. R E Leader, op. cit., 1916, p. 86.
41. Erickson, op. cit., 1959, p. 146.
42. The Election Book of the Sheffield Club, 1873-1970 was in the archives of the Club when this study was conducted.
43. Fletcher describes him as "perhaps the ablest political agent of the day". D E Fletcher, Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield, 1849-1886, Ph.D., Sheffield University, 1972, p. 149.
44. NCRS, Vol. 3, SQ pp. 56-7, 60 and 168; Vol. 11 SQ, p. 141.
45. See letter from A J Mundella to Robert Leader - 31 July, 1875 - in the Mundella Mss., Sheffield University Library.
46. Mark Firth 1819-1880. See NCRS Vol. 48 S, p. 7; 49 S, p. 107; 50 S, p. 65; 51 S, p. 125; 1 SQ, pp. 54-69; 12 SQ, pp. 35-41; 42 SQ p. 9; 27 SF, p. 139; Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 79, Stainton, op. cit., 1924, pp. 251-77; Grant, op. cit., 1950; Anon, 100 Years in Steel, n.d., Sheffield.
47. John Newton Mappin 1880-1883. A brewer at Masbrough Old Brewery, he was the uncle of F T Mappin and son of Joseph, a silver fruit knife manufacturer. In his will he left £15,000 for the creation of the Mappin Art Gallery, which stands in Western Park. (He also left a collection of paintings which formed the nucleus of the collection: see Sheffield Weekly Telegraph, 10 May, 1884.)
- See Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 96.
48. James William Harrison 1816-1897. A partner in Harrison Bros. and Howson, general cutlery merchants and manufacturers. See John Taylor (ed.), The Illustrated Guide to Sheffield and the Surrounding District, 1879, Sheffield p. 88.
49. Joseph Nicholson 1817-1;887. See NCRS, Vol. 3 SQ, pp. 56-7.
50. Wiliam Wake 1819-1896. A solicitor, in practice with his brother Bernard (?-1891) at 14 Castle Street. See, Taylor (ed.), op. cit., 1879, p. 104.

51. William Edward Laycock 1815-1895. A partner in Samuel Laycock and Son, hair seating manufacturer. Stainton op. cit., 1924, p. 300; J E Manning, A History of Upper Chapel, 1900, Sheffield, pp. 156-7.
52. Rev. Thomas Sale 1804-1873. See E. R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, 1957, p. 143; Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 52; Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 239; SLA, Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield, (a volume of press cuttings) p. 4-7; NCRS, Vol. 13 SF, pp. 34-5 and 96-105; Vol. 4 S, p. 105.
53. Wickham, op. cit., 1957, p. 88.
54. Matthew Ellison Hadfield 1812-1885. His mother was a sister of Michael Ellison, Norfolk's agent.  
  
Charles Hadfield 1840-1916.  
  
On both, see Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 267; H. Tatton, Sheffield, Vol. 2, p. 210; R E Leader, Sheffield Surveyors and Architects, 1903, Sheffield, p. 33; Sheffield and District Who's Who, 1905, p. 235.
55. Thomas James Flockton 1823-1899. Son of William (1804-1864) also architect. See Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 148; Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 320; Addy and Pike, op. cit., p. 195; R E Leader, op. cit., 1903, p. 34.
56. Benjamin Burdekin jun. 1831-1906. Was a member of the Club in 1849, resigned in January 1860 but was back as a member in 1868 and 1880.  
He was the fourth president of the Sheffield Incorporated Law Society; Hon. Treasurer of the Sheffield Scripture Readers Society; Trustee of the Sheffield Girls Charity School, the Deakin Institution and of James and Isabella Senior's Institution.  
See, Addy & Pike, op. cit., p.127; NCRS, Vol. 29 SQ, p.62.
57. Benjamin Burdekin was a member of the Club in 1849 but resigned in December 1856. He is mentioned in the reference in Addy & Pike quoted for his son.
58. Nathaniel Creswick was a member of the Club in 1859, 68 and 80.  
He was involved in the Volunteer movement in Sheffield in the 1860s and was awarded the Companion of the Bath for his efforts in 1896. In 1879 he was Clerk to the Handsworth District Council.  
See Sheffield and District Who's Who, 1905, p. 127.
59. William Waterfall was a member of the Club in 1849, 1859, and 1868.  
As well as being the Manager of the Sheffield & Hallamshire Bank he was, Manager of the Sheffield Water Co. from 1864-74 and Borough Treasurer from 1854-64.  
See, NCRS 13SF pp. 106-7, R E Leader, The Early Sheffield Banks, 1917, p. 108.
60. R E Leader, Reminiscences of Old Sheffield, Its Streets and Its People, 1876 Sheffield, p. 113.

61. Taylor, Op. cit., 1879, p. 188.
62. Baxter, op .cit.,1976, p. 615, f7.
63. As footnote no. 12.
64. T E Vickers 1833-1915. See Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 79; Stainton, op. cit., 1924, pp. 251-7; NCRS Vol. 51 S p. 125; Vol 51 S p. 125; Vol. 50 S p. 65; Vol 27 SF p. 139 Vol. 49 S p. 107; Vol 1 SQ p. 54-69; Vol. 12 SQ pp. 35-41; Vol. 42 SQ p. 9.
65. SLA, Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield, p. 309.
66. Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 175; Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield, pp. 308-9, NCRS Vol 42 SQ pp. 96-8; Addy & Pike, op. cit., p. 94.
67. See, Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 352; Addy & Pike, op. cit., p. 86; R E Leader, The Sheffield Banking Co., 1916, pp. 88-9; Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield, pp. 223-4; P J Wallis, op. cit., p. 62.
68. Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 178; Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 246, NCRS Vol 13 SQ p. 9, NCRS Vol. 27 SF p. 201.
69. Sheffield Telegraph, 3 March 1916.
70. Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield, p. 312; NCRS Vol. 39 SF pp. 2-3; NCRS Vol 18 S p. 212; NCRS Vol 51 S pp. 88-9.
71. Leader, op. cit., 1916, pp. 90-1.
72. Stainton, op .cit., 1924 p. 257.
73. Anon, Sheffield Commission of the Peace 1848-1974, Sheffield, 1975.
74. Presidents of the Sheffield Literary & Philosophical Society, Sheffield 1894 p.85; Wallis, op. cit., p. 199.
75. Sheffield Illustrated, Vol. 2, Sheffield 1885 p. 70; Stainton, op. cit., 1924, p. 261.
76. Manning, op .cit., 1900, p. 121; NCRS Vol 10 SF pp. 156-9.
77. Manning, op .cit., 1900, pp. 157-161, 191.
78. Odom, op. cit., 1926, p. 120; J D Leader & S Snell, Sheffield General Infirmary 1797-1897, 1897, p. 77; NCRS Vol 42 SQ p. 111.
79. Leader & Snell op .cit., 1897, p. 106.
80. W S Porter, The Medical School of Sheffield, 1928, Sheffield, p. 25.
81. Porter, op .cit., 1928, p. 25; Leader & Snell, op .cit., 1897, p. 116.

82. Wallis, op. cit., 1957, pp. 151-2; Odom op. cit., 1926, p. 123.
83. Leader & Snell, op. cit., 1897, p. 114; NCRS Vol. 27 SF p. 321.
84. J M Furness, A Record of Municipal Affairs in Sheffield Since the Incorporation of the Borough in 1843, to the celebration of the Jubilee in 1893, 1893, Sheffield; plus membership lists referred to above.
85. Smith, op .cit., 1982, p. 61.
86. Ibid.
87. Anon, Sheffield Commission of the Peace 1848-1974, 1975, Sheffield; Anon, The Year Book of Information for the Use of the Members of the Council, for the year 1872, 1872, Sheffield, The Sheffield Red Book for 1868, 1868, Sheffield; The Sheffield Red Book for 1880, 1880, Sheffield.
88. As for footnote no. 87, plus, A list of South Yorkshire Justices of the Peace 1745-1888, THAS, Vol. 8, 1957, pp. 163-6 and 238-241.
89. See the two "Red Books" referred to in footnote no. 87.
90. Furness, op. cit., 1893, p. 52.
91. An account of the charities belonging to the township of Sheffield, in the county of York. From the report of the Commissioners, 1829, Sheffield; Taylor, op. cit., 1879, pp. 51-4.
92. Ibid.
93. This paragraph is drawn from R E Leader, The history of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York, Vol. 1, 1905, Sheffield, passim.
94. See Wallis, op. cit., 1951-7; Edwin Shaw (ed.), A Biographical Register of the Sheffield Town Trustees: September 1681-July 1967, 1967, Sheffield; plus the membership lists of the Club.
95. R E Leader, op. cit., 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 409-10; the 1905 Sheffield Club membership list in SLA.
96. R E Leader, op .cit., 1901, p. 226.
97. The list for 1857 is taken from SI, 7 March 1857; for 1868 from Minutes of Council; January 1864-July 1876, SLA, LD 1986 (1), for 1880 from Minutes of Council; August 1876-November 1886, SLA, LD 1986(2).
98. The Quality of Sheffield and South Yorkshire, Vol. 29 No. 2, March/April, 1982, p. 25.
99. See M W Beresford, The Leeds Chambers of Commerce, Leeds, 1951; Rules and Regulations of the Leeds Club, with a list of the Members, 1850, Leeds, in Leeds City Library

Archives, Chapeltown Road, Leeds.

100. The 1857 list is in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library; the 1863 and 1873 lists are in the Leeds City Library Archives.
101. SI, 28th May 1859.
102. Hugh Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908, 1975, Groom Helm; see also, John Clarke and Chas Critcher, The Devil Makes Work; Leisure in Capitalist Britain, 1985, Macmillan.
103. SLA, Wh. M. 456(25).
104. The Independent was commenting on a scandal concerning the misappropriation of Volunteer funds that had broken around the head of Wilson Overend (Major in the Rifles from 1859-61). Overend being a Tory (as were Brown and Vickers) the Independent's comment is meant to be a statement about the political influences that the two men were having on the 'rank-and-file':
- "...and when it is considered how large a part of the corps at present consists of the companies of Capt. Vickers and of the Atlas Steel Works (i.e. John Brown) under the command of their employers, a vote of the corps in favour of Mr. Overend would do nothing to mend his position in the estimation of the public."
- SI, 24 November 1860.
105. J D Scott, Vickers: A History, 1962, p. 41.
106. Robinson, op. cit., 1982, p. 228.

CHAPTER FOURTHE SHEFFIELD CHARTER OF INCORPORATION4:1 Introduction

"Some of these objections might be obviated by a new Police Act, with more extended limits and provisions, but the political parties which divide the Town cannot agree on the details of a new Bill, and thus measures of acknowledged usefulness are lost."

This, the opinion of a Government officer appointed to investigate the petitions for and against incorporation, is a fitting place to start this chapter. Sheffield at the start of the nineteenth century was - like many other northern towns - administered by a large number of separate institutions.<sup>1</sup> There were the Police Commissioners (also known as the Improvement Commissioners), who were created by an Act in 1818. They had powers of "cleansing, lighting, watching and otherwise improving the town of Sheffield"; but these powers applied only to those parts of the town that were within three-quarters of a mile of the parish church. Nor did they have powers concerning street improvement, drainage or sewers. This function was in the hands of the Town Trustees, or Burgesses, who dated back to the thirteenth century, and who held certain lands, the rental from which was dedicated to improvements. In addition the Cutlers Company and the annually-elected Highway Boards had responsibility for various aspects of sanitary matters. Other areas of social administration were shared out between the magistrates, the vestries and - through the Court Leet - the influence of the Norfolk estate.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding Pollard's and Smith's claim that political differences did not manifest themselves in the running of these organisations, it is possible to identify 'colours'.<sup>3</sup> The Cutlers Company and the Church Trustees (also endowed with lands to aid the upkeep of the fabric of the parish church and to pay the stipends of three chaplains to the Vicar) were centres of the Tory interest. (Although due to the absence of the 'high' Church party in Sheffield there was room for a degree of distinction here.) The Town Trustees were the centre of the Whig interest and the Highways boards became the power base for the Democratic party under the control of Isaac Ironside. The splitting of responsibility between different bodies with different political interests to further, meant that as the Town increased in size its system of control lagged behind.

As Fraser has pointed out, political rivalry in early Victorian cities and towns was an endemic feature of the social scene.<sup>4</sup> However, this was not the class rivalry of bourgeoisie and proletariat, but a struggle between various fractions of the urban middle class for control of the institutions and therefore the political and cultural hearts, of the area. Fraser indicates that the battle lines for this contest were drawn up along three contours: 'old' families and 'new'; Anglicans and - mainly - Dissenters; and politics. Other historians have added other factors, such as geographical location.

Incorporation was a new dimension to this power play. It was, as Finlayson has pointed out, not simply a local piece of legislation;<sup>5</sup> the results of the struggles were seen as indicators of the relative strength and weaknesses of the contending parties on a national scale. The setting up of a Royal Commission by the Whig Government in 1833 to look into the matter of Municipal Reform was seen by many in the House of Lords as the first step towards the sweeping away of the Church and of the hereditary peerage. Certainly the radicals who dominated on the commission, saw it as a vehicle for forming yet another breach in the side of the old system of corruption and rule by an oligarchy. More pragmatically, the representatives of the Whig/Liberal interest were aware that the doing away of the so-called 'Closed' corporations of places such as Leeds and Manchester, would enable them to gain access to the levers of local patronage.<sup>6</sup> "Who could be so blind as not to see" said Lyndhurst as the Reform Bill was going through Parliament, "that this Bill was not a Bill for the Reform of Corporations, but a Bill brought in to consolidate and to strengthen the party by whom it was brought in."<sup>7</sup>

Sheffield did not have a pre-1830s Corporation; so the group in favour of incorporation did not have an entrenched interest to fight against. However, as we will see, the factions outlined by Fraser above, lined up on either side of the debate that raged in the town in the late 1830s and early 1840s.

#### 4:2 The struggle for the Charter: 1836-8

The gaining of the Charter of Incorporation for Sheffield was not only about issues such as control of the Police Force or the better lighting and cleansing of the streets; although these factors did play a part. Nor was it only about the "better administration of justice within the town"; although the fact that the West Riding Magistrates responsible for Sheffield only sat on Tuesdays and Fridays caused

was the question of who would control the growth and development of the Town. Although, when it eventually came into existence, the Sheffield Corporation was relatively bereft of powers, its making was fired by passionate debates about democracy and self-determination. At first this debate took place between roughly similar social groupings (large to middling merchants and manufacturers, professional men and 'gentlemen'), later Lord Wharncliffe and the West Riding Magistrates became involved when they tried - under Wharncliffe's leadership - to extend the provisions of the 1839 County Police Act to the West Riding.

The question of whether or not Sheffield should become incorporated appears to have been first publicly broached at a meeting of the Police Commissioners held in May 1836. As we have seen, this body was created by a private Act in 1818 and had the power to levy a rate for the employment of a night watchman, and for the cleansing and lighting of the Town within a three-quarters of a mile radius of the Parish Church. Its members were elected by all in the Town rated at £7 or more to the Poor Rate and once elected they remained in office as long as they attended at least one meeting a year.

This particular meeting had been called to consider a letter from Hugh Parker<sup>8</sup>, one of the local West Riding Magistrates, concerning the growth of the Town outside of the three-quarters of a mile limit, and the slow administration of justice. The growth in the Town meant that not only were there parts of Sheffield over which the Commissioners had no power to levy a rate, but that also, with the lack of a local group of Magistrates, prisoners were either being bailed or dismissed by the local Surveyor, or held in confinement until the next Petty session, all of which was illegal.<sup>9</sup>

Parker suggested that the Commissioners could try one of three possible courses of action: 1) obtain a Corporation; 2) obtain a Stipendiary Magistrate; 3) increase the number of West Riding Magistrates living locally. The meeting decided that a committee should be formed to meet with the Town Trustees and obtain information on the probable expense of these three courses of action.

The committee made its report to the Commissioners at the beginning of July<sup>10</sup> and presented figures on the relative expenses of the Corporations in Leeds, Hull, Nottingham, Derby and Leicester. Its recommendation was that the Town should apply neither for a Charter or a new Police Act (this would have given it the power to appoint a Stipendiary Magistrate). It was argued that instead they should adopt the third suggestion; that of increasing the number of local men on

the third suggestion; that of increasing the number of local men on the West Riding bench. The main speaker for this course of action was Luke Palfreyman<sup>11</sup>, a local solicitor, who was to change his view on this issue completely. Palfreyman argued that the granting of a Charter would involve great expense, would lead to the appointment of local industrialists as magistrates (who could then sit in judgement on trade disputes) and that the appointment of local men onto the West Riding bench would enable the urban interest to exert some restraining influence over the County rate.

However, feeling within this committee was not unanimous, as is shown by the comments of William Ibbotson.<sup>12</sup> Ibbotson argued that "It was far more satisfactory to be governed by powers of their own creation", and that "as one of the inhabitants of Sheffield he was anxious for the benefits and privileges that other towns enjoy." He was, however, aware of the problems of "political excitement" which local self-government might introduce into the Town, and, in the course of a comment on how this might be overcome, gives us an insight into how the relationships between rival political groups might be negotiated without breaking into open hostilities. He saw no objection to a Corporation but the annoyance of elections, however:

"...he was satisfied they might agree to conduct them in such a way that the annoyance might be avoided, especially when they considered that the town would be divided into wards."<sup>13</sup>

The division of incorporated towns into wards was a clause of the Municipal Reform Act added by the Lords due to their fear that a unified vote would be certain to exclude any Tory candidates.<sup>14</sup> The issue of the number of wards into which a town would be divided could evoke fierce feelings. As Garrard shows,<sup>15</sup> in Rochdale the all party support for incorporation floundered on the question of the number of wards. The Whig/Tory group wanted either five or eight. The radical group wanted only three; their argument being that in small wards employers would be able to exert a heavy influence on how people voted. Ibbotson seems to be suggesting that the political groupings in Sheffield would be able to avoid conflict by deciding beforehand which group would have which ward. Indeed, he went on to say that his allegiance did not lie with the radical spirit of household suffrage when he said that:

"One great objection he had to a Corporation had been removed. He had thought that all householders had a right to vote. He was glad to find that this was not the case; but only such could vote as had paid rates for three years. This greatly mended the thing in his view; and he was sure that in Sheffield, the most respectable men would be elected and that the town would rise to the rank that belongs to it."<sup>16</sup>

Ibbotson's attempt to move an amendment rejecting the report of the committee was defeated and the Commissioners resolved that they should attempt to find men willing to join the Magistrates. However, things came to a head again in December 1837 when the Independent carried a report of, and an editorial commenting on, a "meeting called by circular" to discuss whether or not a public meeting should be held to petition the Crown for a charter of incorporation.<sup>17</sup> This holding of a private meeting would seem to indicate that some opposition was expected from various groups within the town and on a number of occasions the pro-charter group can be seen steering a troubled course between the Tories on the one hand and the Chartists on the other. The editorial itself made clear just how defective the powers of the existing Police Act were. Amongst other things the commissioners had no power to appoint day policemen, the night-watchmen had no power to take monies for bail or to examine prisoners, nor had they the right to augment the power of the watchmen by doing such things as building stables to keep horses in. However, as the editorial also made clear, although the police did not have the legal right to do these things they regularly did. The editorial also introduced a number of themes which were to dominate the ensuing arguments of the pro-charter group. These were:

1. That if a corporation was gained, the mayor would be ex officio magistrate for the year of his mayoralty and the year after, and that it would be possible to either appoint a stipendiary magistrate or have a Borough magistracy.
2. That the Corporation would act as a local parliament with the power to make bye-laws, appoint a watch committee, assume the powers of the Police Commissioners to light and cleanse the town and have the power to extend the lighting and cleansing of the borough to such parts as might be necessary.
3. That the election of local representatives would serve as a political testing ground for the extension of the parliamentary franchise and would serve to create "improved habits" amongst the voters provided that "the tories refrain from using here those means, with which they are so familiar in other places, to debauch and corrupt the people."

4. That the granting of a charter would bestow the dignity and influence on the Town which its "wealth, population and importance" justified.

The attempt to gain an increase in the local representation on the West Riding bench having failed (also a short lived attempt to obtain a new Police Act) the editorial noted that only the last of Parkers' original recommendations remained to be tried. That this issue was viewed as one of a political nature - despite the protestations to the opposite - is made quite clear on a number of occasions. The Liberal/Whig group were fully aware that the Tory element within the town and the largely Tory land owning group who dominated the Magistrates would mobilize to resist this action and to convince the working class that their best interests lay with either keeping things the way they were (a solution which became obviously more and more impossible) or, with allowing the West Riding Magistrates to take away control of the police. The pro-charter group for their part were quick to assimilate the language of democracy then gaining currency amongst the organised working class (the Sheffield Working Mens Association (Chartists) published its first address within a few weeks of this date.)<sup>18</sup> and to turn it to their own use.

"But there are men among us who dread the idea of our townspeople enjoying the municipal franchise. They know it would be exercised for the purposes of good government, public improvement, and economy. They had much rather that the local tory magistrate (for, with two exceptions, they are tories) should continue to be the administrators of justice here, and so maintain all the influence in the town which their official duties give them."<sup>19</sup>

In a similar manner the anti-corporation group were aware that what was at stake was not only the better running of the local petty sessions and the upkeep of the lighting. It was also a struggle, which reflected in microcosm a national struggle, to see which group would emerge as the dominant. They too were prepared to engage in smear tactics against their opponents. In the preamble to a petition against the charter they claim that many of the people who would be likely to be elected Mayor would be unfit from "previous habits and personal advocations ... to discharge the important duties which the Interests of this great Manufacturing Borough require."<sup>20</sup> In a similar fashion in the run-up to the first elections after the Charter had been gained the electorate were warned on anonymous placards to "Beware, Beware, Beware, Beware" of "papist and unitarian lawyers".<sup>21</sup>

The public meeting which followed from this private, took place

in the Town Hall on the 13 January 1838, and there is evidence to suggest that a well organised propaganda machine had been in operation for some time beforehand posting bills around the town.<sup>22</sup> William Vickers,<sup>23</sup> a local spindle and flyer manufacturer from Millsands opened the meeting by moving the first resolution; that "a popular system of local government was congenial to the feelings of Englishmen and to the spirit of the constitution, and conducive to the dissemination of sound principles."<sup>24</sup> The resolution was seconded by Ibbotson who said that he had just returned from America where he had the opportunity to see the beneficial effects of the granting of universal suffrage. A local Charter he said would provide annual parliaments and would lead men to act in relation to their local affairs; thus showing that not only had the Liberal group further internalised the language of Chartism (or at the least realised that it was a powerful weapon in getting the radical small master and shop owner on their side) they had also begun to realise that one possible way of exerting influence on the working class was by binding them in to some form of the local and national "state". It is clear that the "Liberal" faction of capital saw a number of the problems which confronted it as springing from the fact that there was a widening social and political gulf emerging between masters and workmen. The general solution to this problem was to create institutions which would bring about a greater mingling of the classes, or at the very least, would put the ideological as well as the physical activity of the working class under the control of the middle class. The widening of the electoral franchise can be seen as one such instance of this. On the one hand, there was voiced the fear that by giving the vote to the "masses" there could be the danger of radical men being elected to power, whilst on the other was the realisation that by giving someone a vote you can bestow on them some feeling of "belonging"; some notion of having something to defend.

This latter point is well illustrated by the following extract from a speech made at the meeting by Edward Bramley<sup>25</sup> - a local Unitarian solicitor - in response to the argument that the working man would pay an unfair percentage of the cost of the new corporation. In it he argues that not only would the small householder be recognised as a citizen, he would be a citizen who had property worth protecting:

"If the small householder would derive no benefit from a corporation, or if he were called upon to pay more than his fair quota of the expenses of maintaining it, then the objection would be entitled to some weight; but when we reflected that every man was entitled to have his person protected, and that every householder, however humble, had some property which required guarding; and when we further reflected that the tax upon the small householders would be exceedingly light, he could not suppose, ... that they would refuse to bear their fair share of the burden, particularly as they would have a voice in the election of the council, to whom the distribution of the funds were entrusted, and would in a manner become citizens of the state, recognized and registered burgesses; and being thus drawn within the pale of the constitution, might, in due time, claim a participation of political privileges, and a right to vote in the election of their representatives in Parliament. (Cheers.)"<sup>26</sup>  
(Emphasis added.)

This point was taken further by another speaker who was replying to the assertion that the Corporation would create "an aristocracy among the masters" who would be able to "sit as a magistrate upon the bench" and decide issues between master and workmen.<sup>27</sup> As I mention above, this was a constant issue in the rhetoric of the anti-corporators, and indeed the pro-corporators also argued that if a local magistracy was created it should be composed mainly of the members of the West Riding who sat for Sheffield.<sup>28</sup> In his reply to this point Robert Gainsford<sup>29</sup> - a local Roman Catholic solicitor - argued that the assertion was based on a misunderstanding of the workings of the corporation. It was not, he argued, the case that all Councillors would be Magistrates and that all Councillors would be manufacturers. The Mayor was to be the only ex officio magistrate and the qualification for election to the council was the occupancy of property rated at £30 or more to the poor rate. Thus, "the shopkeepers, and Mr. Lomas would have as complete a qualification for the office of Councilman or Mayor as any Gentleman present." It would seem therefore that the pro-charter group were well aware that if they were to gain their objective they would have to mobilise support from not only the strata of which they were representatives but also from the large group of small property owners who had to be convinced that there would be some advantage for themselves in the gaining of a charter.

The anti-charter group for their part concentrated their energies in putting over the argument that the corporation would not only be more expensive than the present system, it would also lay the burden of the expenses on the poorest of the population who, under the 1818 Act, were not rated toward the cost of the lighting and watching.<sup>30</sup> The argument was also made that the large percentage of solicitors who

were involved on the pro-charter side should lead the working men to consider whether or not these men were engaged in "place-hunting".<sup>31</sup> However, this group do not seem to have been able to muster much support as the final vote at the meeting held in January 1838 on the four resolutions in favour of incorporation went against them.

Two other aspects of this meeting are worthy of note. The first is the linking of incorporation and "improvement" with the education of the working class. This involved education in both a formal and informal sense. The former meaning was brought up by the Rev. Robert Bayley<sup>32</sup> - a local congregationalist minister - who mentioned a bill which was at that time before Parliament to provide "popular education". Bayley made it clear that he feared for the consequences of such an act coming into force unless there was an "impartial body to whose custody and administration such an act could be committed". Such an impartial body, he argued, would be the new Corporation as long as the electors exercised their vote and elected those who are "impressed with the importance of the moral and mental claims of the lower classes". Bayley also refuted the claim that the corporation would create a local aristocracy by saying that they already had one but that:

"The difference is this, that since now you have to bend to the power of the aristocracy in the articles of belief, to take your religion from the aristocracy, or else pay for your own at a political discount - (loud cheers) ... you will be the persons to make out the patents of your new aristocracy."<sup>33</sup>

The latter form of education, that of moral and social improvement was mentioned by Bayley and taken up by the next speaker; Dr. Arnold Knight<sup>34</sup> - a local Roman Catholic M.D. Brushing aside the question of cost, Knight proceeded to produce figures to demonstrate that the amount spent on drink in Sheffield in one year amounted to £400,000. He further argued that one tenth of this amount was spent in such a way that it "directly contributes to injure health, shorten life, destroy domestic happiness, fill our jails with criminals, and our asylums with madmen." If this much money can be spent in such idle pleasures, Knight argued, why should we complain at spending a few hundreds on an institution which would act to stamp out such unproductive activity, for:

"He believed that a Corporation, well administered, would have such a tendency: by giving every household, however poor, a voice in the management of our local affairs, he would be habituated to hear the principles of justice discussed amongst all classes of his fellow townsmen; and whilst he was enabled to defend his own rights, he would be taught to respect the rights of others; he would become interested in our local establishments ..."<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, the view was expressed in the editorial columns of the Independent that a corporation would not only improve the morals of the "poor". It was also held that it would improve the rich by "...making them feel they are amenable to public opinion..."<sup>36</sup>

The second point of interest is that this meeting marks the first visible sign of support for the corporation movement within the town from the Chartists. This was given in a speech by Isaac Ironside - a local accountant - who was to be joined at later meetings by Richard Otley (tea dealer and tobacconist), William Fisher Jun. (ivory bone merchant, who quickly moved over to the Liberal camp and followed local M.P. Roebuck into the Tory Party later in the century).<sup>37</sup> The Chartists threw their support behind the movement because it seemed to them that it offered a means whereby "working people who had been so long neglected, would acquire influence by a new popular institution"<sup>38</sup>. Ironside was not afraid to break what Dickens (in Hard Times) has called the negative manner of speaking beloved of Victorian orators. Whilst the other speakers made the surface pretensions toward the corporation not being a party issue, Ironside stated that both he and the opponents to a charter knew that it was. Indeed it was the opponent's fear that the charter would give rise to an increase in the fortunes of "liberal opinions" that led to their opposition.

The Chartists' confidence in the leadership of the local liberal bourgeoisie seems to have been misplaced, for whether wilfully or not, at this and subsequent meetings, the audience were misled over the legal definition of who would be a Burgess, that is, could vote. Palfreyman, in the course of a long speech, outlined what he claimed was the provision of the 1836 Act regarding the right to vote. Before going any further, it is necessary to outline the provisions of the Act and the way that the poor rate was collected at this time.

It would seem that for almost all of the houses rated under the £7 limit the landlords of the property paid the rates for all they owned in one lump sum, rather than the individual occupier paying his/her own rates to the collector. This practice was known as "compounding" and is much the same as the current practice for local council rents. This had one great advantage for the tenant in that they could spread the payment of the poor rate over a period of time.

However, it also had one great drawback in that for most cases this practice meant that the name of the individual did not appear on the rate book. Under the terms of the Municipal Reform Act, in order to have a vote, the individual had to have been residing in or within seven miles of the Town for three years and to have been paying rates with their name entered on the rate book for the same period of time<sup>39</sup>. Thus, by compounding a large number of the smaller householders were effectively disenfranchising themselves. Although under the terms of the Act the householder had a legal right to take over the payment of their own rate and thus have their name entered on the rate book, it was some time before the pro-corporators acknowledged the fact and began to urge householders to do so. And in any case, it would be a further three years before anyone taking over the payment of their own rates would be able to vote.

These restrictions on the local franchise were made greater by other provisions of the Act. Firstly, there was the clause which stated that if a householder moved from one Ward to another they had to claim to have their name recorded as having paid rates in the first Ward. Failure to do so meant that they would have to pay rates in the new Ward for another three years before they could vote. Secondly, if they were in receipt of Poor Relief for any one day in a year they lost the right to vote for that year. When these restrictions became known, they led to claims from "Working Men" that they had been misled over the benefits they would receive from a Corporation<sup>40</sup> and much activity by the Chartists to urge householders to gain the right to vote.<sup>41</sup>

These restrictions combined to create a situation in 1843 where out of a total male population over the age of 20 of 28,798, only 5,558 were registered to vote: this being 19% of the total<sup>42</sup>. The property qualification for being a member of the Council meant that out of the total adult male population of Sheffield only 750 could become members (this was an estimate from an anti-corporation meeting in 1838).

The anti-corporation group were not slow to organise their response and following from a "private" meeting held in the Cutlers Hall in the first week of February 1838 they held a public meeting on the 14th<sup>43</sup>. The names of the committee members who were responsible for organising this public meeting give us some insight into what sectors of society they represented.

Table No. 4.1<sup>44</sup>Anti-Corporation Committee Formed at Cutlers Hall Meeting to 'Form and Arrange Business'.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
John Booth	Grocer, Corn and Flour Dealer
Henry Boulton	Surgeon
James Creswick	Silversmith and Plater
George Douthwaite	Painter
Benjamin Fenton	Merchant
Edward Furniss	Solicitor
John Haslehurst	Iron and Steel Merchant
Joseph Levick	Merchant
Thomas Lofthouse	Druggist
William Lomas	Grocer
Jonathan Marshall	Esquire
Isaac Mitchell	Last, Boot-Tree, etc. Manufacturer
John Newbould	Merchant
George Ridge,	Publisher of the Sheffield Times
Jobson Smith	Manufacturer
James Wilson	Solicitor

It is not possible at the moment to produce a similar list for the pro-corporation group. However, a comparison with the list of those active in one way or another in that group (Appendix 4.1) shows that in terms of economic activity these two groups would seem to have a lot in common. Elements of both large and small scale industrial capital are present, as well as representatives of the petty bourgeois shop owner. As we shall see later, the main characteristic (apart from politics) which distinguishes these two groups is that of religion.

The Independent dubbed the meeting on the 14th 'One-Sided' and the committee created at the end of the pro-corporation meeting had already announced its intention to boycott it.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, the only opposition to the anti-corporators came from the two Chartists, Ironside and Otley, who continued the arguments established at the previous meeting and even went so far as to defend Palfreyman's false statements over the franchise. The representatives of the anti-corporation group once again made the points that all householders under the £7 limit would be paying rates for the first time and would therefore be paying for the manufacturer's corporation; that local manufacturers would be made magistrates and would sit in judgement on their own disputes; that the advocates of the corporation were engaged in 'place-hunting'<sup>46</sup>; and that the corporation would introduce political strife to the town.

As we saw above, the Chartists were not afraid to call the agitation for a local Charter political; and argued that their

opponents saw it that way. However, for the Liberal/Whig members of the pro-Corporation group, and the Tory members of the anti-Corporation group, there does seem to have been a desire to present the 'other side' as the one which introduced political feeling into the Town. That is, each side attempted to present its views as 'natural' or 'outside' of the normal discourse of politics. Thus, for the pro-Corporation group the key terms of the debate were "sound principles", meaning economy and pragmatism; "local self government", a debate in which the West Riding Magistrates and Lord Wharnccliffe, were portrayed as feudal remnants of an idle, non-productive class; and speedier administration of justice. Whilst for the anti-Corporation group the key terms were again economy, this time meaning an attempt to protect the poor against the extravagance of the manufacturers, and political stability; that is, the status quo. Although, as we shall see, the anti-Corporation group did become divided over their attitude towards the County Constabulary Act.

At the anti-Corporation meeting, Isaac Mitchell made an attempt to revive the idea of obtaining a new Police Act. Mitchell argued that as it was necessary for an individual to be rated at 30 or above to serve as a councillor, the Council would not represent the interests of the small householder. Moreover, he argued that Corporations were at one time necessary to free the feudal towns from the control of the local Lord but they had now become at best moribund and at worst institutions that indulged in 'jobbing'.<sup>47</sup> He supported this argument by quoting figures showing the higher cost of the police force in several incorporated towns compared with that in Sheffield. He concluded by once again urging the adoption of a new Police Bill which, he argued, would meet all of the criticisms he had made.

"He put it to them, as rational men, whether, if they must go to Parliament for a bill of this kind and have something analogous to town council, whether they would not have the members selected from various classes of society. Let them have some who paid only 7s., some 5s., some 20s., and so on; let them not be represented only by one class having a distinct interest in capital, and opposed to labour. (Cheers)."

Ironside in responding to this pointed out that a number of the provisions of the proposed Bill were contained in the Incorporation Act and that as the Bill would require all £7 householders to pay to the new police rate their claims to care for the poor were not worth much. Ironside also brought up the question of who would control the new Police Commission and how they would use their powers. He did this by referring to the 'Crookes Affair' which had taken place a few years earlier and aroused popular hostility against certain members of

the police commission amongst the working class.

The incident concerned an alleged assault on a 'Mr. Ramskar' by two local watchmen - George Crookes and Thomas Sanderson. Both men were sent for trial at the Spring Sessions in 1836 and were found not guilty.<sup>48</sup> During the course of the trial the Police Commissioners paid for the expenses of the two watchmen whilst a public fund was set up for Ramskar. Ironside claimed that a 'certain committee' had decided to support Crookes and Sanderson and that, in effect, they controlled the affairs of the commission. He then implied that as under the new Bill only seven members would be needed to make a quorum the same undemocratic form of control would be maintained.

This meeting ended in some confusion when, according to the hostile Sheffield Independent, Joseph Levick moved a motion against the gaining of a Corporation in such a way that a large number of those who voted did not understand what they were voting for. Both Ironside and Otley called for a re-vote but Levick refused and was supported by James Wilson (a local solicitor, related to the snuff makers of Westbrook Mills), who said that as this was a meeting called by those against the Corporation there was no need to put the opposite of the motion.

It now rested with the government to appoint an investigator to come to Sheffield and examine the petitions on each side. A Captain Jebb was appointed to carry out this duty, and he came to Sheffield on the 2nd April, 1838 having performed a similar function in Bolton. Jebb's report, and the petition of the pro-corporators survive in the Public Records Office and from them we were able to gain a greater insight into the struggle.

The petition for incorporation<sup>49</sup> is headed by three named individuals: Robert John Gainsford, who we have met already; John Brown, who is described as a "merchant"; Samuel Butcher<sup>50</sup>, a local manufacturer. The petition introduces two new elements into the argument for a corporation. Firstly, the fact that the Town has now spread outside of the three quarter mile radius of the old Act is stated and then the point is made that this has resulted in "a very great number of streets and houses of a high rental and respectable character .. (being) erected beyond the boundary line which urgently require immediate provision of watching and lighting." So, it is not just any houses that are in need of protection, it is the homes of the wealthy. And secondly, it emerges that the lack of a local Mayor is resulting in merchants trading overseas having to travel to Chesterfield or Doncaster to have affidavits and commercial documents

sworn, and Municipal Seals affixed. Civic pride too is present, a corporation is needed since at the moment there is no "efficient responsible head or governing power in the Town".

No copy of the petition against incorporation seems to have survived. There is, however, a letter from Joseph Levick jun. to Lord Wharncliffe asking him to use his influence to ensure that the attempt fails.<sup>51</sup> Levick, once again, introduces the argument that the manufacturers would fill the role of magistrates and be able to sit in judgement on cases that affected their interests. He also argued that due to the numerical smallness of the "persons possessing wealth", when the elections for the council took place, there would be "much strife" and that "mob orators" would lead the "ignorant" to elect persons "totally unfit to discharge them properly".

"There is unfortunately a feeling prevalent in manufacturing Towns that the interests of the trading and working classes are at variance, a feeling fostered on the one side by Trade Unions, and by competition pressing the manufacturers to endeavour to produce articles cheaper than their neighbour, on the other. This opposition of interests has of late been increased by the strife of the two great political parties in the State, who have each in turn appealed to the angry passions and prejudice of the multitude and these Divisions my Lord in the opinion of the Petitioners would be much encreased (sic) and embittered by the annual occurrence of municipal elections, and eventually be seriously injurious to the real interests and commerce of the place ..."

Therefore, in the opinion of the anti-corporators the council would not only inflame divisions in the Town, it would act as a conductor of debates from outside. Levick concludes by informing Wharncliffe that all the Anglican ministers in Sheffield have signed his petition.

To turn now to Jebb's report, he found that of the 9,620 signing for the charter, 1,970 were rate payers, paying in total £46,013. Likewise, of the 15,328 signing against the charter, 4,589 were rate payers, paying £76,741. This would give an average of £23 for the pro-corporators and £17 for the anti- (the figures for Bolton are an average of £12 for and £17 against<sup>52</sup>) which would seem to indicate that the bulk of the anti-group were small ratepayers. However, Jebb notes that the fear of having to pay rates under a corporation is one of the things that made the people sign the petition against it. He provides figures: he says that about 1,500 people whose rate could be averaged at £5 signed (a total of £7,500). If these are removed from the anti-Charter group, the average figure now increases to £22, showing that in actual fact the two sides are more evenly matched

Jebb identifies a number of reasons for change, the most important of which are that:

1. There is no suitable body within the Town to cope with what he called an "unforeseen emergency".
2. The Police force within the area covered by the 1818 Act and that outside of it (appointed by the Court Leet) do not cooperate.
3. The Constables appointed by the Court Leet did not do their job well.

Jebb thought that a new Police Act would solve the problems but, as we have seen, he also thought that the local political divisions would make that unworkable. He also thought that creating local magistrates would provoke accusations of partiality. Therefore, he recommended the appointment of a Stipendiary Magistrate. Despite the support of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord of the Manor of Sheffield, and the Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord of the Manor of Ecclesall Bierlow, the pro-corporators had lost. In defeat, the Sheffield Independent fell back onto accusations of dishonesty.<sup>53</sup> The anti-corporators had entered names two or three times, and produced bogus certificates from people claiming they had signed the pro-corporators' petition in error. Even those names which the anti-corporators had gained legitimately were said to have been gained by "the extraordinary labour and expense they have bestowed upon the work, and the unscrupulous manner in which they have done it". This was contrasted to the "economical procedure" and honest designs of the pro-corporators.

It laid the blame for its defeat at the door of what it called "the local farmers". They were, it said "persons who can have nothing to do with our municipal government, and who will neither contribute to its cost nor share in its advantage." The real failure however, lay in the inability of the pro-corporators to win over the small ratepayers to their cause. In the next section we shall see how they managed to achieve this.

#### 4:3 The struggle for the Charter: 1840-3

The activity surrounding the gaining of a charter seems to have died away completely during the period 1838-40. This was, in any case, a time of slump in the local trades. Holland produces figures to show that the numbers in the Sheffield Poor-House rose from 261 in 1837 to 443 in 1840. Over the same period the total payments to the poor rose from £3,966 to £7,527.<sup>54</sup> However, events which occurred in the first days of 1840 were to bring questions of social control back

to centre stage. On the night of the 11/12 January, 1840 a group of local 'physical force' Chartists, dissatisfied with the progress being made toward reform, attempted to take and hold the Town by force. It was planned to seize the Town Hall and the Tontine Inn, the disruption of the coach service from the latter being a signal for other areas to rise. The scheme had little chance of success as their plans had been betrayed to the magistrates some days before.<sup>55</sup> In the event most of the leadership either fled or were arrested before the arranged meeting time of 2.00am. In the morning Samuel Holbery, his wife Mary, Thomas Booker, his son William, Samuel Foxall and Samuel Thompson were brought before the local magistrates and charged with high treason. Holbery and John Clayton, who was charged on the next day, were eventually sent to jail where both of them died before the end of their sentences.

Hugh Parker, the senior magistrate on the Bench took the opportunity to address a homily to the masters of Sheffield.<sup>56</sup> In it he conjoined two favourite 'Victorian' roles: that of head of the family, and that of master of men. It was lack of correct control and good advice that was causing unrest amongst the young members of the workforce.

"I do think that if heads of families and masters of apprentices would look more carefully after their inmates, and whenever they found them to be irregular in their habits, or concerned in such proceedings as these, they would very greatly contribute to the good order to the town, if they would be careful to keep them at home, and give them good advice ... I hope they will see the propriety of attending to this more than many of them have done; and that good rules will be maintained in families and that young people will not be allowed to spend their time out after working hours."

The staple trade of Sheffield, not yet touched by the technological revolutions that would produce the 'heavy' sector of the second half of the nineteenth century, were still conducted mainly in small workshops. This form of production had one large social disadvantage for the middle class, in that it promoted a feeling of independence amongst the workforce. As Joyce pointed out, "independence rather than defence was the key-note of class relations in much of the West Riding."<sup>57</sup> Joyce's argument is that the factory mode of production greatly increased the ability of the employer to engage his workforce in a paternalist relationship. This is seen by Joyce as a crucial move by the employer in promulgating a deferential attitude amongst the factory workforce. However this deference is not just a surface phenomenon, rather it is seen by Joyce as something

which is internalised and naturalised by the workforce. Parker is then, at one level, registering this problem.

On another level, Parker is articulating a fear that the control and effectiveness of the police was in danger of slipping away. This generalised fear was partly behind the passing of the County Constabulary Act of 1839.<sup>58</sup> In its original form this act required the magistrates, under the Lord Lieutenant, to meet together to decide whether the police arrangements in their county were adequate to protect life and property. If they decided that this was not the case, they were to report this to the Secretary of State who, if he agreed, would give the Lord Lieutenant the power to appoint a Chief Constable (subject to the approval of the Secretary of State). This Chief Constable would then have the power to appoint as many other officers as the magistrates saw fit (up to the limit of one man for every thousand of the population). One of the most contentious parts of this bill was the fact that the officers thus appointed did not have to come from the local inhabitants. This led some to call the new police force "government spies".<sup>59</sup> It first came under consideration in the West Riding in March 1840 when the magistrates at Pontefract met to discuss its implementation. Its main advocate then and during the next few years was Lord Wharncliffe, the local leader of the Tory group, who was also Lord Lieutenant.<sup>60</sup> He expressed the view that although the police in the rural areas may have been deficient, it was mainly in the manufacturing areas that the new organised force was required. His reason for this was quite clearly the events which had taken place at the beginning of the year.

"He was not there to deny that the police of the county was very deficient; he was not there to deny that it was very desirable that there should be some organised force, more especially in the manufacturing towns, for without such it was difficult, in these times of agitation, and when attempts had been made for bringing together masses of people, for the purpose of carrying certain points which persons had in their minds."<sup>61</sup>

He urged the magistrates not to make a decision on this question now but rather to seek the opinion of the rate-payers and to meet again once this had been obtained. Whether this was his true motive, or a tactic to stop the decision being made before the reformed County Constabulary bill<sup>62</sup> went through Parliament, it is not possible to say. However, when the bill was passing through the Lords, he introduced an amendment which enabled the constabulary force to be applied to only part of a county and not all, as was the case under the 1839 act.<sup>63</sup> This new bill was first moved in the Commons on 24 March 1840, only a few days after this meeting.<sup>64</sup> Is it possible that

Wharncliffe knew of its impending introduction? One final piece of evidence is that when the magistrates next met regarding this question, Wharncliffe completely ignored the petitions which had been sent; all of which were against the introduction of a constabulary force.

Whatever his motives, Wharncliffe's motion was agreed to and the magistrates next discussed the question on 22 September 1840. Wharncliffe once again urged that the constabulary force should only be raised in the manufacturing parts of the Riding and argued that it was in these areas that mobs were more easily raised and 'evil-disposed persons' more able to 'do their work'.<sup>65</sup> He was not however, without his opponents and magistrates from a number of the urban areas argued that theirs was a special case. Hugh Parker spoke for Sheffield and maintained that the events of the previous winter (e.g. Chartists) had shown that the local police system was capable of dealing with any danger. Other J.P.s argued that the bill should apply to all the Riding or not be introduced at all.<sup>66</sup>

Uppermost in the minds of some of the J.P.s was the question of how much it would cost to establish such a force. A Mr. Staniforth and a deputation of Police Commissioners from Sheffield pointed out that if the new constables did not take on the duty of night-watchmen the cost of the local force would be effectively doubled ( £3,000 to £6,000).<sup>67</sup>

The view expressed by all the petitions submitted concerned the anti-democratic, unconstitutional aspects of the Bill. If brought into force, it would have meant that the power to raise police rates, the auditing of the accounts and the selection of the officers, would be taken away from the quasi-democratic institutions of - in the case of Sheffield - the Police Commission, and placed in the hands of the non-elected, mainly Tory, magistrates. This was something which the liberal centres in the Riding could not countenance. A typical example of the tone of the petitions is shown by this extract from the newspaper report of the meeting.

"The petition from North Brierly remonstrated against the establishment of a force over which the ratepayers would have no control or influence. The petition from Saddleworth, very numerously signed, declared that the measure would be a violation of the rights of the people - that it would be dangerous to liberty, to establish a standing army of policemen, armed with bludgeons, pistols, and cutlasses, and that it would place in jeopardy the property of the rich, by the discontent it would cause, rather than tend to suppress riot and disorder."

Despite the numerous arguments made against it at the meeting the magistrates voted to apply the act to certain parts of the Riding and a committee was set up to determine which areas should be included.

The editorial in the Independent whilst distancing itself from the physical force Chartists,<sup>68</sup> demanded to know why "... are the county magistrates to be thus aggrandised?"<sup>69</sup> Even worse was the slur on the supposed ability of the inhabitants of Sheffield to handle their own affairs:

"The people of Sheffield will thus be protected by a magistracy of county gentlemen and their nominees, like so many children in a nursery; with only this disadvantage, as compared with the children, that we shall have not only to submit, but to pay."

The Magistrates Committee presented its report at a special meeting held on 9 December, 1840 at Wakefield.<sup>70</sup> The areas which it recommended should be within the constabulary boundary included, with a few small exceptions, all of the manufacturing parts of the Riding. The area had a total population of 650,000 and the committee had found "the return of crime large, even in proportion to the population and the police manifestly deficient..."<sup>71</sup>

Wharncliffe once again spoke first and proceeded to give a defence of his actions at the previous meeting; notably his dismissal of the petitions.<sup>72</sup> He gave two reasons for his action. The first was that the petitions had been addressed to the magistrates under the assumption that it was the 1839 Act that was under consideration and not the 1840. Thus, Wharncliffe argued that the petitions were drawn up on the assumption that if the Act was applied it would be to all and not part of the Riding. The second, and perhaps closest to the truth, concerned the fact that all the petitions had come from the manufacturing parts of the county. Wharncliffe's political dislike of these areas showed through when he argued that:

"In those parts, we know right well, that there are always persons ready to direct their fellow-citizens to petition, and we know how easily persons can be got together to petition for any purpose under the sun. That is not the case in the rural districts, where it is difficult to get people together, and they do not communicate easily to get to know what the matter is, and they are not so easily led by persons with whom it is not now my business to find fault."<sup>73</sup>

In the course of a long speech, Wharncliffe later made clear his reasons for arguing this case. He claimed that due to the tendency of the manufacturing districts to indulge in riotous behaviour the magistrates had often to call on the constables to restore order.

However, these constables were often 'totally inadequate' and the magistrates then had to resort to the special constables (whom Wharncliffe argued were 'superior in rank and station' to the ordinary constable and therefore had no confidence in them), or to call out the military or the yeomanry. If this latter course of action was followed, Wharncliffe argued, "the military and yeomanry are always placed in a difficult position, in which no citizen should be placed if it can be helped." Quite what Wharncliffe meant is not immediately clear. He could have been referring to the problem often encountered when billeting troops, namely, placing them in small numbers in private lodgings. This made them more open to sedition and, in its early stages, was one of the reasons given for the introduction of the 1839 Act.<sup>74</sup>

Conversely he may have meant that locally recruited men might be loathe to move against people that they knew.<sup>75</sup> The possibility of bringing in "foreign" men for the constabulary force would lessen this risk. Whatever Wharncliffe may have meant he drew the conclusion that because the magistrates were slow in calling out the troops the manufacturing areas were not adequately protected. Once again Wharncliffe was not without his critics and a number of the J.P.s urged that, despite the decision made at the previous meeting the Constabulary Act should be applied to not part, but all of the Riding. Two of the county's M.P.s said that they thought the issue was being decided too much in terms of politics, and not of crime, "which was universal".<sup>76</sup>

However, Wharncliffe seems to have been able to raise enough support to carry all of the four resolutions which he had proposed.<sup>77</sup> The same committee was re-elected to consider the number and size of the sub-divisions to be made and the number and cost of the force needed for each.

This move on the part of Wharncliffe and the magistrates produced a great feeling of hostility amongst the shifting Radical/Liberal elements of Sheffield society. For the Chartists, if it was allowed to succeed, the imposition of a tax levied by an unconstitutional body would mean yet another victory for the "enemies of the people". The Liberal group whilst sometimes borrowing the language of the Chartists saw it more in terms of a blocking of their growing local and national control of the institutions of state and civil society. Whilst the Chief of Police remained a local appointment, it was possible for the local manufacturers and petty-bourgeoisie to exert control over the choice. Likewise, the appointment of constables at the Court Leet was

a local affair. Allied to this was the notion of prestige. If the Constabulary Act was applied to Sheffield it would be placed on "the same humble footing as Ecclesfield, Penistone, Holmfirth, and Delph",; these being "petty places".<sup>78</sup> A Corporation, on the other hand, would maintain "the respectability and independence of the town".<sup>79</sup>

The first reaction to the magistrates move was an attempt to resurrect once again the idea of a new Police Act. The Sheffield Independent of 21 March 1840 reported a special meeting of the Police Commissioners at which a report was received recommending that a new police force should be obtained. The appointment of the Chief Commissioners was to be given to the Queen (i.e. the Government) but the selection and control of the actual force was to be given to a new board made up of householders, a stipendiary Magistrate, the petty Magistrates, the Master Cutler and the two wardens, the Town Collector (senior member of the Town Trustees), the Capital Church Burgess (senior member of the Church Burgess), "a number" of the old Police Commissioners and the Police Commissioner. This was presumably intended to become a form of compromise between the Constabulary Force and the Corporation Act containing as it did an element of both centre and local control. However, when, on the 1st April, the proposal was brought forward for a vote, James Montgomery proposed that because of the poor state of trade (see above) it should be abandoned.<sup>80</sup>

On 7th October the Police Commissioners met to consider their response to the West Riding Magistrates Action. Hugh Parker sent a letter to this meeting in which he stated that the Magistrates did not intend to exclude Sheffield from the provisions of the Constabulary Act.<sup>81</sup> He also outlined what he saw as the advantages gained by incorporation. These were, 1) the creation of a Borough Magistrate; 2) the ability of the Council to take in various parts of the borough for lighting and cleansing; and 3) it would give the council the power to appoint a Stipendiary Magistrate. The pro-incorporation faction of the Commission proposed that they should call on the Master Cutler to hold a public meeting to discuss the situation of the town and to decide on whether they should petition for a charter. The anti-incorporation faction attempted to move an amendment to the effect that neither a charter nor a County Constabulary would be of benefit to the town and that an enlarged police force, was required covering a larger area to be created by a new act of Parliament. It is difficult to assess how serious they were in advocating this cause of action as the 20th. clause of the County Constabulary Act gave the head of the police the power to extinguish any local police acts within the areas

covered. It is possible that some of them did believe that they could escape both by this measure, but it is also true that it served as a useful diversionary tactic<sup>82</sup> as did the now familiar argument that local elections would introduce political "excitement" into the area.<sup>83</sup>

The Independent's editorial- in the same issue that reported the meeting - showed a markedly harder attitude toward the Magistrates, and Wharncliffe in particular. Far from helping to prevent unrest and crime in Sheffield, the imposition of an "army in plain clothes" under the command of a "military officer", chosen by people who had no knowledge or sympathy with the inhabitants would; "...generate a fearful amount of ill-feeling, endangering the peace of the neighbourhood, and perhaps producing some shocking catastrophe." This would then give the magistrates an excuse to increase the strength of the police force and so the inhabitants would find themselves further weighed down by "shackles". To this gloomy view the Independent counterpoised the advantages to be gained from a charter. It was maintained that party views need not intrude, as what they wished was for the "good" of the town; good in this sense meaning the most rational course of action. It was the opposition, the Independent argued, who were introducing "party" into the issue by their resistance.<sup>84</sup>

The public meeting called by the Master Cutler took place on the 21st October. It started in the Town Hall but, because of the large numbers attending, was adjourned to Paradise Square (the "speaker's corner" of Sheffield). The people speaking in favour of the Charter are familiar names; e.g. Hugh Parker, William Fisher, John Sykes, Thomas Dunn, William Ibbotson. However, there also appears for the first time the name of Thomas Asline Ward one of the intellectual/social elder statesmen of Sheffield<sup>85</sup>. The Chartists, Otley and Ironside, also spoke, with the former referring to Wharncliffe as a representative of the aristocracy who were "a great leak, through which the national wealth flowed the faster proportion as it was produced.." .

Representatives of the anti-corporation group were last to present and all who spoke, also expressed their hostility to the Constabulary bill. Two of them, Isaac Mitchell and a "Mr. Lee" (Clerk of St. Philip's Church) once again tried to move an amendment to petition for a revised Police Act but received no support. At the close it was resolved that a petition should be drawn up and displayed in the Cutler's Hall for signature. The sharing of the platform by

the Chartists Oatley and Ironside and the Whiggish elements of the town seems to have occasioned some comment from the Tories. The same issue of the Independent which carried a report of this meeting also contained an editorial in which the strategy of the Liberal/Whigs is made quite clear;

"And since our opponents are pleased to sneer at what they call the petition of the whigs and chartists, we are by no means disposed to blink our opinion of the conduct of the chartists in this business ... The opponents of the charter hoped that the jealousy which has formerly been shown by the chartists towards the middle classes, and the impracticability which has often led the chartists to go for "what-they-can't-get" reform, would have caused them on this occasion to repudiate the proposal of local-self-government, and place the borough at the mercy of the county constabulary. We rejoice to say, however, that these evil hopes were entirely disappointed; and we trust that this even heralds the approach of that time when the middle and working classes, as forming the great anti-aristocratic people, whose interests are one, who united, are able to maintain the onward march of reform, but disunited, become by turns the objects of lordly contumely and wrong, will again join with one heart and voice in prosecuting their common objects against the common foe."

This paragraph neatly captures the essence of this fraction of the middle classes' support for the aims of the Chartists. The pro-corporation group had correctly identified the fact that in order to maintain the majority of support they had to win over the large mass of property holders, who were just over the £10 limit and who tended to give support to the Chartists. In order to do this, certain points had to be stressed. Firstly, the fact that the Magistrates in general, and Wharncliffe in particular, represented an old feudal order who produced nothing, but consumed the profit of the workers. Secondly, that the attempt to impose a County Constabulary force on Sheffield was not only an insult, but also represented the imposition of an absolutist, anti-democratic form of rule. Thirdly, that the creation of local self-government would give the vote to all resident male householders and that this would serve as a testing ground for the eventual extension of the Parliamentary franchise. And lastly, that the practical effects of the corporation would be of greater benefit to the poorer elements than the large property owner who could afford to pay to protect his property. The "unfortunate" elements of the Corporation Act (e.g. the property qualification needed to serve on the council) were explained away as a result of interference from the Tories as the act passed through the Lord. The most that the anti-corporation group could offer as a counter argument was the fact that the act would require all to pay toward the corporation rate, in

contrast to the situation under the Police Act, where only those rated at £10 and above paid. The presentation of themselves as the friends of the poor, seeking to protect them from the "place-hunting" Whigs and Liberals although, containing an element of truth, was one which the Tories found hard to sustain.

Typical of the attacks on this latter position is the letter from John Olland which appeared in the Sheffield Independent of the 31st October, 1840:

"Men of Sheffield, - So, the wolves have become the patrons of the sheep! What miracle of nature or anomaly in man has converted the Tories into plaintive defenders of the poor?"

Olland proceeded to list the progressive measures which the Tories had tried to block. The extension of the franchise, the adoption of the ballot, the repeal of the Corn Laws etc. He also showed that at least a group within the Chartists were aware that the collaboration with the Whigs could only be a temporary measure but was necessary given the political status quo:

"The Whigs are not perfect, I know, but they have one principle, (viz., that the people are the origins of power and wealth, and ought to be fairly represented in Parliament,) and that principle is worth all the principles and pretensions of the Tories ten times told."

The Committee set up to organise the activities of the pro-corporation group were now engaging in positive action to gain support. Two receipts in the Sheffield Local Archives testify to this. One shows that during October they had paid out £6.2s.0d. to Thomas Hardcastle for the printing of 3,000 bills headed "England expects every man to do his duty", 2,000 headed "Death Cries of Toryism" and 2,000 headed "Slaves of Sheffield". The other shows that they paid out a further £1.15s.16d to G. Pedley for "Posting Bills, etc."<sup>86</sup>

The West Riding Magistrates met again in February of 1841 to receive the report of the committee set up to decide on the size and strength of the various divisions within the Riding. However, a group of J.P.s from the manufacturing areas, led by Wood, proposed that the Act be extended to include all of the Riding. Despite contrary arguments, it was carried when put to the vote and Wharncliffe was led to declare that he washed his hands of the whole affair.<sup>87</sup> A committee was once again set up to decide on the strengths of the forces needed in the various areas. However, when this report was delivered on the 13th April it was rejected and Wharncliffe advised

that the magistrates should "take no further step, and consider it again at some future time."<sup>88</sup> It would have seemed that Sheffield had been saved from the imposition of the Constabulary Police. However, the Independent had its own views on this development. It accused Wharncliffe of once again prevaricating whilst waiting for a favourable piece of legislation to pass through Parliament. This was a reference to an act which would have given county magistrates the power to appoint constables themselves and pay them directly out of the parochial rate. The Independent argued that once this act had passed the West Riding Magistrates would appoint a sufficient number of new constables in the rural areas to be able to claim that they were adequately policed, and would then once again try to apply the Constabulary Act to the manufacturing parts. The people of the Town were urged not to be taken in by this respite but to sign the petition in favour of a corporation.<sup>89</sup>

By the middle of 1841, petitions both for and against a charter had been submitted to the Government. One again Jebb was appointed to visit Sheffield and inspect the names. In the meantime deputations from Sheffield were sent to London to argue their relative cases. The pro-corporators group consisted of Parker, Michael Ellison, Walter Hinde and Joseph Parkes.<sup>90</sup> Those against were John Newbould, Thomas Creswick, Thomas Pierson, Henry Boulton, John Morton and George Ridge.<sup>91</sup>

Jebb arrived in Sheffield on the 1st August, and completed his inspection by the end of the month. However, during the course of this month, the Whig Government had been defeated and a new Tory administration had taken its place, with Wharncliffe being made Lord President of the Council. This may go some way to explaining the delay in the announcement of the result of the inspection. When it did eventually come, on the 6th November, it was a victory for the pro-corporators. The Sheffield Independent<sup>92</sup> announced that the rateable value of those in favour of a charter was £97,717, those against £57,778, this being a majority of £39,939 in favour. Jebb's report, and a document in the Sheffield Archives - although not agreeing with these figures - does give us a detailed image of the result.<sup>93</sup>

Jebb's report shows that a total number of 3,110 ratepayers voted in favour of a charter, with a total rate value of £83,353. In a similar fashion, 1,954 ratepayers voted against the charter, with a total rate value of £61,082. The average rateable value of those voting for the charter was thus £27, those against £31. This shows

quite a considerable change for the anti-charter group from 1838; then the average was £17, now it was £31. This image of large ratepayers being against the charter is given even more weight if we look at the actual numbers signing across the two years. If we take those signing for, in 1838 1,907 signed, with a rate value of £46,000; in 1841 3,110 signed with a rate value of £83,000. Now if we take those against, in 1838, 4,589 signed with a rate value of £76,000; in 1841, only 1,954 signed yet the rate value only dropped to £61,000. Clearly some very large ratepayers were voting against the charter. This must be the case since the rates of both the Duke of Norfolk and Earl Fitzwilliam were being counted in favour of the corporation.

If we now look at a breakdown of the figures by townships it will give us a picture of where - geographically - the support was coming from.

Table No. 4.2<sup>94</sup>£10 Householders in Favour of the Sheffield Charter, by Townships.

<u>Township</u>	A Total Number	B Total Rate (£s)	C No. in Favour <sup>A</sup>	D Rates of Those in Favour <sup>B</sup> (£s)
Sheffield	3,158	85,321	2,114 (0.669)	55,890 (0.655)
Ecclesall Bierlow	822	22,283	417 (0.507)	9,733 (0.437)
Brightside Bierlow	467	18,587	316 (0.677)	10,956 (0.590)
Attercliffe	131	4,545	86 (0.656)	2,148 (0.473)
Nether Hallam	378	9,612	161 (0.426)	4,085 (0.425)
Upper Hallam	108	4,087	16 (0.148)	541 (0.132)
	<u>5,064</u>	<u>144,435</u>	<u>3,110</u>	<u>83,353</u>

Notes

- A. Figures in brackets are 'C' as a proportion of 'A'.
- B. Figures in brackets are 'D' as a proportion of 'B'.

The table shows quite clearly that the bulk of the support for the charter came from Sheffield Township itself and the predominantly industrial townships to the east and north of the town (Brightside and Attercliffe). The townships of Ecclesall and Nether Hallam immediately to the West and South of Sheffield had fewer industrial sites and, at this time, fewer houses of industrial owners. Upper Hallam, which was the most distant and most rural of the townships, represents the smallest percentage of support.

The figures for the relative densities and the percentage of £10 ratepayers in the townships reflect this pattern of a tightly packed urban group who favoured a charter, and a widely spaced rural group who, whilst they may have not all had close economic links with the land, do not seem at this time to have been sympathetic with the aspirations of the Liberal political group.

Table No. 4.3<sup>95</sup>Percentage of £10 Householders and Density of Inhabitants Per Acre and Inhabited House.

<u>Township</u>	<u>Percentage of £10 Householders</u>	<u>People per Acre</u>	<u>People per inhabited house</u>
Sheffield	17.5	22.0	4.8
Ecclesall Bierlow	17.0	4.5	4.9
Brightside Bierlow	18.0	3.7	3.3
Attercliffe	12.2	3.3	4.7
Nether Hallam	20.5	1.3	5.1 <sup>^</sup>
Upper Hallam	30.2	0.2	5.4

Notes

A. The high figure in this column for Nether and Upper Hallam presumably represents the number of large houses which would have kept a retinue of staff.

However, this was only the first round of the struggle, for it now lay with the Privy Council to decide whether to accept Jebb's report. Both committees threw themselves into the fray again and drew up a number of memorials or petitions disputing the number of signatures which their opponents had claimed. Typical of the tone of these is the comment from the pro-incorporation group who claimed that "Several thousand names .. were entirely fictitious and were admitted by the Agent to the Opponents before the Commissioners to exist only in the imaginations of the persons who had been paid to procure them."<sup>96</sup>

On January 26th 1842 Lord Wharncliffe in his capacity as President of the Council wrote to Albert Smith to say that the Privy Council would recommend the granting of a charter if they were sure that Sheffield would set up a Court of Quarter Sessions and appoint a Recorder.<sup>97</sup> This would have involved Sheffield in considerable expense as not only would it be necessary to pay the salary of the Recorder but the new borough would also have had to build a prison to

to be wishing to rid the West Riding of any obligation to Sheffield whatsoever, and to be seeking to increase the expenditure resulting from its incorporation.<sup>98</sup> This of course would have tended to make it more unpopular. Smith replied, on behalf of the committee, that they could not pledge themselves to any particular course of action.<sup>99</sup> Wharncliffe replied to this at the Quarter Sessions on the 15th February by saying that he simply wished the topic to be considered.<sup>100</sup> The issue seems to have been resolved later on in the month for there is a draft copy of a letter from Smith to Wharncliffe in the bundle of documents relating to the Charter in which Smith states that if legislation was passed which enabled Sheffield to contract the placing of its prisoners to the prison at Wakefield then the committee would use its "best exertions" to influence the council when elected.<sup>101</sup>

There were other attempts to block or delay the incorporation of the town. A long and detailed invoice from the London firm of solicitors who handled the affairs of the pro-incorporation group show that a lot of their time involved being passed from one government official to another.<sup>102</sup> However without evidence from other sources, it is difficult to say how much of this vacillation was merely caused by bureaucratic incompetence. It is true however that these delays gained time for the anti-incorporation group in Sheffield to organise themselves and to arrange meetings.

The first of these local attempts to block the charter took place on 1st June, when, at the Police Commissioners meeting, Robert Sorby proposed that a memorial be sent to the Privy Council requesting that due to general "distress of the town" and the fact that there were 1000 able-bodied men in the parish, the granting of the charter should be postponed.<sup>103</sup> Luke Palfreyman and Jonathan Roebuck spoke against the motion which the Chairman refused to move.

Not to be deterred by this setback, a number of the Overseers of the poor requested the Master Cutler to convene a meeting to discuss the same issue. This took place on 30th June at first in the Town Hall, but due to the large numbers attending, it was moved to Paradise Square. The opening motion, that the charter should be deferred considering "the severe pressure of the times", was moved by Joshua Moss (Merchant) and seconded by John Smith Hawksworth (Silver Plate Manufacturer) both of whom were Overseers for Sheffield.<sup>104</sup> They both claimed that their concern was not so much with the Charter itself as with the extra revenue that would have to be raised to cover its expense.<sup>105</sup> Moss produced figures to show that the expenditure on the

casual poor had risen from £2,409 in 1839 to £7,078 in 1842 and that the average number of persons in the Workhouse had risen from 349 to 469 over the same period. The amount of actual rate collected had risen from £15,516 to £23,716 and Moss predicted that the expenditure for the year 1843 could well be £450,000. Although it is true that Sheffield trade was in a state of decline at this time, the claim of at least one of the speakers to neutral feelings over the charter must be called into doubt. J. S. Hawksworth had signed, in the name of his company Howard and Hawksworth, the petition to the Privy Council objecting to the inclusion of the rates of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl Fitzwilliam and the New Gas Co. on the pro-corporation petition. Indeed, the Independent, in its editorial for the same issue that carried the report of the meeting, commented that, "To a Sheffield eye, the requisitionists present an aspect of all but unspotted blue; and more closely examined, it is found that some of them were opponents of Incorporation ...".

Opposing the motion were the familiar figures of Fisher, Dunn, Parker and Ironside with the inclusion of W. J. Bagshaw (another of the West Riding J. P.s with jurisdiction over the Sheffield area) who, together with Parker, stressed the unsatisfactory "condition" of the county Magistrates. Fisher and Dunn repeated a number of the arguments in favour of incorporation and Dunn in particular argued that due to the fact that a corporate town would be likely to request a Quarter Sessions (thus exempting the town from a large percentage of the County Rate) the granting of a charter would in fact save money. Moreover, as the control of expenditure would be in local hands they would be able to exert influence over it by voting out whoever they felt had not performed their duties in an economical manner. Dunn also repeated one of the strongest arguments for the charter that the middle class could produce to win the support of the small radical shopkeeper or manufacturer; the promise of an electoral franchise:

"But standing now probably for the last time before you on this subject, I must say that I have looked forward to another great advantage out of a Corporation, which you cannot get, unless you have a Corporation. I look upon it as a training school for the unfranchised householders to demand the Parliamentary franchise. (Cheers) Let the men of Sheffield exercise the burgess franchise with prudence and discretion - let them choose such men to administer their local affairs as shall undeniably give satisfaction; and then, how can any man stand up in Parliament to deny them the right to choose men to represent them in the national council. (Loud cheering)."<sup>106</sup>

He reinforced his argument for the corporation being an engine of equality by arguing that although his rate bill came to £40 his vote

would be worth the same as the man who paid 4s. He too wished to make his claim to impartiality, and stated that he had no personal interest in the creation of a council and that he was not seeking a place for himself on the council. Indeed, he said that the demands of his business were such that if he were elected he would have to decline the nomination. (In actual fact Dunn was elected for Park Ward in the first elections and became one of the first Aldermen.)

Of all the speakers, Ironside was the only one who really addressed the problem of the slump in trade. "It was impossible", he said "that while the present system continued the times should mend." What he meant by the "present system" was the increasing use of machinery in the productive process. Ironside produced figures to show that whilst the amount of cotton goods produced had risen from "seventeen millions" in 1814 to "116 millions" in 1840, the amount received for it had only increased from "twenty millions" to "fifty-one millions". However, Ironside's complaint was not with the machinery itself but with the social and economic relationships which dictated the way in which it was used:-

"We were sending out more goods for less money. This was insanity; and unless a right direction was given to the machinery, we could not exist, but must starve. Let them remember that excessive wealth and excessive poverty could not exist together."

Although not actually saying that a town council would be sympathetic to this line of thought it is obvious that Ironside hoped that the creation of a local institution on democratic lines would be a step forward in the struggle for the aims of the Chartists. Certainly his views, and the "Radical" sentiments expressed by Dunn and Fisher seem to have found sympathy with an audience which the Independent described as numbering "Several thousands". The amendment put forward by Fisher - that a Charter would create a more efficient system of government - was carried by a large majority.

From this point, the anti-corporation group seem to have accepted that a Charter was now a fait accompli and they threw their energies into organising support for candidates. The draft copy of the Charter arrived in Sheffield on 10 December 1842 and for the next nine months the issue dropped from view whilst a list of the burgesses qualified to vote was drawn up by Albert Smith.<sup>107</sup> This was presented on the 2nd September 1843 when it was noted that there were only 5,300 names on the list. The law required that there be a period of two weeks in which any ratepayer could appeal to have their name inserted or object to the insertion of another. The Independent of the same date gave

instructions to its readers on the qualifications they needed to vote and how to go about claiming the right. However, by the time the two weeks had elapsed, the number had only increased to 5,558 (Sheffield Township, 2,838 (15.8%), Attercliffe Township 401 (37.2%); Brightside Township 519 (19.9%); Ecclesall Township 1,259 (25.6%); Nether Hallam 423 (23%); Upper Hallam 118 (33%))<sup>108</sup> and the Independent noted that "It does not appear that any thing like the attention which was deserved has been given to the sending in of claims; nor have persons to any extent, though the matter has been in agitation for three years, taken the opportunity of having themselves rated and paying the rates..".

Three days beforehand, on the 13th September a meeting had been held at the Town Hall to "confer and advise" on the bringing into effect of the Charter of Incorporation. Now that the gaining of the Charter had been achieved, the Whiggish elements of the group began to express some fears over the possible results of placing the local franchise in the hands of the working class. Dunn expressed this view but added that "he had a firm conviction that the men of Sheffield would justify the hopes of their friends in the town, and of the Legislature, when both Houses agreed to confer these large powers on the inhabitant householders."<sup>109</sup> Both Dunn and Smith urged the electors of Sheffield to exercise caution in their choice of councillors:

"In electing, therefore, men whom they thought they could trust to push the Charter into operation, let them choose men of discretion, who would not recklessly run into expense men who would be content to feel their way, to let the business come upon them by degrees men who did not think they were born to be town councillors, but content to work their way and endeavour to acquire some practical knowledge."<sup>110</sup>

The Chairman of the meeting (Edward Smith, local iron merchant) recommended that they elect only those whose past lives showed that they were trustworthy and who had "a considerable stake in the town..".

If the "respectable" supporters of the Charter were beginning to show caution the Chartists and working men were beginning to realise that they had been misled over the nature of the franchise. Whilst Ironside seems not to have had any objections to the size of the burgess list, Otley lamented its smallness and asked whether the time for objections could not be extended. However, the real problem confronting the working class was brought up by "A Workman" who said that Dunn had told them at a previous meeting that "every householder would have a vote, and said nothing about rating..".<sup>111</sup> The problem

of "compounding" was examined above and, until the small occupier had taken over the payment of their own rates for three years, it would continue to operate to reduce the number of registered electors.

The one problem that remained for the pro-incorporation group was making sure that candidates sympathetic to the political aims of its members were elected to the council. The law stated that any one who was rated to the poor at 30 or who owned personal property of £1,000 was eligible to be elected. On the day of election the individual wrote on a piece of paper the names of the people he wished to vote for and delivered it to the appropriate polling booth for his ward. However, if no attempt was made to ensure that all those of a like mind voted for the same men there was a possibility that the votes would be spread so thinly that although the opposition had a low number of actual votes they might win the election if they were concentrated on a few individuals. The answer to this problem was to hold ward meetings which could select the appropriate number of names for each area and ensure that the votes were not wasted.<sup>112</sup> Most of these ward meetings were held on the 21st October and in most of them individuals from the pro-incorporation group were in the chair. (Thomas Dunn in Park Ward; John Sykes in St. Peter's Ward; Edward Bramley in St. George's Ward; Edward Smith in Brightside Ward. The Ecclesall ward Meeting was chaired by Benjamin Schofield whose views on incorporation are not known. However, he was placed in the chair on the motion of Edward Bramley who was in favour. The other ward meetings were chaired by W. Hoole (St. Philip's), George Hill (Attercliffe), and William Taylor (Nether Hallam) whose views are not known. Upper Hallam does not seem to have had a ward meeting.)<sup>113</sup>

The tables in Appendix 4.2 show the names put forward from the Ward meetings plus the results of the first and second council elections. Although at this stage of the research it is not possible to give the views on incorporation of all those listed (if it ever will be) it is possible to see some patterns. By and large the creation of lists of names for each Ward seems to have been a success. If we exempt Nether Hallam (where the Tories seem to have been able to keep out the recommended people) and Upper Hallam (where we do not know if a list was prepared) it would seem that whatever party was in control of the meeting which produced the list it was able to ensure that over 50% of the elected individuals came from its recommendations. Indeed, in Brightside the process was 100% effective, with only three names being put forward for an equivalent number of seats.

The "interlopers" (that is, the councillors who were not on the lists) were tolerated but they were denied the more prestigious post of Alderman; with the exception of J. Woodcraft all 14 of them came from the recommended names.

The elections themselves took place on the 1st November and seem to have passed with little popular disturbance. The most the Independent<sup>114</sup> could find to comment on were the posters which appeared in two of the wards warning the electors to "Beware! Beware! Beware! Beware!" of "...papist and unitarian lawyers' - 'bank assignee, bank assignee's lawyer, and bank assignee's brother in law".<sup>115</sup>

The failure of the Parker, Shore Bank had been a source of considerable hardship to a large number of small investors, not to mention the embarrassment it had caused the pro-corporation group. As advocates of economy and "Friends of the poor" they found the identification of their cause with the name of Hugh Parker to now be a liability. This fact was exploited by Samuel Roberts<sup>116</sup> in a pamphlet<sup>117</sup> which he wrote some time after the first council elections. In it he accused Parker of incompetence in the handling of the bank's affairs and of living in luxury even after the collapse whilst people who owned small amounts of money were sent to jail. Dunn was also attacked for his support of Parker in the face of local criticism. On top of this was an attack on the council itself as being an institution for the aggrandizement of people from the "lower orders". Speaking of Dunn's grandfather he describes him as a "conjurer or Cunningham"; whilst of Parker he says:

"Of the family of a late Magistrate,<sup>118</sup> of whom, in your maiden speech as Alderman - you (as you did at the Cutlers Hall some months ago) eulogized to an extent that drew forth loud applause, I know nothing beyond his grandfather (who was then, I believe, a blacksmith, at Norton) to whom a great uncle of mine lent £400, to enable him to give his son a liberal education. Thus my unacquaintedness with genealogy must be my excuse if I should, (as I fear that I may) make any blunders in addressing either you or any of the members of the Honourable novel Corporation of Sheffield. (One will be afraid now of going into a shop for fear of offending the shopkeeper by not giving him his due title.)"<sup>119</sup>

Roberts' tone belies his own history. His own 'liberal education' was a result of his father's business acumen in the firm of Cadman and Roberts, silversmiths, whom Derry describes as being "one of the most successful firms" in the late eighteenth century.<sup>120</sup> However, it may be a manifestation of the religious divide over this issue that we will explore below. Roberts was an Anglican, and although he had friends who were 'soft' Anglicans (e.g. James Montgomery) he was

hostile to the political fortunes of Sheffield dissent. It is also a fact that despite Roberts' high tone about loans, his father was helped in the establishment of his concern with a loan from Benjamin Naylor, Unitarian minister of Upper Chapel.<sup>121</sup>

The final cost of the charter was, according to the solicitor's bill, £593.11.6d. and the names on the promissory note drawn on the Sheffield Banking Co. to cover the expenses of the pro-corporation committee give another indication of the people who were most involved.<sup>122</sup>

Table No. 4.4

Names and Occupations of Those Who Signed Promissory Note, 18 May 1843.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Francis Hoole	£150	Solicitor
Albert Smith	£100	Solicitor
Thomas William Rodgers	£50	Solicitor
James Dixion	£50	Silver & Plated Goods
William Fisher	£50	Horn Presser and Cutter
Henry E Hoole	£50	Stove Grate Manufacturer
Thomas Dunn	£50	Colliery Owner
Michael Ellison	£50	Land agent to the Duke of Norfolk
John Wilson	£50	Knife Manufacturer

Most of these men were rewarded for their actions by being elected to the council. Francis Hoole was elected for St. Peter's Ward 1852-3, was an Alderman 1853-65 and Mayor 1853-4. Thomas William Rodgers was elected for Upper Hallam 1844-7, and again 1848-9. William Fisher was elected for St. Peter's Ward 1844-7, Brightside Ward 1848 -51 and St. Peter's again, 1851-3. He was an Alderman from 1853-75 and Mayor 1854-5. H E Hoole was elected for St. Philip's Ward 1844-51, was an Alderman 1851-62 and Mayor 1859-60. Thomas Dunn was elected for Park Ward in the first elections but was immediately made an Alderman, he held this post until 1859, serving as Mayor in 1844-5 (his partner, William Jeffcock, served as the first Mayor). In addition, Albert Smith was appointed Clerk to the Sheffield Commission of the Peace when it was created in 1848, a post he held until 1872. The other legal position in its power, that of Town Clerk, was given to another corporation activist, Edward Bramley.<sup>123</sup> As Joseph Parkes, the Birmingham Radical, observed in a letter to Brougham in 1835, "Now our supporters have a right to indulge these influences - it is human nature."<sup>124</sup>

The new corporation was, as J D Leader observed, "poor but

honest."<sup>125</sup> Having no property to support expenditure it was solely dependent on rates; this resulted in a less than aggressive Council policy toward urban improvement. However, an attempt was made to apply for a local Improvement Act in 1851. This had support amongst the larger ratepayers but was defeated by the opposition of Ironside and the Democrat Party, who had a majority on the Council.<sup>126</sup> J D Leader, in his article celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the corporation, carries on the family tradition of attacking Ironside by claiming that the opposition to the Act came from those who "feared for the immunity of their pigstyes". However, it is clear that Ironside opposed the introduction of a new Act since it would have led to the abolition of the highway boards, from which he had extended his power base onto the council. These boards were, argued Ironside, more open and democratic than the council, and their sweeping away would effectively disenfranchise a large number of the working class, whilst concentrating still further power into the hands of the few. It was also a shrewd political move, since Ironside could only maintain his ascendancy whilst the centralising power of the council was small.<sup>127</sup>

By the mid-1850s Ironside's power was in decline, and from that point on the council did start to concentrate more power into its hands. In 1864 the corporation became the local board of health; in 1865 it completely absorbed the powers of the Police Commissioners; in 1875 a large programme of street improvement in the central part of Sheffield was started by the corporation under the powers of the Local Government Board. It also began to address the 'cultural' and recreational problems of the large area over which it had control. In 1853 it adopted the Free Public Libraries and Museums Act, and in 1875 opened the Weston Park and received Firth Park as a gift from Mark Firth, the then Mayor.

#### 4:4 Social composition of the Council

In this section I will discuss the social composition of the new council. Did it represent the interests of all sectors of Sheffield society, or was it composed of a small elite? Smith, in his study of Sheffield, claims that its council was "heavily biased towards small businessmen and away from the established urban elite."<sup>128</sup> I suspect that this is rather a premature conclusion based on simple weight of numbers (although Smith does not produce detailed occupational analysis of the council to support this argument). What Smith seems to have overlooked is that power and social status were not uniformly distributed throughout the council; they were

concentrated in the Aldermanic bench and the Mayor.

For example, of the twenty-one men who were Mayor between 1843-1865, seven were also Master Cutler at some point.<sup>129</sup> Again, if we take the same twenty-one men, fourteen of them were members of the Sheffield Club whilst they were Mayor.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, an analysis of the membership of the Club and election to the council shows that in 1843 the Mayor, 3/14 Aldermen and 3/43 Councillors were members; in 1855 the figures are Mayor, 6/14 Aldermen and 5/43 Councillors; in 1868 the figures are Mayor, 8/14 Aldermen and 2/43 Councillors. Although increasing as the council increases in power, the membership of the elite Club is there from the start. The question of power is of course an important one, for if (as we have seen) the council had little power at its disposal until after 1864 this was a strong disincentive to involvement on the part of the elite.

To turn now to economic power; of the twenty companies identified by Baxter as the largest employers at the mid-point of the century, six had representatives on the first council (four at the aldermanic level).<sup>131</sup> Thirteen of them had representation at some point between 1843-1865, with eleven partners on the Aldermanic bench, and eight partners as Mayor. It would thus seem that the interests of both a social and an economic elite were represented on the council.

Another way to consider the elite nature of the council would be to analyse the occupations of the Police Commissioners and the Town Council, to see if the second drew elements from the same social base as the first. This had been done for the Police Commissioners in 1841 and the first council. The results are given in tabular form below:<sup>132</sup>



One final piece of evidence will be considered: the electoral base for the council. At the first election there were 5,584 electors on the electoral role; this compares with 4,347 on the roll at the 1841 parliamentary election. From this small start the numbers moved slowly upwards, only showing large increases from 1846 when the Democratic party launched an aggressive campaign to swell the numbers. Even then, by 1851 there were only 12,220 municipal electors, as compared to 27,118 inhabited houses and a total population, at the census, of 135,307. It is clear then, that for the first few years of its existence the council was being elected by a very small percentage of the total population of the town; in all probability these were the same people exercising the franchise in both municipal and parliamentary elections. Later, as the problems of compounding were resolved the electorate at the municipal level grew, but it was not until 1881 that the number of electors came within 10,000 of the number of inhabited houses.<sup>134</sup>

#### 4:5 Conclusion

In this final section I will attempt to locate the struggle for incorporation in Sheffield within some larger framework. In the process of this I hope it will become apparent that despite its unique aspects, Sheffield shared much in common with other northern towns. I propose to approach this issue through two levels: firstly that of politics, and secondly that of religion. Each of these aspects of an individual's identity played a large part in determining their social encounters and their outlook on life. Often, but not always, they tended to run together along the lines of Nonconformity/ Liberalism and Anglicanism/Toryism.

To take politics first; Elliott has shown that in Bradford during the 1840s there was a clear split within both the Improvement Commissioners and the population of the town, along the lines of Tory anti-corporation, and Liberal pro-corporation.<sup>135</sup> The main impetus for incorporation in Bradford would seem to have been a struggle between the 'old' Tory families, who were representatives of the older forms of manufacture, and the 'new' Liberal families, who were associated with the industrialisation of the town.

In Bolton and Rochdale a similar picture to Sheffield emerges of a large number of overlapping institutions (largely in the hands of the Tories) which a Liberal inspired group sought to replace with a corporation.<sup>136</sup> Hennock shows that in Birmingham the desire for a corporation came from, but was not restricted to, a group of men from

of a council was seen not only as a means to a more rationally controlled urban environment, but also as a means, through the local franchise, of extending the notion of representative government.<sup>137</sup>

Again, in towns like Leeds where there was already a pre-Reform Act Council, the formation of the new corporation was seen as a great victory for the Liberals over the oligarchic and corrupt Tories. And, of course, after an initial period of disarray, as a focus for Tory struggle to regain control of the levers of local power.<sup>138</sup> However, there were also towns such as Nottingham where the political composition of the council did not change from pre- to post-reform: in both cases being Whig/Liberal.<sup>139</sup> Or, again, towns such as Preston, where the reformation of the old corporation was accepted with relative equanimity, by all political parties<sup>140</sup>.

In Sheffield, as we have seen, the old Police Commissioners were politically so divided that it was impossible for them to come to any decision regarding their reconstruction. A position not too dissimilar to Bolton. Once the Tory dominated West Riding magistrates looked likely to remove control of the police force from locally accountable representatives, the battle lines became drawn.

Appendix 4.1 lists the names of all those involved in the struggle, both for and against. Although the list of names of those against the corporation has many more missing pieces of information than in the list of those in favour, it is clear that the majority of those for whom information is available are Tories. In a similar fashion, the list of those in favour of incorporation shows that the majority came from the Whig/Liberal/Radical axis.

To turn now to religion; Garrard<sup>141</sup> has shown that in places such as Rochdale, where the power of the Anglican church was strong, religion and especially Church Rates, were a powerful force dividing the ruling elite. On the other hand, in towns such as Bolton, where the Anglican church was less economically dominant, and the Anglican presence in the Town was great, religion was not such a force for division. In Sheffield, religion was a great force for division within the elite group.

The question of Church Rates had been settled in Sheffield as early as 1824.<sup>142</sup> In that year the dissenting middle class took control of the vestry and blocked the collecting of the Rate. The Parish Church was economically weak, and never indulged in the high church practices of places such as Leeds. The religious historian of Sheffield has argued that in the first half of the nineteenth century the religious and political alliances in the town, were quite clear:

the religious and political alliances in the town, were quite clear: the numerically small Tory faction drew its support from the Anglican Church and the Wesleyan Methodists. The Liberal group drew their support from nonconformity "whether Unitarian, Quaker or one of the newer sects".<sup>143</sup>

Here also the divisions regarding the charter seem to follow what we would expect: the pro-corporators having only three members who were not nonconformists; the anti-corporators having only three who are not Anglican. Indeed, we have already seen that certainly in 1838, all the Anglican ministers in the Town signed the petition against the charter.

None of the above is to suggest that the Tories in Sheffield simply gave up and withdrew from the local political scene. For example, Wilson Overend who, as we shall see in later chapters, aided his brother in his attempt to stand as a Tory M.P., was elected as a councillor to Saint Philip's Ward in 1844. However, the real turning point for the political composition of the corporation came with the election of the Tory John Brown in 1856 (Alderman 1859 and Mayor 1861 and 1862). From that time onward the growth in the power of the corporation attracted more of the large manufacturers onto it than had hitherto been the case. However, many of these men came from the expanding 'heavy' sector of Sheffield's economy, where political allegiances were rapidly undergoing a shift towards the Tories. This change in the politics of the elite will be explored in greater depth when we come to look at the parliamentary elections of 1852 and 1857.

APPENDIX NO. 4.1FOR INCORPORATION

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Politics</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Role</u>
Appleby, Charles	Steel and general tool manufacturer.			A
Bagshawe, W. J.	Gent.	Tory		
Bayley, Rev. R. S.	Minister		Congregational	A
Bramley, Edward	Solicitor	Liberal	Unitarian	A
Dixion, James	Silver & Plated Goods	Whig/Liberal	Methodist	A
Dunn, Thomas	Coal Owner	Whig/Liberal	Anglican	A
Ellison, Michael	Agent to Duke of Norfolk	Whig/Liberal	Roman Catholic	A
Fisher, William	Ivory, Shell, etc. Merch.	Whig/Liberal	Unitarian	A
Fitzwilliam, Earl		Whig		P
Gainsford, Robert J.	Solicitor	Liberal	Roman Catholic	A
Hawksworth, John W.	Steel & General Tool Manuf.	Whig/Liberal	Congregational	A
Hoole, Francis	Solicitor	Liberal	Congregational	A
Hoole, Henry E.	Stove Grate Manuf.	Liberal	Congregational	A
Ibbotson, William	Tools and Cutlery Manuf.	Liberal		
Ironside, Isaac	Accountant	Chartist	Methodist	A
Ironside, James	Accountant	Chartist	Methodist	A
Jackson, Samuel	Manufacturer	Liberal	Unitarian	A
Knight, Dr. A. J.	M.D.	Whig/Liberal	Roman Catholic	A
Norfolk, Duke of		Whig	Roman Catholic	P
Otley, Richard	Tea Dealer and Tobacconist	Chartist		A
Palfreyman, Luke	Solicitor	Liberal	Unitarian	A
Parker, Hugh	Banker	Whig/Liberal		A
Rodgers, Robert	Solicitor	Whig/Liberal		A
Rodgers, Thomas W.	Solicitor	Whig/Liberal		A
Smith, Albert	Solicitor	Whig/Liberal	Anglican	A
Smith, Edward	Iron Merchant	Liberal	Quaker	A
Smith, William	Barrister	Liberal		A
Sykes, John	Powder Flask Manufacturer	Whig/Liberal		A
Turton, George	Insurance Agent			A
Vickers, William	Spindle Manufacturer	Liberal	Methodist	A
Wake, Bernard J.	Solicitor	Liberal/Tory	Anglican	A
Ward, Thomas A.	Gent.	Liberal	Unitarian	A
Wilson, John.	Cutlery	Whig/Liberal		A

AGAINST INCORPORATION

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Politics</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Role</u>
Baxter, Robert				P
Beet, Jonathan	Steel, Tool and Cutlery Man.			P
Beet, Thomas	"			P
Beet, William J.	"	Tory	Methodist	P
Best, Thomas	Minister of St. James		Anglican	P
Blackburn, John	Minister of Attercliffe		Anglican	P
Booth, John	Iron Master			P
Booth, John J.	Grocer & Flour Dealer			A
Boulton, Henry	Surgeon			A
Broadhead, William	Merchant			P
Brookfield, Charles	Solicitor			P
Brown, Edward	Grocer & Flour Dealer			P
Coller, Edward	Scissor Manufacturer			P
Creswick, James	Silversmith & Plater	Tory	Anglican	A
Creswick, Nathaniel	"	Tory	Anglican	P
Creswick, Thomas	"	Tory	Anglican	A
Deakin, James	Merchant			P
Deakin, Thomas	Merchant			P
Dixson, Joseph H.	Gold and Silver Refiner	Tory		P
Douthwaite, George	Painter			A
Drake, William	Joiner & Builder			P
Dunn, Thomas				P
Fanish, Henry	Minister of St. Mary's		Anglican	P
Fenton, Benjamin	Merchant			A
Furniss, Edward	Solicitor	Tory	Anglican	A
Furniss, Matthew	Druggist			P
Gibson, John	Assistant Vicar of Sheffield		Anglican	P
Goodwin, Edwin	"		Anglican	P
Gould, Thomas	Solicitor	Tory		P
Hall, William	Tools Merch. & Manuf.			P
Harris, William	Assistant Victor of Sheffield		Anglican	P
Hawksworth, John Smith	Silver Plater			P
Haslehurst, John	Iron & Steel Merch.			A
Hatfield, Edward	Silversmith & Plater			P
Hoole, Henry	Saw Manufacturer			P
Horn, William I.	Steel & Tools	Tory	Anglican	P
Hounsfield, Bartholomew	Colliery Owner			P
Hounsfield, George	"	Tory		P
Howard, William	Silver Plater			P
Hoyland, William	Chemist & Druggist			P
Jackson, Henry	Surgeon	Tory		P
Judd, James	Draper			P
Knight, James	Minister of St. Pauls		Anglican	P
Langton, Stephen H.	Minister of St. Georges		Anglican	P

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Politics</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Role</u>
Laycock, Joseph Sen.	Hair Seating Manuf.		Unitarian	P
Lee, Arthur	Clerk of St. Philips		Anglican	A
Levick, Joseph	Merchant	Whig		A
Livesey, John	Minister of St. Philips		Anglican	A
Lofthouse, Thomas	Druggist			A
Lomas, William	Grocer & Flour Dealer	Tory		A
Marshall, Jonathern	Gent.	Tory		A
Mitchell, Isaac	Last, Boot Tree Manuf.	Tory		A
Newbould, Henry	Steel and Tools Manuf.	Tory	Anglican	P
Newbould, John	Solicitor	Tory	Anglican	A
Newbould, Samuel	Steel & General Tool. Manuf.	Tory		P
Newbould Thomas	Secretary to Infirmary			P
Nicholls, Robert				P
Pierson, Thomas	Solicitor			A
Raworth, Benjamin	Scissors Manuf.			A
Ridge, George	Publisher of S. Mercury	Tory		A
Rimington, James	Banker			P
Roberts, Samuel	Gent.	Tory	Anglican	P
Roberts, Samuel Jun.	Merchant	Tory	Anglican	P
Rodgers, George	Silver & Plated Goods	Tory		P
Rodgers, John	Silver & Plated Goods	Tory		P
Rodgers, Joseph	Silver & Plated Goods	Tory		P
Senior, William	Hosier & Gloves			P
Sherwin, James	Surgeon	Tory		P
Shore, George C.	Commercial Traveller			P
Smith, Jobson	Manufacturer			A
Smith, John Jobson	Stove Grate Manuf.	Tory	Methodist	P
Sorby, Robert	Steel, Knives & Tools	Tory	Anglican	A
Stuart, Richard	Stove Grate Manuf.			P
Sutton, Thomas	Vicar of Sheffield		Anglican	P
Vale, William H.	Minister of Ecclesall		Anglican	P
Ward, Samuel B.	Gent.			P
Waterhouse, ?	Silversmith & Plater			P
Wild, James	Surgeon			A
Wilkinson, William				P
Willey, Thomas	Draper			P
Wilson, George	Snuff Manufacturer	Tory	Anglican	P
Wilson, Henry	Snuff Manufacturer	Tory	Anglican	A
Wilson, James	Solicitor	Tory	Anglican	A
Wilson, Joseph	Snuff Manufacturer	Tory	Anglican	P
Younge, George	Banker	Tory		A
Younge, Samuel Sen.	Silver & Metal Roller			P
Younge, Samuel	Solicitor	Tory	Anglican	P
Younge, Willian	Banker			P

Notes

P = Passive involvement

A = Active involvement

APPENDIX NO. 4.2Attercliffe Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Elected 1st.  
November 1843

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Hardcastle, William  
Hill, George  
Homes, Henry  
Jackson, Samuel  
Jeffcock, William  
Shaw, John

Hill, George (99)<sup>1</sup>

Jeffcock, William\* (80)

Shaw, John (30)

Plus

Marriott, W. (82)

Those not elected

Shaw, J. (49)  
Jackson, S. (19)

Foster, J. (7)  
Jackson, S. (5)

Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

1. Hill chaired the Ward meeting at which the names were selected.

GENERAL NOTE

Figures in brackets are the numbers of votes cast.

Brightside Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Elected 1st  
November 1843

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Fisher, William  
Smith, Edward  
Vickers, William

Fisher, William<sup>1</sup> (136)  
Smith, Edward<sup>2</sup>(116)  
Vickers, William\*(114)

Plus

Hawksworth, C (59)  
Roebuck, J (55)  
Hunter, M (43)

Those not elected

Hunter, M (44)  
Roebuck, J (40)  
Walker, G (34)

Blake, S (39)  
Walker, G (38)

Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

1. Declined to serve

2. Declined to take the oath not to weaken the Church, Smith had chaired the Ward meeting at which the names were selected.

Ecclesall Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Elected 1st  
November 1843

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Appleby, Charles  
Butcher, Samuel  
Dalton, George  
Dixion, James jun.  
Ellin, Thomas jun.  
Fawcett, William  
Greaves, John  
Marsden, Robert  
Marsh, John  
Schofield, Isaac<sup>2</sup>  
Tyzack, W.  
Wilkinson, James

Butcher, Samuel\* (239)  
Dalton, George (178)

Marsden, Robert (183)  
Marsh, John\* (222)  
Schofield, Isaac (175)

Plus

Champion, P. (189)

Cutts, J. P.<sup>1</sup>  
Stevenson, J.<sup>1</sup>

Those not elected

Ellin, Thomas jun. (74)  
Dixion, J. (38)  
Jubb, H. (34)  
Page, W. (33)  
Wilkinson, J. (21)  
Greaves, I. (10)

Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

1. Elected unopposed

2. His brother, Benjamin, chaired the Ward meeting at which the list of names were selected.

Nether Hallam Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Elected 1st  
November 1843

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Cutts, J.P.  
Unwin, Edwin  
Wilkinson, Henry

Spooner, H (154)  
Godwin, F (139)  
Taylor, W (74)<sup>1</sup>

Those not elected

Cutts, J.P. (26)  
Wilkinson, Henry (13)  
Unwin, Edwin (18)

Notes

1. Chaired Ward meeting at which the list of names were selected.

Park Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Bradley, William  
Dunn, Thomas  
Ellison, Michael  
Hall, John  
Hawksworth, John W.  
Hounsfield, George  
Jessop, Thomas  
Roberts, Samuel jun.  
Shepherd, Thomas  
Smith, Marcus  
Sorby, Robert  
Steer, William  
Stevenson, Joseph  
Wilkinson, H.D.

Elected 1st  
November 1843

Bradley, William (88)  
Dunn, Thomas\*(149)<sup>1</sup>

Hall, John\*(160)

Jessop, Thomas (99)

Wilkinson, H.D. (113)

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Hawksworth, John W. (74)

Steer, William (86)

Plus

Pitt, J. (85)

Those not elected

Steer, William (58)  
Shepherd, T. (55)  
Stevenson, J. (50)  
Green, A. (49)  
Hawksworth, John W. (41)  
Roper, R. (39)  
Fisher, S. (33)  
Tucker, G. (30)  
Hounsfield, G. (23)  
Roberts, Samuel jun. (22)  
Cockayne, T. B. (13)  
Sorby, R. (10)

Roper, R. (69)  
Tucker, G. (56)

Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

1. Dunn chaired the Ward meeting at which the list of names were selected.

St. George's Ward<sup>1</sup>Proposed at  
Ward MeetingElected 1st  
November 1843Elected 7th  
March 1844

Blake, Thomas  
 Brookes, E.  
 Cutts, J.P.  
 Ellin, Thomas jun.  
 Gilbee, Edward  
 Harrop, John  
 Hobson, John  
 Hoole, H.E.  
 Jessop, Thomas  
 Laycock, Thomas  
 Moorhouse, James  
 Peace, Charles  
 Peace, John  
 Turton, G.  
 Turton, T. B.  
 Unwin, Edwin  
 Vickers, Edward  
 Worth, Samuel

Hobson, John (118)

Moorhouse, James\*(180)  
 Peace, Charles\*(178)

Turton, G\*(185)

Worth, Samuel (80)

Plus

Ragg, J. (114)  
 Holden, G. (90)

Schofield, B. (100)  
 Turton, J. (96)

Those not elected

Vickers, E. (77)  
 Gilbee, Edward (62)  
 Worth, Samuel (53)  
 Laycock, T. (39)  
 Lennard, J. (31)  
 Blake, Thomas (30)  
 Mitchell, R. (28)  
 Atkin, H. (27)  
 Harrop, John (24)  
 Cutts, J.P. (21)  
 Booker, J. (11)

Wilkinson, T. (7)  
 Spencer, J. (5)

Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

1. Edward Bramley, first Town Clerk, chaired the Ward meeting at which the list of names were selected.

St. Peter's Ward<sup>1</sup>Proposed at  
Ward MeetingElected 1st  
November 1843Elected 7th  
March 1844Birks, Thomas  
Carr, John  
Congreve, C.  
Edon, George  
Hoole, C.  
Jackson, W.  
Lowe, Elias  
Maughan, Mark  
Mycock, T. E.  
Sykes, John  
Wiley, Thomas  
Willey, ThomasCarr, John\*(294)  
Congreve, C.Jackson, W. (258)  
Lowe, Elias\*(227)

Wiley, Thomas (261)

Birks, Thomas (214)

Mycock, T. E. (284)

Plus

Colley, F. (155)

Those not ElectedBirks, T. (128)  
Mycock, T. E. (109)  
Eadon, G. (107)  
Sykes, J. (96)<sup>2</sup>  
Maughan, M. (39)  
Hoole, C. (28)  
Boulton, H. (17)  
Holden, G. (15)Atkin, H. (157)  
Unwin, E. (91)Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

1. Ward meeting was postponed until 28 October 1843
2. Sykes chaired the Ward meeting at which the list of names were selected.

St. Philip's Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Elected 1st  
November 1843

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Hoole, W.  
Parkin, T.  
Shallcross, G.  
Turton, T. B.  
Vickers, B.  
Wynn, W.

Hoole, W\*(156)<sup>2</sup>

Turton, T. B.\*(155)  
Vickers, B. (163)

Plus

Dixon, H. F. †(131)  
Ibbotson, W. (124)  
Naylor, G. P. (116)

Hoole, H. E. (52)  
Thompson, W. (47)  
Crawshaw, H. (36)

Those not elected

Peace, C. (60)  
Parkin, T. (55)  
Hoole, H. E. (46)  
Wynn, W. (36)  
Charles, W. (26)  
Horn, W. G. (20)  
Shallcross, G. (19)

Marshall, W. (30)

Notes

\* Elected Alderman

1. Declined to serve.

2. Hoole chaired the Ward meeting at which the names were selected.

Upper Hallam Ward

Proposed at  
Ward Meeting

Elected 1st  
November 1843

Elected 7th  
March 1844

Woodcraft, J\*(33)  
Stead, J (33)  
Woollen, G. H. (26)

Fox, S (19)

Those not elected

Gatley, T (19)  
Fox, S (13)  
Wardlow, E (11)  
Marshall, J (4)

Wilkinson, H (9)

Notes

\* Elected Aldermen

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. See for example; on Bradford, A. Elliott, "The Incorporation of Bradford", in N.H. Vol. 15 p 157; on Salford, John Garrard, Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns: 1830-80, Manchester University Press, 1983, p. 209.
2. Sidney Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield, Liverpool University Press, 1959, p.8; Dennis Smith, Conflict and Compromise: Class Formation in English Society, 1830-1914, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, p. 61.
3. Pollard, 1959, *ibid.*; Smith, 1982, p. 81.
4. Derek Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England, Macmillan, 1979 (Paperback edition), p. 115.
5. G. B. A. M. Finlayson, "The Politics of Municipal Reform 1835", in E.H.R. Vol. 81, 1966, p. 673.
6. 'Closed' Corporations were those that were self-selected. Mainly Anglican and Tory, they were a constant thorn in the side of the Dissenting Liberals.
7. Finlayson, 1966, p. 677.
8. Hugh Parker (1772-1861), partner in the local banking firm of Parker, Shore, he was a West Riding Magistrate from 1799. He was also a trustee of the Tontine Inn, centre of pre-Reform politics in Sheffield.
9. See, P.R.O., PCI 1492, the report by Jebb on his inspection of the petitions.
10. S.I. 2 July, 1836.
11. Luke Palfreyman (1801-1846), was a solicitor and Trustee of the Unitarian Upper Chapel from 1837. He was related through marriage to two other Trustees of the Chapel, Edward Nanson and William Fisher. In 1840 he was secretary to the Sheffield branch of the Anti-Corn Law League.
12. William Ibbotson (1789-1852), a partner in Ibbotson Bros. & Co., merchants and file, saw etc. manufacturers, Globe Steel Works. He was Treasurer (1834-38) of the Sheffield Anti-Corn Law Society, and Chairman in 1840 of the Sheffield branch of the Anti-Corn Law League.
13. S.I. 2 July, 1836.
14. Finlayson, 1966, p. 683.
15. Garrard, 1983, pp. 154-5.
16. S.I. 2 July, 1836.
17. S.I. 23 December, 1837.
18. S.I. 13 January, 1838.
19. S.I. 23 December 1837.

20. S.L.A., C.A. 545 (23), not dated but probably early 1840s.
21. S.I. C.A. 545 (23), not dated but probably early 1840s.
22. See the opening paragraphs of the report of this meeting in S.I. 6 January, 1838, which mentions that from the evidence of placards around the Town, opposition to the Charter can be expected from "farmers, and the inhabitants of small houses."
23. William Vickers 1799-?, partner in Wm. Vickers & Co., spindle & flyer manufacturer of Millsands. He was the brother of Edward Vickers of Naylor, Hutchinson, Vickers & Co., (later, Vickers). He was a Methodist.
24. S.I. 6 January, 1838.
25. Edward Bramley 1806-1865, partner in the firm of Bramley and Gainsford. Bramley was a member of the Anglican Church until 1837, at which point he became a member of Upper Chapel. He was Treasurer of Upper Chapel from 1854-65 and also served as Trustee for two other local Unitarian Chapels. He served as Town Clerk from 1843-59.
26. S.I. 6 January, 1838; see also the speech by Palfreyman in which he argues that the small householder, being less able to pay for the protection of their property, will gain greater benefit from the corporation than a large householder.
27. See the speech by William Lomas, a local grocer and flour dealer, in S.I. 6 January, 1838.
28. S.I. 23 December, 1837.
29. Robert John Gainsford 1817-1870, was the other partner in the law firm of Bramley and Gainsford (q.v.). He married a daughter of Thomas Dunn (q.v.) and was thus related to one of the foremost Whig families in the neighbourhood. His son, T. R. Gainsford, a Tory married into the Vickers family (q.v.).
30. Under the 1818 Act only those who paid more than £7 toward the Poor Rate had to pay toward the costs. Even then the rate was limited to 1/3d in the pound.
31. This point was made by James Creswick 1789-1854, a partner in the family firm of silver and plated goods manufacturers, at a meeting reported in the S.I. 6 January, 1838.
32. Rev. R S Bayley ?-1859, minister of Howard Street Chapel. He played a large part in the establishment, in 1842, of the People's College. He left Sheffield in 1846 after differences with his congregation.
33. S.I. 6 January, 1838.
34. Sir Arnold James Knight 1789-1871, M.D. Helped to found, in 1832, both the Sheffield Dispensary and the Mechanic's Institute. He was a friend of T A Ward and, in 1841, Vice-President of the Sheffield Teetotal Society. He left

Sheffield in 1846 and moved to Liverpool.

35. S.I. 6 January, 1838.
36. S.I. 17 February, 1838.
37. Isaac Ironside 1808-1870, was a remarkable figure in Sheffield politics. See; J. Salt "Experiments in Anarchism, 1850-4", in T.H.A.S Vol. 10, 1971, pp. 37-53; J Salt "Isaac Ironside 1808-1870: The motives of a radical educationalist", in British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 19, 1971, pp. 183-201; Fraser, 1979, pp. 80-6 & 107-11; Smith, 1982, *passim*. For information on the Democrat (also called Chartist) group in Sheffield see, Vernon Thornes, Chartists and Reformers in Sheffield, 1846-1870: Their Impact on Municipal Politics, 1981, Sheffield, Sheffield City Libraries.
38. Ironside's speech, S.I. 6 January, 1838.
39. This section is largely based on John Webster, The Corporation: or Law Facts for the Burgesses of Sheffield, 1843, Sheffield.
40. See the arguments made by Robert Otley at the meeting on the 13 September, 1843. Also, the comments by "a Working Man" who said in part that:
- "Mr. Dunn had said that the working class would have power to vote for Councilmen; but he found that the recipient of parochial relief lost his vote; and he complained, that when a man without any fault of his own, was thrown on the parish, he should be excluded from voting. This was a stigma on the working class."
41. See, Junius Juvenatis (i.e., Richard Otley), The Sheffield T.N.CO ... L; A Satire, 1848, Sheffield. Otley had been elected for the Ecclesall Ward in 1847 but was disqualified in 1848 when it was discovered that he did not have the necessary property qualification to become a Councillor. The first 18 pages of the *pamphlet* are taken up by vitriolic sketches, in verse, of the largest manufacturers on the Council. He then goes on to attack the Whig Government and the benefits which capital has over labour. His arguments are in places strongly Tory, arguing as he does that the manufacturers are unfit to serve on the Council since they have "sprung from the lowest walks of life" and that because of this they are "arrogant, selfish and cruel".
- Otley goes on to describe exactly what the qualifications are for voting, and supplies a sample copy of a form to claim inclusion at the annual revision of the Burgesses Roll.
42. The population figures are from the 1841 Census. The numbers on the Burgesses List come from the S.I. 16 September, 1843. The figures for each Ward are as follows:

Sheffield	2838	Ecclesall	1259
Attercliffe	401	Nether Hallam	423
Brightside	519	Upper Hallam	118

43. S.I. 10 and 17 February, 1838.
44. The occupations are taken from W. White's Directory for Sheffield, 1837, Sheffield.
45. S.I. 14 February, 1838.
46. An interesting 'capture of the arguments advanced by the Radicals during the passing of the 1832 Reform Bill. See, Finlayson, op. cit., 1966.
47. Mitchell cited the French corporations which during the Revolution were "unable to rally the energies of the people" to "modify its horrors".
48. S.I. 16 April, 1836.
49. P.R.O. PCI 1490.
50. Samuel Butcher 1793-1869, partner (with brother William c. 1791-1870) in the family firm of W & S Butcher manufacturers of edge tool, razor, file etc. and steel refiners. He was Mayor in 1845 and a Borough Magistrate from 1848.
51. Joseph Levick jun. 1787-1855, partner (with brother James) in the family firm of Levick Bros., cutlers. He was a Town Trustee from 1837-1849 and was a Captain in the local militia.
- 1st Baron Wharncliffe 1776-1845, created a Peer on 12 July, 1826.
- The letter is bound in with P.R.O. PCI 1492.
52. Garrard op. cit., 1983, p. 188.
53. S.I. 28 April, 1838.
54. G. Galvert Holland, The Vital Statistics of Sheffield, 1843, London and Sheffield, p. 36.
55. See, John Baxter, "Early Chartism and Labour Class Struggle: South Yorkshire 1837-1840", in Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (eds), Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire, 1976, Sheffield, pp. 135-158.
56. S.I. 18 January , 1840.
57. Patrick Joyce, Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England, 1982, Methuen. The quote is from p. xxi.
58. 2nd and 3rd Victoria, c. 93. The Bill was introduced into Parliament on 24 July, 1839, shortly after the rioting in Birmingham. Lord John Russell in moving it spoke of the "meetings which had lately taken place, and the riots and alarm consequent upon them..". See, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XLIX, series 3, 1839, p. 729.
59. See Langdale and Fielding's comments on the bill, *ibid.*, pp. 737-8.

60. For evidence of the politics of Wharnccliffe and of other West Riding landowners see, J T Ward, "West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws", in E.H.R., Vol. 81, 1966, pp. 256-272.
61. S.I. 21 March , 1840.
62. 3rd and 4th Victoria, c. 88.
63. S.I. 26 September, 1840.
64. Hansard, Vol. LIII, 3rd Series, 1840, pp. 19-23.
65. S.I. 26 September, 1840.
66. The second course of action was moved by Edmund Beckett Denison, 1787-1874. He was a partner in the Leeds Bank of Beckett & Co. A leading Tory M.P. for the West Riding from 1841-47, and then again from 1848-59. One of his lesser known achievements was to design (originally for the Great Exhibition) the clock that surmounts King's Cross Station. He also played a part in the design of the mechanism for 'Big Ben'.
67. S.I. 3 October, 1840.
68. "We believe that true freedom cannot be advanced, but is sure to be retarded, by insurrectionary movements, and that a government apprehensive of violence is most likely to be tyrannical."
69. See also the Editorial in the S.I. 26 September, 1840, in which it is argued that the Act would create a "magisterial oligarchy" with Wharnccliffe at its head. Also, a letter in the S.I. 19 December, 1840, from a "Ratepayer" referring to the magistrates as "Lord Wharnccliffe's Own".
70. For a copy of the report with map see, S.L.A., CA 545 (5).
71. S.I. 12 December, 1840.
72. The Editorial in the S.I. 26 September, 1840 notes that "the ratepayers have now spoken; but as they do not happen to coincide with his lordship, he treats their opinions as waste paper, and takes his own course."
73. S.I. 12 December, 1840. The editorial of the same issue takes Wharnccliffe to task on the reasons he raises for a constabulary force. Its views on the question of the petitions are particularly interesting as they highlight the dichotomy of town and countryside in terms of centres of progression and reaction:-

"Now the plain English of all this is, that because country people have difficulty in communicating and obtaining information on public affairs, therefore their opinions on such matters, being formed not by reading, conversation, and inquiry among intelligent neighbours, but on the authority of the squire, the parson, the steward, or the bailiff, must be of very great weight, and entitled to peculiar respect. While the opinions of a town population, where the

constant communication and collision of minds induces a degree of intelligence unknown in the country, are therefore to be slighted. Such reasoning as this was very appropriate when Lord Wharncliffe has to defend the corn law in parliament, but is quite out of place on the bench."

74. In his speech Lord John Russell said that the billeting of troops in small numbers in towns "tended to break and destroy the discipline of the troops." Also, the army did not have the power of arrest. See Hansard, Vol. XLIX 3rd series, pp 727-8.
75. Wharncliffe may have had in mind the "Norfolk Street Riot" of August 1795 when a group of soldiers in dispute with their officers over pay refused to obey orders. A crowd gathered and urged the soldiers on. The "Local Volunteers" were called out and in the ensuing conflict, two of the onlookers were killed by their rifle fire. See, F. K. Donnelly and John L. Baxter "Sheffield and the English Revolutionary Tradition, 1791-1820", Pollard and Holmes op. cit., 1976, pp. 93-95.
76. They were William Stansfield, Liberal M. P. for Huddersfield, and Sir Charles Wood, Liberal M. P. for Halifax.
77. 1. That, in the opinion of this Court, the ordinary officers are not sufficient for the preservation of the peace, the protection of the inhabitants, and the security of property, in the populous and manufacturing parts of the West Riding.
2. That it is therefore necessary to form those parts into a police division, under the 2nd section of 3 and 4 Victoria, c.88.
3. That the boundaries of that division be the same as marked out on the map annexed to the report of the Committee.
4. That the division be subdivided into police districts, which shall each be assessed separately, to defray the expenses of their own constables.
78. S.I. 12 December, 1840.
79. Report of a meeting of the Police Commissioners, S.I. 10 October, 1840.
80. S.I. 4 April, 1840. Both Ibbotson and Palfreyman had spoken against it because of the poor state of trade; an argument which, when used against the pro-corporation group, Palfreyman dismissed. (See the report of the Police Commissioners meeting in S.I. 4 June, 1842).
81. See S.I. 10 October, 1840. Parker seems to have decided to support the pro-corporation group around this time as he later appeared at many meetings. A number of the papers in the Sheffield Local Archives relating to the struggle for a charter seem to have been documents which Parker was

supplied with in the course of his duties as a magistrate.

82. There is evidence that this view was held at the time:

"The Tories began their opposition to the Corporation measure by deprecating the rise of party spirit which it would occasion. Men of Sheffield, who have been papering the town walls during the past week with party lies? Who have been carrying through the streets barn doors upon stilts covered with desperate falsehoods, and urging the populace to the infatuation of rejecting both the Constabulary force and the corporational Charter, one of which the Tories know to be as certain as that there is a Parliament? Their object is not to reject, but to secure the Constabulary force, and their spirit is finely mirrored in their act: the one measure is a despotic, irresponsible sort of chieftainship, infinitely more congenial to the Tory taste than the other, which is popular, elective, and accountable."

Letter from John Olland, in S.I. 31 October, 1840.

83. Speech by R. Sorby at the meeting on the 7 October.

84. See also the editorial in S.I. 17 October, 1840 in which the Sheffield Mercury (local Tory newspaper) is accused of introducing party into the issue and the argument is made that if it happens that those who support the charter come from one party it is the fault of those who do not support it.

85. Thomas Asline Ward 1781-1871, he was at one time a partner in the family cutlery concern. A Unitarian, he was involved in many areas of Sheffield's political and cultural life. Partner in, and editor of (1824-9) the Sheffield Independent.

86. S.L.A. CA 545 (32) 4 and 5.

87. S.I. 13 February, 1841.

88. S.I. 17 April, 1841

89. Ibid.

90. Michael Ellison 1786-1861, Sheffield agent for the Duke of Norfolk; Walter Hinde, solicitor.

91. Newbould, Boulton and Ridge were members of the anti-corporators committee established in 1838 (see above). Thomas Creswick is the brother of James, also a member of the 1838 committee. Thomas Pierson was a local solicitor.

92. S.I. 6 November 1841.

93. S.L.A., CA545 (9); P.R.O., PC1 1491.

94. S.L.A., CA545 (9).

95. S.L.A., CA545 (9) and 1841 Census.

96. S.L.A., CA545 (16)B; see also, CA545 (15)D which is a memorial from the anti-corporation group objecting to the inclusion of the rates of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl Fitzwilliam and the new Gas Company on the pro-incorporation petition; CA545(4)N which is a list of names of people who are supposed to have signed both petitions.
97. S.L.R. 26 January, 1842.
98. The editorial in the S.I. 5 February, 1842 argues this to be the case.
99. S.L.R. 3 February, 1842.
100. S.L.R. 15 February 1842.
101. S.L.A., CA545 (19).
102. S.L.A., CA545 (31). Most of the delay came from the Solicitor General and the Attorney General, who were constantly suggesting changes in the draft charter. They also seemed to be 'out of London' a lot when the representatives of the solicitors called. See also the report of the meeting regarding the charter in S.I. 16 September, 1843. Here Albert Smith is reported as saying that "...the proceedings in the public office were proverbially dilatory."
103. S.I. 4 June, 1842.
104. For a report of the meeting see S.I. 2 July, 1842. For a list of the Overseers who signed the request see, S.L.A., CA545 (21).
105. The Overseers of the poor had to collect the Borough rate with the Poor Rate.
106. In the course of his speech Fisher had said:-  

"The men who pay the money ought to have the choice of the men who expend it. It is a principle that I should like to see extended beyond Sheffield. I dare not talk politics here but I like the principle immensely, and I care not how far it is extended. (Hear, hear.)"
107. S.L.R. 10 December, 1842.
108. The percentages are the number of registered voters for each Township expressed as a percentage of the male population, aged 20 and over, in the 1841 Census.
109. S.I. 16 September, 1843. See also the views expressed by Albert Smith at the same meeting:  

"Whether the principles upon which the Act of Parliament had regulated the elections were the wisest and best that could be devised, it was not for him now to give an opinion. They found the law as it was; but it had occurred to him during the late proceedings, when he heard its disadvantages pointed

out by their opponents, that if these principles were not the best ... the numerous large towns incorporated under the powers of this Act, would, in due time procure such an alteration of the law as would improve it."

110. Ibid.
111. See also the report of the St. Peter's Ward Meeting in the S.I. 28th October, 1843 when a man by the name of Boaler shouted from the body of the meeting that:
- "The Corporation is a Whig measure; don't be humbugged by the cry of Tory trick; it is a Whig measure; they told you that every householder would have a right to vote. (Cheers and uproar.)"
112. This view is given in the editorial column of the S.I. 21st October, 1843
113. For a report of the Ward meetings see the S.I. 21 and 28 October, 1843.
114. S.I. 4 November, 1843.
115. "papist and unitarian lawyers": a number of the solicitors associated with the pro-corporators were of these two religions.
- "bank assignee, bank assignee's lawyer, and bank assignee's brother in law": the local bank of Parker, Shore had failed on 16 January, 1843. Thomas Dunn was one of the assignee's under the bankruptcy. Edward Bramley was one of the solicitors involved in the bankruptcy and, as we have seen, was a Unitarian.
- Albert Smith 1797-1876, head of the firm of Albert Smith and Son, was another of the solicitors involved in the collapse of the bank. He had a personal interest in the bankruptcy as his father in law (a Mr. Blakelock) was a partner in the bank. Smith's mother was the sister of Samuel Roberts 1800-1887.
116. Samuel Roberts 1753-1848 is described in contemporary directories as "Gent" but seems to have been a partner in a firm of silversmiths in Eyre Street. His father, also Samuel 1732-99, was a partner in the firm of Roberts, Eyre, Beldon and Co. This Samuel moved to Park Grange, South of the Town, in 1794 when he married. In 1834 he started to build Queen's Tower where his son, also Samuel (1800-87) lived. This son kept up his father's interest in genealogy, particularly as it related to the Roberts family, and published in 1862, Some memorials of the family of Roberts, of Queen Tower Sheffield, as exemplified by kindred, affinity and marriage for private circulation. A copy of this is in the Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library. Roberts was a radical-Tory.
117. Samuel Roberts, Sheffield and her Whistle, or the First Fruits of the Corporation: To the Worshipful Thomas Dunn (Alderman of the Park Ward), 1843 Sheffield. See also his earlier pamphlet, Corporation or no Corporation: A Letter

to Hugh Parker, Esq.; 1841, Sheffield, in which he claims that Parker's main interest in the reform movement had been to secure a seat for his son in Parliament, and that his interest in the corporation was to create "places" for his friends.

118. Parker had resigned as a West Riding J. P. when the bank failed, although his son kept his place as one of the two Sheffield M. P.s.
119. Roberts op. cit., 1843, p. 2.
120. John Derry, The Story of Sheffield. (Originally published 1915, re-published with an introduction by Mary Walton, 1971), p. 141.
121. Robert Eadon Leader, Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century, 1901, Sheffield, pp. 80 and 196.
122. S.L.A., CA545 (31)C; (32) 35A.
123. J. M Furness, Record of the Municipal Affairs in Sheffield etc., 1893, Sheffield; Anon, Sheffield Commission of the Peace, 1848-1974, n.d., Sheffield, p. 6.
124. Quoted in Finlayson, op. cit., 1966, p. 685.
125. J. D. Leader, "Fifty Years of Household Suffrage", in, The Pall Mall Gazette, 21 January, 1884.
126. Smith, op. cit., 1982, p. 84.
127. Fraser, op. cit., 1979, p. 109.
128. Smith, op. cit., 1982, p. 61.
129. Information on Master Cutlers from W. Odom, Hallamshire Worthies, 1926, Sheffield, p. 243.
130. The names are William Jeffcock (1843); Samuel Butcher (1845); Henry Wilkinson (1846); T B Turton (1850); John Carr (1851); W A Matthews (1852); F Hoole (1853); Wm. Fisher (1854); Wm Fawcett (1855); R Jackson (1857); Charles Atkinson (1858); John Brown (1861-2); Thomas Jessop (1863-4) and W E Laycock (1865).
131. John Baxter, The Origins of the Social War in South Yorkshire - A Study of Capitalist Evolution and Labour Class Realisation in One Industrial Region c. 1750-1855, 1976, unpublished Ph.D., Sheffield University, p. 615 f. 7.
- The companies are William Jessop; Naylor, Vickers & Co.; Sanderson Bros.; Thomas Firth & Son; Thomas Turton & Son; Johnson, Cammell & Co.; John Brown & Co.; James Dixon & Sons; Ibbotson Brothers & Co.; Thomas Ellison; George Wostenholm & Son; Joseph Roders & Sons; Marsh Brothers; Thomas Turner & Co.; S R Lindley; Samuel Newbould & Co.; William & Samuel Butcher; John Kenyon & Co; Stuart & Smith; Samuel Laycock & Co.
132. Compiled from White's Directory of Sheffield, 1841; Furness, op. cit., 1893.

133. S.I. 7 March, 1857.
134. Furness, op. cit., 1893, pp. 510, 512-3.
135. A. Elliott, "The Incorporation of Bradford" in N. H. Vol. 15, 1979, pp. 156-175.
136. Anthony Howe, The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860, 1984, Oxford University Press, p. 146; Garrard, op. cit., 1983, pp. 120-1, 160, Passim.
137. E. P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth Century Urban Government, 1973, Edward Arnold, pp. 17-19.
138. Derek Fraser, "Politics and Society in the Nineteenth Century", in D. Fraser (ed.), A History of Modern Leeds, 1980, Manchester University Press, pp. 270-299.
139. Fraser, op. cit., 1979, p. 143.
140. Howe, op. cit., 1984, p. 147.
141. Garrard, op. cit., 1983, pp. 110, 159-60.
142. Harold Perkins, The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880, 1969, Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 349.
143. E. R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, 1957, Lutterworth Press, pp. 102-106.

CHAPTER FIVETHE SHEFFIELD ELECTION OF 1852 AND ITS BACKGROUND5:1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw how the gaining of a local corporation in Sheffield mobilised social groups around the key concept of local control. We saw how it was a largely Whig/Liberal alliance who were in favour of the Corporation, and Tory group (with some Chartists), who were against it. In this and the following chapter we shall look at the distribution of party forces in Parliamentary elections, focusing on the 1852 and 1857 Borough elections and the 1865 West Riding election.

In particular the voting of the membership of the Sheffield Club will be examined. This in itself is a useful exercise in discovering the political allegiances of the elite of Sheffield society. However, the evidence produced will also be used to examine the claim made by Fletcher that, "the really decisive date for Sheffield Liberalism was not 1876 or 1886, but 1868 when the rejection of Roebuck marked the beginning of the middle class defection to Toryism...".<sup>1</sup>

The choice of dates for analysis has, of necessity, been somewhat arbitrary. In order to look at the voting of the members of the Sheffield Club it was necessary to choose years for which a Poll Book survived. These books - not to be confused with Burgess Rolls, from which they are derived but which only list those who are registered to vote - were produced between 1695 and the passing of the Ballot Act in 1872.

They could take a number of forms but generally recorded the name, qualifying address and vote. Some included the occupation of the voter whilst others included the speeches given on the hustings.<sup>2</sup> The printing of them was usually a speculative venture by a local firm and for Sheffield only four seem to have been produced; or at least, survived. These are 1832, 1835, 1852 and 1857. That for 1832 being printed by A. Whitaker at the Iris Office; for 1835 by George Ridge at the Mercury Office; and the last two by Robert Leader at the Independent Office.<sup>3</sup>

The West Riding Election of 1865 was chosen not only to widen the context of voting behaviour but also to give some idea of the allegiance of the members of the Club in the last election before the defeat of Roebuck (1868) for which a Poll Book is available.

Before going any further we need to look at nineteenth century

political representation in general and Sheffield in particular. Prior to 1832 Sheffield had no representatives in Parliament. After that date it was one of the twenty-two new boroughs - fourteen of them in the north or the Midlands - who were given the right to return two members to the reformed Parliament.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the number of members for Yorkshire - which had been increased from two to four by an act of 1831<sup>5</sup> - was again increased from four to six; whilst the County was divided into the three Ridings, each to be treated as though it were a separate County.<sup>6</sup> The franchise itself was given to all £10 male householders - with certain restrictions<sup>7</sup> in the Borough, and 40s freeholders, £10 copyholders, leaseholders and tenants-at-will paying rent of not less than £50, in the counties. If someone had both a £10 borough and a 40s county qualification, they could vote in both.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, in the boroughs, if they had more than one £10 rating and these were in different wards, they could make a tactical decision as to which ward they would vote in; although they could not vote more than once. This duplication of entries makes it very difficult to determine the exact percentage of the adult male population that had the vote. It should also be remembered that the 1832 Act only gave the right to vote. Many elections were won or lost before the poll by the efficiency of the party machinery in the annual revision courts.<sup>9</sup>

In the two member constituencies each elector had two votes. This meant that they could either "plump" for one candidate, or split their vote between two. Tactical voting was common in contested elections. If the two sitting members were of the same party it was essential that they formed a joint election committee in order that the votes of their supporters would be split between them. If this did not happen the ever present danger was that the split support for both would enable a candidate of the opposing party to come in second. On the other hand, the third (or fourth, or fifth) candidate could attempt to form a union with one or other of the sitting candidates and offer up the split votes of his supporters. Looked at from the other point of view, the elector could use one of his votes as an expression of tacit support - particularly in times, when issues crossed political lines - as long as such support did not stop the main candidate of his choice being elected.<sup>10</sup> In some respects then, a "plumper" was a wasted vote, and, as we shall see, in the days leading up to the actual poll, the local papers were full of pleas for votes to be used wisely.

The actual mechanics of elections were quite straight forward.

Once Parliament had been dissolved, the local returning officer would nominate a day for the hustings to take place. On that day the various candidates would be nominated and seconded by members of the enfranchised population. The returning officer would then ask for a show of hands for the various candidates. This was the only time when the non-franchised part of the population could directly express their point of view on the merits of the candidates.<sup>11</sup> Any one of the candidates could then call for a poll which would often happen on the next day and could last for a number of days. During the course of the day the committees of the various candidates would issue their version of the state of the poll. This could lead to a sudden late rush of voters as people held back to see where their vote could do most good (or damage). This could also lead to the "price" for a vote increasing as one side or the other saw their chance of success slipping away.<sup>12</sup>

Elections then, were about many things. One writer has called them a "...symbolic act of identification where, ... the voter had to stand up and be counted."<sup>13</sup> Whilst another has said that they were about "...the 'manufacture of sentiment' and the creation of enthusiasm."<sup>14</sup>

## 5:2 Politics in Sheffield prior to 1835

What was the political scene in Sheffield prior to its gaining parliamentary representation? We saw above how Reid has advanced the thesis that before 1780, Sheffield itself was characterised by a homogeneous group of artisans and merchants, sharing the same culture and political values.<sup>15</sup> We also saw how after its formation in 1783 the Monthly Club was driven into fragmentation by the political pressures put on its Whig and Tory members by the developments in France.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, tensions were being created in those Sheffield institutions in which the growing group of bourgeoisie and professionals mingled with the petty-bourgeoisie. For example, the Reading and Conservation Society held in the Unitarian Upper Chapel every Monday began to purge its members in July 1793.<sup>17</sup> The most familiar name listed as excluded is that of Joseph Gales,<sup>18</sup> printer of the radical Sheffield Register ("Excluded after March 1794"). However, there are others, such as Matthew Dodworth - a cutler - who was excluded at the same time as Gales. Both of these men were members of the original committee of the Society along with Rev. Astley Meanly, the minister of the Underbank Chapel, Stannington from

1794-1814. The exclusion of Gales must have been associated with his activities in the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information, one of the largest radical corresponding societies.<sup>19</sup> However, despite these exclusions Upper Chapel was still a centre for pro-French opinions amongst its worshippers. The Rev. Joseph Hunter - admittedly a hostile witness - describes the then incumbent of Upper Chapel (Rev. Joseph Evans, ?- 1803) as a "hearty well-wisher to the French in their Revolution." Evans is also said to have been hostile to both the Crown and the Pitt Government and to be articulating views that in the period 1792-1803 were supported by "a great part of the Dissenting Laity".<sup>20</sup> In 1798 when Evans retired the Rev. Benjamin Naylor<sup>21</sup> took his place as minister. His views were much less radical and must have reflected the change in the sentiments of the worshippers. Naylor had been a partner in Roberts and Cadman, silver platers. However, he withdrew his capital and invested it in the Sheffield Iris newspaper which James Montgomery had launched from the ashes of Gales' Register. When Montgomery was indicted for treason in 1795 Naylor once again withdrew his investment. In opposition to Evans, Naylor seems to have been hostile to the French Revolution. On the 19th October 1803 (a National Feast Day) he presented a sermon entitled "The Right and Duty of Defensive War, a Sermon preached before a Society of Unitarian Dissenters at Sheffield" dedicated to the Volunteer Infantry and the local Yeomanry Cavalry.<sup>22</sup>

This process of polarisation of political views was of course not unique to Sheffield. The growth of radical middle-class ideas in England can be dated from the mid-18th century, when elements of the bourgeoisie began to articulate their dissatisfactions at political exclusion and government inefficiency around attacks on "Old Corruption".<sup>23</sup> However, as the events of the French Revolution unfolded, the elements of the bourgeoisie who had sympathised with radical ideas, quickly came to the conclusion that their real political future lay more with the aristocracy than with the proto-proletariat. The exclusion of Gales and his comrades from the Reading and Conservation Society is just one of many such concrete acts reflecting this ideological shift. For example, Morris shows how the attempt to instigate a discussion society in Leeds in 1793 was abandoned due to "the temper of the times ... (being) ... so adverse to everything which suggested the idea of debate ...".<sup>24</sup>

Following the defeat of France and the re-emergence of political dissent in England the radical elements of the bourgeoisie again took up the cause of reform. In Sheffield at this time there was neither

local council nor MP. A situation which did not do justice - it is argued - to the perceived importance of its wealthy inhabitants. An insight into this perception is given in a pamphlet produced by the local barrister John Parker in 1830.<sup>25</sup> Parker was leading an attempt to get Sheffield included in Lord John Russell's Bill to extend a parliamentary franchise to Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds.

Parker's argument was advanced on two fronts. Firstly, that the population figures used by the Government to exclude Sheffield from the Bill were unfair since they did not include the areas around Sheffield that were "dependent on it" (these had been included in the figures for Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds). Secondly, and more importantly, he argues Sheffield deserves its own representation at Westminster since:

"It (Sheffield) is, however, distinguishable from secondary towns, not only from the extent of its trade, from its population and its opulence (in all of which the superiority is great) but because it is possessed of all the institutions, characters and elements of cultivation, for which any of the primary ones are distinguishable, and, on the ample patronage of which, it is submitted that the moral, intellectual and political character of a community so much depends."

Sheffield was thus civilised and demonstrably cultivated. It was possessed of wealth but that wealth was not as important as its status and social standing. These were of course arguments which the industrial bourgeoisie were very sensitive to when dealing with the existing - aristocratic - ruling class. This sensitivity to accusations of being uncultured and rough through exposure to industry was not new - T. A. Ward was writing in his diary about them some years before<sup>26</sup> - and elsewhere I have argued that they survived into the late 1840s<sup>27</sup>. *What they do signal is the need to reappraise Fletcher's argument that it was the dysfunction between the economic importance of Sheffield and its lack of potential representation that lead to the growth of a radical reforming tradition.*<sup>28</sup> Parker's words indicate that it was not simply economic power that was being advanced as a reason for political recognition. It was also the moral, intellectual and political institutions and frame of mind which flowed from it.

Parker's pamphlet is probably associated with the activity of the Sheffield Political Union,<sup>29</sup> which was formed in the latter part of 1830. Originating amongst the artisans it was quickly captured by the reforming elements of the mercantile, manufacturing and professional groups in Sheffield. Parker was a member of its Committee, as were Samuel Bailey, Drs. Knight and Holland and T. A. Ward (who was the

President). The moderate and dominant group within the Union petitioned Parliament for "full, fair and free" representation. The "extremists", lead by Isaac Ironside, responded by sending a counter-petition calling for universal suffrage, annual parliaments and secret ballot. Although short-lived, the Political Union is important in that it shows that the Liberal elite in Sheffield were in favour of influencing Parliament by means which were both legal and constitutional. It was also, as Fletcher argues, successful in convincing the artisans "that their interests were identical to those of the middle class."<sup>30</sup>

However, any such unity of interests is always unstable and open to revision, particularly when - as happened after the passing of the 1832 Reform Act - one partner finds they have been deceived. This was certainly the case in Sheffield. Following the third reading of the Reform Act an official celebration was held in Sheffield on June 18, 1832 attended by 30,000 people; 5,000 of them being members of the Political Union, each carrying a medal to commemorate the occasion.<sup>31</sup> At the meeting of non-electors held in July, the "popular" voice expressed its support for T. A. Ward and Samuel Bailey as the new representatives. Both men were partners in local cutlery concerns, both had been active in the local agitations for the Act, both were members at some time of the most important Unitarian Chapel in Sheffield. Ward was the more public of the two (having involvement in virtually every public body in Sheffield at some time in his life) but Bailey was the figure who was best known nationally. No less an authority than Maurice Dobb<sup>32</sup> credits Bailey as being the first and "perhaps most influential" critic of the theories of Ricardo through a series of pamphlets which he wrote in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Karl Marx engages with Bailey's arguments on the creation of value at a number of points in Capital Vol. I. His political position is most often referred to as being close to the "philosophical radicals" of the 1830s. Here is Bailey on what would guide his behaviour were he elected:

"One is that all political power without exceptions, whether in the hands of Kings, ministers, representatives, or electors, is rightly held only for the public good; the other is, that the same principles of moral rectitude, the same rigid adherence to equity and abstinence from encroachment on the rights of others which are required in private life, ought to mark all political transactions, between a government and the people or between one nation and another."<sup>34</sup>

The impact of such austere ideas on Bailey seems not to have been healthy. He is variously described as "an abstract idea personified",

"utterly devoid of imagination", "having no sympathy whatever with speculation or schemes not directed to some useful end." and as having "no room for sentiment - little, perhaps for compassion."<sup>35</sup> He seems to have come close to embodying in real life the attitudes attributed to Mr. Gradgrind in fiction. Such character traits must have made it difficult for him to win large scale support amongst the electorate.

On polling day four candidates of differing shades of liberalism were presented to the electorate: John Parker, James Silk Buckingham, Ward and Bailey. Parker is described by Gatty as a "Whig of the old school"<sup>36</sup>, Buckingham was a radical Liberal. At the close of the poll the votes were as follows:

Table No. 5.1<sup>37</sup>

The Results of the 1832 Sheffield Election

	Votes
Parker	1,515
Buckingham	1,498
Ward	1,210
Bailey	813

The disappointment of the 'popular' element at the defeat of their favourites was expressed in the form of a riot during which the Tontine Inn was attacked, five people were shot dead and the town was left in such an uproar that even on the next day a local diarist recorded "The town in such a state of excitement that it was quite impossible to proceed with business."<sup>38</sup>

Bailey's defeat was attributed by Leader to his firm's association with the "stuffing" system,<sup>39</sup> although if this were true it would be difficult to explain his support amongst the unfranchised, who would - presumably - have been his sharpest critics. The Rev. J. Hunter offers a different explanation in his manuscript biographic account of his contemporaries. Here he argues that both Bailey and Ward were drawing on the same social base for support. Moreover, Bailey had declared his intentions to stand first and Ward was "obnoxious to some on account of his connection with the political tensions".<sup>40</sup> This split, according to Hunter, allowed Buckingham to come between them to take second place.

However, if we look at the actual voting figures, and the votes of key individuals, a more complex picture emerges.<sup>41</sup> Although all four candidates are presented in most accounts as Liberals of various hues it is possible to discern an element of support for Bailey amongst a group of voters who would later support the Tory candidate

William Overend<sup>42</sup> (Overend stood as Tory candidate in the 1852 and 1857 elections). An analysis of the votes of the members of the Sheffield Club who voted for Bailey, produces the following table:

Table No. 5.2

Known Voting of Members of the Sheffield Club, 1832-65

<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote</u>						
	1832	1835	1841	1848	1852	1857	1865
Wm. Aldam	By	By			0		
Ed. Bramley	W+P	By+P			P+R		
S. Butcher	B+B	B+B	M+M		P+0	0	
J.H. Dixon	By+P		W+D	D	0	0	D+S
W.F. Dixon	By+P	By+P	W+M	D	0	0	D+S
J. Ellin	By+P	By+P	W+D	D	0		D+S
H. Furniss	By+P	By+P	W+D	D	0	0	D+S
T. Gould	By+P		W+D	D	0	0	
J. W. Hawksworth	By+P	By+P			P+R	R+0	M+B
W. I. Horn	By+P	By+P	W+D		0	0	D+S
E. Hudson		By+P	W+D	D	0	0	D+S
F. Huntsman		By+P	W+D	D	0	0	
R. Jackson	By+P	By+P			P+R	R	M+B
W. Jeffcock	By+P	By+P	M+M		P+R		
T. Laycock	By	By+P	M+M	D	0		
R. Leader	By+P	By+P		E	P+R		M+B
J. T. Leather	By			D			
J. Levick	W+Bu	By					
J. Levick jun.	P+W	By+W	W+D	D			
J. Marsh	By+P		M+M	E	P+R	0	
W. P. Milner	P	By+P			P+0	P+0	D+S
J. Montgomery	By+P	P			P+H		
J. Newbould	P	By+P	W+D		0	0	D+S
Wilson Overend	P	By+P		D	0		
T. Porter	By+P	By+P			R+0		
John Rodgers	By+P	By+P	W+D	D	P+0	0	
Joseph Rodgers		By+P			P+0		
J. Sherwin	P	By+P			0		D+S
A. Smith	By+P	By+P	W	D	P	R+0	M+S
G. Walker	By+W	By+P			P+0	0	D+S
J. G. Wightman		By+P			P+0	0	
H. Wilkinson	By+W	By+P			P+R	R+0	
J. Wilson	By+P	By+P			P+R	R+0	

Key

1832 Sheffield Election:

By = Bailey  
P = Parker  
W = Ward  
Bu = Buckingham

1835 Sheffield Election:

As 1832

1841 West Riding Election:

M+M = Milton and Morpeth (L)  
W+D = Wortley and Denison (T)

1848 West Riding Election:

D = Denison (T)  
E = Eardley (L)

1852 Sheffield Election: O = Overend (T)  
P = Parker (L)  
H = Hadfield (L)  
R = Roebuck (L)

1857 Sheffield Election: As 1852

1865 West Riding Election: D+S = Denison + Stanhope (T)  
M+B = Milton + Beaumont (L)

Although this is a small and select sample, and therefore must be treated with caution, a plain image emerges. Firstly, that with four exceptions the supporters of Bailey are the later supporters of the Tory interest both in Sheffield and in the West Riding. Secondly, that certainly amongst this group, the support for Bailey is shared with support not for Ward but for Parker. This indication is given greater weight if we look at the votes of the men who nominated and seconded the candidates at the 1832 and 1835 elections.

At the 1832 elections Parker was nominated and seconded by Dr. Arnold Knight and Joseph Read; Knight voted for Bailey and Parker, Read does not seem to have voted. Bailey was nominated and seconded by Edward Smith and William Fisher sen. Smith voted for Bailey, Fisher for Bailey and Parker. In 1835 the pattern is even stronger. Parker was nominated and seconded by John Sykes and Joseph Levick: both of whom voted for Bailey and Parker. Bailey was nominated and seconded by William Fisher sen. and Thomas Dunn: again both of them voted for Bailey and Parker.<sup>43</sup> Dunn's presence is a vital clue to Bailey's political position. Dunn was the main organiser of the "moderate" Liberal interest in Sheffield and was one of the main channels of communication out of the town to the Fitzwilliam family; Whig leaders of the West Riding. One final piece of information will complete the argument. If we look at the voting of the twenty-two men who signed the letter asking Bailey to stand in the 1832 election, the link between Bailey and Parker is once again supported.

Table 5.3<sup>44</sup>Voting of Those who invited Bailey to stand in 1832

<u>Name</u>	<u>Votes</u>	
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1835</u>
J. Dixon	Bailey and Parker	Bailey and Parker
T. Dunn	" "	" "
E. Elliott	" Ward	" Buckingham
W. Fisher	" Parker	" Parker
S. Hadfield	" "	" "
J. Hawksworth	" "	" "
M. Hunter	" "	" "
S. Jackson	" "	" "
Dr. A. Knight	" "	No Vote
R. Leader	" "	Bailey and Parker
G. P. Naylor	Buckingham	Buckingham
W. Overend	Bailey and Parker	Parker
J. Ray	" "	Bailey and Parker
E. Rhodes	" Ward	" "
R. Rodgers	Bailey and Parker	" "
E. Smith	" "	" "
W. Smith	" "	" "
G. Thompson	Bailey	" "
E. Vickers	Buckingham	Parker and Buckingham
R. Waterhouse	Bailey and Buckingham	Bailey and Parker
H. Wilkinson	Bailey and Ward	" "
J. Wilson	" Parker	" "

Fourteen of the twenty-two voted for Bailey and Parker in 1832 and seventeen in 1835. The glaring anomaly here is the voting of G. P. Naylor and Edward Vickers, at that time partners in the company of Naylor, Vickers & Co., merchants, file manufacturers and steel converters. They must have decided to withdraw their support for Bailey since Vickers nominated Buckingham in the 1832 elections, and seconded him in the 1835. Of similar interest is the presence of Wilson Overend - brother to William - a firm upholder of Tory interests in the 1850s and beyond.

The voting figures also give some indication of the support for Bailey and Parker, although this is harder to see in 1832 than in 1835. The result for the 1832 election, as we have already seen, was a victory for John Parker and James Silk Buckingham. The detailed analysis of the voting shows that there were 372 plumpers for Parker, 400 for Buckingham, 92 for Ward and 60 for Bailey; however the highest number of split votes were for Parker and Bailey (476). In 1835 the Parker/Bailey alliance is even clearer due to the fact that this time there were only three candidates: Parker, Bailey and Buckingham. Although Parker and Buckingham once again headed the poll, (with 1,607 and 1,554 votes respectively), Bailey was only 120 votes behind the

latter. Again, an analysis of the voting shows a clear division. The plumpers were 176 for Bailey, 206 for Parker but 995 for Buckingham. On the other hand, if we look at the "splits" there were 208 for Buckingham and Bailey, 351 for Parker and Buckingham but 1,050 for Parker and Bailey. In other words 73% of Bailey's vote was coming from people who also supported Parker. Therefore, in as much as Fletcher has already established that Parker drew support from the local Tory interest<sup>45</sup>, and we have seen here that an influential sector of the electorate supported both Parker and Bailey, it would seem that the political map of early Sheffield elections needs to be re-drawn. This re-drawn map would place Parker and Bailey at one extreme, drawing support as they do from the moderately Liberal/Whig but also Tory interest; Buckingham at the other, drawing support from the more "advanced" Liberal sections of the electorate (64% of Buckingham's 1835 vote came from plumpers, indicating a large group hostile to the other two candidates); Ward (in the 1832 election) drawing support from all these groups (8% plumpers, 29% from Parker, 32% from Buckingham and 13% from Bailey).<sup>46</sup>

The Tory interest in Sheffield was not strong enough to field a candidate of their own at this time. Therefore, they gave their votes to the candidates they found least obnoxious. Parker was an obvious choice. His family's contacts with the Whig grandees of the West Riding established his credentials as a moderate man. Bailey was a local man with firm interests in the staple trades. Apart from his connection with the family firm of Eadon and Bailey, he was also Chairman of the Sheffield Banking Co.<sup>47</sup>

Apart from one attempt in 1837, and another in 1841 (when they gained 21.4% of the vote,<sup>48</sup>), the Tories did not mount a serious attack on the two Sheffield seats until 1852, and it is to this election that we must now turn.

### 5:3 Electoral politics in Sheffield: 1835-52

Between 1835 and 1852 there were five elections in Sheffield. In 1836 John Parker was appointed a Lord of the Treasury and therefore a new election had to take place; in 1837 Buckingham resigned his seat and was replaced by Henry George Ward<sup>49</sup>; both Ward and Parker were re-elected in 1841 and 1847; in 1849 Ward was appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, therefore a by-election was held on April 27th and John Arthur Roebuck<sup>50</sup> was returned unopposed. He had been introduced to the area the year before when he had been "bought out" by the Dunn interest in Sheffield as a candidate for the

West Riding Election which saw the growing rift between the Whig gentry and the Liberal merchant/ manufacturers, come to a head.<sup>51</sup>

Earl Fitzwilliam had been much angered by the return of Cobden in the 1847 election, seeing this as the domination of Riding politics by the Towns (especially Leeds, under the control of Edward Baines jun.) When Viscount Morpeth - one of the two sitting M. P.s - succeeded to the Earldom of Carlisle, Fitzwilliam intended to use his position to impose his son Charles Fitzwilliam, on the County, thus re-establishing the landed interest. In the event, Charles withdrew following a canvass meeting in the Leeds Coloured Cloth Hall at which his ignorance of current political events was exposed. Fitzwilliam toyed with the idea of throwing his support behind Edmund Denison, Tory Candidate, but was eventually talked out of this course of action by his political allies. Instead the Whig interest either abstained (in the case of the prominent members) or voted for Denison without the leadership of Fitzwilliam.

Roebuck, as we have seen, was "brought-out" by Sheffield for the West Riding election, but it was Sir Culling Eardley who was selected by the Baines element to stand as "the dissenter's champion". Although religion would seem to have been a factor operating in the choice, so too was money. (Baines, through his newspaper, the Leeds Mercury, was an advocate of voluntarism and an opponent of the plan to give government aid to the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland) 1848 was a year of economic depression, and with the absence of the gentry the election expenses would fall on the shoulders of the merchants. Roebuck wrote to his wife from Leeds on November 22nd, a few weeks before the election, saying that Baines was his main oponent, and that "The great difficulty is, in fact, the money, and in these times of commercial pressure money is not very rife with the merchants, who are, in fact, fighting the battle."<sup>52</sup> In the end, Denison was elected by 14,743 votes to 11,795. Although electorally a defeat for the Liberal interest, nevertheless it was a demonstration of the power of the urban over the rural, of the new aristocracy over the old.

The divisions in the ranks of the Liberal interest were still evident four months later when Roebuck was this time brought forward as a member for Sheffield. The report of the meeting in the Sheffield Times<sup>53</sup> shows that the more advanced sections of the Liberal interest were still smarting from what they saw as their defeat at the hands of the Whig grandees. William Fisher sen. proposed that Dunn should chair the meeting, however this was challenged by a "Mr. Payne" (probably Henry Payne, surgeon and Democratic member of the Town

Council), who proposed that Isaac Ironside should take the chair - since he was "an honest man". Fisher responded that although Dunn had not acted "so liberally in the cause of the Liberal party on the last occasion ... he is willing to act with us on this occasion". Dunn was elected to the chair and told the meeting that before settling on Roebuck to replace Ward he had consulted men in the town "...from the most Liberal to the most Conservative Whig...". This he had done since it was necessary to "...heal the diversion created by the recent West Riding election...".

Despite the evident need to bring the various factions back together Dunn could not resist pointing out that some of Roebuck's ideas were too advanced for him. Ironside, in coin of a similar kind, pointed out that some of the men now claiming to support the Liberal interest had voted for Denison the year before. Sensing a chance to extend his political power yet further, Ironside argued that the Whig element should have no hand in returning Roebuck. Richard Solly<sup>54</sup> went even further and accused Dunn and local Whigs of being on the road to Toryism (although Dunn and his partner William Jeffcock both abstained in the 1848 election).

In the end, some kind of compromise was reached. The committee for Roebuck's election consisted of Dunn for the Whig interest; Edward Smith and William Fisher, Chairman and Vice-president respectively of the New Reform Society, for the town's Liberal interest; and Ironside and Isaac Schofield, for the Democratic interest. Roebuck was invited to stand on the principles of free trade, the ballot, extension of suffrage, financial reform and opposition to any extensions of religious endowments. These were principals which - as Leader observed in his edited biography of Roebuck<sup>55</sup> - were able to fall short of alienating moderate Liberals, and yet disarm a threatened Chartist opposition. Roebuck, writing to Fisher said that he hoped to be of assistance in "promoting good feelings between working-men and their employers"<sup>56</sup> However, a letter written to his wife two days before the - uncontested - election, showed a different side to his feelings. Here he tells his wife that "the extraordinary nonsense of the working-men's ideas would startle you."<sup>57</sup> The next day he wrote to her again saying "I am a sort of Bulwark here by which the masters hope to be defended : the men fear while they are compelled to elect me."<sup>58</sup>

What this shows is that Roebuck, although recognising the role he had to perform, was prepared to offer a decidedly partial view of which side he favoured. As we will see, Roebuck became known in his

latter years for his anti-working class ideas. These letters would seem to indicate, that he was already harbouring such ideas at this time. However, it does show the problems that the Whig-Liberal interest faced. As well as the potential splits between the County Grandees who felt they had the right to organise the political affairs of the Riding there was also the local division between the Whig's (i.e. Dunn), the Liberals (i.e. Robert Leader) and the Chartists/Democrats (i.e. Ironside). All three groups were confronted by a small but growing Tory interest. When the minority Tory government of Lord Derby collapsed in July 1852 (a development that had been expected for some time), the local Tories were ready to field a candidate once again.

#### 5:4 The Sheffield election of 1852

The Sheffield election of 1852 had a long gestation. During the previous year a petition had been presented to Parker from 1,600 electors expressing unhappiness with his performance in Parliament and asking for his resignation.<sup>59</sup> Additionally, Isaac Ironside had used the Wardmotes<sup>60</sup> system that he had built up from his power base on the Highways Board to canvass support for Joshua Toulmin Smith<sup>61</sup> in any future election. Toulmin Smith, however, had indicated that he would only be prepared to stand if the request came not from the Wardmotes or Ironside's "Central Democratic Association" but from a public meeting. Accordingly 18 of the Democratic members of the Council "and about 50 other persons" had petitioned the Mayor to call a public meeting in the Council Hall.<sup>62</sup> At this meeting Ironside proposed Toulmin Smith as a candidate. This resolution was passed with only four voting against, and the next week Toulmin Smith addressed a public meeting in the Town Hall at which he outlined his principles.<sup>63</sup>

These were, as one would expect, mainly couched in terms of de-centralisation of power away from Westminster (for example, he spoke against the Public Health Act of 1848) and of the re-creation of local community involvement at all levels of government. "Let them never allow an oligarchy" he argued, "local or central, to assume the right to manage their affairs for them, but always insist upon the right to understand and manage for themselves the affairs of their own districts." Such views, particularly when imported into the area by Ironside, were unlikely to prove attractive to the merchants and manufacturers who had fought so hard to create and dominate institutions such as the local council which were designed to run the affairs of the many by the few.

Ironside however, was not satisfied with challenging one of the sitting members, for, at the start of March 1852, he approached George Hadfield, and asked him to stand with Toulmin Smith. Hadfield,<sup>64</sup> although living in Manchester, had close connections with Sheffield. His father, Robert Hadfield (1757-1807), had been a partner in Robert Hadfield and Co. (later Robert Hadfield and Son), merchants. George's brother, Samuel (1782-1849), had remained in Sheffield and on his death George had let Samuel's house - Crookes Manor House - to H. E. Hoole (1806-1891). Hoole, who like Hadfield was a Congregationalist, was a partner in Nicholson and Hoole, stove grate, fender and file manufacturers, and chaired Hadfield's election committee. George was a solicitor, having served his articles in Sheffield from 1802-1809 with a Mr. Sherwood. Sherwood and Robert Rodgers were local agents for Lord Milton during the great Yorkshire Election of 1807 and Hadfield notes in his "Narrative" that this was his "first practical acquaintance with political life". Hadfield then, although a "Manchester man" had local connections which enabled him to refute the claims that he was an outsider being introduced into Sheffield to follow the whims of a small group.

Hadfield records in his "Narrative" that he received a letter from Ironside, and others, on 18th March, 1852.<sup>65</sup> His initial reaction seems to have been one of surprise as he records that he was both "...astounded and disinclined...(to accept)" as he was "...not acquainted with all the Partners to the dispatch." At this time Hadfield was in London on his way to Torquay. Unknown to him, Thomas Dunn was also in the South and was anxious to speak to him in order to convince him that he should not stand. Dunn's fear was that, by standing, Hadfield would split the "reformers" and allow two Tories to be returned (Dunn had apparently declined to stand for the same reason). Dunn followed Hadfield to Torquay only to find he had already returned to London. Here he (Hadfield) spoke with his brother-in-law, Mr. Harbottle, and with H. E. Hoole. Harbottle urged him to accept the offer and Hoole "generously offered his support".<sup>66</sup> Dunn wrote asking Hadfield to decline, but by this time Hadfield had already written to Ironside accepting.

In the meantime the "friends" of the two sitting members had not been idle. In the middle of March<sup>67</sup> they held a meeting at the Royal Hotel under the chairmanship of Dunn at which they undertook to return the sitting members "free of charge". Robert Leader also began to use his newspaper, the Sheffield Independent, to voice support for Parker and Roebuck. In the issue for 27th March he warned of the danger of

introducing Hadfield into the contest. Parker and Roebuck were, he argued, the representatives of the normal Liberal/Whig split in a two seat Borough; Parker the moderate, Roebuck the radical. Toulmin Smith on his own presented no threat, but linked with Hadfield there was a grave danger that the Tory interest would prevail with Parker being returned, and Roebuck turned out.

"We are assured that the protectionist party have raised an unexampled sum for the purpose of the coming election contest. Nor are they wanting of men more than of money. To win a seat at Sheffield for the Derby government would be a triumph to them of such value, they would aim to send here their most adroitly chosen man, with unlimited means."<sup>68</sup>

The man who was eventually chosen to exploit this split in the ranks of the Liberals was William Overend. A Requisition signed by 153 electors appeared in the Sheffield newspapers on the 17 April 1852.<sup>69</sup> Here Overend laid out his political principals. He was, he claimed a Peelite (although his opponents claimed he would be a supporter of Derby); against extensions of the franchise; hostile to the ballot; hostile to the shortening of Parliament and in favour of the provision of State aided, religious education. At various Ward meetings he developed these points. The franchise should not be extended, he argued, since the working class were "strong in their feelings, ardent in their passions, but were easily excited and led away by persons who gained an ascendancy over them." Moreover, he thought that the rule of the masses led to "The Terror" in France, and - here quoting de Tocqueville - to people of the "poorer class" selecting "persons of their own class" for the Congress in America. The Ballot should be resisted since it would encourage men to be dishonest; here he brought out the old political chestnut of the Liberal tenant of a Tory landlord who would be "forced" by the secret nature of the Ballot to lie to his landlord concerning his voting. This received little support from a hostile audience.<sup>70</sup>

Nor did his argument that state religious education would be a good thing, since it would promote moral values and intelligence. As this progressed, he went on, so too could the franchise. Indeed, at the Ecclesall Ward meeting he went further and claimed that the Lancastrian system of schools were increasing crime since:

"The education offered by them was not sufficient. Half the people convicted of felony could read and write imperfectly, while only one-twentieth of the persons well educated were found to commit crime. Small education actually lead to crime."<sup>71</sup>

Although each of these meetings were called by circular to

electors, non-electors were present and Overend was subject to some close questioning, particularly from members of the Democratic group. At each of the meetings they attempted to pass a motion claiming that Overend was not a fit person to represent the Borough, and at the Park Ward meeting actually succeeded. Worse still for Overend, at his final public meeting in Paradise Square, William Harver (a Democratic councillor for Ecclesall Ward) and Richard Otley (elected on the Democratic "ticket" to Ecclesall Ward in 1846, but disqualified in 1848) moved and supported a motion that he was not a fit person to represent the Borough.<sup>72</sup> This motion was carried by a large majority but then, to add insult to injury, William Gill (elected as a Democratic councillor to Nether Hallam Ward in 1860) and Charles Alcock (Democratic councillor for Brightside Ward) moved and had passed a resolution that Roebuck and Hadfield were fit persons to represent the Borough. This insult had obviously been planned, since the Sheffield Independent noted in its account of the meeting that a cart with "Messrs Harvey, Otley, Beal, Gill, Steele, Alcock, John Wilson and others" had been set at the foot of the platform from which Overend would speak. The large majority in favour of these motions show that whatever support Overend may have felt he had amongst the voters, he enjoyed little amongst the non-voters.

The Sheffield newspapers responded to Overend's entrance with hostility. The Peelite Sheffield Times (owned at this time by William Williot) could not at first see which of the two sitting members Overend was meant to threaten<sup>73</sup>. By the end of the campaign it was urging Overend's supporters to admit that they had no hope of returning him, but to split their vote with Parker and by so doing "maintain the credit of the town, and their own character for good sense."<sup>74</sup>

Leader, in the Sheffield Independent, attempted to force home the argument that Overend (a barrister) was simply using Sheffield as a stepping stone to advance his career.<sup>75</sup> Leader also used the occasion to evidence his public horror at Overend's use of a personal canvas to win support.<sup>76</sup> This use of personal and paid canvassers was identified in the popular mind with bribery and corruption. There is no direct evidence that Overend did resort to such tricks but at his Paradise Square meeting referred to above, he was accused of taking a tenants landlord with him when going to canvas. (Overend claimed that he needed to canvas since he had no paper to support his views.<sup>77</sup>)

What had happened in the meantime to the Liberal interest? To go back to April, 1852 the situation appeared desperate. Overend,

Toulmin Smith, Hadfield, Parker and Roebuck were in the field as prospective candidates. At various times it had been suggested that Henry Pashley<sup>78</sup> (a local solicitor) would be a second Tory candidate with Overend, and that either Hadfield's brother-in-law (Mr. Harbottle), or the veteran Edward Smith, would be brought out as a second candidate with Hadfield.<sup>79</sup> As "A Working Man" put it in the letter columns of the Sheffield Independent, "But an immaculate man could not now satisfy Sheffield with its present cliques".

However, things were not going well for Ironside's plan to bring in two members of his own. At a meeting held in the Town Hall at the end of March, to introduce Hadfield to the town, a number of his (Hadfield's) supporters objected to the linking together of his name with Toulmin Smith. Indeed, at the end of the meeting it was obvious that there would be two committees seeking to elect Hadfield; one with Toulmin Smith and one Hadfield alone.<sup>80</sup> Hadfield enquired of the joint committee if he could meet with the second committee, they agreed to this but on the 2nd April, Ironside visited him in Manchester to withdraw the permission. Ironside informed Hadfield that he could either stand with Toulmin Smith or retire; he retired.<sup>81</sup> On hearing this, Toulmin Smith wrote to Wolstenholm (the Assistant Secretary of the joint committee) stating that he would only stand if it was a joint candidacy, if not, he too would resign.<sup>82</sup> The local press drew the obvious conclusion from this. Toulmin Smith had received an understanding to be returned free of cost, Hadfield was a wealthy man: Ironside had been attempting to bring "Mr. T. Smith in on the back of Mr. Hadfield."<sup>83</sup>

The joint committee and the Hadfield Committee now had serious problems. The first had debts but no candidates, the second had a potential candidate but one who had given a written undertaking to Ironside not to stand. By the end of April, Toulmin Smith had indeed resigned in disgust at being asked to pay toward his expenses, "The fact is, I was several times importunately applied to, under various periphrases and beatings about the bush, for pecuniary advances."<sup>84</sup> In the meantime, Hoole and others had met with Ironside and struck a deal. They would hand over £100 towards the 'expenses' of the committee, and the committee would hand over the undertaking not to stand, and would pledge their support. Leader knew a good story when he saw it and thundered:

"Let it not be hoped that appeals to honour and conscience, or that a high moral tone on all other questions, will palliate or disguise the real character of this transaction. It is a bribe - to buy the support of a set of people who are to take various degrees of benefit from the money. It is a bribe - and all the dust that can be raised, and all the prayers that can be said, and all the protestation of pure motives, of clear consciences, of patriotic aims, can neither change nor conceal this truth. It is a BRIBE - and we warn all men of honour and character to avoid either to touch, or sanction, or connive at the accursed thing."<sup>85</sup>

Even better for Leader's argument, this act came from the group who had constantly interrupted Roebuck's speeches with cries of "Coppock".<sup>86</sup> (Coppock was a figure purportedly involved in electioneering malpractices in Roebuck's old constituency of Bath.) However, these developments did mean that Hadfield was back as a candidate.

Parker and Roebuck had the advantage of being the sitting members, of having two of the local papers on their side, and of having some of the richest and most influential men in Sheffield on their committee. And yet, when they held a joint meeting in Paradise Square in April only Roebuck was voted as being a fit person to represent the borough. (The Independent took this to be the consequence of the Democratic group packing the meeting).<sup>87</sup> Indeed, popular opinion seems to have been running against Parker. During May and June the Sheffield Times felt it necessary to defend Parker against taking Government Office (and thereby not being 'independent') and of staying away from Sheffield for too long.<sup>88</sup> It also reported an instance of a "working man" at a Brightside Ward meeting urging non-electors to only shop with those who "would vote for candidates who would work for the enfranchisement of the working class."<sup>89</sup> (i.e. to not shop with those who supported Parker). It was also now being publicly admitted that Parker drew some of his support from local Tories. However, this was not seen as a problem since the assumption was that as long as there were not two Tory candidates votes for Overend would be split.<sup>90</sup> The main fear in the Roebuck/Parker group was that Hadfield would threaten Roebuck's chances, since they were both radical.

On the 6th July 1852, when the hustings eventually took place, the town was at a fever pitch of excitement. Parker was nominated by Ald. Dunn, and seconded by Ald. J. W. Pye-Smith.<sup>91</sup> In his speech, Pye-Smith described him as a friend of peace, retrenchment and reform, and - in an attempt to win the votes of the large non-conformist group - that he was a member of the party that had given dissenters

civil and religious liberties.<sup>92</sup> Roebuck was proposed by Wm, Fisher and seconded by Ald. T. R. Baker. In his speech Baker pointed out that the "Friends of Peace" (i.e. Hadfield's supporters; Hadfield was a member of the Peace Society) had declared war on Roebuck. Hadfield was proposed by Ald. Hoole and seconded by Ald. Schofield. Each of them in turn stressed the extension of the franchise, which was Hadfield's keystone policy to win support from the Democrats and the non-electors. Overend was nominated by W. F. Dixon and seconded by Henry Atkin. On a show of hands Hadfield and Roebuck were returned. Overend and Parker called for a poll and the result was as follows:

Table No. 5.4<sup>93</sup>

Poll for the 1852 Sheffield Election

Roebuck	2092
Hadfield	1853
Parker	1580
Overend	1180

Vote by townships

	Roebuck	Hadfield	Parker	Overend
Sheffield	1299(32)	1164(29)	951(24)	612(15)
Ecclesall	423(30)	375(26)	320(23)	295(21)
Brightside	186(32)	113(20)	162(28)	113(20)
Nether Hallam	115(29)	131(33)	81(20)	76(19)
Upper Hallam	20(16)	40(31)	26(20)	43(33)
Attercliffe	45(28)	30(19)	47(29)	40(25)
	<u>2097</u>	<u>1853</u>	<u>1587</u>	<u>1179</u>

Notes

1. Figures in brackets are row percentages.

Roebuck had moved to become the senior member. Hadfield had overtaken Parker mainly because of the formers radical views and the support of the nonconformist community.<sup>94</sup> For Parker it marked the end of his political career. Overend had managed to increase the Tory percentage of the vote from 23.06% in 1837, 21.39% in 1841, to 36.06%<sup>95</sup> (the mean Tory vote in England in 1852 was 37.3%<sup>96</sup>). And, as he made clear in his speech after the results were announced, "I believe this is not the last time you will see me asking for your suffrages."

Leader and Williot presented very different analysis of the election to their readers.<sup>97</sup> To Leader the result showed that it was a victory for the "ultra-radicals". He concluded that the return of two radical M.P.s indicated that the "electoral body have resolved

upon the further progress of reform". This is also the interpretation that Fletcher presents.<sup>98</sup> However, Williot gives quite a different interpretation. He argues that Hadfield's return was not an indication of the strength of the ultra-radicals, but of the weakness of the Tories. Two factors were highlighted. First, that Hadfield did not have enough support to be returned if "...the votes really adverse to him had been properly marshalled and given against him...". Secondly, that the Tories would never be able to return their own member, and therefore should vote for the two Liberal members "...from whom they apprehend least danger...". By so doing they would hold "...the power of selection...". In contradiction to the 'ultra-radical' argument Williot says, "The fact that a Conservative candidate polled more votes than he ever did before seems hardly consistent with this theory."

What both papers agree on is that money had played a large part in the elections. Leader argued that money gained Hadfield 300 votes (i.e. had enabled him to beat Parker). Not quite an accusation of bribery, but close. Williot fulminated:

"A new era has occurred amongst us. We have seen an Election won by the expenditure of thousands where hundreds before sufficed. We have seen hired canvassers swarming in our streets, where previously the canvasser differed only from the Elector in greater zeal. We have seen money spent in a variety of ways in which it never before was spent amongst us. We have been inoculated with the virus of corruption. Like dogs who have once lapped blood, shall we ever again be satisfied without it?"<sup>99</sup>

Of course, some of the money was spent on 'legitimate' expenses, such as canvassers. However, Nossiter has shown that bribery was on the increase, and that in Berwick one 5th. of the voters would not poll without payment.<sup>100</sup> Marx observed that "Days of general elections are in Britain traditionally the Bacchanalia of drunken debauchery, conventional stock-jobbing terms for the discounting of political consciences, the richest harvest time of the publicans."<sup>101</sup> The 1852 election was, he thought, just an extension of this trend. In his analysis of the elections, Marx also shows that a number of the developments in Sheffield were common to the country as a whole. Firstly, he shows that in their campaigns a large number of Tories were forced to deny the protectionist principles of Derby (as did Overend). Secondly, he shows that the elections had been a great defeat for the Whigs. Lord John Russell had been returned in the City of London, but not at the head of the poll and in all, eleven members of the last Whig Government had lost their seats; of which Parker was one.<sup>102</sup>

On the 10th August the Tory faction in Sheffield held a Public Dinner in the Cutlers Hall to congratulate Overend on his performance.<sup>103</sup> Far from being a solemn occasion the dinner was a vehicle for speakers to show that the election had "cemented their party together". W. F. Dixon (who was described by William Overend as the "...leader of the Conservative cause in Sheffield.") presided. On his left was Overend and - significantly - on his right was Frances Stuart Wortley, the second son of John, second Baron Wharncliffe. Wortley told the 200 at the Dinner "It is most flattering to me to think that our family is considered in Sheffield, as I may say the head of the Conservative interest in this neighbourhood". William's brother, Wilson, spoke of the events of the election and their impact for the Tory interest in Sheffield:

"But we showed that if the respectable portion of the inhabitants of Sheffield - the people owning property, the people of education, and the people who ought to be the conservators of the institutions of the county, would not go with us, at all events we could prevent them returning a member to parliament. (Hear hear and cheers). Gentlemen, we have established ourselves as a power which must ever from this period influence the representation of the town. We are a power which must increase, because our cause is good. We have bound ourselves together in a close bond of union ... and those who have property and intelligence will find the necessity before long of joining us."

Of course, a fair degree of this may have been just bravado. The editorial which accompanied this report pointed out that the Tory party was not as united as the speakers suggested, and that it would be interesting to see which wing - the progressive or the reactionary - would emerge as the dominant. Nevertheless, the speeches show that there were two items to which the Tory interest in Sheffield had to turn its attention. Firstly, the need to have a newspaper of its own and secondly, the need to attend more closely to the annual updates of the register of electors. As William Stratford (a representative of the Conservative Operatives) put it "There were hundreds of names on the register that had no right to be on, and hundreds omitted that ought to have been there. That was the great point they had now to attend to."

#### 5:5 Analysis of the voting of the Sheffield Club members in the 1852 election

To conclude this Chapter, I would like to spend some time looking at the involvement of the members of the Sheffield Club in the 1852 election, and how they voted. As I indicated above, this is partly to query Fletcher's claim that the defection of the middle class to

Toryism began in 1868. Now, of course 1868 is important, marking as it does the defeat of Roebuck, and his open movement into the Tory party. However, such a climacteric may direct our attention away from slow and incremental processes, of which this may be simply a surface manifestation. To take a metaphor from Gramsci, an army will only win a battle if it has prepared for it beforehand:

"The decisive element in every situation is the permanently organised and long-prepared force which can be put into the field when it is judged that a situation is favourable (and it can be favourable only in so far as such a force exists, and is full of fighting spirit). Therefore the essential task is that of systematically and patiently ensuring that this force is formed, developed and rendered ever more homogeneous, compact and self aware."<sup>104</sup>

Firstly, of the four candidates only one (Overend) was a member of the Club in 1852. Of their election committees,<sup>105</sup> in Roebuck and Parker's case, only two (Richard Solly and Thomas Jessop) were members; although four more had joined by 1854 (W.A. Matthews, Robert Leader, Samuel Mitchell and F. T. Mappin). As one might expect from the social class of the bulk of his supporters, none of Hadfield's committee were members. However, when we turn to Overend, eight out of sixteen were members, (W. F. Dixon, Wilson Overend, Vincent Corbett, Robert Younge, Henry Newbould, John Newbould, Henry Furniss and William Fowler); two joined in 1859 (George Hounsfield and Henry Webster); and one joined in 1863 (Henry Unwin).

But the links spread further than the Sheffield Club. Hounsfield, Younge, H. Newbould and Furniss were all members of the Church Burgesses and Grammar School Governors<sup>106</sup> (Unwin joined them in the 1870s). Hounsfield was a partner in the Sheffield Coal Co.: the other three partners were Thomas Dunn, Thomas Wilson, and William Jeffcock (one Tory and three Liberals). Hounsfield died in 1870 and the next year his widow married William Overend. In 1853 Unwin married Hannah, the youngest daughter of John Wilson and sister to Thomas Wilson; another sister married F. T. Mappin (member of Parker and Roebuck's committee) in 1845. Taken together, this shows that Overend's supporters were a reasonably cohesive group but that they were still able to have links to opposing political parties through their families. Therefore, the often stated claim that political opponents were friends away from the political arena should not be dismissed as mere rhetoric.

What the relative members of the committees who were members of the Club would also suggest is that the Tory interest is over-represented in its ranks. If we look at how the members voted this

seems indeed to be the case. The votes - where traceable - of the 1854 membership of the Sheffield Club, in the 1852 election were:

Table No. 5.5<sup>107</sup>

Voting of the 1854 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1852 Election

<u>Name</u>	<u>Voters</u>
Overend	55
Parker	46
Roebuck	22
Hadfield	7

However, if we look at the "plumpers", the Tory bias becomes even clearer. There were no plumpers for Roebuck, one for Hadfield, four for Parker and thirty-three for Overend.<sup>108</sup> Twenty members split their vote between Overend and Parker (the remaining two votes come one each from a split with Roebuck and a split with Hadfield). The next largest split group is nineteen for Parker and Roebuck.

If, as I believe, the membership of the Sheffield Club is a sample of the upper strata of the middle class in Sheffield this would indicate that they were already strongly in support of the Tory cause. Now, it could be the case that the Sheffield Club was a Tory club, in which case this would be a self-selected sample. But, as I argue above, I do not believe this is so. Many of the leaders of the Liberal party in Sheffield were also members (e.g. Leader and Mappin).

How does this distribution of votes compare with other parts of the country. Fraser produces figures to show that in the 1852 election in Nottingham 41% of the "Upper professional" and 45% of the "Manufacturer/merchant" group voted Liberal.<sup>109</sup> If we use a similar grouping system for the known votes of the members of the Sheffield Club it produces the following results:

Table No. 5.6

Voting of the 1854 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1852 Election, By Occupational Group.

<u>Social Group</u>	<u>Votes</u>			
	<u>Parker</u>	<u>Roebuck</u>	<u>Hadfield</u>	<u>Overend</u>
Upper Professional	17	8	2	15
Merchant/Manufacturer	23	12	4	26

Using the Fraser method to compare the strengths of the parties (i.e. the Tory and Liberal candidates with the highest votes) this would indicate a 53% support for the Liberals amongst the "Upper Professional" group, and a 47% support amongst the "Manufacturers/Merchants" (taking Parker as the leading Liberal). However, this seriously underestimates the strength of Tory support, as there is strong evidence that a large number of Tories voted for Parker.<sup>110</sup> As we shall see below, when Parker was removed from the scene in the 1857 election, the trend is much clearer. (If we were to take Roebuck as the leading Liberal the results would be 35% and 32% respectively).

One final piece of evidence. If we take the votes for the members of the Leeds Club who had a qualifying address within the Leeds Ward (plus eleven other selected individuals) in the 1848 West Riding Election, the result is as follows:

Table No. 5.7<sup>111</sup>

Voting of the Leeds Ward Members of the Leeds Club in the 1848 West Riding Election

<u>Voted</u>	<u>Number</u>
Denison (Tory)	52 (81.2%)
Eardley (Liberal)	12 (18.8%)

Unlike the Sheffield example, the voting of the Leeds Club is in keeping with the overall result (Denison 14,743, Eardley 11,795). What it does show is the large level of Tory support amongst the members. Breaking these groups down (where known) into the two occupational groups, produces the following:

Table No. 5.8

Voting of the Leeds Ward Members of the Leeds Club in the 1848 West Riding Election By Occupational Group

<u>Social Group</u>	<u>Denison</u>	<u>Eardley</u>
Upper Professional	19	3
Manufacturers/Merchants	23	8

This would indicate a 14% support for the Liberals amongst the "Upper Professional" group, and 26% amongst the "Manufacturers/Merchants". Once again, it could be the case that the Leeds Club was a Tory club, and hence one would expect such a result. And here we

are on weaker ground, since Leeds is not the focus of this study. However, I want to argue that due to its exclusive nature, the voting of the members of the Leeds Club is an insight into the political mind of the elite of that town, rather than the Club itself being a political institution.

#### 5:6 Conclusion

Unlike Leeds, the 1852 election did not act to bring the Liberal party together in Sheffield.<sup>112</sup> Instead it drove a wedge between the various factions, and gave Roebuck a partner he did not want. In addition it left a mass of unresolved disagreements, which would simmer and then come to the surface in 1857. The Sheffield Independent was being over optimistic when it pointed out to Overend that an anagram of his name was "Never Do, William."<sup>113</sup>

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. D. E. Fletcher, Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield 1849-1886, Unpublished Ph.D. Sheffield University 1972 pp. 190; see also pp. 127 and 130, and passim.
2. On the uses of Poll Books see:- J. Cannes, "Poll Books" in History, Vol. XLVII 1962 and J. R. Vincent, Poll Books, How Victorians Voted (Cambridge 1967).
3. Copies of the Poll Books are to be found in the Brotherton Collection of the University Library, Leeds.
4. For a discussion of the events leading up to, and the effects of the passing of the 1832 Reform Act, see Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1867, Chapter 5 "Reform". Harlow 1979
5. Act 1 and 2 George IV, Cap. 47.
6. See, G. R. Parker, Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire ... Hull, 1886.
7. That is, the paying of poor-rates and having to have occupied the property for twelve months before registration.
8. For example, in 1841 the 14 Townships making up the district of Sheffield (Austin North and South; Attercliffe-cum-Darnell; Bradfield; Brightside Bierlow; Ecclesall; Ecclesall Bierlow; Nether Hallam; Upper Hallam; Handsworth; Harthill-with-Woodall, Sheffield; Thorpe Salvin; Todwick; Wales) registered 2,130 voters in the West Riding elections. Sheffield itself registered 822 votes.  
  
The similar figure for Leeds - which comprised 27 townships - was 2,833 votes.  
  
By 1848 the respective numbers were Sheffield 2,433 and Leeds 3,310 votes.  
  
The Poll for two Knights of the Shire for the West Riding of Yorkshire, On Thursday and Friday, the 8th and 9th of July, 1841 ..., (Wakefield, 1841).  
  
The Poll for a Knight of the Shire for the West Riding of Yorkshire ... on Thursday and Friday, Dec., 14th and 15th 1848 (Leeds, 1849)
9. See for example, F.M.L. Thompson "Whigs and Liberals in the West Riding, 1830-1860" in English Historical Review, Vol. LXXIV No. CCXCI (April 1959).
10. For example; "Dr. Heaton" a Leeds physician, moderate Liberal when young, but "strong churchman and a mild Conservative" by 1850s, was prepared to give one of his votes to the Liberal and dissenting Edward Baines. See G. Kitson Clark, "The Leeds Elite", The University of Leeds Review, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1975) pp. 242.

11. They could of course attempt to influence the small shopkeepers and traders who had the vote, but were dependent on working class custom.
12. For a fictional account of this selling of votes, see Anthony Trollope, Phineas Redux, (1869). This was based on his own experience in the 1868 election at Beverley.
13. Derek Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England (Leicester 1970).
14. Patrick Joyce, Work, Society and Politics, 1982, p. 272.
15. See above Chapter Two.
16. See above Chapter Two.
17. See "Rules of the Reading and Conservation Society, Agreed upon at a meeting of the Members held in the Vestry of Upper Chapel, 29 March 1793"; also the account book for the same. Both held in the archives of the Upper Chapel, Sheffield.
18. Joseph Gales 1761-1841, radical printer. He fled to America in 1794 after repeated attempts by the authorities to arrest him. See P.R.O., Home Office 42/30, f. 52, 318, 333 and 42/31 f.1; R.E. Leader, op. cit., 1901, pp. 290-4.
19. See Allan W. L. Seaman, "Reform Politics at Sheffield, 1791-97, in T.H.A.S. Vol. 7 (1951-7) pp. 215-228; F. K. Donnelly and J. F. Baxter "Sheffield and the English Revolutionary Tradition 1791-1820" in Pollard and Holmes, op. cit. 1976, ...; Baxter, op. cit., pp. 112-152.
20. Rev. Joseph Hunter (1783-1861). The son of Michael Hunter a factor at Ecclesfield he was apprenticed in 1797 to William Hadfield, a knife maker. In 1804, at the end of his apprenticeship he studied for the Unitarian ministry at a college in York. A close friend of T. A. Ward, he later converted to the Anglican Church and towards the end of his life was Vice-Keeper of the British Library. The references are from Manning's History of Upper Chapel pp. 81-82, quoting Hunter's Geus Sylvestrines, printed privately in 1846.
21. See Manning, op. cit., p. 192; R. E. Leader, op. cit., 1901, pp. 78, 195-6.
22. The Right and Duty of Defensive War, A Sermon presented before a Society of Unitarian Dissenters at Sheffield on the 19th October, 1803 (National Feast Day) by Benjamin Naylor, (Sheffield 1803).
23. David Nicholls, "The English Middle Class and the Ideological Significance of Radicalism, 1760-1886" in Journal of British Studies, No. 24 (October 1985), pp. 415-433.
24. The Baines' 1808 Leeds Guide quoted in R. J. Morris, "Middle-Class Culture, 1700-1914" (p. 204) in Derek Fraser A History of Modern Leeds (Manchester University Press, 1980).

25. John Parker, A Statement of the Population .. of the Town of Sheffield (Sheffield 1830).  
Parker (1799-1881) was a Barrister. Son of Hugh (1772-1861) who was a banker in the family firm of Parker, Shore. John was MP for Sheffield 1832-1852.
26. "I like to be civil to Miss Griffiths, not only on account of her liveliness, beauty and good humour, but because she has moved in a more splendid circle, and must feel more acutely any indifference than those who have always moved in our commercial circle". (1814)  
Bell (ed.), op cit., p. 211.
27. Alan White, "Class, Culture and Control : the Sheffield Athenaeum Movement and the Middle Class 1847-64" in J. Wolff and J. Seed (eds.) The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle Class (Manchester University Press, 1988) p. 92.
28. Fletcher, op. cit., 1972, p.1.
29. loc. cit., pp. 6-8
30. loc. cit., p. 7
31. Wickham, op. cit., 1957, p. 97.
32. Maurice Dobb, Theories of Value and Distribution Since Adam Smith : Ideology and Economic Theory Cambridge University Press, 1973, p. 99.
33. In particular, A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures and Causes of Value, London 1825.
34. N.C.R.S. Vol. 13 SF, pp. 61-2
35. Odom, op. cit., 1924, pp. 1-3; R. E. Leader The Sheffield Banking Co. p. 64.
36. Rev. Alfred Gatty, Sheffield: Past and Present, Sheffield and London 1873, p. 278.
37. W. W. Bean, The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England, Hull 1890, p. 1,070.
38. Wickham, p. 97; Smith p. 83. The diarist is John Tertus Fairbanks who recorded the events in his "Work Diary" in the Fairbank Collection (WD-20) S.L.A.
39. R. E. Leader, Sheffield in the 18th Century p. 111; History of the Cutlers Co. Vol. 1, p. 282.
40. Rev. J. Hunter Mss. Biography of His Contemporaries in the British Library Additional Manuscripts, Add. 36527 f. 23.
41. The analysis of the voting in this and the next chapter, is taken from the following Poll Books:  
The Poll Book ... (for) the first Election of Members for the Borough of Sheffield, December 13th and 14th, 1832,

Sheffield, 1833.

The Poll Book ... at the Election of Members for the Borough of Sheffield ... January 9-10th, 1835, Sheffield, nd.

The Poll for Two Knights of the Shire, for the West-Riding of Yorkshire, on Thursday and Friday, the 8th and 9th of July, 1841., Wakefield, 1841.

The Poll for a Knight of the Shire for the West Riding of Yorkshire ... on Thursday and Friday, Dec. 14th and 15th, 1848, Leeds, 1849.

The Poll Book of the Sheffield Election, July 6th and 7th, 1852, Sheffield, nd.

The Poll Book of the Sheffield Election, March 27th and 28th, 1857, Sheffield, nd.

The Poll for the Southern Division of the West Riding of the County of York, on the 21st of July, 1865, Wakefield, 1866.

42. William Overend (1809-1884) Solicitor.
43. 1832 Election information from S.L.R. Dec. 12, 1832.  
1835 Election information from the 1835 Poll Book (see above.)
44. See, N.C.R.S. Vol. 13 SF p. 61
45. Fletcher, op. cit., 1972, po. 8.
46. The voting figures are those given in W. W. Bean, The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England, Hull, 1890, p. 1,070.
47. See R. E. Leader, The Sheffield Banking Co. Ltd., An Historical Sketch 1831-1916, Sheffield 1916.
48. Derek Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England MacMillan (paperback ed.), 1979, p. 224.
49. Henry George Ward (1797-1860). Owner of the Weekly Chronicle. He invested heavily in Railways. He was an advocate of the ballot, triennial Parliaments and household suffrage. He was M.P. St. Albans 1832-7.  
  
See Who's Who of British Members of Parliament Vol. 1, p. 398 (Harvester, 1976).
50. John Arthur Roebuck (1801-1879) a Barrister by training, he was MP for Bath before coming to Sheffield.
51. This account of the 1848 West Riding election is based on F.M.L. Thompson, "Whigs and Liberals in the West Riding, 1830-1860" in E.H.R., Vol. LXXIV No. CCXCI (April 1959) pp. 214-239. See also, F. M. L. Thompson, English Landed Society, in the Nineteenth Century, (1963) Chapter 10, for an account of the decline of the landlords interest.

52. R. E. Leader (ed.) The Life and Letters of J. A. Roebuck, Sheffield, 1897, p. 207.
53. S. T., 7 April, 1849.
54. Richard Solly (1806-1869) Ironmaster. Although elected to the Town Council in 1846 as a member of the Democratic group, he was also a member of the Sheffield Club.  
  
He was active in the Anti-Corn Law League and the National Public School Association.
55. R. E. Leader, op. cit., 1897, p. 219.
56. R. E. Leader, op. cit., 1897, p. 220.
57. Ibid.
58. R. E. Leader, op. cit., 1897, p. 221.
59. The Narrative of Me, George Hadfield, Presented to his daughter, Mrs. Mary Hadfield, 8th June 1870.,. S.L.A., MD 1832, p. 169.
60. See Fraser (1979) pp. 107-111; John Salt, "Experiments in Anarchism, 1850-1854", in T.H.A.S. Vol. 10, pp. 45-47.
61. Toulmin Smith's book, Local Self-Government and Centralisation (1851) influenced Ironside's philosophy of de-centralised powers and decision making in the community through Anglo-Saxon "motes".
62. S.I. 14 February, 1852.
63. S.I. 16th February, 1852.
64. This paragraph is based on The Narrative pp. 20-22, 24, 28, 40-41, 166.
65. The Narrative, p. 170.
66. The Narrative, p. 171.
67. See the London Times, 17 March, 1852, S.I. 20 March 1852, the London Times 23 March 1852.
68. S. I. 27 March 1852.
69. S.I. 17 April, 1852. See also, the London Times 17 March, 1852 and 17 April, 1852; S.I. 3 April, 1852; 17 and 24 April, 1852.
70. S.I. 22 and 29 May, 1852.
71. S.I. 22 May, 1852.
72. London Times, 9 June, 1852; S.I. 12 June, 1852.
73. S.I. 17 April, 1852.
74. S.I. 3 July, 1852.

75. S.I. 17 and 24 April, 1852.
76. S.I. 24 April, 1852.
77. S.I. 22 May, 1852.
78. S.I. 3 April, 1852.
79. S.I. 29 May, 1852.
80. S.I. 3 April 1852; see also The Narrative p. 173; R. E. Leader (ed.) Sheffield Political History, Vol. 2 (this is a bound volume of letters), (S.L.A.) LC 186, p. 186.
81. S.I. 10 April 1852; The Narrative op. cit.
82. Ibid.
83. S.T. 10 April, 1852.
84. S.I. 24 April, 1852; see also the London Times 7 July, 1852.
85. Ibid.; see also S.T. 1 May 1852; S.T. 24 April and 26 June, 1852.
86. S.I. 10 April, 1852.
87. S.I. 10 April, 1852.
88. S.T. 29 May and 19 June 1852.
89. S.I. 3 July, 1852.
90. S.I. 3 April and 15 May, 1852.
91. J. W. Pye-Smith (originally known as J. W. Smith) (1809-64), a solicitor in the firm of Pye-Smith and Wightman.
92. S.I. 10 July, 1852.
93. Ibid.
94. Hadfield had three ministers on his election committee; these were Rev. J.J. Shrubsole, Howard St. Chapel, (Congregationalist); Rev. David Loxtin, Mount Zion Chapel, (Congregationalist); Rev. John Eustace Giles, Portmahon Chapel, (Baptist). See S.T. 8 May, 1852.
95. The 1841 and 1852 figures are from Fraser (1979) pp. 224. The method is to take the leading Liberal against the leading Tory. For some reason Fraser does not take John Thornley - who stood in the 1837 Sheffield election - as a Tory, although it is quite clear that contemporaries did. See, S.T. 7 April, 1852 where Thornley is described as an "...out-and-out Conservative."; see also S.T. 7 April, 1852.
96. T. J. Nossiter, Elections and Political Behaviour in County Durham and Newcastle, 1832-74 (Unpublished Ph.D., Oxford 1968) p. 289.

97. S.I. and S.T. 10 July, 1852.
98. Fletcher, op. cit., p. 32.
99. S.T. 17 July, 1852. The only figure that is available is that for Hadfield, whose committee expended £1,770. 18s. Od., "...the chief part being for the press."; The Narrative p. 175.
100. Nossiter, op. cit., p. 5.
101. Karl Marx, "Corruption at Elections" in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works Vol. 11, Lawrence and Wishart 1979, p. 344.
102. Karl Marx, "Result of the Elections" in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, op. cit. pp. 348-353.
103. S.I. 31 July and S.T. 14 August, 1852.
104. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Prison Notebooks, Lawrence and Wishart, 1979, p.185.
105. Roebuck and Parker's election committee is taken from S.I. 15 May, 1852; Hadfield's from S.I. 8 May, 1852; it has not proved possible to determine who were in Overend's committee so the list of people who supported him on the hustings has been used.
106. The Church Burgesses were established in 1554 to provide funds from lands to maintain three chaplains to assist the Vicar, the repair of the Parish Church and to assist the poor. See P.J. Wallis, "Sheffield Church Burgesses: A Biographical Registry" in T.H.A.S. Vol. 7, pp. 51-62, 144-157, 194-199 and 344-358.
- The Grammar School was founded sometime in the mid-seventeenth century and received endowments and a Royal letters patent in 1603. The School and the Church Burgesses were closely linked, the School at one time standing on land owned by the Burgesses.
- See R.E. Leader (1901) op. cit. pp. 121-125; D. Smith (1982) op. cit., pp. 61, 108-109 passim.
107. Compiled from the 1854 membership list of the Sheffield Club (manuscript, now in S.L.A.) and the 1852 Poll Book, op. cit.
108. The full figures are:
- Parker, 4; Hadfield, 1; Overend, 33; Roebuck and Hadfield, 2; Parker and Hadfield, 3; Parker and Roebuck, 19; Roebuck and Overend, 1; Hadfield and Overend, 1; Parker and Overend, 20.
109. Fraser, 1979, op. cit., p. 228.
110. See above, but also see the letter from "A Conservative Elector" in the S.T. 17 July 1852, who argues that now Parker has been defeated, Overend can expect to gain a large number of his supporters.

111. Compiled from The Rules and Regulations of the Leeds Club, Leeds 1849; West Riding Poll Book for the 1848 election, op. cit.
112. S.I. 29 May, 1852; D. Fraser "Politics and Society in the Nineteenth Century", in D. Fraser (ed.), A History of Modern Leeds, Manchester University Press, 1980, p. 293.
113. S.I. 10 July, 1852.

CHAPTER SIXTHE SHEFFIELD ELECTION OF 1857 AND THE WEST RIDING ELECTION OF 1865

"Vote, Men of Sheffield! give all your votes for OVEREND!  
 He's the right sort for whom to raise your voice;  
 Old GEORGE to HONG KONG, to RUSSIA, or to DOVER send,  
 Don't let a muff like HADFIELD be your choice!

Old HADFIELD's bigotry, his twaddle, and stupidity,  
 Render him for Sheffielders a Member quite unfit;  
 But he's just a man, of mean views and cupidity,  
 In a Chinese Parliament to sit.

## CHORUS

Vote, then, Men of Sheffield, give all your votes for  
 Overend!  
 For the young Queens's Counsellor loudly raise your voice.  
 The Manchester Attorney to Petersburg or Dover send,  
 Don't let an ass like HADFIELD be your choice."<sup>1</sup>

6:1 Introduction

Thus ran one of the many placards emanating from the Tory group in Sheffield during the 1857 election. As we saw in the last chapter the divisions within the Liberal party in Sheffield during the 1852 election had allowed the old Whig member - Parker - to be replaced by Hadfield, the representative of the Radicals. The bad feelings caused by this result were still very much alive six years later. Moreover, despite public statements to the contrary, Roebuck was less than happy at being given a new partner at Westminster. As far back as April 1852, Roebuck was writing to William Fisher jun. to say that he was not surprised by the appearance of Hadfield.<sup>2</sup> The Anti-Corn Law League had, he said, "never been cordial with me; I would never run in their harness or shout at their word of command". In 1854 he wrote again to Fisher explaining why he had refused a request from Hoole to attend a Reform Banquet at the Music Hall at which Cobden and Bright were due to speak.

"I am not well pleased by this attempt of Mr. Hadfield to make himself of importance. What he did last year may be summed up in one word - nothing ... Dunn, I know thinks with me, and he had been asked but has refused to be present; and, moreover, for myself, I must say that the manner of Mr. Hadfield's election does not make me anxious to strengthen him in the good opinion of the electors".<sup>3</sup>

The Tories were aware of these rifts within the ranks of the Liberals and knew that the 'weak' elements who had supported Parker in the past were ready to defect, if a suitable occasion could be found.

Ironically, it was Roebuck and Hadfield themselves who provided such an opportunity for the Tories when, in 1857, they voted against the government of Palmerston over his policy in China. The events which precipitated this action were as follows: following the seizure by Chinese police of a number of men (who they considered pirates) from a supposedly British protected ship, Sir John Bowring - the governor of Hong Kong - ordered military and naval forces to attack the town of Canton. A large section of the town was destroyed or set on fire and, despite public support for the action, a feeling emerged amongst some members of Parliament that this was an un-British and barbaric act. Accordingly, Russell, Gladstone, Disraeli, Graham, Cobden and others, banded together to force a vote of confidence on Palmerston. Losing this, he dissolved Parliament and took the issue to the electorate. The result was an overwhelming victory for Palmerston and a disaster for his opponents, in particular the supporters of the Manchester School (both Bright and Cobden lost their seats).<sup>4</sup>

Sheffield opinion was against the action of its two members. Leader spoke for the main body of Liberal opinion in the town when he wrote, "(Palmerston) is the only man who, during the last two years, has risen to the greatness of the occasion, and has fairly represented the spirit and will of the British people."<sup>5</sup> The Tories knew that if they could exploit these two weaknesses (the antipathy of the two members and their committees, and the hostility to the vote against Palmerston) they would stand a much better chance than they had in 1852 of returning a Tory for Sheffield. In consequence of which, when Overend presented himself once again to the electorate he appeared as a supporter of Palmerston.

However, the Liberals had one advantage that they did not have in 1852: Ironside's star was in descent. He had lost his seat on the Council in 1854; a year previous to this the Democrat alliance had broken up, and leading members such as Isaac Schofield, William Harvey and Richard Otley had either gone over to the Liberals or distanced themselves from Ironside; the Sheffield Free Press ceased to appear at the beginning of 1857; the new Gas Company which he had helped to instigate had been forcibly merged with its rival; and lastly, as a result of the above, the Highway Board which had served as his power base, had "Returned to the political oblivion from which the remarkable career of Isaac Ironside had raised it."<sup>6</sup> Thus, one source of possible division had been removed from the local political scene. All that remained was for the Liberals to "Stick together; don't be

done. ROEBUCK and HADFIELD for ever!".<sup>7</sup>

#### 6:2 The Sheffield election of 1857

That Palmerston was so popular in Sheffield should come as no surprise. Roebuck's motion in January 1855 for a select committee to investigate the conduct of the army in the Crimean War instigated a chain of events that brought down Aberdeen's government, and raised Palmerston to office.<sup>8</sup> The Independent had swung from hostility to the war to fulsome support: "war will probably give us a better route to India via Syria and Mesopotamia. All Asia lies before us".<sup>9</sup> When the news of his defeat in Parliament reached Sheffield in March 1857, the same paper listed the groups who had united against him: the Tories, since they wanted office; Gladstone, since Palmerston had recently appointed evangelical bishops; the "men of the Manchester school", since they wished to spite the minister who had shown up their "anti-English" politics; and, other reformers. They had all combined to "overthrow the most brilliant and successful minister who has ruled in England for many years." However, the Independent was also careful to add that some members of Parliament had 'honestly voted against acts which they equally censured and deplored". This was of course a necessary qualification given the fact that the two Sheffield members had voted down Palmerston.<sup>10</sup>

A week later, on 14th March, the three candidates published their addresses to the electors in the local press. Roebuck and Hadfield attempted to play down the China question by stressing their "independent" nature and their commitment to their previous policies of extension of the franchise and government retrenchment. Overend seized the opportunity to present himself as the friend of the Palmerston government, by arguing that what was at issue was the safety of English property and subjects abroad: If the world did not see that England was ready to use whatever means at her disposal to protect 'the flag' then similar acts would occur.

Two addresses in support of Palmerston had been circulating in the Town. One, from the "merchants and manufacturers at the Exchange", received 1,000 signatures amongst which were Naylor, Vickers and Co.; William Jessop and Sons; Hounsfield, Wilson and Co.; Michael Ellison; his son, Michael Joseph Ellison; Thomas Turton and Sons.<sup>11</sup> The second came from the Cutlers' Company. Both were presented to Palmerston by Edward Vickers, W. A. Matthews, and Charles Cammell. (In the coming election, Vickers and Cammell voted for Overend, whilst Matthews voted for Roebuck and Overend.) The involvement of Vickers is of some

interest, since he was the head of a delegation that had called on Michael Ellison in October 1854 asking him to convey to the Duke of Norfolk their wish that a suite of rooms be incorporated into the re-built Norfolk Market for "the purpose of a General News Room where Commercial men can meet and to which Telegraphic Communication should be addressed." This became the Sheffield Exchange and News Rooms, a meeting place for the trading elite, which was, in 1854, being rented from the Norfolk Estate for £100 per annum.<sup>12</sup> Vickers was also the President of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, which had been established a few weeks earlier and which for the first few years of its existence held its meetings at the Exchange.<sup>13</sup> He was a partner in the firm of Naylor, Vickers; the name which stood at the head of the address.

On 11 March, Roebuck and Hadfield spoke at a very large meeting in Paradise Square. Dunn chaired the meeting, and opened by stressing that whilst he differed from Roebuck in his views on the Canton incident, he nevertheless gave him his wholehearted support for the "manliness of the course which he has taken". Leader, in the Independent, reminded readers that Roebuck had a long standing devotion to the principles of Liberalism and reform. Roebuck's speech was a masterful use of rhetoric and emotion in which he lived up to his nickname of 'tear em' (i.e., aggressive). He reminded the crowds that he had saved the Army in the Crimea, that he had brought down Aberdeen and raised up Palmerston. That he was an "old servant" at the mercy of his 'masters'. He also used his real illness to great effect to win the sympathy of the crowd: "I find my voice going.", "I cannot go on.", "I cannot go further. I have no strength." etc. All of this worked to great effect and when motions in favour of the two men were put Roebuck's was carried with one vote against, and Hadfield's with two against (this in a crowd of, according to the Independent, 10,000 or 12,000 persons).<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, Dunn, Fisher and Mycock from Roebuck's committee and F. Hoole, H. E. Hoole and Schofield from Hadfield's committee met to arrange the merging of the two groups. A unified committee was created with Dunn as chairman, and H. E. Hoole as vice chairman. Things appeared to be going well. The Independent, forgetting all its hostility to Hadfield five years earlier, advised its readers that the divisions of 1852 had been forgotten and that if Sheffield was to maintain its place in the councils of the nation, it needed to return men of advanced views.<sup>15</sup>

Overend first addressed the Town on 16th March in Paradise

Square. What took place there illustrates that whatever support he may have had in the more elite sectors of the Town, he had great trouble demonstrating this in public. W. F. Dixon (once again the chairman of his election committee) attempted to chair the meeting without the usual ritual of putting the decision to the vote of the people. This move was challenged by W. S. Brittain and Schofield, the latter also proposing William Harvey as chair. Harvey had been a member of the Democratic group on the council and was certainly no friend to the Tories. Thus, Overend had to bear the indignity of having his meeting chaired by a member of the opposition. In addition, when at the end of the meeting a motion was put that Overend was not a fit person to represent the borough, it was passed by a large majority.

Overend and his supporters seem to have had three objectives: firstly, they attempted to stir up patriotic support amongst the mass of the people against the Chinese and in support of the actions of the Palmerston government; second, they stressed the issue of protection of property and person to win support from the merchants and manufacturers who had large overseas investments; third, they attempted to drive a wedge between Roebuck and Hadfield to ensure that those who in the past had voted for Parker and Roebuck, would now split with Overend. They attempted to do the latter by identifying Hadfield (through his Manchester connection) as a 'peace-at-any-price man'. This was a reference to Hadfield's membership of the Peace Society and the opposition of members of the Manchester school to the Crimean War. They also attempted to identify Hadfield as a religious bigot, who was narrow and sectarian.<sup>16</sup>

The Liberals countered by depicting Overend as a rabid Anglican, in favour of the Church rate and hostile to the religious and political liberties that dissenters and Catholics had won over the last fifty years. In addition, they urged that he would still be hostile to any attempt to extend the franchise or to introduce the ballot. Even if he were a supporter of Palmerston now, Leader argued, he had supported Derby in 1852 and what would stop him from changing his allegiance in the future? He was thus guilty of political inconsistency and opportunism.<sup>17</sup>

Parliament was dissolved on 21 March and nominations for the poll took place in Sheffield a few days later. Roebuck was nominated by Fisher and seconded by Leader; Hadfield was nominated by H. E. Hoole and seconded by George Wostenholm; Overend was nominated by Dixon and seconded by Edward Vickers.<sup>18</sup> On a show of hands Roebuck and Hadfield were returned and Dixon called for a poll. This took place on the

following Saturday, a day of the week that was very inconvenient for the Liberal party, since it was the day on which the shopkeepers, who made up the backbone of the party, would expect to do most trade. The Independent called on them to "...make the sacrifice which an inconvenient day demands of them."<sup>19</sup> When the poll was announced the result was as follows:

Table No. 6.1<sup>20</sup>

Results of the 1857 Sheffield Election

Roebuck	3200
Hadfield	2871
Overend	2059

Overend, who had been certain of victory, blamed the class mix of the electorate for his defeat:

"I believe that today has proved that the whole representation of the town is vested in the working classes, and they have extinguished and swamped the votes of the men of property and wealth. (Cheers.) If I had to stand the contest solely with the merchants, manufacturers, professional men, and highly skilled artisans, I should have gained the victory in spite of them;"<sup>21</sup>

If we look at the distribution of votes by townships we can see that there is some truth in this claim.

Table No. 6.2

Voting in the 1857 Sheffield Election, by Townships.

<u>Township</u>	<u>Voters</u> <u>Regd.</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Roebuck</u>	<u>Hadfield</u>	<u>Overend</u>
Sheffield	3848	2468	1650(40)	1468(36)	985(24)
Ecclesall	1793	1331	797(37)	726(34)	604(28)
Brightside	686	486	310(40)	275(35)	199(25)
Nether Hallam	640	473	341(42)	305(38)	166(20)
Upper Hallam	106	83	46(34)	50(37)	40(29)
Attercliffe	131	108	57(34)	47(28)	65(38)
	<u>7204</u>	<u>4949</u>	<u>3200</u>	<u>2871</u>	<u>2059</u>

Note

Figures in brackets are row percentages.

The township of Attercliffe is the only place in which Overend's percentage of the poll is ahead of his rivals. His next highest percentage is for Upper Hallam, the most distant, and rural, part of the borough. Before we dismiss these areas simply as the heart of Toryism it needs to be said that Upper Hallam also returned the second highest percentage share of the poll for Hadfield, the most radical of

the candidates. However, there is some consistency with the results for 1852 (see above). Then Upper Hallam gave Overend his largest percentage of a township vote, with Attercliffe coming second. Paradoxically Overend's actual vote went down in Upper Hallam over the five years. However, he had managed to increase the Tory share of the overall vote from 36.06% in 1852, to 39.15%<sup>22</sup> (Nossiter gives the mean Tory share of the vote in large two member boroughs in 1857 as 40.2%<sup>23</sup>; Craig gives the overall Tory and Liberal/Conservative share of the poll in England as 31.7%<sup>24</sup>). Thus, despite the specific aspects of the election in Sheffield the percentage of the vote accruing to the Tories is close to the national average for two member boroughs.

It is clear that despite the public claims of unity amongst the Liberal supporters there was a great deal of hostility and pessimism. On the 26 March, William Fisher sen. wrote to Roebuck explaining that he had not attended his election meetings due to his "grave objections" to Hadfield. Fisher complained that Hadfield was not in agreement with him on education and foreign affairs, and that he found him "narrow on Sunday questions".<sup>25</sup> On 1 April, Dunn and Fisher sen. had written to Roebuck telling him that he had to co-operate with Hadfield during the election.<sup>26</sup> Immediately after the election Leader wrote to Roebuck thanking him for his efforts during the struggle. The coherence of the party was, for Leader, one of the main problems that faced them: "Happily we have tided them (splits) over for the present election, but we shall need more good luck as well as good management if we can continue to do so."<sup>27</sup> His obituary reported his feelings on the morning of the election:

"We had a busy day yesterday, and when I polled before nine in the morning, I was very anxious. The people all around me giving plumpers for Overend, and it seemed very certain that the first hour's poll would be against us. This would have confirmed the Overend vaunts of certain success, and have given them scores, perhaps hundreds, of doubtfuls. When, however, our committee made up their returns at nine we had a majority ... Then I was sure we were all right ... I never saw more enthusiasm. We (of the Independent) put the steam on pretty full. The Overend people are reported to ascribe their defeat to the Independent, and I hear some of them saying they will stop the tap. We shall see about that ... I don't see signs of any decrease of our influence, but rather the contrary, and as I have pulled on this occasion with the mass of our friends, though many have stood aloof for special reasons, we seem to be in pretty good repute among them."<sup>28</sup>

And indeed, if Overend's claims of victory were false, as Leader indicates at the end of the quotation, another of his claims was not.

For, at the hustings Overend had taunted Roebuck with the assertion that his old political allies had deserted him and come over to the Tory side. "Where are the merchants of Sheffield?", asked Overend, "To a man they have deserted him".<sup>29</sup> This fact had not gone unnoticed: Roebuck had himself commented on it at a number of the election meetings (e.g., "In looking around me, I do find an absence of familiar faces - men who I thought were my friends on public grounds, and they say that they forget a life of service in consequence of one vote.")<sup>30</sup>

An investigation of the votes of the men who proposed and seconded the three candidates at the hustings is illustrative of both the defection of previous Liberals, and the problems that the Liberal group had in holding the factions together. Roebuck was, as we have seen, proposed and seconded by William Fisher and Robert Leader. Fisher, we know, was hostile to Hadfield and did indeed plump for Roebuck. Leader split his vote between the two Liberal candidates. Hadfield was proposed by H. E. Hoole (who voted Roebuck and Hadfield) and seconded by Wostenholm (who only voted for Hadfield). Overend was proposed, as in 1852, by W. F. Dixon, however his seconder was a surprise, for it was Edward Vickers. Vickers had seconded Buckingham in the 1835 election and had been one of the group who invited Roebuck to come to Sheffield in 1849. However, he had voted for Denison (the Tory candidate) in the 1848 West Riding election which had split the Whig/Liberal Alliance over the Leeds dominated voluntarist issue. Moreover, in 1852 he had voted for Parker and Overend. In the 1857 election both Vickers and Dixon plumped for Overend (despite the fact that the Tory strategy had been to get voters to split with Roebuck).

Further evidence for the defection of the merchants and manufacturers of Sheffield comes from the voting of the members of the newly created Sheffield Chamber of Commerce. This body had been formed at a meeting of the "Merchants and Manufacturers of Sheffield held in the Council Hall on Monday, March 2nd, 1857".<sup>31</sup> As with other chambers, its aims were to further the interests of Sheffield trade, and to provide a conduit for effective lobbying of Government. Individuals could become members on payment of 10s. 6d., firms could join for one guinea. The following tables show how the men who constituted the first executive of the chamber voted in the 1852 and 1857 elections.

Table No. 6.3<sup>32</sup>Voting of the Executive of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, 1852 and 1857.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Voted 1852</u>	<u>Voted 1857</u>
<u>President</u>		
Edward Vickers	P&O	O
<u>Vice-Presidents</u>		
William Fawcett	P&O	NV
W. A. Matthews	P&R	R&O
<u>Honorary-secretaries</u>		
C. E. Smith	O	O
W. C. Corsan	NL	R&O
<u>Committee</u>		
C. Atkinson	P&R	H&O
E. Barnes jun.	P	NV
J. Bedford	O	O
F.L.S. Benzon	NL	NL
S. Butcher	P&O	O
J. E. Cutler	NL	O
J. Ellison	P&R	O
B. J. Eyre	H	R&H
M. Firth	P&O	O
W. Fisher	P&R	R
H. Hall	NL	R
J. Hobson	P&R	R
H.E. Hoole	R&H	R&H
S. Jackson	P&R	R&O
T. Jessop	R&H	R
A. Leon	P&R	R&H
F. T. Mappin	P&R	R&H
T. Marsh	NL	O
S. Mitchell	P&R	NV
E. F. Sanderson	NL	O
J. Shortbridge	P&O	R&O
T. A. Sorby	O	O
T. B. Turton	P&R	R&O
H. Unwin	NV	O

Key

P = Parker  
 R = Roebuck  
 H = Hadfield  
 O = Overend  
 NL = Not listed in poll book.  
 NV = No vote.

Table No. 6.4Analysis of Voting of the Executive of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, 1852 and 1857.1852

<u>Plumpers</u>	<u>Splits</u>	<u>Total Vote</u>
Hadfield: 1	Parker and Roebuck: 10	Hadfield: 3
Overend: 3	Parker and Overend: 5	Overend: 8
Parker: 1	Roebuck and Hadfield: 2	Parker: 16
Roebuck: 0		Roebuck: 12

1857

Hadfield: 0	Roebuck and Overend: 5	Hadfield: 5
Overend: 11	Roebuck and Hadfield: 4	Overend: 17
Roebuck: 4	Hadfield and Overend: 1	Roebuck: 13

What seems clear from this data is that within this group the support for Overend had grown over the period 1852-7. Indeed, at the first election this group of men seem to have been 'weak' Liberals: only one person plumping for Hadfield and two splitting between Roebuck and Hadfield. As we can see from the analysis for 1857, the number of plumpers for Overend has grown enormously from three to eleven. Overall the pattern indicates that those who plumped for Overend in 1852 did so again, whilst those who had voted for Parker now voted (with five exceptions), in one form or another for Overend. The general image then for this group is of men who had supported Parker (the Whig) and Roebuck (the least radical of the Liberals) in 1852. Once Parker was defeated this group moved politically rightwards, either to outright support for Overend, or to splitting between Roebuck and Overend (although the former is the dominant trend). As we shall see below, this trend in political support is also evident in the voting of the members of the Sheffield Club.

One final source will be investigated for evidence of the defection of the elite of the merchants and manufacturers. This is the diary of Michael Ellison (agent to the Duke of Norfolk) who provides a fascinating insight to events that occurred in Sheffield during his lifetime. On the 27 March 1857, he records "I hope Hadfield will be defeated and as far as I can judge he will be, if import can be relied on."<sup>33</sup> On the next day (the day of the election) he records that he dropped into the Exchange (see above for significance of this institution):

"Spent an hour there during which I found Overend was losing more ground on each return from the poll booths. It is quite curious to observe among the more respectable class the divided feelings against Mr. Hadfield for I did not hear a single individual gather around in his favour and there was not less than 50 persons in the room."

Again, two days later, on the 30th March, he records that he looked in at the Exchange again and "found a good sprinkling of the leading merchants. I did not speak to one who did not condemn (sic) the conduct of Dunn in reference to the election." This is presumably an allusion to Dunn's support for Hadfield. So, in the mind of Ellison at least, the "more respectable class" of merchants were in favour of Overend. Why should this be?

Writing at the time, Leader thought that the "Liberal Conservatives" who had in the past supported Parker had either voted for Overend and Roebuck or not voted at all.<sup>34</sup> There is some evidence for the second of these two arguments in the voting of the executive of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce. Referring back to the table above, we can see that of the three individuals who did not vote in 1857, one plumped for Parker in 1852, whilst the other split his vote between Parker and Roebuck. Leader blamed Overend for losing Parker his seat, conveniently forgetting that in 1852 he argued that the fault was Hadfield's.

Although there was undoubtedly an element of local hostility to Hadfield, perhaps a more central reason for this political shift can be found if we look at events that were taking place in the nation at large. We have already seen that the election of 1857 marked the downfall of the Manchester school. However, if we look at the results of the election in Manchester itself, we can begin to see why they were defeated.

Fraser argues, convincingly to my mind, that the defeat of Gibson and Bright was partly about control of the registration machinery, but also about the representation of the economic interests of the elite of Manchester society.<sup>35</sup> As in Sheffield, the Tory faction in Manchester were too weak to mount a serious challenge to a united Liberal party. However, with a divided Liberal party it was able to lend its votes to the faction that most represented its opinions. At this point in history these opinions were in favour of the aggressively expansionist policies of the government under Palmerston, since they increased trade:

"An aggressive foreign policy which opened and protected new markets was therefore in the interests of Manchester cotton and Turner's Commercial Association argued the Palmerstonian case against the free trade non-interventionist League orthodoxy. Palmerston, as the Don Pacifico episode proved, would protect the trader and in him patriotism and economic sense joined forces."<sup>36</sup>

For Cobden, this meant that he was opposed by a combination of Tories and moderate Liberals who united in hostility to his views on the Government. In this sense the developments in Sheffield mirror those in Manchester. We have seen already that Overend presented himself as a supporter of Palmerston, on the key issues of defence of the interests of overseas merchants, and "the flag":

"Are we, the great nation of England, not to protect the merchandise of our people at Canton? ... Surely the dignity of this country is something ... But if our consuls and ministers in foreign lands are not to be supported we may as well give up the idea of commerce with foreign lands."<sup>37</sup>

Now, it is the case that the years 1854-7 were a period of growth in the staple Sheffield trades.<sup>38</sup> The export trade in hardware and cutlery had grown from £2,641,000 in 1850, to £4,016,000 in 1857.<sup>39</sup> The 'heavy' side of Sheffield production had started its growth in 1851, marked by the exhibition of a "monster ingot" of 24 cwt. by Turton's at the Great Exhibition.<sup>40</sup> In addition to their production of commodities such as railway springs, railway tyres, engineering and machine tools, (all of which had a strong overseas as well as home market) a number of Sheffield firms also began to manufacture guns and armour plate. For example, armour plate was first rolled by John Brown's in 1853-4<sup>41</sup> (indeed, he laid down six new, so-called, "puddling" furnaces for the production of steel for armour plate in 1857<sup>42</sup>); Firth's bought land at Whittington, near Chesterfield, to produce "puddled" steel for the use of Whitworth's, Armstrong's and the Woolwich Arsenal, each of which were major armaments firms; in addition, Firth's were laying down Nasmyth hammers to enable them to forge guns, again for Armstrong's and Whitworth's.<sup>43</sup> All these developments gave the manufacturers of Sheffield a great interest in the overseas policies of the Palmerston government since they both created potential markets for the "light" side of the local trade (e.g., cutlery, tools etc.) whilst stimulating the "heavy" side. This was so because the holding of overseas territories necessitated a strong armed force and, as we have seen, Sheffield was a centre for the manufacture of guns, shells and armour. This interest in overseas affairs is shown in a number of the activities of the Chamber in its early years. For example, the petition to Palmerston to 1857 from the

merchants and manufacturers of Sheffield (instigated by the members of the Exchange, but presented by the President of the Chamber) expressed the opinion that "a liberal government with your Lordship at its head will give the best guarantee for the prosperity of British dominions at home and abroad."<sup>44</sup> In addition, at the second annual general meeting of the Chamber in 1859, the secretary reported that over the past year ": both alone, and in conjunction with similar bodies" the chamber had lobbied government to "protect the rights of our manufacturers in their intercourse with foreign countries."<sup>45</sup> And indeed, manufacturers in other towns (either in ad hoc groups, or through chambers of commerce), sent similar messages.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, we have seen above that the Independent supported the Crimean War for its opening up of trade routes.

This support for Overend was not just restricted to the membership of the Chamber of Commerce. If we analyse the voting of all the traceable partners in the companies employing 200 or more men at the mid-point of the century we again find overwhelming support for the Tory candidate.<sup>47</sup> Of the 43 partners, 31 plumped for Overend, (the 2 Liberal candidates received 1 plumper each; 1 person split their vote between Roebuck and Hadfield; 3 people split their votes between Roebuck and Overend). There is some degree of overlap here between the Chamber and these men but the image is clear: the largest manufacturers in Sheffield were solidly behind Overend. More than that, the list shows that contrary to received opinion it was not just the steel manufacturers who were undergoing this shift of allegiance.<sup>48</sup> This list is composed of representatives from all sectors of Sheffield's industry: from steel right through to silverplate and hairseat weaving. Thus, the change would seem to have more to do with the size of the company than with the sector of the local trades within which it operated.

### 6:3 The involvement of the Sheffield Club members in the 1857 Sheffield election and the 1865 West Riding election

In this section I intend to look at the involvement and voting of the members of the Sheffield Club in the 1857 election. The 1865 West Riding Election will also be briefly studied to allow comparison. As with 1852, only one of the candidates in the 1857 election (Overend) was a member of the Club. Indeed, during the period under study only one M.P. was a member (Charles Wortley elected to the club and as a Sheffield M. P., in 1880). This is in sharp distinction to the Leeds Club who, in 1863, had seven M.P.s as members.<sup>49</sup> Of the six men who

proposed or seconded the candidates at the hustings, three were members in 1857 (Fisher, Wostenholm and Dixion), one had joined by 1859 (Leader), and two had relatives who were members (Hoole and Vickers).<sup>50</sup> Dunn, who was the leader of the Liberal interest, never became a member but Leader, who succeeded him, was a member to his death.

We saw above how the membership of the Club in 1852 was biased towards the Tory candidate with a total of 55 members voting for him. This trend is shown to be stronger by the analysis of the 1857 voting.

Table No. 6.5

Voting of the members of the Sheffield Club in the 1857 Sheffield Election.

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Votes</u>
Overend	86
Roebuck	24
Hadfield	8

Note

The club membership in 1857 stood at 162. Of these 100 (62%) voted; 23 (14%) were listed in the poll book but did not vote; 39 (24%) were not listed in the poll book.

Again, if we look at the plumpers the Tory bias is clear. 71 members of the Sheffield Club plumped for Overend; only 5 plumped for Roebuck and 2 for Hadfield. The highest number of split votes being 14 for Roebuck and Overend; Roebuck and Hadfield received 5 and Hadfield and Overend 1. In total 78% of those whose vote can be identified voted for Overend (Fraser method).

If we once again divide the voting up into occupational groups the growth of the Tory vote is again seen:

Table No. 6.6

Voting of the 1857 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1857 Election, by Occupational Group.

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Votes</u>		
	<u>Hadfield</u>	<u>Overend</u>	<u>Roebuck</u>
Upper professional	0	33	6
Merchant/manufacturer	7	49	16

Using the Fraser method for computing shares of voting (highest from each party) this gives the Liberals a 5% share of the vote amongst the 'upper professional' group and a 25% share of the vote amongst the 'merchant and manufacturers'. (The figures for 1852 were 53% and 47% respectively.)

The creation of a data base on the voting of the club members allows an investigation to take place of their changing political alliances. In particular, it allows us to see whether the growth in Tory support is a direct consequence of "weak" Liberal votes being transferred from Parker to Overend. We are able to answer this question by looking at the 'inflow' of votes for the members of the Club from 1852 to 1857. The following table summarises the result:

Table No. 6.7

Analysis of 'inflow' of votes of the members of the Sheffield Club, 1857.

<u>Vote in 1857</u>	<u>Vote in 1852</u>	
Overend	Overend	36
	Parker and Overend	26
	Parker and Roebuck	12
	Parker	2
	Hadfield and Overend	1
	Parker and Hadfield	1
Roebuck	Parker and Roebuck	18
	Parker and Overend	4
	Roebuck and Hadfield	2
	Overend	2
	Parker and Hadfield	1
	Parker	1
	Hadfield	1
Hadfield	Parker and Roebuck	6
	Roebuck and Hadfield	1
	Parker and Overend	1
	Parker and Hadfield	1
	Overend	1
	Hadfield	1

Notes

1. This table is constructed from the votes of 165 members of the Sheffield Club.
2. In addition to the above, 30 individuals who voted Overend in 1857 either had no vote, or did not use it, in 1852. The figures for Roebuck and Hadfield are 7 and 5 respectively.

This table has some surprises: e.g. one person who plumped for Overend in 1852 voted for Hadfield in 1857 (this was Charles Elam, who split his vote between Hadfield and Overend). However, what is clear

is that Overend has managed to pick up the largest number of voters who had voted for Parker and another candidate (who was not Overend), in 1852. Overend has picked up fifteen of these votes, Roebuck six, and Hadfield seven.

Another way to look at the movement of votes would be to take the 'outflow' of votes. This time we are looking at how people who voted for a certain candidate in 1852, voted in 1857. This also has been computed:

Table No. 6.8

Analysis of 'outflow' of votes of the members of the Sheffield Club, 1852.

<u>Vote in 1852</u>	<u>Vote in 1857</u>	
Overend	Overend	55
	Roebuck and Overend	6
	Hadfield and Overend	2
Roebuck	Roebuck and Overend	8
	Roebuck and Hadfield	6
	Roebuck	6
	Overend	3
	Hadfield and Overend	1
Parker	Overend	25
	Roebuck and Overend	14
	Roebuck and Hadfield	5
	Roebuck	5
	Hadfield and Overend	2
	Hadfield	1
Hadfield	Roebuck and Hadfield	2
	Roebuck and Overend	1
	Hadfield	1
	Overend	1
	Roebuck	1

Notes

1. Sample size as Table No. 6.7.
2. In addition to the above, 13 individuals who voted Overend in 1852 either had no vote, did not use it, or were dead, in 1857. The similar figures for Roebuck, Parker and Hadfield are 11, 17 and 5 respectively.

This table shows us where the votes that had been given to Parker in 1852 went. It also shows us how 'stable' each of the candidates support was. As can be seen, Overend has gained the largest number of votes from those who had voted for Parker (25 plumpers, and 14 split with Roebuck, and 2 split with Hadfield: 79% of the vote); Roebuck has

gained 24 votes (14 split with Overend, 5 split with Hadfield and 5 plumpers); whilst Hadfield has gained 8 (5 split with Roebuck, 2 split with Overend and 1 plumper). The table also shows the remarkable 'stability' of the Overend vote: of the 63 men who voted for Overend in 1852, 55 plumped for him in 1857, 6 split their vote with Roebuck, and 2 with Hadfield. In other words, Overend lost none of his support over the five years. On the other hand, Roebuck lost 4 votes and Hadfield 3. With this in mind, the drop in cross party voting, from 14% in 1852 to 9% in 1857, which Nossiter has identified, is an indication of the strength of the Tory support.

On this showing, it is possible to conclude that amongst the membership of the Club the support for the Tory candidate was very strong, and had grown in strength with the removal of the Whig candidate from the political stage. However, it should be noted that there has been some element of double counting in the evidence presented here, since a number of the men who were sampled as members of the Chamber of Commerce and as partners in the companies with the largest workforces were also members of the Sheffield Club (55% of the 1857 executive of the Chamber and 67% of the partners in the companies). Indeed, Thomas Jessop, Mark Firth, T. B. Turton, W. A. Matthews, Theophilus Marsh and Samuel Butcher were partners in the largest employers and members of both the Chamber and the Club. This is merely an indication of the elite nature of the Club membership.

To turn now to the 1865 election, in Sheffield this was dominated by two issues. Firstly, the bursting of the Dale Dyke Dam on the 11 March 1864, in which 240 were killed and 800 dwellings destroyed.<sup>51</sup> The dam was owned by the Sheffield Water Company, one of the directors of which was Robert Hadfield. This fact gave the Tory interest, through its new mouthpiece the Sheffield Telegraph, an ideal stick with which to beat the Liberal establishment. This also led to the paradoxical situation of Sheffield Tories arguing for municipal control of the water company, a policy opposed by Leeds Tories<sup>52</sup>. The second strand to the election was the increasingly erratic behaviour of Roebuck. Over the previous few years he had managed to alienate large sectors of the Liberal electorate due to his anti-temperance views, his support of the South in the American Civil War and a supposed anti-working class speech he had given.<sup>53</sup> The tensions within the Liberal party were still running high, and on the 15th May 1865 Dunn announced that he could no longer work with Hoole and resigned from the election committee, to be replaced by William Fisher, Jun.<sup>54</sup>

Scenting victory, the Tories fielded two candidates; J F S Wortley (third son of the second Lord Wharncliffe) and Thomas Campbell-Foster. Wortley had at one time been private secretary to Gladstone, and this fact was used to present him as a Liberal-Conservative.<sup>55</sup> In the event Roebuck and Hadfield were returned but the Tories managed to increase their share of the vote to 44%.<sup>56</sup> It was however, the last time that Roebuck and Hadfield were to be returned together. At the 1868 election Roebuck was defeated by A J Mundella who had been brought into Sheffield by the leading Liberals who had reached the end of their tolerance with Roebuck's drift towards the Tories. Roebuck was returned again for Sheffield in 1874 and although he called himself a Liberal was to all intents and purposes a member of the Tory party.<sup>57</sup>

Turning now to the 1865 election in the West Riding, this was greatly influenced by the new political geography of the area. Under a recent Act, the Riding had been divided into two divisions: North and South. Sheffield was in the Southern Division and the balance of rural and urban interests in this area left the outcome of the election anything but certain. For this reason the Tories decided to break with the usual division of the representation and to contest both seats. Each of their candidates had strong local connections: Walter Spencer Stanhope lived at Cannon Hall, near Barnsley and is listed in Bateman as holding 11,357 acres, producing £11,070 per annum;<sup>58</sup> Christopher Beckett Denison was the son of Edmund Beckett Denison of Leeds, who had sat as member for the West Riding from 1841-47, and again from 1848-59.

The Liberals, after some confusion, settled on Lord Milton and H F Beaumont as their candidates. Milton was the eldest son of the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam, the hereditary leaders of the Whig interest in the area. Both men were young and politically inexperienced, factors which, it was thought, would count against them. Surprisingly however, they were both returned, a fact which Leader attributed to the lack of political programme evidenced by the Tories.<sup>59</sup>

Turning now to the part that the members of the Sheffield Club played in the West Riding election, the Tory election committee for the Sheffield area is known and of the five men who were members, three were in the Club: W. F. Dixon (chairman); F W Bagshawe (vice chairman); H Watson (treasurer). In addition, the chairman for the whole of the Division (Hon. F S Wortley) was a member of the Club by 1868.<sup>60</sup>

On nomination day (18th July) the influence of Sheffield Liberals

and of elite clubs was evident.<sup>61</sup> Stanhope was nominated by Edmund Beckett Denison (member of the Leeds Club), and seconded by Rowland Winn. Denison was nominated by F. S. Wortley<sup>62</sup> (member Sheffield Club by 1868), and seconded by George Wilton Chambers<sup>63</sup> (Chambers had been a member of the Sheffield Club but had resigned in March 1863 due to increased subscriptions). Milton was proposed by Sir Charles Wood and seconded by Thomas Dunn. Beaumont was nominated by John Parker (ex Sheffield M P) and seconded by Thomas Jessop (Club member and current Mayor of Sheffield).

The votes of the members of the Club have been analysed and it has been possible to locate them for 110 of the 246 members (45%), the majority of the club members not seeming to have a county registration. The result is given below:

Table No. 6.9

Voting of the 1865 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1865 Election in the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Votes</u>
Denison & Stanhope	72
Milton & Beaumont	36

Notes

1. A Smith split his vote between Milton and Stanhope.
2. T Ellin plumped for Denison.

Once again the support for the Tory candidates is clear: 65% of the identifiable votes being for Denison and Stanhope (in 1852 and 1857 the Tory vote was 54% and 80% respectively). As before, the pattern of voting has also been broken down using the occupational groupings, although here two new ones have been introduced.

Table No. 6.10Voting of the 1865 Membership of the Sheffield Club in the 1865 Election for the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, by occupational group

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>Denison and Stanhope</u>	<u>Milton and Beaumont</u>
Upper professional	27	9
Merchant/ manufacturer	37	17
Brewer		3
Wholesale grocer, dealers and wine merchants	6	1

Notes

1. Those men who gave their occupation as "gent." have been assigned to the group in which they were last known to be economically active.
2. There were three men for each of the two political groups for whom it has not been possible to identify an occupation.
3. Excluded from the table are Robert Leader and J D Leader of the Sheffield Independent, both of whom voted for Milton and Beaumont.

Using the Fraser method for computation of relative strengths of parties gives the Liberals a 25% share of the vote amongst the 'upper professionals', and a 31% share amongst the 'merchants and manufacturers'. These figures show a growth in the Liberal support from 1857, however they do not mark a return to the levels of support in 1852 (the figures for 'upper professional' and 'merchant and manufacturer' for the two years are, 5% and 25% (1857) and 53% and 47% (1852)).

As with the 1857 election, the creation of a data base on the voting of the members of the Sheffield Club allows us to trace the 'inflow' of votes from 1857 to 1865.<sup>64</sup> This analysis will give us some feeling for the stability of political alignments in this group. The figures are presented below:

Table No. 6.11

Analysis of 'inflow' of votes in the 1865 election for the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire for all those identifiable individuals who were members of the Sheffield Club over the period 1849-1865.

<u>Vote in 1865</u>	<u>Vote in 1857</u>	
Milton and Beaumont	Roebuck and Hadfield	7
	Roebuck	6
	Roebuck and Overend	5
Denison and Stanhope	Overend	45
	Roebuck and Overend	4
	Hadfield and Overend	1
	Hadfield	1

Notes

1. The data is drawn from 115 men and is thus a slightly larger sample than that used for the previous two tables.
2. In addition to the above, for Milton and Beaumont, there were 9 men who were not listed in the 1857 Poll Book, and 4 who, though listed, did not vote. For Denison and Stanhope there were 15 who were not listed, 7 who did not vote and 3 who it has not been possible to identify.

Of the two political groupings the Liberal appears to be the most unstable: only 54% of them giving a clear Liberal vote in 1857. The Tories, on the other hand, show a clear continuity from 1857 to 1865: here 90% gave a Tory vote. Indeed, if the 1852 vote for these two sub-groups is considered the picture of stable political alignments becomes even clearer. Of the 45 men who plumped for Overend in 1857, 20 (44%) also plumped for him in 1852, whilst 10 (22%) voted for Parker and Overend (10 are not recorded in the 1852 Poll Book, 2 did not exercise their vote, 1 voted for Hadfield and Overend and 1 for Parker and Roebuck). Of the 13 men who either voted for Roebuck, and/or Hadfield in 1857, the majority (9) voted for either Parker and/or Roebuck in 1852. Perhaps the most interesting group in the table above are those whose 1857 vote does not seem to accord with their 1865 vote. For example, those who voted for Overend in 1857 and Milton and Beaumont in 1865. In addition, there is clear evidence of shifts in political allegiance or tactical voting. For example, of the nine men voting for Roebuck and Overend in 1857, 5 voted for Milton and Beaumont, and 4 Denison and Stanhope in 1865.

The database of voting allows us to examine these anomalous groups on an individual basis. That is, we can examine how these individuals voted over the course of a number of years to determine if there is any wider pattern that explains their behaviour. The table

below shows how these individuals voted in the 1851, 1848 and 1865 West Riding elections and the 1852 and 1857 Sheffield elections.

Table No. 6.12

Voting of Selected Members of the Sheffield Club: 1841, 1848, 1852, 1857 and 1865.

A: Voted Milton and Beaumont in 1865

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1857</u>	<u>1865</u>
<u>I</u>					
Charles Atkinson		D	P&R	H&O	M&B
<u>II</u>					
George Beardshaw			O	O	M&B
Mark Firth			P&O	O	M&B
Samuel Parker	M&M	E	P	O	M&B
<u>III</u>					
M E Hadfield			P&R	R&O	M&B
J W Hawsworth	M&M	D	P&R	R&O	M&B
T W Rodgers	M&M	D	P&R	R&O	M&B
William Smith jun.		D	P&R	R&O	M&B
T B Turton	M&M	E	P&R	R&O	M&B

B: Voted Denison and Stanhope in 1865.

<u>I</u>					
Charles Elam			O	H&O	D&S
<u>II</u>					
George Wostenholm		E	P&H	H	D&S
<u>III</u>					
John Shortridge			P&O	R&O	D&S
Charles Unwin	W&D	D	P&O	R&O	D&S
J J Wheat			O	R&O	D&S
R Younge	W&D	D	P&O	R&O	D&S

Key

- 1841: M&M = Milton and Morpeth (Liberal); W&D = Wortley and Denison (Tory)  
 1848: E = Eardley (Liberal); D = Denison (Tory).  
 1852: P = Parker (Whig); R = Roebuck (Liberal); H = Hadfield (Liberal); O = Overend (Tory).  
 1857: as 1852.  
 1865: M&B = Milton and Beaumont (Liberal); D&S = Denison and Stanhope (Tory).

Note

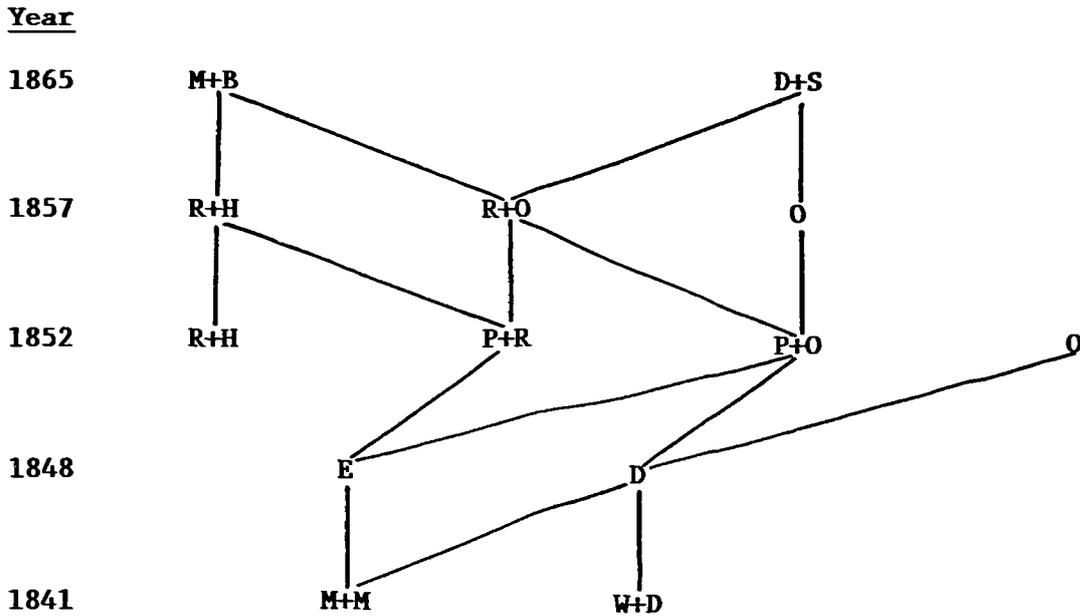
For two of the men who voted for Milton and Beaumont in 1865 and Overend in 1857, no further information is available; they have therefore been excluded.

The amount of information is desperately small and any conclusions drawn must be tentative in the extreme, but what the table

shows are interesting shifts within political alliances. Firstly, a right of centre group within the Liberals, who vote Liberal in 1841, register a protest Tory vote in 1848 over the voluntarist issue, vote for the Whig and moderate Liberal in 1852, register their hostility to Hadfield in 1857 but come back into line for the 1865 West Riding election. The model group for this trend are A: III in the above table. Group A: II being a politically rightward variant of this trend. Atkinsons's 1857 vote is something of an anomaly, but could be explained by a hostility to the alliance between Roebuck and Hadfield: a vote for Hadfield being a vote against Roebuck.

Secondly, there are a group of opportunistic Tory voters, who vote Tory in 1841 and 1848, for the Tory and the Whig in 1852, for the Tory and the moderate Liberal in 1857 but Tory again in 1865. This time, the modal group is B:III. Elam's 1857 vote would seem to be a simple vote against Roebuck. Wostenholm's vote is hard to explain, as he had been a strong Liberal supporter within the Town for some years. It is possible that this is a mistake in the compilation of the Poll Book as he does not seem to have deserted the Liberals. For example, on Wostenholm's death in 1876, Hadfield records in his Narrative that he had suffered the loss of a friend.<sup>65</sup>

These voting patterns can be translated into a flow chart showing the possible routes of support from one poll to the next. This is reproduced below:

Flow Chart of Votes of the Members of the Sheffield Club, 1841-1865.Notes

Candidates names as from Appendix 6.2

This shows how complex political alliances could be in the nineteenth century, reflecting as they do an amalgam of both local and national issues. In addition, votes at the level of the town could be given for different reasons than those given at the level of the County. In the latter it might be possible for the local landed political grandees to exert a greater influence. However, certainly where this group is concerned, there does seem to be a remarkable degree of consistency amongst the Tory voters. The Liberals, as one would expect from such a diverse political grouping do not show such stability. Also, they had the problem of the gradual "cooling" of their support amongst the large manufacturers.

Mark Firth stands out as an example of this latter class of supporter. Armitage describes both Firth and F. T. Mappin as having "frail Liberalism" which had to be "cosseted and nourished".<sup>66</sup> Mundella, who was to replace Roebuck as the town's second M.P. at the 1865 election, asked Firth's brother-in-law for his views on Firth's politics. From the information he received Mundella decided that Firth was a Tory.<sup>67</sup> The defection of such men as Firth was a great problem for the Liberal interest. Their continued support for Roebuck (Firth was asked to replace Roebuck on his death) drained not only money but votes away from the Liberals. Armitage has observed that Firth was very active within the New Connexion community in Sheffield

money but votes away from the Liberals. Armitage has observed that Firth was very active within the New Connexion community in Sheffield and that within the chapels "his opinions were respected". This, says Armitage, gave Firth a very real "hold on the town".<sup>68</sup> And, as Joyce has shown, this "hold" could be translated into votes.<sup>69</sup>

#### 6:4 Conclusion

In this and the previous chapter we have looked at the elections of 1852 and 1857 in Sheffield, and the 1865 election in the West Riding. In particular the voting of the elite in Sheffield society has been studied through the medium of the Sheffield Club. The membership of the Club has been shown to be involved in the higher levels of the political machinery at all three elections.

In addition, the actual voting of the members of the Club has been analysed to examine the claim made by Fletcher that the defection of the Sheffield middle class from the Liberals to the Tories took place over the period 1868-74.<sup>70</sup> The evidence presented here has shown that amongst the Club members support for the Tories was strong as early as 1852. Indeed, further evidence was produced to show that the support for the Tories was very strong amongst the executive members of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, and amongst the partners in the largest companies at the mid-point of the century. The voting of the members of the Leeds Club in the 1848 West Riding election was examined to indicate that the bias towards the Tories was also present in this elite group.

On balance then, the evidence suggests that Tory support amongst the leading industrial and professional strata in Sheffield began earlier, and was stronger, than previous accounts have stressed. Although unable to overcome the Liberal political hegemony until the 1870s the Tories were a political force with a large degree of elite backing. However, it was only after the division of the Borough into five divisions in 1885 that the Tory interest in Sheffield really manifested itself at the Polls: three out of the five M.P.s being Tories.<sup>71</sup> That, however, takes us far beyond the limits of this study.

APPENDIX 6.1Voting in the Sheffield 1857 election of the Identifiable Partners in the Companies which Employed over 200 Men at 1850.

<u>Company &amp; Partners</u>	<u>Voted</u>
<u>William Jessop</u> Sidney Jessop Thomas Jessop	Roebuck and Hadfield Roebuck
<u>Naylor, Vickers &amp; Co.</u> G.P. Naylor Edward Vickers	Overend Overend
<u>Sanderson Bros.</u> Edward Hudson Henry Furniss	Overend Overend
<u>Thomas Firth</u> Mark Firth John Firth Edward Firth	Overend Overend Overend
<u>Thomas Turton and Sons</u> T B Turton W A Matthews F T Mappin (from 1859)	Roebuck and Overend Roebuck and Overend Roebuck and Hadfield
<u>Johnson, Cammell and Co.</u> Charles Cammell	Overend
<u>John Brown and Co.</u> John Brown	Overend
<u>James Dixon and Sons</u> J W Dixon W F Dixon W F Dixon jun. H I Dixon	Overend Overend Overend Overend
<u>Thomas Ibbotson and Co.</u> W F Ibbotson	Overend
<u>George Wostenholm and Son.</u> G Wostenholm	Hadfield
<u>Joseph Rodgers and Sons</u> John Rodgers Joseph Rodgers Robert Newbould	Overend Overend Overend
<u>Marsh Bros.</u> James Marsh John Marsh Theophilus Marsh Walter Marsh William Marsh Robert Marsh	Overend Overend Overend Overend Overend Overend

Thomas Turner and Co.

Thomas Turner	No Vote
W T Turner	No Vote

Samuel Newbould and Co.

Frances Newbould	Overend
Henry Newbould	Overend
Samuel Newbould jun.	Overend

Samuel Butcher

H T Skelton	Roebuck and Overend
J K Skelton	No Vote
S Gardiner	Overend

Stuart and Smith

J S Smith	Not in poll book
J J Smith	No Vote

Samuel Laycock and Son

T G Laycock	Overend
W E Laycock	Overend

Note

For two companies (Thomas Ellison and S R Lindley) it has not proved possible to identify partners.

Sources

1. Baxter, Origins of the Social War in South Yorkshire, Ph.D., Sheffield University, p. 615.
2. 1857 Poll Book.

Appendix No. 6.2Voting of members of the Sheffield Club, 1832-1865.

	1832	1835	1841	1848	1852	1857	1865
Aldam, W. H.	By	By			O	NV	
Allanson, H. G.						O	D & S
Allott, A.					R & H	R & H	M & B
Armitage, M. D.						NL	M & B
Atkin, G.						R	M & B
Atkinson, C.		P & Bu	NL	D	P & R	H & O	M & B
Atkinson, C. F.					R & H	NL	
Bagshawe, F. W.						NL	D & S
Bailey, S.	NV	NV			P & R	R	M & B
Barber, J.					NL	O	
Beardshaw, G.				NL	O	O	M & B
Beckett, J.					P & R	R & H	M & B
Bedford, J.					O	O	
Beet, W. J.					O		
Bentley, R. J.						NL	M & B
Birks, E. V.						NL	M & B
Blackwell, G. H.					NL	O	
Brawley, E.	W & P	P & By			P & R	NV	
Branson, A. C.					P & O	O	
Branson, C. A.					NL	O	D & S
Branson, P.					P	NV	
Branson, T.	P	P & Bu	W & D	D	P & O	O	D & S
Burdekin, B.	P & By	NV		D	NV	O	NV
Broonhead, B. P.						NL	D & S
Brown, Sir J.					O	O	
Brown, J. B.			M & M	D		NL	M & B
Brown, W.						O	D & S
Burbeary, J. P.					P & O	O	
Butcher, S.	Bu & By	Bu & By	M & M		P & O	O	
Butcher, W.	P & Bu	NV	W & D	D	P & O	O	
Cannell, C.					P & O	O	
Cartledge, B.					P & O	NV	
Chambers, G. W.					NL	O	
Chesman, T.					P & O	O	D & S
Clarke, J.					O	O	D & S
Colley, F.					P & O	O	D & S
Colley, H.						ID	D & S
Corbett, V.						NL	D & S
Corsan, W. C.					NL	R & O	
Cowlishaw, J. Y.					NL	O	D & S
Creswick, N.					O	O	D & S
Cutler, J. E.					NL	O	D & S
Deakin, J. B.					O	NL	
Deakin, S. S.				D	O	NL	
Dixion, H. I.				D	P & O	O	D & S
Dixion, J. W.				D	NV	O	D & S
Dixion, J. W. jun						NL	D & S
Dixion, J. H.	P & By		W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Dixion, W. P.	P & By	P & By	W & M	D	O	O	D & S
Dixion, W. F. jun					O	O	D & S
Drabble, J.					R & H	NL	
Elam, C.				NL	O	H & O	D & S
Ellin, J.	P & By	P & By	W & D	D	O	NV	D & S
Ellin, T. S.						O	D
Ellinson, M. J.					P & R	R & O	

	1832	1835	1841	1848	1852	1857	1865
Fawcett, W.					P & O	NV	
Firth, M.				NL	P & O	O	M & B
Fisher, W. jun					P & R	R	M & B
Flockton, T. J.					P & R	O	
Freeman, G. W.					P		
Furniss, E.		NV	W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Furniss, G. W.						O	
Furniss, H.	P & By	P & By	W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Gainsford, R. J.					P & R	R	
Gould, T.	P & By	NV	W & D	D	O	O	
Gregory, S.					O	O	
Griffith, W.					R & O	NL	
Hadfield, C.						NL	M & B
Hadfield, M. E.				NL	P & R	R & O	M & B
Hall, E.					NL	O	
Hall, J.					P & O	R & O	
Hall, M.						NL	M & B
Harrison, H.						R & H	
Harrison, J. W.						NL	D & S
Hawksworth, J.	P & By	P & By	M & M	D	P & R	R & O	M & B
Hinde, W. H.						NL	D & S
Hobson, J.					P & R	R	M & B
Hoole, C.					H & O	O	D & S
Hoole, F.	Bu	Bu	M & M	E	H	NV	M & B
Horn, W. I.	P & By	P & By	W & D		O	O	D & S
Hounsfeld, G.			W & D	D	P & O	O	D & S
Howson, W.						NL	M & B
Hudson, E.		P & By	W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Hunter, M. jun					P & R	NV	M & B
Huntsman, B.			NL	D	P & O	O	D & S
Huntsman, F.	NV	P & By	W & D	D	O	O	
Ibbotson, A. B.						NL	D & S
Ibbotson, W. F.					O	O	
Jackson, H.	NV	NV	NL	NL	O	O	NL
Jackson, R.	P & By	P & By			P & R	R	M & B
Jeffcock, W.	P & By	P & By	M & M	NV	P & R	NL	NL
Jessop, S.	NL	NL	M & M	E	P & R	R & H	M & B
Jessop, T.	NL	NL	M & M	E	R & H	R	M & B
Johnson, S.						NL	D & S
Laycock, T.	By	P & By	M & M	D	O		
Laycock, T. G.						O	
Laycock, W. E.					P & O	O	D & S
Leader, J. D.						NL	M & B
Leader, R.	P & By	P & By		E	P & R	R & H	M & B
Leader, R. E.						NL	M & B
Leather, J. T.	By	NV		D			
Levick, J.	W & Bu	By					
Levick, J. jun	P & W	P & By	W & D	D			
Livesey, Rev. J.	NV	NV	W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Lockwood, J.						R & O	
Lockwood, W.					P	NV	M & B
Mappin, P. T.			NL	E	P & R	R & H	M & B
Mappin, J. N.			M & M	D	NV	O	D & S
Mappin, J. C.					NL	R & H	
Marsh, J.	P & By	NV	M & M	E	P & R	O	
Marsh, R.					NL	O	
Marsh, T.					NL	O	D & S
Marshall, T.					NV	O	
Martin, R.					P & R	R & H	

	1832	1835	1841	1848	1852	1857	1865
Matthews, W. A.				E	P & R	R & O	
Hilner, W. P.	P	P & By			P & O	O	D & S
Mitchell, J.					P & O	O	
Mitchell, S.					P & R	NV	D & S
Montgomery, J.	P & By	P			P & H		
Moss, J.			W & D	D	P & O	H & O	
Naylor, G. P.	Bu	Bu	M & M	E	NV	O	
Nelstrop, J.					O	O	D & S
Newbould, P.					O	O	
Newbould, H.	P & W	P	W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Newbould, J.	P	P & By	W & D	NV	O	O	D & S
Newbould, R.				D	O	O	
Newbould, S.	P	NV	W & D	D			
Newbould, S. jun	P	NV		D	O	O	D & S
Nicholson, J.					P & R	NL	
Overend, Wm.				D		NL	D & S
Overend, Wil.	P	P & By		D	O	NV	
Parker, A.					NL	O	
Parker, J. G.					NV	R & H	
Parker, S.			M & M	E	P	O	M & B
Parker, T. J.		P	W & D	D	O	O	D & S
Parker, W.	P & Bu	P & Bu	W & D	D	P & O	O	
Peace, C. jun					P & R	NV	
Porter, T.	P & By	P & By			R & O		
Prest, J. B.					NL	O	
Prest, W.					NL	O	D & S
Reedall, G.					O	O	
Roberts, J. B.					O	NV	D & S
Roberts, S.						ID	D & S
Robertson, A.					O	O	D & S
Rodgers, J.	P & By	P & By	W & D	D	P & O	O	
Rodgers, J. jun				D	P & O		
Rodgers, Jos.		P & By			P & O	O	
Rodgers, Jos. jun						NL	D & S
Rodgers, T. W.			M & M	D	P & R	R & O	M & B
Sale, Rev. T.						O	D & S
Shearman, C. J.					NL	O	
Sherwin, J.	P	P & By			O	NV	D & S
Shortridge, J.				NL	P & O	R & O	D & S
Skelton, H. T.			W & D	D	P & H	R & O	
Skelton, J. K.			W & D	D	NL	NL	D & S
Smith, A.	P & By	P & By	W	D	P	R & O	M & S
Smith, C. E.					O	O	D & S
Smith, F. E.					H	R & H	M & B
Smith, J. S.						NL	D & S
Smith, Tom. jun					P & R	O	D & S
Smith, Wm.			W & D	D	P & O	O	D & S
Smith, Wm.					P & R		
Smith, Wm. jun				D	P & R	R & O	M & B
Solly, R.				E	P & R	NL	
Sorby, R. jun			W & D	D	O	O	
Sorby, T. A.					O	O	D & S
Streatfield, R. B.					NL	O	
Turner, W. T.						NL	D & S
Turton, T. B.			M & M	E	P & R	R & O	M & B
Unwin, C.					P & O	R & O	D & S
Unwin, E.					P & O	NV	D & S
Unwin, H.					NV	O	D & S
Vickers, T. E.						NL	D & S

	1832	1835	1841	1848	1852	1857	1865
Wake, B.					O	R & O	
Wake, W.				NL	NV	O	M & B
Walker, G.	By & W	P & By			P & O	O	D & S
Wall, G. P.				E	NV	H	
Ward, D.						NL	D & S
Waterfall, Wm .					P & O	NV	
Waterhouse, T.						R & H	M & B
Watson, H. E.				D	NL	O	D & S
Watson, J.					NV	NV	M & B
Watson, T. W.			W & D	D		O	D & S
Watson, Wm.			W & D	D		ID	D & S
Webster, Wm. jun					O	O	D & S
Weightman, J. G.		P & By			P & O	O	
Wheat, J. J.					O	R & O	D & S
Wightman, B.					P & O	O	
Wild, Wm.					P & R	NV	
Wilkinson, H.	By & W	P & By			P & R	R & O	
Wilson, F. W.					O	O	D & S
Wilson, J.	P & By	P & By	M & M				
Wilson, T.						O	M & B
Wilson, T.					O	O	
Wilson, W.	P	P			NV	NV	
Wostenholm, G.	Bu	Bu	NL	E	P & H	H	D & S
Younge, R.		P	W & D	D	P & O	R & O	D & S
Younge, S.	P & W	NV	W & D		H & O	NV	D & S

### Key

1832: Bu = Buckingham; By = Bailey; P = Parker; W = Ward.  
 1835: as 1832  
 1841: M & M = Milton and Morpeth; W & D = Wortley and Denison.  
 1848: D = Denison; E = Eardley.  
 1852: H = Hadfield; O = Overend; P = Parker; R = Roebuck.  
 1857: as 1852.  
 1865: D & S = Denison and Stanhope; M & B = Milton and Beaumont.

NV = No vote although name listed in poll book.  
 NL = Not listed in poll book.  
 ID = Impossible to identify individual in poll book.

N.B. A blank space does not necessarily mean that the individual did not vote in the election. Some blanks are due to the individual being too young to vote but some are an indication that the relevant poll book has not been consulted for that individual.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. See Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library, "Sheffield Pamphlets", Box 41 (H-SHE-8), Sheffield's Choice, nd.
2. S.I. 30th December, 1897.
3. Ibid.
4. Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement : 1783-1867, 1979 (paperback edition), Longman, p. 421.
5. S.I. 7 March, 1857.
6. Fraser, op. cit., 1979, p. 110; see also, John Salt, "Experiments in Anarchism, 1850-1854", in T.H.A.S. Vol. 10, pp. 37-53.
7. "A Real Brick" in S.I., 21 March, 1857.
8. Asa Briggs, Victorian People, 1965, (Pelican edition), Harmondsworth, pp. 60-94.
9. loc. sit, p. 74.
10. S.I. 7 March, 1857.
11. Michael Ellison 1786-1861, came to Sheffield in 1819. He had been a partner in the Independent in 1820, was a founder member of the Literary and Philosophical Society and was elected a Town Trustee in 1828. He was local agent to, amongst others, the Duke of Norfolk and was, like the Duke, a Catholic.  
  
M. J. Ellison 1817-1898, took over as Agent to the Duke on his father's retirement in 1860. He was a Governor of the Sheffield Savings Bank from 1859, and a Director of the Sheffield Banking Co. from 1859 until his death. A Catholic like his father, he was a "weak" Liberal in his youth, voting for Parker and Roebuck in the 1852 Elections. In old age he became a Tory, taking the Vice-Chair of the Sheffield Conservative and Constitutional Association in 1882. He was a member of the Sheffield Club from 1849.
12. See Ellison's diary, S.L.A. ACMS 523(1854). Also see, Melville and Co., 1859, Directory of Sheffield.
13. S.I. 7 March, 1857.
14. S.I. 14 March, 1857.
15. Ibid.
16. S.I. 21 and 28 March, 1857; London Times 25 and 27 March, 1857.
17. S.I. 21 and 28 March, 1857.
18. George Wostenholm 1800-1876, he was senior partner in George Wostenholm and Co., razor, table, pen and pocket knife manufacturers. A hugely successful concern, he was

said to have had the largest sales of spring cutlery to the USA of any company in England. Starting in 1840 he acquired the Kenwood estate, to the south-west of the Town. This grew to 150 acres and was laid out in building plots for the lower ranks of the middle class. He was a member of the Sheffield Club from 1854.

Edward Vickers 1804-1897, was a partner in Naylor, Vickers and Co., steel convertors.

19. S.I. 28 March, 1857
20. S.I. 4 April, 1857.
21. Ibid.
22. Foster, op. cit., 1979, pp. 224.
23. Nossiter, op. cit., 1968, p. 289.
24. F. W. S. Craig (ed.) British Electoral Facts 1832-1980 (4th edition), Parliamentary Research Services, Chichester, 1981, p. 7.
25. R. E. Leader, (ed.) Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck, 1897 (all references are to the Leader annotated copy in S.L.A. at LC180), p. 266.
26. S.I. 30 December, 1897.
27. R. E. Leader, op. cit., 1897, p. 256B.
28. N.C.R.S. Vol. 13SF, pp. 172-7.
29. London Times, 28 March, 1857.
30. S.I., 21 March, 1857; see also 28 March, 1857.
31. S.I. 7 March, 1857.
32. Compiled from S.I. 7 March, 1857 and the 1852 and 1857 Poll Books.
33. S.L.A., S523 (1857).
34. S.I. 4 April, 1857.
35. Fraser, op. cit., 1979, pp. 206-213.
36. Ibid., p. 208.
37. S.I. 21 March, 1857.
38. G.I.H. Lloyd, The Cutlery Trades, Longmans, 1913, p.342.
39. Lloyd, op. cit., 1913, p. 481.
40. Pollard, op. cit., 1959, p. 160.
41. Pollard, op. cit., 1959, p. 161.
42. Geoffrey Tweedale, Giants of Sheffield Steel, Sheffield

- City Libraries, 1986, pp. 15.
43. Tweedale, op. cit., 1986, p. 37.
44. S.I. 14 March, 1857. It is probable that the Exchange and the Chamber shared a large number of members since the first two A.G.M.s were held at the Exchange.
45. S.I. 5 February, 1859.
46. On Liverpool in 1857 see S.I. 7 March, 1857; on Leeds see Kevin Grady, "Commercial, Marketing and Retailing Amenities, 1700-1914", in Fraser, op. cit., 1980, p. 190.
47. See Appendix 6.1
48. For example see Smith op. cit., 1982, pp. 164.
49. They were Edward Baines, James Brown, George Beecroft, Sir Francis Crossley, William Edward Foster, Sir J. W. Ramsden and John Vance. See Rules and Regulations of the Leeds Club with a list of the Members, C. Kemplay, Leeds 1863.
50. See the List of the Members of the Sheffield Club, 1857, in the archives of the Club.
51. Smith, op. cit., 1982, p. 164.
52. Fraser, op. cit., 1979, pp. 174-5.
53. R. E. Leader (ed.), Life and Letters ..., 1897, pp. 294-6, 301.
54. Op. cit., p. 303.
55. Narrative, pp. 235-7.
56. Fraser, op. cit., 1979, pp. 225.
57. In 1878 he was, on the recommendation of Lord Beaconsfield, made a member of the Privy Council. A "Bewildered Liberal" wrote:  
     "When soul and body part 'tis said,  
     'Mongst living men, "The man is dead";  
     By which criterion, it appears,  
     John Roebuck has been dead for years:  
     'Midst Whigs his body seeks repose,  
     His soul is with their Tory foes."  
 The annotated copy of R.E. Leader's Life of ..., S.L.A., LC180, p. 431.
58. John Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland, (first published 1876, 4th edition 1883) Leicester University Press, 1971 (reprint of 4th edition), Surrey, p. 420.
59. Quoted in Fletcher, op. cit., 1972, p. 67.
60. Quoted in Fletcher, op. cit., 1972, p. 66.
61. See the election addresses and account of the proceedings in The Poll ... on the 21st July 1865.

62. Frances Dudley Montague Stuart Wortley 1829-1893, 2nd son of John, 2nd Baron Wharncliffe. Brother of Edward, 1st Earl, and father to Francis, 2nd Earl.
63. George Wilton Chambers 1812-?, barrister and colliery owner. Also had interests in the North Central Wagon Co.; Sheffield and Rotherham Bank; George Wright and Co. stove grate manufacturers, Rotherham; Sheffield and Rotherham Railway Co.
64. The voting date is given in full in Appendix No. 6.2.
65. Narrative, p. 300.
66. W.H.G. Armytage, A.J. Mundella, 1825-1897: The Liberal Background to the Labour Movement, 1951, p. 323.
67. Fletcher, op. cit., 1972, p. 82.
68. Armytage, op. cit., 1951, p. 56.
69. Joyce, op. cit., 1982.
70. Fletcher,, op. cit., 1972, pp. 127 and 130.
71. W.W. Bean, op. cit., 1890, pp. 1,072-3.

CHAPTER SEVENCONCLUSION

"I am getting a passion for studying this place...I have even joined the Leeds Club - the exclusive snobbish club of the place - for the purpose of observing the habits of employers more closely."<sup>1</sup>

Frederick Keeling, Fabian manager of the Leeds Labour Exchange, 8 March 1910.

"The Sheffield Club is an institution for social purposes, similar to the Clubs in London. It is supported by the *elite* of the town, and carried on with great spirit."<sup>2</sup>

John Taylor, editor of The Illustrated Guide to Sheffield, 1879.

7:1 Introduction

These comments by Keeling and Taylor, emphasize one of the central arguments of this thesis: namely that institutions such as the Leeds and Sheffield Clubs are elite organisations. Membership of these Clubs signified that the individual was a participant in the most prestigious and powerful local grouping. The paradox (if paradox it be) of this group is that it is within, and yet above, the urban middle class *per se*.

This apparent contradiction is characteristic of the taxonomic problems endemic to social analysis. The problem is that social classes are not fixed, stable or clearly defined entities. On the contrary, they are mutable, shifting and shade into adjacent social orders. Moreover, classes need not have, or act as if they have, clearly perceived unitary interests. For example, the 'middle class', which can be said to have certain unifying social and economic goals (e.g., the wish to maintain 'capitalism' - however conceptualized - as the dominant social formation), also comprises potentially competing class fractions (e.g., elite and non-elite, Tory and Liberal, Anglican and Dissenting, industrial and finance etc.). These fractions within the middle class are themselves neither discrete or stable, but coalesce and separate over time and over issues.<sup>3</sup>

These caveats aside, it is possible to offer some guidelines for the analysis of class structure in nineteenth century Sheffield. Within this thesis the term 'urban elite' has been used to identify the group within the general urban middle class occupying the heights of industrial, economic, political and social power and prestige. Similarly, the term 'petty-bourgeoisie' has been used to designate

those occupying weaker positions of power and prestige. The terms 'aristocracy' or 'rural elite' have been used to identify those groups whose traditional power base lay outside of the emerging industrial and urban centres. There is no necessary hostility between the two elite groups, indeed on many issues the identification of their interests potentially overlaps. Nevertheless, they do "stand for", or embody a constellation of different ideas about the way society should be organised and the proper relationships between the classes. The activity of the urban elite within the middle class has been the main topic of this thesis.

The main body of this conclusion is divided into five sections: the first deals with a) the logic behind the choice of the Sheffield Club as an object of study, b) a brief discussion of the concept of 'elite' and 'elite theory', c) an analysis of the concept of 'hegemony' and its relevance to the thesis. The second section deals with relationships between the elite and a) the local petty-bourgeoisie, and b) the local aristocracy. The third section reviews the arguments made in the thesis concerning the elite and politics. The fourth section looks at the arguments advanced by Smith concerning the nature of the Sheffield middle class elite. In particular, his claim that this group was isolated from the local aristocracy and unable to cohere is assessed and criticised. The final section restates the main arguments of the thesis, and suggests a number of ways in which the research could be extended and developed.

#### 7:2 The Sheffield Club as an object of study

The Sheffield Club has not been the object of serious historical study and is absent from any published history of the City. These facts, however, should not be taken as indicators of its importance. An analysis of the membership lists demonstrates that the Club contained the bulk of nineteenth-century Sheffield elite society. Further, an investigation of its membership and their involvement in local political and cultural projects is a powerful tool for exploring elite activity. Although no one institution can ever include all the major actors in an area's history, the Sheffield Club did - and perhaps still does - have as members the bulk of the men of power and prestige in the locality.

The Sheffield Club is but one of the many middle class voluntary organisations which either came into existence, or underwent

significant growth, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. (Other examples would be Chambers of Commerce, Literary and Philosophical Societies, missions to the urban poor, hospital committees etc.) All acted to give the middle class a number of novel or re-defined terms and social roles: e.g., chairman, agenda, rules, membership, committee, annual report. Collectively, this dense network of voluntary associations re-shaped civil society and created new arenas of power and prestige.<sup>4</sup> A newly defined sphere of public interest thus emerged, which bypassed traditional locations and created a new language for assessing the worth of individuals. Membership of these institutions enhanced the prestige of the individual whilst giving them the confidence they needed to enter more demanding fields: e.g., local and national government.

A narrow focus on the Club, however, may exclude individuals or social and political processes from analysis that do not come under its remit. This difficulty has been overcome through an extensive examination of municipal incorporation and parliamentary elections. In addition, other key sites of power were surveyed: e.g., the Borough and County Justices of the Peace, the Cutlers' Company. The basis of the study was thus widened since these events have been analyzed both "in their own right", and as a means of assessing the degree of involvement and control of Club members.

The thesis demonstrates that the Club was a focal point for the local elite within the middle class. However, it is evident that the petty-bourgeoisie is excluded from direct participation in this group's activity. Therefore, the focus on Club membership has skewed the study away from the middle class per se. This is not a weakness, as long as it is borne in mind that the 'lower' strata of the middle class could have very different preoccupations to those described here. Central to this thesis, therefore, is the concept of an elite. Whilst the actions of this elite have been observed throughout, it has, as yet, not been defined. The following discussion provides both a definition and draws together aspects of elite activity noted previously.

### 7:3 Elites and elite theory

An elite group is composed of those individuals who have the highest status positions in, and the easiest access to, the realms of political, economic and social power.<sup>5</sup> However, it is not simply access to power that marks out an elite. It is their ability to wield

that power against the wishes of other social groups. Moreover, the composition of the elite is never fixed and uncontested, since groups excluded from the resources thus controlled are constantly seeking to gain access to them; a process which the elite resist. Parkin argues that this struggle involves two processes which he terms 'social closure'.<sup>6</sup> First, 'exclusionary' closure where the dominant group seeks to exclude the subordinate. Secondly, 'usurpatory' closure where the subordinate group seek to make inroads on the power and resources of the dominant. I intend to use these two concepts from Parkin to analyze social activity of the elite group. Thus, we will see how they engaged in activity of both an 'exclusionary' and an 'usurpatory' nature.

Parkin identifies a number of social categories used to effect exclusion: these include education, ethnic origin, language, accent and style of life. 'Style of life', of course, implies a high degree of visibility amongst the elite members. This aspect of nineteenth century middle class life has been commented on by Garrard who argues, that what was important for a wealthy nineteenth century businessman, or active philanthropist, was to seen to be such "...by a large, attentive and admiring audience."<sup>7</sup> This visibility was connected to the predominantly local nature of power in nineteenth century towns which typically manifested itself through a locus of individuals rather than generalised parties. Nineteenth century elite power then was public, parochial and particularized. It was also linked to the ability to live in a certain way. As Weber argues:

"In content, status honour is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific *style of life* can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. ... As soon as there is not a mere individual and socially irrelevant imitation of another style of life, but an agreed-upon communal action of this closing character, the 'status' development is under way."<sup>8</sup>

Membership of an institution such as the Sheffield Club was an indicator or symbol of an individual's social and economic standing in the community. As nineteenth century towns grew, and it became impossible to know everybody involved in businesses and commerce, membership of such institutions demonstrated the 'soundness' of an individual. We have seen already that the membership lists contained men from the commanding heights of the political and economic terrain of nineteenth-century Sheffield. We have also seen that the establishment of the Club was viewed by contemporaries as part of a general move toward creating a higher social 'tone' in the town. Within the general group of property owners, the membership of the

Club represented a small fraction of that group. However, they were not just a fraction, they were an elite fraction. Therefore, the Club represented one location within which an elite 'style of life' was elaborated.

This 'style of life' was exclusive, since the Club set its entrance fees at a level that only a small fraction of the local population could afford. It also operated a system of sponsorship and voting for membership. Thus, Club membership was not simply a matter of being able to pay the fees. One had also to be assessed by those one hoped to join as peers. The process of 'blackballing' a prospective member was one way of achieving closure of membership to the elite group (although as the membership book shows, some individuals withdrew discreetly rather than face the ignominy of defeat). To achieve membership then, was not only a recognition of elevated social standing, but also a way of achieving it.

In addition to status closure the membership also engaged in the process of status usurpation. The new Club house, when built, was designed to look like a "gentleman's town mansion" or, "one of the family houses of Grosvenor Square", as The Builder put it.<sup>9</sup> The linking of the architectural style of the Club house with property in that part of London is significant and its meaning would have been immediately obvious to contemporary readers. Grosvenor Square has, since its creation in 1725, been a home for residents of the highest social status, over half of whom were - until recently - people of title.<sup>10</sup> The linking of the external facade of the Club with residences in Grosvenor Square makes an ideological connection between the metropolitan, high status activity of the residents in London, and the elite members of the Club in Sheffield. That is, status usurpation of an aristocratic life style.

The opinion of the architect Sir Gilbert Scott on the ideological aspect of country houses can also be applied here to the urban elite and their Clubs:

"He [the landed proprietor] has been placed by Providence, in a position of authority and dignity, and no false modesty should deter him from expressing this, quietly and gravely, in the character of his house."<sup>11</sup> (Emphasis added.)

For "landed proprietor" read "propertied classes". Compare the final sentiments in the above quotation with the opinion given of the new Club House in the Sheffield Independent from 1862:

"Of the exterior it is scarcely necessary to speak. It has a solid English and thoroughly genteel look, expressing with boldness and truth its purpose, being a town residence, such as abounds in the older parts of London."<sup>12</sup>

The difference being that "old" money could afford to express its power and prestige "quietly and gravely" whilst 'new' money had to do it with "boldness and truth". The function, however, was the same; the physical expression of a powerful elite.

The select 'way of life' denoted by the Club was also commented on in contemporary newspapers:

"The occasional tables, the luxurious ottoman, and the 'spacious langsettles' bespeak an amount of comfort and enjoyment which we fear may make some of our fair readers a little jealous."<sup>13</sup>

That the urban middle class needed to demonstrate their status position is shown by the testimony of the radical Richard Phillips, who passing through Sheffield in the late 1820s, assessed the status positions of the aristocracy, professionals and merchant/manufacturers thus:

"There were the high bred Aristocrats who associated with none but their class, and who mingled by forced condescension with certain other classes. There were the Professions, poor and proud, or rich and lordly, yet without being recognized by lords, however much they aped them in style and manners. Then there was the Aristocracy of mere craft and position, but one generation deep, and vulgar through affected; looking back with horror and contempt at the democratic base whence they had just sprung...."<sup>14</sup>

This thesis argues that the Sheffield middle class - particularly its elite members - was, in the first half of the century, actively involved in social and cultural institutions that enabled them to articulate a - contingently - coherent voice. Excluding the artisanry and petty-bourgeoisie from such institutions and "styles-of-life" was an essential part of this process. And, as we will see below, the acquisition of the status of the landed ruling class was another.

In the next sub-section the concepts of hegemony and leadership, and their relevance to this thesis are briefly considered.

#### 7:4 Hegemony and the urban elite

The concept of hegemony utilized in this thesis derives from the work of Antonio Gramsci.<sup>15</sup> His application of the term marks a major advance over common usage where it is often taken to indicate the uncontested domination of one group over another. Gramsci, however, used the term to refer to the ability of a dominant class to convince other social groups that its leadership is 'natural'. Hence, much of his analysis of class rule centres on the leadership role that the dominant class must play in the areas of morality, politics and

culture, if they are to remain in control.

Leadership then, is not purely or solely, domination: no social class, argues Gramsci, could maintain its rule through constant domination. Consent to a subordinate position is produced in the dominated classes through the hegemonic dominance of the ruling class - or class fraction. Through ideology and forms of cultural and political discourse, rule by a social group - which is for Gramsci a totally arbitrary and 'unnatural' state of affairs - is rendered by hegemony into a 'natural' and normal state.

Having achieved political and economic hegemony, a ruling class must then ensure they keep it. Hegemonic rule then, is never final, it is constantly being tested and - if successful - re-made. At the start of the nineteenth century the urban middle class had to win what power they could from the existing ruling class. By the mid-point, they had to ensure that the working class did not, either by political subversion, or 'inherent moral dissipation', rob them of it. As Gray has argued, these fears concerning the working class could be registered in debates concerning the ignorance and indiscipline of the workers and the lack of moral control by social superiors.<sup>16</sup>

These processes were clearly at work in Sheffield. For example, we have seen in Chapter Four, that when the Chartists attempted to take and hold the town of Sheffield, John Parker warned the little masters to exert a much greater control over the 'non-work' activities of their hands. They should, he said, make greater efforts to know where their employees were and what they did.

In addition, the provision of institutions such as the Mechanics Institute and, in the case of Sheffield, the Athenaeum, were attempts by the urban middle class to inculcate correct habits into subordinate social classes. (On the Sheffield Athenaeum, see below page 241.) Moreover, the Volunteer movement - in which Club members played a major role - has been identified as a vehicle through which control and notions of 'rational recreation' could be spread. Indeed, here we have the case of certain industrial employers 'leading' their workers in the workplace, and then 'leading' them again (as commanding officers) outside.

The 'fears' of the Sheffield middle class are neatly captured in this description of a 'typical' little master:

"They are too much their own masters to be under the restraint of others; they are too little so to be under the restraint of their own better principals and judgement; they feel themselves in some measure separated from the rest of the world, and opposed in self interest, and one common cause to those with whom they transact business. Accustomed to command their apprentices, their children and their wives, their unbending temper cannot brook control. Bound together by one common interest they are continually plotting to advance their wages, or to gain additional privileges."<sup>17</sup>

Although these fears drove the middle class to marginalize the political aspirations of the classes below them, they could not pretend that they would silence them. As one of Sheffield's MPs observed, institutions were required to "...guide ... soften, and refine all that is good and valuable, but rough in their character."<sup>18</sup>

The struggle for incorporation is an example of the need to take the aspirations of the unenfranchised - but rate-paying - into account. The Liberal interest found it necessary to mobilize support from Ironside and his petty-bourgeois Democrat alliance, against the Tories at both the town and county level. The fight was as much about resisting the imposition of aristocratic county rule as it was about achieving the status of an incorporated town (although, of course, the latter was important). Hence, the Liberal activists took great care to place many references in their speeches to the anti-aristocratic and democratic nature of municipal elections. These were sentiments which they knew appealed to the radicals amongst the petty-bourgeoisie.

The Liberal political elite was also able to hold out to the unenfranchised rate payers the promise - in the fullness of time - of the right to vote in Parliamentary elections given 'correct' behaviour at the municipal level. This promise turned hollow when it was discovered that most of the small rate payers would have no vote in the first municipal elections. This acted as a spur to the Democrats in their attempt to control the council.

Within the general middle class elite, certain individuals played the leader to the hilt. They demanded to be seen as such by their workers and by the world in general. For example, it was said in the local press of W.F. Dixon that "...he influenced the conduct, and shared along with his partners, the respect of a large body of ingenious and intelligent workmen."<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, when Sir F T Mappin opened a 'Coffee House' for the working class he was described as:

"...a rich man using his substance as a good and rich man ought to do for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen. ... it will be said that he has employed his substance, not in the vain glorification of himself, not in idle pleasures or glittering means of attracting the attention of those surrounding him, but by doing honestly in his sphere the greatest benefit he could do to his fellow-men."<sup>20</sup>

In addition to 'good deeds' and 'moral leadership' (important as they were) the industrial middle class sought to gain the ear of the Government of the day. This was achieved through the creation of Chambers of Commerce, but also through playing host to statesmen and organizing suitably impressive tours of their factories.<sup>21</sup>

The Sheffield Club, then, is a useful starting point for exploration of elite activity. In this thesis the concepts of elite, status closure and status usurpation, have been used to explain certain aspects of elite activity. In addition, the concepts of hegemony and leadership have been utilized to explain the involvement of the elite in political and cultural activity.

In the next section we turn to the relationships between on the one hand, the middle class elite and the petty-bourgeois, and on the other, the middle class elite and the aristocracy.

#### 7:5 The elite and the petty-bourgeoisie

The Sheffield Club acted as an institutional base through which a class identity could be moulded and sustained. The working class and the lower middle class (e.g., shop-keepers, workshop employers, low status professionals etc.) were excluded from membership. The exclusion of the former is, of course, no surprise. The relationship between the latter and the elite though needs some discussion.

The petty-bourgeoisie has been characterised by Crossick as a largely insecure social group whose interests and concerns - unlike the larger bourgeoisie - were mainly focused on the local.<sup>22</sup> Instinctively Tory and parsimonious when it came to building Town Halls, or improving the drains, they gradually replaced the elite in urban politics and culture as the latter withdrew from the local to the national arena.

In Sheffield the relationship between the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle class in general, was compounded by the emergence of Isaac Ironside, and his radically local and democratic form of political intervention (see above, Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the two groups formed alliances over different issues (eg municipal incorporation,

and support for the two Liberal/Whig candidates in the 1852 election). The political leaders amongst the middle class needed to mobilize the votes and rateable value of the petty-bourgeoisie, whereas the latter needed the élan of middle class, and particularly elite middle class, sponsorship.

It is not my intention here to enter into a sustained investigation of the relationship between the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle class elite, (since that is not the topic of the thesis) but simply to investigate one area of contact: the Sheffield Athenaeum.

The Sheffield Athenaeum was a Club for the petty-bourgeoisie that emerged from a failed attempt by the elite to create an institution to culturally integrate the large employers and the little masters. The instigators of the successful Athenaeum were clearly attempting to model it on the Sheffield Club and thereby attempted to capture some of the associated social style.<sup>23</sup>

As well as providing leisure facilities (coffee-room, dining-room etc) it also provided educative resources (French and German classes, a library etc).<sup>24</sup> In addition, entrance - certainly in its early stages - was restricted simply to the ability to pay: there was no ballot system as in the Sheffield Club. The committee of management hoped it would educate "the young men...employed in commerce" to become the administrators of the various colonies of the empire. It was also a resource that was open to all who could afford the membership fees; women included.

The elite of Sheffield did not welcome this new Club. (See the comments on social closure above). At the second Annual General Meeting of the Athenaeum, held in April, 1848, the Committee complained that the success of the institution came about "...entirely unassisted by the patronage of great names - without even one public act of encouragement, or smile of favour from the leaders of the town in wealth and station...".<sup>25</sup> At its meeting in 1849 the committee reported that when they approached John Dixon - founder member of the Sheffield Club - to lease his property in Norfolk Row for a Club House, he replied that he would "...let it to any private individual, but not to them."<sup>26</sup>

Despite these hostilities, the Athenaeum flourished, and in 1879 Taylor described it as occupying "...commodious premises in George Street...".<sup>27</sup> It was, however, listed after the Sheffield Club in his guide to the town (but before the working men's clubs!). All archives for the Athenaeum were destroyed when the Club House was fire-bombed

during the Second World War. When this occurred, the Sheffield Club refused Athenaeum members access to its facilities (verbal anecdote collected during research). The status divisions nurtured through almost 100 years were not to be overturned so lightly.

The Athenaeum was an important public institution in Sheffield since it was one of the first not to be directly, or indirectly, under the control of the urban elite. Together with institutions such as the Surrey Street Library (majority petty-bourgeoisie membership by 1857)<sup>28</sup>, it played a vital part in enabling the lower middle class to find an authentic cultural voice.

This discussion of the Athenaeum indicates that the local elite was hostile to its formation and did not involve themselves in its activities. This can be partly explained by the large investment which some of them had made in a rival - but failed - Athenaeum.<sup>29</sup> It also confirms the view expressed by Smith in his study of Sheffield, that a social gulf existed between the two groups.

If the elite in Sheffield's society was swift to exclude the lower ranks from membership, it was enthusiastic in welcoming the county aristocracy. In the next section we look at the involvement of the aristocracy in the Sheffield Club, and the impact this had on middle class culture.

#### 7:6 The urban elite and the aristocracy

If the urban elite attempted to block the access of subordinate social classes to power and prestige, what was their relationship with the local representatives of the aristocracy? In particular, can the behaviour of the urban elite towards this latter group shed light on the notion of bourgeois incorporation prevalent in Wiener and Anderson's work?<sup>30</sup>

The extent to which Norfolk, Fitzwilliam and Wharncliffe felt able or willing to intervene in local affairs was largely determined by the information supplied to them by their agents and more 'informal' contacts (and of course, events on the national stage). Here the Sheffield Club played a vital role in offering both recreation and information.

On some issues the patronage of these men was the decisive factor swaying 'informed opinion' (or rate payers 'economic clout'). For example, although Norfolk and Fitzwilliam did not speak at a public meeting in favour of incorporation - indeed, it would probably have

worked against the pro-corporators if they had - the inclusion of their rates gave political and economic advantage to the Liberal group in the town. Moreover, we know that Norfolk's local agent was one of the individuals who signed the promissory note defraying the legal expenses of the pro-corporators (see p. 167).

As we have seen, anti-aristocratic sentiments were expressed at public meetings leading up to the granting of a charter. Admittedly, the strongest of these came from Ironside and his supporters but, nevertheless, Norfolk and Fitzwilliam lent support to a movement which criticised their class and its traditional power. Such actions hardly seem to support the thesis of bourgeois incorporation into aristocratic society.

However, before going too far in characterising the Town Council as a centre for radical politics we need to recall that many of the most militant supporters were initially without a voice in municipal elections due to the rating system. Nevertheless, it appears that - certainly in its initial phase - the Town Council articulated the political aspirations of an elite, Liberal bourgeoisie. And yet, in 1896 we find the 15th Duke of Norfolk elected as Mayor, and Lord Mayor one year later. Does this signal the collapse of the local bourgeoisie into the 'arms' of the aristocracy? I suggest the answer is no, for the following reasons.

First, although his election could indicate that the aristocratic influence was in the ascendance, such an interpretation misreads the actual balance of power between the two groups. By the final decades of the nineteenth century the aristocracy had ceased to represent a threat to the middle class.<sup>31</sup> Secondly, the urban middle class and the great landowners had both arrived at a similar - Tory - political destination.<sup>32</sup> The placing of Norfolk at the head of the Council should therefore be viewed as a symbolic, not political, gesture. Interest in the aristocratic families was, argues Cannadine, on a par with the interest shown for filmstars in contemporary society. A local council, for example, would ask a peer to become mayor because they provided "...glamour, sparkle, romance and security, personally embodying those attributes which the council wanted for itself."<sup>33</sup>

The élan associated with aristocratic families helps explain their membership of the Sheffield Club. In 1856 the 14th Duke of Norfolk was made a member without going through the usual balloting process. In 1857 the 3rd Earl (later 1st Lord) Wharncliffe was made a member and was joined in 1861 by the 6th Earl Fitzwilliam. This chronology fits in with the periodisation of aristocratic activity

advanced by Cannadine. He identifies the period up to the 1820s as marking the zenith of aristocratic power. From the 1820s to the 1840s there was a period of confrontation between the aristocracy and the urban middle class. Finally, from the 1840s to the 1870s there was a period of stable class relationships marked by mutual admiration.

As the individuals named above died their successors were made members of the Club (the 15th Duke of Norfolk in 1869, the 2nd Earl Wharncliffe in 1899, the 7th Earl Fitzwilliam in 1903 and so on, down to the present). Overall, this involvement served the interests of the middle class elite as it enabled them to nurture business contacts whilst studying the habits of the aristocracy at close quarters.

Moreover, the membership of the aristocracy signalled the prominence given by these men to their economic interests in the town. Both Fitzwilliam and Norfolk had substantial tracts of land that were being utilized for factories and working class housing.<sup>34</sup> In addition, all three earned income from rights over minerals mined from their land.

As Cannadine argues:

"The most specific point of contact between the old, agrarian elite and the new urban society took place in those large provincial towns to which the aristocracy were linked by economic interest...For economic contact necessarily led to political and social interaction."(Emphasis added)<sup>35</sup>

But of course this economic contact is not taking place in an abstract system. It is happening within the emerging structure of industrial capitalism. It seems reasonable to argue, therefore, that the power relationship implicit within such contacts increasingly favoured the interests - however heterogeneous - of the urban industrial capitalists. This was certainly the case with the 15th Duke of Norfolk whose historian argues that the Duke "...adapted to life in the world's most advanced industrial society...".<sup>36</sup>

Evidence of aristocratic membership indicates that the elite within the urban middle class were quick to shift away from their - perhaps mythical, but sometimes politically useful - 'democratic' forebears when status beckoned. However, status usurpation is one thing, ideological allegiance another. The vexed question of class allegiance therefore needs to be addressed; did the urban middle class incorporate the aristocracy or vice-versa?.

The tendency of second and third generation industrialists to purchase large estates, indulge in leisure pursuits like fox hunting, educate their sons at Oxbridge etc., has been taken as evidence of cultural assimilation into the aristocracy.

This view though often lapses into a cultural reductionism, in which social behaviour is linked directly, and unproblematically to ideology and economic practice. As Gunn argues:

"It was perfectly plausible for a Victorian industrialist to ride with the local hunt, build himself a castle in the country, and adopt a 'neo-feudal pose of paternalist employer, without consciously compromising in any way the imperatives of capitalist production or class commitment."<sup>37</sup>

To take the purely economic dimension of the incorporation argument first: we have seen already (page 89), that men like William Jessop and Sir Wilson Mappin were involved in aristocratic pastimes like grouse shooting and mastership of hounds. But this did not stop Jessop's adopting a distinctly un-paternalistic manner towards their workforce by operating a non-union policy from the 1880s, and well into the twentieth century.<sup>38</sup> Nor did it retard his company's growth and expansion.<sup>39</sup> This was a position the company maintained, for in the early 1900s it amalgamated with J J Saville to become the "...largest crucible-steel producer in the world...".<sup>40</sup>

Mappin's interests did not prevent the company of which he was a director - Thomas Turton and Sons - from being "...at the head of the file and railway spring trades." in 1879.<sup>41</sup> Members of both the Jessop and the Mappin families were continually involved in the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce from its inception in 1857.

Turning to the cultural dimension of the incorporation argument, it has been asserted that the industrial bourgeoisie failed to develop their own set of values and adopted those of the aristocracy.<sup>42</sup> What is the evidence from Sheffield? I will take one example, that of John Brown. He was able to combine appreciation of rural, even ducal, scenes (e.g., 'Temple Ruins', and 'Arundel Castle', seat of the Norfolk's) with engravings of famous radical moments (e.g., 'Council of Anti-Corn League' and 'Cromwell refusing the Crown of England'), and with scenes of 'modernist' achievements (e.g., an engraving of 'Watts Discovering the Power of Steam' and of the '1st May 1851': opening of the Great Exhibition).<sup>43</sup>

The original of 'Cromwell refusing the Crown of England' hung in the home of the radical, non-conformist, Halifax carpet manufacturer, Frank Crossley. Girouard, in his history of the Victorian county house, has argued that Cromwell was "...a hero among West Riding manufacturers, a kind of honorary Yorkshireman."<sup>44</sup> In addition, Brown had an engraving of the 'Trial of William Lord Russell, 1683'. Russell, one of the leading Whigs of the time, was executed following his supposed involvement in a plot to seize the King.<sup>45</sup> But Brown was

no ardent republican. Included in the list of engravings for sale are also three of Queen Victoria.

There is no reason to suppose that Brown was alone in having such contradictory images juxtaposed on his walls. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that for Brown the images were contradictory. The paintings and prints that adorned his wall made a series of statements about his political and cultural position. They were statements of an ideology. This ideology was composed of elements taken from heritages that stressed on the one hand the radical, the scientific, the dissenting, the urban, and on the other the rural, the traditional and the status quo. Brown, and many others of his class, were not incorporated into aristocratic culture simply because they had some of the 'trappings' of an aristocratic life style. They also had trappings of an anti-aristocratic, radical life style. Rather, Brown must be viewed as an example of a general social phenomenon of tension and accommodation, independence and integration played out between the middle class and the aristocracy in mid to late Victorian society. The visual images displayed on the walls of Endcliffe Hall simply register these contradictions.

Similarly, the large mansions of Brown, Firth et al., are not evidence of the 'incorporation' of the bourgeoisie. True, both the country mansion and the semi-urban equivalent were used by their respective classes for political manoeuvring and for the 'solidification' of social power. However, the evidence for Sheffield shows that the elite members of the middle class were using these 'spaces' to consolidate their own power. As Doe argues:

"...heads of large business concerns played a part in their communities not dissimilar to the part played in theirs of the landed elite, and they too needed a place which worked in a similar way to a country house as a centre of influence. To them a large house with appropriate facilities for entertaining guests;...was a necessity for exerting social and political power or expanding their businesses. The Victorian mansion in Sheffield was thus an essential element in the transformation of urban society in the second half of the nineteenth century..."<sup>46</sup>

It is clear from the evidence presented here that the Club included representatives of the major large businesses in Sheffield. If, in their mansions, they were constructing their "...social and political power...", it seems unlikely that in the Club they would be deconstructing that power in favour of the landed aristocracy. Although both gained from mutual contact, the urban elite was not incorporated into an anti-industrial, anti-entrepreneurial culture. The two groups did, however, politically converge in the Tory party as

the century drew to a close.

Political and religious divisions, have figured in the majority of the chapters of this thesis. The next section considers the significance of these divisions and the ways in which they could fracture the unity of the elite.

### 7:7 Politics and the elite

The 1852 and 1857 Sheffield elections demonstrate that the Liberal group in the town - although still able to return two candidates - had major long term problems. The 'leakage' of the middle class to the Tory party gathered pace after 1850 and turned into a virtual torrent following the defeat of Roebuck in the 1868 election and his re-election in 1874 - at the top of the poll - as a Tory in everything but name (it was the support of the Tory paper the Sheffield Telegraph that seems to have gained Roebuck his victory). With the extension of the franchise in 1867 the artisan and petty-bourgeois electors entered the formal political arena, and by the 1870s demanded a say in the running of the Liberal party.

Following the Liberal defeat in 1874, H J Wilson and the more advanced elements of the Liberal group challenged the 'old men' (Leader et al) who had hitherto run the party on the basis of their personal influence alone. However, the danger was that the large industrialists with weak political alliances would be driven into the arms of the Tory party:

"In the altered political circumstances of the 1870s (they) were finding in Conservatism a more congenial political creed. Under Gladstone the Liberal party was far less "safe" and predictable than it had been in the days of Palmerston, and men of their social position and outlook wanted a "safe" party. In Sheffield....this was true of the middle class in general."<sup>47</sup>

The evidence presented in Chapters Five and Six shows that elite political support was skewed toward the Tory candidate from the earliest days of the Club. This pre-dates by some fifteen years Fletcher's dating of middle class political defection from the Liberals (i.e., 1868-74). Evidence indicates that the Club members' support for the Tories was strong as early as 1852. Indeed, the executive members of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, and the partners in the mid-century's largest companies shared a similar political orientation.

Although the leaders of both parties continued to come from the Club, the Liberal members found themselves increasingly in the minority. This shift in political allegiance amongst the elite was

compounded by the rise to power of the radical H. J. Wilson who - although the owner of a substantial concern (the Sheffield Smelting Co.) - was never a member of the elite group. Wilson's political role was to articulate the interests and aspirations of a radical group amongst the smaller industrialists. This move further alienated the larger industrialists from the Liberal cause. This is but further evidence that the Liberal coalition - unlike the Tory - was constantly racked by internal divisions over the nature of its policies (in particular, whether it represented the interests of large or small capital) and the extent to which candidate selection should be open and democratic. Fletcher concludes that, certainly during the second half of the 1870s (and into the 1880s) the Liberal Association was still in the hands of the 'old' men - like Leader - who maintained their control from behind the facade of a democratic Liberal Association.

This leadership, and the leadership of the Tories, was - and continued to be - drawn from the membership of the Club. We have seen above that Club members played an active role in the parliamentary elections selected for study. This is clear evidence of the elites wish to control the political representation of the town. An examination of the officials of the two parties for 1884 shows that the elite are still in control and that the Tory bias of the Club had increased.<sup>48</sup> The Tory Association had a President (Earl Wharncliffe), a Treasurer, a Chairman, an Honourary Secretary, six Vice-Chairmen, and a Registration Agent. All of these individuals - apart from the Registration Agent - were members of the Sheffield Club in 1884. The Liberal Association, on the other hand, simply had a President (Robert Leader), a Registration Agent, an Honourary Secretary (H J Wilson) and a Treasurer (F T Mappin). Only Leader and Mappin were members of the Club.

Whilst the Club continued to supply the - not uncontested - leadership of the town's mainstream political parties, its membership - and voting patterns - reflected a steady shift towards the Tory party. Thus, politically, the Club possessed two features. On the one hand, political strife was sufficiently suppressed for the representatives of the opposing political factions to co-exist. On the other, it increasingly acted as an organiser for the Tory interest within the town.

Unlike other nineteenth century institutions which contained political factions, the Sheffield Club's rules did not specifically exclude political discussion. This may have occurred for two reasons.

First, the Tory clique was in ascendance from the instigation of the Club and was able to informally ensure that Liberal/Whig sentiments were not expressed. More importantly, the members were aware that political and religious divisions, if articulated, would lead to conflict. This conflict would certainly inhibit the growth of the institution, and might have led to its eventual collapse through the withdrawal of members. Moreover, if the elite were to construct - however contingently - a common culture, they must do this in shared institutional sites.

The fact that political divisions could damage the aspirations of the middle class has been fully illustrated by the material in this thesis. In the case of incorporation, conflict between the two political groups within the middle class allowed the town to be without an efficient police force for longer than was necessary. As the Government Inspector appointed to investigate the petitions for and against incorporation argued "...the political parties which divide the Town cannot agree on the details of a new Bill, and thus measures of acknowledged usefulness are lost." These divisions came close to allowing the town to become a 'vassal' of the county magistrates.

The evidence on parliamentary elections presented in Chapters Five and Six indicate that the elite lost representation when it was politically divided. With a leader such as Ironside to focus their aspirations, the Sheffield ultra-radical petty-bourgeoisie - as in the 1852 election - attempted to remove one, if not both, of the MPs from the gift of the Liberal establishment. In the event, Ironside overreached himself and failed. (Nevertheless, the radical wing of the Liberals stepped in and took over the cause of the 'Manchester' influenced Hadfield.) As a result the Whig candidate Parker lost his seat. The analysis of the voting presented in Chapter Five indicates that a large proportion of Parker's votes came from 'splits' with the Tory candidate Overend. The politically divided Sheffield elite had lost one of their two Westminster seats to a representative of the lesser bourgeoisie.

Important religious and political divisions also beset the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society. The Society was established in 1822 as a focus for cultural activity. It also provided demonstrations of new scientific techniques applicable to the local trades. The founding members enacted rules which proscribed the discussion of religion or politics.<sup>49</sup> Notwithstanding this attempt to erect a buffer between the institution and the political issues

endemic in nineteenth century towns, conflict eventually fettered its growth.

Attempts were made to defuse this problem. For example, until 1863 the annual reports of the Society were printed consecutively by a Liberal printer and a Tory. In the minutes of the Society's Council meeting for 2nd April 1840 it is recorded that all the stationery and printing requirements for the rest of that year would be placed in the hands of Leader "...in order to equalize the business of the Society with parties who are members...".<sup>50</sup> These attempts to balance out the conflicting interests failed. When, in 1843, Holland came to comment on the deep religious divisions in Sheffield he singled out the Society as an example of an institution held back by factional conflict:

"We have been led to make these remarks...from being familiar with the influence of such a spirit on the progress of the Philosophical Society, and of all similar institutions."<sup>51</sup>

This conflict played a major role in preventing the Literary and Philosophical Society from accumulating enough funds to erect its own building (unlike similar institutions in many towns). This fact led Holland to lament "...the manufacturers and the merchants generally, show little solicitude...for their own improvement...".<sup>52</sup>

It would have been starkly obvious to Club members that if they were to avoid a similar fate they would have to keep faction and conflict outside of its precincts. They did eventually manage to purchase their own Club house but only after much effort.

The examples considered here demonstrate the significance of political and religious divisions in hampering elite members, and the middle class in general, from achieving their stated objectives (be they political representation or cultural improvement). Further, the examples substantiate the argument that the Sheffield Club sought to present itself as an institution outside of these divisions in order that it might survive.

In the final section we turn to a consideration of the arguments concerning the Sheffield middle class contained in Smith's work.

### 7:8 Sheffield's Middle Class Elite: Success or Failure?

Smith's comparative study of class relationships in Sheffield and Birmingham over the period 1830-1914, depicts the middle class of the former town as socially and politically isolated and fragmented (particularly in the years prior to 1850).<sup>53</sup> This condition -

according to Smith - was a function of the towns geographical isolation, its small number of public and professional bodies, and its radical artisanry. Sheffield, therefore, emerges as a town characterised by class conflict. Birmingham, on the other hand, is depicted as a town with a 'strong' middle class who exhibit a high level of social integration with other social strata. Hence, argues Smith, it is characterised by compromise.

I intend to argue that Smith is mistaken in depicting the middle class elite as fragmented and parochial. Enough evidence has been presented here to show that the members of the Sheffield elite were - by and large - united in their sponsorship of the Sheffield Club. They were able to create and keep running a semi-public institution where - at the very least - they could meet in convivial surroundings and discuss the town's affairs. It was an institutional location in which the leading local political and cultural actors could create a shared sense of identity.

I will deal with Smith's arguments concerning the Sheffield middle class on two dimensions. First, I will examine the evidence concerning the isolated nature of Sheffield's elite. Secondly, I will inspect the evidence concerning the disorganised nature of that elite.

Smith argues that prior to the growth of the heavy sector in Sheffield (i.e. before 1850) relations between the local middle class and the rural aristocracy were weak. There was, he argues, a "...gaping hiatus between county magnates and urban industrialists...".<sup>54</sup> This is counterpoised to Birmingham where:

"The gradient of status and influence climbed in moving from city to country was far less steep than in South Yorkshire and from 1754 country gentlemen had dined happily with Birmingham's leading citizens at the Bean Club. At the end of the eighteenth century its membership was described as including 'representatives of the Magnates of the County, the Gentlemen and Tradesmen of the town, and Clergy and officers from the Barracks...'.<sup>55</sup>

Part of the problem with this argument is the way in which Smith shifts the focus from the 'country gentlemen' to the 'representatives of the Magnates' in the above quote. Two very distinct strata of county society are implied here. Notwithstanding this caveat, Smith demonstrates that there was social contact in Birmingham between the representatives of the town and the country. But is Smith correct in asserting that this was absent from contemporary Sheffield?

We saw above in Chapter Two that historians have tended to follow Hunter, Leader et al in characterising eighteenth century Sheffield as lacking in basic cultural amenities. This is taken to be a

representation of the level of cultural activity amongst the population. This in turn is taken to be an indication of the fact that in class terms eighteenth century Sheffield was characterised by a robust plebian culture of the workshop. However, when the Sheffield Barracks were built in 1794 its officers were regular attenders at the town Assemblies. Indeed, when writing of the Assemblies, Leader himself notes that:

"The bulk of the subscribers to the Assemblies were the small gentry or land-holders of the neighbourhood; with the attorneys, apothecaries, parsons; and persons of private means in the town."<sup>56</sup>

The phrase 'persons of private means' in the above quotation is somewhat misleading since the lists included the Shore and Roebuck families. They had ventured into banking, but still maintained an active interest in the factoring side of the cutlery trade. Others present were "...Gentlemen and Tradesmen of the Town...", "...Clergy..." and "...Officers of the Barracks...". Absent however, were the large landowners.

But this was not the case at the Monthly Club which was established at the Angel Inn in 1783. Here the 3rd Earl of Effingham and the future 11th Duke of Norfolk sat down once a month with representatives of "...the leading gentlemen, professional men and merchants of the town and neighbourhood."; social groups which are echoed in Smith's description of the Birmingham Bean Club. It has already been established that the bulk of the membership of this Club was - in contemporary terms - very rich. (see above, p. 34). In addition, Vincent Eyre - the Duke of Norfolk's agent - was a member, and actively pursued the Duke's economic interests (for example, the development of the Alsops' field estate for middle class housing).<sup>57</sup> The Club played host - in 1800 - to the 4th Earl of Effingham, 2nd Earl of Dorchester and 2nd Earl of Fitzwilliam; all of whom were in Sheffield to attend the Cutler's Feast.<sup>58</sup>

The Norfolk Club was another institution at which the merchant and manufacturing elite of the town sat down with the 'Magnates of the County'. No archives survive for this Club but it is clear from reports of its annual meetings in the Sheffield Iris that it included men of prestige and power from the town and the county.<sup>59</sup>

Smith's distinction between Birmingham and Sheffield is, therefore, false. Each town was characterised by social events where elite activity bridged the town/country divide. As we have seen, the evidence indicates that from 1770 into the first decade of the nineteenth century, social intercourse between the elite of the town

and the county in Sheffield was commonplace. After the first decade of the nineteenth century - and prior to the establishment of the Sheffield Club - there is little evidence of any public institutional setting in which such contacts could have occurred. However, this is in keeping with the general picture of early nineteenth century elite cultural activity presented by Baxter.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, Cannadine's argument that the 5th Earl Fitzwilliam sought to convey the opinion of the Sheffield urban middle-class to Westminster indicates that contacts must still have been occurring away from the public arena.<sup>61</sup>

An additional problem in Smith's thesis is his argument that in Sheffield (unlike Birmingham) the urban elite of professionals and businessmen were integrated loosely in "...a web of private and semi-private ties rather than through participation in public and professional associations."<sup>62</sup>

Although the Sheffield Club was not a professional association (and only semi-public) it was clearly an elite institution - a social space for the integration of an urban elite despite political and religious divisions. Moreover, the evidence presented in Chapter Three, indicates that the Sheffield elite was a tightly knit group and not loosely integrated. Family and business linkages were frequent, as were overlapping memberships of other centres of power (e.g., the Borough Magistrates, the Town Burghers, the Church Burgers, the Chamber of Commerce etc.)

A major problem, then, with Smith's argument is its Durkheimian overtones which leads him to look selectively for public (i.e. visible) manifestations of 'solidarity'. This is clear when Smith argues that Birmingham - because of its 'high' level of *compromise* between classes - is an example of what Durkheim would call 'moral solidarity'. For 'moral solidarity' to be present social groups have to be organised into mutually interacting public organisations. In this schema, a 'high' level of social interaction (i.e., compromise) produces what Durkheim would call a high degree of 'moral density'.<sup>63</sup>

It is clear though that Smith, by looking only for public and professional bodies, neglects institutions like the Sheffield Club. Moreover, by looking solely for institutions that are performing inter-class functions he neglects those that are performing intra-class functions (or, at least, within class elites).

Contrary to Smith's assertion, the particular coalition of religious, political and occupational groupings which composed the 1870 Sheffield School Board is not new in the town's nineteenth century history. It was prefigured in the membership of the Sheffield

Club 20 years earlier (in some cases down to the same men).

"Of the fifteen candidates who were elected, the majority belonged to conservatively-inclined congregations of Anglicans (four), Wesleyans (three) and Roman Catholics (one)...At the top of the poll...was Michael Ellison, the Duke of Norfolk's agent in the city. Eight of his colleagues were manufacturers, five of them in the steel industry: Robert Eadon, Charles Wardlow, Charles Doncaster, Mark Firth and Sir John Brown. The latter was to be chairman of the school board until 1879 when he was succeeded by Mark Firth."<sup>64</sup>

That these factional groups were united in a 'public' institution for the first time may have been new. That they came together at all - which is Smith's main point - is not.

In this section two problems with Smith's arguments concerning the Sheffield middle class elite have been posed, namely the assumptions that the elite was a) cut off from social intercourse with the local landed magnates, and b) loosely integrated. I have argued that Smith is mistaken on both points. The Sheffield elite had a long tradition of socialising with the local aristocracy. The existence of the Club demonstrates that the elite was capable of launching and, more importantly, sustaining a social institution whose function was to promote social integration.<sup>65</sup>

### 7:9 Conclusion

This thesis focuses on the culture and politics of an elite group within the middle class of a northern industrial town. This elite group was analysed through the mechanism of membership lists belonging to the Sheffield Club. Indeed, it is argued that the Club is the major institution through which the town's elite can be identified.

Clubs of this kind have been identified as important in the general process of middle class cultural formation (see p. 20). What has never been attempted is a detailed account of such Clubs and their members' involvement in the political, economic and cultural life of a town. This study is a first step in that direction. It is to be hoped that - as more studies of such institutions emerge - comparative analysis will enable a comprehensive picture to be constructed of the part that gentlemen's Clubs played in the formation of the elite amongst the nineteenth century middle class.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. "E. T." (ed.), Keeling: Letters and Recollections, 1918, London.
2. John Taylor, op. cit., 1879a, p. 118.
3. The analysis of inter-class relationships must face similar problems.
4. See, Robert Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis", The Historical Journal, Vol. 26, 1983, pp. 95-118.
5. The classic sociological statement of elites and status comes from Max Weber. See, for example, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (1922), in Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds. and trans.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 1946, Oxford University Press, pp. 180-95.
6. Frank Parkin, Marxism and Class Theory: a Bourgeois Critique, 1979, Tavistock.
7. John Garrard, op. cit., 1983, p. 26.
8. Max Weber, op. cit., 1922, p. 185.
9. The Builder, 19th July, 1862.
10. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (eds.), The London Encyclopedia, 1983, Book Club Associates, p. 341.
11. Mark Girouard, The Victorian Country House, 1979, Yale University Press, pp. 4-5.
12. S. I., 18 December, 1862.
13. S. T., 18 December, 1862.

121 years latter the Sheffield press was *still speaking* about the Club in the same exclusive - and sardonic - terms:

"The Sheffield Club - where I had the good fortune to take luncheon the other day - has never craved publicity.....The atmosphere of plush-padded, smart-suited exclusivity has been preserved intact.....Oh what warmly-glowing luxury! Oh what confident, expansive splendour! Oh what a surprise to step outside into Church Street and find people queuing at bus stops and drawing their dole money."

The Sheffield Star, 14 December, 1983.

14. Richard Phillips, op. cit., 1828/9, pp. 243-4.
15. Antonio Gramsci, op. cit., 1979.
16. Robert Gray, "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain", in Jon Bloomfield et al. (eds.), Class, Hegemony and Party, 1977, p. 85.

Similarly, Caroline Reid, in her study of the relationship between the working class and the urban bourgeoisie of Sheffield has argued that, "The fundamental premise was that working class culture was a danger to the continued progress of society."

Caroline Reid, "Middle Class Values and Working Class Culture in Nineteenth Century Sheffield - The Pursuit of Respectability", in Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (eds.), *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 281.

17. Anon, Descriptive Catalogue of Reuben Turner's Pictures now Exhibiting at the Cutlers' Hall..., 1840.
18. H. G. Ward, quoted in the S. I., 16 January, 1847.
19. N.C.R.S., Vol. 13 SF, p. 128.
20. N.C.R.S., Vol. 15 SF, p. 67.
21. For example, in 1863 the Duke of Somerset and the Lord de Grey (in their role of Lords of the Admiralty) visited the works of John Brown. See, N.C.R.S., Vol. 10 SF, p. 82.
22. Geoffrey Crossick, The Lower Middle Class in Britain:1870-1914, 1977, Croom Helm; "Urban Society and the Petty Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Britain", in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), The Pursuit of Urban History, 1983, pp. 306-26.
23. See the letter from "J. M. I." in the S.I., 14 April, 1849 where s/he says that "By this means they (the committee) would have the desire of their hearts, a club, in mimicry of the one in Norfolk street...".
24. For a full account of the Athenaeum see, Alan White, "Class, Culture and Control: the Sheffield Athenaeum Movement and the Middle Class, 1847-64", in Janet Wolff and John Seed (eds.), *op. cit.*, 1988, pp. 83-115.
25. Rules and Bye-Laws of the Sheffield Athenaeum, with the Report and Resolutions adopted at the Annual General Meeting, held in the Town Hall, on Wednesday, the 26th of April, 1848, 1848.
26. S. I., 28 April, 1849.
27. John Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1879a, p. 118.
28. Alan White, *op. cit.*, 1988, pp. 108-9.
29. This view was expressed at the 3rd Annual General Meeting of the successful Athenaeum. See, S. I., 27 April, 1850.
30. Martin Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980, 1980, Cambridge University Press; Perry Anderson, "Origins of the Present Crises", New Left Review, No. 23, 1964, pp. 26-53; "The Figures of Descent", New Left Review, 1987, No. 161, pp. 20-77.
31. David Cannadine, Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967, 1980, Leicester University Press, pp.

- 35-6.
32. David Cannadine, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
33. David Cannadine, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
34. Peter J. Aspinall shows that Norfolk and Fitzwilliam had direct financial involvement in the development of land for housing. See, P. J. Aspinall, "The Internal Structure of the Housebuilding Industry in Nineteenth-Century Cities", in James H. Johnson and Colin G. Pooley (eds.), The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities, 1982, Croom Helm, pp. 75-105.
- See also, Donald J. Olsen, "House upon House: Estate Development in London and Sheffield", in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds.), The Victorian City Vol. 1, 1973, pp. 333-57; G. Rowley, "Landownership in the Spatial Growth of Towns: A Sheffield Example", East Midlands Geographer, Vol. 6, pp. 200-213; John N. Tarn, "Sheffield", in M. A. Simpson and T. H. Lloyd (eds.), Middle Class Housing in Britain, 1977, pp. 170-212.
35. David Cannadine, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
36. J. M. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
37. Janet Wolff and John Seed, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
38. Sidney Pollard, *op. cit.*, 1959, pp. 170 and 235.
39. For example, in 1879 the company was described as the largest works "...engaged exclusively in the manufacture of steel..." See, John Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1879a, p. 217.
40. Sidney Pollard, *op. cit.*, 1959, pp. 226.
41. John Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1879a, p. 224.
42. Martin Wiener, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
43. Catalogue of the Contents of Endcliffe Hall, sold by Sir John Brown, 17 April, 1893, 1893.
44. Mark Girouard, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
45. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution: 1603-1714, 1974 (paperback edition), p. 174.
46. Vanessa S. Doe, "Some Developments in Middle Class Housing in Sheffield, 1830-1875", in Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (eds.), *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 181.
47. D. E. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 1972, p. 92.
48. The Sheffield and Rotherham Red Book for 1884, 1884, Sheffield.
49. See, James Montgomery, Address to the Public on the Proposed Literary and Philosophical Society, nd, Sheffield; W. S. Porter, Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society: A Centenary Retrospect 1822-1922, 1928, Sheffield; S. J.

Peelly, The Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society 1822-1932, unpublished M.A. thesis, 1970, Sheffield University.

50. See, "Council Minutes of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, Vol 1 1822-72", S.L.A., SLPS 195.
51. George C. Holland, op. cit., 1843, p. 243.
52. Ibid., p. 239.
53. Dennis Smith, op. cit., 1982.
54. Ibid., p. 34.
55. Ibid., p. 32.
56. S. I., 27 September, 1902.
57. D. J. Olsen, op. cit., p. 341.
58. N.C.R.S., Vol. 2 SF, pp. 37-8.
59. For example, Thomas Walker (steel manufacturer), Samuel Shore jun and Hugh Parker, in addition to the Earl of Effingham and Norfolk himself. See, Sheffield Iris, 10 & 31 July 1795; 12 & 26 August 1796; 11 & 25 August 1797; 10 & 24 August 1798 and 9 & 23 August 1799.
60. Baxter argues that due to the political and economic conditions generated by the war with the French, elite activity retreated into the homes. See John Baxter, op. cit., 1976, pp. 579-95.
61. David Cannadine, op. cit., p. 46.
62. Dennis Smith, op. cit., p. 158.
63. Behagg has questioned this characterisation of Birmingham as being marked by harmonious class relations. See, Clive Behagg, "Custom, Class and Change: The Trade Societies of Birmingham", SH, 1979, Vol. 4, pp. 455-80; "An Alliance with the Middle Class: The Birmingham Political Union and early Chartism", in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds.), The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60, 1982, pp. 59-86.
64. Dennis Smith, op. cit., p. 171.
65. It is no coincidence that the comparable institution in Manchester is called the Union Club.

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Gell's Directory of Sheffield, 1821.

Gell's Directory of Sheffield, 1825.

Blackwell's Directory of Sheffield, 1828.

White's Directory of Sheffield, 1833.

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White's Directory of Sheffield, 1849.

Charlton and Archdeacon's Directory of Leeds, 1850.

Slade and Roebuck's Directory of Leeds, 1851.

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Kelly's Directory of Sheffield, 1881.

*Dictionaries, Biographies, Year Books etc.*

Burke's Complete Peerage.

Dictionary of Business Biography.

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Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (3rd series)

The Sheffield Red Book for 1868 & 1880.

The Year Book of Information for the Use of the Members of the  
(Sheffield) Council, for the year 1872.

Sheffield and District Who's Who for 1905.

Who Was Who: 1897-1916.

II(c) Other Material

II(c) (i) Sheffield Local History collection

Biographical Notices Relating to Sheffield (newspaper cuttings).

Council Archives (various).

Diaries (1834-60) of Matthew Ellison, agent to the Duke of Norfolk.

Diaries (1804-71) of Thomas Asline Ward.

Local Notes and Queries (newspaper cuttings).

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Minute Book of the Pitt Club, 1810-1819.

Minutes of the Council: January 1864-July 1876.

Minutes of the Council: August 1876-November 1886.

Out letter book of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce.

Pocket Books of Thomas Asline Ward.

Rules and Orders to Govern the Monthly Club at Sheffield, including minutes of the proceedings, 1783-1808.

Rules of the Reading and Conversation Society, Agreed upon at a meeting of the Members held in the Vestry of Upper Chapel, 29 March 1793.

Sheffield Political History (Two volumes of letters collected by R. E. Leader).

South Yorkshire Notes and Queries.

The Narrative of me, George Hadfield, Presented to his Daughter, Mrs. Mary Hadfield, 8th June 1870.

Work Diary of John Tertus Fairbanks.

II(c) (ii) Sheffield Club material

Draft Deed of Association of the Sheffield Club, dated 1st January, 1864. (Sheffield City Library.)

Election Book of the Sheffield Club: 1873-1970.

Lists of members: 1849-1880.

Minutes of the Annual General Meetings of the Sheffield Club: 1844-1930. (Sheffield City Library.)

Minutes of the Committee of Management of the Sheffield Club: i) 1844-1869; ii) 1869-1885. (Sheffield City Library.)

II(c) (iii) Leeds Club Material

Abstracts of Accounts: 1856-96. (Leeds City Library)

Annual Reports: 1884-96. (Leeds City Library)

Rules and lists of members: 1850 and 1863-1912. (Leeds City Library)

Rules and list of members: 1849 and 1857. (Leeds University Library)

Minute Book of the Leeds Curfew Club, 1886-41. (Leeds Club)

Minutes of Annual and Special Meetings of the Leeds Club: 1849-1940. (Leeds Club.)

Archives of the Club in the Club House, Albion Street, Leeds

II(c) (iv) Other

List of members of the Manchester Union Club: 1835 and 1838. (Manchester City Libraries)

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Mundella Collection, Sheffield University Library.

Proof copy of Vol. 3 of Sir Richard Phillips, A Personal Tour Through the United Kingdom; Describing Living Objects and Contemporaneous Interests. In Box 10 of the Freemantle Collection of Pamphlets, etc on Sheffield, in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library.

II(c) (vi) British Library and Public Record Office.*British Library*

- Add. 24437 & 24440: Notes for a history of Sheffield, by J. Hunter (British Library)
- Add. 24474: Pedigrees of families in Sheffield, by J. Hunter (British Library)
- Add. 28117: Notes relating to Sheffield, by S. Mitchell (British Library)
- Add. 36527 Mss. Biography of his Contemporaries, by Rev. J. Hunter (British Library).

*Public Record Office*

- HO 42: Order and Authority in England, 1782-1820 (Harvester Microfilm series.)
- PC1 1490: Petition from pro-Charter group (1838).
- PC1 1491: Report by Capt. Jebb on the 1841 petition for incorporation.
- PC1 1492: Report by Capt. Jebb on the 1838 petition for incorporation.
- PC1 1493: Draft Sheffield Charter (1838).
- PC1 1494: Memorial from pro-Charter group.