

The Economic Development of Sheffield  
and the Growth of the Town c1740-c1820

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## PART TWO

### THE GROWTH OF THE TOWN



## CHAPTER 14 EXPANSION FROM 1736 (GOSLING) TO 1771 (FAIRBANK)

### THE TOWN IN 1736

Sheffield in Gosling's 1736 plan was small and relatively compact. Apart from a few dozen houses across the River Dun at Bridgehouses and in the Wicker, and a similar number at Parkhill, the whole of the built-up area was within a 600 yard radius centred on the Old Church.<sup>1</sup> Within that brief radius the most northerly development was that at Bower Lane (Gibraltar), and only a limited incursion had been made hitherto into Colson Crofts (the fields between West Bar and the river). On the western and north-western edges there had been development along Hollis Croft and White Croft, and to a lesser degree along Pea Croft and Lambert Knoll (Scotland). To the south-west the building on the western side of Coalpit Lane was over the boundary in Ecclesall, but still a recognisable part of the town.<sup>2</sup> To the south the gardens and any buildings were largely confined by the Park wall which kept Alsop Fields free of dwellings except for the ingress along the northern part of Pond Lane. The Rivers Dun and Sheaf formed a natural barrier on the east and north-east, and the low-lying Ponds area to the south-east was not ideal for house construction. Small in area as it was, Sheffield town housed upwards of 10,000 people and was growing.

The major landowner by far was the lord of the manor, the Duke of Norfolk. He held some or all property in more than twenty streets within the radius discussed above.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, he owned huge tracts on all sides of the town, including Alsop Fields, the Ponds, the whole of the Park and land adjacent to Sheffield Moor to the south and east, Carver Field, Bailey Field and part of White Croft to the west, the whole of the Colson Crofts to the north, and more land across the River Dun at Bridgehouses and in the Wicker (both in Brightside Bierlow).<sup>4</sup> Manorial influence, although in decline because of near permanent absence of successive incumbents, was further exercised

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<sup>1</sup> The present Anglican Cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Gosling gives the impression that the boundary ran behind the built-up part of Coalpit Lane, rather than in the street. See WRRD RR 559 723, TT 37 59, AB 706 868 etc.

<sup>3</sup> ACM S377 and S378 Lease Books.

<sup>4</sup> From the Land Tax Assessments of 1785 (WYAS 13/16/36) it is evident that the Duke then owned some forty per cent of all houses in Sheffield, including the Park. It was probably not so different at the time of Gosling (See Graph 1.4)

through considerable residual power at local level and in Parliament.<sup>5</sup> For example, both manor court and market continued to be held under estate jurisdiction up to the late Victorian era, and original proposals for the Dun Navigation early in the eighteenth century and for the Tinsley to Sheffield Canal at its end were negated by the Norfolk veto. In addition to these aspects, the Duke was landlord not only of a majority of riverside sites - wheels, tilts and forges, corn, snuff and paper mills, Silk/Cotton Mill and Lead Mill, but also of coal mines, quarries, brickyards, tanyards, plated manufactories and hundreds of smithies and workshops. Hence his potential influence on the workings of local industry was enormous. Conversely, any form of severe restriction or undue control might well have had unfortunate repercussions. Industrial properties provided very valuable annual rental income which helped raise totals for Sheffield Manor from just under £6000 in 1739 and 1740, to more than £10,000 by 1769, and to an average of c£16500 from 1795 to 1800.<sup>6</sup> Whereas urban house parcels typically attracted rents in shillings, and two large buildings in the Market Place were £12 in 1745, the Silk Mill paid £55-10-0 in 1763, the former Fell forges and furnace £106 with a £500 fine in 1766, and the Lead Mill plus a few acres of land £78 in 1774.<sup>7</sup> Not surprisingly, relatively few examples of interference are to be found. Samuel Smith was forbidden to burn bricks on the parcel where he had liberty to get clay in Colson Crofts (1738/1739); Parker Wheels could not be converted into a tilt (1739/1740); and Wilson's tilt near Lady's Bridge could not be altered without consent (1772).<sup>8</sup> In contrast, at least three major industrial projects gained from tacit estate support in their early years: clear encouragement was offered to the proprietors of both Silk Mill and Proctor's Steam Wheel when no lease was contracted until building was completed, and Kenyon & Co. at Pond Forge had a 28 year term with an £11 rent for seven years and £25 for the remainder.<sup>9</sup> In anticipation of industrial or other development, a very small number of leases had clauses permitting the Duke to recover land at any time in return for compensation.<sup>10</sup> As most were "at will" or for twenty-one

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<sup>5</sup> D. Hey: *The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire: Sheffield and its Neighbourhood 1660-1740* (Leicester) 1991 pp57-60

<sup>6</sup> ACM S158

<sup>7</sup> ACM S377 f180, S378 f294, S379 f34, S380 f59 These can be compared with 100+ acre farms in the Park at £90-£100 (S381 ff110 & 221).

<sup>8</sup> *ibid* S377 ff53 & 106; S380 f25

<sup>9</sup> *ibid* S378 f294 (1763), S379 f9 (1765) & S383 f156 (1792)

<sup>10</sup> *ibid* S377 ff54 & 108 (1739)

years until the 1770's, it may be that such forethought was largely unnecessary.<sup>11</sup>

Other landholders of importance were the Twelve Capital Burgesses or Church Burgesses who held the five acre undeveloped parcel between Coalpit Lane and Pinson Lane, most of a similarly sized parcel north of Barker's Pool called Brelsforth's Orchard or Croft<sup>12</sup>, the one and a half acre Wade's Orchard<sup>13</sup> between Campo Lane and West Bar, and numerous lesser pieces in some twenty streets.<sup>14</sup> Besides these holdings, the Burgesses had considerable acreages to the west of the built-up area in Townfield<sup>15</sup>, at Skargell Knowle<sup>16</sup>, in and around Broad Lane<sup>17</sup>, at Leavy Greave<sup>18</sup>, and in the Blacklands on Little Sheffield Moor.<sup>19</sup> The Town Trustees had rather less in terms of acres, but still held property in more than fifteen town streets, with substantial holdings in West Bar Green, Broad Lane End, Town Head and up to Pinfold Lane, in Webster Field,<sup>20</sup> in Balm Green and Barker's Pool, and from Waingate and Castle Green to an area known as Under-the-Water (between the Town Mill and Lady's Bridge).<sup>21</sup>

Three other institutional landholders administered property in Sheffield. Hollis Hospital Trustees had houses in Hollis Street, formerly Creswick Close, with a three acre undeveloped site at Brockohill a little to the west,<sup>22</sup> their hospital at the bottom of Snig Hill and nearby property in Water Lane. Shrewsbury Hospital Trustees held both Jeffrey Crofts (about two acres in all) and Hickstile Field<sup>23</sup> which lay to the north of Campo Lane, with the Crofts straddling Workhouse Lane. And the Church authorities controlled the Glebe or Vicarage Croft to the west of the Old Church.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> A 99 year Norfolk lease of land at Castle Orchards in 1787 (S381 ff26/27) anticipated repossession for construction of a canal and wharf, but again appears to have been a rarity.

<sup>12</sup> Later Orchard Street, Orchard Lane and Smith Street.

<sup>13</sup> Subsequently North Street and Queen Street.

<sup>14</sup> CB 1634

<sup>15</sup> Later Trinity Street.

<sup>16</sup> Afterwards Scotland Street

<sup>17</sup> Together with Pitt Field (later Red Hill) and parts of the eventual Solly Street, Edward Street and Upper Allen Street.

<sup>18</sup> Including the later named Glossop Road and Portobello.

<sup>19</sup> Much later Wellington Street and Trafalgar Street.

<sup>20</sup> Afterwards Queen Street.

<sup>21</sup> MD 491ff (Rentals from 1720) and TT 39 Lease Book

<sup>22</sup> WRRD CR 252 392 Later parts of Edward Street and Solly Street.

<sup>23</sup> Parts of these subsequently the site of Paradise Square.

All remaining land was freehold in the hands of numerous individuals, most of whom owned small plots only.<sup>25</sup> There were exceptions: Thomas Handley of Hall Carr and Edmund Lambert of Manchester had developed Pea Croft and Lambert Croft respectively, and William Hawley held the largely built-up Hawley Croft, inherited from his father Joseph.<sup>26</sup> Samuel Shore owned Gosnock Hall estate near the Irish Cross, much of it composed of gardens, and John Jennings several acres at Stubb Greave (Portobello) along with six more acres a little further to the north-west at Hacker or Hawker Storths (Jericho) as well as houses in High Street.<sup>27</sup> John Spooner, cutler, of the Farm held Beanfield alias West Bar Close or Spooner Croft just south of West Bar Green, and the Woodrove family had houses in High Street and six acres at Brockobank on the western fringe of the town, as well as considerable property in the district, much of which came into the hands of John Parker of Woodthorpe.<sup>28</sup> Joseph Broadbent, merchant, and John Turner, mercer, were in the process of building their respective holdings, although most of their purchases of both leasehold and freehold property came in the later 1730's and early 1740's.

Land ownership among freeholders and leaseholders at the time of Gosling, therefore, was not at all static. Nor was the building process. Inevitably, the 1736 Plan of Sheffield freezes in time an expanding town with its ongoing development. In that year, for example, Joseph Broadbent built Paradise Row, and the Duke of Norfolk's tenants were house-building at Colston Croft and Park Hill.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the pace of change appears to have increased markedly in the immediate post-Gosling years.

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<sup>24</sup> In the 1785 Land Tax Assessments (op cit) the five institutional landholders together held about twenty per cent of all houses. The Overseers of the Poor of Ecclesfield purchased or were mortgagees of fourteen cottages in West Bar Green in April 1739 (WRRD NN 251 355), but no other information has been found to confirm them as long term landholders.

<sup>25</sup> The 1785 Land Tax Assessment (op cit) indicates that individuals held about forty per cent of the houses at the time.

<sup>26</sup> D. Hey op cit pp86/87. Edmund Lambert, linen draper, had inherited considerable freehold in Sheffield from his father, James, gentleman, much of which was leased in building lots. One large parcel, the Gosnock Hall estate at Snig Hill, was sold to Samuel Shore in 1724 (WRRD U 151 193)

<sup>27</sup> WRRD NN 19/21 24/25, 205 228 & 349/350 488/489, OO 607 863, QQ 16 17 & 112 127

<sup>28</sup> WRRD NN 445 624 & Fairbank SheS 1079S, WRRD PP 213 297 & AC 421 571. Brockobank was not the same as the present street of that name.

<sup>29</sup> D. Hey op cit; ACM S377 ff12 to 34

## THE NATURE OF EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Large open spaces remained within the 1200 yard diameter circle examined above, both on the edge of the town and within the built-up area. Tradition has it that infilling of those more central spaces was an ongoing eighteenth century phenomenon, before the post 1790 outward spread.<sup>30</sup> Such supposition must be treated with caution. Ample evidence is forthcoming of piecemeal construction in the thirty-five years from 1736 in already developed streets - that is in gaps between existing buildings and in yards or "backsides". This form of infilling is not disputed. In fact, "new erected" or "lately erected" houses are documented for more than twenty streets or parts of town indicated as built on by Gosling.<sup>31</sup> West Bar and its environs, especially Horseheel Pool, had new housing on both freehold and leasehold land including ten messuages built by Daniel Hawley by 1753 at West Bar End.<sup>32</sup> Oxley Croft (later Cheney Square) near to St Paul's Church had been partly built on by Edward Cheney by 1743, and the remainder was divided for building purposes in the period 1746 to 1748.<sup>33</sup> Cheney had constructed fourteen houses; others built at least twelve more by 1752.<sup>34</sup> A bowling green owned by Leonard Webster and located to the south of the Market Place provided land for the construction of Change Alley in the 1740's, and parts of Spooner Croft (south of West Bar Green) became Silver Street during the course of the 1740's, 1750's and 1760's.<sup>35</sup> New building took place in Gibraltar, Blind Lane and Bullstake in the 1740's, and in Gibraltar again, Snig Hill, Hartshead, New Street, Castle Green, Market Place, Campo Lane, Pudding Lane (King Street), Balm Green, and on the freehold side of Norfolk Street (former High Street gardens) in the 1750's.<sup>36</sup> During the following decade more

<sup>30</sup> Compounded by D. Postles: "Residential Development of the Church Burgesses' Estates in Sheffield" *JHunterAS* Vol 10 p360.

<sup>31</sup> Both of these terms have their problems. New erected, unless with "not yet finished", "as yet untenanted" or some similar phrase, may not always be as immediate as implied; although it is usually more recent than "lately erected" which tends to mean "some years since" or perhaps even a little longer!

<sup>32</sup> WRRD AI 65 79 The same were "lately built" in 1761 (AU 113 153). Other West Bar properties were built from the late 1730's to c1753 (WRRD NN 446 626, OO 358 516, AD 705 906, AI 298 369 and Parker Colln 200). Horseheel Pool (later Copper Street, Cupola Street and Doctor Street) seems to have had ongoing building for even longer eg WRRD AI 659 829, AL 455 623, AN 227 306, AO 676 878, AP 704 892, BE 3 4 & BK 207 276 (the latter 1769)

<sup>33</sup> WRRD RR 230 301, UU 191 259, UU 288 397 & YY 630 753

<sup>34</sup> WRRD AG 476 623, AG 478 625 and AI 230 284

<sup>35</sup> Fairbank SheS 1075S to 1080S; WRRD UU 615 832 to 619 837, WW 525 /6 724/5, XX 590 805 & YY 119 143



High Street gardens were allocated for building, together with other freehold at Gibraltar, Campo Lane, Coalpit Lane and Church Lane.<sup>37</sup> In addition to the above there must have been more house building on land which did not change hands, and was, therefore, totally unrecorded at the West Riding Registry of Deeds (WRRD). Early Fairbank Field Books from 1753 and subsequent Building Books include quantity surveys for more than one hundred brickwork and three hundred carpentry jobs up to 1770, very many, frustratingly, in anonymous streets. Even so, where streets are named they largely confirm the above and add Waingate, Coalpit Lane (Ecclesall side), Red Croft and Sims Croft.<sup>38</sup>

However, many of the larger open spaces within the existing development were not immediately put in hand for housing, which to a great degree contradicts tradition in that the potential for building on these spaces collectively far outweighed the relatively small scale activity already discussed.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, most were not infilled until after 1771. Paradise Square (with the exception of Paradise Row), outlined on the Fairbank Plan of that year, was only at planning stage.<sup>40</sup> No Bank Street, Queen Street or North Street appear on the Plan, and Glebe land in Vicarage Croft was divided into small building plots and leased only from 1787.<sup>41</sup> Brelsforth's Orchard does appear with streets, in part the result of Church Burgesses's building leases in the mid-1750's, although some parts of the property were certainly still undeveloped in 1768.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> WRRD AR 483 650, XX 696 940, RR 747 1001; Borthwick May 1750; WRRD OO 568 816, AH 61 77 & 542 721, AK 236 308, AM 308 428, AG 227 301, AP 714 901, AR 557 752, AE 515 668 & *Sheffield Weekly Journal* (17 Feb 1756)

<sup>37</sup> WRRD AY 556/7 716/7 & BE 582 797 and LD 2252(6); WRRD BI 357 489, BG 366 506, BG 49 72, AU 172 215 and AU 399 521.

<sup>38</sup> Fairbank FB 9 f63, FB 18 f70, BB 32 f52 and BB 34 ff76/77. Sims Croft or Moor's Gardens is named Moor Fields (to the north of Town Head) on Gosling's Plan.

<sup>39</sup> It could be argued that the High Street backside gardens being developed was a substantial support for the early infill theory. There are, however, indications that a number were still open spaces in the 1770's and later (WRRD BP587 751, BZ 485 623, CO 424 597 & DG 703 1007).

<sup>40</sup> Fairbank AB f81 Plan and Scheme: 17 building lots etc. Paradise Row - five houses - had been built by Joseph Broadbent c1736

<sup>41</sup> Bank Street was built across Gosnock Hall gardens, and Queen and North Streets on Wade's Orchard. For the Glebe, WRRD CU 482 643 was the registration of the first of fourteen leases, mainly 1787/1789.

<sup>42</sup> WRRD BH 423 552 A mortgage of both leasehold and freehold property, the

There were, no doubt, sound reasons for not using these potential sites. For example, Wade's Orchard and Hick Stile Field to the north of Campo Lane were particularly steeply sloping and hence less attractive to the builder.<sup>43</sup> Preference for garden or orchard space may well have prevailed as a conscious choice for some freeholders and trustees until adjacent developments or their own economic circumstances forced a change of mind. Not building on a given plot at least kept options open. But perhaps the main reason for not turning all vacant ground to house construction was an increasing demand for vegetable gardens as a consequence of the rising population.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, erosion of cultivable land through building would exacerbate the shortfall of this kind of facility and lead to increased rents.<sup>45</sup> Even so, the laws of supply and demand also applied to ground rents for building parcels, and if these raised the price there was always pressure on landholders to choose development. In the 1750's building land in Colston Croft was leased at between 0.4d and just below 0.3d per square yard; on Park Hill at between 0.4d and under 0.2d.<sup>46</sup> Gardens at Broad Lane End leased in 1760 averaged around 0.26d.<sup>47</sup> Clearly the quality of land varied for both uses and hence its value, but the differential favouring building seems to be confirmed.<sup>48</sup>

#### PERIPHERAL GROWTH

The immediate major surge of building after the mid-1730's took place at the periphery of the built-up area - namely on Norfolk land in Alsop Fields (south-east) and in Colson Crofts (north) and on Church Burgesses' land in Pinson Crofts (south-west). In addition, there was activity on the Duke's land a little further afield at Parkhill. What is apparent is that Norfolk building leases were invariably "at will" in the early years,

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latter "with barns, buildings, orchards, gardens, Bowling Green, vacant ground" etc.

<sup>43</sup> Sites with a steep incline are not only more difficult, but more expensive to develop.

<sup>44</sup> What we would call "allotment gardens" were in great demand from cutlers and other craftsmen. See Chapter 11 Feeding the Town

<sup>45</sup> Later evidence (1792) shows that individuals paid twice as much as professional gardeners for suitable land - one halfpenny per square yard as opposed to a farthing (WWM F121 f11).

<sup>46</sup> ACM S378 ff31 to 67. Alsop Field leases of the late 1730's were at a little over 0.4d per square yard (ACM S377 f58)

<sup>47</sup> Gardens are difficult to assess as most appear in the Lease Book without yardages.

<sup>48</sup> See also WWM F121 f11 op cit.

whereas, in contrast, the Church Burgesses granted 800 year leases for building purposes.<sup>49</sup> Some difference in wording is also evident. Norfolk agreements were almost all a variation on the formula: ". . . to erect a good substantial messuage thereon with all convenient speed and to keep the same when so erected in good repair . . .".<sup>50</sup> The Church Burgesses seemed more precise, compelling their tenants "to build within three years one or more houses worth £[20]".<sup>51</sup>

Alsop Fields building leases began in February 1738/1739 with twenty-three contracts signed within the month.<sup>52</sup> Another thirteen followed in 1740.<sup>53</sup> The total leased area amounted to nearly three acres which filled most of the angle between the northern half of the developed part of Pond Lane and the Park boundary wall, thus creating the north ends of Norfolk Street and of Sycamore Street, and reaching perhaps to Tucker Alley alias Chapel Walk.<sup>54</sup> Another four leases were contracted between 1741 and 1745 amounting to 1408 square yards, and seven more, including a large bowling green (c50 x 50 square yards), from 1747 to 1751.<sup>55</sup> The latter group amounted to more than an acre and completed the infill to the state shown in the 1771 Fairbank Plan. There were no more building leases in this part of Sheffield in the two decades from 1751.<sup>56</sup> Building continued, of course, as long as parcels were unfilled. Fairbank quantity surveys show construction in the backs of Sycamore Street in the 1750's and 1760's.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> ACM S377 and SDR 1 The Duke's established domestic leases in town and industrial and farming leases outside were usually for twenty-one years at this period. The Town Trustees were a little different. They passed a resolution in January 1734 that any subsequent leases of their land would be for not more than twenty-one years.

<sup>50</sup> There was the occasional exception: on his larger than average parcel (41 x 20 square yards) Joseph Turner, shearsmith, in March 1739/40 was obliged "to erect one messuage or tenement within one year and to build on the remainder with all convenient speed" (S377 f60)

<sup>51</sup> The amounts observed from the small sample in SDR 1 vary from £20 to £60.

<sup>52</sup> There were three more leases, but the yardage appears too small for building (ACM S377 "At Will" section f59)

<sup>53</sup> *ibid* f60 to f64

<sup>54</sup> See ACM SheS 1701L. This plan must have been drawn up at the time of the 1738/9 leases. Names have been added in a different hand for later tenants.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid* f64 to f86 and ACM S378 "At Will" section f1 to f24

<sup>56</sup> The search of Lease Books ACM S377 and S378 revealed no Pond Lane building leases in those twenty years.

<sup>57</sup> Fairbank FB2 f48 (1753), FB9 f53b (1755) and FB28 f88 (1765)

This development of the northerly part of Alsop Fields was concurrent with more Norfolk activity in Colson Crofts and Park Hill. Both areas had had some building during the early 1730's, but an increased rate is noted later for both Crofts and Park.<sup>58</sup> Nineteen building leases can be found in the Lease Book for Colson Crofts in the years 1738 and 1739, amounting to more than three and a half acres there.<sup>59</sup> From 1742 to 1753 twenty-six more leases were undertaken, eleven of them in 1752.<sup>60</sup> Two more acres were thus added to the built-up area. Apart from one lease of a 364 square yard parcel in 1759, no more took place before 1771. On Park Hill forty-three leases were contracted in a twenty-five year period from 1736, with the peak years 1756 to 1758 (eighteen lots). In all just over two acres were set aside for new building. Only three building leases were issued in 1760/1761, and none in the following decade. In the meantime at White Croft ten leases were made during a brief period (1750/1756), mainly of small parcels totalling less than half an acre.<sup>61</sup> There appear to be no other Norfolk leases specifically for building purposes before the end of this period.<sup>62</sup>

Post-Gosling Norfolk commitment to development was paralleled by the Church Burgesses who leased out just over two acres of Pinson Croft in eighteen building lots in 1737. These were followed by ten more in 1738 to 1740, adding another good acre.<sup>63</sup> After a single contract in 1745, a final eight leases totalling half-an-acre were undertaken in 1755 to 1756. No more are recorded for this area in the Lease Book. The discrepancy between the size of the whole Croft (about five acres) and aggregated parcels together with streets (near to four acres) may be explained by a quantity of apparently missing entries.<sup>64</sup> A dearth hitherto of institutional building leases in the

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<sup>58</sup> ACM S377 ff1 ff

<sup>59</sup> *ibid* ff47ff

<sup>60</sup> ACM S378

<sup>61</sup> *ibid*

<sup>62</sup> There is evidence that some building had taken place before 1763 at Bailey Fields, although no building leases for this area have been found. A contemporary plan does name Bailey Street, contradicting the 1771 Plan's "Intended Street to be called Bailey Street" with no hint of housing (Fairbank FB25 f78 and SheS 68S). The tenements may well have been houses and workshops at the junction of Bailey Street and Trippett Lane, or possibly farm buildings associated with the Fields.

<sup>63</sup> The Lease Book (CB 181) often omits yardage. Annual rents are a reasonable guide, but there are inconsistencies in some price/yardage relationships when given.

<sup>64</sup> Gaps appear in the consecutive numerical listing in CB 181. For example, eight



1760's is somewhat remedied by a series of seventeen issued by the Church Burgesses in 1766 for nineteen plots in Townfield Close (later Trinity Street) at the very north-western fringe of the built-up area. 6088 square yards (one and a quarter acres) were let out on 1st May.

By contrast, Sheffield Town Trustees are noticeable by their apparent absence in the series of building leases issued by institutional landholders during the period 1736 to 1771. No lease books are extant for these years, but a schedule of about 1755 indicates only six leases in the two preceding decades, all for existing buildings and therefore almost certainly renewals.<sup>65</sup> Rentals offer support for this view as entry totals are little changed over time.<sup>66</sup> Town Trustee urban property cannot have been completely overbuilt since a small number of building leases for central streets were made late in the century, so the tentative conclusion to be drawn is that the Trustees, in contrast to the Norfolk estate and Church Burgesses, were not yet ready to encourage new development.<sup>67</sup>

#### HOUSE BUILDING: DENSITY AND SIZE

Constant reference has been made above to the numerous plots leased out for building purposes, yet without those acreages being translated into housing and other construction. Respective "with all convenient speed" or "within three years" covenants imposed by the Norfolk estate and Church Burgesses imply a rapid first development of relevant sites, but not necessarily a complete development. It is unrealistic to suppose that the large number of building leases of the late 1730's would each provide the maximum of dwellings, smithies, workshops and so on in the short term. Examples from the Burgesses' Pinson Croft holding illustrate the probable longer course of

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numbers (91-98) are lacking for 1739/1740 and others subsequently. A lease of 1755 to Sarah Hoyland (125 square yards) omitted in the Lease Book is noted in SDR 15.

<sup>65</sup> MD 4058(1) c1755 The Trustees' typical 21 year maximum term for much of the eighteenth century permitted reappraisal of rents if new building or other improvement had been undertaken.

<sup>66</sup> MD 492ff The earlier rentals in particular are in very poor condition with large holes and unreadable areas. However, it is possible to count the town entries (around 124) with reasonable accuracy.

<sup>67</sup> TT 60 & 61 New building in the 1790's may have replaced demolished houses, but only one rebuild is actually mentioned.

events.<sup>68</sup> A 25 x 25 square yard parcel demised to Jonathan Green in 1737 had two houses and a few additional buildings twenty years later; by 1777 those buildings had increased to a warehouse, workshop, smithy, hardening shop and two extra smithies.<sup>69</sup> William Radcliffe's 707 square yards also leased in 1737 had two houses by 1752, and three by 1771.<sup>70</sup> At the assignment of Robert Marshland's lease (again from 1737) in 1770, three houses are listed; by 1779 a smithy not noted previously had been converted into a dwellinghouse, and by 1800 a fifth house had been added.<sup>71</sup> On Darby Hirst's parcel of 1738 there were two houses with smithies and stables in January 1786; before December of that year seven new houses had been added.<sup>72</sup> A 410 square yard parcel noted in WRRD in 1763 and 1765 had four messuages; in 1767 it had six, and by 1791, although no actual number of dwellings were quoted, thirteen occupiers were named.<sup>73</sup> Elsewhere in similar ongoing fashion, houses in Silver Street were erected over three decades and more;<sup>74</sup> a property in Skargell Knowle had six tenements plus smithies in 1755 and 1781, then nine tenements in 1784 and eighteen by 1792;<sup>75</sup> and eight "entirely new" leasehold tenements at Hawley Croft (largely built up by 1736) were advertised in the *Sheffield Courant* in February 1797.<sup>76</sup> The term "vacant ground" is not uncommon in leases and conveyances of the 1760's, and many of the streets already mentioned still had some space for building at that time.<sup>77</sup> Backsides, of which there were many in the middle of town, provided a ready opportunity for additions.

Numbers of houses and other erections on a given parcel provide some idea of the density of building, but not of size. The Bucks' 1745 *Prospect of Sheffield* illustrates a variety of two and three storey dwellings for the most part, and a minority single and

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<sup>68</sup> Norfolk Rentals and assignments rarely indicate the number of dwellings, so it is very difficult to trace the building process until the period of sales after 1800.

<sup>69</sup> SDR 1

<sup>70</sup> SDR 8

<sup>71</sup> SDR 17

<sup>72</sup> SDR 28

<sup>73</sup> WRRD AY 551712, BC 296/7 356/7 & DF 466 579

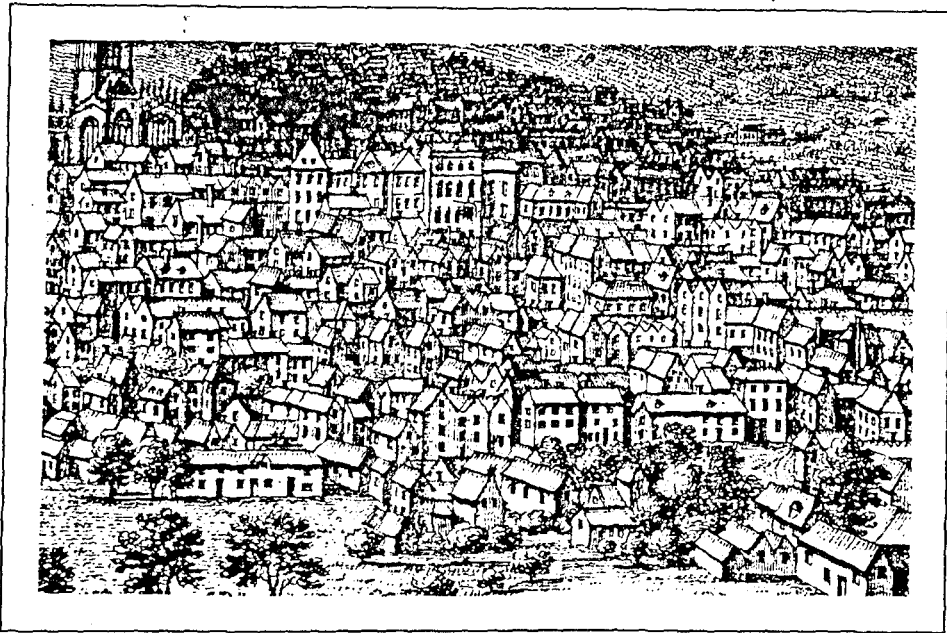
<sup>74</sup> See above and WRRD BX 90 130 (1775) & WRRD CB 602 904 (1778)

<sup>75</sup> WRRD AL 482 662, CH 749 979, CP 740 1078, DH 531 667 & DK 639 787

<sup>76</sup> 21 Feb 1797 (No 192)

<sup>77</sup> For example: WRRD AU 585 750 (Hollis Street 1761), AX 675 846 (Cheney Square 1763), BD 76 81 (Coalpit Lane 1765), BF 666 981 (Blind Lane 1767), BG 65/6 95/6 (Norfolk Street 1767), BH 423552 (Balm Green 1768), BH 638 828 (West Bar 1769) & BK 144/5 196/7 (Irish Cross 1769)

Fig. 14.3 Central detail from Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's *East Prospect of Sheffield* (1745).



four storey. These features are largely borne out by the documentary evidence. Samples from the Norfolk Lease Books provide a useful beginning.<sup>78</sup> Of 193 tenanted houses taken on twenty-one year lease between 1746 and 1765 sixty-seven had details of composition. Out of these, thirty-seven (ie more than half) had only one chamber, and very few more than one room below. Another thirteen had two chambers. The vast majority were two storey, although occasional exceptions were to be found: John Rollinson's cottage in Fargate had one house room, one chamber and a garret.<sup>79</sup> What is not clear is how many dwellings were part of a bigger building or in a terrace or yard. Between 1765 and 1771 the picture is little different with twenty-five out of fifty-one having a single chamber and twenty-one having two. Again third storeys are hard to find in Norfolk leaseholds. In other hands there were two floor houses at Town Head, in Blind Lane, Bullstake, Barker's Pool, Balm Green, King Street, and probably in most other streets.<sup>80</sup> Three storey houses, however, were similarly commonplace. Examples were to be found in Hartshead, West Bar, Coalpit Lane, Hawley Croft, Horseheel Pool/ Doctor Street, Brookes Croft, Pea Croft, High Street, and indeed in all

<sup>78</sup> ACM S378 and S379

<sup>79</sup> ACM S378 fl57

<sup>80</sup> PC 180 (Town Trustee property 1738/9), WRRD AG 716 955 (1753), AP 703 891 (1758), AR 273 369 (1759), BC 448 554 (1765), *Public Advertizer* (No 169 1763)



the central streets.<sup>81</sup> As affirmation, the picture given by Fairbank in his quantity surveys from 1753 (almost all of freehold or non-Norfolk leasehold properties) is predominantly three storey.<sup>82</sup>

Besides the height, the frontage of a house affects overall size. The term "single bay" or "one bay" (ie one room width) was rarely used, implying that this was the standard width of a house or tenement whether it be detached or in a row.<sup>83</sup> In other words, where the number of bays needed to be noted, the building was out of the ordinary. The Norfolk Lease Book of 1731 to 1746 contains several examples: a messuage with two bays in Barker's Pool, three messuages with three, five and six respectively in the Market Place, one of six bays in Millsands, one of fifteen bays in a tanyard near Shirebridge (Sheaf Bridge), and others near Castle Hill (seven bays) and Water Lane (two).<sup>84</sup> This form of description was not continued, and building size was subsequently described via the number of rooms or kinds of rooms (particularly in newspaper advertisements), or has to be inferred from references to the subdividing of houses into lesser units.

Frequent occurrence of such subdivision was very typical for the whole period. Plausible explanations can be offered: a constant lag in house building at a time of rising population, or relatively high costs of housing for poorer families. Both may have had a part to play.<sup>85</sup> Whatever the reason, it was not uncommon to find widows and occasionally families in a single room.<sup>86</sup> Some of the larger properties in the previous paragraph were divided: the Castle Hill and Water Lane messuages each into five, and the three bay Market Place house into three separate dwellings. In Fargate

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<sup>81</sup> WRRD NN 206 290 (1739), OO 154 210 (1740), PP 407 594 (1741), PP 367 537 (1742), AN 227 306 (1757), AP 154 202 (1757), AT 508 654 (1760), CY 457 578 (1757, reg 1788), *Public Advertizer* (No 164 1763). See also post-1771 evidence.

<sup>82</sup> FB 2 to 29

<sup>83</sup> Frontage to the street or being free-standing on its own parcel seem to be criteria for a multi-bayed building. And compare this use of the term "bay" with that used by slaters. See below.

<sup>84</sup> ACM S377 ff179-204 (1745-1746)

<sup>85</sup> Very few empty houses are recorded in WRRD before 1780, after which numbers increase steadily.

<sup>86</sup> ACM S377 f198 Three people shared the four rooms and back kitchen of a cottage at Shude Hill (1746). See also f200 Fargate

there are more examples - two houses divided into five, a former public house into four, and a messuage near to Barker's Pool, formerly in four parts, into nine by 1747, and another also with nine.<sup>87</sup> At Balm Green a messuage was in four tenancies, two in High Street were divided into seven, and a large house in Millsands now had five occupants in place of a former three.<sup>88</sup> During the 1750's and 1760's we see further illustrations of continuing subdivision: a messuage in Pea Croft had three named tenants and one in Bullstake had four.<sup>89</sup> Near to Hollis Hospital the Trustees in 1755 had an estimate for a purpose-built two storey block divisible into three parts - which may have been more a set of tenements than a divided house.<sup>90</sup> A Prior Row property formerly in two tenancies was divided into three, a house and barn in Balm Green were home to six families, a Pea Croft house, already divided into two, had an extra division during 1767, and the following year more divisions were recorded for Dixon Lane, the Irish Cross, Silver Street and Campo Lane.<sup>91</sup> Once this kind of partition had been carried out, it appears to have become permanent. No consolidation or reduction has been observed until after 1800, and then only on a very small scale.

## PLANNING

Hitherto, discussion has focused on the spread and general format of dwellings in Sheffield. Little has been said about actual planning and building of new properties, or about the men involved in their development. In the first place, there must have been at least a modicum of planning by landholders before land was leased for building purposes. Even a conveyance might have an element of anticipation in this respect - when Robert Downes sold a quarter acre site at Oxley Croft to Edward Cheney in 1725 the indenture emphasised that the street to the Chapel was "intended to be left four yards wide" (understandably to preserve access) and that the street to Alsop Fields, which at the time went nowhere, "to be left ten yards wide".<sup>92</sup> On the 1771 Fairbank Plan the geometric lines of Sycamore Street, Petticoat Lane and Bowling Green Lane on the northern Alsop Fields, and of Burgess and Cross Streets on Pinson Crofts,

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<sup>87</sup> WRRD MM 540 748, WW 538 742, XX 106 120 & YY 454 555

<sup>88</sup> *ibid* AB 27 34, AC 421 571 & ACM S377 f197

<sup>89</sup> WRRD AE 543 704 & AI 527 680

<sup>90</sup> LD 1164 (2)

<sup>91</sup> WRRD AS 492 659, AT 745 989, BD 184 198, BG 247 352, BG 334 462, BH 83 107, BH 636 825, BI 132 182 & BK 472 649

<sup>92</sup> Wheat Colln 1868/1869

illustrate the careful setting out of the two sites in the late 1730's. At the northern end of the Crofts a property fronting Balm Green and Barker's Pool had to be demolished to make way for the new street, a decision which was clearly not taken lightly by the Church Burgesses.<sup>93</sup> The Norfolk Lease Book of this time also notes the location of some of the regular rectangular parcels in relation to Middle Street (probably Sycamore Street) in Alsop Fields.<sup>94</sup> This street must therefore have been clearly set out in advance of any pegging of building plots. Most leases themselves did not contain the strict covenants of later years referring to conforming elevations, building up to the front boundary and banning of noxious trades.<sup>95</sup> However, at least some had a hint of future trends. Joshua Wilson agreed "to erect a messuage . . . [at the corner of Middle Street] . . . with all convenient speed, to build the same regular . . ." and John Taylor had to build his house "to the good liking of the said Vincent Eyre" (the Duke's agent).<sup>96</sup> The Church Burgesses were more precise requiring an exact line of frontages which they maintained as a policy throughout.<sup>97</sup> By far the most comprehensive regulation *vis-à-vis* appearance, however, is to be found in Lambert leases of the period. For instance, Matthew Lambert let out for building purposes a parcel between Skargell Knowle and Pea Croft on which the messuages had to be "fronted and brought up to the way or thoroughfare of the said close which is left and designed for a street as aforesaid to that end and intent that the same may be regularly fronted and even exact and uniform with the rest of the buildings there or intended to be there erected". No reference is made to unlawful trades. For others there must have been some convention or verbal ruling on alignment as street frontages on subsequent plans appear to be in line.<sup>98</sup> Older streets are frequently much less regular.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> In the preliminary stages, twelve meetings were held to decide how Pinson Crofts were to be developed (CB 162 f34 1737). Darby Hirst pulled down John Brelsforth's house "to make a way from Barker Pool into Pinson Crofts" (ibid ff 39 & 41)

<sup>94</sup> ACM S377 f57 Joshua Wilson's. See plan ACM SheS 1701L for the early leases.

<sup>95</sup> What may have seemed more important at the time was the clause "not to hunt in Sheffield Park" (ACM S377 f76 1737/8)

<sup>96</sup> ibid and S378 f1 (at will). The "good substantial messuage" in some leases may have implied a building format of conventional type.

<sup>97</sup> MD 5751 and 2370

<sup>98</sup> Wheat Colln 1373S Paradise Street; Fairbank FB13 ff98ff Norfolk Street

<sup>99</sup> Fairbank FB12 ff36/37ff Waingate; FB13 ff100 & 101 Church Lane; Wheat Colln 1766M Market Place.

Surveyors who planned the various sites had an important role in implementing the owners' or trustees' wishes. They had to provide adequate access with the maximum amount of leased building space remaining in order to optimise rents.<sup>100</sup> The first William Fairbank set out Pinson Crofts for the Church Burgesses in readiness for its development. His high charge (£12-10-0) illustrates the input "for surveying and mapping Pinson Crofts and for divideing & stakeing out the same into Parcels . . ."<sup>101</sup> The Burgesses had used Robert Wilson to map Sims Croft in 1732, and Fairbank was involved in part, at least, in surveying Spooner Croft (Silver Street) from 1739.<sup>102</sup> However, the surveyor used by the Norfolk estate for Alsop Fields, Park Hill and Colston Croft has been elusive hitherto. There survives an undated (but probably c1739) sketch plan of the northern end of Norfolk and Sycamore Streets with names of the tenants written in different hands.<sup>103</sup> It appears rather crude for Fairbank, but might be a copy or rough sketch used by a clerk alongside the Lease Book. The estate had employed four different men in surveying tasks between 1725 and 1740 - William Kitchen who is last noted in 1728/9, John Smilter (1738), Ralph Gosling (1739) and William Fairbank (1740).<sup>104</sup> None was involved with work on urban or immediately peripheral sites. In fact no one was paid through the estate accounts for any surveying in and around town between 1720 and 1743.<sup>105</sup> It seems very doubtful, then, that Fairbank set out Norfolk parcels leased in the late 1730's, although he had surveyed for the Burgesses as early as 1734.<sup>106</sup> What seems much more likely is that Norfolk employees carried out the tasks, perhaps the steward himself. In that way he directly controlled the layout of estate building land as the first step in its development.

#### BUILDING MATERIALS AND CRAFTSMEN

Brick had for some time been the main construction material in Sheffield, and quantity surveys in early Fairbank Field Books broadly confirm this.<sup>107</sup> During the 1730's the

<sup>100</sup> The Norfolk estate later solved this problem by charging tenants for their share, usually half, of the street and/or back lane.

<sup>101</sup> CB 162 f41 (1739) Fairbank was only paid £2-6-0 for surveying Shirecliffe Park and Treeton Wood the following year (ACM S164 Apl 1740).

<sup>102</sup> CB 162 f16 and Fairbank SheS 1075S to 1080S.

<sup>103</sup> ACM SheS 1701L

<sup>104</sup> ACM S163 & S164

<sup>105</sup> ACM S161 to 164, S168 & S172

<sup>106</sup> CB 162 f25

<sup>107</sup> D. Hey op cit p85

Norfolk estate leased out several beds of clay with liberty to burn bricks in Colston Croft, on Park Hill, in the Park, at Attercliffe Green and on a parcel of three roods adjoining Little Sheffield and Pinson Croft Lane.<sup>108</sup> John Taylor, bricklayer, the tenant of this latter bed from January 1736/7, was limited to half a rood annually for his £5-10-0.<sup>109</sup> When the clay was exhausted in 1744 he moved to a brick yard on Park Hill side.<sup>110</sup> Samuel Smith, cutler, who took out a building lease of a Colson Croft parcel "contiguous to his brickyard", was given "liberty to get clay, but not to burn bricks on any part of Colston Croft". He had to use his present kiln.<sup>111</sup> Given that bricks were expensive to move, and hence best made close to where they would be used, the major peripheral housebuilding sites were well served. A later Fairbank noted that two and a half solid (ie cubic) yards of clay made 1000 bricks.<sup>112</sup> If John Taylor used his half rood to the full and that bed were a yard thick, he could make nearly a quarter of a million bricks per annum, enough perhaps for about thirty houses of the type with two storeys and two rooms on each floor and pro rata for the one up/one down. As may be concluded, extraction of large quantities of clay was enormously detrimental to the landscape and a potential cause of lost revenue to the landowner. The Norfolk estate, which appears the most affected at this stage, had regulations concerning restoration after the digging of clay and quarrying of slate and stone. Charles Gibbons, cutler, who was granted liberty for extracting clay for brick moulding and burning on a close on Park hillside in the tenure of Widow Bridges in 1740, was committed to a strict covenant. He had "to make satisfaction for damage to be done to her land by getting the said clay, to take the same fairly before him and to level the ground as far as the earth will go".<sup>113</sup> Others were commonly given a similar stricture with the added phrase "and cover it with corn mould earth" or "throw corn mould on the surface thereof".<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately evidence of breaches and/or enforcement are lacking, yet unless covenants were generally observed it would have been a waste of time including them

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<sup>108</sup> ACM S377 ff3, 20, 25, 36

<sup>109</sup> 605 square yards surface. Exceeding the limit would incur additional charges.

<sup>110</sup> ACM S377 f83

<sup>111</sup> The implication is that the kiln was close by and therefore probably near Brick Lane.

<sup>112</sup> FB 138 (cover) Fairbank adds that very good clay makes up to 1100 bricks. Anthony Chapman was supplying bricks to the Fairbanks in 1760/1761 at seven shillings per thousand (AB 2 f72). The quality is not known.

<sup>113</sup> ACM S377 f62

<sup>114</sup> *ibid* ff7, 16, 43, 73 and *passim*

in agreements.

In the course of the 1730's and 1740's the men known to be using the bricks were about fifteen bricklayers and masons who appear in various sources along with a similar number of carpenters and joiners. This number, of course, is almost certainly an understatement. A few (two or three each) of associated tradesmen have been found - slaters, plasterers and painters, again probably understated, but presumably sufficient proportionally to maintain the supply of these craft services to the building industry. At this period one bricklayer with a labourer was capable of laying about 1000 bricks per day for an average house, and up to 1500 if long runs and non-face work were preponderant.<sup>115</sup> This being the case, a two bedroomed dwelling of the type discussed above could be built to rafter height in a fortnight by the minimum sized team, with even greater apparent productivity in multiple construction. Fairbank quantity surveys have survived from the 1750's, revealing two Anthony Chapmans, father and son, as seemingly the most prolific bricklayers with some 120 buildings (mainly houses) to their credit in the twelve years from 1760, as well as numerous walls, pavings and lesser jobs.<sup>116</sup> Pursloves/Pursgloves, Unwins, Hagues and Darby Hirst together were involved in more than 250 carpentry jobs valued by the first two William Fairbanks from c1740.<sup>117</sup> There seems to be little or no such valuation recorded when craftsmen were working on their own behalf. It is, therefore, quite possible that others (below) may have been even more active than the ones noted here.

As the rate of building accelerated in the 1730's and 1740's timber used for scaffolding and ladders and for floor joists and roof frames came increasingly from the Baltic. Hull import records indicate a fluctuating, but long-term growth in the quantities of deals after a sharp rise between 1728 and 1737, and a massive increase in the annual amounts of fir timber from under a hundred loads to 1737 to more than 1300 by 1751.<sup>118</sup> Richard Dalton, with his knowledge as a former apprentice to a Hull importer and subsequent experience at Bawtry wharf, must have been aware of growing sales in

<sup>115</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1950 edn) Vol 4 p122 "Brickwork". This is another reason for building terrace rows and cheaper multiple houses.

<sup>116</sup> Fairbank FB passim and AB 4 f68, 79, 85 & 87. The second Anthony Chapman died in or before 1762.

<sup>117</sup> *ibid* AB 4 ff25ff Family continuity is evident in the various trades.

<sup>118</sup> G. Jackson: *Hull in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford) 1972 Appendix 2

Sheffield. So much so that he set up business in Hawley Street in June 1735 to exploit the demand.<sup>119</sup> During 1736 he ordered via Hull merchants nearly 5000 pieces of deal from Stockholm and Gothenburg, and even more (including a ship-load) the following year together with several hundred poles of up to thirty feet in length.<sup>120</sup> He also brought in wainscotting and pipe staves from Amsterdam and Hamburg respectively.<sup>121</sup> More ship-loads of deals followed in 1738 and 1739, no doubt as local building activity increased, and Dalton still wrote of an "extraordinary demand" in December of the latter year as he ordered another twenty-three hundred (2760 pieces).<sup>122</sup> Throughout the 1740's he continued to import deals on a big scale, together with intermittent large orders for wainscot material. To these were added long fir poles for making ladders.<sup>123</sup> After Dalton's death in 1750 there appears to have been a possible hiatus with perhaps some of the business diffused into the hands of local carpenters.<sup>124</sup> Thomas Jackson was described as a timber merchant in 1754 when he was a joint purchaser (with Benjamin Withers and Francis Fenton) of part of Cheney Square, and later at his death in or before 1787.<sup>125</sup> Of the carpenters, Darby Hirst, for example, had a woodyard in 1755, the Glossops were slitting deals in the early 1760's for the Fairbanks, William Hall had a raff yard in 1768, and the Unwins had a long-standing woodyard near the New Church.<sup>126</sup> It is also likely, as in later years, that some carpenters and joiners were able and preferred to buy smaller quantities of deals and other timber direct from merchants at Hull.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Bagshawe 5/4/1 ff 7 & 10 (John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester)

<sup>120</sup> *ibid* ff1-122 There were white and red deals, single and double, two and two and a half inch, and occasionally specified lengths ("11 to 12 foot"). The specifications "single" and "double" must have been a convention referring to thickness, but what actual size is not indicated in the Letter Books. Most timber was ordered by the "hundred" (symbol  $\theta$ ) which equalled 120 pieces.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid* ff7(a), 16 and *passim*. Wainscotting was used for panelling; staves were for cooperage.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid* ff200 and 412(a) The ship order of January 1738 included some huge (18 inches x 12) baulks up to twenty-four feet long.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid* 5/4/3 20 July 1748 and *passim*.

<sup>124</sup> His son predeceased him.

<sup>125</sup> Wheat Colln 1870/1871 and WRRD CW 171 222 Jackson was an occasional client of William Fairbank, but nothing more has been found to illustrate any timber sales.

<sup>126</sup> Fairbank FB 9 f36 (no location), AB 2 f75 and BB 38 f15; ACM S158 1783 LD f52. There was also a large woodyard on Norfolk Street almost opposite Chapel Walk sketched by Fairbank in FB 17 ff90/91 (1760).

<sup>127</sup> Hull City Library Archives L615.7 Wray & Hollingworth Letter Books ff91,

## BUILDING SPECULATORS

Besides landowners, surveyors, materials suppliers and builders, another category of men became involved. These were speculators - individuals who were exploiting the boom in building. In a sense, they were putting savings into the security of property. Yet it clearly went further than this: One such venturer was Daniel Hawley, a local buttonmaker (whose descendants used the spelling "Holy"). During the 1720's he had been a tenant of the Church Burgesses in West Bar, before, it seems, moving to Pond Lane.<sup>128</sup> Within the two or three years on either side of 1740 he sold houses at Gibraltar and West Bar, purchased an 898 square yard parcel at Stubb Greave (Portobello), took out a building lease on 150 square yards of Alsop Fields behind his Pond Lane property and a further four building leases on plots totalling more than three-quarters of an acre in Colson Crofts.<sup>129</sup> On at least two of these he built houses which were sold off in 1742 together with pieces of the respective parcels.<sup>130</sup> Subsequently he mortgaged one of his Norfolk leaseholds at Colson Crofts and his freehold at Stubb Greave, quite probably to finance the ten houses he built on freehold in Webster Close at West Bar End which were themselves mortgaged in 1753.<sup>131</sup>

A number of men in the building trades took out Church Burgesses' or Norfolk leases (and occasionally others) with what may be supposed as speculative intent. Richard Ash, plaisterer, took an 800 year term on a parcel in Pinson Crofts in 1737. By 1753, when he assigned the property to his son, eight houses had been built.<sup>132</sup> On a somewhat bigger scale, Joseph Brooke, bricklayer, leased a parcel ("the remainder") in Colson Croft and three more in Alsop Fields, all 1739.<sup>133</sup> Almost contemporaneously Thomas Green, mason, obtained a matching (one plus three) set of leases in the same locations.<sup>134</sup> There is no record of houses built, but both men speedily assigned parts of

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378 and passim (1791ff).

<sup>128</sup> CB 1222 and ACM S377 f58

<sup>129</sup> WRRD MM 610 850, NN 349 488 and OO 280 401, ACM S377 f58 and ff49-52

<sup>130</sup> ACM S377 f77

<sup>131</sup> ACM S158 (M1744); WRRD AC 654 876 & AI 65 79 Besides the house building, Hawley also leased the nearly two acre Bacon Island near Morton Wheel (1737) and a garden in Gibraltar (1750).

<sup>132</sup> CB 1634; WRRD AY 318 428

<sup>133</sup> ACM S377 ff54 to56

<sup>134</sup> *ibid* ff48 and 57 to 63



original parcels in 1739 and 1740.<sup>135</sup> Similarly Robert Unwin, carpenter, and later brickmaker, undertook building leases in Pinson Crofts in 1738, Colson Crofts in 1743/44, 1747 and 1753, and Parkhillside in 1747. Seven houses were built on the Pinson Croft plot and a number of tenements on the others.<sup>136</sup> Another carpenter, Joseph Rowbotham also took out building leases on parcels in Challioner Croft, Pinson Croft and Alsop Fields (two) between 1736 and 1740.<sup>137</sup> However, the most vigorous craftsman-entrepreneur of the earlier years seems to have been John Taylor, mason/bricklayer, whose activities have already been cited in connection with brickmaking. In 1736 he purchased a small parcel on Oxley Croft.<sup>138</sup> A little later, in 1739 and 1740 he took three Norfolk building leases, one in Colson Crofts and two in Alsop Fields.<sup>139</sup> In the following year Taylor bought a leasehold property in Lambert Croft, and with John Purslove, a local carpenter, a freehold property in Fargate. During the 1740's the two men jointly purchased more freeholds in Portobello and Oxley Croft.<sup>140</sup> In the same period Taylor on his own leased another Alsop Fields plot.<sup>141</sup> On most of these sites houses were built or added: at least one in Lambert Croft, two in the yard in Fargate and four and five respectively on two Oxley Croft/New Church Street parcels.<sup>142</sup> Numbers like these are small in relation to those of later years, yet seem greater than for Leeds, for example, where backsides and other confined central spaces were the main locations for new house building.<sup>143</sup>

#### THE CONSTRUCTION PHASE

An early step we might expect in the building process would be a construction plan. The client, it may be assumed, needed to have some idea of the appearance and floor area of the undertaking. A dearth of drawings or plans for domestic buildings and smithies in the years to 1771 does not mean that they did not exist, but they may have

<sup>135</sup> *ibid* ff57, 60, 63 and 64

<sup>136</sup> CB 181 (90) and ACM S377 f82 & S378

<sup>137</sup> Walker Deeds 360 (from John Staniforth), CB 1634; ACM S377 ff57 57 & 63

<sup>138</sup> SDR 71- 2

<sup>139</sup> ACM S377 ff 51, 55 & 61

<sup>140</sup> WRRD PP 5 9, SDR 67-32, WRRD YY 171 192 & YY 630 753

<sup>141</sup> WRRD WW 16 26 & ACM S378 f15

<sup>142</sup> SDR 67-39 & 71-3, WRRD AR 522 701, SDR 71-3 & 5 and (probably) ACM S378 12 May 1762. Most of the Norfolk leasehold is untraced, but had covenants to build.

<sup>143</sup> M. Beresford: *East End, West End: the Face of Leeds during Urbanisation 1684-1842* (Leeds) 1988 p100

been little more than outline sketches based on conventions and "rules of thumb" within the trades for room dimensions, door and window size, stair treads and so on. The ubiquitous gable-end rooflines on largely rectangular bases, as well as the non-existence of bathrooms and indoor toilets, did simplify the planning stage.<sup>144</sup> Architects as a profession were rarities in Sheffield, even after mid-century; indeed those employed for bigger buildings came from outside - John Carr of York, who drew up a design for hospital and school for the Hollis Trustees in the late 1760's and Thomas Atkinson, from the same place, the architect and supervisor of the new Theatre and improved Assembly Rooms in 1776.<sup>145</sup> In the absence of evidence to the contrary it seems probable that normal procedure was with a minimum of paper-work.

Besides the lack of plan material, no clear picture emerges as to how exactly a client knew in advance how much he or she would be required to pay for new building. With one known early nineteenth century exception, numerous quantity surveys detailed in early Fairbank Field Books (2-29) from 1753 and subsequent Building Books (30-98) from 1765 to 1815 provide no answer.<sup>146</sup> The reason for this is that the Fairbanks' measurements and calculations were made *after* the erection of the shell, and, almost certainly, progressively through the trades as house, tenement, smithy or workshop was completed.<sup>147</sup> Therefore these surveys were not estimates for tenders or likely costings for people considering a project. They were post-construction valuation of work done, possibly to settle a payment dispute between owner and craftsman, or, most likely, to reach an impartially computed cost at Sheffield customary building trade prices.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> "Dormant" (dormer) windows are occasionally noted in the slating calculations (FB 18 f27), and "outshutts" or extensions, probably at right-angles to the existing roof, in carpentry details (FB19 ff 73 & 129)

<sup>145</sup> LD 1164 f29 & Wilson Deeds 256. None is mentioned in the WRRD for Sheffield before these dates, and it is significant that late 18th and early 19th century local "architects" were formerly in one of the craft trades. Joseph Badger, carpenter, builder and then architect, is a typical example. Professor Beresford (op cit pp141ff) has similar evidence for Leeds.

<sup>146</sup> Fairbank FB114 ff86/87 (nd, but c1809) An estimate, with sketch, was prepared in a *Field Book* for the conversion of a stable into a dwelling house.

<sup>147</sup> This practice is circumstantially illustrated by the elapse of time between the dating in the Field and Building Books of the various quantity surveys relating to a particular construction and the regular pattern of brickwork, paving, carpentry, slating, plastering and painting. More convincing are the titles of two jobs in FB16: *John Sheldon's Brickwork by the late E. Clark* (f5 2-1-1760) and *Benja Roebuck's Brickwork by E. Clark deceased* (f35 21-1-1760).

Without having more than the circumstantial evidence of broadly standard construction and limited shapes and sizes, we may suggest that, before starting, contractors were able to give clients a firm estimate based on local prices, or possibly (for larger jobs) worked within an upper and lower price range with Fairbank the final arbiter.

Setting out and excavating the cellar was usually the first step of the practical building phase, although deep work close to existing houses may have been inadvisable as was that in Hartshead in 1751 which resulted in the collapse of a neighbouring wall.<sup>149</sup> This digging was almost always to the full outer width and breadth of the intended house as brickwork here would provide the foundation.<sup>150</sup> Cellar depth, for practical purposes, had to be six feet at least, and six feet to seven feet six inches was the normal range, although occasionally examples of nine feet were measured. At such depths workmen would normally have reached rock or firm subsoil, sufficient to bear the weight of the proposed structure. The term "foundation" is used regularly by Fairbank for brickwork below ground level, and generally, therefore, applies to cellar walling.<sup>151</sup> This was most frequently a brick and a half in thickness (B & ½ in the Field Books' text), that is a thirteen and a half inch wall or the width of three bricks side by side.<sup>152</sup> To support inner walls of the building the cellar had a BL or B & ½ partition or partitions, or a brick arch.<sup>153</sup> Any ground floor area to be flagged also needed arched support.

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<sup>148</sup> The customary price framework which prevailed in the cutlery industry was utilised in the building trades (ACM M1778 f27). Whether Fairbank was settling disputes or establishing costs, his probity must have been widely accepted. He even drew up the costings for work of various kinds done on his own property in Coalpit Lane (FB18 ff71, 83, 139 & 143, and FB19 ff25, 35 & 97 all 1761).

<sup>149</sup> Leng 9

<sup>150</sup> The kitchen at the back part of the house was typically flagged and, if part of an "outshutt", not always over a cellar.

<sup>151</sup> A rare exception is a three storey house built for George Fisher which had (brick) foundations one yard deep (FB 10 f61 1756). An extension to an "old house" for Thomas Wilkinson required "2 loads of stone for the foundations" (FB 16 f151 1760) the only example of this kind found in the first ten years of Fairbank quantity surveys. Footings, the wider concrete base on which modern houses are built, have no other parallel in the Field or Building Books.

<sup>152</sup> The shorthand used by Fairbank was BB (brick broad) for a four and a half inch wall, BL (brick length) for a nine inch wall, B & ½, 2B, 2B & ½ and so on. Some two thirds of cellar brickwork in the first ten years of the Field Books, FB 2 to 21, was B & ½.

<sup>153</sup> Brick arches are invariably priced at the same rate as B & ½ (3s per rood), so it seems likely that their thickness was the same.

Above ground (Fairbank preferred the phrase "above the threshold") the outer shell, even for three storey houses was most commonly BL including the gable ends. This nine inch walling was strengthened by bonding at regular intervals.<sup>154</sup> Occasionally a front might be B & ½, or even the whole of the outside. Bricklayer Benjamin Ball's external wall brickwork for F.S. Wadsworth's three storey dwelling in 1756 was all thirteen and a half inch. Here, the five gable ends noted by Fairbank may indicate an irregular shape and hence a precautionary stronger construction.<sup>155</sup> Walls with less loading, like interior partitions or partitions between adjoining tenements, were commonly only BB. Work involved in the different thicknesses was reflected in their respective costings. For one rood (seven square yards) of B & ½ the bricklayer was typically paid 3s, for BL 2s, and for BB 1s 6d or 1s 4d. Rougher external work for workshops or back kitchens, for example, was charged at a lower rate, often 2s 6d for B & ½ and 1s 10d for BL.<sup>156</sup> Bricklayers' labourers were not cited separately in the Field Books, so rates per rood must have been inclusive of their wages. One rood of B & ½ cost 3s, as noted. In quantity terms this was about a whole day's work, that is 1008 bricks laid. Contemporary Turnpike masons and labourers earned respectively 1s 10d and 1s 2d per day, which confirms the reasoning.<sup>157</sup> Bricks were rarely costed by Fairbank, although the few examples in the surveys of all-in figures suggest that the bricks themselves were about three shillings and sixpence for a rood of BB (or sixpence per square yard) and *pro rata* for other thicknesses.<sup>158</sup>

At appropriate stages in the brickwork process, paving and flagging as required were carried out, often by the same craftsmen.<sup>159</sup> Cellars and kitchens were usually flagged or paved, and sometimes other downstairs rooms. Flag-stones or paving blocks were used for thresholds, cellar steps, chimney pieces, hearths (to keep fires and wooden floors apart), and passages.<sup>160</sup> Anthony Chapman charged sixpence per (square) foot for

<sup>154</sup> Headers and stretchers were used alternately or in sequences to cross-tie the inner and outer sides of the BL wall.

<sup>155</sup> FB10 f32

<sup>156</sup> FB3 f43, FB11 f129 & FB15 f153

<sup>157</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* op cit & TC 364

<sup>158</sup> FB19 f135 A square yard of single (BB) brickwork had 48 bricks.

<sup>159</sup> For example, Anthony Chapman, bricklayer, leased his own quarry in Little Sheffield (FB28 f142 enlargement 1765)

<sup>160</sup> FB9 f43, FB12 f29 and FB passim. The passage (tunnel) through a front building was a common form of access to rear premises, and reduced the

"blue" stone and fivepence for "brown" for nine garret and chamber hearths at Hull Foot in 1761, from five to eight shillings each for chimney pieces, and sixpence per (square) yard for cellar and other paving.<sup>161</sup> "Carpenter work" (Fairbank's terminology) was also in part integrated with brickwork. Floor joists, door and window frames and lintels, unlike most of the roof woodwork, had to be fitted as needed during the ongoing bricklaying.<sup>162</sup> It is clear that both door and window lintels were wooden, although illustrations and surviving examples show that they were faced on the outside with vertical or angled, pre-shaped bricks.<sup>163</sup> At times Fairbank costs "strong lintels", perhaps hardwood, and certainly of six inch square thickness or even more, for those greater load-bearing points above passages and bigger doors and windows.<sup>164</sup> The carpenter's major task, however, was the roof. Timbers here could be huge. Both rig (ridge) tree and side trees for Robert Marsden's three-storey house were over forty feet long and approximately seven inches square. There were six summers averaging nearly fifteen feet long and six to nine inches in rectangular section plus two panns of similar length, sixty-five spars between eight feet six and nine feet, and various other pieces.<sup>165</sup> The roof would have to bear perhaps ten tons or more of slates, usually brought from local sources.<sup>166</sup>

Slaters commonly charged their work by the "bay". Problems arise in that two measures - thirty and fifty square yards - were in regular use.<sup>167</sup> The larger bay was generally installed at the rate of twelve to sixteen shillings, plus £2 to £3 for materials. Again, there are difficulties in that laths and nails might or might not be charged

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amount of space which would be wasted by leaving a gap at the side with no rooms above.

<sup>161</sup> FB18 f121 Channeling in the cellar was one shilling per yard (f123).

<sup>162</sup> Joists were costed according to length, typically 4d per yard, so must have had a standard cross-section. Framing for ceilings was costed per square yard (see FB 21 f94).

<sup>163</sup> The load bearing arch is not typical of local Georgian domestic architecture.

<sup>164</sup> FB26 f86 & FB28 f88

<sup>165</sup> FB8 f51

<sup>166</sup> FB17 f93 Even a relatively small roof at Widow Bettany's in Millsands in 1760 required three loads (about three tons) of S. Spurr's slate. See also ACM S377 ff7&15

<sup>167</sup> FB6 f60 1 bay = 50 sq yds, FB12 f48 1 bay = 30 sq yds. In FB20 f24 Fairbank makes computations on both scales. To complicate matters, the Assembly Rooms and Play House had their slating charged by the 45 sq yd bay in 1761 (FB20 f98).

separately. In 1756 a job of about one bay required ten bundles of laths costing fifteen shillings and nails of a similar value.<sup>168</sup> Unlike most constructional timber, laths were locally produced and at times exported.<sup>169</sup> After slating slaters might add "moss" which was charged at one shilling and fourpence per bay.<sup>170</sup>

Once the roof was covered it was time for the finer woodworking. Floorboards, wainscoting, wash- or splashboards (skirting), stair construction, built-in cupboards and shelves, windows with their shutters, and doors were the province of the joiner (not always the same craftsman as the carpenter). In this part of the construction the difference between minimal fitting out for a cheap tenement, and quality work for the home of a more affluent customer was at its most evident. For example, Leonard Webster had oak floorboards in one of his downstairs rooms in Jehu Lane in 1761.<sup>171</sup> Wainscot panelling, imported from northern Europe, was relatively expensive and hence fairly restricted in its use.<sup>172</sup> Internal shutters were far from uncommon, but the higher quality type with their hinged sections designed to fold back neatly into the lining (casing) beside the window, must have been for the minority only.<sup>173</sup> Three surveys of joiner work in separate three storey buildings made on the same day in December 1762 make the difference very clear: a six room house near Pond Well had a cost of £8-5-9¾, three three room tenements together (ie a nine room ensemble) were appraised at £9-14-11¾, and the refitting of Fairbank's own nine room house, the residence of a professional man, in Coalpit Lane (not including the school) was more than three times dearer at £32-19-5½.<sup>174</sup>

The slating of a house was also the prerequisite for the glazier to commence installation

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<sup>168</sup> FB11 f9

<sup>169</sup> Richard Dalton in the 1740's purchased laths from Aston near Sheffield. Quantities were 60 laths to the bunch or bundle and 60 bunches to the load. Laths for plastering and other purposes cost much less - 3d to 5d per bundle (Bagshawe Colln op cit 5/4/3 26 Sept 1747). Fairbank costed plastering laths at 5d in 1754 (FB6 f37).

<sup>170</sup> FB17 f 93 Mossing was the packing of the undersides between overlapping slates with moss, heather or other suitable vegetation to prevent rain or snow being blown into the roof space. It was also a primitive form of insulation.

<sup>171</sup> FB19 f123

<sup>172</sup> FB9 f101 & FB17 f15. See also Bagshawe Colln 5/4/1-3 op cit for imports.

<sup>173</sup> FB21 f18

<sup>174</sup> FB23 ff146, 148 and 152

of his glass panes or "squares". The mainly sash windows were made up of perhaps a dozen, twenty or up to sixty of these, the vast majority less than twelve inches in height and, in spite of the craft term, rectangular.<sup>175</sup> Standard charging was by the (square) foot - 7½d for all but the bigger pieces (over eleven and a half inches) which were at 1s.<sup>176</sup> For seventeen room and two staircase windows up to sixty squares and two shop windows and a shop door belonging to his three storey premises George Elliott paid £11-16-9 in 1758.<sup>177</sup> With glazing and joiner work complete it was the turn of the plasterer. Some ceilings were lathed and plastered, particularly those of the garrets. Elsewhere it was quite usual for the floor of an upper room to be the ceiling of the one below, and therefore only the undersides of the boards between the joists appear to have been plastered.<sup>178</sup> Basic work for ceilings and walls was costed at 2d or 2½d per (square) yard. Patterns or mouldings were more expensive at up to 8d, and occasionally stucco might be applied at 10d.<sup>179</sup>

Decoration was the final stage. For cheapness the interior might be whitewashed, although there are few examples in the early Field Books.<sup>180</sup> Perhaps such decor hardly warranted a quantity survey. More commonly Fairbank calculated the cost of two and three coats of paint, both interior and exterior. Doors were often oak or mahogany in colour and at times varnished, as was wainscotting. Inside colours included blue, green, stone-colour, French grey and chocolate.<sup>181</sup> Benjamin Roebuck preferred "dead white" for much of his interior walls and woodwork at his mansion at Meersbrook, although some of the colours above were also used.<sup>182</sup> Outside shades are harder to identify because they were most often appraised without description. That could imply a conventional colour. William Watson's lower tenement was painted "lead colour" in 1755 by Francis Fenton and some of Parson Chandley's outside woodwork "oak

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<sup>175</sup> No information has been found hitherto in the Field or Building Books about sliding sash pairs. Those sashes glazed appear to have been a single unit and, possibly, side hinged.

<sup>176</sup> FB14 f63 and FB 20 f85

<sup>177</sup> FB14 f63

<sup>178</sup> FB17 f79

<sup>179</sup> FB3 f51, FB18 f145 & FB20 f32

<sup>180</sup> FB19 f145

<sup>181</sup> FB21 ff12, 30, 52, 104 & 108 (1762)

<sup>182</sup> FB6 ff53 & 73, FB7 f14 & ff, FB9 f101, FB11 f53, FB21 ff12 & 30 and passim. In this earlier period there is no mention of wallpapers.

colour" in 1757 by the same craftsman.<sup>183</sup> Were these exceptions? Further research may resolve the question.<sup>184</sup> Completion of the painting inferred that the house was now habitable. From initial digging to finished decor what was the cost of a typical "Fairbank" dwelling, say three storey with two rooms per floor? Figures drawn from the first ten years of the Field Books provide a general pricing structure. Digging cost £2 to £4, brickwork about £10 plus perhaps £35 for the bricks, paving about £5, slating £3 to £5, carpentry and joinery each £18 to £20, glazing around £12, plastering between £4 and £5, and painting from £4 to £6. A house of this size might well cost in total about £120, hence satisfying the requirement of those building leases which specified the minimum sum of £100 to be expended on house construction within a set period. At the other end of the spectrum were the two storey one up/one down dwellings so common on Norfolk land. Here and elsewhere an agreement might specify a minimum house value of as little as twenty or thirty pounds.<sup>185</sup> Quality of building, logically, must have been of a very inferior standard unless the minimum value was quite considerably exceeded. Conversely, it is arguable that based on Fairbank's figures and as part of a set of tenements with a shared roof, numerous party walls and the minimum of joinery, such a small house could be built for about thirty pounds. By setting such low thresholds the lessors were on the one hand creating a parameter for low quality accommodation, but on the other encouraging the building of housing that families could afford. If rents were set at the maximum usury rate of five per cent, annual payments for new £30 houses would be £1-10-0 each plus a share of the ground rent.<sup>186</sup>

#### NON-DOMESTIC BUILDING

The variety of type of housing was matched by that of smithies and workshops. A small building with one or two hearths at the back of the cutler's home was by no

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<sup>183</sup> FB6 f73 & FB9 f23; MD3865 (2)

<sup>184</sup> 18th century paintings suggest that white was not a common external colour. Window frames look darker, perhaps brown or fawn.

<sup>185</sup> SDR 1 & 4

<sup>186</sup> The usury rate seems to have been the basis. For example, five houses (four new and one repaired) built for £284-19-10 in 1789 were offered for rent at £13, an all-in rate of approximately four and a half per cent (MD 6853 [a] f41). A much earlier (1737) calculation by Thomas Wright that a £900 capital outlay was directly related to a £30 or three and one third per cent annual rent appears to be unduly pessimistic, at least in the short term (TC 518 f8).



means universal. Of course, as with housing, it is likely that Fairbank was involved principally with bigger schemes. Examples from his appraisals certainly illustrate some larger than anticipated, but a cross-section is cited to indicate the range. Thomas Cawton's smithy in the Black Swan Yard was built in 1753 with brickwork seven feet high and a little over eighteen feet by thirteen in length and breadth.<sup>187</sup> A smithy belonging to Widows Steven and Brightmore in 1760 was still single storey, but rather larger than Cawton's at about thirty feet by fifteen. Partitions divided the whole into three.<sup>188</sup> Fairbank also surveyed some two storey smithies. That of William Kerr in 1754 was some twenty-five by thirteen feet and almost twenty-three feet high with one partition wall and seven chimney pipes.<sup>189</sup> Those of Joseph Swan in Gibraltar and Samuel Warburton were a little larger.<sup>190</sup> The latter's brickwork was in part B & ½ and with a BL partition, suggesting a robust construction. Thomas Boulsover had a three storey building or buildings including a dwelling house constructed in 1760. His two smithies each had chamber and garret above. In a similar manner, another smithy built for Warburton three years later had two such rooms as part of the whole.<sup>191</sup> No detail is given to indicate the purpose, industrial or domestic, of the upper parts.

If smithies were the traditional adjunct to cutlers' dwellings, warehouses seem to have been comparative rarities before 1771.<sup>192</sup> Fairbank had a few in the early *Field Books*. John Markham's, adjoining his new smithies in 1755, was nearly fifty feet in length, fifteen feet wide and two storey. However, it was to share functions as both barn and stable.<sup>193</sup> Two others had over £40 worth of carpenter work, substantially more than the average three storey house. George Cawton's new warehouse, which also had stables, was three storeys high and some forty-two feet long. The description of the upper rooms as "warehouse chamber" and "warehouse garret" might suggest their potential use for storage purposes. Fairbank's 1761 "Estimate of the Buildings erected by the late

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<sup>187</sup> FB3 f43

<sup>188</sup> FB16 f93

<sup>189</sup> FB6 f43

<sup>190</sup> FB17 f127 (1760) & FB20 f42 (1761)

<sup>191</sup> FB16 f149 & FB24 f22 (1763)

<sup>192</sup> Sample years 1740, 1745, 1750, 1755 and so on to 1770 in WRRD have revealed in all only six mentions of warehouses in Sheffield. It is possible that they existed as parts of other buildings in this earlier period. They are increasingly in evidence in the WRRD Memorials only from the later 1770's.

<sup>193</sup> FB9 f61

J. Newsam" reveals a two storey warehouse of total value £89-9-8. In this case the stable was part of a separate construction.<sup>194</sup>

Early eighteenth century smithies and workshops were associated mainly with the cutlery and edge-tool trades. However, with the rapid emergence of new industries, in particular fused plate and silverware production, different and bigger working premises became essential. Fairbank's brother-in-law John Hirst had a new stamping shop, casting shops, silver smithy, wheel chamber and other rooms in 1754 and 1760.<sup>195</sup> Tudor & Co. had brickwork costed at £13-13-6¾ carried out on a mill, counting house, braziers' room, chasing shop, pickle room, charcoal places, stable and chamber, and carpenter and joiner work to the value of £13-5-4 plus £9-6-6¾ on the same premises.<sup>196</sup> John Hoyland & Co. owned a "long wing" of new workshops adjoining Pinson Lane and Burgess Street together with a "short wing" close by in 1763. The premises included stamp and button stamp shops, packing room, carding room, plating room, new casting shop, silver melting room, charcoal place, rolling shop, scratching room, turners' garret, filling (?filing) chamber and burnishing room.<sup>197</sup> At least part of the ensemble was three storey, and the carpenter work which was assessed in 1764 cost a massive £216-17-3¼. Hoyland's buildings must lay claim to having been one of the town's earliest factories.<sup>198</sup>

Besides silver and plated production there were other industries which also needed more working space. The White Lead Works, to the south of the Ponds, was largely two storey with drying rooms, stack houses, casting house, tub room, red lead oven and domestic accommodation costed by Fairbank from 1758.<sup>199</sup> New premises had to be constructed for the burgeoning steel industry. The Cutlers' Company built a cementation furnace in Scotland in 1759 although no costing has been found in the

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<sup>194</sup> FB17 f83 (1760) & FB20 f108 (1761)

<sup>195</sup> FB3 f56 & FB16 f143

<sup>196</sup> FB27 f 126 & FB28 f144/146 (1764) The rolling mill roof was costed separately.

<sup>197</sup> FB25 f142, FB26 f146 & FB28 f64

<sup>198</sup> Twenty years afterwards, it is known that 120 workers were employed there. (N. Scarfe: *Innocent Espionage: the La Rochefoucauld Brothers' Tour of England in 1795* (Woodbridge) 1995)

<sup>199</sup> FB13 f108, FB16 f83, FB17 f151/153 & FB18 f75 There was also a water wheel.

Field Books.<sup>200</sup> In 1762 a new building in Green Lane "intended for a Furnace for converting iron into steel" was recorded in WRRD, but again no Fairbank involvement is noted.<sup>201</sup> Two years later the Cutlers' Company undertook the construction of a four hearth crucible steel furnace in Scotland, together with clay house and pot house. For these we have some information. The furnace alone was appraised at over £74 for bricklaying and slating. By contrast, the cost of the crucible furnace of Messrs Love & Manson in Gibraltar in 1766 was just over £10 for bricklaying and a little under £9 for carpenter and joiner work.<sup>202</sup> It must have been much smaller, perhaps only a single unit.

Large though some of the above examples have been, the biggest single industrial building by far was the Silk Mill. Built by William Bower over several years from 1760, the whole including machinery is claimed by the *Sheffield Advertiser* to have cost in excess of £7000 by 1774, the time of its sale after Bower's bankruptcy. Another contemporary source (the printed sale notice) makes a much more extravagant statement that it had had more than £12,000 spent on it "within a few years".<sup>203</sup> The building was 149 feet at the front, and the east and west ends were thirty feet and thirty-eight feet six inches respectively. Five storeys contained "one of the most compleat setts of Silk Mills in the Kingdom". Standing near Colson Crofts, it must have dominated an area which was as yet hardly developed.<sup>204</sup> It is unfortunate that Fairbank has no extant record of the appraisal of any of the actual building although there remain costings of the ashlar work of the goight and the axle tree pier for William Bower.<sup>205</sup>

Both Silk Mill and Lead Mill were water-powered enterprises, two of a small number which lay within or close to the built-up area. Others were expanded or augmented.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> K. C. Barraclough: *Steelmaking before Bessemer* (London) 1984 Vol I p88

<sup>201</sup> WRRD AW 481 624 One of the missing Field Books (FB22) is for 1762.

<sup>202</sup> BB32 ff 32 & 52

<sup>203</sup> *Sheffield Advertiser* 29 Jan/5 Feb 1774 and British Museum Addnl MSS 27538 f223

<sup>204</sup> see the Fairbank Town Plan of 1771.

<sup>205</sup> FB18 ff7 & 61 (1760/61) There is a line in the contemporary Account Book (AB 4 f80) indicating that Robert Buxton did the carpenter and joiner work for the Silk Mill. It seems likely that the details were in the missing book FB22.

<sup>206</sup> The following information is drawn largely from D. Crossley ed: *Water Power*

In the Wicker, Thomas and Joseph Wilson built a tilt upstream of their wheel, probably in or around 1748.<sup>207</sup> Close by, Thomas Ford, tenant of Town Mill, shortly afterwards (in about 1750) constructed a ten trough cutler wheel. These changes are too early for the Field Books, so it is not possible to give detail of bricklaying or other work. Early in 1756 at Castle Orchards, some quantity surveying was done for William Blonk and Samuel Sheldon.<sup>208</sup> The wheel there had been re-slatted, and, more significantly, its dam extended, implying increased capacity from the six troughs of 1753.<sup>209</sup> In the Ponds area James Kenyon oversaw the beginnings of a major development of the dams and forge from 1765. Again the Fairbank evidence is limited in the early stages, in this case to ashlar work "about the shuttle" of Pond Forge Dam, which, with that of Pond Mill was enlarged to a joint area of nearly two acres, and to a small quantity of brickwork (just over £5 worth) at the forge.<sup>210</sup>

Besides the advance in industrial building, some public and commercial activity took place, although actual details of construction are in the main very sparse. At the end of the 1730's, for example, the Duke of Norfolk demolished the old Shambles near to Jehu Lane and replaced them in part by new Shambles and partly by thirty-four butchers' shops.<sup>211</sup> Other retail establishments must have been built during the following decades. About a dozen appear, mostly without location, in Field Books, and are rather more common than warehouses over the same period.<sup>212</sup> However, some two thirds are for valuations of painting which, on its own, does not necessarily indicate new building. John Kirkby, druggist, in Hartshead had his house and shop (including seventy-three drawers) painted by Francis Fenton in 1756 in premises likely to have been built much earlier.<sup>213</sup> However, near contemporary jobs in Change Alley for the late E. Storer and in Burgess Street for Jonathan Moore were for shops on sites that had been open spaces

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*on the Sheffield Rivers* (Sheffield) 1989

<sup>207</sup> Wilson (Sharrow Mill) Archives Ledger 1 The main series of tilting accounts began in that year.

<sup>208</sup> FB9 ff90 & 99

<sup>209</sup> ACM S378 f148

<sup>210</sup> FB29 f80 (1765) & BB 42 f8 (1770)

<sup>211</sup> ACM S377 f91 (1739) The butchers' shops first appear in the Rentals (ACM S158) at Lady Day 1740.

<sup>212</sup> The constant problem of identification is recalled again here. In local terminology "shop" is often used as a shortened form for "workshop", although Fairbank is usually more careful in this matter.

<sup>213</sup> FB11 f15, Wheat Colln 1622/1623

in 1736.<sup>214</sup> Ezra Twigg's joiner work in four new three storey tenements (almost certainly in Snig Hill where he held freehold land) included two shop fronts, one of which may well have been for his own use.<sup>215</sup> And Robert Kent's two storey house (possibly in Pond Lane) also had a shop front noted in Fairbank's brickwork computations in 1765.<sup>216</sup>

Like shops, new public houses are rather thinly recorded. The probability for most of the smaller hostelries is that they were based in ordinary houses or shops and adapted rather than purpose built. This was Professor Beresford's conclusion for the east end of Leeds a little later in the century.<sup>217</sup> New brewhouses scattered through the Field Books are only somewhat doubtful circumstantial evidence of their existence.<sup>218</sup> Fairbank and William Middleton, an affluent plater, both had brewhouses built.<sup>219</sup> Neither was a would-be innkeeper. In another case, one of the tenements built by Ezra Twigg in Snig Hill had both shop and brewhouse, so could well have been a small public house.<sup>220</sup> Reference to the "Cushion" yard in Sycamore Alley in 1755 more firmly indicates building or conversion since the date of the early leases of Alsop Fields.<sup>221</sup> Church Burgesses' records do give some indication that public houses were built on parcels of Pinson Croft leased out between 1737 and 1740. Seven are noted in the nineteenth century, but their date of origin is not stated.<sup>222</sup> More attributable to the earlier period is one built before 1782 on the piece leased to George Middleton and Robert Ellis in 1756. Middleton was an innkeeper, so would probably have erected it for himself.<sup>223</sup> In similar vein, probable rather than firm, the "Crown and Anchor" in Cheney Square and the "Falcon" in Silver Street appear to be of this era.<sup>224</sup> Leader, citing the *Leeds Mercury*, claims that Sheffield had its own porter brewery by 1744, and other

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<sup>214</sup> FB12 f123 (1757) & FB13 f65 (1758)

<sup>215</sup> FB19 f5, WRRD AS 51 64 (1759) & BT 255 332 (1774) Twigg, grocer and chandler, was occupying premises in Snig Hill in 1774. He was one of the four occupiers of the property mortgaged.

<sup>216</sup> FB29 f118, ACM S158 M1762 & M1766

<sup>217</sup> M. Beresford op cit pp238/239

<sup>218</sup> FB12 f29, FB17 f79, FB22 f140 and passim

<sup>219</sup> FB18 ff71 & 143 (1761), FB28 f54 (1764)

<sup>220</sup> FB19 f5ff

<sup>221</sup> FB9 f57

<sup>222</sup> CB 1634 in Burgess Street, Coalpit Lane and Pinson Street. None are named.

<sup>223</sup> ibid & SDR 20

<sup>224</sup> SDR 72 and WRRD GS 31 31

secondary sources that Pond Lane Brewery adjacent to the Leadmill was founded in 1758.<sup>225</sup> No primary material has been found to support either. What is based on clearer evidence is the existence of a wholesale brewhouse in Campo Lane, possibly some years before May 1758.<sup>226</sup> Joint owners John Taylor, mason, and Robert Hickling, distiller, mortgaged the house, shop, ginhouse, grainery and brewhouse lately erected by Taylor to Elizabeth Parkin on the 13th of that month. A Mr. Hickling was also charged briefly for a small (undescribed) holding in Pond Lane juxtaposed in the Levy for the Wounded and Rate Book of 1759/1760 to the White Lead Works.<sup>227</sup> Almost contemporary was partial rebuilding or upgrading of the "Angel Inn" in 1762. Fairbank measured carpenter and joiner work in the long room, chaise house, billiard room and "in the house" for Mr. Glanville the proprietor. Unlike a run-of-the-mill beerhouse, the "Angel" was a staging post for the Leeds to London coach and a high profile establishment.<sup>228</sup>

Glanville's "Angel" yard had been the venue for theatrical performances in 1760.<sup>229</sup> Two years later Sheffield had its own Theatre and Assembly Rooms on Norfolk Street.<sup>230</sup> Some detail is forthcoming from a Field Book: the foundations, in sharp contrast to the cellar depths of most domestic building, were between eighteen and twenty-nine inches according to Fairbank's reckoning.<sup>231</sup> The Assembly House was the more robust of the two with 2B & ½ foundation brickwork and 2B and B & ½ for the walls above ground, apart from some BL partitions. It was sixty-four feet six inches to the front and twenty-nine feet nine inches wide. Its maximum height was over thirty-two feet. The Play House was just below thirty feet high with a frontage of about

<sup>225</sup> R.E. Leader: *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century* (Sheffield) Second edn 1905 p209; A. Barnard: *The Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland* (London) 1890/91 offprint "Pond Lane Brewery"; D. Parry & A. Walker: *Bygone Breweries of Sheffield* (Manchester) 1983

<sup>226</sup> WRRD AP 714/715 901/902 supported by Rate Books 1758/1759 ff. No name is appended to the Rate Book entries which continue like this up to 1784/1785 when J. Hawksworth took over.

<sup>227</sup> The White Lead Works paid an annual rate of 12s; Mr. Hickling paid 1s 6d.

<sup>228</sup> FB21 f48 and *Sheffield Public Advertizer* (Nos 26 and 28) 1760

<sup>229</sup> *Sheffield Public Advertizer* (nos 22 and 31) 1760

<sup>230</sup> As early as November 1753 the Town Trustees and Cutlers' Company met to discuss a proposal to erect a building suitable for public meetings, receptions and the entertainment of guests on public occasions (TT 14 f134). Perhaps the Assembly House was a belated means of filling the hiatus.

<sup>231</sup> FB20 f56ff (1761)

seventy-five feet and side of thirty-six feet. In spite of its greater overall dimensions it had only B & ½ foundations and walls.<sup>232</sup> Slating and mossaing carried out by John Champion was costed at £37-11-0¼.<sup>233</sup> Both interiors were quite expensively laid out with joiner work to a total of more than £173. The Assembly House had walls with architraves, dados, moulds and plinths, a tea room and a gallery; the Play House had pit, gallery and side boxes as well as its stage.<sup>234</sup> All must have been completed before the visit of the Duchess of Norfolk in January 1763.<sup>235</sup>

This outline description of both domestic and non-domestic building between 1736 and 1771 is essentially an understatement of the progression of activity. William Fairbank could have dealt with a mere fraction of all the jobs after 1753, and indeed his records for various tradesmen show far too little work to keep most fully occupied.<sup>236</sup> Of the sixty or so bricklayers and carpenters named in the Field Books to 1765, over half carried out just one or two jobs costed by Fairbank. Other sources provide at least ten more names for the same period, and those men calling themselves simply mason or joiner have not been included. From available statistics which indicate a doubling of population in the thirty-five years following Gosling's 1736 plan, it is evident that some two thousand extra houses or tenements would have been needed to accommodate town families, and more if the spread into Brightside and Ecclesall is added.<sup>237</sup> Besides these dwellings were smithies, workshops and other industrial, commercial and community buildings large and small, along with a multitude of repairs, renewals, alterations and extensions.<sup>238</sup>

<sup>232</sup> No price is noted for the bricklaying of Anthony Chapman and John Walker.

<sup>233</sup> FB20 f98 No carpenter work costing has been found. It may have been in the missing FB22. Plastering is in FB23 f2 and joinery and painting in FB26.

<sup>234</sup> FB26 ff96 & 108 [1764] The joiner work and painting were both computed more than two years after the brickwork.

<sup>235</sup> *Sheffield Public Advertizer* (No 141) Jan 1763

<sup>236</sup> For example Widow Purslove in fifteen years from 1740 had about 80 carpenter and joiner jobs. Robert Unwin (father and son) from 1747 to 1770 had 123 carpenter and 20 brickwork jobs. Anthony Chapman between 1760 and 1773 had about 120 bricklaying and other walling and paving jobs.

<sup>237</sup> The estimate allows for the subdivision of some older houses. See also Chap. 1 Population

<sup>238</sup> Fairbank often refers to new brickwork or the old part of a building (eg FB6 f31, FB16 f97, FB19 f25, FB21 f60 and passim)

## TOWN SERVICES

Ongoing growth of population and of building created a need for better street lighting, cleaning and maintenance and for an external water supply. From late in 1734 street lamps were mounted in town, and from this date the Town Trustees' accounts show regular expenditure on lighting, repairs and additions.<sup>239</sup> The effect of these oil lamps must have been minimal. Only twenty-six were in operation in 1745 and 1746, and even the addition of ten more the following year is unlikely to have made a great improvement to nocturnal visibility, even though they were allowed to burn almost all night.<sup>240</sup> Other bodies occasionally took an interest in street lighting, if not the initiative. Hollis Hospital Trustees accepted Messrs Kenyons' offer to erect lamps to light Hollis Street in lieu of payment for the addition of a small parcel of ground including a disused well in 1761/1762.<sup>241</sup> Cleaning of wells, of Barker's Pool and scavenging rubbish from the streets was a regular cost to the Trustees.<sup>242</sup> The success of the exercise for the town's thoroughfares in general, however, is open to question. Unlike Leeds and Manchester, Sheffield had no Improvement Act during this period, although the effectiveness of such legislation in the former towns is less than certain.<sup>243</sup> The Leeds sanction of a £5 fine for a householder's failure to pave and clean the area in front of each property may have had an impact. In Sheffield the quarterly opening of water cocks to flush streets and gutters was apparently much more efficient than other forms of rubbish removal, in that townsfolk were forewarned and made a real effort to take advantage of the flow.<sup>244</sup>

Until the eighteenth century local inhabitants had relied for domestic water on the rivers and on a large number of wells, both public and private.<sup>245</sup> As early as 1697, Peter Whalley, a Nottingham engineer had engaged with the Duke of Norfolk to erect

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<sup>239</sup> D. Hey op cit p206; TT 14 passim; Tibbitts Colln 350 ff31, 36-38, 56, 59, 60, 62 and passim

<sup>240</sup> TT 14 f113; Tibbitts Colln 367 f74; D. Hey op cit p206. The contrast between the performance of oil and gas is very clear from the *Iris* 5 Oct 1819.

<sup>241</sup> LD 1163 (letters 21 Dec 1761 & 18 Feb 1762)

<sup>242</sup> TT 14 passim

<sup>243</sup> M. Beresford op cit pp101ff and S. & B. Webb: *English Local Government: Statutory Authorities* (London) 1922 pp256ff

<sup>244</sup> R.E. Leader op cit p156 citing the autobiography of Samuel Roberts.

<sup>245</sup> Bagshawe (Sheffield) 3371, Bramley 327 (1) & WRRD passim The use of a "draw well" is a common feature in early assignments of lease.



"a Waterhouse with Wheeles and Engine" and "to lay pipes of lead through the principal streets of the said Town of Sheffield . . . from Ladies Bridge to Barkers Pool" where a 300 hogshead cistern would hold the water.<sup>246</sup> Whalley, it is claimed, died before the scheme could be implemented.<sup>247</sup> However, an account in the Staveley Iron Records for 1700/1701 suggests that some kind of waterworks were in operation or at least in a stage of development.<sup>248</sup> A Mr. Chappell mentioned there had also been entered in Norfolk Rentals of 1701 and 1702 (but without a location), and "Waterworks" in Town Trust accounts showed arrears in 1705 and 1706.<sup>249</sup> Even so, no permanent system could have resulted as in 1713 two other outsiders, John Goodwin of Bawtry, warfinger, and Robert Littlewood of Thriberg, milnwright, leased a water corn mill with its springs, streams and dams at White House near Upperthorpe from George Bamforth. During this and the following year, they made further contracts: for 21 years with the Duke of Norfolk, 99 with the free tenants of Nether Hallam and 100 with the Town Trustees. The last gave Goodwin and Littlewood leave to erect a cistern near Townhead Cross, "to break up streets for placing, replacing and repairing pipes . . . and all other powers necessary for that purpose". They were also enabled to improve the White House dams.<sup>250</sup> The height of dams and cistern were, however, insufficient to provide water for upper parts of the town.

By the time of Gosling's 1736 Town Plan, Littlewood had become sole proprietor and the Bamforth lease had been renewed.<sup>251</sup> On Robert Littlewood's death the following

<sup>246</sup> British Museum Addnl MSS 27538 f314. A comparable project was undertaken in Leeds the following year, but with two reservoirs in the higher part of town (M. Beresford op cit p7)

<sup>247</sup> W. Terrey: *History and Description of the Sheffield Water Works* (Sheffield) 1924 booklet. I am most grateful to Jean Cass for our discussions of the problems associated with the water supply arising from a dearth of early plans and of some key development dates.

<sup>248</sup> SIR 2 pt2 f108 There are four entries for "wood to Sheff: waterwork" and one for "wood, bark & rammell" all related to a Mr. Chappell. My thanks to Chris Ball for noting these items.

<sup>249</sup> ACM S158 1701-1710 (some pages are missing); TT 13 Arrears were found on f523 and 527, but no earlier payments - they are not individually entered ie this is not a Rental.

<sup>250</sup> SDR 956 & Bagshawe 3371 This latter detailed, but undated, document is essentially a secondary source. Even so, it fits largely with the primary items in packet SDR 956 deposited in the Town Hall, so appears to be generally reliable. It uses the phrase "about fifty years ago" before going on to discuss Goodwin and Littlewood, and therefore probably dates from c1760/65.

year, William Battie, gentleman, and Joshua Matthewman, cutler, both of Sheffield, purchased what appears to be a controlling interest in the water works, although Robert junior had day-to-day responsibility. Then, between 1740 and 1745 the new men bought up the remaining share holdings, giving them absolute ownership.<sup>252</sup> During this period, or possibly earlier, an attempt was made to supply the higher streets via dual pipes from Near Clough Spring and six reservoirs at Crookesmoor. The proprietors, presumably to save money, made a tactical mistake in running the water to the existing cistern at Town Head Cross and taking pipes up Blind Lane to Barker's Pool. As they had planned, the head of water was quite adequate, but owing to a failure of the pipework to take the pressure "this project tho' attended with considerable expence [was] laid aside".<sup>253</sup>

When a new route from bigger dams using gravity feed to Barker's Pool and higher parts of town was implemented is not clear. It may have been in 1767/1768 or even later.<sup>254</sup> Fairbank surveyed the location of town pipes, branches and cocks in 1756 and 1758 showing the Water House near Townhead Cross and pipework in Blind Lane, suggesting a system was in operation which had directly replaced the failed scheme, rather than showing a radical change.<sup>255</sup> A detailed account of 1759 for Matthewman & Co. lists the streets, and, although dated August of that year (that is twelve months after the last Field Book entry), covers the same ground and refers to the same survey.<sup>256</sup> Use

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<sup>251</sup> SDR 956 There was some mortgage debt to Edmund Waterhouse and one sixth of the works in the hands of Elizabeth Gere, an old mortgagee of Goodwin's.

<sup>252</sup> *ibid*

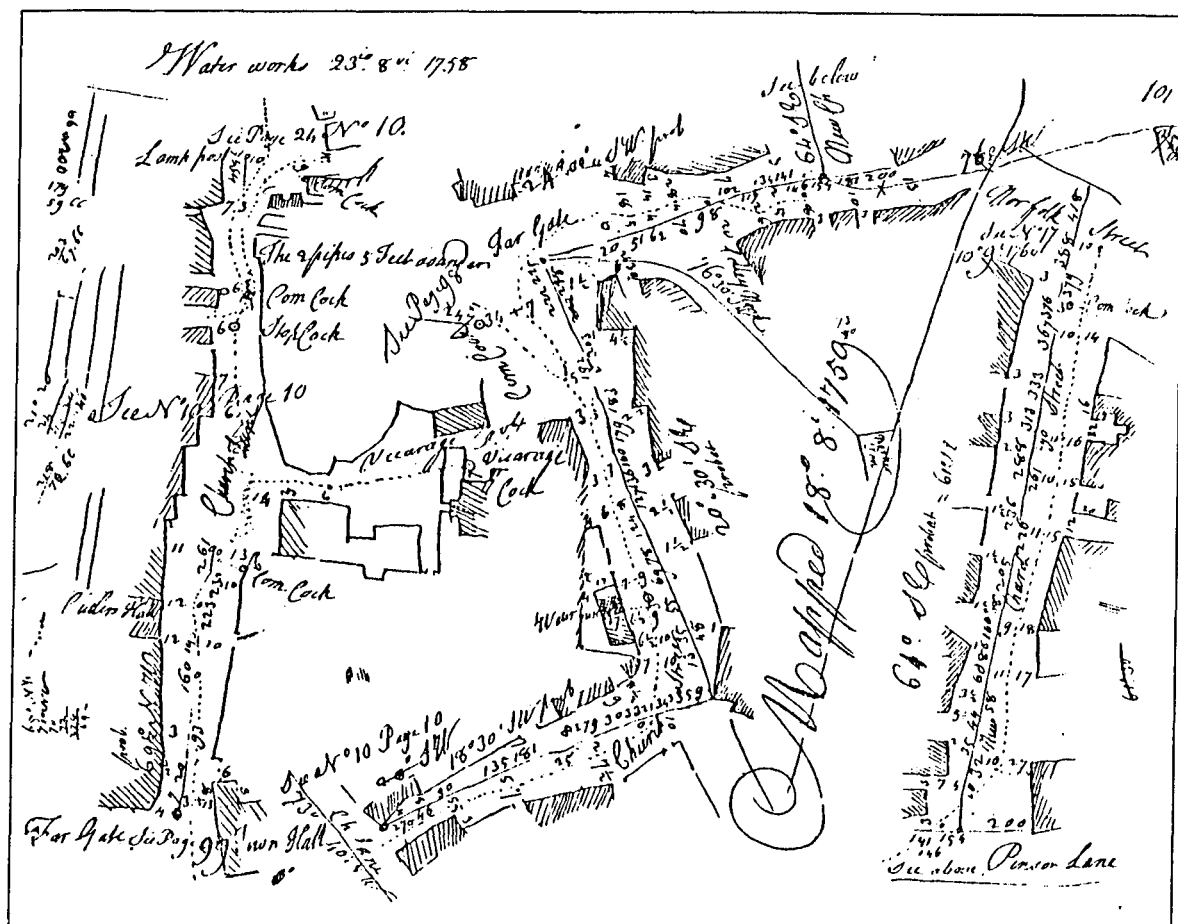
<sup>253</sup> *ibid* & Bagshawe 3371 The writer of the latter claims 1737 for the new mains. Articles of agreement of February 1740 in SDR 956 in part concern the making of new lead pipes, the boring of wooden pipes and "making the ground good covering the same again". Without being specific this could refer to the dual supply.

<sup>254</sup> This system is discussed in the undated Bagshawe (Sheffield) 3371 and refers to a plan, possibly Fairbank plan EWa 8L based on FB32 ff46/47 dated April 1767 and showing an *intended* new line of pipes from above Crookesmoor and running down Glossop Road to its junction with Broomhall Lane. This line is only confirmed in 1787 (EWa9S). See also Fairbank FB34 ff1 & 33 (1767/68). No supporting evidence from the Norfolk Rentals (ACM S158) has been found.

<sup>255</sup> FB10 ff49ff, FB12 ff37ff & FB13 ff98-105 This has a degree of corroboration from a Church Burgesses' lease of 1755 to Battie and Matthewman which describes the parcel of land to the north of Balm Green as "near Sough Mouth" (SDR 956).

<sup>256</sup> FB13 f101 has August 1759 as the date of map drawing from the survey.

Fig. 14.4 Part of Fairbank's Field Book Survey for Sheffield Water Works in 1758 (FB13 f101)



of the phrase "planning streets with waterworks", given Fairbank's usual practice, is more likely to mean "drawing a plan of the streets" *post factum* rather than what we might understand as forward planning.<sup>257</sup> Certainly by the early 1760's the proprietors were well aware of the inadequacy of supply, partly because of "the increase of Inhabitants" and also owing to the height of some streets. Other problems exacerbated the situation: "unfair and clandestine practices" (unauthorised tapping of the pipes), low water rents, "precarious tenure of the Water Works" (relatively short leases), and a claimed average return on outlay for the past and present proprietors of three per cent.<sup>258</sup> The incentive to invest was low. Even so, Matthewman and partners wanted to make two large new reservoirs at Far Clough, in a higher part of Crookesmoor, to double storage capacity in that area, and to enlarge both dams at White House to

<sup>257</sup> Fairbank AB4 f iv The supply was available in Barker's Pool which seems to be the upper limit. No mention is made of Coalpit Lane or Norfolk Street.

<sup>258</sup> Bagshawe 3371; Samuel Dawson paid six shillings water rent per half year in 1763 for his house in Paradise Square (TC 519 f24)

continue to supply the lower town.<sup>259</sup> They proposed an Act of Parliament to give them greater security and powers, but without success. Sheffield's water provision would continue to be insufficient for many more years to come.

## CONCLUSION

By 1771 town streets had expanded peripherally at most points of the compass and to such a degree that the farthest developments, at Pinson Croft (Burgess and Cross Streets), Hollis Croft, Gibraltar and Townfield (Trinity Street), were now pressing beyond the radius of six hundred yards which had comfortably confined the urban area in 1736.<sup>260</sup> Two of Sheffield's main landholders, the Norfolk estate and the Church Burgesses, had made substantial blocks of building plots, some twenty acres in all, available on lease at Colson Crofts, Alsop Fields, Parkhill, Pinson Croft and Townfield, leading to quite concentrated sectors of new building. Available evidence, though, suggests that construction work continued over time, for many years in some cases, rather than there being any rapid overall saturation. Paradoxically, despite ongoing demand for sites and the relatively advantageous income from house ground rents, many of the central open spaces of Gosling's Sheffield, upwards of ten acres of potential building land remained largely untouched. Church Burgesses' holdings at Wade's and in part of Brelsforth's Orchards, Shrewsbury Hospital ground at Jeffery Crofts and Hickstile Field, Church glebe at Vicarage Croft and Samuel Shore's gardens at Gosnock Hall (Snighill) still awaited development. Infill would take place here over the next three decades.

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<sup>259</sup> The new Crookesmoor reservoirs would supply through cast iron pipes; White House would continue to use wood (Bagshawe 3371).

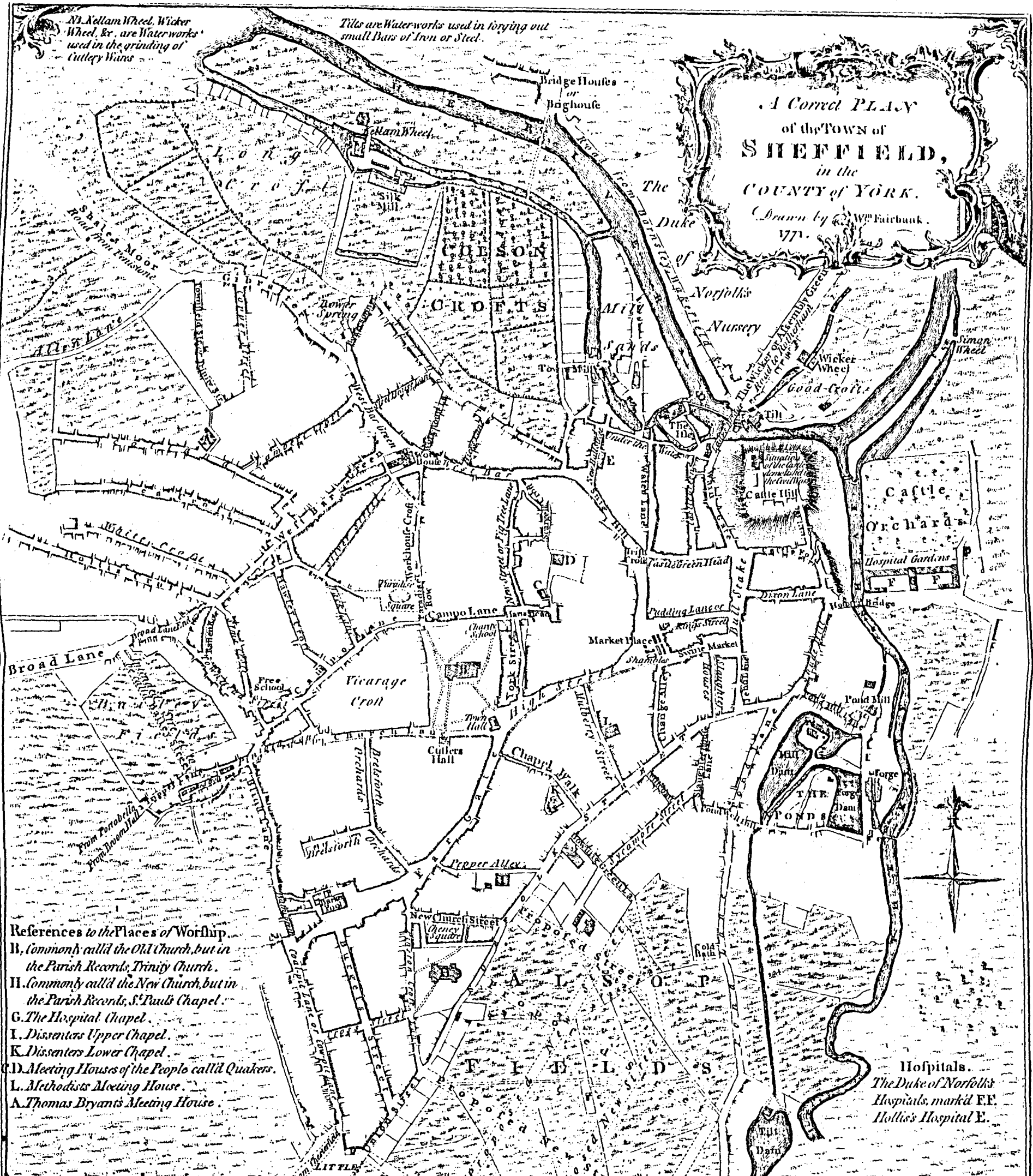
<sup>260</sup> Apart from the Parkhill development.

W. Kellam Wheel, Wicker Wheel, &c. are Waterworks used in the grinding of Cutlery Wares

Tills are Waterworks used in forging out small Bars of Iron or Steel.

A Correct PLAN  
of the TOWN of  
**SHEFFIELD,**  
in the  
COUNTY of YORK.

Drawn by W. Fairbank  
1771.



- References to the Places of Worship.
- B. Commonly call'd the Old Church, but in the Parish Records, Trinity Church.
  - H. Commonly call'd the New Church, but in the Parish Records, S. Paul's Chapel.
  - G. The Hospital Chapel.
  - I. Dissenters Upper Chapel.
  - K. Dissenters Lower Chapel.
  - C. D. Meeting Houses of the People call'd Quakers.
  - L. Methodists Meeting House.
  - A. Thomas Bryan's Meeting House.

Hospitals.  
The Duke of Norfolk's  
Hospitals, mark'd FF.  
Hollis's Hospital E.

301

302

## CHAPTER 15 INFILL AND OUTREACH - SHEFFIELD 1771 TO 1797

The year 1771 marks a very appropriate point for beginning the study of town development in the last part of the eighteenth century. It was in that year that William Fairbank produced his "Correct Plan of the Town of Sheffield", the first town plan since that of Gosling in 1736. This date is also significant for other reasons since it was from Michaelmas 1771 that the Norfolk estate issued the first of its leases for ninety-nine years, a term soon imitated by most, if not all local landlords.<sup>1</sup> The estate had the undeveloped part of Alsop Fields planned in outline, and at around the same time fellow proprietors were considering new programmes.<sup>2</sup> Hollis Hospital Trustees were viewing Brockohill as the site of a new hospital, church and housing, Thomas Broadbent was about to build Paradise Square, and Walter Osborne was at the planning stage of his development just over the River Don at Bridgehouses.<sup>3</sup> 1797 as the terminal date is principally necessitated by the production of Fairbank's second town plan, but supported by a general drawing to a close of sequences of leases issued by the bigger landholders, and by the relative paucity of evidence for new building in the two or three years leading up to the turn of the century.<sup>4</sup>

### DOMINATION OF THE NORFOLK ESTATE

As for the earlier period, building leases contracted by the Norfolk estate essentially dominated the growth process. There are practical problems involved in separating them from ordinary leases in that, apart from agricultural terms which were for twenty-one years and industrial terms which could be for twenty-one, forty-two or

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<sup>1</sup> The first of these were dated March 1772, but back-dated to Michaelmas 1771 (ACM S382 ff1 & 2). The idea of the 99 year lease was much earlier. The Act "to enable Edward Duke of Norfolk to grant building leases for 99 years of all or any part of his lands in or near the Township of Sheffield" was passed in June 1739, but not implemented until this later period (*House of Commons Journal* Vol 23 f349 12 Geo II).

<sup>2</sup> see the 1771 Town Plan

<sup>3</sup> LD 1164 f23 (1770), Fairbank Plan 1771 & Fairbank AB4 f71 (1772)

<sup>4</sup> Leases from the bigger landholders did not end completely. They were fewer and more scattered. It might be argued here that Fairbank's Parish Map of 1795 is an equal contender for the time boundary set, but this is less well supported as a parameter by other factors. For example, the Church Burgesses had a sequence of leases ending in 1796, and the Town Trustees a similar series to 1797. The last Sheffield Directory for seventeen years is also dated 1797.

sixty-three, all others from the mid-1770's were for ninety-nine.<sup>5</sup> It also appears quite common for some building to have taken place on a parcel before the actual date of the agreement which accounts for the phrase "all erections already or hereafter . ." applied to many building leases.<sup>6</sup> Where these words are not written, it is difficult at times to ascertain whether houses on the parcel are new or not.<sup>7</sup> Even with old housing, there could still be an intention to build again. Hence, the number of identified building leases is essentially approximate. With that caveat in mind, it is calculated that between 750 and 800 building leases in some fifty-five streets were issued by the Norfolk estate in the years from 1771 to 1797. These figures also include small incursions into the neighbouring townships of Brightside and Ecclesall, which are clearly part of the whole urban spread.<sup>8</sup>

Such large numbers certainly indicate the extent of the Norfolk involvement in freeing for housing and for other development large tracts of former gardens or farming land in the immediate vicinity of the town. Location and timing of this letting of building plots was very different from that of the earlier period which was characterised by blocks of leases in three main areas - Alsop Fields, Colson Crofts and Parkhill - plus a few elsewhere. Many of those leases were packed into very brief or fairly brief periods. Apart from the atypical thirteen leases in Carver Street on one day in January 1788, the vast majority post-1771 were contracted in ones and twos over a decade or more.<sup>9</sup> As

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<sup>5</sup> In the earlier Norfolk lease books eg S377 & 378 the building leases are to be found in the "At Will" section, and in general are easy to identify.

<sup>6</sup> Leases were in most cases back-dated from the day of signing to a convenient Lady Day or Michaelmas, usually the nearest. But this was not always so. For example, Samuel Roberts, merchant, whose two building leases were signed on 1st Feb 1780 had them both dated Lady Day 1779. Building was taking place on each parcel and was still unfinished. An interesting corollary is that his first half-year rent was "forgiven" in consequence (ACM S382 ff38/39). A note appended to a 1780 Rental (S158 M1780 f6) comments: "This ground (a Lambert Street garden) is now built upon and entirely covered by a Malthouse whereof Mr. Binks has this day agreed to accept a Building Lease at 15s per annum". The garden was 3s.

<sup>7</sup> Green field sites were most likely to provide building lots.

<sup>8</sup> Building in the Wicker (Brightside) and between Coalpit Lane and Carver Street (Ecclesall) was nearer to the Old Church, the nominal centre of town, than much of that in, say, Alsop Fields or Gibraltar.

<sup>9</sup> For example leasing in Colson Crofts continued from 1781 to 1796 (ACM S382 f92r to S383 f230) and in Eyre Street from 1784 to 1804 (S382 f125r to S383 f290). There were occasionally bigger blocks; the most "blocked" was Charles

far as timing is concerned, the 1770's appear to be little changed from the preceding decade with its relative dearth of Norfolk building agreements.<sup>10</sup> Up to 1777 only two or three per year are recorded. Then from 1778 can be noted a steady increase from half-a-dozen to more than forty in 1783, followed by a decline and consequently by peaks of about sixty and seventy in 1788 and 1791 respectively, in what must be identified as a boom period comparable to the contemporary expansion at Bath, Birmingham and Manchester noted by Chalklin.<sup>11</sup> From the latter year the numbers fell away steadily to a handful by the end of the century, slowed in part by the apparent saturation of the market for building plots as many others had also released land during the 1780's, and then by the economic impact of the French wars.<sup>12</sup> Besides this rise and fall the spread was inclusive of almost every part of town where the Duke had property. Even in the old areas like Waingate, Bullstake and Lady's Bridge opportunity to build was offered by demolition or use of backside space.<sup>13</sup>

In sharp contrast to these essentially piecemeal additions, and to a town like Leeds, for example, where peripheral land was in the hands of freeholders and "the unit of urban extension . . . in almost every case the single small field", the largest development by far was in the former Alsop Fields where approximately 160 building leases were contracted for Arundel, Charles, Duke, Eyre, Furnival, Howard, Norfolk, Surrey and Union Streets and their respective lanes.<sup>14</sup> Part of the grid is indicated by dotted lines on the 1771 Plan, so the streets had been planned prior to that date, but after 1766 when Fairbank produced a field plan of the area.<sup>15</sup> As may be expected, the leases progressed southwards and eastwards from Sycamore Street and the already partly developed Norfolk Street. Union Street, the continuation of Norfolk Street, had its first building lease in 1780, followed by Arundel Street from 1781, and Howard Street from

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Street with a six in 1788 (S383 ff58 to 60), three in 1792 (f57), three and four in 1793 (ff 175 to 178) and three in 1796 (ff 231 to 232).

<sup>10</sup> Building leases are to be found mainly in ACM S382 & 383, with a few in S380.

<sup>11</sup> C.W. Chalklin: *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (London) 1974 Chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> Much more will be said in the next chapter concerning inflation in the local building industry.

<sup>13</sup> ACM S380 f97, S382 ff113 & [143], & S158 LD1790

<sup>14</sup> See the 1797 Fairbank town plan; M. Beresford: *East End, West End, the Face of Leeds during Urbanisation 1684-1842* (Leeds) 1988 pp17 & 70

<sup>15</sup> ACM SheS 142S



1783.<sup>16</sup> Eyre Street began its leases for building in 1784, Charles Street in 1788, Duke Street in 1792 and Furnival Street in 1793.<sup>17</sup> For Arundel, Duke, Eyre and Furnival Streets leases continued to 1804, and for the others to 1796 or 1798.<sup>18</sup>

Two other adjacent sectors of town which jointly exceeded the expansion in Alsop Fields, but developed as quite separate entities, were the Park and the Ponds. The former, made up of High Street, Duke Street and Parkhill (later Broad Street), had about ninety new building leases between 1781 and 1799. The latter had slightly fewer, perhaps eighty, with some on the west side of Pond Lane (and hence arguably in Alsop Fields), others fronting the Lane on the other side, and yet others close to the colliery and forges. The earliest building lease of the period is dated 1776, and the sequence continues with relatively few breaks to 1796.<sup>19</sup> Other areas each with thirty to forty building leases were Bailey Fields, Broad Lane, Carver Street, Little Sheffield Moor and the Wicker. Bailey Fields appears to have had small incursions before 1771, and parcels of building plot- (or possibly garden-) size appear in the lease book as twenty-one year terms from 1770.<sup>20</sup> Broad Lane had some rebuilding in 1771, new building in 1774, yet its building leases appear to begin in 1783.<sup>21</sup> Carver Street parcels were let from October or perhaps a few months earlier in 1784.<sup>22</sup> Little Sheffield Moor for the most part concerns that area to the west of Porter Lane and adjoining the Chesterfield Turnpike, and the Wicker the land on both sides of the Rotherham Turnpike, together with Good Croft between road and river.<sup>23</sup> Wicker and Good Croft building leases began in 1774 and continued to 1808, with twenty-three more from 1798 over and above the quoted figure.<sup>24</sup> The Moor leases were later starters (1790) and ended in 1798.<sup>25</sup> Of the lesser streets (in quantitative terms of building leases),

<sup>16</sup> ACM S382 ff38 & 39, f79r and f110r. It also seems likely that the 1781 leases to Tudor and Leader were for building, although some had already taken place (ff80/81)

<sup>17</sup> ACM S382 f125r, S383 f56, f140 and f164

<sup>18</sup> S383 ff290/291, f232, f234 & f248

<sup>19</sup> A single stray lease for "a new street off Pond Lane" (S383 f265) is dated 1801

<sup>20</sup> ACM S379 ff332/333 They are back-dated to 1768.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid* f353 & S382 87r, S158 M1774 f36

<sup>22</sup> S382 f132r. A "proposed street from Little Sheffield Moor near Coalpit Lane to Trippett Lane" seems to refer to Carver Street (f125r Aug 1784).

<sup>23</sup> The Turnpikes clearly encouraged new building alongside the town ingress/ egress sections.

<sup>24</sup> S380 f54 & S383 f308

Garden Street, Spring Street and West Bar/West Bar Green had about twenty each, Blind Lane eighteen, Colson Croft sixteen, and Bridgehouses, Gibraltar, new Market Street, Trippet Lane and West Street each a dozen or more. Most were spread over the 1780's to the mid-1790's. The remainder were in single figures, but together accounted for over a hundred contracts. They were similarly spread.

Relatively little insight into ongoing additions to the housing stock is given by leases. More information can be gathered from Norfolk Rentals and often belatedly from WRRD Memorials.<sup>26</sup> The Rentals indicate buildings "now erecting" on two former Broad Lane gardens at Michaelmas 1774, a tenant's intention to build on a garden at Millsands in 1777, and "part of Pond Meadow now being built upon" in 1778.<sup>27</sup> An entry in the latter Rental has particularly important annotations: two houses fronting Gibraltar "not yet finished" were being constructed at "customary prices in the town", and "a sum borrowed (ie a mortgage entered into) to pay the workmen's wages".<sup>28</sup> Builders were secured "till the whole is discharged".<sup>29</sup> Customary prices in building mirrored practices in cutlery and other trades, and help explain many of William Fairbank's appraisals of work done.<sup>30</sup> In 1786 Broad Lane had its own brickyard, and elsewhere in the town and its immediate environs were seven more on Norfolk land at Sheffield Moor (2), the Park (2), Bailey Field, and the Walk Mill (2).<sup>31</sup> The Memorials hint at the scale of building in Carver Street. On three parcels let in 1785 and 1786, two, seven and nine messuages had been built by the early 1790's.<sup>32</sup> In Surrey Street, Market Street, the Park, Charles Street, Little Sheffield Moor, the Wicker, Waingate and Howard/Arundel Street new building had been undertaken at around the same time.<sup>33</sup> Replacement building, although not adding to the quantity of housing was

<sup>25</sup> S383 ff106 & 256 The earlier date coincided with the enclosure of this area.

<sup>26</sup> The Rentals for this period are all ACM S158 and identified by the half-year (Lady Day and Michaelmas + year)

<sup>27</sup> S158 M1774 f36, LD1777 f53 & M1778 f11

<sup>28</sup> Customary prices were the standard practice in the cutlery trades in Hallamshire.

<sup>29</sup> S158 M1778 f27 See Joseph Unwin's agreements S382 ff65 to 74

<sup>30</sup> Craftsman and client could agree to a job at customary labour costs. Fairbank calculated the work done.

<sup>31</sup> S158 LD1786 f51 & M1786 (Casual Rents) The Walk Mill brickyard was close to the Wicker.

<sup>32</sup> WRRD DG 416 607 (1791), DH 49 57 (1791) & DM 151 185 (1793)

<sup>33</sup> *ibid* DH 718 928, DH 721 934, DH 722 935, DL 161 193 (all 1792), DP 201

instrumental in improving its quality. Examples from 1789 can be cited when renewal after demolition was carried out in Fargate, Townhead Cross and near the Free School.<sup>34</sup>

As in the earlier period, Norfolk leasing overshadowed the rest, and this time clearly much more than before. The total of Church Burgesses' ninety-nine year leases between 1778 and 1799 was approximately ninety.<sup>35</sup> Not all of those were for building purposes. One penny or three halfpence per square yard per annum rents for green field sites - Broad Lane/Solly Street/Edward Street (Pittfield), Little Sheffield Moor, and Queen Street/North Street (Wade's Orchard) - are reasonable evidence that building was scheduled.<sup>36</sup> Six Broad Lane rents were at one halfpence, and another at three farthings, possibly because of the steepness of the ground.<sup>37</sup> Where the rent was much higher, as in Fargate, Balm Green, Snig Hill and Church Lane, the implication is that the site was already built up, at least in part. That does not preclude new construction, but little is indicated via additions or demolition and replacement. The known exceptions are from 1787: a Fargate parcel of 369 square yards with house and warehouse which was contracted to have at least one other house worth £400, and the 1673 square yard property in Church Lane and Brelsforth Orchard leased to Robert Wade, maltster and corn dealer.<sup>38</sup> Although this last site already had some messuages and malt kilns, the building agreement specified a £600 minimum spending on a dwelling house or houses within three years.<sup>39</sup> A nearby piece in the Orchard (870 square yards) leased to Ebenezer Brookes in the same year at under one penny per yard was eventually built up with warehouse, workshops and a timber yard.<sup>40</sup> In all about fifty building leases were issued, half of them at or near Broad Lane. Subsequent

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271, DP 329 443 (1794), DT 286 333 (1795) & DU 295 323 (1796)

<sup>34</sup> S158 LD1789 f6 & M1789 ff5 & 58

<sup>35</sup> CB 181 The total excludes Heeley. There are a handful of 21 year leases, mainly for larger parcels. A few extra leases appear elsewhere (CB 835 & 836).

<sup>36</sup> This assumption is verified by CB 752ff (Pittfield & Broad Lane), CB 823ff (West Bar Green) and CB 835ff (Wade's Orchard & Queen Street). One North Street property (CB 181 f286) attracted a higher rent, 2d per square yard

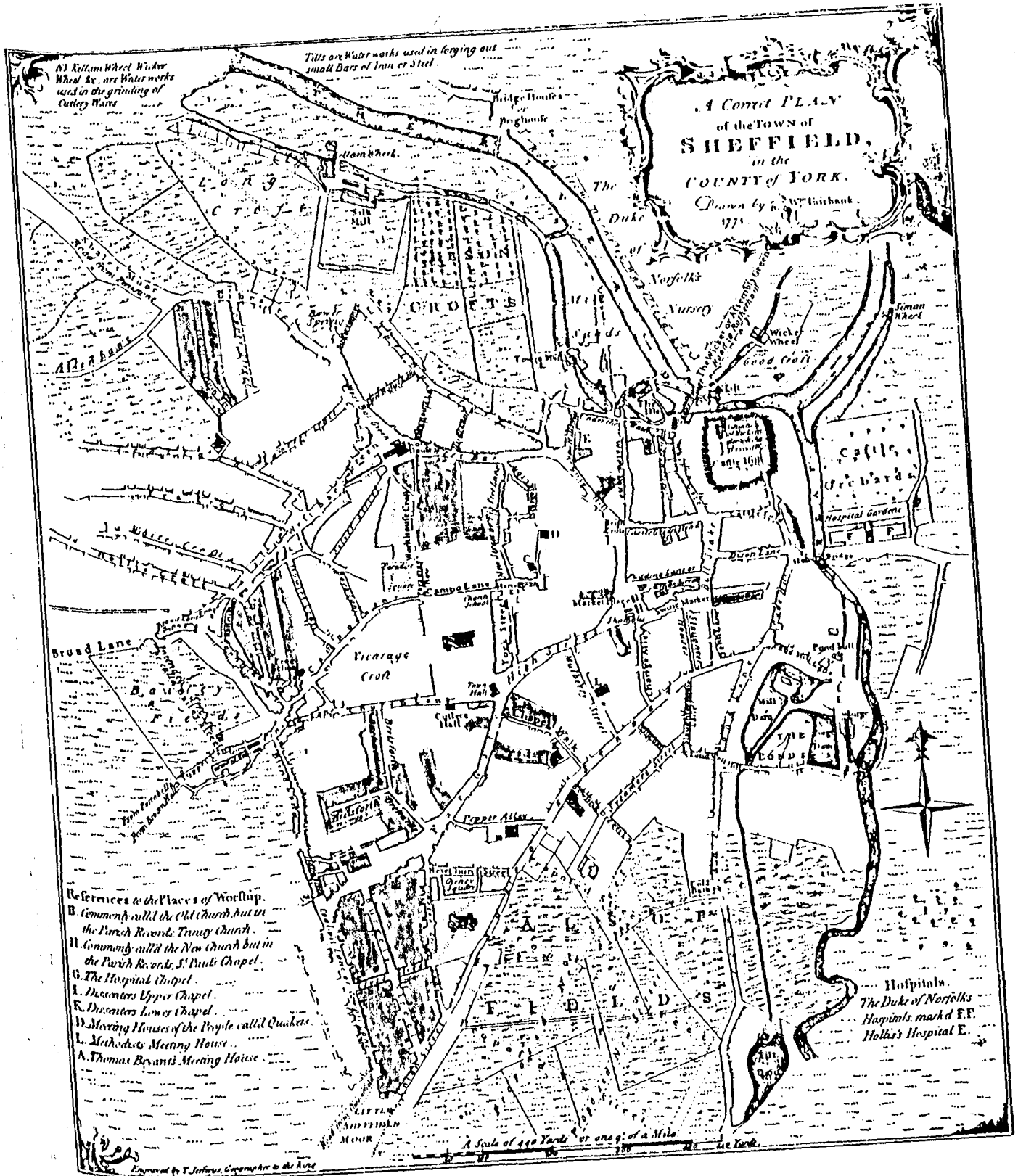
<sup>37</sup> CB 181 ff239, 335, 336, 347, 352, 375 & 258 It is possible that they were leased out as gardens, even though no mention is made in the lease book.

<sup>38</sup> CB 819 & CB 1203

<sup>39</sup> A "new built house" with four downstairs rooms was advertised after Wade's death in 1797 (*Iris* 8 Sept)

<sup>40</sup> CB 1634

Fig. 15.2 Town Trustees' and Church Burgesses' Holdings c1780



- Town Trustees
- Church Burgesses

housing and other development is not usefully documented in Church Burgesses' material, and only two dozen or so houses appear before 1798 in WRRD for Broad Lane, and fewer, even up to 1815, for the Queen Street/North Street area.<sup>41</sup>

Sheffield Town Trustees made only a small scale contribution to the building process, but, unlike the Church Burgesses, their ninety-nine year leases were all for sites in established streets like Fargate, Silver Street and West Bar Green. There is also no doubt as to the purpose with "for building upon" appended to fourteen items and one rebuild in two lease books.<sup>42</sup> Sixty leases in a contemporary third book mainly for town plots, have no suggestion (except in one instance) for being anything other than renewals.<sup>43</sup> Even so, new building was taking place on two Town Trustee properties at Blind Lane in 1795 soon after lease.<sup>44</sup> The first of the declared building leases (in Fargate) was dated 1787; the remainder were all contracted from 1793 to 1795 - one more in Fargate/Balm Green, one near Lady's Bridge, two Under the Water, three in Silver Street and seven in West Bar Green. As for actual new houses on Town property, the only examples discovered are those at Blind Lane, and twelve (with six unfinished) on a 475 yard parcel at West Bar Green built in the eight months from lease in February 1793.<sup>45</sup>

In common with the Church Burgesses, Hollis Trustees had a parcel of undeveloped land on the west side of the township. In fact the two properties, Pittfield and Brockohill, abutted each other. The second was also adjacent to long-standing housing at Hollis Croft built in the early part of the century in Creswick Close.<sup>46</sup> Brockohill, at

<sup>41</sup> CB sources, especially CB 1634, use 1851 as their benchmark for houses built. For WRRD see CW 605 767, DA 667 779, DF 28 37 & 254 298, DH 1 1 & 593 755/756, DI 433 614, DL 637 733, DN 258, 339, DS 15 17, DW 139 152 & 236 389, DX 520 648 & 534 653; EQ 44 57, FC 625 868, FP 180 185, GB 288 311 & GD 744 845.

<sup>42</sup> TT 60 (11-18) & 61 (1-10)

<sup>43</sup> TT 39, and *ibid* No 72 (a West Bar Green property) is the odd one out. Three leases recorded in this book, the above for West Bar Green and one each for Castle Green and near Lady's Bridge, have full versions in the Wheat Collection (2390, 2393 & 2395) All three are clearly building leases.

<sup>44</sup> WRRD DP 540 676 & DW 321 385

<sup>45</sup> WRRD DN 257 337 The thirteen new erected houses advertised for sale in *Courant* No 153 in May 1796 and then all tenanted may have been the same group. See also WRRD DU 294 322.

<sup>46</sup> see WRRD PP 78 122 (1741)

times called Brockobank, had been considered for building by the Trustees in the late 1760's, but the decision was deferred.<sup>47</sup> In 1783 Samuel Shore wrote to Timothy Hollis: "Mr. Fairbank with whom I have spoken on the subject is of the opinion that the present might be a proper time to advertize the letting of Brockow Hill on building leases according to the general plan drawn by him".<sup>48</sup> The whole piece, made up of two closes, was just over three acres.<sup>49</sup> In the absence of Hollis lease books, information provided by WRRD Memorials is invaluable. The earliest known leases were in February 1787. Eight of them are recorded in a series of six indentures registered in July 1788 and two more as mortgages later in the year.<sup>50</sup> Another eight deeds, most referring back to 1787, appear between 1790 and 1800.<sup>51</sup> All sixteen add up to a total of about two acres, which leaves more than an acre unlet.<sup>52</sup> This was probably leased a little later, for even though the Trustees were optimistically writing in a letter dated 26th February 1787 that "Most of the land at Brocko Hill is let. [We] hope all will be this Spring", the Hollises in London noted over twelve months later that "Mr. Wheat has sent the 17 leases of Brockow Hill by Mr. Owen his Agent."<sup>53</sup> Unless that seventeenth indenture was for a huge piece there remained perhaps eight more parcels to rent. Of the ones noted above, the majority soon had houses. A plot of 758 square yards leased in 1787 had sixteen houses before the end of the same year.<sup>54</sup> Six to eight houses seems to have been the norm. A final point is worthy of note: in their wisdom Hollis Hospital Trustees ignored precedents set by the Norfolk estate and others and retained a traditional 800 year term.<sup>55</sup>

The year of the first Hollis leases also witnessed a break-up of the Glebe (or Vicarage

<sup>47</sup> LD 1164 ff23 & 39 (1768 & 1770) Brockohill/bank must not be confused with the adjacent Brocko(w) Meadow, freehold land which lay to the west. The present day Broccobank, between Broomhill and Hunter's Bar, is different again.

<sup>48</sup> LD 1164 ff146 & 164

<sup>49</sup> WRRD PP 78 122

<sup>50</sup> WRRD CX 612 837 to 616 844, CY 462 585 & CY 613 747

<sup>51</sup> WRRD DC 241 317, DE 729 943, DF 109 118, DG 57 84, DH 380 470, DK 217 289, DT 316 376 & DX 439 548

<sup>52</sup> The total known yardage is 8835 square yards plus the area of the parcel in DE 729 943 which has a blank space.

<sup>53</sup> LD 1164 ff225 & 231

<sup>54</sup> WRRD CX 612 838

<sup>55</sup> Wheat Colln 2426

Croft) by the Church authorities.<sup>56</sup> Again the lease book is lacking, and those contracts for twenty-six plots gleaned mainly from WRRD may not be the complete set.<sup>57</sup> With relevant information included in many of the Memorials and in four extant leases, most appear to be dated 1787 and for ninety-nine years, although a mortgage of a property near the Girls' Charity School in August 1788 refers to an unlet parcel adjoining.<sup>58</sup> In the previous April the vicar had purchased from the Archbishop of York 1230 square yards of Glebe in order to build St James's church.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that space taken by this parcel, and by the vicarage and the school, left only the 6317 square yards (less than one and a half acres) of the leased land mentioned. On Gosling's 1736 Town Plan most of the outer edge of Vicarage Croft is shaded to indicate existing building, which in turn may give a truer view of the size of the available space than Fairbank in 1771. In respect of this earlier occupation, three of the six known leases relating to that part of the Croft bordering Church Lane had a clause permitting the taking down of existing buildings.<sup>60</sup> Houses were soon added. At least eighteen of the parcels had them by the turn of the century, with an apparent maximum of four on the biggest.

Less than two hundred yards to the north, lay Shrewsbury Hospital Charity land - two Jeoffrey Crofts (partly overbuilt) and Hickstile Field. There a new development in outline (to the north of Campo Lane and to the west of Workhouse Croft) named Paradise Square, is indicated on the 1771 Town Plan. In that year Fairbank had divided the 5698 square yards parcel into seventeen building plots in readiness.<sup>61</sup> A notional ninety-nine year lease from the Trustees to Thomas Broadbent was not made until February 1776 and then as a ninety-four year term without explanation.<sup>62</sup> Tradition has it that Broadbent went ahead with his building before receiving permission from the Shrewsbury Trustees. This seems unlikely. A precedent for substantial construction

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<sup>56</sup> Leases quote the "Act enabling the Vicar of the Parish of Sheffield to grant leases of Glebe land and otherwise improve the estate belonging to the said Vicarage" (eg MD 4075 f68)

<sup>57</sup> A few lessees had more than one plot. In most cases the WRRD summaries indicate separate leases, but this may not be true for all.

<sup>58</sup> TT 68 ff8, 9 & 10 and MD 4075 f68; WRRD CZ 669 803

<sup>59</sup> WRRD CY 290 371 (1788)

<sup>60</sup> WRRD CY 123 142, DA 486 550 & ES 187 271; DO 403 517 & EQ 514 635

<sup>61</sup> Wheat Colln 2492; Fairbank AB4 f81

<sup>62</sup> MD 4069 f11 & Wheat Colln 2492 The logical conclusion is 99 years from 1771.

preceding a new lease, and an appropriate shortening to match the years of initial development, is clear in the case of William Bower's Silk Mill and the Norfolk estate.<sup>63</sup> The Square was certainly not completed by 1776.<sup>64</sup> Soon after the lease, five building sub-leases for ninety-three years were contracted by Thomas Broadbent with Hannah Patten, Joseph Smith, Samuel Green, Peter Smith (two parcels) and John Jenkinson respectively.<sup>65</sup> Again in May and July 1782 five more sub-leases were granted: to Robert Leppington, Ann Barlow, Samuel Barlow, Joseph Hammond and John Eadon, this time for eighty-seven years.<sup>66</sup> The plan on Hammond's counterpart indicates that an adjacent plot was "Hospital ground not yet let by Thomas Broadbent". At this date the Rate Book still has no entry for Paradise Square.<sup>67</sup> Fairbank Building Books indicate a rather intermittent regime with brickwork first measured in January 1773, and joinery last appraised in 1779.<sup>68</sup> At least, some building was taking place during this decade.

#### PRIVATE LEASING

These various institutional landholders already discussed, especially the Norfolk estate, were responsible for the bulk of building land provision. Even so, collectively, wealthy individuals also made a substantial contribution to development. First was Walter Osborne, whose purchase of several houses, a bowling green and the four acres of Smithyfield at Bridgehouses from the heir of Thomas Wright in 1771, enabled him to name a street after himself and make a considerable impact on housing just across the River Dun.<sup>69</sup> William Fairbank set out Osborne Street in building plots in 1772, and of these thirty have been identified from WRRD. They total 17,135 square yards or more than three and a half acres, which account for most of the available space. Not all were leased. Almost immediately seven parcels were sold, and subsequently another seven.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Building began in 1760. The lease was made in 1763. See Chapter 7. There are numerous examples of this practice in the Norfolk records.

<sup>64</sup> Even in the 1780 Rate Book there is no mention of Paradise Square.

<sup>65</sup> Wheat Colln 2492 to 2496(a) Of course, these and subsequent sub-leases may have been made after building had taken place, although the marginal plans do not show it.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid* 2500 to 2504

<sup>67</sup> The first entry is in 1783/84. Twenty-two houses plus one empty are recorded. Ten years later the total rated had risen to thirty-six.

<sup>68</sup> Fairbank BB48 f58, BB55 f182, BB57 f40, BB58 f42, BB60 f188, BB62 f2, BB63 f10 & BB69 f2

<sup>69</sup> WRRD BN 280 350

<sup>70</sup> WRRD BT 223 288, BU 344 461, BU 603 833, BX 341 490, BZ 642 845, CA



Osborne preserved his interest by conveying them subject to a small perpetual ground rent.<sup>71</sup> Leases were issued between 1772 and 1784, the last by Osborne's widow, Mary.<sup>72</sup> The standard term was 800 years.<sup>73</sup> "New erected" houses are noted in the Memorials through to the mid-1780's, but from numbers of dwellings cited in each decade to 1820, it is evident that building was ongoing.<sup>74</sup>

Like Osborne, William Hoyle, a local attorney, purchased land which he part sold and part leased for building.<sup>75</sup> In 1780, having acquired two acres of Brockow Meadow between Broccohill and Allen Lane, he had them divided into at least eighteen plots.<sup>76</sup> Immediately two were conveyed by feoffment and twelve leased on 800 year terms.<sup>77</sup> It seems certain that four more (and possibly others) were similarly leased.<sup>78</sup> Houses and tenements were built without delay. By 1783 at least fifteen were noted and, by the mid-1790's, upwards of seventy.<sup>79</sup>

Two other local men who both freed parcels of their estate for development were John

220 310, CB 111 188

<sup>71</sup> ibid BY 190 262, DC 529 690, DE 501 648, CF 583 721 There were thirteen of these (GH 23 28 1815). The apparent anomaly was created by one conveyance having two parcels (BT 223 288)

<sup>72</sup> ibid BT 24 39, DK 314 420

<sup>73</sup> ibid DG 533 763

<sup>74</sup> ibid CS 665 964 & CU 117 137; CQ 257 378, DG 533 763 & DO 397 509; and EH 703 869 & EY 259 328 In the same area William Rooke, formerly of Dodworth and already proprietor of a number of dwellings in Bridgehouses, leased out his part of the Croft in the four years beginning 1787. Seven (mainly small yardage) building leases for 800 years have been identified, along with a few houses (Wheat Colln 2526, 2849 to 2853; WRRD CT 37 54, DF 464 574 & DP 17 25)

<sup>75</sup> ibid CG 369 473

<sup>76</sup> The plots identified in WRRD amount to 6772 square yards, ie just under one and a half acres.

<sup>77</sup> WRRD CK 215 296, CT 32 48; CU 689 809, CY 296 374, DC 521 676 etc (1780)

<sup>78</sup> The convention for registration of sales was very firmly established. None of the fifteen leases was registered; all information is from subsequent assignments, mortgages or surrenders.

<sup>79</sup> The vague "messuages" or "tenements" implies at least two. In 1791 a 904 square yards plot had "messuages" noted (WRRD DG 451 645). The following year nineteen house rents were being paid for properties on that same plot (DM 593 701). The Land Tax Assessment of 1793 attributes 78 houses to Hoyle in the Scotland vicinity (WYAS QE 16/13/36)

Trevers Younge, mercer, silverplater and merchant and Henry Tudor, silverplater. The land in question lay mainly at Gill Carrs, part of which became Younge, Moor, Bishop and Tudor Streets to the west of the turnpike on Sheffield Moor.<sup>80</sup> During the 1760's Younge contracted eleven conveyances subject to a perpetual ground rent, the total exceeding an acre and a half (7864 square yards).<sup>81</sup> All plots had buildings on them by 1780. Another fourteen known ninety-nine year building leases were granted, the first seven in 1779/1780 and the remainder between 1790 and 1793.<sup>82</sup> In all just under three acres were allocated, more than half the quantity in a single lease of three plots in 1793.<sup>83</sup> By this date twenty-three houses are recorded as erected on the earlier demises.<sup>84</sup> Tudor had purchased some five acres of Over and Nether Gill Carrs from Lord John Murray in 1783 and another acre and a half from Mary Bowden in the same year.<sup>85</sup> Sometime later, in 1789, he acquired from the Downes family an allotment of eighteen perches adjoining Hereford Street on the other side of the turnpike.<sup>86</sup> A few building leases are recorded imprecisely in WRRD in 1789 and 1793, but because of the name link it seems likely that Tudor Street was the location for some.<sup>87</sup> One leased parcel was to the east of the Chesterfield Road, and part of the above allotment.<sup>88</sup> Most of Gill Carrs, however, remained undeveloped.<sup>89</sup>

The influence of both turnpike and enclosure in this part of the town's expansion is worthy of further note. Fairbank's 1797 Plan shows very clearly an elongated spur of development drawn south-eastward along the road for some five hundred yards from

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<sup>80</sup> The development was in Ecclesall, but essentially part of the town expansion as was the Norfolk property on the other side of the turnpike. See YWD 2126 (3)

<sup>81</sup> YWD 2051 (1)

<sup>82</sup> WRRD CJ 183 259, CX 461 611, CY 223 289, DB 90 113 & DG 32 43; YWD 1051 & 2127; Wheat Colln 2834 & 2847 In none of these WRRD Memorials nor of the Deeds is the word "allotment" used. However, one of the Ecclesall Allotment Books includes part of this property, implying that it was enclosed land (Fairbank MB 455 f5).

<sup>83</sup> YWD 1051 7647 of 14,392 square yards

<sup>84</sup> WRRD CQ 248 364, CT 476 622, CX 461 611, DG 32 43, DK 399 512 & DR 560 584 There were probably more as in some cases "messuages" alone are recorded.

<sup>85</sup> YWD 1739; WRRD CN 170 206 & CP 161 249

<sup>86</sup> WRRD DA 276 301

<sup>87</sup> *ibid* DB 91 114 & 93 118, DN 619 793 & DP 211 287

<sup>88</sup> *ibid* DQ 461 474 & Fairbank MB 456 f4

<sup>89</sup> see Leather's Plan of Sheffield 1823

the Carver Street/Duke Street junction.<sup>90</sup> A busy thoroughfare attracting adjacent settlement is a common enough phenomenon, but the additional factor of the enclosure of waste on either side made building land available from the 1780's.<sup>91</sup> Some allotment holdings in the vicinity were already damaged by clay extraction, so the ground was unfit for any purpose other than building.<sup>92</sup> This being the case, it is not at all surprising that, having been allotted such parcels, owners often made speedy efforts to sell them or to realise their only potential.<sup>93</sup>

At the other side of town John Shore, banker, owned the Dole (to the north of Scotland) and Gosnock Hall on the west side of Snighill near to the Irish Cross. Both the Dole, 3558 square yards and the site of Shore steel furnaces, and the Hall with its gardens had been conveyed to John by his father Samuel in 1775.<sup>94</sup> Only six leases have been found for the Dole, later part of Furnace Hill, amounting to less than half the total area (1613 square yards). It is not known how large the site of the furnaces was, but this may account for most of the rest. Some leases must have been granted almost immediately after conveyance, followed quickly by building. A later one is known to date from 1778.<sup>95</sup> By 1793 fifty-four houses had been built on the Dole.<sup>96</sup> At Snighill Shore retained enough space at the junction with a new street (later Bank Street) for his mansion and new bank and for the erection of eleven houses.<sup>97</sup> Five known leases were granted in 1791 and 1792, with subsequent information in WRRD for a few houses only.<sup>98</sup> However, twenty-nine dwellings were noted in 1793 for Shore land here in the

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<sup>90</sup> Almost the same as the present Moor from below Moorhead to the Manpower Services Building.

<sup>91</sup> Fairbank MB 387 ff3 & 46, MB 455 f5 & MB 456 ff1, 3 & 4. See footnote 80.

<sup>92</sup> WWM F121 f11. The Fitzwilliam Rentals (WWM A277ff) show that no new leases were issued in this area in the decade beginning 1789, although 48 lots were set out in 1790 between the Turnpike and Button Lane to the north of Bright Street (Fairbank SheS 1132L).

<sup>93</sup> The enclosure of Shalesmoor adjacent to the Penistone Turnpike did not result in immediate building

<sup>94</sup> WRRD BX 477 659 & 660

<sup>95</sup> *ibid* CB 601 901, CD 563 763, CE 621 774, CH 455 593, DQ 110 113, Parker Colln 236 & YWD 881. One parcel with two houses in 1778 had six by 1796 (DU 141 170)

<sup>96</sup> LTA 1793 (WYAS QE 13/16/36)

<sup>97</sup> WRRD GX 361 431, Fairbank SheS 82S & 83S

<sup>98</sup> WRRD DH 582 731, DR 353 366, EO 121 175, FT 310 318 & FU 621 697 A sixth plot at Shore Street may have been an additional lease (GI 119 133)



payments and borrowings by the purchasers, a building club, and then subject to ground rent.<sup>104</sup> Houses were on some plots before the end of the year, and seem to have been added in small numbers thereafter.<sup>105</sup>

Besides the input of larger freeholders, numerous lesser individuals contributed to the growth of house construction, some of it in more central parts of town. Building took place in a Prior Row yard, for example, in 1772, and in the same decade at Snighill, Coalpit Lane (west side), Campo Lane, Castle Green, Silver Street and the Market Place.<sup>106</sup> During the 1780's dwellings were built at Red Croft, Snighill, Coalpit Lane and Silver Street again, near the Old Church Yard and in Blind Lane, and in the 1790's at Cheney Square, New Street, Castle Green Head, Hartshead, Norfolk Street, West Bar and Snighill, Coalpit Lane and Red Croft once more.<sup>107</sup> In addition, there were new houses in greater quantity closer to the outer edges at Townfield Knowle Close, Short Street, Skargell Knowle/Scotland, Redhill, Little Sheffield, and Doctor Street alias Horseheel Pool.<sup>108</sup>

#### COVENANTS AND PLANNING

In this surge of new building, landowners attempted to exercise some kind of control through restrictive covenants, most of them similar to those imposed in earlier years.<sup>109</sup> Building up to the street and ensuring that elevations were in keeping with those of neighbouring houses or approved by a cited authority were most common. Dr. Borsay emphasises the importance of façades in an urban context as little else showed when houses abutted each other along a street, and Cruikshank and Burton, using mainly

<sup>104</sup> The great majority of clubs and societies were of the "sick" or "friendly" variety and investors in property via mortgage lending (see Chapter 12).

<sup>105</sup> WRRD DC 590 771, DE 239 330, EA 575 887 The first sign of more intensive land use is the building of eleven houses on parcel 23 (365 sq yds) by 1804 (ET 313 414)

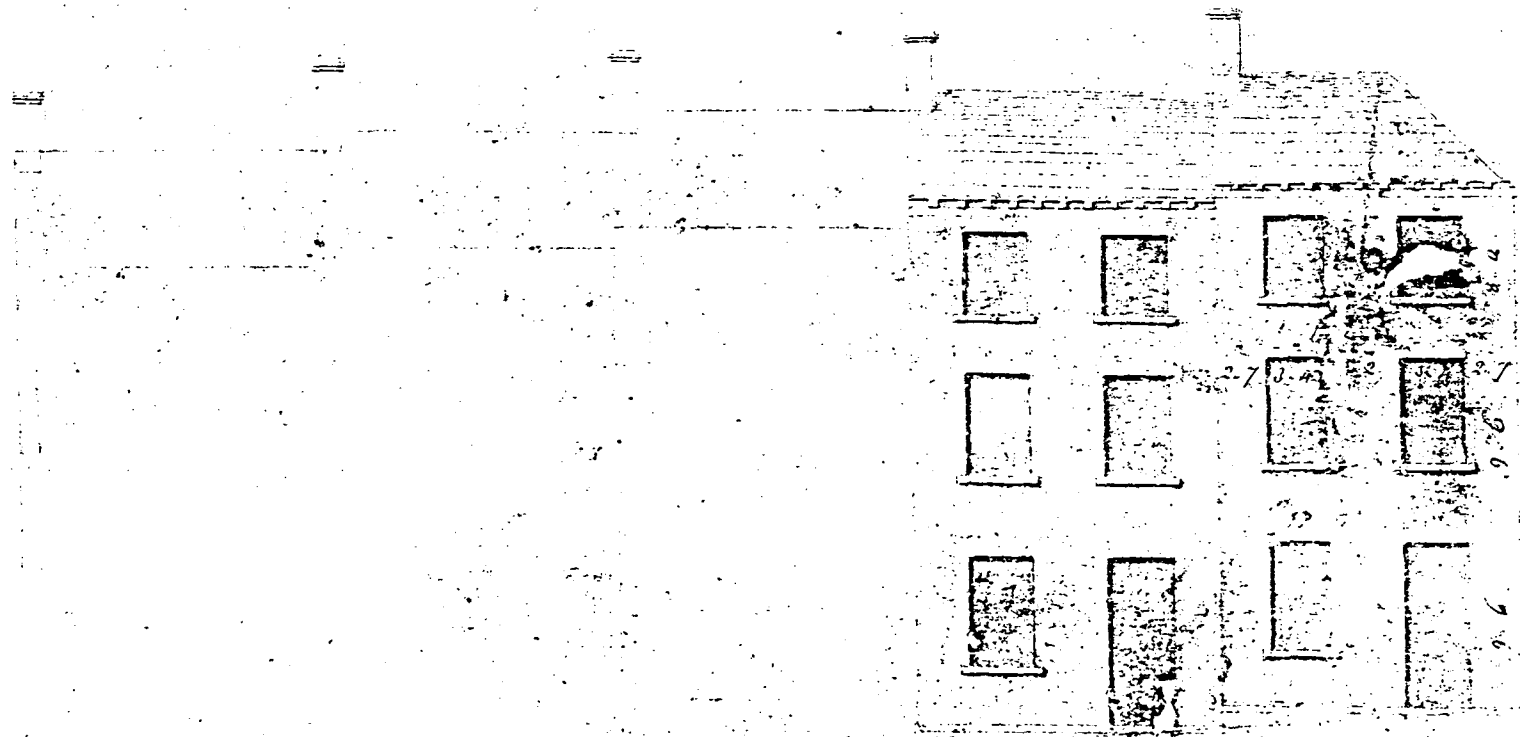
<sup>106</sup> WRRD BQ 41 45, BN 271 339, BQ 527 702, CA 178 249, CB 602 904 & 690 1017

<sup>107</sup> *ibid* CP 4 4 & 495 723, CQ 77 119 & 132 180, CZ 489 578, DB 142 172, DC 642 850 & 707 938, DG 413 603, DI 436 620, DL 209 247 & 619 709, DN 162 217 & 604 775, DO 253 330, DU 613 661 & Parker Colln 303.

<sup>108</sup> MD 5844, WRRD CD 329 466, CM 286 429, CO 145 215, CP 441 641, CQ 254 373, CX 19 29, DI 631 874, DO 253 330, DP 108/9 140/141 & DX 538 673

<sup>109</sup> see Chapter 14.

An Elevation of the front towards Workhouse Croft below the Street  
divided into Lots of sixteen feet each.



Paradise Street

Fig. 15.4 Elevations of "small" (2+2+2)  
houses in Workhouse Croft/Paradise Street  
(Fairbank EBU 143S) 1778

Scale of Yards  
feet 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

*Elevation of the North Front of the Intended Street between the New Street and Workhouse Prof<sup>d</sup>*

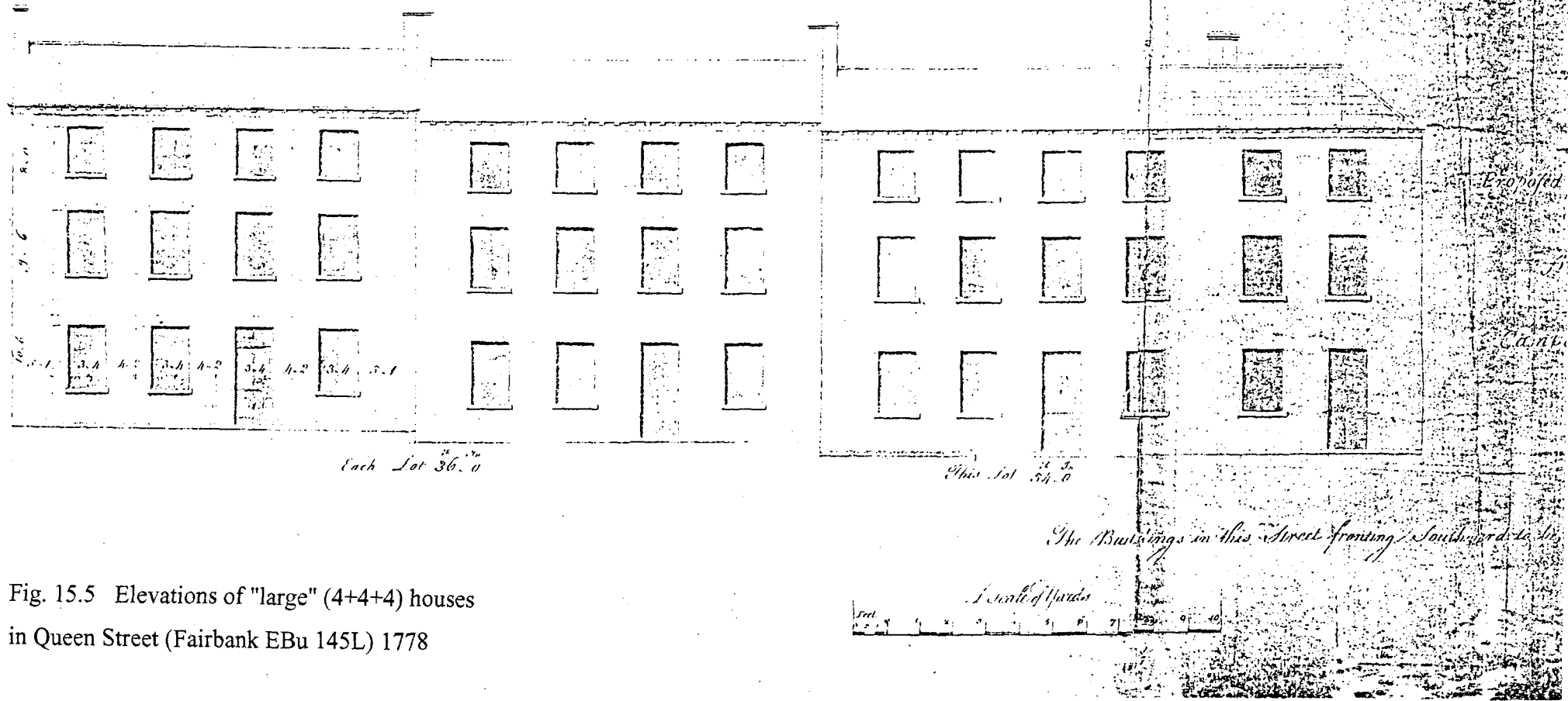


Fig. 15.5 Elevations of "large" (4+4+4) houses in Queen Street (Fairbank EBU 145L) 1778

Fig. 15.6 The Parish Church (T. Harris 1793) showing Joseph Badger's elevations at the Glebe (facing)



London examples, point out that for frontages simplicity and good taste were the ruling principles, that innovative designs were few and proportions subject to rule of thumb.<sup>110</sup> For Sheffield conforming elevation requirements were often supplemented with the banning of noxious trades. The Norfolk estate's developers were ruled in these respects by the approbation or otherwise of the Duke's officers.<sup>111</sup> Church Burgesses stipulated dwelling houses "of well burnt brick or stone", and "the Front of the intended Building shall be in all respects conformable to the Dimensions and Form of the Elevations drawn by William Fairbank . . . in his Plan or Design for the buildings to be fronted to the said Street . ." Hollis covenants were almost identical in this regard. The Burgesses specifically banned soap boilers, distillers, dyers, melting tallow chandlers and glass makers.<sup>112</sup> Church authorities at the Glebe preferred the three storey elevations of Joseph Badger and added to proscribed trades buttonmakers, filesmiths and glassmakers.<sup>113</sup> Three storey brick houses were also the choice of George

<sup>110</sup> P. Borsay: *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford) 1989 Chapter 2; D. Cruikshank & N. Burton: *Life in the Georgian City* (London) 1990, (pp111ff).

<sup>111</sup> ACM 91 Box 1, S380 ff31 & 54

<sup>112</sup> CB 835, Wheat Colln 2426; see also YWD 881 for Shore covenants

<sup>113</sup> TT 68 ff9 & 36



Wilkinson in his building sub-leases, and William Rooke at Bridgehouses required a five foot brick or stone wall around the unbuilt part of his plots.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps Rev. Thomas Radford had the most inclusive set of covenants by stipulating those "such as are usual in Building Leases . . . granted by the Duke of Norfolk and the Church Burgesses". In addition he himself had to approve any plans.<sup>115</sup>

Planning of the various sites seems to have been largely in the hands of the Fairbanks. They dominated this facet of the building process.<sup>116</sup> William Fairbank II was at the peak of his career for much of the period, and was joined by his sons William and Josiah during the 1780's and 1790's respectively. They were official surveyors to the Norfolk estate, Church Burgesses, Town and Hollis Trustees. In short, the Fairbank family were in a position of influence over much of the development. Old field and ownership boundaries in the north-western part of the town dictated the street layout there, and the industrial demands on the Ponds had similar effect. Elsewhere, particularly on Norfolk property with its ample available space, the grid layout was used to good purpose. Both Chalklin and Borsay discuss the fashionable nature of this geometric form of urban landscaping, together with its broad open thoroughfares and squares, used effectively in Manchester, but not to any large degree in Liverpool.<sup>117</sup> For Sheffield, Alsop Fields provides the main example, and Little Sheffield Moor (East) was set out to link up with the bigger development.<sup>118</sup> Carver Fields and Bailey Fields were at an early stage of their network of parallel streets and lanes which was to dictate the broad-fronted westward expansion to Rockingham Street and beyond; the Wicker, too, was set out in a preliminary way prior to the overbuilding of the Nursery. Parkhill, however, had the problem of steepness of terrain which required some modification of the rectangular grid. Simple and unimaginative as it may seem, the grid pattern of street and lane planning had distinct advantages. Builders had no awkward angles, and it was possible to maximize use of available space. Access to a larger parcel was often possible from front, back and sides, so more dwellings could "front" on to a street and thus be more valuable in terms of rent. Even for smaller plots, two entrances were not

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<sup>114</sup> MD 5844 f1, Wheat Colln 2849

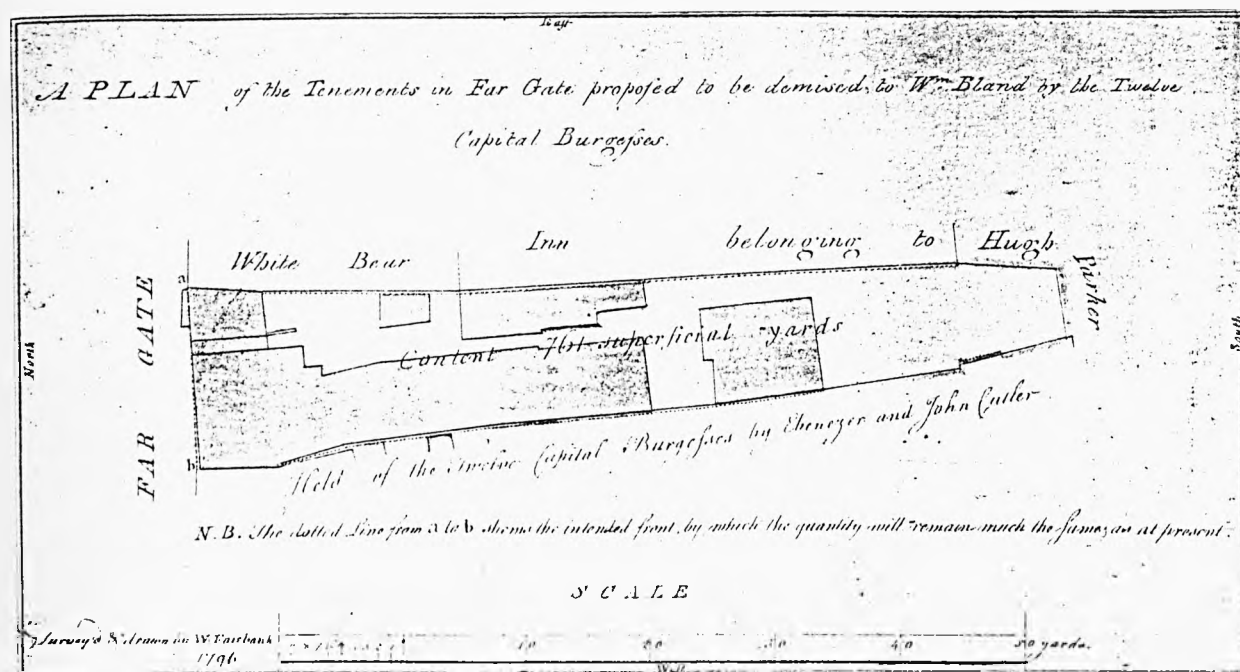
<sup>115</sup> Wheat Colln 1359

<sup>116</sup> For a brief introduction to the four generations of Fairbanks, see *Guide to the Fairbank Collection* (Sheffield City Libraries) 1936

<sup>117</sup> P. Borsay op cit Ch 3; C.W. Chalklin op cit Ch4

<sup>118</sup> See the 1797 and 1808 Town Plans

Fig. 15.7 An irregular burgage-like parcel in Fargate belonging to the Church Burgesses (WC 1410S)



uncommon. Those with frontages having archways and used for rear industrial and other building had less waste space than in the long, narrow burgage or burgage-like properties, simply because the geometry suited better the ingress and egress of carts. Landowners also took advantage of the grid to maximize revenue on ground rents. It seems to have been the Norfolk estate which first charged leaseholders not only for the yardage of their building land, but also for half of the street and/or lane adjacent to it.

### BUILDING METHODS

Considerable detail is to be found in the previous chapter concerning the erection of new buildings, both domestic and industrial, in Sheffield.<sup>119</sup> Houses and workshops were normally built up on cellar walls with relatively few examples found of costed foundations for parts extending beyond the cellar plan.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, the cellar plan appears to have been the building plan in many cases. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the predilection for cellars to provide a base on which to build continued unabated, although no hint has been found of any construction or adaptation

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Chapter 14

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It is unlikely that Fairbank (or his craftsmen clients) would have ignored the cost of digging or of laying bricks below the threshold, the level from which above-ground building was charged.

of these for dwellings of the kind familiar in Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds.<sup>121</sup> What evolved, however, was a widening use of foundations to support those parts of the brickwork not borne by cellar walls and arches, implying a growing difference in size of plan between cellar and upper structure, at least in those jobs appraised by Fairbank. An example is to be found in Paradise Square in 1773: the cellar (7.75 by 5.6 square yards) was under the front part of the house, whereas the two back rooms had foundations "taken half a yard below the floor". Similarly, three years later, John Pass of Sheffield Moor, had cellars for part of his base and two foot deep foundations for parlour and kitchen; in 1781 John Nelson had a house in Broad Lane built with a cellar under a two room plan, with "foundations of the rest" at twelve inches; and William Sykes's two houses in Carver Street in 1786 had cellars plus twenty-one inches depth of brickwork adjoining.<sup>122</sup> At their new plating ensemble in 1778, Holy and Newbould required foundations of between twenty-seven inches and four feet for one set of workshops in Little Sheffield; others were constructed above traditional cellars. The cutlery works and warehouse of Joseph Ibberson in Arundel Street had a comparable combination when costed in October 1782.<sup>123</sup> Most of the examples cited had B & ½ (thirteen and a half inch) walls below and above ground. Ibberson's was most unusual to have one cellar wall 3B & ½ (thirty-one and a half inches) and all the foundations 2B (eighteen inches). There is no indication of the size of the superstructure to be supported.

Besides subterranean changes, another modification is evident, but limited in the main to larger buildings. At the new Hollis Hospital (1775), at the Tontine (1783) and at the Coffee House (1792) arches were used in place of lintels to bear the weight of brickwork above windows. Common arches are differentiated from circular and "rubbed and gaged" arches. The first type were used at the backs of buildings; the last at the front of both Tontine and Coffee House.<sup>124</sup> There is little firm evidence of them

<sup>121</sup> M. Beresford op cit pp209ff

<sup>122</sup> BB48 f58, BB55 f86, BB65 f32 & BB71 f2. As in earlier years, most of Fairbank's clients had three storey houses (BB50 f26, BB57 f164, BB58 f42, BB60 f188, BB62f2, BB65 f20, BB69 ff2 & 98, BB72 f42, BB73 f170, BB 75 f16, BB76 ff24 & 142, BB77 ff6, 26, 36, 134 & 158).

<sup>123</sup> BB60 f140 & BB66 f130

<sup>124</sup> BB53 f46, BB68 f18 & BB78 f52 "Rubbed and gaged" arches are illustrated by T.P. Willcox's painting of the Tontine (Fig. 15.8)

having been used in domestic building. Francis Wheelhouse had four window arches at five shillings each installed by Benjamin Bell in 1776. The text does not specify the kind of structure, but it may well have been part of his house and shop in Prior Row.<sup>125</sup>

### PIECE RATES

These developments were accompanied by a more menacing change. It is clear from Fairbank appraisals that customary piece rates in building were beginning to rise in the 1770's and 1780's, seemingly stimulated by the increased housing activity of boom years, and clearly ahead of any inflation caused by the French and Revolutionary Wars. As the most common examples available from the Building Books, the (labour) prices of B & ½ and BL per rood are used as illustrations of what was occurring. Standard rates in Sheffield for these thicknesses were 3s and 2s over much of the period covered by Chapter 14. The same prices were still being charged by some craftsmen in the 1770's and early 1780's, but almost entirely for cellars and for workshops plus occasional rear walls, that is for lower quality brickwork.<sup>126</sup> Far more common were 3s 6d and 2s 6d which appear to have been the norm for the same period for walls above and below ground, although, to an increasing degree, higher rates were involved for façades - 3s 8d, 3s 9d, 3s 10d, 4s or even 4s 6d for B & ½, and 2s 4d and 2s 6d for BL.<sup>127</sup> During the later 1780's and into the 1790's price levels for B & ½ continued to move ahead, in some instances to 5s and 5s 6d for front walls, with BL ranging between 2s 4d (partitions) and 4s (frontages).<sup>128</sup> Again, a rare example of cheap work can be found for non-domestic building, but the trend was for building costs to rise.<sup>129</sup> They would keep rising into the new century to the great detriment of the town's accommodation requirements.

### BUILDING SPECULATORS

The comprehensive nature of housing development between 1771 and 1797 and the

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<sup>125</sup> BB55 f136; WRRD CN 275 341

<sup>126</sup> BB57 f40, BB60 f140, BB64S f26, BB66 f126, BB67 f150 (1776-1783)

<sup>127</sup> BB48 f58, BB58 f138, BB60 ff114 & 128, BB61 ff40 & 62, BB62 f60, BB64 f12, BB68 ff2, 168 & 172, BB69 ff48 & 156, BB71 ff60 & 146, BB60 f136 (4s), BB62 f58 (3s 8d) & f122 (3s 9d), BB66 f158 (4s 6d), BB70 f88 (3s 10d), BB72 f88 (3s 10d)

<sup>128</sup> BB73 ff140 & 152/154, BB75 ff6, 124 & 140, BB76 f90, BB77 f8, BB78 f52, BB79 f140, BB81 f2 (1788-1796)

<sup>129</sup> BB77 f98 B & ½ at 3s 10d in 1792 (workshop)

quantity built - about three thousand in the township, plus those in the urban spread in Brightside and Ecclesall - gave opportunities to speculators. None, however, came near to Richard Paley of Leeds, speculator extraordinaire, who built some 275 houses plus several industrial works, and, at his bankruptcy in 1803 owned 56 acres of building land.<sup>130</sup> Some local men were in the building trades, and not necessarily on a very large scale. Richard Beal, bricklayer, for example, took two Hollis leases at Brockohill in 1787. On one parcel (345 square yards) he had built four houses by 1788 and six by 1789. On the other (420 yards) he had six by 1791 and thirteen by 1805. Mortgages at various stages appear to have financed ongoing construction.<sup>131</sup> John Cocker, mason, contracted a Shore lease for a piece of the Dole near West Bar in 1775 where he built three tenements which were mortgaged in 1779. From 1781 he took three Norfolk leases at Furnace Hill, Broad Lane and Bailey Street. A mortgage of the second property was undertaken before the lease of the third. All had houses by 1794.<sup>132</sup> A number of carpenters, some calling themselves "housewrights", were small scale entrepreneurs. Amos Green built eight tenements on leasehold land at Pea Croft 1770/1771 before buying four parcels at Smithyfield, Bridgehouses, where he built more houses and tenements; in 1773 William Ryalls purchased a Smithyfield plot on which he built four messuages, and later held a Church Burgesses' lease at Wade's Orchard which enabled him to build six more; and Joseph Bell received three Norfolk Building leases, adding houses and workshops between 1791 and 1796. These three men all used a mortgage or mortgages to increase their holdings.<sup>133</sup>

Bigger speculators from the building trades were mainly carpenters.<sup>134</sup> However, one bricklayer of note was William Smith. Having begun with a Norfolk parcel in Broad Lane in 1789 on which he built seven houses, he obtained, from 1794, more Norfolk leases in Bailey Street and Rockingham Street. At the time of his death in 1816, two more Broad Lane parcels had been added and a total of twenty-six houses built on the

<sup>130</sup> see Table 1. M. Beresford op cit pp215ff.

<sup>131</sup> WRRD CX 616 844, DA 669 782 & DH 380/1 470/1

<sup>132</sup> *ibid* CE 621 774 & DQ 224 251, ACM S382 f77, S383 f62 & f198, Wheat Colln 2638 & 2890

<sup>133</sup> WRRD BO 473 683, BQ 86 113, BT 223/4 288/9, CF 702 886 & CJ 582 870; CB 111 188 & 114 193, ET 534 617 & CB (Ch Brgs) 835, ACM S383 ff129, 205 & 229

<sup>134</sup> There was no sharp cut-off between smaller and larger speculators. Here, the larger ones had seven or more parcels for development.

five sites.<sup>135</sup> Smith also leased two Church Burgesses' plots in Solly Street in 1796 and 1800. He put at least six houses there by 1805.<sup>136</sup> Then on a private leasehold at Sanderson's Field in Little Sheffield he built eight more by 1808.<sup>137</sup> One of the carpenters, George Wilkinson, took several 800 year leases on part of Townfield Knowle Close, later Smithfield and Snow Hill, in May 1773 from John Castleton, razorsmith.<sup>138</sup> The following month he began to break up this land, upwards of an acre, into big and small plots for building purposes. He himself built eighteen houses on four plots which were assigned in due course.<sup>139</sup> The others were subleased on 800 year terms, three within weeks of his own lease.<sup>140</sup> Joseph Badger, carpenter, who also called himself "builder" and "architect", was rather more enterprising. Having started with a Norfolk building lease in 1772 at Brookes Croft, between 1784 and 1790 he took two more in Brelsforth's Orchards, and three from the Church Burgesses in the Broad Lane and Solly Street area. He purchased two freehold parcels at nearby Redhill (415 and 497 square yards) in 1780/1781 and a larger piece (one and a half acres) at Housely Field almost adjoining his Burgesses' leasehold in 1790. Shortly before the turn of the century he added a large private leasehold parcel of 3503 square yards at Edward and Solly Streets.<sup>141</sup> The sequence of acquisitions and building seems to have been supported by mortgages and occasional assignments in all sectors.<sup>142</sup> The total number of houses he erected is not known, but must have been substantial. Badger's reputation is supported by the citing of his plans and elevations as models in Church Lane building leases in 1787.<sup>143</sup> His further success is illustrated by purchase of property at Tapton Hill, Crookesmoor, Fulwood, Hathersage, Brightside and White Croft, some of which in turn was mortgaged.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>135</sup> ACM S383 ff74, 210 & 259, WRRD EG 307 407 & GO 309 285

<sup>136</sup> CB 748, 767 & 181 (353), WRRD EO 36 45 & EX 225 286 Eventually seventeen houses were built here, but possibly not all by Smith (CB 1634)

<sup>137</sup> WRRD FB 694 922

<sup>138</sup> WRRD CX 462 613, DX 537 670, EC 431 671 & MD 5844

<sup>139</sup> WRRD BT 239 308, CX 227 291, EC 620 938 & EI 19 28

<sup>140</sup> MD 5844, WRRD BR 382 444, CM 269 402 & EK 213 285

<sup>141</sup> ACM S382 ff1 & 120r, S383 ff21a & 102, CB 731, 752, 756, 181 (236, 238 & 265), WRRD CR 549 812, DC 749 995 & DW 326 389 & EB 245 353 (1798)

<sup>142</sup> WRRD CO 145 215, CS 357 539, CW 605 767, DE 465 607, DT 666 843 & DW 326 389

<sup>143</sup> TT 68 (8, 9 & 10)

<sup>144</sup> WRRD DF 575 747, DM 158 191 & EQ 512 632

John Stacey, carpenter and builder, began with a sublease of a property in Skargell Knowle with six tenements in 1772. He added four more before assigning it in 1778.<sup>145</sup> Like most other speculators he made use of Norfolk building leases, as well as three at the Glebe, and was granted more building leases - by the Town Trustees at Workhouse Croft (2901 square yards) with James Smith, and by J.T. Younge at Gill Carrs (1514 square yards).<sup>146</sup> As one of the bigger operators he imported his own timber direct from Hull.<sup>147</sup> Carpenters of similar ambition used Norfolk leases and then expanded elsewhere. John Froggatt had two plots in the Park in the early 1780's with at least thirteen houses built, and eight more plots in the early stages of development taken by his executors after his death in 1794. John Kirk first built at Broad Lane and Campo Lane before taking on the whole of Radford Street on behalf of a society in 1787 (he also died in 1794 after a number of sales and mortgages, probably with the purpose of maintaining his activities). Benjamin Hadfield began with 1462 square yards in Carver Street in 1793 before leasing, briefly with Edward Spittlehouse and then alone, three parcels totalling 7647 square yards at Moor and Younge Streets (Little Sheffield). Hadfield was later involved at Radford Street and Charles Street, Arundel Street and Eyre Lane (ten houses) prior to his bankruptcy in 1814.<sup>148</sup>

Norfolk lessee carpenter *par excellence* seems to have been Joseph Owen. His thirteen lease commitment at Carver Street in 1788 was followed by six more near Bridgehouses in 1793 and two at the Nursery in 1801.<sup>149</sup> He also acquired a Norfolk parcel at Pond Well from which he advertised nine new houses in 1797.<sup>150</sup> Earlier, in 1775, he had mortgaged a new erected messuage at Bridgehouses, and subsequently

<sup>145</sup> ibid BP 174 211 & CD 623 829

<sup>146</sup> WRRD BP 174 211 & CD 623 829; ACM S382 f76, S383 f197 & AB 5 f14, WRRD FY 359 451; DB 407 470 & ET 334 437; DN 356 470; YWD 2127 (3)

<sup>147</sup> Wray & Hollingworth Ledger (Hull Local History Archives L615.7) Vol I ff225, 603 & 729, Vol II f633 From June to November 1791 he purchased about £300 worth.

<sup>148</sup> Froggatt: ACM S382 ff49r & 56, S383 ff202/204, Sun Fire Ins. 11936 Vol 298 f454691 (Guildhall Library, London), Wheat Colln 2392 (3) & TT 60 (15); Kirk: ACM S382 ff87r & 117r, Wheat Colln 1359, Parker Colln 501 to 504, WRRD DC 590 771, DE 123 179 & 239 330, DF 285 342 & DR 354 367; Hadfield: ACM S383 f184, YWD 1051, 1052 (3 & 4) & 2127, WED 24, Parker Colln 504, WRRD DN 106 146, DZ 473 624 & 552 736, EB 678 991, EX 675 840, FS 363 402 & Iris 19 July 1814

<sup>149</sup> ACM S383 ff37, 191 & 267 The combined area amounted to two acres.

<sup>150</sup> *Iris* 4 Aug 1797

assigned and mortgaged both leases and houses there and at Carver Street.<sup>151</sup> He went on to purchase property at Worrall, Pitsmoor and more at Bridgehouses.<sup>152</sup>

Almost matching Owen individually and surpassing him jointly as leading Norfolk tenants were the Unwins, Joseph and Robert, members of a long-standing family of carpenters and builders. Joseph led the way with building leases from 1780 to 1781 at Bailey Street (one) and Pond Lane (sixteen).<sup>153</sup> However, in these agreements there was a difference - they were essentially temporary. In many cases leases stipulated that the property was only to be "conveyed" to the occupier when expenses of building had been paid to Unwin. This sanction protected both parties: the builder had the security of the lease and the possibility of a mortgage until payment, and the occupier the certainty of ultimate possession.<sup>154</sup> Unwin also built eight houses from 1787 on Hollis land at Brockohill, and was involved with Robert in a sublet nearby, as well as in further Norfolk leases, one of 799 square yards in Arundel Street and a second of 1260 square yards in Norfolk Street.<sup>155</sup> During 1796 they together put up for sale thirteen new built houses on Town Trust leasehold in West Bar Green and others on Church Burgesses' land at West Bar which may not have been quite so new.<sup>156</sup> In his own right Robert Unwin was granted five Norfolk leases from 1782 - at Howard Street, Eyre Street (two), Arundel Street and near Pond Lane.<sup>157</sup> On land in Queen Street belonging to the Church Burgesses he added two houses in 1782/83, and on two parcels of Town land at West Bar Green and Well Street (ex Broccohill) leased initially by George Wild he may well have added many more.<sup>158</sup> Besides all his activity on leasehold land,

<sup>151</sup> WRRD BW 616 879, CY 463 586, DN 601 771 & Bagshawe Colln (Sheffld) 4

<sup>152</sup> WRRD DQ 238 268, DZ 395 538, EG 549 700 & ER 539 731

<sup>153</sup> ACM S382 ff23r, 40 to 46 & 65 to 74 The Sun Fire Insurance records show that the two Unwins had between them thirty-seven houses (not located) insured with policy dates from April 1779 to March 1782; ie some pre-dated the Norfolk leases (Sun op cit 11936 274 f413283, 275 ff415026/7, 280 f424175, 289 f437942 & 300 f457462).

<sup>154</sup> Some examples show a seven year gap between initial lease and occupiers' possession (WRRD DU 283/4 307/8 & GD 173/4 175/6)

<sup>155</sup> ibid DE 729 943, DF 109 128, DH 532 668, MD 5751, ACM S382 f80r & S383 f124

<sup>156</sup> *Courant* No 153 (17 May 1796) & No 158 (14 June 1796)

<sup>157</sup> ACM S382 f123r, S383 ff2, 94, 153 & 265

<sup>158</sup> CB 181 (217), WRRD CK 654 881, CO 175 262, DT 316 376 & 318 379 & MD 6316 (4) Wild assigned the latter two properties to Unwin to as a security for work done. The WRRD Memorials suggest there were twenty-eight



Robert Unwin purchased in 1784 a two acre freehold site, Broomfield, abutting east on the Chesterfield Turnpike. Recorded leases of parts of the whole began only in 1795. Details in WRRD Memorials through to 1802 indicate that building had already taken place on six of the seven known parcels, but without precise information.<sup>159</sup> After Unwin's death in or around 1804 at least one of these is noted as having six messuages.<sup>160</sup>

Not all property speculators were in the building trades, nor necessarily with any intent of personal involvement in the building process. They may have regarded their acquisitions more as investments than speculation. John Purves, Esquire, of Worksop purchased much of the Lambert estate at White Croft, Lambert Croft and Scotland in 1776.<sup>161</sup> The whole was already leased out, some of it from half a century earlier. At purchase perhaps about seventy to eighty houses were erected on various parcels. In 1793 Purves was assessed for one hundred and nine.<sup>162</sup> Henry Pearson, brass-founder, of Nottingham bought the four acres of Townfield Knowle Close from John Castleton in 1777.<sup>163</sup> A large part was already let on building leases, and George Wilkinson, carpenter, above, the biggest tenant involved.<sup>164</sup> Considerable development was ongoing. In 1793 Pearson was assessed for nearly one hundred and seventy dwellings.<sup>165</sup> He sold the estate in 1798.<sup>166</sup>

Others were more directly concerned with putting houses on to plots. John Eadon, school master and accountancy teacher, was granted his first building lease in 1782 at Paradise Square by Thomas Broadbent.<sup>167</sup> After this, most of his activity was run

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messuages, but all may not have been built by Unwin.

<sup>159</sup> WRRD CP 366 553 (10,742 square yards plus a messuage); DS 463 948, DX 431 536/7, DZ 611 828, EG 53 68, EH 115 145/6, 118 152, 744 920 & EI 385 523

<sup>160</sup> *ibid* FA 20 24 Three others, undeveloped, remained at the time of the auction of his estates (*Iris* 9 May 1809)

<sup>161</sup> WRRD BZ 744 992

<sup>162</sup> For 1776 both Rate Books and LTAs are of little help. Both hugely under-record the number of houses. The 1793 LTA (*op cit*) is much more reliable.

<sup>163</sup> WRRD CA 668 951 Pearson had earlier been a mortgagee (BU 340 456 & 578 793)

<sup>164</sup> see above (DX 537 670, EC 431 671 etc)

<sup>165</sup> LTA 1793 *op cit*

<sup>166</sup> WRRD DZ 579 781

jointly with William Taylor, grinder. Together they took fifteen Norfolk leases in 1790 and 1791 (seven in Arundel Street, seven in Market Street and one at the Wicker) totalling just over an acre.<sup>168</sup> Many were already in someone else's possession, implying existing building, but those in Arundel Street and Wicker appear to be building leases charged at around one penny per square yard. The "already or hereafter" phrase in the Market Street leases does suggest at least the probability of more building and confirmed for one parcel.<sup>169</sup> Both men also contracted two Shore building leases in 1791 near the Irish Cross (ie at the future Bank Street).<sup>170</sup> The following year they were assigned a Norfolk parcel in Eyre Street which was rapidly mortgaged.<sup>171</sup> A majority of the other properties were similarly secured by 1792, permitting the lessees to add houses.<sup>172</sup> Apart from a redemption in 1796, nothing else was registered before Taylor's death in 1801.<sup>173</sup> His decease triggered a wave of assignments, presumably for Eadon to realise Taylor's share of the property.<sup>174</sup> The success of their venture can be measured by the former's subsequent purchases of freed Norfolk land and his bequest of £500 to his daughter.<sup>175</sup>

Eadon and Taylor had been jointly involved to some degree with a building club, holding two parcels in trust in Eyre Street and the Park.<sup>176</sup> John Eadon the younger, scissorsmith, and Thomas Elliott, cutler, were by 1801 directors of a society instituted in January 1790 to take out a 99 year Church Burgesses' lease at Pitt Field near Broad Lane.<sup>177</sup> It may have been the same society. Other evidence found includes an

<sup>167</sup> TC 1043 f11, Wheat Colln 2504 His books show he was a mathematician (MD 2032). Eadon had mortgaged a leasehold property in Pea Croft in 1789 (CZ 165 175). There is no reference to him having been responsible for any building.

<sup>168</sup> ACM S383 ff107 to 121

<sup>169</sup> WRRD DH 721 934

<sup>170</sup> WRRD DH 218 280 (262 sq yds) & 583 738 (303 sq yds) The former is confirmed as a Shore lease by FU 621 697.

<sup>171</sup> *ibid* DI 440/1 624/5 (714 sq yds)

<sup>172</sup> *ibid* DF 698/9 893/4, DG 415 606 & 455 651, DH 218 280, 583 741, 585 744, 721 934, 724 938/9, DI 441 625 & 633 875 (all 1791/1792)

<sup>173</sup> *ibid* DU 287 313 (Market Street 183 sq yds)

<sup>174</sup> *ibid* EG 563 717, EH 680/1/2 836/7/8, EK 399 532, 400/1 533/4/5, 690 913, EL 151 185 & 243 299

<sup>175</sup> *ibid* EO 24 32 & ET 537 675 (with Philip Law); Will and probate (MD 2032)

<sup>176</sup> ACM S158 LD1795 f22 & M1796 f17 The Eyre Street parcel appears different from the one assigned in 1792.

<sup>177</sup> Wheat Colln 2376; SDR70-4

advertisement of 1791 for shares in a Building Club "creating a fund for erecting a certain number of buildings", further advertising of sales of shares, possibly in the same club in 1793 and 1796 and of property adjoining Sheffield Moor in 1797, a single Norfolk lease of 1792 mentioning a Building Society, and a letter with a complaint that work done had not been paid for.<sup>178</sup> None appears to have been in any way comparable to the club represented in documentation by John Kirk who held all thirty plots at Radford Street. Although the bigger parcels had up to eight dwellings eventually, the holding was broken up soon after purchase when Kirk died, so it is unlikely that the club built more than a fraction of the houses.<sup>179</sup> In general, information for building club activities is relatively sparse, and, therefore creates a very different picture from that of Birmingham, for example, where, between 1781 and 1795, nineteen known societies erected from twenty to fifty houses each.<sup>180</sup> For Leeds in the same period Professor Beresford lists six clubs owning 292 building lots.<sup>181</sup> By comparison, Sheffield made little impact in this sphere in the eighteenth century.

#### THOMAS SAMBOURNE

Attorneys were commonly drawn to real estate for investment as owners or mortgagees, but few in Sheffield ventured into leasehold with the express intention of carrying out speculative building. An exception was Thomas Sambourne.<sup>182</sup> Having practised in Wakefield, Sambourne appears to have arrived in Sheffield in the mid-1780's.<sup>183</sup> His first recorded local transaction was a mortgage loan on a Church Burgesses' property at Pinson Croft (Cross Street) in 1785. More loans followed during 1787 to 1789 on land and houses in Wade's Orchard, Younge Street, Waingate and Brockohill.<sup>184</sup> He also mortgaged or purchased land at Worrall, Middlewood and

<sup>178</sup> *Sheffield Register* 10 June 1791, *Courant* 9 Nov 1793, 16 Jan 1796 & 12 July 1796, *Iris* 6 Oct 1797, ACM S383 f140, Hull Local History Archives L615.7

<sup>179</sup> Parker Colln 501-504, WRRD DE 123 179, DR 354 367, DZ 30 31, EA 575 887, ED 399 548, EG 89/90 124/5 & 94 130ff

<sup>180</sup> C.W. Chalklin op cit Ch7

<sup>181</sup> M. Beresford op cit pp187ff. He also notes that Birmingham seems to have been the first town to have terminating building clubs (from the mid-1770's).

<sup>182</sup> Acknowledgement is made to P. Aspinall's monograph "Thomas Sambourne: A Building Speculator in Late Eighteenth Century Sheffield" in *THunterAS* Vol 10 p161. The following paragraphs frequently refer to his findings.

<sup>183</sup> A reference is made to "Mr. Sambourne's office" in one of James Wheat's properties, probably in Paradise Square, in January 1786 (BB70 f86).

<sup>184</sup> WRRD CR 258 398, CU 483 644, CZ 670 805, DA 102 107 & 115 122

Brightside.<sup>185</sup> Hitherto, his activities were little different from those of other attorneys. Those of his mother, Ann Sambourne, with whom he occasionally acted jointly, were similar.<sup>186</sup> His first step on the road to speculation, however, was a Norfolk building lease in Carver Street in 1789.<sup>187</sup> In the same year he obtained by assignment a building parcel in Howard Street, two Hollis sites at Brockohill, a Hoyle property at Brockow Meadow and a Younge plot at Gill Carrs.<sup>188</sup> That Sambourne was directly involved in their development is confirmed by a letter from one Jonathan Heaton to Wray and Hollingworth of Hull, timber merchants, in December 1791. The writer refers to "Mr Sambournes own woorkmen (sic)" in connection with a complaint about the quality of timber delivered.<sup>189</sup> A few months later houses at Carver and Howard Streets were insured with the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, and their tenants were now paying rents.<sup>190</sup> In the spring of 1791 five of the six properties (along with out-of-town holdings) had been mortgaged to Ingram & Kennet, bankers, of Wakefield, and in April 1792 the remaining parcel was secured to Sheffield bankers Eyre and Stanley, apparently in their private capacity. Between these two contracts Sambourne was loaned £800 on note by the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank.<sup>191</sup> Such heavy borrowing seems to have been twofold in purpose: to fund the rapid house building programme and at the same time finance very large freehold and leasehold acquisitions in readiness to exploit the housing market. In February 1792 Sambourne purchased some three acres of freehold land at Brockow Bank near to his Hollis parcels, and from the Lady Day following was granted a three and a quarter acre Norfolk building lease near to Hellis Croft (ie in the same area) and two much smaller ones in Howard Street.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>185</sup> ibid DA 662 772, 665/6/7 776/7/8 & DC 625 823

<sup>186</sup> Most of his mother's property transactions appear to be mortgages, a common form of investment for a lady of means. She was not a party to her son's speculation, although she did liquidate her assets in 1792/93 when he was raising capital.

<sup>187</sup> ACM S383 f80 (241 sq yds)

<sup>188</sup> ibid S158 LD1789 f42 (218 sq yds) This does not appear to be a mortgage. WRRD DA 116 124, 384 430 & 671/2 785/6 Most had buildings, perhaps ten houses in all plus workshops.

<sup>189</sup> Hull Local History Archives L615.7 Vol I No822. The writer was probably Jonathan Heaton, bricklayer, who himself had taken two building leases at Wade's Orchard in 1781 & 1783 (CB 842 & 843). Was he Sambourne's clerk of works?

<sup>190</sup> Aspinall op cit p163 citing ACM SD 28, 29 & 33

<sup>191</sup> WRRD DG 451 645, DO 239 312 & ACM SD 25 (Walkers, Eyre & Stanley).

<sup>192</sup> WRRD DH 429 532 There were already five leases contracted to third parties.

Sambourne was poised to become the town's biggest private housing landlord. August of the same year saw the redemption of his bankers' mortgages and a brief new mortgage to the trustees of William Dawson (Calverstone) of the same six properties together with a newly assigned Hollis lease.<sup>193</sup> A reorganised mortgage of only four Hollis and Hoyle leases was contracted at the end of September to Edward Binn, merchant, of London, leaving the Norfolk and Younge parcels free for sale or security.<sup>194</sup> The Younge plot at Gill Carrs was sold in October and the Carver and Howard Streets leaseholds, with property at Fulwood and in North Yorkshire secured to the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank before the end of 1792.<sup>195</sup> In April and August of the following year Sambourne added mortgages of moieties of closes at Darnall and Catcliffe.<sup>196</sup> Aspinall has calculated that by this time he was indebted to a total of about £3500.<sup>197</sup>

Suddenly everything stopped. During 1793 Norfolk rents were not paid, and by March 1794 Sambourne was resident in Talacre, Flint, before emigrating to America.<sup>198</sup> He was not made bankrupt, a common fate of building speculators, but must have seen clearly that his plans were doomed. His departure to Wales does imply that he was disgraced, at least in his own eyes, although no reference to unethical activity has been found in the newspapers. Aspinall suggests that Britain entering war with France in 1793 was the key to the debacle, citing Hunter's assertion about the check to Sheffield's commerce and the "gloom and dismay" created at all levels of the populace.<sup>199</sup> In addition we must consider the great excess of supply of building land caused principally by the Norfolk estate, and competition provided by craftsmen builders, as

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ACM S383 ff138, 165 & 166 The large parcel was 15,639 sq yds (12,332 exclusive of streets), the smaller two 420 and 438.

<sup>193</sup> WRRD DK 215/6 286/7/8 The new property already had thirteen houses erected.

<sup>194</sup> *ibid* DM 593 701 The text of the Memorial has "Binn" and "Bunn", Aspinall has "Benn" and the copied signature at the end of the Memorial is "Dunn"!

<sup>195</sup> *ibid* DK 399 512 & ACM SD 27 The deposit of deeds to secure a bank account was a stage below a mortgage in that the borrower still retained the property and income.

<sup>196</sup> WRRD DM 147 179 & 540 624; ACM SD31

<sup>197</sup> Aspinall *op cit* p165 ie £4000 minus the 1794 £500 mortgage.

<sup>198</sup> ACM S158 M1795 f48; WRRD DO 226 294; Aspinall *op cit* p166

<sup>199</sup> Aspinall *op cit* p166 It also coincided with the end of the housing boom in Manchester (C.W. Chalklin *op cit* pp89ff)

well as wage inflation seemingly provoked by the surge of activity. Set against these factors a newcomer may well have been at a thorough disadvantage. In the course of 1792, the *Register* had carried a series of advertisements for sales or leases of parcels of Sambourne's freehold land at Brockow Bank.<sup>200</sup> Its eventual mortgage in 1794 gives the impression that no new leases had been added to the five already contracted when it was purchased.<sup>201</sup> Only one freehold sale was made, in March 1793.<sup>202</sup> In that month the remainder was advertised for auction together with all his Norfolk leasehold in both town and parish including closes at Salmon Pastures, Cricket Inn, Hall Carr, Allen Lane and Clough Wheel which he held on twenty-one year terms, as well as two houses on a Howard Street parcel and six at Carver Street.<sup>203</sup> Apart from the mortgage of freehold (noted above) in March 1794 when Sambourne was already in Wales, and his arrears in the Norfolk Rentals, the auction appears to be the last step of a short-lived campaign to create a housing empire in the north-west of the town.<sup>204</sup>

What were Sambourne's achievements? On his two largest parcels, one leasehold, one freehold, he appears to have done no new building, nor on his later building plots at Howard Street. On his earliest sites (Carver Street and Howard Street) he built six and two houses respectively. At Gill Carrs he added two to the existing four.<sup>205</sup> Hence he did the bulk of his development on small to medium sized plots at the Brockows. However, care must be exercised as the fifty-nine houses listed at their mortgage to Edward Binn in late 1792 were not a net figure.<sup>206</sup> The 541 square yard Hollis parcel at Brockohill Close already had thirteen houses at purchase, the 294 had three and the 975 had "buildings" unspecified. At Brockow Meadow the 904 square yard Hoyle plot had a tenement and workshops.<sup>207</sup> Sambourne's inferred new house overall total appears to

<sup>200</sup> *Register* 27 Jan, 4 May & 7 Sept 1792

<sup>201</sup> WRRD DO 226 294

<sup>202</sup> *ibid* DM 539 621 Aspinall claims this is another mortgage.

<sup>203</sup> *Register* 22 Mar & *Advertiser* 29 Mar 1793 The Brockow Bank freehold was only disposed of a year later via a mortgage in fee of £500 (DO 226 294) and a mortgage of the equity of redemption for £86 (DO 227 297).

<sup>204</sup> On 24th June 1793 an advertisement in the *Courant* suggests that Sambourne was still in business as an attorney. "Enquire at Mr. Sambourne's office" was appended to an offer for sale. The house in question was situated in Church Lane.

<sup>205</sup> ACM SD 33, WRRD DA 671 785 & DK 399 512

<sup>206</sup> WRRD DM 593 701

<sup>207</sup> *ibid* DK 215 286, DA 672 786, 116 124 & 384 430

be about fifty-two. This being the case, he was probably not the most prolific of the speculative house builders in late eighteenth century Sheffield, and he was far from being the biggest private landlord.<sup>208</sup> Even so, he was, in his upward sweep of land acquisition and building intent over a very short period, the most ambitious, some might say reckless, of all local speculators. Sambourne stands out from the rest for what he might have achieved. He was a shooting star who fell to earth.

Building development, as has been noted, commonly relied on mortgage loans. The large majority of mortgagees were local extending to the wider Sheffield area, and this type of lender has been examined in detail in Chapter 12. Land and buildings made good securities, so provided opportunities for investment, usually at a four and a half or five per cent return. Sambourne borrowed freely across the spectrum - locally, regionally and from London. Of the other speculators, only Joseph Badger and John Eadon (with William Taylor) appear to have used mortgages in quantity, and only Eadon and Taylor so intensively. Badger's six known borrowings were spread over nine years; Eadon's and Taylor's eight over just two.<sup>209</sup> Both used local and regional mortgagees.<sup>210</sup> The remainder had no more than two or three each, with only one from outside the parish - Joseph Owen's to a Dronfield yeoman.<sup>211</sup>

#### DEMOLITION AND RENEWAL - PUBLIC BUILDING

New building and its financing has largely overshadowed the concept of renewal in Sheffield's older streets in the later part of the eighteenth century, particularly in the 1780's and 1790's. From documentary evidence, more property was demolished to make way for new than at any previous time. Brief mention has been made of rebuilding in Church Lane permitted by Glebe leases, but this area was far from

<sup>208</sup> Sambourne was much less prolific in house-building than Richard Paley of Leeds, although the latter built his 275 houses over a decade and a half.

<sup>209</sup> Badger *ibid* CL 37 46, CO 145 215, CS 351 539, CW 604 764, 605 767 & DA 292 324; Eadon & Taylor DH 218 280, 583 741, 585 744, 721 934, 724 938/9, DI 440 625 & 633 875

<sup>210</sup> Badger: George Woodhead and the Gentleman's Club of Sheffield, Ann Raby of Ecclesfield (twice), John Sumner of Burghwallis and Elizabeth Pitt of Royston.

Eadon & Taylor: John Mower, John Bennett, Robert Handley, Joseph Greasby, Sarah Stevin & Rev Alexander McNab of Sheffield, John Shepherd of Greenhill and Samuel Ashton of Castleton.

<sup>211</sup> WRRD BW 616 879

unique. New houses on small demolition sites appeared in Snighill, Shude Hill, New Street, West Bar (several), Fargate (two), Townhead Cross, Lady's Bridge, Campo Lane, Parkhill, Castle Green Head (two) and Blind Lane.<sup>212</sup> Of course, buildings were not only pulled down to be replaced by housing. At the junction of West Bar and West Bar Green, in Water Lane and in Shude Hill street widening took place, and between Waingate and New Hall Street a new street, Bridge Street, was created to replace the narrow lane known as "Under the Water".<sup>213</sup> Near Park Gate and Pye Bank cottages were removed for the benefit of the respective turnpikes, and in the Ponds the sinking of a new colliery required the clearance of existing premises.<sup>214</sup> However, the three major programmes of demolition were for the building of the Tontine Inn and the Duke of Norfolk's Market, and rebuilding of the theatre.

The new theatre was the smallest of these three, but a little surprising nonetheless, considering that its predecessor had only been built in 1762, albeit a little less robustly than the Assembly Room which itself was to be refurbished according to a memorandum of shareholders in December 1776.<sup>215</sup> Mr. Atkinson's plan for both parts was adopted, and he was given responsibility for contracting with workmen and superintending the project.<sup>216</sup> As a result no detail is recorded by Fairbank, other than six and a half tons of lead "about the Playhouse and Assembly Rooms" and some two hundred feet of glass in the theatre and dressing rooms appraised in October 1780.<sup>217</sup>

Second of the three projects was the Tontine, and the site a single block of Norfolk property at the lower end of Bullstake (later Haymarket) between Dixon Lane and Castle Fold. During the spring of 1783 the first steps were taken to knock down Castle Barns and neighbouring houses, a process which continued into 1784 and possibly

<sup>212</sup> ibid CQ 77 119, CU 44 53, DF 15 18, DI 436 620, DO 253 330, DP 61 90, DQ 222 249 & DT 149 171; ACM S158 M1786 f18, LD1789 f6, M1789 ff5, 40 & 58, M1790 f18, YWD 730 & *Courant* No 158 14 June 1796

<sup>213</sup> ACM S158 LD 1782 f22, LD1790 f32 & LD1798 f56; Loan Deposits 1163 & TT 14 f128

<sup>214</sup> ibid M1779 f5, M1781 f12 & M1789 ff40 & 48

<sup>215</sup> Wilson Deeds 256 See details of the earlier theatre in the previous chapter (No. 14). The decision appears to have been rather sudden. Fairbank had costed £20 worth of carpenter and joiner work by J. Stacey "about the Theatre in Norfolk Street" in April 1775 (BB 53 f122).

<sup>216</sup> Wilson Deeds 256

<sup>217</sup> BB 64 f88



Fig. 15.8 The Tontine Inn c1830 (T.P. Willcox)



1785.<sup>218</sup> At Michaelmas of that year, the Rev. James Wilkinson, on behalf of the "Gentlemen Subscribers", took a ninety- nine year lease (back-dated to January) at £20 for the inn "now erecting or lately erected" in Bullstake.<sup>219</sup> Fairbank's sketch plan of August 1783 of "The Tontine Inn as far as it is now built" and a series of his costings from late 1783 to mid-1785 help indicate the slow building process.<sup>220</sup> Early brickwork and masonry by George Blagden and Abraham Birtles was appraised in October 1783, a large block of slating soon afterwards, and more brickwork by John Heaton and Thomas Ashmore in July 1784. Glazing, one of the later installations, was costed in December of the latter year, and more slating in June 1785.<sup>221</sup> A meeting of the subscribers on 29th September 1785 at the Tontine implies that it might have been finished.<sup>222</sup> Although the original prospectus had envisaged an initial target figure of £4000 from 40 subscribers, this was advanced to £5000 from 50. Eventually an extra

<sup>218</sup> ACM LD1783 f36, M1783 f45 & LD 1785 ff22, 39 & 55

<sup>219</sup> ACM S382 f[143]

<sup>220</sup> FB 58 p77

<sup>221</sup> BB 68 ff2, 66, 68 & 176, BB 69 ff40, 56, 68, 80, 82, 100 & 162

<sup>222</sup> MD 1101 & Wilson Deeds 420 A "tontine" undertaking is one in which the last surviving original share holder or nominee becomes the beneficiary. Hence a number of the subscriptions were in the names of children.

20 per cent call to raise another £1000 proved necessary. Total spending amounted to a little over £6000.<sup>223</sup> The three-quarter acre site was built up to front Bullstake with coach houses and stables to the rear.<sup>224</sup> Already by 1787 a daily Leeds and London coach service was operating from the Tontine, and a 1797 newspaper advertised stabling for ninety horses.<sup>225</sup> Impressive dining accommodation and market, coffee and entertainment rooms added to the facilities.<sup>226</sup>

Sheffield's new market was a much more complex undertaking requiring an Act of Parliament.<sup>227</sup> The scheme entailed both extension of area and, as important, widening and straightening of access roads. Not only would old stalls and shops have to be demolished, but also considerable numbers of adjacent properties.<sup>228</sup> Town streets affected were King Street (or Pudding Lane), Swine Market, Bullstake and the way leading from High Street to the Irish Cross (later Angel Street). The new site as set out by Fairbank in 1784 measured 3720 square yards, about one hundred and fifteen yards by thirty-three.<sup>229</sup> The Act of July 1784 gave the Duke power, via commissioners and with the safeguard of arbitration, to purchase freehold as necessary to fulfil the requirements. Nine named freeholders as well as sundry tenants had to be compensated. Robert Lambert, grocer, received an annuity of £230 for his lost assets. Overall spending had a ceiling of £11,000.<sup>230</sup> To finance the project Chief Rents and Enfranchisements were sold piecemeal from 1784 for sums amounting to £4136-17-11, and between 1784 and 1786 more than £8000 was raised from a series of mortgages. A further £1825 accrued from sales of tythes and land from 1790 to 1795.<sup>231</sup> The Ledger for the New Market Place indicates spending on construction continuing from 1785 to

223 MD 3034 The cost of plans, estimates and meetings was £97-14-10, the purchase of properties to be removed £654, the amount paid to the builders £4263-5-0, the cash for additional stabling, pump, pipes, cistern etc £550, and papering, painting, fire grates, bells, cupboards, shelves etc £462-7-2, a total of £6037-7-0. The rent of the inn in 1786 was £80 per annum (later raised to £120), the house adjoining £30 and a smithy and cellar £6-1-0. See Wilson Deeds 420 for a copy of the original prospectus.

224 FB 64 p77 (1789)

225 Directory & *Iris* 17 Dec 1797

226 Bland Colln 20 (57) Nothing comparable is described by Beresford for Leeds.

227 see Chapter 11 and ACM S329 & 330

228 ACM S158 LD1783 f22, M1784 ff10 & 22, LD 1785 ff28, 33 & 54

229 Wheat Colln 1766M

230 *ibid* 1351

231 ACM S340 & 341

REFERENCES

- 1 Robert Lambart's Freehold
- 2 belonging to the Church Burgesses
- 3 belonging to the Town Burgesses
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9 Tenements belonging
- 10 to
- 11 the Earl of Sturcy
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17

A PLAN

of

The present MARKET PLACE of the TOWN of SHEFFIELD  
 and of the several Tenements & Buildings proposed to be taken  
 to enlarge the same, & widen the adjacent Streets.

1784

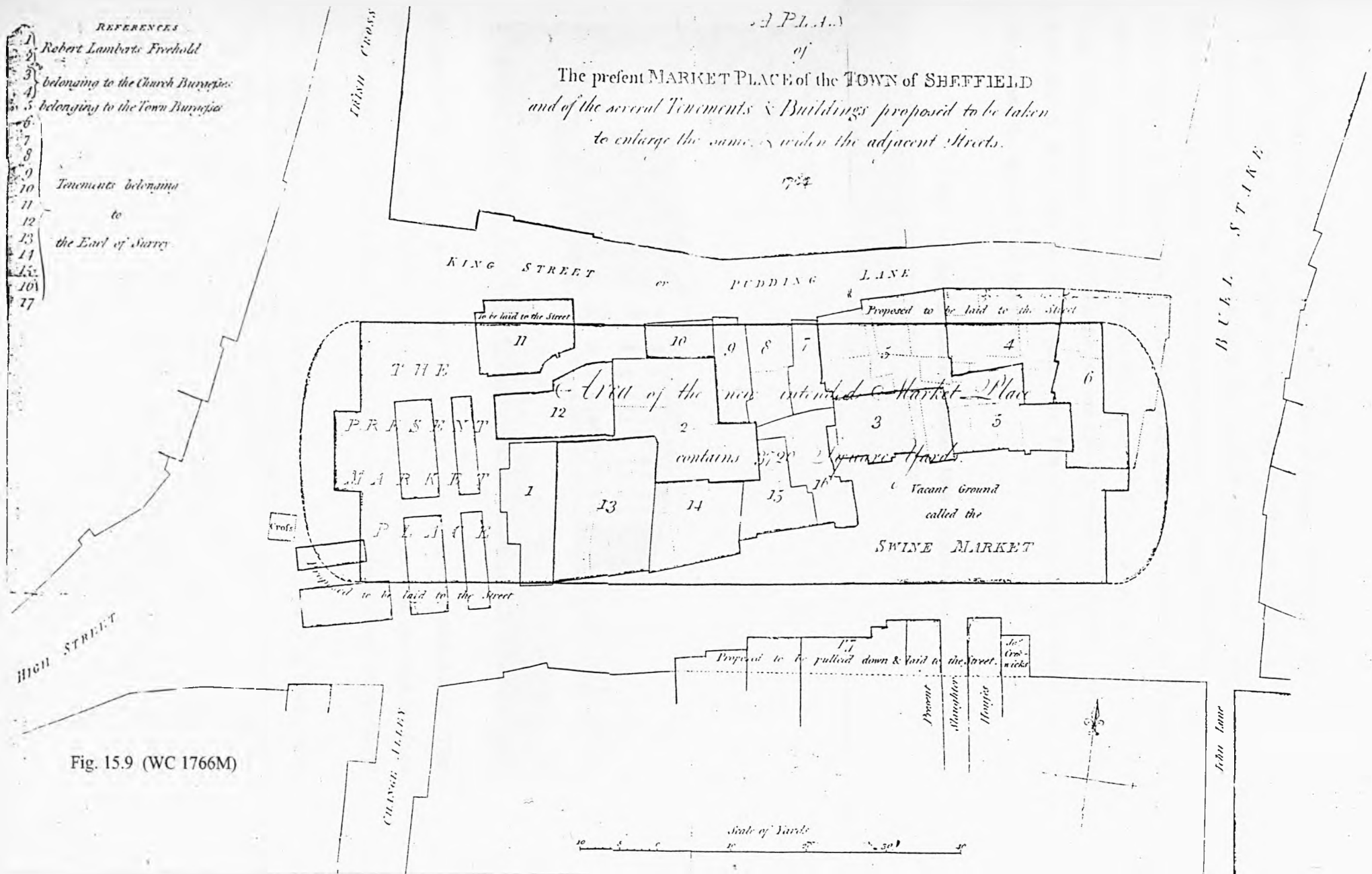


Fig. 15.9 (WC 1766M)

1789.<sup>232</sup> Forty-two building trades firms and craftsmen are named including John Froggatt of the Park who appears to have been the biggest contractor.<sup>233</sup> Fairbank Building Books support the ongoing nature of this protracted scheme with more than twenty separate quantity surveys between October 1785 and November 1788.<sup>234</sup> A large number of cellars (eleven adjacent to King Street alone) helped underpin the structure. Some sections of brickwork here were 2B & ½, and separate foundations of B & ½ for the twenty-seven front shops went down to nine feet in parts.<sup>235</sup> Outer walls were also B & ½, with BL in the partitions. The central roofwork topped a second storey, and the ground floor was paved.<sup>236</sup>

Fig. 15.10 Sheffield General Infirmary 1804 (J. Rawsthorne)



In spite of its cost, the new market was not the most grandiose undertaking. That honour must go to the General Infirmary which was four years in the making from August 1793.<sup>237</sup> The committee had selected a classical stone design from Birmingham

<sup>232</sup> *ibid* S342

<sup>233</sup> Froggatt received £2910-3-5 for a variety of crafts. In the Building Books he is paired with Thomas Appleby, as carpenter and joiner.

<sup>234</sup> BB 70 ff10, 70, 88, 106, 118 & 150, BB 71 ff100, 102, 144, 152, 156 & 162, BB 72

ff4, 12, 24, 38 & 54, BB 73 f30, 76 & 94 & BB 74 ff64 & 78

<sup>235</sup> BB70 ff78 & 104

<sup>236</sup> BB71 ff144 & 152, BB73 ff30 & 76 Leeds had Cloth Halls, but the general market seems to have retained its open-air character (M. Beresford *op cit* p371)

architect John Rawstone, and employed local craftsmen - Joseph Badger, Messrs Froggatt & Appleby, John Stacey and Joseph & Robert Unwin - to put it into effect. Building stone came mainly from quarries at Loxley and Foxhill, and the whole was topped by Westmoreland slate.<sup>238</sup> Together land and construction totalled some £15,000. Even though the location was away from the then outer fringe of the town to the north-west, the Infirmary belonged to Sheffield. Its fund raising was carried out there and its trustees, apart from regional aristocracy and gentry, were mostly local.

Other public buildings were much more modest: eight chapels including St James's, part of the Glebe development, were erected, many via donations.<sup>239</sup> Of these chapels, the best documented from the point of view of construction is Queen Street Independent. Built at the junction with North Street on leasehold land at three halfpence per square yard in 1783/1784, it was of brick, about fifty feet wide and some sixty-five feet in length. The foundations varied from two to eight feet deep using 3B and 3B & ½. Upper windows only were arched. Total building costs were in the region of £1100.<sup>240</sup> Almost contemporary with St James's and part of the Glebe, the Girls' Charity School was sited to the west of the Old Church and close to Campo Lane. John Stacey undertook the contract, probably letting out the brickwork as he himself was a carpenter and joiner. Owing to some neglect or lack of supervision in the oversight, both front and ends were built three feet one inch too long, resulting in a cost calculated by Fairbank to be some £85 over estimate.<sup>241</sup> This three storey building, which still stands facing the present cathedral, has high round arches above the ground

<sup>237</sup> *Advertiser* 8 Feb 1793, *Courant* 31 Aug 1793 & *Iris* 6 Oct 1797

<sup>238</sup> J.D. Leader & S. Snell: *Sheffield General Infirmary* (Sheffield) 1887

<sup>239</sup> K. Grady: *The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding* (Thoresby Society, Leeds) 1989 The others were chapels at Coalpit Lane (1774, a converted sugar-house, see Borthwick Jan 1790 Edward Bennett), Norfolk Street (1779/80), Garden Street and Lee Croft (1780), Queen Street (1783/84), Howard Street (1790) & Bridgehouses (1795). P. Borsay (op cit Ch 9) believes that the subscription and donation lists relating to public buildings enhanced the status of the donors through self-advertising.

<sup>240</sup> BB67 ff130, 150 & ff, BB68 f178 & BB69 ff8 & 12; CB 1634 & Wheat Colln 1323. See also W. Haylock: *A Brief History of Queen Street Congregational Church* (Sheffield) 1933 for a photograph of the building and details of individual donations.

<sup>241</sup> BB72 f129 Front 48ft 1in instead of 45ft; ends 34ft 3in instead of 31ft 1½in. The estimated cost had been £485. Is this more evidence that bricklayers were not accustomed to working strictly to a plan?

floor front windows and door only.

Very different in spirit was a new Coffee House in George Street. Its brick and stone work, including twenty-nine arches over windows and doors, was completed by Abraham Moor and John Corbidge, under the supervision of Joseph Badger "architect and builder", in late 1792. The four storey building with a cellar base had a front wall eighteen inches thick (2B) and B & ½ or BL elsewhere.<sup>242</sup> A committee of eleven, appointed by the shareholders, unhappy at the slow rate of progress, signed articles of agreement in May 1793 with Badger, who accepted a penalty clause - a £100 forfeit - in case of late finishing of the remaining work.<sup>243</sup> As early as June, Fairbank costed Badger's carpenter work in the lodging, coffee and billiard rooms, and appraised the joinery four months later. From the number of doors and windows, it appears that there were eight rooms (four front, four back) in the attic and third storey. The second storey housed the billiard room and coffee room, whilst on the ground floor were situated dining room, bar, parlour, tap room and kitchen.<sup>244</sup> The *Iris* called it "large and commodious" in an advertisement a few years later, and a subsequent indenture described it as "a large building known as George's Coffee House".<sup>245</sup>

#### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL BUILDING

As well as an increase in the number of buildings of a public nature in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, there was a clear upward trend in the growth of bigger industrial units of the kind exemplified by silver plate manufacturers' establishments of earlier years.<sup>246</sup> That is to say that from among the hundreds of small firms a growing minority of slightly larger and much larger manufacturers was emerging and requiring premises appropriate to their level of activity. Silverplaters, increasing in numbers during this period, inevitably contributed to the trend. Fairbank appraised new stamp and casting shops on seven occasions between December 1776 and January 1783.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>242</sup> BB78 f52 Some windows, at least, still had lintels (BB 78 f110)

<sup>243</sup> Wilson Deeds 260 1st September was the deadline. The total budget was £1030 plus, via independent appraisal, any balance "justly due".

<sup>244</sup> BB79 f16

<sup>245</sup> Iris 12 Jan 1798 & WRRD EP 195 249

<sup>246</sup> see Chapter 14

<sup>247</sup> BB57 ff2 & 16, BB58 f110, BB60 f140, BB63 f14, BB64 f130, BB66 ff18 & 174

Among such were the properties of Holy & Newbould, buttonmakers and merchants, at Little Sheffield who had the brickwork of several casting shops, a stamp shop, a filling (sic) room, a burnishing room, an engraving chamber and a warehouse built by Robert Calver. The whole was based partly on cellars and partly on foundations of between two and four feet using B & ½. Above ground the two storey walls were mainly BL. Contemporary steelmakers are less remarkable in the Building Books with only two sets of local furnaces indicated - that of Adam Broomhead in Arundel Street, and that of John Harrison, probably in Hollis Croft.<sup>248</sup> From other sources it is known that both converters and refiners in and close to town increased from about ten to twenty or more between the dates of the 1774 and 1797 Directories.<sup>249</sup> Hence rather greater numbers of furnaces than those indicated by Fairbank were constructed. New ones were located near Pea Croft, in Gibraltar, the Wicker, Trippet Lane, Balm Green, Bower Street and Hollis Street, with others a little farther away at Attercliffe and Darnall.<sup>250</sup>

A furnace of a different kind was erected not far from the Parkhill housing development in 1786. Booth & Co's Park Iron Works blast furnace, designed, it is claimed, for coke firing, was part of a large integrated site with coal mine, foundry and forge, and producing by 1796 over 850 tons of pig per annum.<sup>251</sup> Besides this iron manufactory, smaller foundries were built near to Paradise Square (probably in the late 1770's by Smith, Stacey & Co.), and in the Park by John Curr and at Furnace Hill by Thomas Chambers et al in the 1790's.<sup>252</sup> In the Ponds Kenyon & Co. made considerable additions to the works from 1778. The River Sheaf was straightened and part of the redundant bed was dug out for another dam to help drive a new slitting mill and second forge built subsequently.<sup>253</sup> By 1796 the complex had a steam-engine with its own engine-house.<sup>254</sup>

Similar engine-houses appeared elsewhere in and around town from 1786 when the

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<sup>248</sup> BB 58 f140 (1777), BB 60 f92 (1778) & BB 65 f48 (1781) Harrison is noted at Hollis Croft in the 1787 Directory. A third set of furnaces for Thomas Biggin in 1776 was probably at Norton (BB 55 f84)

<sup>249</sup> see Chapter 3

<sup>250</sup> ibid

<sup>251</sup> see Chapter 6

<sup>252</sup> ibid

<sup>253</sup> D. Crossley ed: *Water Power on the Sheffield Rivers* (Sheffield) 1989

<sup>254</sup> see Chapter 8 Steam Power

first local rotary engine was built (at the foot of Parkhill near to the Sheaf) to drive one hundred troughs. Such a unit, the equivalent of about ten average-sized water-powered cutler wheels, must have appeared quite large by local standards. Five more steam-driven works were erected in the years to 1797, most of them cited in the 1794 List.<sup>255</sup> That at Clayton Dam Fields (Shalesmoor) had two engines, one for grinding, the other for tilting steel. With one hundred troughs it, too, must have been impressive. The others were at the Wicker, the Cotton Mill, Attercliffe Corn Mill and Gibraltar. This last mentioned, put up for auction in August 1796, was part of an integrated steelworks, with a seven ton capacity cupola furnace, a sixteen-pot cast steel (crucible) furnace and a ninety-six by sixty foot rolling mill, driven by the steam engine.

As such larger premises proliferated, the question may then be asked whether any growth took place in the workshop space of the traditional cutlery and edgetool industry. Evidence suggests there was some movement towards bigger units, but it would be unsafe to suggest that it was much more than marginal. From an earlier chapter it is evident that Nowill & Co, cutlers, employed a number of workers and, therefore, needed more than a simple smithy workshop.<sup>256</sup> Conversely, their greater use of outworkers reduced the need to operate on the kind of scale necessary in the plating industry.<sup>257</sup> Examples from the Sun Fire Insurance records of the mid-1770's to later 1780's give mixed signals. William Lindley & Son, cutlers, had utensils and stock worth £220 in five shops (ie workshops), two warehouses and several chambers; John Wilde, edgetool maker, had his equipment and materials worth £480 in a warehouse, counting house, three or more workshops and a number of upstairs workrooms; Thomas Colley, cutler, held £160 worth of utensils and stock in a warehouse, workshops, large cellar, workrooms and chamber; and John Hawksworth & James Sharrow, cutlers, insured their utensils and stock in workshops, warehouses, chambers and cellars for £2000.<sup>258</sup> These men were all clearly occupying the premises and working with several employees, as well as having considerable amounts of capital tied up in the business. Similarly, John Fox & Samuel Norris, cutlers, and Benjamin &

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<sup>255</sup> *ibid*

<sup>256</sup> Sun op cit 298 f454690 Kippax & Nowill had several workshops, a cutting room and a warehouse.

<sup>257</sup> see Chapter 2

<sup>258</sup> Sun op cit 261 f391752, 268 f404706, 296 f450514 & 335 f513477



Joseph Withers, cutlers and factors, used many parts of their own property for manufacture, and at the same time leased out some work space.<sup>259</sup> Taking matters a step further, James Creswick, filesmith, had twelve or more workshops and at least three warehouses insured, most of which were used by other craftsmen.<sup>260</sup> More typical of smaller artisans were workshops commonly valued at £5 to £20, like those respectively of John Fisher, cutler, Joseph Roberts, cutler, Valentine Johnson, filesmith, and Joseph Ward, cutler.<sup>261</sup> Given that the insurance books only indicate a minority of craftsmen taking out policies, it is evident that most were too small in scale and too poor to consider this form of security.<sup>262</sup> Even so, some increase in size of establishment by the more successful cutlers and edgetool makers since the previous decades seems to be supported.

The rising number of bigger industrial premises in Sheffield and, to a lesser extent, of new public buildings over the last quarter of the eighteenth century is mirrored by the growth of both retail and commercial sector. Immediately the problem arises again over the term "shop".<sup>263</sup> Local usage was still very commonly that of a shortened form of "workshop", and Fairbank's Building Books, from which information on any specialised construction might be expected, are particularly prone to the use of the concise version. In most cases the industrial nature of sites is self-evident, but doubts linger over some of the remainder. Probably not more than about two dozen sales shops were appraised in some way, including alterations and conversions, between 1772 and 1794. However, from these few examples it is evident that frontages were beginning adopt a more modern appearance from the mid-1770's. Instead of enlarged windows alone like Lawrence Hobson's at 9 feet by 4 feet six inches or Ezra Ridgard's in High Street at 11ft 6in by 5ft 6in, the carpenter fitted a "Frontispiece Frame" to include both window and door. That erected by John Stacey for Francis Wheelhouse in Prior Row in 1776 was 15ft by 6ft 9in with a one foot deep window and door head above, and a

<sup>259</sup> *ibid* 271 f407367 & 299 f452876

<sup>260</sup> *ibid* 262 f393629

<sup>261</sup> *ibid* 275 f413307, 285 f432510, 293 f446200 & 334 f514048

<sup>262</sup> The Sheffield fire insurance field was dominated by the Sun Fire Office. A small number of local policies were contracted with the Royal Exchange, and agents for the Manchester and the Lombard Street Offices were listed in the 1787 Directory. Mrs. Broadbent was agent for the Phoenix in the 1797 edition.

<sup>263</sup> see Chapter 11 Feeding the Town

slightly smaller frame in James Walker's baker's shop required additional bearers to support the head and soles of the window. Larger versions were installed at Samuel Staniforth's in 1782 (16ft 7in by 6 ft), at Joseph Hedley's in Change Alley in 1786 (17ft 6 by 5ft 10in) and at Robert Palfreyman's in the Market Place in 1792 (17ft 2in by 9ft 7in). The biggest found was at Jarvis Brady's in Blind Lane also in 1792. The frontispiece frame was 30ft 3in by 7ft 6in, which meant that it stretched the full length of the shop floor space measured at a little over 29ft by 15ft.<sup>264</sup> All the shops noted were part of three storey buildings. Probably the most audacious development was that of the "Rose and Crown" at the head of the Market Place. Purchased by John Winter, cutler and silversmith, in March 1776, the rear part was modified to include workshops, casting and stamp shops, and burnishing chamber before December of the same year. Later it became "a private dwelling with shop to the front" occupied first by Joseph Salthouse, jeweller, and then by Parsons, Ashforth & Co., silverplaters, before becoming (in 1793) the premises of George Botham, confectioner.<sup>265</sup>

Naturally, rebuilding the Duke's Market encouraged new retail outlets around the immediate area. In particular, the removal of estate-owned slaughterhouses to a site beside the river near to Lady's Bridge left space on the south side (the former Slaughterhouse Lane) to develop a new Market Street. Thirteen building leases were granted in 1790 and 1791, eight of them to speculators Eadon & Taylor.<sup>266</sup> During the same decade, the row housed two hosiers, a draper, a printing office, a bookseller, a peruke maker, an attorney, an auctioneer, two hardwaremen, a cabinet maker and upholsterer, an optician, a public house and, for a brief spell, a saleroom for a Glasgow muslin manufacturer.<sup>267</sup> The whole or part of a large house in "New Market Street" offered for lease in 1794 was "well situated for the Retail Business and the Rent very moderate".<sup>268</sup> A later advertisement indicated two nearby shops, one with a six yard square floor, as well as three storeys and cellar space.<sup>269</sup> In similar manner Angel Street

<sup>264</sup> BB55 f132, BB66 ff10 & 34, BB71 f64, BB77 FF 100 & 134

<sup>265</sup> YWD 1492 (1 & 2), BB57 f16, *Advertiser* 24 May 1793 & WRRD FO 89 121

<sup>266</sup> ACM S383 ff88, 90 & 109 to 111 See also Fairbank's 1797 Town Plan

<sup>267</sup> SDR 68, ACM S383 ff90 & 91, *Courant* 30 Aug 1796, *ibid* 24 Jun 1793, WRRD DH 584 744, *Iris* 19 Oct 1798, *Advertiser* 11 Jan 1793, *Courant* 4 Apl 1797 & *ibid* 14 Sept 1793 and the 1797 Directory

<sup>268</sup> *Courant* 8 Feb 1794 The advertiser was Morgan Davies, pawnbroker, who may have been here before moving seemingly to West Bar (ACM S383 f168).

<sup>269</sup> *ibid* 15 Nov 1796

to the north-east of the Market Place was improved by new building. Shops selling confectionery, hats, hosiery, groceries, tea and coffee, perfumes, woollen and linen drapery, drugs, books, haberdashery and the services of a hairdresser and perfumer were publicised in the contemporary press and the 1797 Directory.<sup>270</sup>

In the Market Place and King Street, that is on either side of the new Market and in addition to butchers and other market traders, seven drapers, three hosiers, two hatters, five grocers, two printers and booksellers, a confectioner, a watchmaker and an auctioneer had shop fronts, as well as a number of unclassified shopkeepers.<sup>271</sup> Close by, Change Alley, to the south-east, appears to have become a street at least partly fronted by shops, although there is evidence of some retail activity much earlier.<sup>272</sup> A hat manufacturer, two grocers, a hairdresser, a linen draper and a pork butcher advertised their wares locally.<sup>273</sup> The Directory of 1774 lists about sixty shops in the Market Place and within five minutes walk of it; in the 1787 edition there were close to one hundred and fifty listed, and by 1797 some two hundred. Information in the Directories for other categories is known to be somewhat selective, and therefore not reliable for a complete picture, but such a large increase in the number of shops must be significant.<sup>274</sup> What is unlikely is that more than a minority were in new premises. Most central streets were already built up before the 1770's, so the spread of shops, as Professor Beresford found in Leeds, must have been largely through converted front rooms.<sup>275</sup>

<sup>270</sup> *Courant* 4 Jan 1794, 9 Jan 1796, 26 Mar 1796, 6 Sept 1796, 6 Dec 1796, 21 Feb 1797, 30 May 1797, *Iris* 26 Oct 1798 & 16 Nov 1798

<sup>271</sup> *Courant* 27 July 1793, 31 Aug 1793, 7 Sept 1793, 21 Sept 1793, 5 Oct 1793, 21 Dec 1793, 29 Feb 1794, 22 Mar 1794, 31 Mar 1794, 30 Aug 1796, and *Iris* 27 Apl 1798, 28 Dec 1798, 19 Apl 1799; *Courant* 4 Jan 1794 and *Iris* 20 July 1798; 1797 Directory

<sup>272</sup> FB12 f123 (1757) The original sales of parcels by Leonard Webster in 1746 were almost all to craftsmen, suggesting domestic and/or industrial building in the first place (see WRRD DA 207 212)

<sup>273</sup> *Courant* 21 Sept 1793, 30 Aug 1796, 6 Dec 1796, 7 Feb 1797

<sup>274</sup> The number of shops stated to be in the Market Place itself fell from twenty in 1774 to seventeen in 1787 and fourteen in 1797. This may have been owing to demolition or different description of location. In all other streets numbers increased, most notably in Fargate (from three, surely understated, to fourteen and then to thirty-two).

<sup>275</sup> Even for the newer streets in Leeds east end he commented that "there is no evidence that lot holders erected buildings designed as shops" (M. Beresford op cit p238). This is almost certainly a continuation of earlier practice in both

A similar conclusion may be drawn for rising numbers of alehouses, both in old and new streets.<sup>276</sup> From 1771 to 1802 licensed premises in Sheffield increased from 179 to 237, with the most significant advance - fifty-two (c30%) - in the first decade, after which a marked levelling off is indicated.<sup>277</sup> Not all establishments had adequate brewhouse facilities and depended on specialist brewers for supplies of beer and porter. Thomas Rawson & Co of Pond Street were proprietors of "the most ancient brewery in this district", by tradition founded in 1758, but the date is far from firm.<sup>278</sup> Adjacent to the Lead Mill, it was held by the same proprietors, and valued jointly with those works in 1775.<sup>279</sup> It is claimed that the brewery was rebuilt in 1780.<sup>280</sup> However, all Fairbank's appraisals of new work done there date from the later 1780's, and Sheffield Upper Rate Books first charged a "New Brewhouse" in May 1786.<sup>281</sup> Besides supplying independent hostelries with their beer, Rawson & Co began to buy public (tied) houses of their own which would sell only the Pond Lane product.<sup>282</sup> The first sound reference is to the "Brown Cow Alehouse" in the Ponds purchased in 1792, followed by public house acquisitions in Sim's Croft, West Bar Green, Green Lane and Skargell Knowle from 1793 to 1797, and a series of leases of Norfolk properties in Red Croft, Arundel Street, Ponds and Furnace Hill in 1796.<sup>283</sup> Many more were to follow. A rival firm, Edward Nanson & Co, was established early in this decade.<sup>284</sup> Nanson's personal account books are extant from the late 1780's, with "Nanson & Co" first noted there in 1791.<sup>285</sup> He was paying a Mr. Hawksworth wages in 1787 and £50 per annum in 1788,

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Sheffield and Leeds.

<sup>276</sup> *ibid* p240

<sup>277</sup> WYAS QE 32 (48-54) Calendar of Recognizances for Alehouses. Each paid £10 per annum. Brightside and Ecclesall together added 13 in 30 years.

<sup>278</sup> 1787 Directory cited by D. Parry and A. Walker: *Bygone Breweries of Sheffield* (Manchester) 1983, and in A. Barnard: *The Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland* (London) 1890/91 offprint re "Pond Street Brewery" in Sheffield Local Studies Library. They are not supported by primary sources. The Rate Books, for example, have no entry for a brewery here until May 1786, and Land Tax Assessments (WYAS QE 13/16/35 Box 1) nothing before 1788 - the 1787 book which might have the brewery listed is missing.

<sup>279</sup> Wheat Colln 1231 f36 As part of the White Lead Work stock, 33,300 gallons of alegal worth £1110, as well as barley, malt and treacle were listed.

<sup>280</sup> A. Barnard *op cit* and D. Parry & A. Walker *op cit*

<sup>281</sup> Fairbank BB71 f18, BB73 ff158ff, BB74 ff42ff & BB75 ff130ff (1786/1789)

<sup>282</sup> D. Parry & A. Walker *op cit* suggest 1787 as the beginning of the tied houses.

<sup>283</sup> ACM S158 LD1792 f43; WRRD DN 697 866, DO 127 171, DU 389 433 & DX 516 645; ACM S383 ff236/237 & 245

<sup>284</sup> D. Parry & A. Walker *op cit* say 1791.

which may be significant as two known Hawksworths were brewers, although John at the "Old Brewery" in Campo Lane appears to have been quite independent.<sup>286</sup> Indeed, John Hawksworth was first mentioned in the 1784/1785 Rate Book as proprietor of the wholesale brewhouse noted in the previous chapter and which had been in existence since at least 1758/1759.<sup>287</sup> It may well have pre-dated Rawson's. Like the latter firm, and strengthened by a partnership, it acquired public houses - four by the time of Hawksworth's death in 1797.<sup>288</sup> Nanson & Co's brewery was first in the Sheffield Lower Rate Books in April 1792 under the "Water Lane" heading, and in the Land Tax Assessments at least by 1793.<sup>289</sup> The firm was a client of Wray & Hollingworth of Hull in 1795, and Edward, of Lady's Bridge Brewery, was a debtor to the late Robert Wade in 1797.<sup>290</sup> No evidence has been found to indicate any tied house purchase by this date. Of the three breweries - Rawson's, Hawksworth's and Nanson's - the former was clearly by far the strongest in terms of commercial outreach at the end of this period.

A new brewing business in Sheffield entering an established market has a parallel in local banking. Two failures had reduced services some years earlier to those of a single partnership, Parker & Shore, subsequently John & William Shore.<sup>291</sup> The arrival in January 1792 of the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank, proprietors Walkers, Eyre & Stanley, may have been the spur for the Shores to consider building new premises close to the Market and to High Street. The Sheffield and Rotherham opened in an adapted house on the corner of Fargate and Norfolk Row adjoining the former land agent's residence.<sup>292</sup> With the industrial might of the Walkers as their base the new partners had the potential to challenge Shores for at least half the growing banking business of

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<sup>285</sup> Microfiche A197

<sup>286</sup> Sun Fire Records 11936/341 526863 in Guildhall Library Archives, London. Hawksworth died in 1797 (*Courant* 14 Feb).

<sup>287</sup> Rate Books The brewery can be followed through consistently.

<sup>288</sup> *Iris* 7 Sept 1798

<sup>289</sup> WYAS QE 13/16/35 Box 1 Books for 1790-1792 were awaiting conservation.

<sup>290</sup> Hull Local History Archives L651.7 (2nd Vol nos 151 & 251); Wheat Colln 1211 f17; a Church Burgesses' lease of the site of the brewery in Bridge Street in 1799 (CB1634) was for 90 years, suggesting a 99 year term beginning in 1790.

<sup>291</sup> See Chapter 13 Banking

<sup>292</sup> A conveyance of 1816 (WRRD GN 202 164) makes this clear, referring to the parcel" on which lately stood a Mansion House . . . for a great many years occupied by the Land Agent of the Duke of Norfolk and a messuage still standing formerly occupied as a bank by Messrs Walkers, Eyre and Stanley . . ."

the town, in spite of the latter's more than twenty years' establishment. The response appears to have been the new Shore bank, a three storey building at the corner of Snighill and Bank Street, finished in 1793.<sup>293</sup>

### TOWN SERVICES

Town Trust records indicate that established patterns of cleaning, lighting and repairing the streets and maintaining public wells continued as before. Costs were higher, of course, £171 for lamp lighting in 1777 and annual payments of £100 for repairs to highways within Sheffield township in 1782 and 1783.<sup>294</sup> The town was seemingly in many respects no worse, and perhaps in others better, than Birmingham and Manchester, who in spite of having Improvement Acts during the 1760's, made little progress until very late in the century. Birmingham erected a few lamps after 1780 and attempted to pave footways in the main streets and to remove the worst of the filth from 1791.<sup>295</sup> The more forward-looking Police Commissioners of Manchester, in the wake of a new Act in 1792, initiated a night watch, appointed twenty-two firemen and bought 1000 street lamps to be lit twenty days per month from October to April.

Like responsible bodies in most industrial towns, Sheffield Town Trustees were faced with huge problems. An undated, but circa 1784, response to an apparent critique of their management of affairs describes their successes in recent years.<sup>296</sup> Barker's Pool had been "wholly destroyed as a public Nuisance the Scite there having since been built upon . . .". The Trustees had in part at least paid for the paving of new streets out of their funds. They had occasionally bought up old buildings and pieces of waste ground for street widening.<sup>297</sup> In addition they had repaired drains and sewers "to carry off the

<sup>293</sup> BB79 f76 and first entry in the Rate Books. Fairbank measurements of joinery only indicate that the main ground floor room was 17ft by 19ft 6in, and that there were several ancillary rooms.

<sup>294</sup> TT 14 ff202, 208, pencilled ff121 & 124r. Francis Fenton painted 200 lamps in 1780 (f120).

<sup>295</sup> S. & B. Webb: *English Local Government: Statutory Authorities* (London) 1922 pp252ff

<sup>296</sup> MD 4058 (4) See also (2) & (3)

<sup>297</sup> MD 1971 & 4057 (2) Later (in 1785) Church Lane was widened by removing part of the graveyard, and houses had to be altered to complete the improvement. During Henry Tudor's tenure as Collector from April 1787 to July 1790 further outlay was made for street widening near Paradise Square. It is not clear if the Trustees were responsible for the demolition of property

great quantities of dirty stagnant and putrid Water accumulated in Cellars private Sewers or Drains in the adjacent Houses and also for the cleaning of the said Streets and from thence carting out of the Town the great Quantities of Dirt or Filth accumulated in the s<sup>d</sup> streets . . .". Furthermore, it was essential that an adequate part of the Trust's revenues be expended in this manner for the health and convenience of townfolk. Other actual and potential costs are listed - for the containment of riots and disturbances, prosecution of felons, relief of the poor, providing for sudden emergencies (unspecified), building a new Town Hall, and maintaining a "competent number of Engines for the extinguishing of Fires" and adequate fire plugs.

Sheffield waterworks, responsible for supplying those plugs and faced with an ever-growing demand for domestic water, extended their capacity at Crookesmoor. In 1782, Terrey claims, Joseph Matthewman and partners had been granted powers to construct additional reservoirs there.<sup>298</sup> The Norfolk Estate certainly altered their half-yearly rent to a "casual" (like quarries and mines) as from Lady Day 1783, and towards the end of the same year Fairbank measured a proposed enlargement of the Ashler Dam which became the Great Dam, some four acres in extent, probably from 1785.<sup>299</sup> Supporting circumstantial evidence comes from the proprietors' agreement with John Winter in October 1785 for a potential realignment of water pipes, a change which did not happen immediately, as a plan of 1787 showing the Great Dam has the line of pipes still unaltered.<sup>300</sup> This subsequent plan also indicates that the supply ran across Broad Lane, through the Duke's property at Portobello and into West Street near to West Field on its way to town, indicating that the proposed route of 1767 had since been adopted.<sup>301</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Development of Bank Street during the 1790's, following the building up of Queen and North Streets (formerly Wade's Orchard) from the late 1770's and in St. James's Street

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leading to street making at Pond Lane and Lady's Bridge (ACM S158 LD 1783 f1 & LD 1790 f32)

<sup>298</sup> W. Terrey op cit This seems an obvious step, but nothing has been found to support it in ACM S380 or S382.

<sup>299</sup> ACM S158 LD1783 f32; Fairbank FB59 f34; Wheat Colln 1524M

<sup>300</sup> Fairbank EWa9S

<sup>301</sup> ibid EWa8L & FB32 ff46-47

and surrounding land (formerly the Glebe) from 1786, meant that infill of the central areas noted as open spaces in 1736 was largely complete. Elsewhere, new housing had pushed out urban boundaries at all points of the compass. It is evident that the turnpikes had influenced part of that movement, particularly along the road to Chesterfield, and to some degree along the roads to Barnsley, Rotherham and Worksop.<sup>302</sup> There had been an increase in industrial building, not least for steam engines, in commercial development, particularly for the new market and for shops, and in public buildings of which chapels provided the greatest number of projects and the infirmary the most ambitious. The growing town was no longer confined by old township boundaries, and was poised to overrun more of Brightside and Ecclesall as well as reaching towards Nether Hallam.

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<sup>302</sup> see Fairbank's Town Plan (1797). Expansion along the Penistone Turnpike only occurred noticeably after 1810, and along Glossop Road/West Street even later.



*A Plan*  
of the Town of  
**SHEFFIELD**  
in the  
**COUNTY of YORK**  
drawn by  
*W. Fairbank*  
1797.  
Engraved by  
**THO. HARRIS.**



*References.*

- 1 Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bryants Chapel.
- 2 Workhouse.
- 3 Hollis's Hospital &c.
- 4 Independent Chapel.
- 5 Meeting Houses of the People called Quakers.
- 6 Duke of Norfolk's Hospitals & Chapel.
- 7 Boys Charity School.
- 8 St<sup>t</sup> Peters, the Parish Church commonly called the Old Church.
- 9 Girls Charity School.
- 10 Methodists Meeting House.
- 11 D<sup>o</sup>.
- 12 St<sup>t</sup> James's Church.
- 13 Cutlers Hall.
- 14 Town Hall.
- 15 Methodists Meeting House.
- 16 Dissenters Lower Chapel.
- 17 Play House &c.
- 18 Dissenters Upper Chapel.
- 19 St<sup>t</sup> Paul's Church.
- 20 M<sup>r</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> Bennets Chapel.



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CHAPTER 16 SLOWDOWN AND REVIVAL - SHEFFIELD 1797 TO c1820<sup>1</sup>

Urban development at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first two decades of the nineteenth was largely overshadowed by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Even so, the population of the town continued to grow (from c31,000 to 42,157), and another 2400 homes were constructed, as well as more industrial, commercial and public buildings of all kinds.<sup>2</sup> The housing figures cited conceal a disparity between the first and second decades of the new century. From 1801 to 1811 there appear to have been built (net) in Sheffield township only 207 more houses, that is an average of some twenty per annum, whereas from 1811 to 1821 ten times as many were erected.<sup>3</sup> Growth of population in the same periods was, respectively, 4526 and 6317. It is possible, of course, that the definition of a "house" in each census was different, leading to some distortion of the statistics.<sup>4</sup> However, empirical material from Norfolk leases and WRRD, to be discussed in detail in this chapter, broadly confirms the disparity. The rising pace of house building, particularly from the middle of the second decade, is also made clear. Leeds East End, with 773 new houses between 1801 and 1811, and 1886 in the following decade has a comparable, if less extreme, difference.<sup>5</sup>

With an ever increasing population, reasons for the paucity of additional housing in the first part of the new century are worthy of investigation. The conclusions which might be drawn are that a large number of houses had remained empty from the 1790's and the first decade was a period of regaining some kind of equilibrium between supply

<sup>1</sup> The parameters for the study of this period of development are Fairbank's 1797 Plan of Sheffield and the less than precise date c1820. The latter is a convenient round figure for a sequence of significant years - the opening of the Sheffield Canal in 1819 (the end of the economic study), the Census of 1821 and extant Directory of that year (the previous one is for 1817), and the John Leather Plan of 1823. The last town plan produced by the Fairbank family was in 1808.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1 Population

<sup>3</sup> Censuses The additions on the 1808 Fairbank "Town and Environs" map compared with the 1797 Town Plan are very few, confirming the slow down in building. In contrast the 1823 Plan has numerous examples of new and extended streets.

<sup>4</sup> Examples of houses divided into two, three or more are commonplace. It may have been quite difficult to differentiate between houses and homes.

<sup>5</sup> M. Beresford: *East End, West End: The Face of Leeds During Urbanisation 1684-1842* (Leeds) 1988 p249.

and demand. It may be that substantial demolition took place resulting in a low net figure. Perhaps it had become uneconomic for builders to supply new accommodation at rent levels most families could now afford (or conversely that many families could no longer afford rents rising with wartime inflation), so that a considerable amount of conversion and sub-division of housing took place, or some combination of factors.<sup>6</sup> The equilibrium idea has some backing from fragmented evidence in the WRRD Memorials which suggest that more houses and tenements were unoccupied in the 1790's than in any previous decade, a case supported by statistics in the population table in Chapter 1, but not by the relevant Rate Books which offer incompatible evidence.<sup>7</sup> Figures averaged from several books in 1800/ 1802 show that two and a half to three per cent of the housing stock was unoccupied, whereas the totals in 1810/12 were about a percentage point higher.<sup>8</sup> A fall to two per cent did take place in the middle of the first decade, but the major fall in the number of empty houses (to about one per cent) is not evident until 1815/16, followed by rises to nearly four and a half per cent in 1821 in the wake of a construction boom. Widespread demolition seems not to have featured to any large extent in the early nineteenth century, certainly not in any manner comparable to the removal of old properties to make way for the new Market Place and the Tontine. There was rather more shortly before 1820.<sup>9</sup>

#### BUILDING COSTS AND HOUSING INERTIA

The key to near stagnation in new house building was a surge in costs of both labour and materials in this sector over and above average non-building wage rises, and

<sup>6</sup> Builders are vulnerable in downturns of the economic cycle and therefore reluctant to begin taking risks until a rise in demand is fully perceived, hence the typical lags.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 1.1. Directory statistics for 1796 indicate a possible excess of 500 houses. However, the reliability is open to question. A contemporary Rate Book (1796/97) has only 95.

<sup>8</sup> "Empty" figures in the Rate Books do vary quite sharply, even in different volumes within the same year. A like-with-like comparison for particular times of year is difficult because of missing books, and not least because the town was divided into Upper and Lower Divisions usually with separate volumes. Of course, many empty houses were soon reoccupied, which may account for some of the variation. The Rate Books do not provide all the answers. For example, figures for empty houses appear too low for 1798/1800 (under one per cent).

<sup>9</sup> Houses were cleared to connect West Street to Church Street at the town end of the Sheffield-Glossop Turnpike in 1818. Around the same period, the jail and adjoining houses in King Street were removed for Market extensions.

traceable back to the later decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> BL walls previously charged at two shillings per rood in the 1760's had reached 2s 6d in 1786, 2s 8d in 1796, and three shillings in 1799. By 1810 the cost had increased to four shillings. BB inner walls, from 1s 4d in 1761, had risen to 1s 6d by 1796 and, by 1810, (now "five inch" walls) to 2s 10d.<sup>11</sup> Labour costs had doubled. Inclusive costs of labour and materials rose even more over a similar period. The relatively few examples of "all-in" pricing indicate that this had broadly trebled - from 9s and 9s 6d to twenty-nine shillings per rood for BL.<sup>12</sup> Such excessive expense on occasions led to the use of second-hand bricks for cellar walls, and old stone for foundations, even in what might be considered better class building.<sup>13</sup> Plastering was a little less dramatic in its rise - from threehalf pence and twopence in 1761/62 to twopence half-penny and threepence in 1812.<sup>14</sup> Slating was comparable, with prices rising from between 12s 6d and 15s per bay excluding materials in the early 1760's to 23s and 26s in 1808.<sup>15</sup> It is not at all surprising that such rises had a severely damaging effect on the housing market, affecting both supply and demand. Not until around 1815 did industrial wages overtake a then falling cost of living.<sup>16</sup> That the house building rate did markedly increase from around mid-decade does seem to confirm the linkage between average real wages and new housing.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> E. Gilboy: *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Harvard) 1934 Chapter 7, and J.S. Watson: *The Reign of George III* (Oxford) 1960 pp526ff. According to Watson, a slight improvement took place in 1797/98 to redress some of the fall in real industrial wages, but by 1800 inflation had again moved ahead. See "Piece Rates" in Chapter 15.

<sup>11</sup> Fairbank FB20 f86, FB24 f50, BB70 f104, BB81 f2, BB82 f73, BB91 loose paper & BB94 f10. Brick Length (BL) = 9 inch; Brick Breadth (BB) = 4½ inch.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid* FB17 f125, FB19 f135, & BB93 f6 Brick Breadth (BB) rose pro rata from 5s to 15s.

<sup>13</sup> BB82 ff 71 & 73 When the old Town Hall was demolished in 1808 "building materials" were offered for sale (*Iris* 12 Apl). Similar sales were held at Vincent Eyre's old house at the corner of Fargate and Norfolk Row, gutted in 1815 (*Iris* 17 Oct), and at King Street gaol demolished in 1818 (*Iris* 25 Aug).

<sup>14</sup> FB20 f32, FB23 f110 & BB93 f18

<sup>15</sup> FB18 f27, FB27 f84 & BB91 f13 There is the problem discussed in an earlier chapter that "bays" were not always standardised. All-in prices, of which there are many examples in the Building Books, inevitably reflect the variety of slate costs, so that examples of £5-10-0 per bay in 1793 (BB78 f64) and £4-10-0 in 1809 (BB92 f29) may well not imply a falling trend. The former, for the Cotton Mill, may also allow extra costs for the height of the building.

<sup>16</sup> Watson *op cit*

<sup>17</sup> The figures cited by Watson are quinquennial averages. Sheffield wages are

Conversion and sub-division (not new phenomena by any means) continued, and were more widespread than in the later eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Some thirty examples from WRRD between 1797 and 1810, and a similar number 1811 to 1820, show workshops, smithies, stables, kitchens, brewhouses and even a bakehouse becoming "houses". Four items from the *Iris* may well have caught the mood of change. The first was an advertisement in 1800 of a three-roomed building in Norfolk Street which was suitable "for conversion into a workshop or two or three small dwellings". The second and third in the same copy (1805) offered for sale a freehold house close to the top of Silver Street which "might at moderate expense be converted into two convenient dwellings" and a workshop with chamber in York Street "capable of being converted into a dwelling house". The fourth, two years later, from an editorial, concerned the wife and children of a journeyman cutler living at the back of Radford Street. James Montgomery wrote: "The whole family have only one room to inhabit". In drawing his readers' attention to their plight, the editor emphasised that it was unusual, an extreme example.<sup>19</sup>

Montgomery's tone was quite different in January 1810. "Amidst all the difficulties, discouragements and interruptions in trade arising from the late and present war with only one lucid interval of peace for a few months, the town of Sheffield has continued gradually to increase in wealth, population and public spirit . . .".<sup>20</sup> If others felt likewise, it is not surprising that the housing market became much more buoyant during the new decade. Assuming that figures derived from WRRD are fairly representative, the rate of building increased slowly from about 1812 and then accelerated from 1816. The latter period appears to be characterised by more concentrated development than before with examples of nine new houses on 475

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very difficult to assemble as many craftsmen were paid piece rates. There had seemingly been rises in 1813 as the newly formed Sheffield Mercantile Manufacturing Union, a union of employers formed the following year, resolved to keep wage rates as in 1813 (*Iris* 29 Mar 1814). Grinders' wages were in fact reduced in 1816 (WWM F45 f159). Labourers' wages rose from 1s 2d and 1s 4d per day in the 1760's (Mines [OR 7] & Turnpikes [TC 450]) to about 2s in the late 1780's (Building [BB75 f126]), and to 3s by 1809 (Building [BB95 middle pages])

<sup>18</sup> It is not clear, of course, how these were counted by the census enumerators.

<sup>19</sup> *Iris* 10 July 1800, 11 Apr 1805 & 17 Feb 1807

<sup>20</sup> *ibid* 16 Jan 1810

square yards at the southern end of Arundel Street, eleven on 287 in Lee Croft, ten added to the previous three on 571 in Charles Street, seventeen on 850 in Broomhall Lane, nine on 291 and eight on 321 in Hoyle Street, and fourteen on 575 at Jericho.<sup>21</sup> There were other parcels with from five to twelve new houses, some of them in Brightside and Ecclesall and hence not strictly within the township, but still contributing to urban growth.<sup>22</sup> Such concentration compares clearly with the select dwellings in Clarkson and Wilkinson Streets advertised by Thomas Flockton in 1815.<sup>23</sup>

Returning to the topic of building inactivity, the main supporting evidence for a marked fall in the demand for and supply of new houses late in the eighteenth century and in the first censal decade comes from observation of the behaviour of the Norfolk estate. As in the earlier studies the Norfolks dominated the freeing of land for building. This time, however, the manner was very different. By 1797 the flow of building leases from the estate had slowed to a trickle, owing to dearth of demand.<sup>24</sup> During the years 1798 to 1800 only thirty-four 99 year leases for some twenty streets or areas within the town periphery were issued, and not all of those would be for new or additional building.<sup>25</sup> From 1801 to 1804 inclusive the annual average was a little higher at about sixteen, with half of those in the Wicker and Nursery, both in Brightside, yet within the broad boundaries of the spreading town. Most of the remainder were nearly equally distributed in the Park and in the former Alsop Fields to Sheffield Moor grid. From 1806 to the end of the decade the total number of leases was about twenty, most (thirteen) for the Wicker and Nursery, and another five for the Park. After this period, mainly industrial and agricultural leases continued, and then in diminishing numbers.<sup>26</sup> A depressed economy must have been partly to blame. An *Iris* editorial of November 1800 spoke of eighteen months poor trade during the worst of which soup had been

<sup>21</sup> WRRD GM 109 112 (1816), GO 429 392 (1817), GY 222 237 (1818), GZ 620 672, HA 198 165, HB 507 566 & HB 573 639 (1819)

<sup>22</sup> *ibid* GI 666 707, GP 166 158 & 280 267, GR 634 617, GY 219 233, GZ 617 667 & HB 569 633

<sup>23</sup> *Iris* 30 May 1815

<sup>24</sup> This is the logical reason. No known restriction was imposed to limit supply, and later the estate was actively encouraging demand (ACM S391 11/12 July 1815 cited by P. Aspinall: "Thomas Sambourne: A Building Speculator in Eighteenth Century Sheffield" in *THunterAS* Vol X p162).

<sup>25</sup> ACM S383 f247ff The Park had six, the Wicker four and Broad Lane three. The rest were ones or twos.

<sup>26</sup> Many of these leases were still for the long-traditional twenty-one years.

served to prevent the poor from starving. William Dunn wrote of Sheffield being "on the verge of ruin" in 1801, and Montgomery (again) referred to "humiliating distress" in October 1807.<sup>27</sup> Leeds (and possibly other towns) must not have been affected to the same degree: Richard Paley's most active period, 1800-1803 inclusive, resulted in him erecting 162 new houses.<sup>28</sup> At the same time in Sheffield, the supply of leasehold land for building purposes was rapidly, if temporarily, diminished by the new Norfolk policy, from 1802, of selling off large tracts of ground in and around the township. A change of ownership may have made less immediate difference if the local economy had been buoyant, or inflation not so high. In the longer term, the building process was probably not seriously inhibited by this change, but private individuals with their multiplicity of intentions were in the ascendant, and a shift in the balance of power in the development of building land away from the Norfolk estate by 1810 was quite clear.<sup>29</sup>

#### NORFOLK ESTATE SALES

In order to be able to expand their property elsewhere - "for laying out Monies in the Purchase of more convenient Estates" - the Dukes of Norfolk obtained a series of private Acts in 1802, 1805, 1810 and 1814 to permit trustees to offer for sale much of both urban and rural holdings in the manor.<sup>30</sup> Of those within the town as it was in 1797 and within its immediate area of potential expansion there appear to have been two main series of sales. The first took place from the end of 1802 to 1806 and the second from 1811 to 1815. In the earlier series some 450 sales were made, mainly of small or relatively small parcels ie below 1000 square yards, but with significant minorities of medium sized plots (1000 to 2000 square yards), multiple sales (three plots or more) and larger pieces (half-an-acre upwards). Of all these, about 150 were in the old Alsop Fields and on the eastern part Sheffield Moor, some seventy in the West/Carver/Bailey/Rockingham Streets area, another forty or more in the Ponds and

<sup>27</sup> *Iris* 14 Feb, 14 Apl & 13 Nov 1800 & 20 Oct 1807; MD 1738 Bundle 2 f110

<sup>28</sup> M. Beresford op cit pp 215-220. Professor Beresford comments, however, that "the demand for housing was not running at a rate which could absorb anything like the area of building ground which Paley had accumulated".

<sup>29</sup> The evidence indicates that many buyers did issue building leases, but they often waited for several years and more before doing so. This apparent reluctance may have been the reaction to poor demand, of course.

<sup>30</sup> The local properties to be sold have a large degree of overlap in successive Acts. Lists in 1802 and 1805 appear almost identical (ACM S423).

Pond Lane, over thirty in the Market, Market Street, Bullstake, King Street, Angel Street and Fargate combined, about twenty in West Bar and West Bar Green, and a few large ones in Shalesmoor and Nether Hallam.<sup>31</sup> The later period (nearly 140 sales) was dominated by the Wicker with seventy and the Nursery with twenty-two.<sup>32</sup> It is certain that many sales did not lead to new building since tenants of long established property often took the opportunity of buying their own freehold, but there is affirmation that bigger purchasers gradually broke up larger parcels for development and thus, indirectly, and sometimes rather belatedly, continued the Norfolk tradition of providing building leases, particularly at the outer edges of the town. An associated problem is that no known lease books survive from these individuals, and only fragmented evidence of private leasing is extant.<sup>33</sup> Another difficulty is that the location is often vague, particularly in relation to Sheffield Moor, Shalesmoor, Ecclesall and Brightside where much new building took place.<sup>34</sup> Even so, the following paragraphs will illustrate in some detail the pattern of new building - slow in the first decade and speeding up in the course of the second.

One of the buyers of Norfolk land in Shalesmoor was Samuel Grubb, victualler, who in 1803 took two closes amounting to just under three acres.<sup>35</sup> Of these he leased 400 square yards the following year to William Iris, and to others some of the remainder only from 1815 - 727 and 675 square yards in that year and 664 and 597 in 1819.<sup>36</sup> Other early buyers under the 1802 Act and with varying degrees of effect on house building were Thomas Harrison, merchant and factor, John Jackson, cow-keeper (later "milk dealer"), and William Vickers, scissorsmith. Harrison purchased nearly five acres in the Solly/Edward Street/Broccos, Garden Street and Bailey Field quarter. The only recorded building lease found was that of a 484 square yard parcel in Edward Street in

<sup>31</sup> The Norfolk Estate had no property in High Street.

<sup>32</sup> The Park and Parkhill were not included in the sell-off schedules.

<sup>33</sup> WRRD Memorials are comprehensive for sales, but far less so for leases. The piecemeal information is in sharp contrast to the great detail of Norfolk Lease Books. Forty of the biggest buyers were researched in WRRD for subsequent building leases, but less than half provided material.

<sup>34</sup> WRRD EO 20 27, EP 707 860, EU 550 672 & 553 676, EY 218 276 & GH 146 157 This is not to say that more house building took place beyond the township boundaries than within. The population proportions for 1801 and 1821 are very similar. No comparable house numbers are available.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid* EN 441 593 & ACM S424

<sup>36</sup> WRRD ER 293 393, GD 680 772, GI 356 401, GY 518 534 & HA 486 496



1815. There was still vacant ground on either side.<sup>37</sup> Jackson took some four acres in three closes near to Allen Lane and Radford Street and two plots in Bailey Lane. The latter, with three houses, were leased off in 1804. Two acres were sold at the same time. Part of the remainder was let out in building leases between 1806 and 1817. The smallest of the closes (2156 square yards) was still made up of gardens at the end of this period, but a 1546 yard parcel assigned to John Jackson the younger had ten houses.<sup>38</sup> Vickers was the buyer of four acres in Nether Hallam, between Infirmary Lane and the Turnpike to Penistone and near to Morton Wheels, which details locate the land at Philadelphia, as well as of a much smaller piece in Carver Street. Parts of both were sold in 1807 and 2700 square yards at Philadelphia leased in 1808. However, the main sequence of sales and building leases at Nether Hallam did not begin until 1814. Then two plots were sold in two years and fifteen were let over four from 1815. Ten houses are noted in subsequent mortgages of three leased properties.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, Joseph Read and Samuel Lucas, refiners, bought four acres including garden ground in Colson Crofts and Shalesmoor in December 1805.<sup>40</sup> None appears to have been given over to building until 1815 when three plots at Dun Street were leased and one at Green Street sold. Twelve months later another parcel was leased in the same area, and five more let or sold in 1818 and 1819.<sup>41</sup> Closer to the centre of town Peter Brownell, merchant, purchased a three acre piece adjoining West Street, Carver Street and Division Street in September 1802.<sup>42</sup> In mid-1803 just over an acre was leased to Thomas Holy and Henry Longden for the site of Carver Street Chapel, and other parcels were leased for building in 1803 and 1807.<sup>43</sup> On Sheffield Moor close to

<sup>37</sup> WRRD EO 20 27 & GB 505 573

<sup>38</sup> *ibid* EQ 114 129 & 574 716, ER 341 454, FB 726 970, GC 268 298, GI 361 405, GO 329 299, GP 164 156, GR 630 612 & GW 443 401

<sup>39</sup> *ibid* EQ 108 125, FB 23 29, FC 169 262/3, GB 370 402, GF 339 384, GI 658 698 & 660 700, GK 514 561, GM 100 100, 104 105 & 113 118, GN 15 15 & 17 17, GO 391 359 & £97/8 363/4/5, GP 458 437 & 458 439, GZ 123 146 & HC 21 23

<sup>40</sup> *ibid* EX 435 537 & ACM S424

<sup>41</sup> WRRD GH 264 295, 265 296 & 267 298, GL 201 203, GS 90 86, GU 671, GZ 556 603 & 559 606 & HA 637 646 Read and Lucas also leased out plots on the south side of the turnpike at Hoyle Street in 1819 (GX 544 624, HB 189 237 & 506 565), but these seem not to have been of Norfolk origin.

<sup>42</sup> WRRD EN 449 602 The parcel also bordered Rockingham Street (EN 718 970).

<sup>43</sup> *ibid* EN 718 970, EP 318 411 & FA 704 908

Bennett Wheel, proprietor George Bennett acquired in August 1803 an acre of land to the south of Hereford Street which was leased by his executors in two sections in 1810 and 1811.<sup>44</sup> The tenant of the smaller parcel constructed two houses before 1813, the lessee of the larger a steam engine.<sup>45</sup> John Shearwood, attorney, bought thirteen properties in Market Street and land in and near Carver Street. He also took eleven in the Norfolk Street area, and, with Adamson Parker, attorney, parcels on Sheffield Moor, as well as twenty acres further away at Button Hill and Carter Knowle, all between 1804 and 1805.<sup>46</sup> Some holdings were rapidly sold to lessees, some re-leased, and at least one, a Rockingham Lane parcel, was let out for building in 1816.<sup>47</sup> Parker himself purchased thirty-three parcels, mainly along Pond Street.<sup>48</sup> He appears to have retained most of them. The long delays in leasing for building and great variety of individual behaviour following Norfolk purchases, as noted above, are clearly illustrated in these last paragraphs.

Fellow attorneys benefiting from the sales were Robert Rodgers and John Watson. In 1806 Rodgers obtained some four and a half acres in Shalesmoor, eight parcels in Carver Street, six in Blind Lane and one in Norfolk Street. Half the more central plots are known to have been leased almost immediately (1806) and some of the remainder soon after. However, the Shalesmoor land was conveyed undeveloped in 1812.<sup>49</sup> Watson purchased twenty-one properties, many with existing buildings, in Arundel and Howard Streets, in June 1805. Of these, most were leased and a few sold from the same year through to 1818.<sup>50</sup> His bigger acquisition took place in December 1806, consisting of just over four acres of undeveloped land in three lots on Little Sheffield Moor close to the River Porter and Porter Lane.<sup>51</sup> This led to a prolific series of building leases

<sup>44</sup> *ibid* EQ 112 128, FO 87 117 & FS 690 742

<sup>45</sup> *ibid* FX 337 393 & FY 75 93

<sup>46</sup> SDR 69(8), YWD 1050(3), WRRD ET 105 150 & 289 376, FT 319 329 & B23 332 16 The B series books in WRRD are mainly for enclosures, but include some Norfolk sales.

<sup>47</sup> SDR 69 (9-11) & 70 (5), YWD 1050 (4), WRRD ET 293 380ff, GC 188 193 & GL 73 65

<sup>48</sup> WRRD B23 336 17

<sup>49</sup> WRRD EY 509 649 & 521 660ff, FC 736 1039, FT 176 183, FW 97 111 & 104 117. The four and a half acres at Shalesmoor was sold on again in 1817 with no sign of building ( GS 219 225).

<sup>50</sup> *ibid* EU 396 505 & 401 507, EZ 624 934, FB 13 17, FC 483 656, FL 418 471, GM 252 254, GO 334 309, GP 438 416, GU 632 664 & GY 211 222

issued by John Watson in and near Porter Lane from 1807 to 1818.<sup>52</sup> One parcel had four houses when leased in 1807, and eleven by 1817; two others with some building in 1808 had thirteen houses later in the year; and another had no houses when leased in 1810, six in 1811 and nine in 1813.<sup>53</sup> Charles Brookfield, also an attorney, bought three Arundel Street plots in 1807 and three acres in four large blocks at the Nursery and Wicker in 1812. There are Memorials indicating sales and a lease in 1813 and 1817, but evidence of only four houses built.<sup>54</sup> However, Brookfield's private purchase of Well Close at Jericho from John Kenyon and others in 1806 was much more productive. The 3690 square yard close was leased in its entirety to John Crosland, carpenter and subsequently builder, in 1815, and sold to his son three years later.<sup>55</sup> They broke up the whole into five building plots which were leased out from 1816. One had six houses when mortgaged in 1818 and fourteen when sold the following year.<sup>56</sup>

More Norfolk property was sold to two Thomas Newtons, one a roper, the other a grocer.<sup>57</sup> In 1807 the rope maker obtained 1a 1r 6p of unbuilt land in Arundel, Duke and Earl Streets, three roods on Shalesmoor, and two previously leased parcels in Bailey Street.<sup>58</sup> He issued fourteen building leases, seven each at the southern end of Arundel/Eyre Street and in Moorfields from 1812 to 1819.<sup>59</sup> The grocer took rather more, just over nine and a quarter acres, much of it already built up, for which he paid a total of £5190. His first purchase in 1806 included sixteen plots in Carver Street,

<sup>51</sup> *ibid* B24 399 51 The memorial refers to a public auction at the Tontine Inn "at which sale John Watson bid for the purchase of the Fee Simple . ." paying £964-19-0 for the three lots plus the further lot of four small plots already under 99 year leases.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid* EZ 629 941, 740 1094 & 741 1096, FE 233/4 331/2, FL 418 471, GP 437/8 415/6, GR 116 122, GU 632 664 & GY 211 222

<sup>53</sup> *ibid* GR 447 444, FG 13 11/12, FO 514 650 & FX 652 751 See also GB 501 567, GD 286 308, GF 144/5 166/7, GF 527/8 588/9 & GT 447 444

<sup>54</sup> *ibid* FA 683 879, FW 551 564, FX 269 306 & GQ 445 392

<sup>55</sup> *ibid* EZ 198 295, GL 189 191 & GU 677 710

<sup>56</sup> *ibid* GK 608 672, GN 593 497, GR 74 75, GU 677 710 & 700 738 & HB 573 639

<sup>57</sup> No relationship has been established.

<sup>58</sup> WRRD B24 366 37 He paid £607-10-0

<sup>59</sup> *ibid* FS 479 519, FU 37 32, GA 336 412, GH 39 43 & 43 47/8, GL 189 192, 198 201 & 546 552, GP 631 599, GQ 605/6 538/9, GR 240 243, GZ 502 557 & HB 144 165

seven in West Street, eight on Little Sheffield Moor, three at Bower Spring and six in other parts of town. In 1807 nine parcels averaging about 1500 square yards, mainly in the old Alsop Fields area, were added, and in 1808 twenty in Broad Lane and Rockingham Street and twenty-two elsewhere.<sup>60</sup> Newton (grocer) disposed of a few properties before his death in 1810.<sup>61</sup> Subsequently, his daughter Lydia was party to about thirty indentures and assignments in the course of the next decade, but appears not to have sold, opting, rather, to take rental income. Other, later, buyers included Luke Palfreyman, hosier, in 1811, and William Silcock, merchant, in 1814. Palfreyman bought fifteen "building lots" at the northern end of town between Angel Street and Colson Crofts. In contrast to Lydia Newton he seems to have preferred selling them, beginning in 1814.<sup>62</sup> Silcock held his parcel near the Wicker for five years before starting a series of building leases in 1819.<sup>63</sup> Again the multiplicity of intentions and consequences of individual ownership is demonstrated.

#### THOMAS HOLY'S PURCHASES

However, all the above buyers of Norfolk land appear small scale when compared to Thomas Holy, merchant. He took eight and a half acres in the Bailey Lane/West Street/Portobello area (including nearly three on the south side of West Street), six acres in Ecclesall close to Little Sheffield Moor and 1184 square yards adjoining Porter Lane in 1802/1803, eighteen parcels totalling another eight acres in the Charles/Furnival/Arundel/ Eyre Street part of Alsop Fields in 1806, three plots of half to three-quarters of an acre each between Jessop Street and Sylvester Wheel on Little Sheffield Moor in 1811, and nearly four acres at Bower Spring Lane, formerly part of Colson Crofts in the same year.<sup>64</sup> For over thirty acres within the town and at its periphery, plus more in Bradfield, Holy paid nearly £10,000 in the course of ten years.<sup>65</sup> Almost immediately after his first purchase he began to issue building leases in the Bailey Lane/West Street quarter, but only six were contracted to the end of 1804, and then another three before 1808.<sup>66</sup> Five leases (almost certainly not building leases)

<sup>60</sup> *ibid* B23 326 15, B24 380 43 & B25 354 78

<sup>61</sup> *ibid* EZ 197 294, FE 691 959, FI 371 446, FK 630/1 786/7, FL 479 551

<sup>62</sup> *ibid* FP 210 209, GD 177 179, 191 197 & 444 503 & GF 40 45

<sup>63</sup> *ibid* GE 578 663 (no yardage is given in the Memorial), GZ 569 617/8, HB 88/9 95/6/7/8 & HD 716 759

<sup>64</sup> WRRD EN 447 599, EQ 107 124, EY 213 270, FP 209 208 & FQ 518 649

<sup>65</sup> ACM S424, S427, S429 & S431

of part of the Charles/Eyre Street purchase were made between 1806 and 1808, and building leases for three parcels adjoining Porter Lane and two for Gibraltar in the same period.<sup>67</sup> From 1809 to 1810 Holy sold six plots in same four parts of town.<sup>68</sup> In all he re-leased about two and a half acres and disposed of one in an eight year period. The picture changes in keeping with the evidence from census returns for house numbers in the second decade. Between 1812 and 1821 Holy made twenty-two sales and forty-eight leases, most of them building leases, totalling some twelve acres in all. His "building already or hereafter" phrase, and the counting of half the adjoining street or lane in each plot yardage closely mirrored the pattern established by the Norfolk Estate.<sup>69</sup> In one instance in WRRD Memorials where a mortgage to a third party follows a sale, Holy's name appears in the indenture suggesting that he retained an interest, perhaps a perpetual ground rent as Walter Osborne and others had in earlier years.<sup>70</sup> Several new streets were created on land in Holy's ownership between Broad Lane and West Street. Clarkson Street (later renamed) which adjoined both Broad Lane and Pitt Street is mentioned in 1811, and Nelson Place to the south of Broad Lane in 1812.<sup>71</sup> Orange Street and Holland Street first appeared in 1814.<sup>72</sup>

Thomas Holy's contribution to the expansion of the town does not end with his re-leasing and sale of former Norfolk property. In 1801 the executors of William

<sup>66</sup> WRRD EQ 323 362, 325 367 & 379 435, ET 79 120, 276 352 & 276 353, EY 216 272, FB 321 419 & FD 63 74

<sup>67</sup> WRRD FC 484 658, FD 63 74, 456 659 & 521 757, FE 403 569, 404 570, 405 571 & 405 572 & FH 13 17

<sup>68</sup> *ibid* FH 719 886, FK 129 153, FM 6 8 & 585 725 & FN 19 22 The first conveyance here, to Matthew Turton in 1809, contained covenants forbidding the trades of soap boiler, sugar baker, distiller, dyer, tallow chandler and glass-maker, and prohibited the new owner from building or allowing to be built a "blistered steel" furnace, cast-iron foundry, steam engine or slaughter-house (MD 5742 [2])

<sup>69</sup> The only full lease document found (MD 5742 [8] of 1814) was for 800 years. It also included an option to purchase within ten years. Some WRRD Memorials also note 800 years as the term.

<sup>70</sup> WRRD GN 598/600 501/502

<sup>71</sup> *ibid* FR 102 107 Logic has this as the present day Mappin Street. It is not named on the 1823 Town Plan and is "Charlotte Street" on Tayler's 1832 map. The current Clarkson Street (formerly on the edge of Crookesmoor) was "a newly made street" in 1814 (GB 373 406). Nelson Place is on neither of the above plans. As a property in 1813 abutted south on Nelson Place in FU 613 685, the modern Badger Lane may have been the location.

<sup>72</sup> *ibid* FA 513 620 Both are extant.

Langley of Worksop had conveyed to him four closes on Crookesmoorside.<sup>73</sup> Then in 1803, he purchased a number of parts of the Broomhall estate of Rev. James Wilkinson and Philip Gell, some ten acres in three lots near to Broomhall Lane and a little over one and a half acres on Sheffield Moor near to Porter Lane.<sup>74</sup> The first re-allocation of these was a sale in 1807 of a 752 square yard parcel at the junction of two intended streets, Wilkinson and Gell Streets.<sup>75</sup> Two more sales and five leases followed from 1811 to 1821 in the same streets, and a sale in "a newly made" Clarkson Street (on one of the Crookesmoorside closes above) in 1814.<sup>76</sup> Gell Street on either side its abuttal to Wilkinson Street was for the most part built up by the time of the 1823 Town Plan, and Clarkson Street partly so. On the Moor, at least five building leases were granted in Hereford and Jessop Streets from 1817, and one parcel sold.<sup>77</sup>

Holy's investment in urban and contiguous land within a three-quarter mile radius of the parish church, gave him ownership, albeit temporary in some cases, of more than four per cent of the total within that area.<sup>78</sup> More than anyone else, and because he had funds accumulated from his successful American trading over many years, Thomas Holy took advantage of Norfolk and Broomhall sales to build an empire of property. There is no evidence that he ever had to go into debt to make his acquisitions, nor to mortgage them later, so speculation can be largely discounted. Perhaps rather than try to gentrify himself by buying a country mansion in the manner of Henry Tudor, he preferred to keep his great wealth within Sheffield.

#### OTHER ESTATE SALES AND LEASES

The Broomhall estate from whose sale Holy benefited had been under the joint proprietorship of Philip Gell the elder and Rev. James Wilkinson his cousin.<sup>79</sup> Gell who

<sup>73</sup> WRRD EG 553 704 The Memorial notes the conveyance of four closes, but only gives measurements of three, in total 10a 3r 30p. There were also three allotments totalling 2a 0 19p.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid* EP 601 739

<sup>75</sup> *ibid* FB 352 458

<sup>76</sup> *ibid* FP 379 398, GB 373 406, GR 81 84 & 82 86, GU 670 703 & GW 255 214

<sup>77</sup> *ibid* GQ 260 220, GR 636 619, HD 716 760, HE 371 412, HM 302 264 & 366 331

<sup>78</sup> The radius is drawn on Leather's plan (1823). Holy's Crookesmoor closes lay just outside the limit and are not counted as part of the percentage.

<sup>79</sup> Wilkinson (long-serving Vicar of Sheffield) and Gell were the sons of Barbara and Isabella Jessop, daughters of William, last of the male line of the Jessops of

died in or shortly before 1797 had mortgaged much of his moiety and some of his Nottinghamshire holdings in 1791, leaving his daughter Maria Catherine to redeem the same after his death.<sup>80</sup> These events set in motion the break-up of the property, something which may have happened in any case. Wilkinson was approaching seventy and unmarried; the Gell family resided at Hopton in Derbyshire. In 1803 some fifteen sales were made of land in Ecclesall, much of it in quantity terms away from the town.<sup>81</sup> Even so, there were significant amounts in the path of westerly and south-westerly expansion, particularly on Little Sheffield Moor and at Broomhall Spring where Holy invested. After Rev. James Wilkinson's decease in 1805, the disposal of remaining lands did not occur immediately. A mortgage of Broom Hall and some seventy acres was contracted in 1808, and a conveyance of a Crookesmoor allotment in 1813.<sup>82</sup> Only in 1818 did Philip Gell sell off over three hundred acres, this time almost all of it, along with corn mill and wheels, beyond the limits of any contemporary town growth.<sup>83</sup> Apart from Thomas Holy's input, only three other indirect developments of the Broomhall estate have been discovered hitherto, all stemming from 1803 sales. The first was a building lease of a 544 square yard parcel issued in March 1807 to William Simons, bricklayer, by Samuel Broomhead Ward, gentleman, at Hereford Street, where two houses, one unfinished, were recorded in June of the same year; the second a building plot of 1173 square yards at Broomhall Spring in 1816 granted to Messrs Fentem and Owen by Thomas Newton, rope maker, from a larger (half acre) parcel.<sup>84</sup> The third was rather more substantial, having as its origin Lower and Middle Gill Carr (four acres in all) near to Broom Hall. John Hoyland, merchant, sold four pieces and leased two amounting to nearly one acre in 1818 in what was by then the lower half of Gell Street.<sup>85</sup> Although no detail of house

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Broomhall (WRRD DF 138 172 & 141 173).

<sup>80</sup> WRRD DF 145 176 & DY 540 693

<sup>81</sup> *ibid* EO 256 362, EP 38 58, 434 534, 456 568, 457 569, 462 574ff, 517 630 & 601 739, EQ 75 95 & 439 528, EU 355 453

<sup>82</sup> *ibid* FE 362 516 & FU 689 771

<sup>83</sup> *ibid* GS 723 699, GU 604 638, GW 61 50, 62 51, 68 55ff, 108 91, 111 95ff, 291 250, 311 276 & 534 465ff, GY 75 71 & 277 303ff, HA 614 619 & HB 166 193

<sup>84</sup> *ibid* FA 337 546 & 670 862 The original purchaser from the Wilkinson & Gell estate was Joseph Cecil who sold on to Ward in 1804 (EQ 439 598 & 441 529); EQ 75 95 & GL 198 201 Thomas Fentem and Samuel Owen were drapers, first in King Street and, by 1816, in High Street.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid* EP 517 630, GU 668 700, GW 78 60ff & 262 221 That Gell Street was

building has been found, this part of the street was largely built up on the 1823 Town plan.<sup>86</sup> Broomhall sales had freed for building purposes land which, had it not needed to be sold, may well have remained agricultural till long after 1820, and thus altered the pattern of westward urban spread.

Liquidation of lands as for Norfolk and Broomhall property did not apply to the Church Burgesses who continued to issue building leases, on a relatively small scale, as in earlier decades. From 1799 to 1816 about thirty at one penny per square yard were contracted on the western fringe of town, mainly in the Solly Street and Portobello areas, but with a few larger plots further west at Leavy Greave. Two such were the 3777 and 2061 yard plots at the latter site demised in 1799 to George Wood, merchant, on at least one of which a house or houses worth not less than £300 had to be built within two years and other buildings worth £100 within five.<sup>87</sup> A lease in 1803 to Thomas Wood, son of George, of 5464 square yards seems not to have led to immediate building, and a contemporary parcel to William Battye, cooper, was developed only around 1817.<sup>88</sup> Ten parcels of Church Burgesses' land in Solly Street leased between 1800 and 1810 all had houses eventually, but the dates of their construction are not always clear, although at least one dwellinghouse had to be erected on each plot within three years.<sup>89</sup> For example, a 736 square yard parcel let in 1800 to Samuel Siddall, shearsmith, had a public house and nine houses by 1811. A nearby piece of 668 yards on lease to the same tenant from 1807 had a single house and workshops in 1809, but thirteen houses by 1851.<sup>90</sup> Another ten indentures for Portobello and the upper end of Gell Street date mainly from 1804.<sup>91</sup> At least one of these specified three storeys, and another a Fairbank elevation and similarity in frontal appearance to neighbouring dwellings.<sup>92</sup> Remaining Burgesses' leases were contracted

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part of the original purchase is made clear in GU 668 700. Springfield was also included.

- <sup>86</sup> The upper/northern section was in Portobello and in part owned by the Church Burgesses (CB 1014).
- <sup>87</sup> WRRD ES 134 203/204; CB 886 & 1634 Two houses were built by 1810 (FM 591 733)
- <sup>88</sup> WRRD FM 584 722 & 591 732 & GN 434 366; CB 700
- <sup>89</sup> CB 746, 747, 750 & 762 to 768
- <sup>90</sup> *ibid* 952; WRRD FM 571 703 & FN 690 851
- <sup>91</sup> CB 713 to 717 & 721; WRRD GD 185 188 One each date from 1806, 1810 & 1811 (CB 703, 720 & 722) See also CB 1634
- <sup>92</sup> CB 703 & 717



between 1806 and 1816 in Broad Lane, Edward Street and Upper Allen Street, a dozen in all. Again dates of building more than the minimum houses are not known, even though by 1851 some seventy-seven together with workshops and other edifices stood on these last twelve parcels alone.<sup>93</sup> In view of the general paucity of new building in the decade before the 1811 census, it is likely that most of the above houses were constructed after that date.<sup>94</sup>

In contrast with the Church Burgesses, other institutional landholders - Town, Hollis and Shrewsbury Trustees - appear to have exhausted their undeveloped property in Sheffield township. The Town Trustees did issue a few ninety-nine year leases from 1804 to 1812, none of which had any reference to new building.<sup>95</sup> Charles Bown's notes to his employer, Earl Fitzwilliam, in 1790 and 1792 concerning the potential for house building of the Earl's enclosed land at Little Sheffield Moor seem to have gone no further before 1819.<sup>96</sup> In that year grandiose elevations were drawn up by Doncaster architect John Rawstone for a three-storey development close to Bright Street which would not have looked out of place in Bath, and plans made for the laying out of the site.<sup>97</sup> There are still no signs of it on the 1823 Town Plan, although a new market had appeared by Tayler's Plan of 1832.

If new development by these institutions and Earl Fitzwilliam was lacking, private individuals other than those who purchased Norfolk or Broomhall land made a small contribution to continuing building, particularly after 1810. Sarah Rutherford was one such. In 1789 her husband Thomas had inherited a moiety of Gill Carr Meadow near to Broomhall Lane from a brother who had obtained it a few years earlier from Thomas Broadbent's assignees. The second moiety came into his possession from his other brother.<sup>98</sup> Sarah finally began to grant building leases from 1818 long after Thomas's

<sup>93</sup> *ibid* 724, 725, 732, 738, 743, 744, 745, 769, 1634; WRRD GX 228 290

<sup>94</sup> Nearly half of the leases were for 1811 and after.

<sup>95</sup> TT 39

<sup>96</sup> WWM F121 (9-11) The Account Books which include the Rentals for Ecclesall give no indication of any new building leases on Little Sheffield Moor or anywhere else in the township (A277 to A331). Fairbank Plan SheS 1132L [c1790] has the Fitzwilliam land near Bright Street divided into 48 lots, but only Holy & Newbould's buildings can be seen on the 1808 Town Plan.

<sup>97</sup> WWM MP 37

<sup>98</sup> Borthwick (Nov 1789); WRRD CN 178 215 & DB 88 109

death. One parcel of 508 square yards leased in June 1819 to a builder, Jonathan Badger, had twelve houses, ten still untenanted, by November.<sup>99</sup> John Rimington, attorney, bought from John Wilson of London (heir of John Wilson of Broomhead) the half acre Pingle near to Allen Lane in 1790. Two leases for building there were contracted in 1813 and 1815.<sup>100</sup> He was already in possession by that time of part of Houseley Field near to Allen Lane. Rimington, a prolific mortgagee, had been involved in several transactions relating to plots there with the previous owner, Joseph Badger, carpenter, during the 1790's.<sup>101</sup> Apart from these, three leases (of 829, 324 and 165 square yards) and one sale were spread over the years 1802 to 1815.<sup>102</sup> The sale of 1120 yards in 1814 to Thomas Dunn, merchant, led to a further break-up of the land into smaller parcels, the largest of which, 460 yards, was sold in June 1816 by Dunn to one William Doughty, table knife cutler. Doughty mortgaged the property a month later with seven messuages "then erecting". The smallest piece, 138 yards, had one house a year later.<sup>103</sup> Robert Unwin, one of a long line of carpenters and builders, had owned a two and a quarter acre close called Broomfield at Little Sheffield since its purchase from the heirs of John Pymont of Badsworth in 1784.<sup>104</sup> Before the turn of the century, four parcels, all with some buildings, had been sold or leased for ninety-nine years.<sup>105</sup> In 1800 a series of four 800 year leases followed. Some already had houses and one a cast steel furnace. By 1804 two plots had added two houses each.<sup>106</sup> The relative slowness of the development is illustrated by the fact that after Unwin's death, his executors sold off most of the pieces, ten in all, including some not yet leased.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>99</sup> WRRD GU 157/8 168/9, GY 288 316, HB 151 174/5 & 568/9 632/3, HK 696 734 & HN 292/3 301/2

<sup>100</sup> *ibid* DE 206 282 The Pingle was divided into thirteen small gardens; FY 551 679 & GR 566 551 No subsequent building has been found.

<sup>101</sup> The original buyer of the one and a half acre parcel from the heir of John Wilson of Broomhead in 1785 was Joseph Badger (*ibid* CR 549 812).

<sup>102</sup> *ibid* EM 464 616, EN 707 963, GD 677 769 & GE 106 117

<sup>103</sup> *ibid* GI 664 704 & 666 707, GM 106 108 & GS 310 315

<sup>104</sup> This parcel is often located as "abutting east on the Chesterfield Turnpike". The 1808 Town Plan shows it at the southern limit of the ribbon development along the road.

<sup>105</sup> WRRD DS 463 495, DX 431 536, DZ 611 828 & EG 53 68

<sup>106</sup> *ibid* EH 115 145 & 744 920, EI 385 523, EQ 344 391, EW 218 222 & EY 662 866

<sup>107</sup> *ibid* FS 342 382 & 344 383 & FW 594 607 The last of these Memorials refers to an auction held in 1809.

James Wainwright, surveyor and builder based in the Wicker, began a little later than the above. In 1804 and 1807 respectively he purchased just under an acre of the late Dollis Rollison's land at Bridgehouses, and rather more from Thomas Kinnersley (5662 square yards) including a brick kiln at Sanderson's Field in Little Sheffield.<sup>108</sup> A smaller parcel from each is recorded as having been sold on, one at Bridgehouses with six houses and one at Little Sheffield with eight, although it is not certain that any were new.<sup>109</sup> John Sheldon, too, was a late starter. Much of his activity in the property sphere was as mortgagee until he inherited land, some of it formerly belonging to the Norfolk estate, from his late uncle, John Smith, gentleman. In 1813 he leased to builder Thomas Flockton a Little Sheffield parcel with three old and six new messuages, and to William Hind in 1818 a plot at Sanderson's Field with fourteen houses built by Flockton. By 1815 Sheldon had leased two more Little Sheffield properties to another builder, James Cundell, for building purposes. Four houses are documented.<sup>110</sup>

All empirical evidence seen hitherto fully supports the contrast in house building output revealed by the census figures for the first and second decades of the nineteenth century. It also corroborates the increasing rate of activity after 1815.

#### THE BUILDING SPECULATORS

Unlike during the period 1771 to 1797 when building speculation reached its zenith in the person of Thomas Sambourne, risk takers outside the building trades were relatively few and at the same time modest in scale. Salutary warning given by Sambourne's experience, perhaps, but more probably the depressed nature of the housing market at the turn of the century, discouraged would-be entrepreneurs from entering the field. This circumstance is in sharp contrast to the enthusiastic investment in land which flourished in the climate of Norfolk and Gell property sales.

As may be expected for the years to 1810, examples of speculative building are not easy to find. A dozen or so emerge from WRRD, five of them by four men who were not builders by trade and all on a small scale. William Alsop, scissor-smith, was

<sup>108</sup> *Iris* 7 Sept 1798; WRRD ET 277 355 & FB 688 916

<sup>109</sup> WRRD FB 694 922 (1807) & FH 522 654 (1809) Wainwright was bankrupt in 1810 (FK 575 717)

<sup>110</sup> *ibid* FY 445 560, GA 512 619, GE 358 400, GK 119 125 & GU 697 736

assigned a 1691 square yard parcel at Smithyfield, Bridgehouses, in March 1801. He had added two houses to the existing nine by July of the same year and another ten by 1806.<sup>111</sup> James Wainwright of Broomgrove, gentleman, had four new houses and another not yet finished in Jericho, and two new ones in Fargate with shop fronts and a warehouse in 1807.<sup>112</sup> In a contemporary development James Bean, farmer, built seven dwellings on Watson land in Porter Lane, and in 1810 Samuel Needham, mercer, had four newly erected messuages in Silver Street.<sup>113</sup> None of these men appear again in further projects.

From 1811 to 1820 the numbers overall increase at least threefold, with men outside the building trades still in the minority. James Hibberd, shoemaker, Paul Lee, cutler, and Samuel Turner, linen draper, respectively built dwellings in Radford Street, in a yard in Coalpit Lane and "backwards" in the Market Place, all before 1814.<sup>114</sup> In 1815/16 John Ward, tailor, had three houses erecting at Nether Hallam near the Infirmary, and four new ones plus four partly erected on a nearby plot acquired in 1807. During 1815 he bought a 1630 square yard piece in the same locality, sold (or mortgaged) 1001 yards soon after, and added three houses on the remainder by 1818. Ward was also owner of 532 square yards in Spring Street, in former Colson Crofts, purchased from the Norfolk estate in 1806. He appears to have added two to the existing eight houses by 1810 and two more by 1817.<sup>115</sup> Few others matched Ward in reaching a double-figure or near double-figure total. In 1816 John Wright, victualler, had nine houses in Arundel Street, eight unoccupied and therefore probably new; Thomas Bishop, silverplater, purchased property in Lee Croft with three houses in 1815 and added eleven more in two years; and in 1819 Timothy Millington, hat manufacturer, mortgaged an 850 yard parcel on the east side of Broomhall Lane and seventeen "newly erected dwelling houses".<sup>116</sup> The remaining individuals with between three and six new houses each in developing areas - Moorfields, Nursery and Little

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<sup>111</sup> WRRD EH 703 869, EI 176 252 & EY 259 328

<sup>112</sup> *ibid* FB 692 920 & FK 45 55 This James Wainwright was not the same as his surveyor and architect namesake in the Wicker.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid* FG 13 12 & FM 390 440

<sup>114</sup> *ibid* FU 92 95, FW 284 275 & GC 248 275

<sup>115</sup> *ibid* EY 528 674, FC 169 263, GB 370 402, GD 195 203, GF 339 384, GI 328/9 366/7 & GT 552 560

<sup>116</sup> *ibid* GI 336 376, GM 109 112, GO 429 392 and HA 198 165

Sheffield - were two cordwainers, a victualler, a yeoman and a cutler.<sup>117</sup>

However, it was the building trades which provided the main source of speculation. Within those trades many speculators - masons, bricklayers or carpenters and joiners - added to their status by using the description "builder". Joseph Badger went a step further, calling himself "builder and architect".<sup>118</sup> Badger and Robert Unwin continued from the previous period, but seemingly on a more muted scale. In 1798 the former purchased a one acre piece, a former allotment, at the top of Broad Lane from Robert Bayley and leased a slightly smaller plot (3503 square yards) at nearby Broccohill from John Sumner of Burghwallis.<sup>119</sup> Circumstantial evidence of mortgages suggests that Badger was still building up to his death in 1817.<sup>120</sup> Unwin continued to build on Broomfield in Little Sheffield and to lease out small plots with house or houses.<sup>121</sup> At his death in 1803 three parcels were still unbuilt, but the extent of his estate - more than thirty houses, mostly freehold - testifies to the success of his past speculations.<sup>122</sup> After his father's death, a younger Robert Unwin, also calling himself "builder", with others bought five Norfolk properties in Norfolk, Eyre and Arundel Streets and Pond Lane. Most were eventually sold between 1809 and 1815, but the quantity of building added is not certain.<sup>123</sup> By 1815 the son, now "timber merchant" was resident in Dronfield.<sup>124</sup>

A contemporary, William Clarke, bricklayer, eventually called himself "master builder". All his speculative activity appears to have been carried out in Brightside township, mostly at the Nursery. From 1804 to 1808 he erected nine houses there on a leased 552 yard Norfolk plot. In 1813 he bought a bigger parcel at Bridgehouses on which he built at least one new house, and in the course of the next two years

<sup>117</sup> ibid GL 550 556, GP 296 281, GW 276 236, GY 219 233 & GZ 568 616

<sup>118</sup> Badger was designer of the new Town Hall in 1808 (Fbk CP3 f106).

<sup>119</sup> WRRD DZ 750 1031 & EB 245 353 The Brockohill plot must have been part of the freehold of Thomas Sambourne forfeited to Sumner (see DO 226 294 & DZ 33 33).

<sup>120</sup> WRRD EK 284 380, EM 464 616, EN 387 530, FN 14 18, GD 126 123 & GR 69 69

<sup>121</sup> ibid DZ 611 828 (1798), EH 115 145/6 & 744 920 & EI 385 523 (1800)

<sup>122</sup> *Iris* 9 May 1809 Unwin had freehold property at Broomfield, Norfolk Street, Eyre Street, Union Lane, Pond Sreet and Arundel Street, and leasehold in Arundel Street and Pinstone (sic) Street.

<sup>123</sup> WRRD EP 708 861, FI 391 473, GI 262/3 285/6

<sup>124</sup> ibid GD 698 788

purchased more land at the Nursery. One part of the latter (2850 square yards) already contained a steam-driven grinding wheel, and it is difficult to see any reason for the acquisition, unless there was more opportunity for building. This property was mortgaged to the Sheffield & Rotherham Bank in May 1816.<sup>125</sup> Clarke was in difficulties by 1817 and declared bankrupt in 1818.<sup>126</sup> A fellow bankrupt, Benjamin Hadfield, carpenter and builder, had been in partnership with Edward Spittlehouse to 1797.<sup>127</sup> Leases from Thomas Holy and Daniel Darwent in Arundel and Charles Streets had enabled him to add perhaps ten houses between 1806 and 1812. A further Holy building lease in the same vicinity was mortgaged immediately. Six houses had been erected there at the time of the declaration of bankruptcy in 1814.<sup>128</sup>

Like many of his colleagues, mason and builder, John Blagden took advantage of Norfolk sales in acquiring first a three rood parcel in Carver Lane (subsequently Rockingham Lane) in 1803 and, with his brother William, a limeburner based at Tinsley, nine parcels in Eyre Street and Duke Street in 1806.<sup>129</sup> Part of the Carver land was mortgaged without development, but the remainder was sold on with house and workshop a few months before the second Norfolk conveyance.<sup>130</sup> At least six of the Eyre/Duke Street plots were sold over a nine year period from 1807, all with house or houses.<sup>131</sup> Business must have been sufficiently buoyant in 1810 for John Blagden to advertise in the *Iris* for a mason and bricklayers. Richard Riley, bricklayer, was active rather later. During 1819 he took two building leases in Hoyle Street (one adjoining the Penistone turnpike) from Robert Jobson, and built nine houses on the first which he mortgaged a few days before being granted the second. Here eight more dwellings were "built or now erecting" when another mortgage was contracted.<sup>132</sup>

Besides entrepreneurial masons and bricklayers, carpenters of note were George

<sup>125</sup> *ibid* FG 15 15/16, FZ 218 285, GB 684 771, GD 126 122 & GL 196 199

<sup>126</sup> *Iris* 30 Dec 1817 & 17 Mar 1818

<sup>127</sup> YWD 1052 [3]

<sup>128</sup> WRRD EX 675 840, FH 13 18, FS 62 67/8 & FX 323/4 370/1, and *Iris* 19 July 1814. Spittlehouse, with building record unknown, acquired land in Broad Lane (CB lease), Nelson Place (T. Holy lease), and in Hollin Street (Norfolk sale).

<sup>129</sup> WRRD EO 19 26 & EX 639 800

<sup>130</sup> *ibid* EU 498 608 & EX 527 651

<sup>131</sup> *ibid* FC 483 657, FD 519 755, FG 334 475, GF 754 816 & GP 243/4 231/2

<sup>132</sup> WRRD GZ 620 672, HB 189 237 & 506/7 565/6

Rhodes, James Ward, John Crosland (father and son) and James Cundell. Rhodes built eleven houses between 1806 and 1807 at the junction of Bailey Lane and Rockingham Street, and Ward had ten "newly erected and as yet unfinished" messuages in Union and Porter Lane in 1809.<sup>133</sup> The Croslands leased a small parcel at Hill Foot and a larger one at Philadelphia from William Vickers in 1808. Six houses were built on the former by 1810 and two on the latter before 1816. In that year a Church Burgesses' lease preceded construction of a house facing Upper Allen Street.<sup>134</sup> The three-quarter acre site they leased in 1815 from Charles Brookfield was developed more intensively after dividing for sub-lease or sale. Two of these divisions, of 457 and 575 square yards, had four and fourteen houses respectively. The second series, built mainly in 1817 and 1818, was subject to three different mortgages in that time.<sup>135</sup> Cundell may have built four houses on land in Eyre Lane leased from Thomas Newton in 1812. He certainly erected two additional dwellings there by 1815 and twelve more on two parcels near the barracks in Nether Hallam let to him by Robert Woollin.<sup>136</sup> In May 1818 he bought one and leased for building two Moorfields plots from Henry Longden, and a year later was assigned another Nether Hallam piece with eight houses, possibly built by himself. All the Nether Hallam and freehold Moorfields properties were mortgaged in turn.<sup>137</sup> In spite of their output, these individuals must give pride of place to someone else. As with land investors, so with builders, one man stood head and shoulders above the rest.

Most well-known in the trades and, perhaps, best documented, is Thomas Flockton, a mason and bricklayer in origin.<sup>138</sup> After an apparently failed attempt to lease a Norfolk parcel in Eyre Street from Michaelmas 1804, he contracted a 999 (sic) year lease of

<sup>133</sup> *ibid* EY 216/7 273/4, FB 319 416, FM 6 8

<sup>134</sup> *ibid* FK 629 734, GM 100 100 & 104 105, GX 228 290 & 235 301

<sup>135</sup> *ibid* GL 189 191, GR 74 75, GU 700 738, GZ 618 669 & HB 573 639

<sup>136</sup> *ibid* FS 479 519, GE 356 398, GT 229 217 & 236 226 & GU 691 729 (1817/18)

<sup>137</sup> *ibid* GT 230 218, GU 319/20 345/6, 323 350 & 691 729 & HC 23/4 26/7

<sup>138</sup> Part of his early career was spent in partnership with Robert Mills until dissolution in 1806 (Iris 13 Feb 1806). Mills (or Milnes) carried on in his own right, building eleven houses in 1808/09 in Jessop Street and four more close by in 1812/14. Flockton appears in the Fairbank Building Books (BB 90 to 98) in a dozen jobs between 1808 and 1815, mainly for brickwork, but at times as carpenter and joiner. Some of the latter jobs were quite substantial - £86 at an unlocated warehouse and £178 at Endcliffe (BB97 ff10 & 31 & BB98 f6)

former Norfolk land in Rockingham Street from Robert Bradwell, brickmaker, in February 1805.<sup>139</sup> This 368 yard parcel was secured to Bradwell in August, probably to permit Flockton to begin building. Seven tenants are named in an 1810 mortgage and ten in 1816, suggesting that number of dwellings had been built.<sup>140</sup> In the meantime, in 1806, Flockton had taken from John Sheldon a 500 year building lease of a 290 yard plot at Little Sheffield adjoining the Chesterfield turnpike. Assisted by a mortgage he had erected seven houses there by 1811.<sup>141</sup> On the 1st and 2nd August of the same year the first of his purchases was recorded - a 1215 square yard piece adjoining Bishop and Tudor Streets in Little Sheffield - from trustees of the late John Bishop. A mortgage was contracted on the 3rd August. Three new erected houses are noted in what appears to be a further mortgage in 1815.<sup>142</sup> In 1812 the first of several leases from Thomas Holy was issued. The 2103 square yard parcel at the junction of Rockingham and Division Streets with messuage, shops and stable was, according to the WRRD Memorial, "in the occupation of the said Thomas Flockton". The latter immediately mortgaged the property.<sup>143</sup> In 1813 he took another Sheldon lease in Little Sheffield of 470 yards (and again abutting the turnpike) with three old and six newly erected houses, all secured within a few days to Robert Rodgers, attorney. One more house was added before 1817.<sup>144</sup>

In May 1815 Flockton advertised in the *Iris* the sale of newly built "Country Houses" at West Town, two fronting Wilkinson Street, and one near by at Clarkson Street.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>139</sup> ACM S383 f286 The Lease Book entry is crossed out and has the word "Countermanded" added. WRRD EU 511 627. The 999 year term is confirmed in the *Iris* (2 Apl 1816); it appears to have been the normal term in Manchester and district (C.W. Chalklin op cit pp89ff).

<sup>140</sup> WRRD EU 512 629, FI 579 702 & GK 67 73

<sup>141</sup> *ibid* EZ 431 643 & FR 156 155

<sup>142</sup> *ibid* FQ 342/3 439/40 & GE 266 288

<sup>143</sup> *ibid* FS 57 61 & 60 65 There is no record of Flockton having added to building on this parcel. As he was later described as "of Rockingham Street", this may have been his base and builder's yard. Flockton was second party in a Holy lease to George Naylor the younger in 1811 (FR 102 107). The property on Clarkson (now Mappin) Street was almost an acre in extent. It is possible that he was named in the indenture as the builder. There appears to be little other reason.

<sup>144</sup> *ibid* FY 445 560/1 & GO 429 391

<sup>145</sup> *Iris* 30 May 1815 All were three storey; those in Wilkinson Street 2+2+2 rooms & kitchen, the one in Clarkson Street 3+3+2.



However, soon afterwards, he must have run into cash-flow problems, severe enough for thirty-five lots of his leasehold, including West Town messuages, and a freehold field at Wadsley to be offered for auction in April 1816.<sup>146</sup> Eighty-nine dwellings were listed plus a number of two and three storey workshops. It must be noted that no creditors or assignees were overtly involved. Application for particulars was "to Thomas Flockton owner".<sup>147</sup> It is not clear how many were sold. Only the Bradwell parcel with ten messuages in Rockingham Street appears in WRRD at the right time.<sup>148</sup> In June 1816 Flockton was back in business, receiving the reassignment from the mortgagee of his 2103 square yard Rockingham/Division Street (Holy) leasehold. Before the end of the month he assigned 680 square yards of it and houses to a hairdresser, George Holland, and, in August, 456 yards and four houses to John Carr, fender manufacturer.<sup>149</sup> In March 1817 he acquired from James Wainwright an acre of ground in two parts adjoining Allen Lane. Although one part had eight houses already built on it, its name "Brickfield" (and the note in the preceding indenture that an earlier incumbent had made and sold bricks for public sale there) seems to suggest that the builder wanted a source of such building materials. Two years later when mortgaged again (it had been mortgaged within days of the conveyance) the second part, formerly gardens, was described as open ground and brickyards.<sup>150</sup> In August 1817 Flockton was granted seven building leases within weeks by Thomas Holy. There were two parcels (457 and 1530 yards) in Wilkinson Street, two (687 and 472) in Clarkson Street, and one each in Division, Mill and Jessop Streets (1440, 537 and 642 yards respectively). All were mortgaged to Holy in September.<sup>151</sup> A year later Thomas Flockton was second party in a Sheldon lease of a former Sanderson's Field parcel with fourteen houses to

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<sup>146</sup> *Iris* 2 Apl 1816

<sup>147</sup> The first twenty-nine lots, six at West Town, three in Cotton Street and most of the remainder in Rockingham Street, were on 800 year leases from Thomas Holy; lots 30 & 31 on a 999 year term from "Mr. Braddow" (ie Bradwell); and lots 32 to 35 on 500 years from Mr. Sheldon.

<sup>148</sup> WRRD GK 67 73 In the absence of evidence about the difficulty, it appears that the full advertisement was intended to generate only one or two sales to solve some kind of immediate crisis.

<sup>149</sup> *ibid* GI 635 678 & 638 681, GL 149 146 In March 1817 Flockton mortgaged a 935 square yard parcel at the junction of Rockingham and Division Streets (GP 285 270). The yardages do not add up to 2103, but this may have been the residue.

<sup>150</sup> *ibid* GP 280 267 to 283 269 & GZ 496 550

<sup>151</sup> *ibid* GR 81 84 to 86 91

one William Hind, gentleman. The former's interest may well have been in the expenses of construction, as Hind conveyed to him in April 1819, perhaps in lieu of payment, a 411 square yard plot in Garden Street.<sup>152</sup> The builder continued his established pattern of lease and mortgage to 1820 and beyond with another Holy parcel in Wilkinson Street and a half-acre piece in Gell Street belonging to Thomas Sanson, merchant. He had built six messuages on the latter property by 1821.<sup>153</sup> Flockton was demonstrably the most prolific local builder of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and, incidentally, the first of three generations whose legacy still remains in Sheffield.<sup>154</sup>

#### THE BUILDING FINANCIERS

In common with previous periods it is clear that mortgage borrowing was a key element in financing the building industry, particularly for those within the building trades. Even so, not all mortgages were undertaken for such purposes. Raising capital for industrial, commercial, personal and partnership reasons were other possible motives, few of which are revealed by the archive material. The following section is written with that caveat in mind.

Evidence from local banks, hardly any of whose secured loans appear to have been made with builders or others known to have been directly involved in the house building process, suggests that they were not to any great degree financiers in this sphere.<sup>155</sup> In contrast, as may be anticipated, attorneys played their full part in providing both a brokering service to link would-be borrowers with would-be lenders and direct assistance themselves in the form of mortgages. For example, John Shearwood's letter-book contains correspondence to a client stating that he "now has an applicant with £600 for the purpose" (ie of providing a mortgage for the client's freehold), and to another that his £3000 may be set against the security of "a very

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<sup>152</sup> ibid GU 697 736 & GZ 298 338 Flockton had been in a similar position in a Holy lease of a parcel with three houses at the junction of Orange and Holland Street in November 1816 (GN 316 269).

<sup>153</sup> ibid HD 100 98/9 & HM 194 177/8

<sup>154</sup> R.E. Leader: *Surveyors and Architects of the Past* (Sheffield) nd (Pamphlet in SCL Local Studies)

<sup>155</sup> Parker, Shore & Blakelock c40, Walkers, Eyre & Stanley c60, and Rimingtons & Younges (founded 1816) c10

ample landed estate of freehold tenure". Shearwood's network spread as far as Doncaster and York.<sup>156</sup> Attorneys also used the medium of the press to advertise requirements for both sides of the market: some fifty advertisements have been noted in the *Iris* alone between 1799 and 1819, many of them from the legal profession.<sup>157</sup> As for direct involvement, Charles Brookfield, Adamson Parker, Robert Rodgers, John Shearwood and William Tattershall mortgaged over a hundred properties between them from 1797 to 1820.<sup>158</sup>

If lawyers were a driving force in the financial sphere, private individuals collectively dominated there, simply because there were more of them. Not all lived in the town, of course. Isaac Shepherd of Greenhill, tinman and brazier, made some thirty mortgage loans between 1770 and his death in 1811. Joseph Fawley, originally of Grenoside and then of Ecclesall, was secured for about twenty properties in Sheffield from 1782 to 1812, and Elizabeth Pitt of the parish of Royston for nearly as many from 1789 to 1807. Rev. Henry Pearson, first of Highfield and later Vicar of Norton, made some twenty mortgage loans, and Martin Goddard of Norton, scythesmith, was also a substantial lender against land security, a £2000 loan to Robert Brightmore being one of about fifteen contracts from 1801 to his demise in 1815.<sup>159</sup> More locally based, John Smith, gentleman, was mortgagee more than twenty times from 1797 to 1814, and his nephew John Sheldon likewise to 1820. Two Samuel Staniforths (father and son), linen drapers, made more than thirty indentures of mortgage over a similar period, the Rev. Francis Parker about thirty post 1797, and Thomas Pierson, stationer and bookseller, upwards of seventy between 1797 and 1820.<sup>160</sup> Pierson appears to have purchased

<sup>156</sup> MD 3985 ff388a & b, 402 & 425 (1807/08)

<sup>157</sup> It is probable that the newspaper acted as broker in some cases. Richard Sharpe's "Register Office" in Church Lane advertised in 1796 (9 Jan) in the *Courant* appears to have been short-lived, and similar ventures in the nineteenth century (*Iris* 27 Jan 1807 and 30 May 1815) concentrated on personnel.

<sup>158</sup> WRRD The figures are essentially approximate. Memorials, being summaries, do not always distinguish between, say, absolute assignment and mortgage. Only the next indenture, if there is one, with redemption, new mortgage or assignment clarifies the situation. Redemptions seem to be less frequently registered, thus increasing the incidence of approximation.

<sup>159</sup> Bagshawe Colln 69 & 75

<sup>160</sup> This figure for Pierson may well be an understatement, and he was mortgagee about twenty times before 1797. His role in nearly three hundred memorials from 1783 to 1820 is at times unclear, although from 1806 he was increasingly named as a Trustee in Releases, and probably in that role far more frequently

relatively little freehold or leasehold, clearly preferring to invest in other people's real estate. Besides these bigger participants, numerous smaller scale mortgagees loaned out sums on the security of property. Thomas Holy, for example, lent sums at times to his own tenants, in particular to Thomas Flockton, and Thomas Watson, silverplater, to lessees of his brother John. Many local ladies made contributions. Martha Hargrave, spinster, with fifteen or so was probably the most prolific. Those having five to ten each were Betty Mower and Lydia Newton, both spinsters, Ann Hobson, Mary Howard and Mary Law, widows, and at least ten ladies had three or four.<sup>161</sup>

For the less affluent, membership of a benefit society or sick club often enabled them to invest funds in mortgage loans. From 1797 at least thirty-five clubs made such mortgages, about seventy in all.<sup>162</sup> The Tradesman's Society was the most vigorous in this respect with twelve recorded contracts between 1812 and 1819.<sup>163</sup> The majority, however, made only one or two.

#### HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

Rapidly rising costs of house building, discussed in detail earlier, must rank as the main influence on the construction process. No obvious reduction in quality has been noted in most Building Book costings, but use of second-hand bricks and old stone, and, hence, the possibility of other recycled material - timber, slates, pavers and so on - may indicate a trend towards declining standards.<sup>164</sup> In the absence of adequate supporting evidence for such a trend, the main result of inflation in this sector from the late 1790's has to be the severe quantitative fall.

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than actually cited.

<sup>161</sup> Spinsters: Charlotte Oldfield, Margaret and Elizabeth Rivington, Elizabeth and Ann Smilter;

Widows: Sarah Broadhead, Margaret Colley, Mary Fenton, Sarah Jolley, Hannah Marples, Susannah Walker and Ann Wilson.

<sup>162</sup> Not all societies are named. Some are cited as meeting, say, at the Yellow Lion. As this hostelry had eight clubs (*Iris* 17 May 1814) there is no way of being certain which club is meant, unless the current master and wardens are noted elsewhere.

<sup>163</sup> SDR 12(12) & 18(2), WRRD FX 331 385, 336 391 & 337 393, GB 81 90, GF 17 20 & 18 23, GI 33 372 & 341 381, GW 295 256 & HA 610 615

<sup>164</sup> Second-hand materials below ground might be construed as acceptable practice. On the other hand, Thomas Flockton used new stone at 8s 6d per rood in both cellar and foundations in a Broad Lane house in 1808, dearer than 20 inch brick (BB91 f19).

Those houses which were built from 1797 and measured by the Fairbanks appear to have been universally three storey as before, although the firm's quantity surveys were decreasing in number at this time, and there are far fewer examples.<sup>165</sup> Advertisements from the *Iris* support the picture with some fifty instances, not all of them new. However, an occasional two-storey house was advertised, as in Eyre Lane in 1817.<sup>166</sup> Cellars and foundations appear to follow a similar construction pattern to that of earlier decades, with intermittent use of second-hand materials as observed. A possibly related development was regular usage from 1807/08 by the younger Fairbanks of a new description for wall width - five, ten, fifteen and twenty inches instead of the long traditional BB, BL, B & ½ and 2B.<sup>167</sup> A single example from Rockingham Lane in 1810 illustrates the still comparatively rare arched windows in domestic building, and at the same time introduces "five window heads of stone".<sup>168</sup>

#### PUBLIC BUILDING

From 1797 to 1820 more public buildings were added to the town's stock, but none to compare with the Market or Infirmary of the previous two decades. The former was extended between 1817 and 1820, after demolition of the gaol and its surrounding houses, at the cost of £5751-9-6½.<sup>169</sup> Twenty-eight butchers' shops, two slaughterhouses, and other new market shops, including fish shops, were embodied in the scheme. Scotland Street was selected for the site of the new prison for which local tradesmen offered estimates of alteration to existing buildings ranging from £211-15-0 to £275 in 1818. In spite of these related changes, ecclesiastical development dominated, at least numerically, with many of the denominations represented. First in date order was the new Quaker Meeting House completed by 1800. Plans were made in 1796 for a replacement for the existing building which lay on the west side of Scargell

<sup>165</sup> The last dozen or so Building Books are much shorter than the previous fifty-five, and hence include far fewer jobs, in some cases only about a quarter. The fifty-five cover some thirty-six years; the others sixteen.

<sup>166</sup> *Iris* 14 Oct 1817

<sup>167</sup> The second William Fairbank had died in 1801. The argument that calculations would have been easier seems untenable as prices were still based on the rood (7 square yards).

<sup>168</sup> BB93 f25 Observation of houses from the 1820's and 1830's in Sheffield, in areas to the west of Rockingham Street for example, indicates the continuing use of brick.

<sup>169</sup> ACM S346 (1) £1800 was paid for the demolished property.

Scargell Croft and to the north of the Hartshead.<sup>170</sup> The new one, a little further to the north and on the eastern side of the street, is marked on the 1797 Town plan, although the Fairbanks' measurements for walling, brickwork and carpentry totalling close to £200 are dated 1799 and 1800.<sup>171</sup> During the course of the latter year one of the surveyors measured the finished ground level dimensions to show that in both length and breadth the Meeting House was more than a foot short. His measurements indicate walls 2B and B & ½ thick.<sup>172</sup> For Carver Street Chapel information is far more detailed, in the main because of James Montgomery's interest in the Methodist cause and, hence, regular coverage in the *Iris*.<sup>173</sup> On 31st March 1803 his newspaper announced the sale of Garden Street Chapel and the intention to erect a new place of worship at the top of Carver Street for which £2000 had already been subscribed.<sup>174</sup> In June tenders were requested both from builders and from single-craft tradesmen, and in July the lease of the 4960 square yard parcel was finalised.<sup>175</sup> Thomas Holy laid the foundation stone on the 1st March 1804.<sup>176</sup> The outer fabric of the brick building must have been nearing completion in November, because from that month began a saga of letters and articles in the *Iris* about the slating. In response to John Stenton's contention that only best Kentmere slate had been used, the main contractors, John Beavers and Robert Colver, stated that it was not a matter of quality, but the problem of far too few courses permitting only a one inch overlap.<sup>177</sup> Subsequently, Stenton was accused of splitting slates and thus making them too thin. The vitriolic nature of some of the correspondence cast a cloud over the latter part of the construction.<sup>178</sup> Montgomery, reporting the opening ceremony in July 1805, claimed "This chapel is one of the best

<sup>170</sup> Fairbank EBU 113S, 114S, 115L & 116S

<sup>171</sup> BB82 ff69, 71, 73, 125, 161 & 163

<sup>172</sup> BB83 f46 Plan: 68 ft 4in by 45ft 6in Actual: 67ft 1in by 44ft 2in

<sup>173</sup> Bills are extant for much of the construction (NR 439)

<sup>174</sup> The Garden Street chapel had been purchased from the executors of an Independent minister in 1801 (WRRD EK 46 70)

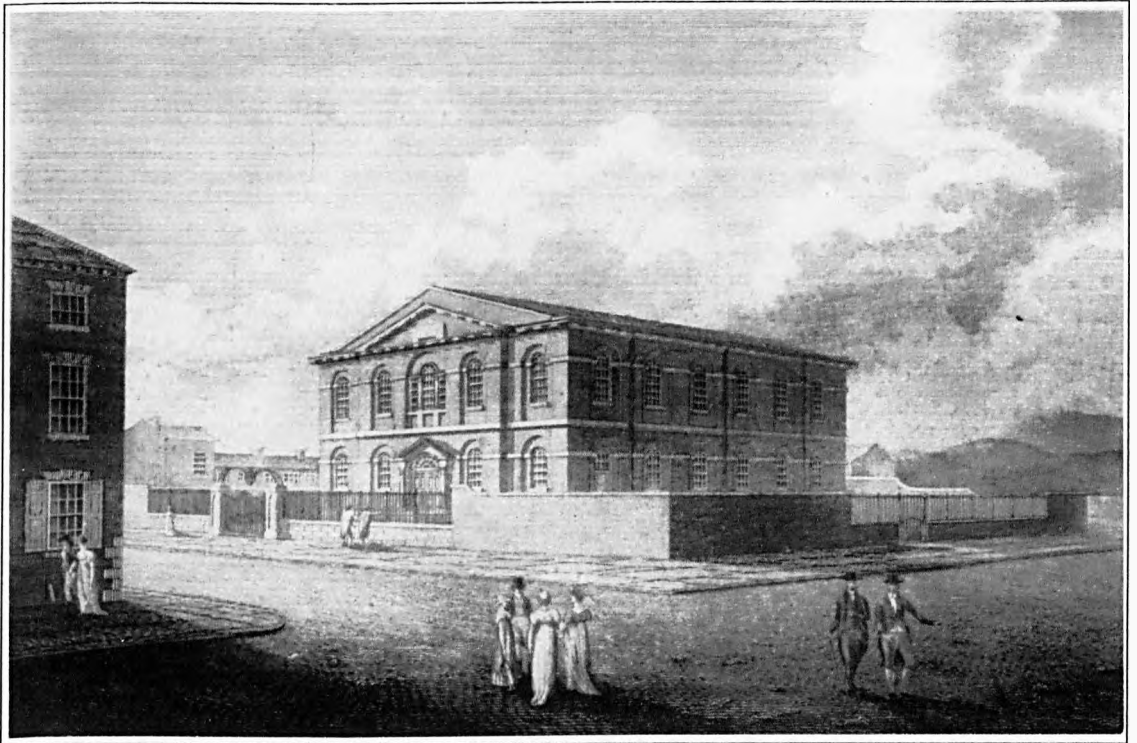
<sup>175</sup> *Iris* 2 & 9 June 1803; WRRD EN 718 970

<sup>176</sup> *Iris* 8 Mar 1804

<sup>177</sup> Best practice requires that each successive layer of slates or tiles overlaps the one below by two-thirds. The written criticism must concern the next-but-one layer which should overlap by one third. Snow and driving rain will penetrate otherwise.

<sup>178</sup> *Iris* 29 Nov & 6 Dec 1804, 7 & 21 Mar 1805 Stenton was still replying to criticism in January 1806 (*Iris* 23 & 30). The problems with contractors in general are confirmed by a comment of George Badger, the superintendent of building (NR 439)

Fig. 16.2 Carver Street Chapel 1807 (E. Bennett)



planned, most elegant and commodious places of worship in the country". It had cost, with the land, approximately £5000, and had accommodation for 1400 people. Nearly a decade later another nonconformist congregation, the Baptists, who had met in town since the 1780's, set about building their own chapel on the west side near the top of Townhead Street.<sup>179</sup> Two contiguous freehold parcels totalling 497 square yards were acquired in September 1813, one traditionally supposed a gift from Whittington Sowter. The chapel was opened in April 1814.<sup>180</sup> No details of its construction have been found.<sup>181</sup>

Tenders from contractors were requested in the *Iris* in May of the same year for a new Catholic Chapel, and in June John Curr, the Duke of Norfolk's former colliery viewer, John Smilter of Richmond, gentleman, and John Furniss, merchant, purchased from the Duke a three-quarter acre site on Norfolk Row containing the former land agent's

<sup>179</sup> C. Laron: *Townhead: The History of the Baptist Church* (Sheffield) 1870

<sup>180</sup> WRRD GA 100/01 118/9 and C. Laron op cit

<sup>181</sup> By this period, the Fairbanks appear to have almost given up quantity surveying. The penultimate Building Book (BB97) goes up to 1812. BB98 has 1815 on the cover, and has a few jobs from that year and 1816.

mansion house, a chapel and a house formerly used by the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank. By July 1816, the first two had been demolished and "a new building lately erected and let as a place of worship for Roman Catholics" stood towards the eastern end of the Row, but not quite adjacent to Norfolk Street.<sup>182</sup> Total cost was about £3000 of which the Duke is reputed to have donated £300. All monies were raised prior to dedication in May 1816. The chapel was approximately eighty-five feet by forty, and had on the side facing Norfolk Row six tall arched windows.<sup>183</sup>

Fig. 16. Sheffield Town Hall c1830 (N. Whittock)



Amidst erection of the four chapels came a significant civic building. The old Town Hall had stood inconveniently at the south-eastern corner of the churchyard, effectively blocking much of the junction of High Street with Church Street. James Montgomery called it "one of the greatest nuisances in Sheffield" and rejoiced at its demolition.<sup>184</sup> As early as March 1805 tenders had been sought for clearance of the proposed site "at Castle Hill".<sup>185</sup> Plans and elevations for the new Hall were the work of local carpenter

<sup>182</sup> *Iris* 3 May 1814; WRRD GB 407 454 & GN 202 164; Fairbank SheS 740S [1817]

<sup>183</sup> D. Evinson: *The Lord's House: The History of Sheffield's Roman Catholic Buildings 1570-1990* (Sheffield) 1991 A painting of the chapel is reproduced p40. During his researches Dr. Evinson found a bill for £2-2-0 "for plans" from John Rawstorne, but no corroborating evidence that he was the architect.

<sup>184</sup> *Iris* 17 May 1808



and builder, Joseph Badger, who also appears to have been clerk of works.<sup>186</sup> A report of the laying of the first stone was in the *Iris* on 17th May 1808, coinciding with an advertisement for the sale of building materials from the old location.<sup>187</sup> Fairbank Building Books give good detail, but not a complete picture of the construction which had been put out to tender.<sup>188</sup> The outer walls were of stone and brick, the latter described as fifteen inches thick, and inner walls were ten inches. Thomas Ashmore carried out the brick and masonry work, John Fox carpentry and joinery, John Cooper slating and John Holiday plastering.<sup>189</sup> The completed two storey building contained court-room, magistrates' room, justices' room, prison cells, guardroom and accommodation for clerks and, adjacent, had houses for bellman and beadle. It would also be Sheffield's venue for the West Riding Quarter Sessions. Estimated costs of £5600 were borne partly by the Town Trust who were the proprietors and partly by the Poor Rate, plus funds from the Cutlers' Company.<sup>190</sup>

At about the same time an Engine House (for the town's fire engines) was being constructed at the church yard near to the proposed News Room in East Parade. Its cellar was dug in July 1808 and the whole appears to have been finished a year later when the public News Room was in process of being plastered. The latter was built on top of cellars and two houses by John Beaver and Thomas Roberts, and its interior partly finished in stucco.<sup>191</sup> Finally, the only purpose-built school of the period, and the first since the Girls' Charity School, was planned and erected on Carver Street on the opposite side to the chapel and at the junction with Division Street. The land was part of a bigger parcel leased by the Duke of Norfolk to John Stacey and later taken as a Norfolk sale by Robert Rodgers.<sup>192</sup> Opened in October 1813, Sheffield's new National School provided accommodation for 500 boys and girls.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>185</sup> *ibid* 28 Mar 1805 Fairbank describes the site as Waingate on numerous occasions.

<sup>186</sup> Fairbank CP 3 f106; EBU 199S & 200S

<sup>187</sup> The use of second-hand materials in new building has been noted above.

<sup>188</sup> *Iris* 5 Apl 1808

<sup>189</sup> BB90 ff1 & 9, BB91 ff34, 36 & 55, BB92 ff19 & 30, BB93 ff1, 13, 15 & 17, BB94 f13 Fox also contracted to procure all the timber (CP3 f106).

<sup>190</sup> Kevin Grady: *The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding* (Thoresby Society, Leeds) 1989

<sup>191</sup> BB89 f37r, BB92 ff 62

<sup>192</sup> WRRD EY 522 663 & GA 515 624

<sup>193</sup> *Iris* 12 Oct 1813 Other schools were founded in this period, but in converted

## INDUSTRIAL BUILDING

Development of steam driven sites continued during the new century and some of them must have been quite substantial.<sup>194</sup> Earliest and perhaps the best known of these was Soho Grinding Wheel described as both in Colson Crofts and in Bridge Street. Its three storey building was appraised on several occasions by the Fairbanks in 1803, although probably partly built in the previous year.<sup>195</sup> Montgomery reported the arrival of the boiler drawn by eighteen waggon horses in March 1803 which gives a clear impression of immense weight. The engine was to drive seventy-six troughs in sixteen rooms.<sup>196</sup> A few years younger than Soho, the forerunner of the Vulcan Works at Little Sheffield seems to date from or shortly before 1813. By that year it had an engine house with steam engine, and "a building now used for the tilting and rolling iron and steel".<sup>197</sup> Almost contemporary was the iron foundry (later the Phoenix Foundry) in Furnace Hill with its steam engine and boring mill.<sup>198</sup> This was also the time of a valuation of Park Iron Works indicating new foundry, engine, engine house and other buildings.<sup>199</sup> A cutlers' grinding wheel in the Nursery appears to be contemporary, but no detail of its housing has been found.<sup>200</sup> William Bellamy's steam corn mill at Shude Hill adjacent to the tanyard, built in 1817, and a new steam grinding wheel in Colson Crofts in 1819 were also added to the stock of industrial buildings.<sup>201</sup> Leeds had rather more steam driven mills, and about twenty new industrial sites in all in the period 1797-1820. As some of these seem a long way out of town, it is probable that totals for the central area were not much greater than those in Sheffield.<sup>202</sup>

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premises. For example the Lancasterian School in Gibraltar Street from 1809 was in a former slitting mill (WRRD GF 38 44). The National School building is extant.

<sup>194</sup> See Chapter 8 Water Power and Steam

<sup>195</sup> BB84 f35 & BB85 f1 The carpentry and joinery alone amounted to over £1200

<sup>196</sup> *Iris* 17 Mar 1803 & Local Pamphlets 211 (18) Some troughs were for scale grinding and hence very light.

<sup>197</sup> WRRD FS 690 742 & FY 75 93

<sup>198</sup> *ibid* FW 102 115, GB 685 772 & GL 202 204; *Iris* 12 Dec 1815

<sup>199</sup> BB97 f1 The new additions may date from a little earlier (see Crossley *op cit*)

<sup>200</sup> WRRD GD 126 122 & GE 540 619

<sup>201</sup> *ibid* GP 183 177, GS 484 467 & GU 318 343; *Iris* 10 Feb & 29 Dec 1818 & 9 Mar 1819.

<sup>202</sup> M. Beresford *op cit* pp 241, 245, 246 & 295. The new buildings were mainly textile mills, but there were four foundries (one brass), a tobacco mill, an oil mill and a gas works. Although no full valuations are given, costs of earlier textile mills suggest that these required a much larger capital outlay than, say, furnaces and rolling mills.

New steel furnaces, cementation (or converting) and crucible (or refining), made their appearance in many parts of the town. The Fairbanks appraised building work at some of them - in Carver Street in 1806, in Pea Croft in 1809, in Colson Crofts in 1807 to 1809, and at Philadelphia in 1811. Brittain, Wilkinson & Co's integrated works in Carver Street was a three storey building or buildings with a converting furnace, another (possibly crucible) furnace, workshops, warehouses (including those for pen-knives and for table knives), stamp shop, smithies, counting house and at least two dwelling houses. The firm's Sycamore Street premises, which appear to have been upgraded at the same time, date from an earlier period. They were somewhat smaller with house, steel furnace, steelhouse, smithies and counting house.<sup>203</sup> John Hirst Hoyland's furnaces, variously described as in Swift's Dole, at Pea Croft and West Bar were of the two types.<sup>204</sup> Brick and stone work done by Jonathan Taylor and costed at over £200 was at "the furnaces", implying both. Part of this detail includes ten inch cellar foundations, but no specialised work is noted.<sup>205</sup> In contrast, William Clark's brick and ashlar work at Ibbotson's in Bridge Street, Colson Crofts, in 1809 was very specifically listed. The steel warehouse had fifteen inch walls on a 2B foundation, the cementation furnace two foot foundations and brickwork up to 4B. Inside, the two "pots" were each 10.92 feet long, 4.04 wide and 6.29 deep.<sup>206</sup> Already in 1807, the firm had had built a three storey saw warehouse with workshops and flyshop in the same area. Carpentry and joinery alone here amounted to almost £660. Mention of a clay chamber suggests that steel refining may have preceded converting.<sup>207</sup> At Philadelphia Steel Works, twenty and fifteen inch walls on two to three feet deep foundations amounted to £363, and carpenter work to a modest £61-11-11. No supporting information as to the nature of the manufacture has emerged other than that a new tilt, at a cost of £589-11-4 for ashlar work alone, was made at the adjacent Morton Wheel.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> BB87 ff1, 9 & 25

<sup>204</sup> WRRD FR 109 113

<sup>205</sup> BB92 f24 & BB94 f10

<sup>206</sup> BB 92 ff31 & 49 The measurements are given as follows: 4 pot sides 10.92ft x 6.29ft, 4 pot ends 4.04ft x 6.29ft. It was common practice among Fairbank generations to decimalise feet and yards.

<sup>207</sup> BB88 ff1, 20 & 29

<sup>208</sup> BB95 ff1, 8 & 9 & BB97 f8

Yet another steel works was valued in 1811, this time for the rate. No date is appended for construction or expansion of Messrs Darwins' premises in the Ponds, but it appears to be after 1803 when John Darwin, then ironmaster, bought 2147 square yards of land from the Duke of Norfolk. Coke hearth, tempering and annealing furnaces, steel house, engine house (with no mention of steam engine) were valued at £1155.<sup>209</sup> Besides these five steel firms, at least as many again evolved in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, many of them as a consequence of backward vertical integration. Daniel Doncaster (Allen Street) was a filesmith, David Ward (Trippet Lane) and John Wright (Broomfield) were both edge toolmakers and Richard Bayley (Norfolk Street) a sawmaker. George Edwards by contrast had been a merchant.<sup>210</sup> None appear in Fairbank Building Books, but what all (other than the Philadelphia works) had in common was that their furnaces were built beside or near their workshops and therefore among houses in the urban area. This characteristic must have made a further contribution to the image of the town as a smoke-ridden metalworking centre.

Unlike the steel industry in Sheffield between 1797 and 1821, silver and plated manufacture seems not to have continued its progress to any great extent via new firms coming into production, although, of course, a number of firms changed hands.<sup>211</sup> Loss of overseas markets during hostilities led to falling demand and a long period of retrenchment. This being the case, only a few new buildings are likely to have been erected. One of these was a three storey warehouse belonging to Roberts, Moseley & Co. in High Street, and described as new when valued in 1811. It had fifteen inch and ten inch walls, and two of its upper rooms were thirty-five feet by seventeen. Valuation was inclusive of earlier "large workshops", but some £1400 appears to relate to the new premises.<sup>212</sup> A contemporary appraisal for workshops and warehouses, possibly on two sites in the Park and belonging to Messrs Wright & Fairbairn (and formerly of Goodman & Fairbairn), may well have involved a mixture of old and new buildings. The whole totalled more than £1800.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> BB96 f16; WRRD EQ 87 107

<sup>210</sup> See Chapter 3 Steel

<sup>211</sup> See Chapter 4 Old Sheffield Plate and the Directories: in 1797 twenty-two firms are listed, twenty-five in 1817 and twenty-one (probably understated) in 1821.

<sup>212</sup> BB96 f27 The large rooms noted had wooden floors and hence would be almost certainly upstairs.

New workshops for other trades are also relatively infrequent in the Building Books at this time. Cutlery shops in Carver Street at Brittain, Wilkinson's, and saw shops at Ibbotson's in Bridge Street have been noted above. Thomas Holy had £100 worth of carpentry work done at the workshop (not located) of Thomas Wood in 1802, and George Elliott, awl blade maker, the brick and stone work of workshops, warehouses and kitchen in Solly Street in May 1806.<sup>214</sup> Eighteen months later, Weldon, Furniss & Scholefield erected edge tool workshops at Castle Hill on land first leased in 1804. This three storey building stood partly above cellars and partly on thirty-three inch foundations. The whole included cutting and hardening shops and a dwelling house.<sup>215</sup> If John Blagdin were the only bricklayer, the cost of his brick and stonework at under £60 implies a very modest industrial building.<sup>216</sup> Far more valuable was the Roscoe Place site of Messrs Jobson, Shaw & Roberts, copartners as makers of fenders and grates and suppliers of timber.<sup>217</sup> Purchased in a Norfolk sale in 1806, the land (1a 1r 3p) was developed to such a degree by mid-1808 that the whole, excluding stock, was valued, a few weeks after a mortgage to the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank, as being worth approximately £7000.<sup>218</sup>

The rapid decline in numbers after 1811 of Fairbank quantity surveys leaves a gap which is difficult to fill from any other source. Whereas WRRD Memorials provide numerous examples of domestic construction, particularly from 1815, very little indeed is forthcoming from them for new industrial development other than steel and steam. Only three references have been found up to 1820 - a new workshop in Portobello Street, a new smithy in Blind Lane and a rebuilt large Cotton Mill.<sup>219</sup> Until evidence to

<sup>213</sup> BB95 ff37 & 50 Other appraisals for Roberts, Cadman & Co. in Eyre Street and for Smith, Knowles & Co. in Arundel Street, both for three storey workshops and warehouses, were likely to be in the main older premises. In each instance the value was set at around £1600 (BB96 ff40 & 47).

<sup>214</sup> BB82 f157 & BB87 f20 See CB 762 for the building lease (1805) of 640 square yards and Wheat Colln 2867 for the £300 mortgage (1807) The premises must not have been very extensive.

<sup>215</sup> ACM S383 f39; BB88 f38 See also PC806

<sup>216</sup> No other references to the construction have been found. A private house in Broad Lane (three storeys with cellar) with brickwork by Thomas Flockton in 1808 had that brickwork costed at £63-7-4.

<sup>217</sup> PC 832 Articles of Partnership

<sup>218</sup> WRRD FA 673 866 & FG 333 474; BB90 back page - no detail is added. The sum borrowed was £3000, repaid in February 1809 (WRRD GF 32 39).

<sup>219</sup> WRRD GD 173 174 (1814) & 455 517 (1815) & GH 263 294 (1815)

the contrary is unearthed it must be tentatively suggested that, like the silver and plated trades, secondary metal manufacturing firms were slow to expand at this period.

Amidst the contrasting fortunes of various elements of the local economy, an innovative industrial unit emerged - Sheffield Gas Light Company. Following a meeting first advertised in the *Iris* on 3rd March 1818, a required £40,000 was subscribed in three days, with reported oversubscription of more than £5000.<sup>220</sup> The necessary Act was obtained in June, tenders for cast iron pipes and other equipment were invited in the same month, the former site of George Empson's tannery on the eastern side of Shude Hill, near to Sheaf Bridge, was purchased in July, old building materials offered for sale immediately, and the first stone laid at the new works in September 1818.<sup>221</sup> As D.E. Roberts comments, the location was well chosen - near to the canal wharf for supply of coal and equipment, close to the River Sheaf for ample water to clean the gas, sufficiently near to the town to avoid long-distance pipework and at the same time far enough away from most housing to alleviate fears of explosion. Furthermore, it was to the east of all the built-up area except the Park, and hence, because of the prevailing winds, created fewer problems of smoke and smell than might otherwise have been the case.<sup>222</sup>

When legal formalities were complete, a gasometer was ordered from Joseph Horton of Manchester, and early building work put in the hands of two contractors - John Pashley and William Clarke, the latter responsible for the stone foundations and for the erection of the chimney. Most of the retorts, pipes, cisterns and other castings were ordered from local foundries (Appleby & Co., Booth & Co., Chambers & Co of Chapel Town, and Darwin & Co.), but burners came from Edinburgh and a second gasometer from London.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>220</sup> GCR 1 & *Iris* 24 Mar 1818 The shares were £25 each with more than 150 people involved. See also *Iris* 3 & 10 Mar and MD 1375 (5). Leeds and Nottingham Gas Works also date from 1818 (M. Beresford op cit p245 and D.E. Roberts: *The Sheffield Gas Undertaking 1818-1949* (Leicester) 1979 p7.) A Mr. B. Cook of Birmingham had written to Josiah Fairbank in May 1810 (Fbk CP15-1) with a view to them initiating a Sheffield gas concern together.

<sup>221</sup> GCR 2 The purchase was complicated in that the freehold, leasehold and a £600 mortgage had to be paid for and settled. *Iris* 7 July & 8 Sept 1818.

<sup>222</sup> D.E. Roberts op cit p7 The site can be clearly seen on the 1823 Leather Town Plan.

Local newspapers reported the first use of gas lighting by private customers at the beginning of October 1819, drawing a picture of contrast between shops using the new medium and those still with oil lamps or candles, and noting twenty street lamps from the church gates to the top of Waingate.<sup>224</sup> More lamps were then added, giving thirty by December, fifty-eight in February 1820, and passing the two hundred mark early in 1821.<sup>225</sup> An initial three miles of main pipes had extensions to Queen Street, Bower Spring, Water Lane, Bailey Lane, the Shambles, the farther end of Campo Lane, George Street, Furnace Hill, Hartshead and from Sands Pavors to the bottom of Broad Lane in 1819, and further afield still - to Shalesmoor - in 1820.<sup>226</sup> After problems over the appointment of a competent engineer, imperfect equipment and delays in delivery, a leaking gasometer and poor quality "fitting up", all symptoms of an infant industry and lack of experience, the whole system was eventually running in a reasonably satisfactory manner and subject to a regime of improving inspection.<sup>227</sup> Sheffield had joined the metropolis and larger provincial towns in adopting a revolutionary form of lighting, and thus made a small, but significant, step towards taking the town into the next stage of industrial and commercial development and potentially longer working hours.

#### THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR

After many years of failed attempts to link the town to Tinsley by water, supporters of a Sheffield Canal finally obtained their Act in 1815.<sup>228</sup> Digging and construction work entailed, of course, more than the canal and its locks, tunnels and bridges. The Act required the proprietors "to make, build and erect proper Wharfs, Staiths, Cranes, Warehouses and Granaries for loading, landing, stowing and depositing Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Commodities and other Things . . ." and to provide and maintain a road

<sup>223</sup> GCR 1 f38ff & f98, & GCR 2 passim for payments. The second gasometer was found to be defective.

<sup>224</sup> *Sheffield Mercury* 2 Oct 1819 & *Iris* 5 Oct 1819 The accounts in August 1819 show J. Walker paid "for lighting lamps", but give no number (GCR 2 f23)

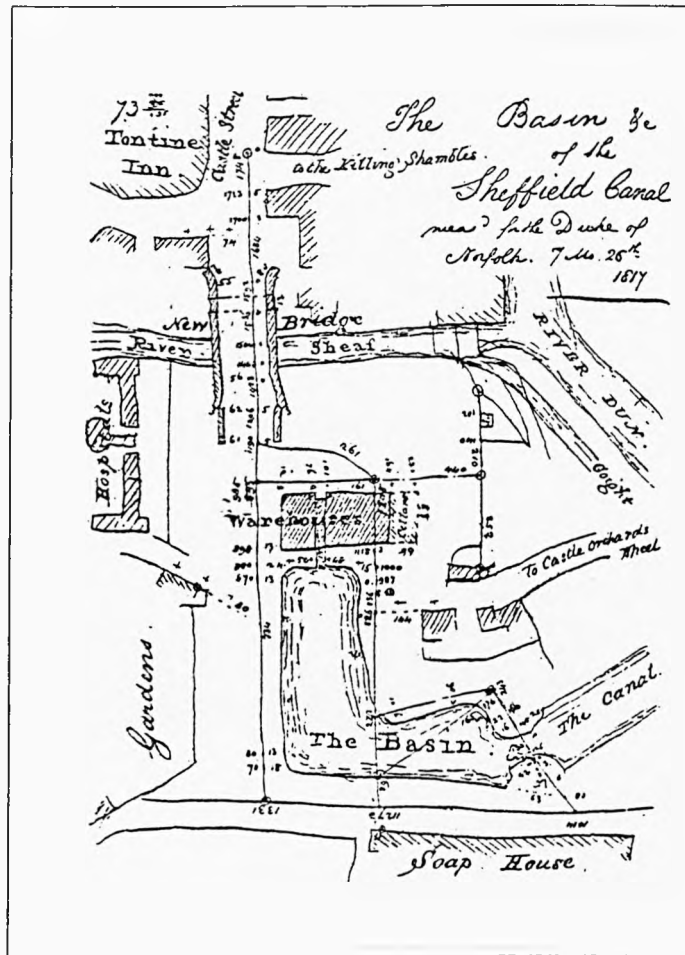
<sup>225</sup> GCR 2 ff35, 40, 65 & 71

<sup>226</sup> GCR 1 ff89, 105, 114, 116, 117, 125, 133 & 148

<sup>227</sup> Inspection revealed that domestic and shop fitting standards varied enormously between "fitting up" contractors. Green & Pickslay were the best with only one "bad" installation out of forty-five (GCR 1 f119).

<sup>228</sup> III Geo 55 c.lxv (Local Studies 346.1 SSTQ) & *Iris* 16 May 1815 See also Chapter 10 Transport

Fig. 16.4 The Canal Basin 1817 (Fairbank FB136 f73)



joining the terminus to the town. Such a requirement entailed construction of a new bridge over the River Sheaf and created an almost direct communication with the Market Place some 500 yards distant.<sup>229</sup> Hugh Parker laid the symbolic first stone of the new basin in June 1816 in front of a reported "several thousands of spectators" (a measure of the perceived importance of the venture to local trade and prosperity), with warehouses tendered for two years later.<sup>230</sup> James Montgomery described the grandiose official opening in February 1819.<sup>231</sup>

A venture much later in its origins and much sooner in its execution was a local Fire Office. Proliferation of fire insurance companies in Sheffield at the end of the eighteenth century and in the very early years of the nineteenth led Montgomery to

<sup>229</sup> Road distance from the end of the quay to the middle of the Market Place.

<sup>230</sup> *Iris* 25 June 1816 & 2 June 1818

<sup>231</sup> *ibid* 23 Feb 1819



voice his regret that the town was so slow in responding with its own.<sup>232</sup> At the end of December 1807 £100 shares in Sheffield Fire Office with a maximum of ten per investor were offered, with a target of £300,000. Sums raised by 5th April 1808 had already amounted to £197,500. The Office advertised its opening in a room at Mr. Willey's in the Market Place on midsummer's day 1808.<sup>233</sup> Two years later the Fire Office was requesting tenders for a new building in George Street, where it moved in September 1811.<sup>234</sup> Land on both the east and west sides of the street had been purchased initially, but the chosen site on the east side is confirmed by the WRRD Memorial of a neighbouring property assignment and subsequent town plans. It seems very likely that some demolition would have been necessary before building.<sup>235</sup> No references to the construction have been found in Building Books, although probable Fairbank plans and elevations are held in the EBU series showing a two storey structure in stone or stone and brick with arched ground floor windows to the front.<sup>236</sup>

Unlike the Fire Office which soon had new premises and the Shore Bank of a decade earlier with its purpose built chambers, the Sheffield & Rotherham Bank of Walkers, Eyre & Stanley moved from a converted house at the corner of Fargate and Norfolk Row to a more suitable, but modified, property at No. 2 Church Street in 1802. When the newly founded Sheffield New Bank of Rimingtons and Younges and the Sheffield and Hallamshire Savings Bank opened in 1816 and 1819 respectively, each used adapted premises, one in High Street and the other in the Cutlers' Hall.<sup>237</sup> In similar fashion the majority of shops, concentrated around, and within five minutes walking distance of, the Market Place, must have been in or moved into established buildings. The main evidence for expansion in the retail sector comes from the Directories of 1797 and 1817. In the former year some 230 to 250 retailers are recorded; two decades

<sup>232</sup> *ibid* 27 Nov 1806 Besides the long-established Sun and Royal Exchange, since 1785 the Albion, Birmingham, British, Globe, Liverpool, Lombard Street, Norwich and Phoenix Fire Offices had advertised local agencies.

<sup>233</sup> *Iris* 29 Dec 1807, 19 Jan, 5 Apl & 14 June 1808 A later advertisement suggests that the opening may have been delayed a few weeks (*ibid* 19 July).

<sup>234</sup> *ibid* 31 July 1810 & 10 Sept 1811

<sup>235</sup> WRRD FN 503/4 629/30 & FR 94 100 (25 Mar 1811); Leather & Tayler town plans

<sup>236</sup> Fairbank EBU 66S to 70S One of these is endorsed in pencil "Sheffield Fire Office"; none is dated.

<sup>237</sup> See Chapter 13 Banking

on, at least half as many again.<sup>238</sup> Had a large proportion of these had new shops, the picture would surely have showed in Building Books and elsewhere. Support, as in the previous chapter, comes from Professor Beresford: ". . . there is no evidence [in the east end of Leeds] that lot holders erected buildings designed as shops."<sup>239</sup> For Sheffield, information about new building in the retail sphere is sparse. A new house and (grocer's) shop adjoining the "Black Swan" in Fargate were advertised for auction in 1800 and a newly erected messuage and grocer's shop at the bottom of Hollis Croft for sale in 1806. Two shops changed hands in 1807 in Fargate to the front of newly erected messuages and warehouses, and four new erected shops were offered to let in High Street at the Head of the Market Place in 1818.<sup>240</sup> Conversion or improvement of premises by adding a shop window or "frontispiece" frame is lacking in Building Books after 1797, and the single example in WRRD of house-turned-shop was one of three messuages in Lambert Street (rather far from the Market) "converted into a shop or warehouse".<sup>241</sup> The *Iris* includes an advertisement in 1812 for the sale of four houses in Scotland Street "well situated for shopkeepers", and in 1814 for a chemist's and druggist's at the corner of Fargate and Orchard Street, formerly a nail manufacturer's premises.<sup>242</sup> Unrecorded conversion was commonplace in earlier years, and this pattern of evolution seems to have continued.

Ongoing development of the retail sector at this time was accompanied by a noticeable increase in the quantity of newspaper advertising. Shopkeepers commonly publicised their wares (and particularly seasonal items like oysters and Easter bonnets), new management, changes of premises and sometimes retirement.<sup>243</sup> Also via advertisement, London's influence on, for example, High Street is evident, whether it be the establishment there of a watchmaker and working jeweller from the capital, the

<sup>238</sup> Besides the inherent deficiencies of the Directories, there is also the problem of deciding what is a retail outlet. For example, 40 flour dealers, 13 hat manufacturers and several upholsterers are listed in 1817. Should all be counted?

<sup>239</sup> M. Beresford op cit p238.

<sup>240</sup> *Iris* 27 Nov 1800, 6 Feb 1806 & 14 Apl & 11 Aug 1818 ; WRRD FK 45 55 (1807)

<sup>241</sup> WRRD EZ 654 973 (1807) This may be a workshop, of course.

<sup>242</sup> *Iris* 28 Jan 1812 & 28 June 1814

<sup>243</sup> *Iris* passim; for general & seasonal examples 24 Nov 1797, 5 Jan & 5 Oct 1798, 14 May 1815; for "new" opening 26 Oct 1798, 28 Mar 1800 & 29 Nov 1814; for change of premises 30 Sept 1802, 8 Sept 1807 & 8 Aug 1815; and for retirement 27 Oct 1812

origins of latest fashions, the source of supply (from the London Genuine Tea Company) or the name of a shop - Thomas Raynor's "London Hat Warehouse" and the "London Oyster Warehouse".<sup>244</sup> This street also had in 1806 what appears to be the town's first multiple store, J.E. Harrison & Co., hatters and hosiers, who already had a shop in Nottingham and two in Manchester.<sup>245</sup> Mr. Bright, watchmaker and jeweller in Market Place, held a royal warrant in 1808, Robert Styring, wallpaper maker and upholsterer in Change Alley displayed one in 1813, Benjamin Polack jnr, watchmaker, and several others - two hatters, a hosier, a milliner and a wallpaper maker - each had one from 1817 or 1819.<sup>246</sup> Variety of product on offer, quality (illustrated by royal warrants), and influx of newcomers, as well as absolute increase in the number of shops give the clear impression of a town centre in the ascendant in spite of the "Hard Times" described in an *Iris* editorial in 1819 and seven grocers declared bankrupt between April and September.<sup>247</sup>

Similar to shops in one way and yet with a history of their own, Sheffield's public houses are something of an enigma. As with retail outlets, it is rare to find a new-built example; the only one discovered hitherto in this period is the "new erected Rose & Crown" in a new street near Pond Street and offered for auction in 1798.<sup>248</sup> Such a situation implies numerous small hostelries, as in Leeds, modified from private houses and other buildings, together with a minority of inns like the "King's Head" in Change Alley, the "Angel", the "Hotel" no. 1 Haymarket, the "Commercial" at the junction of the Haymarket and Jehu Lane, the "Tontine" and the "Yellow Lion" in Coalpit Lane where three hundred could "dine together without interfering with the lodging rooms".<sup>249</sup> The Directories of 1797 and 1817, surprisingly, indicate approximately equal numbers of victuallers (about one hundred and fifty-five) within five minutes

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<sup>244</sup> ibid 27 Nov 1800, 5 Nov 1801, 1 Apl 1817, 17 Aug & 14 Dec 1819

<sup>245</sup> ibid 3 Apl 1806

<sup>246</sup> ibid 9 Aug 1808, 5 Nov 1811, 23 Mar 1813, 1 Apl, 6 & 20 May & 21 Oct 1817 & 18 May 1819

<sup>247</sup> ibid 14 Sept 1819 Montgomery singles out shopkeepers as having had some of the worst difficulties associated with the depressed local economy.

<sup>248</sup> ibid 14 Sept 1798

<sup>249</sup> M. Beresford op cit pp239/40 He found only examples of converted houses. The Commercial Inn had replaced the Angel as a major coaching inn by 1814/15 (Directory). The Angel had been allowed to run down and was later refurbished (*Iris* 16 July 1816). For the Yellow Lion see *Iris* 17 May 1814.

walk or so of the Market Place. This compares very markedly with shopkeepers of various kinds who increased in numbers by fifty per cent over the same period. It may imply under-representation in the later Directory, stagnation in the trade or conversely bigger sales from a similar range of outlets. The next extant Directory (1821), which understates shop numbers, has a hundred and sixty-five victuallers in the more central parts of town and thus supports the notion of the 1817 figure being too small. However, one aspect which does seem certain is that the two major brewers, Nanson & Co. and Rawson & Co., acquired more and more alehouses to operate as tied houses.<sup>250</sup> Neither firm has surviving company records, but Edward Nanson's personal accounts show that his average annual income from the business in 1802-1804 was just over £200 and in 1807/08 over £350. In 1814 it was £459-15-9, and in 1817 and 1820 he had more than £500.<sup>251</sup> Rawson & Co. purchased the freehold or leasehold of a number of public houses - in Broad Lane, Bailey Street, Skargell Knowle, Norfolk Street, Jehu Lane and Solly Street. They added sixteen central Norfolk sites in 1805 (and two more later), most of which appear to have had alehouses, and others in the Park, Attercliffe and Ecclesfield.<sup>252</sup> Success in the respective businesses implies that the sector enjoyed an upward trend.

## THE STREETS

Considerable information about street lighting before gas and about cleaning, maintenance and ordering of streets appears in the *Iris* in the early nineteenth century. All aspects were "wretchedly deficient" according to the editor in 1805.<sup>253</sup> Even so, a public meeting called to consider an appropriate Act voted against the proposal, much to James Montgomery's disgust.<sup>254</sup> As a well-informed individual, he probably knew

<sup>250</sup> A third common brewer, John Hawksworth, died in 1797 (*Courant* 14 Feb). His successors failed to operate successfully (WRRD EO 111 160), and his daughter Maria sold the Campo Lane brewery and several public houses to Whittington Sowter in 1807 (WRRD FB 17 22 & 19 24). No evidence has been found to show the kind of expansion associated with Nanson and Rawson. It is possible that Sowter's relationship with the Baptists inhibited or ended his career as a brewer (WRRD FG 251 352 & GA 101 119).

<sup>251</sup> Microfiche A197 (original books held by London School of Economics)

<sup>252</sup> Wheat Colln 2862 & 2894, WRRD DX 516 645, DZ 531 705, EH 409 499, EO 255 361, ES 55 82, EW 90 65, EX 224 285, FC 229 334, FN 691 858, GA 257 312, GL 474 495 Four of the Norfolk sales had been 99 year leaseholds from 1796 (ACM S383). See also Wheat 2638 & 2648 to 2657.

<sup>253</sup> *Iris* 2 May 1805

that Birmingham had had a new Local Act in 1801 leading to much increased activity, particularly in street paving. Manchester, too, had a vigorous body of "Police Commissioners" and, from 1804, a paid officer with a firm policy of control over nuisances, street encroachments, signs, stalls and dangerous openings, paving and sewers.<sup>255</sup> Further Sheffield meetings in 1810 and 1811 again failed to achieve a positive result.<sup>256</sup> An ongoing problem for lights was persistent vandalism. Reports of broken lamps were frequent and the substantial reward for information leading to apprehension of the culprits was increased from ten guineas in 1808 to twenty in 1812.<sup>257</sup> Town Trustees, Surveyors of Highways and magistrates attempted to exercise some control of the streets through bye-laws - prosecuting vendors who caused obstruction of pavements, carters for not having lights after dark and leaving vehicles unattended, householders not removing ashes and manure from their frontage before nightfall, owners who allowed their dogs to stray, and people in the street "who cannot give a good Account of themselves" or refused to disperse after the 10pm closing time of public houses.<sup>258</sup>

Letters and articles on various similar subjects in the newspapers indicate that many difficulties remained unaddressed. Town streets were inefficiently swept, some were in very poor condition and encroachments were endemic.<sup>259</sup> Pressure had risen sufficiently by September 1817 for further consideration of a "Police Bill", strongly supported by Montgomery in his editorial of 9th December. This time the town gained its Act, effective within a three-quarter mile radius of the parish church. Details were published in July 1818.<sup>260</sup> Numerous reported prosecutions and fines which followed in the next few years provide ample evidence for enforcement of the legislation.<sup>261</sup> Street sweeping

<sup>254</sup> *ibid* 30 May 1805 Perhaps the Town Trustees believed they were still doing a reasonable civic service. They successfully prosecuted sellers of unwholesome fish, veal, pork and beef in the market, and appointed a constable to oversee weights and measures (*Iris* 19 May & 17 Nov 1803, 10 May 1804, 17 Apl, 4 Dec & 30 Dec 1806 & 28 Apl 1807).

<sup>255</sup> S. & B. Webb: *English Local Government Vol 4: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes* (London) 1922 pp252 & 254. The Manchester Police Commissioners also engaged firemen and initiated gasworks and gas lamps.

<sup>256</sup> *Iris* 20 Nov, 18 Dec 1810 & 19/26 Mar 1811

<sup>257</sup> *ibid* 8 Dec 1807, 8 Nov 1808, 29 Dec 1812

<sup>258</sup> *ibid* 17 Mar 1807, 21 Apl 1812, 29 Mar & 26 Apl 1814, 4 Apl & 13 June 1815

<sup>259</sup> *ibid* 13 Feb 1810, 4 Mar 1814, 25 Feb, 11 Mar & 8 Apl 1817

<sup>260</sup> *ibid* 28 July 1818

was put out to tender and property holders obliged to "scrape and cleanse" their own stretch of pavement at first twice and then three times per week before 10am under the Act's terms.<sup>262</sup> Night watchmen were increased in numbers, although it appears that some areas of the town still organised their own neighbourhood patrols.<sup>263</sup>

## WATER SUPPLY

An earlier letter to the editor of the *Iris* suggesting that an adequate supply of water should be part of the requirements of new civic legislation reminds us that the town still had a rising population with a propensity to outgrow its reservoir capacity.<sup>264</sup> Water Company correspondence from the period indicates that the proprietors were under obligation to maintain the river flow for water-powered works potentially threatened in the drier season by regular abstraction of large quantities from spring sources.<sup>265</sup> However, their more direct concern was the town's supply, improved between 1810 and 1813 by enlargement of a smaller dam (immediately to the west of the Great Dam) at Crookesmoor, and in 1819 by the excavation of more than 48,000 cubic yards of earth at the Great Dam.<sup>266</sup> Its average depth was increased by approximately twelve feet, with a nearly thirty feet increase in parts. Since the limit was fast approaching at these sites, the company began to look further afield to Redmires for a reservoir or reservoirs on Wyming Brook to provide seasonal support to existing Crookesmoor dams via iron pipes. Ample safeguards would be made for Rivelin mill owners.<sup>267</sup> Redmires was officially proposed for the 1830 Act which also confirmed the continuing existence of the original "ancient reservoirs" at White House.

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<sup>261</sup> ibid 18 Aug, 8 Sept, 3 & 24 Nov (9 fines) 1818, 6 Apl (18 convictions), 1 June 1819 (9) and passim

<sup>262</sup> ibid 22 Sept 1818, 26 Jan & 5 Oct 1819 & 12 Dec 1820

<sup>263</sup> ibid 16 Feb 1819 & 31 Oct 1820

<sup>264</sup> ibid 31 Mar 1818

<sup>265</sup> Parker Colln 911, Fairbank CP26 ff8 & 9 The cost for reservoirs "in the hills" was estimated at not less than £20,000 in 1821 (CP26 f21).

<sup>266</sup> Fairbank EWa10S & 21S, FB117 f59, FB125 ff30, 35 & 45, FB126 f17, FB127 f66, FB151 ff16, 37 & 42-44, CP26 f22. The shape of the Great Dam appears unaltered on Tayler's Town Plan of 1832 compared with Fairbank's of 1808. The proprietors in 1819 were Elizabeth Gunning, Thomas Eyre, Godfrey Sykes, Rowland Hodgson, Rev. Edwin Goodwin, Ralph Blakelock and Samuel Roberts.

<sup>267</sup> ibid CP26 f28

The benefit of piped water to householders is evident from newspapers. In 1800 the *Iris* publicised an auction of eight new-built brick dwelling houses at the southern end of Arundel Lane, "each supplied with a branch of soft water".<sup>268</sup> This advantageous feature, wherever appropriate, became a commonplace item in subsequent property advertisements. What has not been established is whether more than a basic single tap was beginning to be used to any degree. One reference found in this regard is to a two-storey house to let in Campo Lane with water branches (plural).<sup>269</sup> The system, as previously, continued to provide fire plugs, twenty-nine of which were listed by 1820.<sup>270</sup>

During the years 1797-1820 the number of inhabitants in the township and adjoining quarters, all needing water, increased by a third.<sup>271</sup> It seems likely that the provision was far from adequate, hence prompting the letter quoted above. Terrey implies, without citing primary material, that the supply was still part-time only.<sup>272</sup> In those circumstances, it is not surprising that the proprietors were looking for a major source elsewhere. What seems very surprising is that it took such a time to establish it. Had Sheffield, like Leeds, had a major industrial need for water (other than for power), progress might have been so much quicker.<sup>273</sup>

## CONCLUSION

From the assembled evidence, the picture of the town of Sheffield which emerges is one of continued, if irregular, growth. A marked difference between the first and second decades of the nineteenth century in the rate of house building is particularly noticeable, for which depressed overseas trade and attendant building wage inflation were clearly largely to blame. Public, industrial and commercial development, however, appear to have continued in piecemeal fashion. If any one industry stood out, it was the steel sector with new capacity in cementation or crucible output being added on average every second year between 1797 and 1820. In the commercial sphere a

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<sup>268</sup> *Iris* 10 July 1800

<sup>269</sup> *ibid* 25 Oct 1814

<sup>270</sup> Fairbank CP26 f35 (watermark 1815)

<sup>271</sup> From c30,000 to c40,000 in Sheffield township. See Fig. 1.1.

<sup>272</sup> W. Terrey: *History and Description of the Sheffield Water Works* (Sheffield) 1924 booklet

<sup>273</sup> M. Beresford *op cit* p8

growing concentration of retail outlets in the central area must be regarded as the main long-term feature over the two decades and more, and the opening of the Sheffield Canal as the single most significant event for the future of the town's trade. As for the directions of expansion, the turnpikes - at Shalesmoor (Peniston Road), the Wicker (Rotherham Road), Nursery Street (Barnsley Road), the Park (Mansfield Road) and Sheffield Moor (Chesterfield Road) - appear to have been key elements in the outward movement, and contrast with the broader and less easily definable westward spread. In spite of all this, almost the whole of the built-up area, with the exception of the extreme south-western part of Sheffield Moor, was still within a thousand yards of the parish church.<sup>274</sup>

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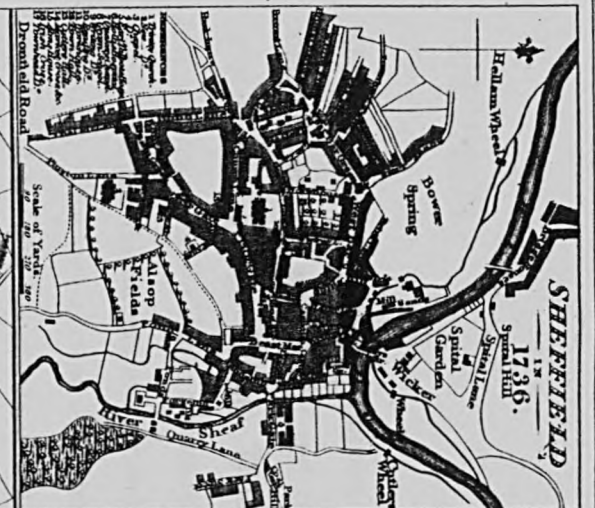
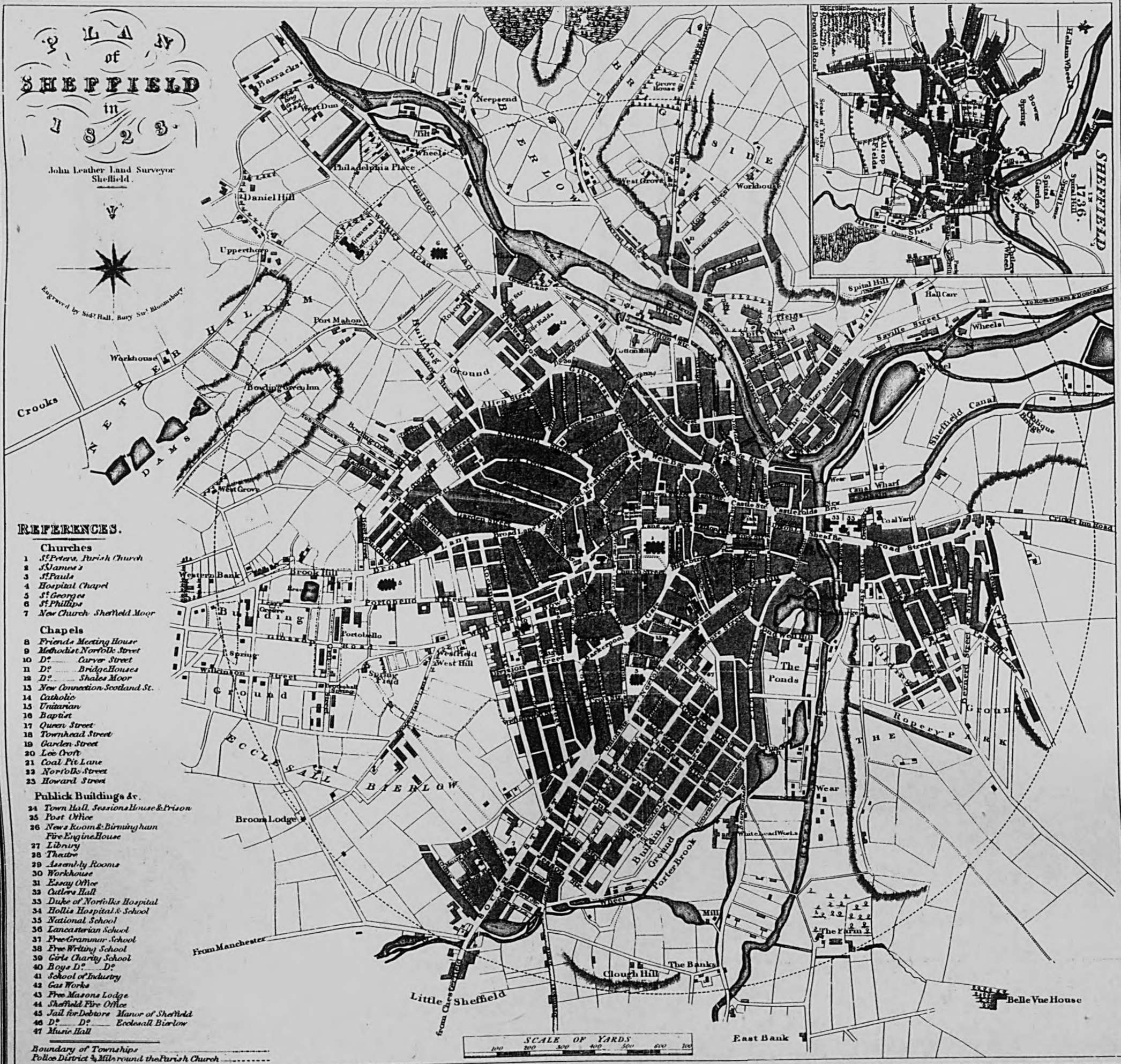
<sup>274</sup>

See Leather's Plan of 1823. Glossop Road was turnpiked too late (1818) to have any impact other than the negative effect of causing demolition across Sands Pavors in the linking of West Street with Church Street (see Appendix 3). Tayler's Plan of 1832 indicates a greater degree of development, but still less concentrated than that of the other turnpikes.



# PLAN of SHEFFIELD

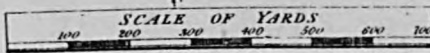
in 1823.  
John Leather Land Surveyor  
Sheffield.



## REFERENCES.

- Churches**
- 1 St Peter's, Parish Church
  - 2 St James's
  - 3 St Paul's
  - 4 Hospital Chapel
  - 5 St George's
  - 6 St Phillips
  - 7 New Church, Sheffield Moor
- Chapels**
- 8 Friends Meeting House
  - 9 Methodist, Norfolk Street
  - 10 D<sup>o</sup> Curver Street
  - 11 D<sup>o</sup> Bridge Houses
  - 12 D<sup>o</sup> Shales Moor
  - 13 New Connection, Scotland St.
  - 14 Catholic
  - 15 Unitarian
  - 16 Baptist
  - 17 Queen Street
  - 18 Townhead Street
  - 19 Garden Street
  - 20 Lee Croft
  - 21 Coal Pit Lane
  - 22 Norfolk Street
  - 23 Howard Street
- Public Buildings &c.**
- 24 Town Hall, Sessions House & Prison
  - 25 Post Office
  - 26 News Room & Birmingham Fire Engine House
  - 27 Library
  - 28 Theatre
  - 29 Assembly Rooms
  - 30 Workhouse
  - 31 Essay Office
  - 32 Cutlers Hall
  - 33 Duke of Norfolk's Hospital
  - 34 Hollis Hospital & School
  - 35 National School
  - 36 Lancasterian School
  - 37 Free Grammar School
  - 38 Free Writing School
  - 39 Girls Charity School
  - 40 Boys D<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup>
  - 41 School of Industry
  - 42 Gas Works
  - 43 Free Masons Lodge
  - 44 Sheffield Fire Office
  - 45 Jail for Debtors, Manor of Sheffield
  - 46 D<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup> Ecclesall Bierlow
  - 47 Music Hall

Boundary of Townships  
Police District & Mills round the Parish Church



FROM

L709

## CONCLUSION

"Sheffield, like most other manufacturing towns, in the day of their prosperity, is large, populous, opulent and lively; and though strictly a trading place, not deficient in agreeable and pleasant society. Though it is to be confessed that the smoke of the forges gives to the buildings a blackish appearance, yet the houses are well built, and in few towns are the streets more handsome and regular; several of them running in a direct line. The area occupied by the whole town cannot be less than a square mile, length and breadth being nearly equal. As the public edifices are better adapted to utility than shew, they are not proper objects of description . . ."<sup>1</sup> This observation of 1819 by the *British Traveller* in many ways sums up the closing sentiments of the thesis. In spite of the setbacks of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Sheffield was, with a population of c42,000, a large industrial town, successful, vigorous and still growing towards even greater manufacturing heights as world leader in both cutlery and steel in the Victorian era. The considerable legacy of the second William Fairbank's street planning stood out sufficiently for the visitor to appreciate, and a well-built appearance may, in part at least, have been attributable to the conventional façades and minimum stipulated values required commonly by typical covenants.

Looking back to the early eighteenth century, the town had seemed too isolated - in the Pennine foothills, far from the nearest navigation and off the major road network. It was too inhibited by external mercantile control of the most lucrative markets, particularly London, to succeed independently on a large scale, even if its reputation for cutlery wares was long established. However, a wide cross-section of factors, many of them common to emerging industrial centres, were instrumental in overriding or at least minimising potential handicaps. In the first place, the town's distinct topography and underlying geology were key elements in its rise to pre-eminence in the metal trades, advantages far outweighing drawbacks of distance from port and metropolitan market. The immediate district enjoyed enormous natural resources - managed woodland, coal, iron, refractory stone and clay, and reliably flowing streams in an ideal setting for the construction of forges, tilts, rolling mills and grinding wheels with their

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<sup>1</sup> S. Pybus: *"Damned bad place, Sheffield": an Anthology of Writing about Sheffield through the Ages* (Sheffield) 1994 pp 85/86 citing *The British Traveller or Modern Panorama of England and Wales, 1819*

characteristic bypass dams. All were of paramount importance in Sheffield's industrial progress. In particular, water-power, gradually supplemented by steam from 1786, enabled cutlery and edgetool manufacture, superior for both quality and price, to achieve world status before 1800.

Behind this success lay many centuries of formation and development in an industry already widely specialised by product and area in 1740 and consistently employing more than half the local adult male workforce. Their vital skills were subject to constant improvement through the quantity and variety of artefacts manufactured within a product range, and encouraged by the system of customary pricing which set quality as a differentiating factor. Because of the very nature of their work, cutlers were adaptable and innovative, as amply illustrated by those who diversified into silverplating and campaigned for an assay office.<sup>2</sup>

Fused plate, from its discovery by cutler Thomas Boulsover in the early 1740's, grew within fifty years into a most lucrative Sheffield industry (including solid silverware) of national and international esteem in its own right. Much of its success was due to another, contemporary, invention, that of crucible steel. Without the quality steel dies, stamps, rolls and graving and chasing tools, it is unlikely that standards of excellence in plated and silver production would have been achieved or maintained. Benjamin Huntsman, inventor of that steel and pioneer of a technology which placed South Yorkshire at the forefront of world steelmaking in the Victorian era, was the one man, arguably, who did more than any other to establish the town's reputation for superior metal manufacture from the mid-eighteenth century, and thus, by association, raised the profile in home and foreign markets of all types of Sheffield goods. Major innovation and invention also took place in other sectors. John Curr's adoption of larger corves, iron rails and vertical "conductors" together with his double and flat ropes effectively removed that persistent haulage/winding bottle-neck which had dogged coalmining since time immemorial. For the whole industry, indeed for any kind of mining, this was a most significant break-through. Changes and additions elsewhere

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<sup>2</sup> Although the Cutler' Company did not officially approve, many platers were apprenticed as cutlers to men who were themselves cutler trained. Thomas Law, a former Master Cutler (1753) turned plater, had several, later, leading figures in plated and silver manufacture, including John Winter, among his apprentices.

ranged from the spectacular to the imperceptible. New water-powered and steam driven mills no doubt caught the eye, but ongoing alterations to river flows, enlargement of dams and unsung improvements to waterwheels, particularly by the application of cast-iron components, were equally valuable. Other innovations included the introduction of coke for increased iron smelting and casting which, jointly with Rotherham's production, broadly maintained South Yorkshire's position in the national hierarchy, and the discovery of a peculiarly Sheffield-made material - Britannia metal.

Consumer goods made of this metal, fused plate artefacts and cutlery found a growing market for two main reasons. Firstly, during the course of the eighteenth century, national wealth increased and acquisition of personal and domestic possessions became a trend "raising many households from levels of subsistence to comfort and style".<sup>3</sup> Solid silver candlesticks, tableware and accessories were the province of the few, whereas plated and, later, Britannia artefacts had a much wider appeal. With the elegance and true likeness of solid items, fused plate, selling at about half the price of silver, and Britannia, at even less, were eagerly sought both at home and overseas.<sup>4</sup> The drawback for Sheffield was that demand for these goods was highly income elastic, and hence subject to wide fluctuations. Secondly, with the growth of population and of emigration across the Atlantic, the market for cutlery, edgetools and hardware in general was bound to rise. Demand here was much more price elastic, and the industry's ability to undercut its rivals in most areas, not only without sacrificing quality but also actually improving it, was the telling factor.

Importing the raw materials for these products and dispatching finished items to their respective destinations recalls the problem of Sheffield's distance from port and major markets, and of its relatively poor communications in the early eighteenth century. Extension of the Don Navigation to Aldwarke in 1732/1733 brought water transport to within eight miles of the town centre, instead of the nearly twenty to and from Bawtry. Successive developments to Rotherham and then Tinsley closed the gap to about three miles by 1751. The problem was not fully solved until the completion of the Sheffield-Tinsley canal in 1819, but enough had been done to overcome the worst of

<sup>3</sup> Roy Porter: *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London) 1982 p232

<sup>4</sup> This is not hearsay. The point made over and over again by people in the trade was that solid and plated wares were made by the same craftsmen.

the handicap for imports of Baltic iron and other materials and for exports of hardware in particular. More might have been attempted earlier had not the more valuable local products, notably tableware and plated and silver goods, almost invariably travelled overland. Turnpiking of more southern parts of the London route before 1740, and of many other roads during the decades of the 1740's and 1750's, culminating in major local north-south and east-west improvements, reduced time and costs of transportation to the great benefit of the trades.

Naturally, some sellers found opportunities within the wider region, initially taking their wares by packhorse or cart on unimproved roads to fairs and weekly markets. This may have been a way of establishing a degree of independence from Hull and London merchants until the growing use of Liverpool for the transatlantic trade, and setting up of plated and cutlery warehouses in central streets of the capital, became commonplace. Increasing regional trading activity, together with additional demand for foodstuffs and need for finance must also have constantly raised awareness of Sheffield's industrial, commercial and urban growth and of opportunities for work, and hence made sufficient impact to attract some 20,000 immigrants to the town in the eight decades from 1740.<sup>5</sup> The region's agriculture was stimulated too, particularly for dairy produce and meat in which the locality had a comparative advantage, and, for those who benefited, Sheffield offered ample occasion for safe investment in real estate.

In addition to extensive use of Hull and London credit by local merchants primarily for circulating capital, expanding manufacture and house building created unprecedented demand for funds - far more than could normally be accumulated from personal profits alone. Entrepreneurs in both sectors made extensive use of notes of hand, bonds and mortgages to finance their activities, as well as partnerships and other combinations. Overwhelmingly monies came from Sheffield parish and the region throughout the period.<sup>6</sup> The sheer quantity of evidence in WRRD and elsewhere for loans secured on property probably gives an exaggerated emphasis to this means of borrowing, but clearly mortgages permitted borrowers to draw on sources over and above those

<sup>5</sup> Approximately two-thirds of the population increase.

<sup>6</sup> Never less than 92% for those mortgages identified in WRRD. See pp 232/233.

available on personal security. In this regard, local attorneys played an essential role in linking interested parties - through personal and professional contact, via newspaper advertisement, and by participating themselves as major lenders. More than any other group they facilitated the financing of growth.<sup>7</sup> Yet, in Sheffield, up to the early 1770's their activities appear to have been rather less dominant than in other parts of Britain. Amendments to Norfolk rentals in lieu of creation of legal documents permitted tenants of Sheffield's biggest landlord to mortgage property conveniently and cheaply, thus bypassing formal indenture and potentially deterrent costs.

In general, the Norfolk estate played a benevolently despotic part in the town's economic and urban growth. As owner of mills, mines, quarries, brickyards, tanneries, building sites, the market, canal basin and some forty per cent of houses, the duke drew a substantial and rising revenue which it would not have been in his own interests to restrict.<sup>8</sup> As a result, relatively few obstacles were put in the way of any kind of development. However, anxieties about the effect on water-powered sites of the Don Navigation and of a Sheffield Canal terminating in the Wicker caused resistance to and veto of various proposals at either end of the eighteenth century. For building, the estate (in common with most institutional and private landlords) exercised some control via planning and covenants. Extractive industries such as coalmining and brickmaking were regulated for quantities of coal and clay removed and restoration of ground.

For the major staple a regulatory body of a different kind was the Company of Cutlers. Established in 1624 it oversaw the trade via "its officers who passed by-laws governing the quality of products, the hours of work, the indenturing of apprentices and the admittance of freemen".<sup>9</sup> During the course of the eighteenth century its rules were increasingly challenged and flouted in varying degrees, particularly in relation to numbers of apprentices. Finally, after years of growing criticism against its absolutist attitudes and unnecessary restrictions, in 1814 the Company lost most of its powers. However, in spite of evident administrative failures, it had consistently promoted both

<sup>7</sup> R. Robson: *The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge) 1959

<sup>8</sup> Just under £6000 in 1740 to nearly £17,000 in 1800

<sup>9</sup> D. Hey: *The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire: Sheffield and its Neighbourhood 1660-1740* (Leicester) 1991 p136

the industry's and the town's interests through transport improvements and by lobbying Parliament, it had converted steel for the benefit of members for fifteen years, and taken the initiative in numerous public concerns, not least in helping save the local banks in the crises of 1797 and 1802. Assessed from the point of view of its net contribution, the Company clearly was of enormous benefit to Sheffield.

In civic matters, the Town Trustees also had a regulatory function - especially in relation to the streets and market. Primitive lighting was in place by the mid-1730's, earlier than in most towns, and some efforts were made to keep streets, drains and sewers clean. The most successful strategy appears to have been an occasional sluicing of gutters by opening water cocks in higher parts of town. Even so, standards of cleanliness were abysmally low and, in the early nineteenth century, considerable criticism was forthcoming from the *Iris* in particular as Sheffield appeared to be falling behind the likes of Manchester and Birmingham which had already obtained specific legislation. Not until 1818 was a Police Act finally obtained, and, shortly after, gas street lighting introduced.

In the introduction to this thesis an initial query was raised as to the compatibility of economic and urban growth in Sheffield c1740-c1820. Looking back, would it have been possible to have studied in adequate detail the one without the other? The answer must be "no". So much explanation of how and why population, industry, commerce and building advanced is linked in source material - WRRD, Fairbank and ACM, in particular - that this element alone justifies the joint approach. Confirmation, if it is needed, lies in the inter-relationships between the facets. Rising population cannot be separated in cause and effect from industry, commerce and town growth. The latter, with house, street, workshop, factory, school, church and other construction, not only provided a wide cross-section of accommodation for the others, but was in itself an economic phenomenon. Essentially, it was part of the industrial and commercial world and its competitive requirement for manpower, materials and finance. In this respect, building, whether for sale or for rent, was subject to the pressures of supply and demand like any other commodity or service. In the final analysis, industrialisation and urbanisation were commonly two inseparable strands of that process of accelerating change called the Industrial Revolution.

During the eighteenth century, rapidly rising urban populations (equated above with industrial and commercial growth) - Sheffield and a number of other midland and northern industrial towns like Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Nottingham, for example - were *en route* for provincial ascendancy, yet not all developing at the same rate nor necessarily in precisely the same time scale. In broad terms provincial towns were growing at two to two and a half times the rate of the population in general.<sup>10</sup> Sheffield grew at around five times as fast, and Nottingham, Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester in round figures at three, four, five and six times respectively.<sup>11</sup> When quickly expanding ports (Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle and Sunderland), dockyards (Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth), and resorts (Bath and Brighton) are added, Sheffield's ranking with the front-runners of the urban phenomenon is confirmed.<sup>12</sup>

Such growth was very much a function of available space and freedom from restriction by estate and other proprietors. Great variety of experience is in evidence here - from land ownership by numerous individuals as in Leeds, largely by the Corporation in Liverpool and predominantly by the Norfolks in Sheffield, but rarely were problems of development insurmountable.<sup>13</sup> Liverpool's use of promoters and the Duke of Norfolk's direct dealing with individuals emphasise differences of approach. Since peripheral land was invariably more valuable in industrial, commercial or domestic use than for agriculture or gardens, great monetary benefit lay in the encouragement of building and other forms of exploitation. Such a climate, of course, offered opportunities for entrepreneurs and speculative builders alike, and assisted the process of economic growth at local level. The construction industry remained traditional, labour intensive and mainly reliant on local materials. What change did coincide with Sheffield's 1730's surge in house-building was a marked rise in the import at Hull of Baltic deals and fir as structural timber.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> C.W. Chalklin: *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (London) 1974 Chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup> D. McCloskey: "British Population Change 1700-1871" in R. Floud and D. McCloskey eds: *The Economic History of Britain since 1700* (Cambridge) 2nd edn 1994 Vol I p88 and citing E.A. Wrigley.

<sup>12</sup> C.W. Chalklin op cit

<sup>13</sup> *ibid* Chapter 3 pt2 All contrast with Nottingham where new building was long inhibited by a large stretch of common land.

<sup>14</sup> G. Jackson: *Hull in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford) 1972 Appendix 2



In most towns traditional industries continued alongside new, with respective developments in technology, organisation and accommodation varying in time scale like the growing towns themselves. In the chronology of invention and innovation, Sheffield was early - not long after Coalbrookdale, although not as obviously influential. Crucible steel and fused plate, although initially slow to blossom (like many discoveries of the period), came two decades and more before Watt's steam engine, Hargreaves' spinning jenny, and Arkwright's water frame, all from the 1760's. On the other hand, relatively late turnpiking and, particularly, failure to extend the Don Navigation from Tinsley to Castle Orchards until 1819 appear in hindsight to be out of keeping with progressive activity elsewhere in the local economy. It would be unrealistic, however, to expect all contributory factors to move in a regular pattern or even to be always positive. Successful towns were those whose human and physical resources, development and locational advantages far outweighed their handicaps and continued to outweigh any new difficulties as they arose. Birmingham, for example, was not blessed with abundant water power, but had a highly skilled labour force concentrating on the production of high-value handcrafted artefacts. Sheffield had water power, both old and new skills across a spectrum of metal trades, and numerous other low-cost resources which more than compensated for the expense of its distance from ports and markets.

Both these towns exemplify the local industrial dominance, numerically, of the small independent artisan. But this should not obscure evidence of bigger fixed capital investment in mainstream industries - of Boulton at his exceptional Soho works, of a number of silver and plated partnerships in Sheffield, of steelmakers, and of a gradually rising minority in the cutlery trades - the edgetool makers - with their propensity to integrate vertically into crucible steel.<sup>15</sup> The prevalence of decentralised workshop manufacture may be compared with other industrial sectors which are more usually associated with the factory. Even in cotton, handloom weavers, "traditional" but far from independent, were employed long after powered technology came available.<sup>16</sup> Woollen textiles had a preponderance of domestic operatives till almost mid-nineteenth century. Elsewhere, in Nottingham framework knitting and in the silk

<sup>15</sup> G.I.H. Lloyd: *The Cutlery Trades* (London) 1913 *et al* See p24 footnote 1

<sup>16</sup> M. Berg: "Factories, workshops and industrial organisation" in R. Floud and D. McCloskey *op cit* pp127ff

industry, sweated domestic work continued, in some cases alongside large-scale factories. This plurality of small and large, with origins spread over the eighteenth century typified the textiles, and indeed most industries.

Because of the complex amalgam of such evidence across Britain's economic spectrum, the concept and usage of the term "Industrial Revolution" has led to considerable controversy between various historians as to its nature and timing.<sup>17</sup> Some even prefer to avoid the term. Others, particularly the econometricians, broadly emphasise the relative lateness of arrival of a revolution in Britain when measured in annual national figures - below one per cent trend growth of industrial production till the later 1770's, two per cent achieved only after 1800, and three per cent reached around 1820.<sup>18</sup> Percentage rises were even lower for GDP as a whole.<sup>19</sup> Crafts, however, acknowledges that "by 1780 a start [to the industrial revolution] had been made".<sup>20</sup> Yet other historians draw attention to significantly earlier and faster moving local currents within a much more slowly advancing tide.<sup>21</sup> In this diversity of arguments, national statistics, however closely refined, still inevitably conceal regional or local change. New empirical research at local level is much more likely to reveal informative detail to confirm or to modify whatever viewpoint might be held.

Although primarily intended as a specific research project in its own right, this thesis examining Sheffield's economic and urban development is one such local study. Information contained within it strongly supports (and possibly even pre-empts) a more traditional view by providing ample evidence for early and sustained parochial and regional growth. Rising population, specialisation of skills, division of labour, water-power and steam, transport improvements, inventions leading to new products and new technologies, financial and banking services, street planning, new building - all furnish abundant proof of major transformation. Sheffield, like most ascendant towns, had both

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<sup>17</sup> Discussed in more detail on p8 of the Introduction.

<sup>18</sup> N.F.R. Crafts: "The Industrial Revolution" in R. Floud and D. McCloskey eds op cit p49

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* Mokyr's theorem, noted in the Introduction (p8), illustrates the retardant effect of the bigger old economic sectors on the faster rising new.

<sup>20</sup> N.F.R. Crafts op cit p50

<sup>21</sup> J. Mokyr op cit; M. Berg and P. Hudson: "Rehabilitating the Industrial Revolution" in *Economic History Review* Vol XLV No1 1992

common and unique features which in combination help explain the timing, means and rationale of its success. The results of research into these features not only offer new insights into the industrial, commercial and urban growth of Sheffield *per se*, but also contribute to the wider understanding of the concept of an industrial revolution in Britain beginning in the eighteenth century.

Appendix 1

Extract from the diary of Thomas Philip, 3rd Lord Grantham, 27th July 1799; Bedfordshire Record Office, L31/114/3 (cited in: Robin Gard ed. *The Observant Traveller* [London] 1989 p73)

The Silver Plating Manufactory which we saw was Messrs. Goodman & Co's. We saw the whole process, which is

1st. The ingots of copper are fastened to those of silver with Wire, & a little Borax dissolved in water insinuated into the joining. These are then put in the oven & the heat unites them.

2nd. They are rolled out by a Hand Mill

3rd They are formed according to the shape wanted. If for round candlesticks, The bottom is stamped whole, & the neck in three pieces which when united makes it compleat. If oval, generally one half (cut perpendicularly) is stamped at once. Tea Pots & Urns are beat out by much time and trouble from a flat surface. The dies are made of Steel & cut out by hand, & the corresponding part, which is to face the plating to the shape, is lead pound into the die, & fastened to the weight of the *Stamp* (or Press) by holes in the weight & the lead being soft, presses into the holes when the weight falls.

5th. (sic) The superfluous parts are then cut off &

6th. They are soldered together, if but a small place with silver & brass (called Hard Solder), if a large space, with Lead & Tin (called Soft Solder). The former is a hard substance, & is applied in small slips cut out according to the size & shape wanted. It is melted by a Blow Pipe and Lamp. The latter is applied in the common way by a hot Iron with rosin. The seams or joinings are then burnished & the whole is finished up. For the purpose of engraving they have a method of making the Silver plating thicker in one part then another.

Appendix 2      FRIENDLY SOCIETIES with Master and Wardens if known

Benevolent Society

1773 Foundation Year<sup>1</sup>

1803 Thomas Nightingale cutler, William Sampson razorsmith, Robert Hardy cutler

1811 William Reaney (L Sheffield) scissorgrinder

Bishop Blaze Friendly Society

1750 Foundation Year

1817 George Fish printer

Braziers' Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

meeting at Thomas Oakes, Hartshead

1773 John Rumney

1785 George Urton cutler

1804 Thomas Rolley

1806 John Tuesman, William Greaves

1816 John Machin joiner, Charles Styring soap boiler

1819 Charles Styring (ex), Samuel Hill cordwainer, Benj Marsden

Brotherly Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

meeting at the Yellow Lion, Coalpit Lane, the house of Thos Clarke

1795 David Priest cordwainer, Ralph Brown labourer, John Gateley (Cricket Inn) labourer

1802 same men

Building Association meeting at the Barrel, Well Street, the house of Samuel Marshall probably generic name

1792 James Cowen buttonmaker

1802 same (ex)

Button Makers' Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

meeting at the George, Market Place (Matt Woollens) 1763-1771

meeting at the Ship, Water Lane ?pre 1763?

meeting at Anthony Hufton's 1777

1768 William Morris

1777 William Poole

Careful Club/Society meeting at the Fleur de Luce, Bailey Field, the house of John Wainwright

1758 Foundation Year

1793 William Eagle silversmith

1816 Charles Gould

Carpenters' and Young Men's Society (?combination with Young Men's Society?)

1806 William Camm filesmith

Charitable Society appears to be generic name

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<sup>1</sup> Foundation Years of more than 30 societies listed in the *Iris* 5 July 1814

Compassionate Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies  
1785 John Wood

Cutlers' Society

1732 Foundation Year  
1788 Henry Revill razorsmith  
1796 John Godley cordwainer

Dobbin Hill Club

1780 James Wilde (Bents Green) scythesmith

Dore, Society held at the house of Henry Elliot snr

1792 Henry Elliott jnr mason, William Taylor farmer

Eagle Funding Society held at the Fleur de Lis (top of Bailey Street), the house of Anthony Branson (advertised in *Iris* 14 Apl 1803)<sup>2</sup>

1803 £50 shares x 200, monthly payments of 5s. Draws for monthly loans of £50 to members.

Filesmiths' Club

1732 Foundation Year  
1786 Samuel White, Samuel Pryor, Thomas Green filesmiths

Five and Eight Shilling Club Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies  
meeting at the Fountain Head

1785 Henry Jackson grinder, William Broadhead cutler, Thomas Green cutler  
1786 same men

Foresters'/Green Foresters' Society meeting at the George Inn, the house of John Lawson

1759 Foundation Year  
1811 James Hancock (Garden Street) fender maker

Forty Five Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies  
meeting at the Spread Eagle, the house of John Pashley 1775  
meeting at the house of John Chester, Bank Street 1809

1775 Charles Denson  
1786 William Madin  
1809 Thomas Ford joiner  
1809 Thomas Owen and George Ashall haft pressers

Forty Sixth Club Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies  
(ex) held at the house of William Cullen

held at the Black Swan, the house of Joseph Greasby  
1792 Jonathan Taylor mason (ex), Francis Morton cutler, Francis Bramall cutler,  
Jonas Walton cordwainer  
1793 Francis Brammal

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<sup>2</sup> This was the first of more than a dozen Money Clubs advertised in the *Iris*.

Friendly and Charitable Society held at the house of Michael Dent (Ecclesall)  
probably generic name

1809 Charles Mamsey (Bents Green) sawmaker

1818 John Shaw

1819 John Shaw (Cherry Tree Hill) farmer (ex), John Marsden (Whiteley Wood) saw  
manufacturer

Friendly Society appears to be generic name

Friendly and United Club

1780 Foundation Year

1789 Adam Wilde cutler

Gate Club (1799) Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies.

Gentlemen's Club meeting at the Owl in Bullstake (1766), the house of Francis  
Beardsall

meeting at the Yellow Lion (1816)

1750 Foundation Year

?1773 John Martin }

?1777 James Twybill } ref only to the Owl

?1778 Francis Birkinshaw } no Society named

?1779 Joseph Jackson }

1787 George Pearce fruiterer (later baker), Benjamin Cawton ygr cutler

1816 Samuel Hallam cutler (ex), David Hinchliffe scissorsmith, Samuel Naylor ygr  
cutler, William Nowill cutler

Grinders' Club meeting at the King's Head, Change Alley, the hse of James Kay (1770)  
meeting at the house of John Greaves, West Bar (1774)

meeting at the Ball, Campo Lane (1794)

1748 Foundation Year

1772 George Allman scissorsmith, James Brookfield filesmith, Joseph Ragg grinder

1774 Joseph Ragg

1775 Joshua Slater

1793 Marmaduke Clarke, Robert Ramsay, Charles Clegg

1794 Robert Ramsay

1817 Joseph Brammer (Bridgehouses) cutler

1818 James Townsend cordwainer, William Dalton cordwainer, William Dobb cutler

Half Boot Society

1767 Foundation Year

1783 Partack Oldham silverplater, Jude Sutton Hancock cutler, George Barker cutler

1790 William Johnson

1807 John Mappin cutler

1808 William Hadfield (ex), George Johnson bookkeeper, George Richardson cutler,  
John Cooper silversmith

1810 John Mappin (ex), Thomas Wilson silversmith

1816 William Johnson ygr razor maker

Heeley Club Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

1797 George Birley

Humane Society meeting at the Bay Childers, the house of Joseph Henson (1791)  
the house of John Baxter (1796)

1791 Thomas Low cordwainer, John Gold table knife cutler, Thomas Wigfall cutler

1796 Joseph Heggibottom silversmith, John Hobson foundryman, William Garnett  
plater

Indefatigable Union

1752 Foundation Year

Industrious Society (became Union Society in 1792) at Brown Cow, Bridgehouses

1740 Foundation Year

1783 William Woodcock (see Brown Cow for possible earlier masters)

Jubilee Society

1809 Foundation Year

Laurel United Society

1753 Foundation Year

Masons' Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

1786 John North

1788 Edward Cartwright

1813 Thomas Barlow, Joshua Brownhill, Benjamin Grundy, George Arundel, Thomas  
Haigh cutlers, George Sykes, Thomas Mansfield scissorsmiths, George  
Bingham cutler, Charles Adams gent (Norfolk Sale)

1814 Thomas Barlow (Park) scissor grinder, Joseph Brownhill, Benjamin Grundy

1814 George Sykes, Thomas Barlow, Joseph Brownhill

1814 Joseph Brownhill, Benjamin Grundy, Robert Thompson filesmith

1815 Benjamin Grundy, Robert Thompson, John Hanson

1817 Samuel Wilson spoonmaker, Matthew Thickett cutler, Matthias Sanderson  
cutler

Merciful Society (1792) Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

Odd Fellows, Amicable Independent Lodge of No foundation date given in 1814

1816 Matthew Goodwin silverplater, George Timm

Old Cock Club/Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies

1815 Peter Cadman cutler (ex), James Youle

Orange Society

1811 Foundation Year

Oughtibridge Society (1789) Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies



Park Society Not listed in 1814 with 30+ societies  
 meeting at the George Inn, Market place, the house of Matthew Woolen 1771  
 meeting at the Ball, the house of William Marsh 1778  
 1778 Joseph Hodgkinson

Prince of Wales Society held at the Royal Oak Inn, King Street  
 1790 Foundation Year  
 1813 Isaac Schofield, William Clark, John Cadman  
 1814 William Clark cordwainer, John Cadman cutler, John Cooper white metal  
 manufacturer

Prosperous Young Shepherds' Society (?development from Young Shepherds'?)  
 1799 Foundation Year  
 1819 Thomas Bower cutler, Anthony Wright buttonmaker, Joseph Wolstenholme  
 glasscutter

Providence/Provident Society meeting at the Black Swan, the house of Joseph  
 Greasby  
 1754 Foundation Year  
 1795 Robert Brookshaw cutler, George Greaves shearsmith, John Green scissorsmith  
 1806 John Candow breeches maker, Thomas Fearnhow saw maker, John Wastnage  
 cutler

Revolution Society held at the George Inn, the house of Mrs. Lawton (1817)  
 1788 Foundation Year  
 1811 Samuel Mappin cutler, James White silverplater, Joseph Hinchliffe innkeeper  
 1817 John Ward bookkeeper, James Moorhouse cutler, James Roberts bookkeeper  
 1818 James Moorhouse, James Roberts, Joseph Littlewood farrier

Rockingham Society  
 1809 Foundation Year

Rodney's Club/Society meeting at the Rose and Crown (1795), the house of John  
 Greaves  
 1782 Foundation Year  
 1787 Joseph Nowell cutler  
 1787 Gilbert Tucker silk throwster  
 1795 Joseph Nowell (ex), Joseph Staniland gent

Royal Society Club (?same as Royal Union Society)  
 1789 Henry Spencer

Royal Union Society  
 1782 Foundation Year  
 1797 Henry Bowler scissorsmith  
 1812 Henry Bowler  
 1818 Joseph Gillott cabinet mkr, John Howe scissor frgr, Benjamin Coldwell table  
 knife forger  
 1819 same men (note ex Tradesmen's Society GZ 152 178 1818)

## Scissorsmiths' Society

1791 Foundation Year

1813 John Milner

## Sheffield Masonic Benefit Society held at the Black Rock Inn, Castle Street

1832 George Fisher tailor and draper (High Street)

## Shepherds' Society (?older version of Young Shepherds?)

1786 William Brammall

## Sick Club (probably a generic name) at the house of Thomas Marshall

1788 Peter Dewsnap, Joseph Howe, John Burdekin

## Sick Club, Grimesthorpe (probably a generic name) at the house of John Webster

1785 Thomas Gillott joiner, Thomas Mirfin blacksmith, Thomas Holland cutler

1786 Thomas Gillott (ex), Thomas Mirfin, Thomas Holland, Robert Hewitt (Br'side)  
yeoman

## Silversmiths' Society

1811 Foundation Year

1814 Mark Tyzack diesinker, William Stocks (Pk) silverplater, Edward Anderton  
silverpltr

1815 same men

Tailors' Society meeting at the George, Market Place, the house of Matthew  
Woollin (1770)

meeting at the Ball, Campo Lane, the house of Hannah Marshall (1799)

1720 Foundation Year

1789 Moses Stephenson

1799 Joseph Burkinshaw, Robert Barker cordwainer, John Gascoigne cutler

1810 James Clayton

1818 William Warburton bookkeeper

## Tinsley Society meeting at the Rose and Crown, the house of John Greaves

1795 John Wood cutler, John Sotheron cabinet maker, Thomas Barker cutler (all ex)

## Tradesman's Society meeting at the Fountain, the house of William Habershon (1793)

meeting at the Royal Oak, King St, the house of John Bellamy (1795)

1761 Foundation Year

1793 Jonathan Heppinstall

1794 Benjamin Turner

1795 Isaac Ellis, James Marshall

1807 Benjamin Willis cabinet maker

1809 Jonathan Heppinstall (ex), ?William Curtis stamper

1812 William Hague stamper, John Driver (Sheff Moor) cutler

1813 John Driver, Thomas Hadfield cutler

1814 William Hague, John Driver (both ex)

1815 Joseph Hadfield cutler, Thomas Taylor razor maker

1815 Thomas Taylor, Joseph Marshall cordwainer

1818 Paul Smith cutler, John Trown shoemaker (continued)

- 1819 John Trown, Benjamin Hudson grinder
- 1819 Joseph Marshall, Paul Smith (both ex)

Unanimous Society/Old Unanimous Club meeting at the Fleur de Lis, the house of John Wainwright

- 1733 Foundation Year
- 1791 Jonathan Perry, Thomas Hurst, William Wilson
- 1793 William Wilson (Park) cutler, George Jowitt filesmith, Jonathan Platts wool shearsmith, Joseph Soresby (Sharrow Moor) scissorsmith
- 1804 William Wilson (ex)
- 1808 William Wilson et al (ex), John Ward tailor
- 1814 John Ward, Isaac Fox (Br'houses) grinder, Joseph Stones (Wicker) fork maker (all ex)
- 1819 William Walls cordwainer, James Robinson grinder, William Turner scale cutter

Union Club (see also Royal Union Society)

- 1784 James Smith
- 1785 John Edgely
- 1790 Thomas Clayton

Union Society (was Industrious Society till 1792) see also Royal Union Society

- 1740 Foundation Year
- 1793 Charles Horsfield (Harvest Lane) cutler
- 1804 Charles Dixon elder, William Smith, Robert Waterhouse

United Society (did this become the Fresh United Society below?)

- 1752 Foundation Year
- 1795 John Rowan (appears to be a building lease)

Fresh United Society held at the London Apprentice

- 1815 Richard Ratcliffe hatter, Septimus Gould scissorsmith, Richard Bradley
- 1817 Richard Bradley cutler

Volunteer Sick Society

- 1793 Foundation Year
- 1801 Matthew Jepson cutler

Young Men's Society meeting at the Royal Oak Inn, King St, the house of William Taylor

- 1759 Foundation Year
- 1810 William Beardsall smith, Joseph Roberts warehouseman, Joseph Skipman butler (sic)
- 1812 Joseph Shipman
- 1815 Joseph Shipman (ex), William Fowler ironfounder

Young Shepherds' Society (?devel't from Shepherds' Soc? ?Became Prosperous YS?)

- 1799 Foundation Year of Prosperous YS
- 1806 James Thimball, William Baker, Thomas Clayton
- 1810 Joseph Hawksley scissorsmith, Henry Brown glass grinder, James Thornbeck gent

- Young Society meeting at the Hotel, the house of Francis Beardsall (1793)  
 meeting at the Fountain, the house of John Haggars (1800)
- 1767 Foundation year
- 1781 ?John Salt (S158 M1781 f29)
- 1783 ?George Linley
- 1784 ?John Gray
- 1787 Joseph Peace
- 1791 John Senyor/Saynor cutler, John Wild cutler, Robert Roebuck filesmith
- 1792 Robert Roebuck
- 1793 Robert Roebuck, John Law/Lowe penknife cutler, Thomas Ryals razor maker
- 1794 John Law, Thomas Ryals, Richard Houlden cutler
- 1795 Thomas Ryals, Richard Houlden, Jonathan Salt cutler
- 1800 same men
- 1802 Robert Roebuck, John Law, Thomas Ryals (all ex)
- 1805 George Rock, Benjamin Woolhouse, John Shirtcliffe
- 1806 Joseph Roberts razorsmith, Richard Houlden, John Salt cutler, Joseph Peace filesmith, Joseph Morton silverplater, John Corker filesmith, George Linley scissorsmith, John Saynor, John Micklethwaite cutler, Joseph Rodgers cutler, Benjamin Walker confectioner, Francis Sykes razorsmith

SOCIETIES WITH NO NAME (and not yet firmly related to named societies)

- African Prince, Society at, the house of George Fox
- 1768 George Dakin scissorsmith, John Smith cutler, John Gorrill cutler
- 1777 same men (ex)
- Ball, Campo Lane, Society at, the house of Robert Lister (probably Grinders' Club)
- 1779 William Sheldon
- Society at the house of Thomas Billam, New Street (1773)
- Society at the house of Samuel Binney, High Lane Head, Ecclesall (1784)
- Black Swan, Society at, the house of George Pearson (1772)  
 the house of John Ashmore (1778)  
 the house of Joseph Greasby (1793)
- 1772 Michael Butler
- 1774 Robert Falding
- 1778 Joseph Butterworth, John Vaughan
- Blue Bell, High Street, Society at, the house of Thomas Bland
- 1764 Robert Scoley
- 1766 John Ducker
- Blue Pig/Boar, West Bar, Society held at
- 1779 John Barber
- 1782 Samuel Kirby

Brown Cow, Bridgehouses, Society at (1766), at the house of John Shepherd (1786)  
 see Industrious Society  
 1772 James Berry  
 1779 Thomas Swindin  
 1783 William Woodcock (Industrious Society)

Castle Hill Alehouse, Society at,  
 1765 Jonathan Oates

Castle, Burdekin's, near the Irish Cross, Society at (1775)

Causeway House, Upper Hallam, the house of John Creswick  
 1802 William Watson (Upper Hallam), William Blagden (UH) carpenter, Thomas  
 Creswick (UH) farmer, John Pitchford (UH) razorsmith, William Wragg (Nether  
 Hallam) cutler

Coach and Six, Market Place, Society at  
 1774 John Sherwin  
 1775 James Gaskin

Cross Daggers, West Bar, Society at (1757)

Crown, near Barker Pool, the house of William Howson  
 1771 John Clark  
 1774 John Hall  
 1777 Thomas Taylor bricklayer, Jonathan Whitham (Attercliffe) miller, Thomas Hall  
 scissorsmith  
 1777 Joseph Westbrook scissorsmith, John Micklethwaite cutler, William Turner  
 cutler (this appears to be a different society; JM later in Younge Society 1806)  
 1787 Joseph Pearce filesmith, Joseph Roberts cutler, Francis Sykes cutler  
 1807 ?Thomas Parker (ex), ?Thomas Fearnough (now at the Ball, Church Lane  
 WRRD FB 320 417)

Dove and Rainbow, Hartshead, Society at  
 1770 ?John Winfield  
 1774 George Watson

Dover Castle, Water Lane, Society at  
 1767 Society "broke"

George (Old) Inn, near the Irish Cross, Society at  
 1771 Jonathan Ainsworth

George and Dragon, the house of Thomas Clarke  
 1790 William Pearce baker, Joseph Brown breeches maker, Joseph Hall razorsmith

Thomas Gillat's, Heeley, Society at (1779)

Golden Lion at the head of Coalpit Lane, the house of Joseph Swift, Society at  
 1771 Edward Wainwright, John Bate (see Brotherly Society 1795ff)

John Goodall, Queen Street, Building Society at (1796) Courant 162

John Greaves, Market Place, Society at (see Rodney Society and Tinsley Society)

1778 William Loy, Francis Linfitt

1778 John Atkins, John Knight (is this a different society?)

1779 James Swindin

Joseph Hanson's, High Street, Society at

1778 Joshua Riles

1779 Joshua Riles, George Linley, James Brammall

John Hawke's, West Bar, Society at

1762 Robert Ellis

William Hill's, the Wicker, Society at

1767 William Nail

Peter Hinchliffe's, Society at the house of (1788)

Owen's, King Street

1763 William Parkin

Owl, Bullstake, Society at (see the Gentleman's Club)

1766 Luke Proctor cutler, Richard Motteram hatter

1773 John Martin

1779 Joseph Jackson

1780 Jonathan Loy cutler, Henry Hutton cutler, Francis Hancock shoemaker (ACM S380)

1780 Thomas Hall (this appears to be a different society) ACM S382

Rose and Crown, the house of Mr. Owen (1767)

the house of John Greaves, Society held at (1783) High Street (1778)

1776 Joseph Heathcote sawyer

1778 Francis Harrison

1778 William Bellamy (is this a different society?)

Shakespeare's Head, the house of John Dickenson

1801 Jonathan Hall cutler grinder (ex), Thomas Greaves scissorsmith (ex), Ephraim Hibberd cutler, John Rowan cutler, Robert Cartwright (meeting at the Ball,

Townhead Street, the house of Mrs Hannah Marshall (see the Taylors' Society?)

Ship, Water Lane, Thomas Wigfall's, Society at

1764 William Cutler filesmith

Spread Eagle, the House of John Pashley, High Street 1771 (?Forty-five Society?)

1768 John Oxley

1771 Joseph Nolt

John Shepherd's, Hollis Croft, Society at

1779 John Drayton

Whittington Sowter's, near Townhead Cross, Building Society at  
 1792 Samuel Carnall cutler, John Furniss shoemaker  
 1795 same men  
 1801 same men

John Taylor's, Attercliffe, Society at  
 1779 John Shemeld (Attercliffe) scissorsmith

Thomas Taylor's, West Bar, Society held at 1776

Travellers' Inn, the house of William Lindley, Society at  
 1769 Charles Hall

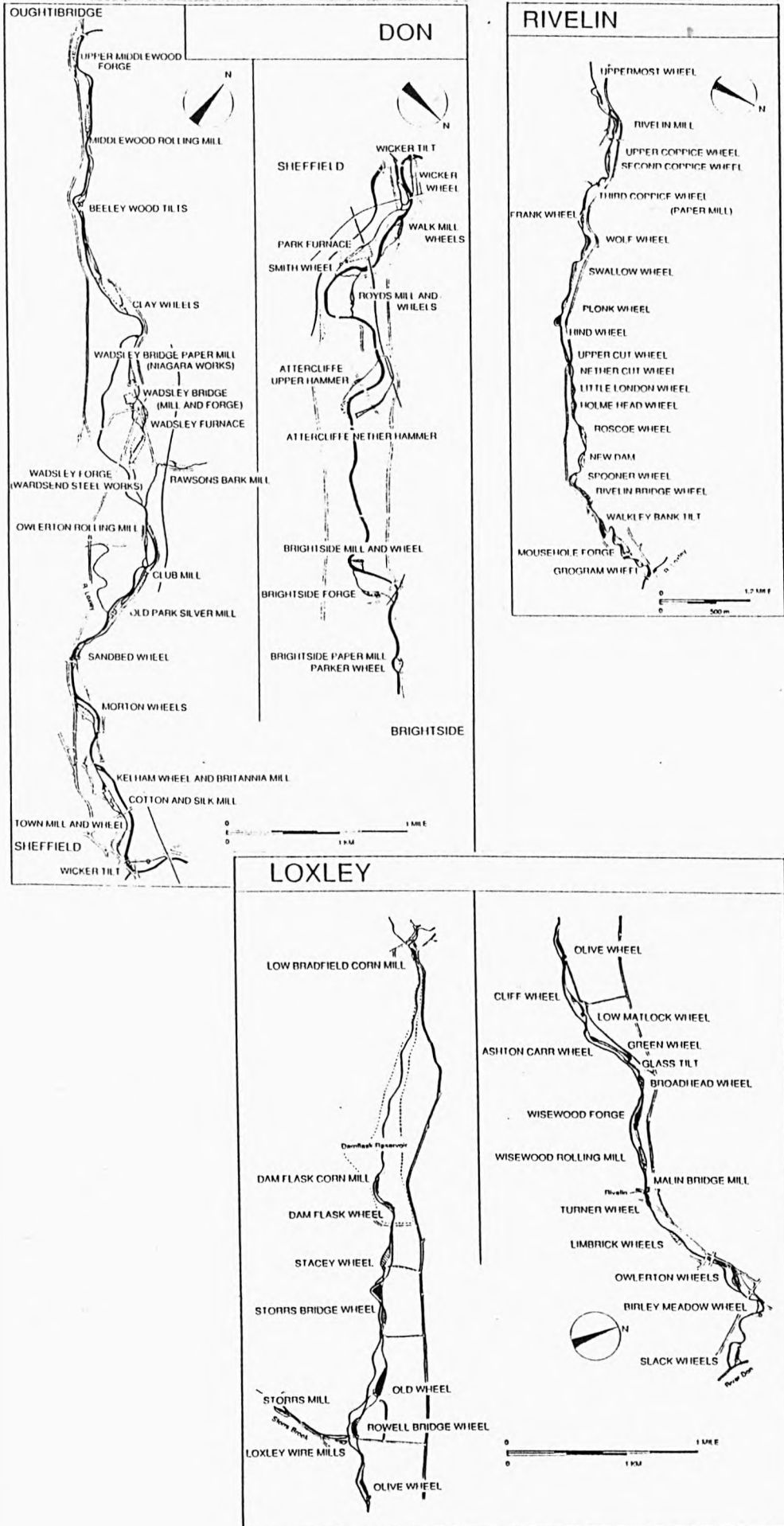
White Bear, Society at, (near Town Hall 1769)  
 1766 Richard Ash  
 1769 Richard Longley  
 1772 Matthew Thompson  
 1783 Thomas Crabtree

White Lion, the Wicker, Society at  
 1778 William Gray

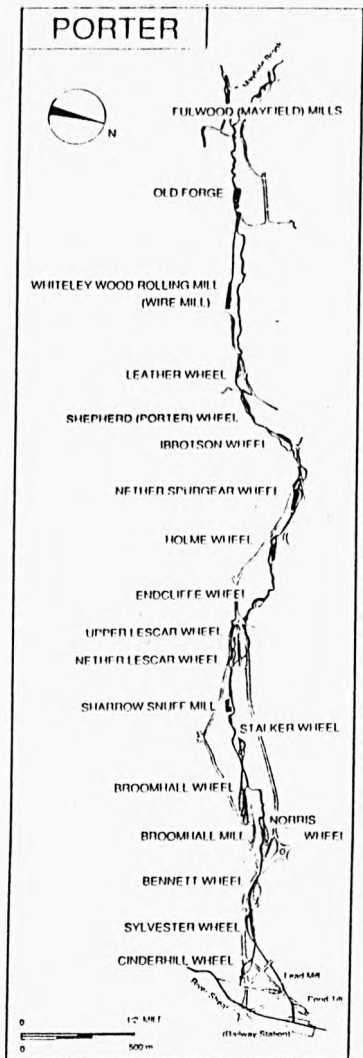
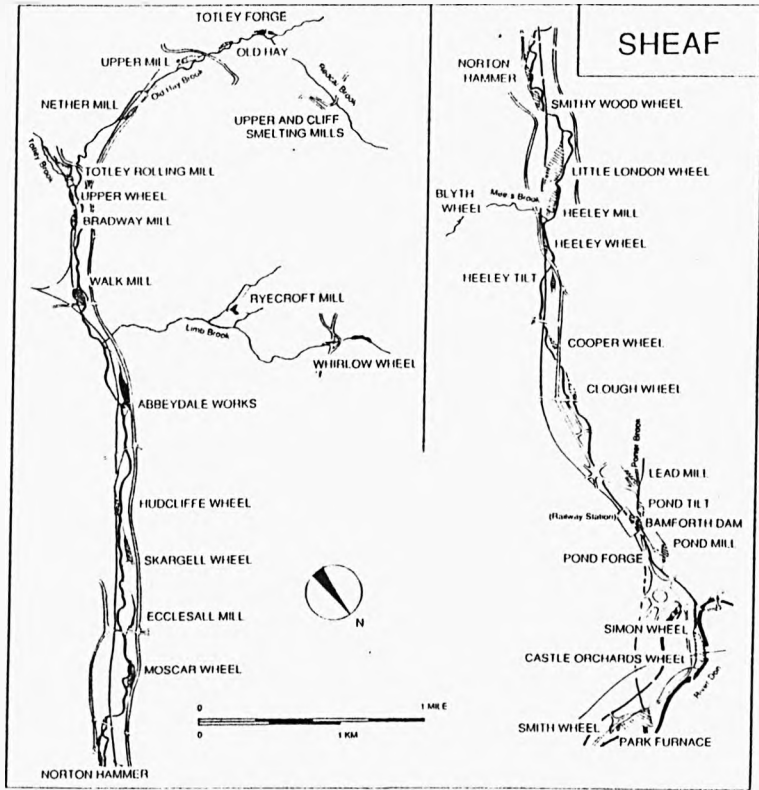




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Appendix 5      References to Women's Industrial or Commercial Activity in Sheffield  
(arranged in Collections).

Bagshawe Collection, Manchester:

5/4/2 15 Aug 1744 & 13 Aug 1746 Bill from Mary Gillott to Hannah Wilson £3-3-0  
5/4/2 6 Nov 1744 Bill drawn by Sarah Dale for Richard Dalton £30

Beauchief Muniments:

BM 54(2) Mrs Ann Hopkinson - receipts for purchase of iron and steel 1814/1816.  
BM 59 Betty Drabble and Betty Biggin, farm workers at 1s per day (James Drabble earned 1s 6d) c1807.

Birmingham Assay Office Archives:

Letter Box A (Aa-Az) Letter 84 from Thomas Ansell to Boulton & Fothergill dated Nov 26 1769 ". . my wife has worked 10 in the Gylt Trade in Birmingham and she has worked 5 years in the Plated trade in Sheffield".

Borthwick Wills and Inventories:

June 1770 Will of Thomas Jackson, grocer; £100 to wife to use in trade or put out at interest.  
Mar 1781 Will of Edward Garlick, cutler (1778) Stock-in-trade to wife to carry on business alone or in copartnership with sons.  
Oct 1787 Will of Benjamin Clarbour, cutler; all stock-in-trade and tools to wife "if she chuse to continue and carry on the business during her widowhood".  
Nov 1788 Will of Hannah Smith, widow; bequeathes equal share "in the [cutlery] trade which I now carry on" to two sons and one son-in-law.  
July 1790 Will of Nicholas Turner, filesmith; wife to carry on trade.  
May 1791 Inventory of Mary Redfearne; included stock-in-trade and smithy tools.  
May 1791 Will of Hannah Green, widow; reference to capital, stock and trade in partnership with son John.  
March 1792 Will of Rachel Scholey, shopkeeper.  
Oct 1793 Will of Abraham Greaves shearsmith; leaves mark *Gambia* to his wife to carry on the business with their two sons.  
Jan 1794 Will of Samuel Wheatcroft; leaves wife to carry on trade of butcher with son.  
Aug 1794 Will of Ann Allen, widow and comb maker; over £200 sock and more than £300 book debts.  
Mar 1796 Will of Isaac Broomhead, razormaker; wife to carry on trade.  
Apr 1796 Will of Thomas Priest, carpenter & joiner; grocery stock-in-trade to wife.

Bradbury Records:

BR2 Women pieceworkers in the plated trade 1793ff.  
BR299 R.M. Hirst's book 1820ff: Women as burnishers, and scouring and boiling.  
BR 318 vi Extracts from "A Diary of a Tour from London into Yorkshire etc" by M 1798; reference to women making and carding plated buttons.

## Fairbank Collection:

FB12 f29 John Taylor's brickwork by Widow Hague.  
 BB75 f104 Glazing by Sarah Twigg, widow.  
 BB83 f18 Dr. Wainwright's glazing by Mary Rose.

## Loan Deposits:

LD 193, 194, 202, 204, 205, 206 Nowill Ledgers and Wages Books - employment of daughters and women workers, including outworkers 1780's ff.  
 LD 1925 Matthias Spencer's employees ?filemakers? f186 Elizabeth Needham 1777, f187 Martha Chapman 1776; and Elizabeth Ibberson, servant.

## Miscellaneous Documents:

MD 1727 Margaret Turley - three year contract stoving japanned goods from 1781.  
 MD 1737(4) Mary Clappam's work ?polisher? 1782  
 MD 3147 Two women to help clean rooms at Sheffield Assembly 1788  
 MD 5119 Break up of Tudor & Leader partnership; seven women workers listed.  
 MD 5830 & 5843 Sarah Amory, laceworker, 1814/1826.  
 MD 5859 women's agricultural wages.

## Newspapers:

*Advertiser* 29 Jan & 5 Feb 1774 Employment of women and children at the Silk Mill  
*Register* 10 May 1791 Mrs Bell, Brightside, maker of steel scissors.  
*Advertiser* 21 Jan 1792 Mrs Cosins, Park, cutler deceased.  
*Courant* 14 June 1794 Sarah Biggin, Norton, scythesmith bankrupt.  
*Courant* 23 Jan 1796 Mary Rose, widow of late William Rose carries on plumber and glazier business.  
*Iris* 29 Sept 1797 Mary Broadbent, widow of Samuel B., now agent for the Phoenix Fire Office.  
*Iris* 18 Dec 1797 Ann Mearbeck, widow of John M., carrying on late husband's plumbing and glazing business.  
*Iris* 22 June 1798 Ann Bustard, Paradise Square, cordwainer.  
*Iris* 17 Aug 1798 Ann Handley, widow, had carried on late husband's druggist business [since 1781] and now retiring.  
*Iris* 26 July 1799 Final dividend to creditors of Mary Hallam, lancet maker, deceased  
*Iris* 30 Aug 1799 Ann Humphreys a partner in silversmiths and platers' firm.  
*Iris* 20 Sept 1799 Wanted - women for finishing in ivory and wood turning business, and for varnishing and japanning.  
*Iris* 18 Oct 1799 Wanted in a manufactory - warehouse man or woman.  
*Iris* 15 Jan 1801 reference to late Mrs M'Leod, vigo button maker.  
*Iris* 30 Apl 1801 Martha Wilkinson, Norton Hammer, filesmith - illegal use of mark.  
*Iris* 14 Jan 1802 Mrs Ann Newton retiring from case making.  
*Iris* 18 Feb 1802 Ann Hobson, Heeley, meal and flour dealer - property assigned to creditors.  
*Iris* 10 Feb 1807 Ann Bowmer, widow of Joseph B., painter, of Milk Street carrying on business; has "engaged a steady man".  
*Iris* 15 May 1810 Large number of millinery advertisements.

## Newspapers (continued):

- Iris* 15 Oct 1813 E. Nicholson, widow of Joseph N., continuing hosiery business in Change Alley.
- Iris* 17 May 1814 Five milliners advertised.
- Iris* 14 Mar 1815 A. Levick continuing scale pressing and horn button business; thanks for past custom to late husband and self; moving from Hollis Croft and Solly Street to Pond Street.
- Iris* 9 Jan 1816 Mrs E. Nicholson (see above) moving hosiery business from Change Alley to Head of Market Place.
- Iris* 28 Jan 1817 Martha Holdsworth, Britannia Metal manufacturer, property assigned to creditors.
- Iris* 27 May 1817 advertisements for four different women - hats, millinery etc.
- Iris* 28 Oct 1817 Elizabeth Simpson, boots and shoes at No. 1 West Bar.
- Iris* 25 Nov 1817 Miss Creswick & Mrs Litherland, hosiers, Bank Street.
- Iris* 23 Dec 1817 Sale of glass and china stock - Miss Rivington, Market Street.
- Iris* 9 Jun 1818 lease of shop in High Street ex Miss Truelove.
- Iris* 2 Mar 1819 Mary Bower, widow, to continue druggist business, West Bar Green.
- Iris* 7 Mar 1820 Sale of established hardware business, late Mrs Moorhouse.
- Iris* 9 May 1820 Mary Wilkinson, tailor, Change Alley.
- Iris* 30 May 1820 Elizabeth Booth, tailor, Change Alley, with son and brother-in-law.
- Iris* 19 Sept 1820 Mrs Badger, milliner, retiring; replaced by Mrs. Jno Holliday.
- Iris* 3 Oct 1820 Mrs Esther Johnson, widow of Thomas J., continues in Haymarket as tailor and draper.

## Public Record Office:

RAIL 825-1 Elizabeth Drake on the Committee of the Dun Navigation 1754ff.

## Sissons Archives:

Sis 96 Roberts & Cadman debtors' Register 1786-1828; women appear to be c20% of workforce (silverplaters).

## Sun Fire Office Records (Guildhall Library, London):

- Vol 256 381868 Ann Jackson, grocer 1777
- Vol 256 382695 James Linfitt, Jonathan Witham & Jane Wright, milliners 1777
- Vol 261 391751 Ann Barlow, mantua maker 1777 (see also Wheat CIn 2501 1782)
- Vol 262 364 112 Partnership including Barbara Wreates (sic), woollen manufrs 1778.
- Vol 263 394406 Partnership including Alice Elam, hardware w'hse in London 1778.
- Vol 299 452878 Ann Genn, filesmith 1781.
- Vol 303 463621 reference to Mrs Wilson, mantua maker.

## Tibbitts Collection:

- TC 365 ff50-53 Ellen Padley, turnpike labourer, earning 1s per day c1760.
- TC 1055 (b) Inventory of Widow Mitchell 28 Jan 1739/40 includes three smithies and stock of scissors.

## WRRD Memorials:

- AS 46 58 Elizabeth Congrave, school dame 1759.  
 DO 399 513 Hannah Ellis, partner in Shalesmoor steam engine 1794.  
 DO 641 788 Mary Bell, scissorsmith, Brightside 1794.  
 EH 119 150 Elizabeth Cross, glass manufacturer.  
 EH 232 293 Ann Richardson, victualler.  
 FC 422 570 Ann Kellett, grinder, Stannington Wood end 1807.  
 FM 589 730 Elizabeth Saynor, copartner in cutlery firm 1810.  
 FN 595 748 Lydia Knowles, widow, partner in a silver firm 1811.  
 FW 237 220 Ann Proctor, optician 1812.  
 FW 523 536 Lydia Travis, farmer and widow of a filemaker 1812.  
 GH 457 505 Will of Sarah Heathcote, gardener 1815.

Young A. *A Six Month Tour Through the North of England* (1770) Vol I pp123/126  
 ". . the women and children are all employed in the various branches and earn very good wages, much more than by spinning wool in any part of the kingdom".

## Appendix 6 (MD 3035)

## A PARTICULAR OF FIXTURES

AT

The Tontine Inn and Buildings, paid for by the  
Subscribers.

## IN THE KITCHEN.

Range with Top Bar and Frog—Oven—Smoke Jack—Six Stoves, and Covers to five of them—  
Set Pot—Sink Stone—Strong Dreffler—Table with two Drawers opposite the Stoves—and two  
Shelves over it.

## IN THE SLAP KITCHEN.

Strong Dreffler—Sink Stone—Two Set Pots—Range, and two Shelves.

## IN THE KITCHEN LARDER.

Three Shelves and three Square Rails across the Place.

## IN THE BAR STORE ROOM.

Two Tables fixed to the Wall, one with four Drawers—five Shelves, and two Square Rails.

## IN THE BAR.

Bath Stove—Cupboard on the left Hand of the Fire Place—Cupboard, Writing Desk and Drawers  
in the Bow Window—Lead Cistern—Bottle Rack—Frame for Liquor Casks, and Cupboard, with  
Glas Frames complete, next the Passage.

## IN THE BAR PARLOUR.

Dreffler with nine Drawers—three Shelves—Cupboard on each side the Fire Place, and Fire Range.

## IN THE ROOM OVER THE BAR.

Large Cloaths Press, and Cupboard fitted to the left Hand of the Fire Place.

## IN THE LONG ROOM.

Two Large Pier Glasses—Seven Tin Candle Branches, and Sconces, and two Bath Stoves:

## IN THE LONG GALLERY.

Rail for Hat Pins—Globe Bell Lamp with fixed Iron Frame at each End.

## IN THE CELLARS.

Hundred and Twenty-six Feet of Gantries and Wine Bins.

## IN THE HOUSE.

Eighteen House Bells with Wires, Cranks, and Pullies complete, Ranges to all the Rooms—Locks  
and Fastenings to all the Doors.

## IN THE BREWHOUSE.

Large Lead Cistern and all the Water Pipes from the Main Branch in the Street, and from the Cistern  
into the House.

## AT THE FRONT GATEWAY.

Two Bell Lamps and Frames.

## IN THE INNER COURT.

Three Bell Lamps and Frames.

## IN THE STABLE YARD.

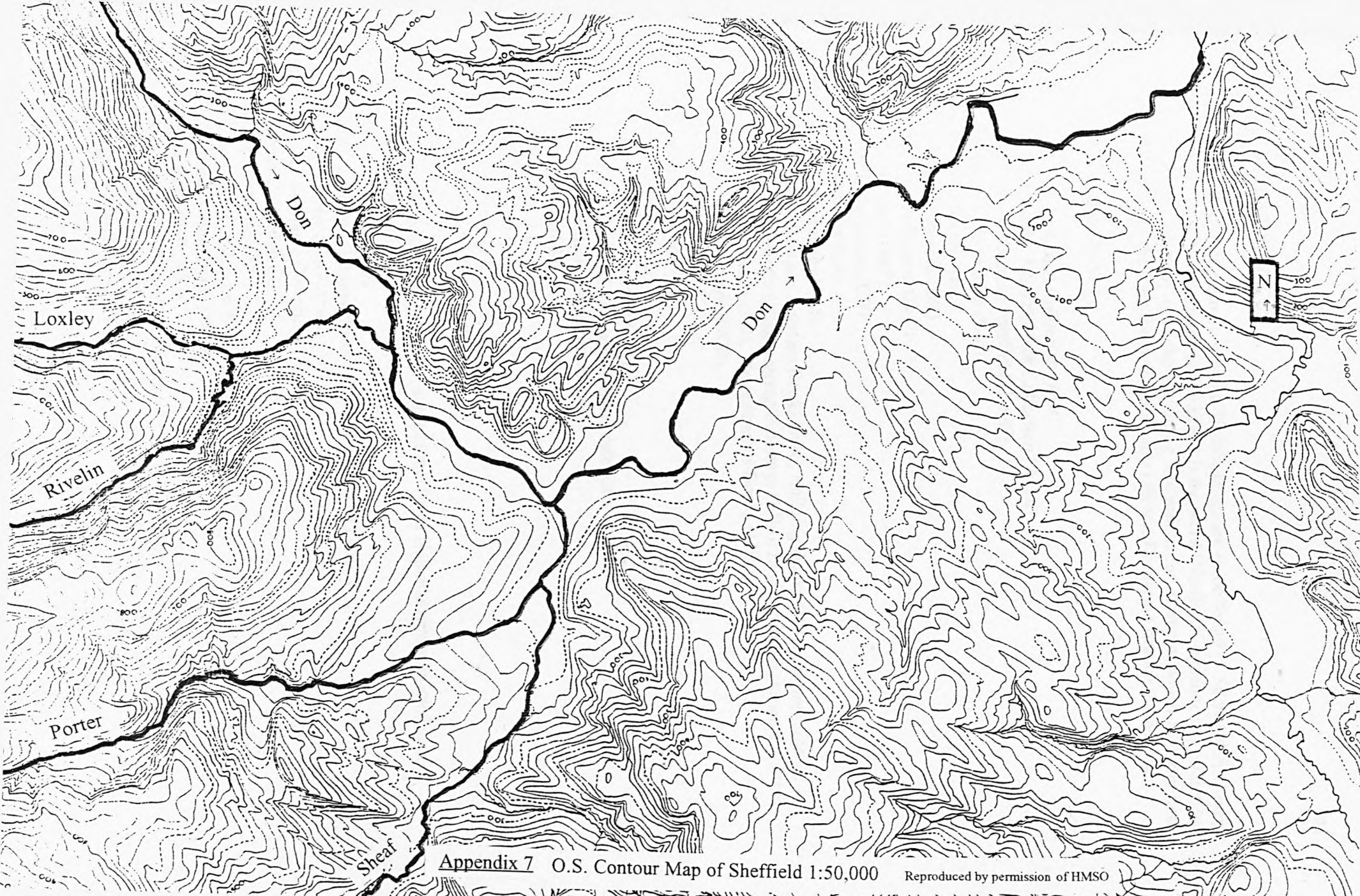
Bell Lamp and Frame—Pump and large Stone Trough.

## IN THE STABLES.

All the five Stables, in the large Quadrangular Stable Yard, divided into single Standings, with  
close Framed Partitions—Racks and Mangers complete—the long Shed and back Stables open  
Stalls—Saddle and Harness Rails and Pegs through the whole.

## IN THE HOUSE ADJOINING.

Bath Stove, Fire Ranges in all the Rooms,



**Appendix 7** O.S. Contour Map of Sheffield 1:50,000 Reproduced by permission of HMSO



## PRIMARY SOURCES

The majority of primary sources for this thesis are to be found in Sheffield Archives. Only if possible confusion is envisaged is the word "Sheffield" appended to references from this location, as to the Bagshawe Collection, for example, which is partly here and partly in the John Rylands University Library, Deansgate Branch, Manchester.

### Sheffield Archives

Alderson and Dust Collection (ADC)  
 Arundel Castle MSS/Norfolk Collection (ACM)  
 Bagshawe Collection Sheffield (BagC)  
 Beauchief Muniments (BM)  
 Bland Collection (BC)  
 Bradbury Records (BR)  
 Bramley Collection (BrC)  
 Bright Papers (BrP)  
 Church Burgesses (CB)  
 City Archives (CA)  
 Crewe Muniments (CM)  
 Fairbank Collection: Account Books (AB), Building Books (BB), Correspondence & Papers (CP), Engineering/Buildings (EBu), Engineering/Waterworks (EWa), Field Books (FB), Miscellaneous Books (MB)  
 Gas Company Records (GCR)  
 Jackson Collection (JC)  
 Leader Collection (LC)  
 Loan Deposits (LD)  
 Miscellaneous Documents (MD)  
 National Register of Archives (NRA) calendars or copies  
 Newman and Bond Collection (NBC)  
 Oakes Deeds (OD)  
 Osborne Records (OR)  
 Parker Collection (PC)  
 Parish Records (PR)  
 Photocopy Collection (Ph/C)  
 Rate Books (RB)  
 Sheffield Deeds Registry (SDR): some at the Town Hall and with restricted access.  
 Sheffield Smelting Company (SSC)  
 Sissons Records (Sis)  
 South Yorkshire County Record Office Deposits (SYCRO)  
 Staveley Ironworks Records (SIR)  
 Spencer-Stanhope Collection (Sp/St)  
 Tibbitts Collection (TC)  
 Town Trustees (TT)  
 Watson Esam Collection (WE)  
 Wharncliffe Muniments (WhM)  
 Wheat Collection (WC)  
 Wentworth Woodhouse/Fitzwilliam Muniments (WWM)  
 Wilson of Broomhead Deeds (Wild)  
 Younge Wilson Deeds (YWD)

West Yorkshire Record Office and Archives, Wakefield

West Riding Registry of Deeds (WRRD) Volumes B, U, MM to HN, and B 23-25 (1724-1821)  
 Land Tax Assessments QE 13/16/series (1781-1800)  
 Quarter Sessions Records Indictments (QS 4/29ff) & Orders (QS10/18ff) 1737ff  
 Calendars of Recognizances for Alehouses QE 32/48-54 1771-1803

Other Archives and Repositories

Beverley Record Office John Curr's letters re Attercliffe coal bed at Carbrook (DDSE [2] 13)  
 Birmingham Assay Office Boulton Archives; Letter Boxes A & M  
 Borthwick Institute, York Wills and Inventories; Archbishop's Visitation Returns 1743 & 1764  
 British Museum Library, London Additional MSS 27538 ff38-579  
 Guildhall Archives and Library, London Sun (11936/253-352) and Royal Exchange(7253/8ff)  
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 Hull Local History Library Archives Wray & Hollingworth Letter Books (L615.7); Wright &  
 Twigg Letters (L382.5D); Ships' Log Books (L387.2); Port Records (L387.1)  
 Hull Record Office Water Bailiff Accounts (WB 12-30)  
 Hull University Archives Sykes Letter Books (DDSY 101)  
 John Rylands University Library Archives, Manchester Richard Dalton's Letter Books  
 (Bagshawe Manuscripts 5/4/1-3); Correspondence of Thomas Holy (Methodist Records)  
 Public Record Office, Kew River Dun Navigation Records (RAIL 825 1-14); Life Annuities/  
 Consols (NDO 1 & 2); Taxation Records (T47/2-5 & 8)  
 Rotherham Archives Bosville (and Parkin) Pedigree  
 Royal Bank of Scotland Archives, London Sheffield & Rotherham Bank Ledgers 1792-1804  
 (SR 38/1-3)  
 Scarborough Library Original Documents relating to Yorkshire 20/12/1734  
 Sharrow Snuff Mill (Private) Archives, Sheffield Ledgers 1 & 2  
 Sheffield Assay Office Library and Archives Assay Office Register; Cash Book 1773-1785;  
 Old Records Box; Plate Books; Rough Day Book; Summary Book 1774ff  
 Sheffield Museum Painting and Print Collection, Kelham Island  
 York Minster Library and Archives *Sheffield Weekly Journal* and *Sheffield Advertiser*

PRINTED SOURCES

Sheffield Local Studies Library

Acts of Parliament relating to Sheffield - Turnpikes, Market, Canal etc (in bound volumes)  
 Directories - extant copies 1774, 1787, 1797, 1814, 1817, 1821 and ff  
 IGI microfiches for biographical details of Richard Dalton, Thomas Leader, Henry Tudor and the  
 Younge family  
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 Local Pamphlets - Vol 65 (12/13) R.E. Leader: *The Early Sheffield Banks* (1917); Vol 97 (7)  
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 Proprietors of the Soho Engines* (revised by James Montgomery 1809)  
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 and Tayler 1832

Newspapers *Advertiser/Public Advertiser, Register, Courant and Iris* (on microfilm) A few copies of *Sheffield Weekly Journal* 1755/56 and early *Advertiser* are at York Minster Library  
 Newspaper Cuttings - Vol 17(S) p9 Garden Street Chapel; Vol 35(SF) p154 Catholic Chapel, Norfolk Row  
 Photographic Collection Thomas Oughtibridge's North Perspective View of Sheffield (c1737)  
 Printed List of Water and Steam Mills 1794 (or "1794 List")  
*Sheffield Local Register*

### Sheffield University Library

#### *House of Commons Journals*

*Iris* (bound)

Lambert S. series *Parliamentary Sessional Papers* (18th century)

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