

WORSBROUGH

**Change and Continuity in the Society, Economy
and Buildings of a South Yorkshire township
1600 - 1851.**

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SUMMARY

Changes and continuities in the South Yorkshire township of Worsbrough are examined in detail, bringing together documentary, environmental and archaeological evidence in an analysis of the development of the township from a rural, mainly agricultural, community to one dominated by heavy industry in the mid-nineteenth century. This progression is viewed through the involvement of, and effects on, the whole range of Worsbrough society, placing the changes in a regional and national context.

A review of the natural resources within the township boundaries considers both their potential for exploitation in establishing a successful settlement and the problems of communication which affected economic development. A brief review of the early history of Worsbrough establishes the manorial structure and the role of the church, important influences in the development of the township.

Surveys of surviving early buildings in Worsbrough, many with related Probate Inventories, illustrate the changing fortunes of different levels of society, providing a context for a review of the demographic changes throughout the period. The structure of the society is examined with statistical analysis of the composition and variability of the population. Aspects of social behaviour and control are investigated, including provision for the poor and sick, related to the activities of the church and manor officers.

The economic structure of the township is examined, emphasising the interaction of industry and agriculture, with particular reference to the stress generated in the community as Worsbrough developed into an industrialised urban township in the early nineteenth century.



Worsbrough Town Gate
19th century etching

(Joseph Wilkinson - History of Worsborough)

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Abbreviations

BLHA = Barnsley Local History Archive
BIHR = Borthwick Institute of Historical Research
EHR = *Economic History Review*
EM = Elmhirst Muniments
FB = Fairbank Collection
HAS = *Hunter Archaeological Society Transactions*
MBC = Monk Bretton Priory Chartulary
MCR = Manor Court Rolls
NBC = Newman Bond Collection
PMA = *Post Medieval Archaeology Journal*
SA = Sheffield Archive
SIR = Staveley Ironworks Records
SMR = Sites & Monuments Record
SYCAS = South Yorkshire Archaeological Services
SYCRO = South Yorkshire County Record Office
VWM = Vernon Wentworth Muniments
WhM = Wharncliffe Muniments
WYRD = West Yorkshire Registry of Deeds
WYAS = West Yorkshire Archive Service
YAJ = *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Journal*
YASRS = *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Worsbrough may be readily overlooked amongst the conurbations of South Yorkshire. It has produced no famous names in politics, commerce, science or literature, despite attempts by Victorian antiquaries to rectify the latter by drawing attention to the birth of Edith Turner, mother of the poet Alexander Pope, at Worsbrough in 1642, and the achievement of Dr. Obadiah Walker, born at Worsbrough in 1616, who became Master of University College, Oxford, about 1670.

No major battle was fought on its soil, even being untouched by the Civil War other than a minor skirmish on a nearby Common; no great landowner adopted it as a country estate to initiate improvements in agriculture or architecture. It failed to become a market centre, being forestalled in the Middle Ages by its once insignificant neighbour Barnsley, which was better placed geographically and better connected in medieval politics through the Cluniac Priory at Pontefract. Worsbrough's numerous small industries prospered mainly in supplying the needs of local self-sufficiency and a limited regional demand, until transport changes in the nineteenth century provided access to a wider market.

In 1872 the Barnsley historian Joseph Wilkinson published his "*Worsborough, its Historical Associations and Rural Attractions*"¹ which, true to the genre of the day, was anecdotal in style with a primary interest in the gentry families of the area and their extension into the higher levels of 'polite society'. It is not the aim of this study to compile a revised history of Worsbrough, to correct and augment Wilkinson's work, though necessary on occasion, but rather to examine the social and economic development of the township in its regional setting from the time of changes in mid-sixteenth century. During the early modern period, change was inevitable but in Worsbrough, as Professor

Hoskins could claim in Wigston, '*It was still fundamentally a community of small peasants living in a familiar, almost timeless, world in which there was plenty of hard work and yet plenty of leisure, and in which a man could still have a dignity and self-respect.*'² The sudden and comprehensive transformation of Worsbrough in the early nineteenth century, when the old order collapsed under the strains of industrialisation, was sufficiently advanced by 1851, at the close of this study, to set the scene for the modern urban Worsbrough.

Similar studies offer opportunities to follow the changes and continuities in an agricultural rural community, for example, at Myddle in Shropshire³, or the devastation of early industrialisation seen at Whickham on Tyneside⁴, or again the example of Wigston Magna in Leicestershire⁵ where, though industry intruded, it failed to dominate and other forces destroyed the established structure.

In seeking to examine a "social entity" seen by Finberg⁶ as, '*A set of people occupying an area with defined territorial limits and so far united in thought and action as to feel a sense of belonging together*', the range of those limits is something of which the local historian must be forever conscious. It is not to be a local history *per se*, nor a localisation of national history, but rather an examination of a social entity within a wider community with which the indigenous population could identify, whether it be an administrative area, market town hinterland, pays or occupational grouping.⁷

The study of a provincial community, its kinship and occupational links with the wider community, can bring a reality to the events in the scale of national history in the sense that knowledge of the elements has to precede an understanding of the compound. Although the core of the Worsbrough community can be related to its county neighbourhood and beyond, and even more precisely to its immediate social/economic neighbourhood, its contribution to national history is one of reacting to external events and

pressures, rather than in their initiation.

Given the variety of natural provision every settlement enjoyed and the diversity of development, each has to be unique. Comparing and contrasting the growing number of examples of local studies can lead to a better understanding of the processes and effects of national history. The choice of Worsbrough for such a study was influenced partly by its geographical position, where the rural landscape of the Pennine foothills merges into the industrial heart of South Yorkshire, retaining elements of both within its boundaries, and also its history which reflects the changes in social/economic structure as urbanisation progressed. The development of heavy industry, with its associated density of population, which occurred in discrete areas of the township, mainly on marginal land, left much of the earlier agricultural landscape largely undisturbed, providing a juxtaposition of evidence of the ancient rural economy and a modern urban industrial setting.

These two conflicting views of Worsbrough, the rural and the urban, are graphically demonstrated in the choice of route through the township from Sheffield to Barnsley. When Arthur Young made the journey in 1771 he found, "*The country between Sheffield and Barnsley is in general good and well cultivated*".⁸ This is the impression of Worsbrough along the modern M1 motorway; a rural agricultural landscape of centuries-old houses, great and small, amongst its fields and woodlands.

Along the A61 trunk road, however, it is a constant scene of industry and urban sprawl recalling Cobbett's jaundiced view of the area in 1830 - "*All the way along from Leeds to Sheffield it is coal and iron, and iron and coal*".⁹ Though not an unbiased commentator, and suffering a bad cold at the time, he reflects the opposing view that Worsbrough presents. Had he made the journey twenty years later he could have added a glassworks to his distaste of industrial spoliation.

Joseph Hunter writing in 1831 claimed, "*Nothing can*

destroy the beauty of the vale of Worsbrough through which the gentle river Dove winds its way".¹⁰ Many have tried and, in the century following the end of this research period (1851), almost succeeded, though industry has now receded and much of the beauty returns.

Documentary evidence is sparse and scattered. No pre-Conquest charters have survived, nor are any surveys of the area known until the time of the 1814 Enclosure Act and the 1837 Tithe Commutation Award which produced the earliest maps of the township. Manorial Court records are few; seven early medieval Court Rolls for one of the three manors have been located and four nineteenth century Rolls for a second; the third is better represented from the mid-seventeenth to the nineteenth century, but no records have survived from Nun Appleton Priory, the ecclesiastical owners of Worsbrough at the Dissolution.

Relatively few Wills are available and, during a clearance in the Archbishop of York's Diocesan record office in the last century, all Worsbrough probate inventories prior to 1690 were destroyed.

Of the major landowners who emerged in the early modern period only the long-stay Elmhirst family has preserved an archive. Almost all the archive of the Edmunds family, who were to own the greater part of the township, was lost (together with an unknown quantity of other local material) when deliberately destroyed in the later nineteenth century. The little which survived has become dispersed in a variety of collections. On the credit side, the Parish Registers are complete from the mid-sixteenth century and a number of the account books of the various parish officers remain to give insight into the composition and conduct of a wide section of the community from the seventeenth century.

Archaeological evidence is less than might be desired as the region lacked the glamour to attract early antiquaries, such as Stukeley in the eighteenth century, whose inquiries into the splendid sites of southern England led them to a wider enquiry into man's impact on the

landscape. Even the nineteenth century archaeologists of the "barrow digger" period saw little of interest in the region. The situation is slowly improving and, though much remains to be investigated in the face of rapid changes in the landscape through modern industry and housing, evidence from the ground is growing to augment the deficiency in documentary material.

A major asset for the historian seeking to follow the progress of Worsbrough from an agrarian to a mainly industrial community is the unusual, and for South Yorkshire unique, survival within the township of a wide range of buildings associated with its past from medieval to modern, representing all ranks of local society. As many can be related to their occupants at various periods, they offer an opportunity to illustrate the way of life, and something of the social structure of Worsbrough, during the changes of the early modern period.

Despite the twentieth century urge to demolish and rebuild, there are few places in England which lack buildings recalling an earlier social structure and which act as meccas for tourists. Although Worsbrough is unlikely ever to be such a mecca, its surviving houses and farms are no less valuable in illustrating the development of a community in the heartland of an industrial complex, where preservation of the past has taken a somewhat low priority. Few of the region's towns and villages are unable to boast examples of buildings from a past age - the eighteenth century Baroque mansion of the Earls of Strafford at Stainborough; the lesser mansion by John Carr for the Spencer family at Cawthorne; the half-timbered Banks Hall in Silkstone parish.

None of the neighbouring parishes, however, compare to Worsbrough where, within its mere five square miles, over forty houses, many with associated outbuildings, have been identified as built before the mid-eighteenth century. They range in status from a seventeen room 16th century manor house to an 18th century two room labourer's cottage and in

style from a fifteenth century vernacular timber house to seventeenth century polite architecture. The poor survival of Probate Inventory, Estate and Manor records for the area limits the range of investigation compared to that made possible at Stoneleigh in Warwickshire¹¹, for example, but sufficient remains to place the buildings and their occupants within the context of development of Worsbrough. A major concern of this study has been the systematic investigation and surveying of this remarkable collection of buildings.

Professor Haley eruditely summarised the historian's dilemma: *"Change and causation are difficult conceptsThey are apt, like two Cheshire cats, to vanish under prolonged contemplation. As soon as one starts to 'take it to pieces' one finds some bits are missing, that others instead of working together seem to work against one another, and it is not easy to sort out the really important bits from the minor ones. Above all, one finds that they are not really pieces of machinery at all, but people, and as such cannot be measured or subjected to scientific tests on which all observers agree"*.¹²

The challenge at Worsbrough was to bring together the variety of fragmentary evidences to seek the important bits in recreating the community and landscape of the early modern township, then examine the changes of the nineteenth century, which produced the present dichotomy of rural and industrial aspect, and review their effect on its people.

NOTES:

1.0 INTRODUCTION.

1. Wilkinson, J., *Worsborough: Its Historical Associations*, (1872) Barnsley.
2. Hoskins, W.G., *The Midland Peasant* (1957) London, 246.
3. Hey, D., *An English Rural Community: Myddle Under the Tudors and Stuarts*, (1974) Leicester
4. Levine, D & Wrightson, K, *The Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham 1560-1765*, (1991) Oxford.

5. Hoskins, W.G., *op.cit.*
6. Finberg, H.P.R., 'Local History' in Finberg and Skipp V.H.T, *Local History: Objective and Pursuit*, (1967) 33
7. The inherent problem of the limitation of a 'provincial horizon' is succinctly assessed within a wide-ranging review of a new understanding of the relationship of 'national' and 'local' history in Phythian-Adams, C., *Rethinking English Local History*, Occasional Paper 1, Department of English Local History (1991) Leicester.
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9. Cobbett, W., *Rural Rides*, Vol.2 (Everyman Ed. 1912) 217.
10. Hunter J., *South Yorkshire*, (1831) 281.
11. Alcock, N.W., *People at Home Living in a Warwickshire Village 1500-1800*, (1993) Chichester.
12. Haley, K.H.D., *The Study of the Past*, Inaugural lecture 30 January 1963, Sheffield University.

2.0 REGIONAL CONTEXT

Worsbrough township adjoins the southern boundary of Barnsley Metropolitan Borough in the north-west of the county of South Yorkshire. The county had been created in 1974 as an administrative entity, following a revision of county boundaries, but in 1986 lost its separate identity, becoming fragmented into four Metropolitan areas centred on Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham and Sheffield, yet retaining a geographic (and postal) recognition as a discrete area to which its inhabitants can still identify as residents of a region called "South Yorkshire".

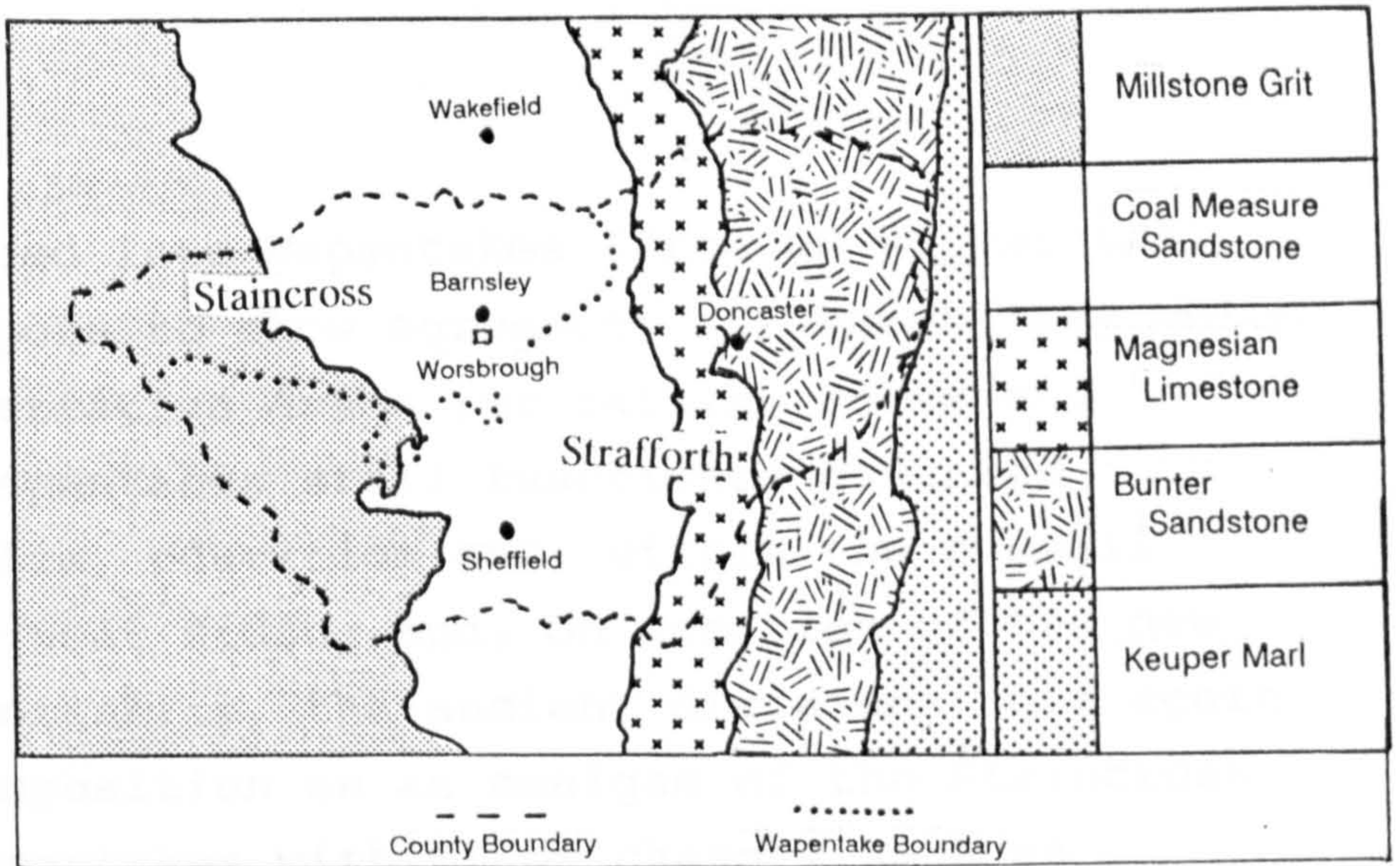
This apparently anomalous recognition of an English county which has no practical existence is not as illogical as first appears. Though it will be seen that the variations in landscape and occupations across the region do little to suggest homogeneity, there has long been a sense of unity which may have its roots in ancient regional divisions. It is, perhaps, not without significance that the group of Iron Age hillforts across the central area¹ indicate the southern limit of the Celtic kingdom of Brigantia (Fig.2.1). Centuries later a similar southern limit to the Northumbrian Danish kingdom was agreed when in 830 the Northumbrians submitted to Egbert of Wessex at Dore to the south of Sheffield and which long remained Yorkshire's southern frontier. The Meers Brook forming part of this line derives from a Celtic word for boundary.²

The political boundary was similarly reflected in the medieval establishment of the diocese of York where the Deanery of Doncaster approximated to what became the county of South Yorkshire - a congruence which no doubt influenced Joseph Hunter in selecting a title for his major work on the area in 1828 as being "*South Yorkshire: The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*".

Yorkshire, excluding the city of York, had been divided into 'Ridings' (from ON *thrithiungr*, three parts) under Viking administration, namely North, East and West. These



A



B

C

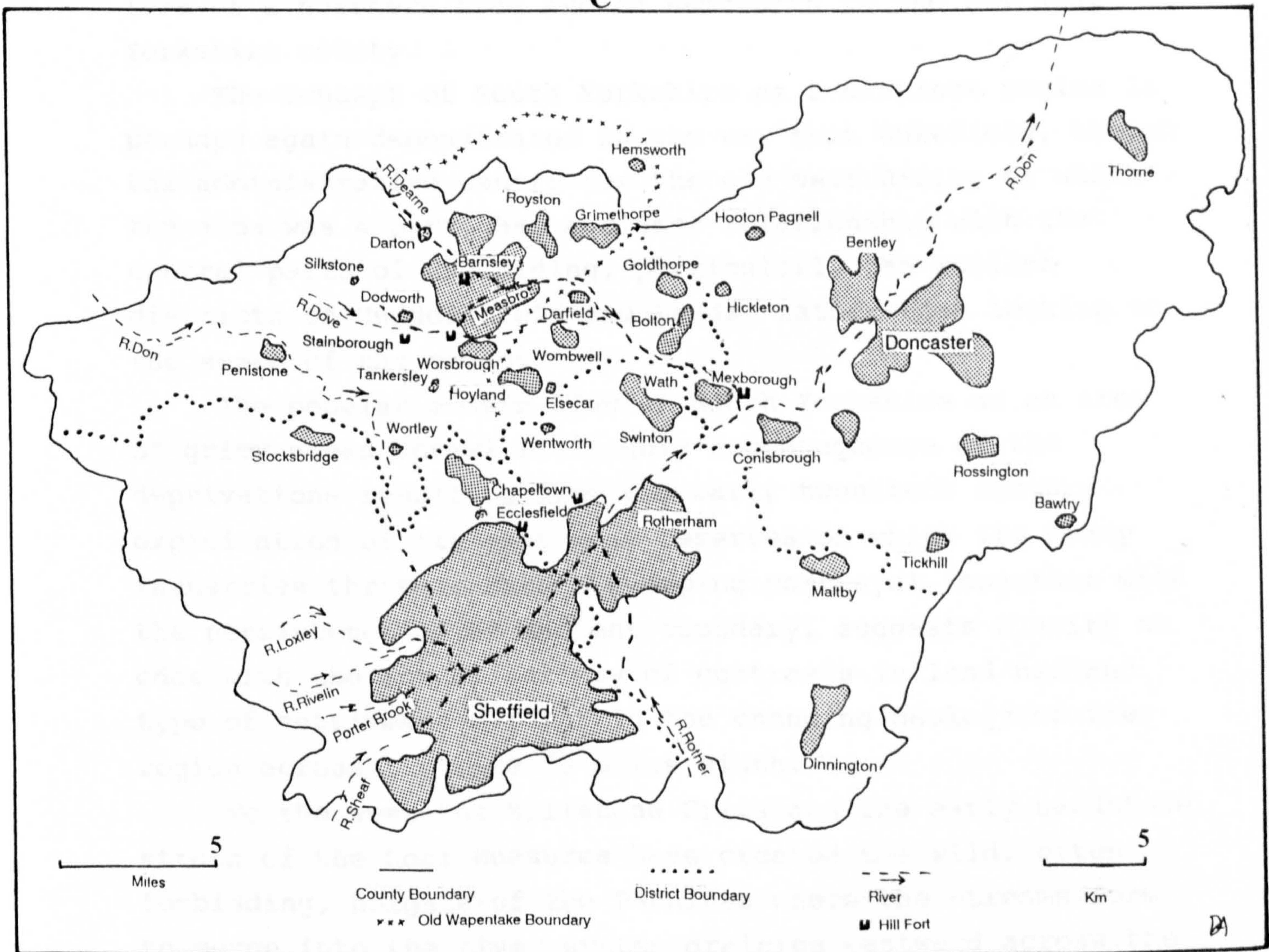


Fig. 2.1 SOUTH YORKSHIRE

were then subdivided into Wapentakes (from ON *vapnan tak*, the waving of weapons to show agreement at assemblies) which became the administrative areas for raising taxes and armies. In 1974 Wapentakes still functioned as units administering police, education etc. within the overall management of the West Riding and, on creation of the new county of South Yorkshire, the ancient divisions were again evident in its composition as an amalgam of the Staincross and Strafforth Wapentakes with minor changes such as extending the southern boundary into Derbyshire to accommodate the expanding housing needs of Sheffield and loss of a northern area around Hemsworth to the new West Yorkshire county.

The concept of South Yorkshire as a distinct region is perhaps again demonstrated in the way that Wakefield, though the administrative centre for the old West Riding of which the area was a part, had a closer relationship with the central parts of the Riding, particularly the woollen districts of Huddersfield and Leeds, rather than looking to the south of the region.

The popular modern view of South Yorkshire as an area of grimy urban sprawl is largely a consequence of the deprivations resulting from the early twentieth century exploitation of its vast coal reserves on which its heavy industries thrived. Such a sweeping portrayal, together with the persistence of an ancient boundary, suggests a unity at odds with the actual variety of contrasts in land use and type of settlement evident in the changing geology of the region across its mere 35 miles width.

To the west the Millstone Grits and the early sandstone strata of the Coal Measures have created the wild, often forbidding, heights of the Pennines where the streams form to merge into the river system draining eastward across the county, culminating in the Don to join the Humber (Fig.2.1)³. The treeless bogs and heathers of the uplands are still largely untamed and given over to sheep. The area was settled late and is characterised by the scattered

farmsteads and tiny hamlets seeking protection in the valleys, with Penistone on its lower slopes developing into its social and commercial focus. The stark gritstone of the buildings and miles of dry stone walls enclosing the fields wrested from the moor to create green pasture for livestock and which, over the intervening centuries have crept piecemeal up the heights, create the distinctive landscape of the Pennine foothills.

Further east in the central area of the county the landscape of the Coal Measure sandstones is one of pleasant rolling scenery punctuated by steep escarpments. Here are, *"well-wooded, often sequestered valleys deeply cut by busy streams... The ravages of industrial development have by no means destroyed the subtlety of geomorphic expression in areas which are arable and pastoral."*⁴ The mixed patterns of ancient 'town fields' of established villages and the closes of scattered farmsteads amongst once thick woodlands, though greatly altered during later exploitation of the rich coal seams underlying this central area, still bear witness to a thriving mixed farming economy, pastoral and arable.

Two exceptions to the general changes affecting settlements in this central area are Barnsley and Sheffield. The former was not only to be recognised as the focal point of the Yorkshire coalfield but, particularly in the early modern period, became the major market centre for the north of the county and a magnet for immigration, as suggested by its population rise from about 800 in 1700 to over 3600 at the first national census in 1801, when surrounding settlements could barely reach 1000, and exerted a considerable influence over a widening geographical area.⁵ Sheffield grew even more rapidly as the nation's steel capital, developing from its medieval cutlery industry in what was once called Hallamshire, and eventually outstripping all other towns in South Yorkshire; the population of its central township, for example, grew from 31314 in 1801 to 83447 in 1851, trebling compared to the national doubling of population.⁶

Worsbrough lies where the two differing environments of

Gritstone and Coal Measures merge, giving the best and worst of both worlds. Whilst it is true that Worsbrough has suffered the effects of industrialisation, it has perhaps untypically for the region retained much of its earlier environment. Evidence points to the local contrast once being greater than is now visible, when, for example, an entry in the Parish Register for 31 October 1624 tells of "*Ralphe Morton hurt of the moore towards Tankersley by a fall of a horse*". In the 1720s Defoe visited Tankersley Hall near the parish boundary and set off towards Barnsley "... *over vast moors, I had almost said waste moors...*" and, in trying to account for the prevailing epithet 'Black Barnsley', considered it due to the "... *black hue or colour of the moors, which being covered with heath, or heather as 'tis called in that country, look all black*".⁷ Clearly the two miles from Tankersley to Worsbrough were not then the attractive grazing pastures of today's legacy from the eighteenth century advances in agriculture anticipated by Arthur Young's experience in 1771.⁸

Travelling east from Worsbrough, the heavy industry of the later nineteenth century has transformed the central area, particularly along the valleys of the Dove and Dearne from Barnsley through Wath and Mexborough (Fig.2.1), where the mellow sandstone of the houses and field walls became blackened and the expanding population was increasingly housed in monotonous rows of brick terraces. Few early settlements were unaffected by the expanding industries and the majority are now virtually lost beneath a later mining village. The Domesday settlement of Goldthorpe, for example, is now a sprawl of red-brick housing approaching the size of a small town but lacking a town's amenities and, until recently, dominated by its colliery. However, only a mile further east, up the minor escarpment where the five-mile wide ridge of Magnesian Limestone crosses the county, the village of Hickleton is untouched by industry, its mellow stone cottages bordering the estate wall of Hickleton Hall. When the village was rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century

in a vernacular seventeenth-century style by Sir Francis Wood, he ensured Hall and village were unspoilt and retained their charm by housing the miners out of sight near the colliery at Goldthorpe.⁹ Similarly at Hooton Pagnell where *'every single acre of the village belongs to the Lord of the Manor'* an estate village has been preserved as an agricultural community.¹⁰ However, where no lord or strong local squire dominated as industry expanded in the later decades of the nineteenth century, the pattern of industrial change continues eastward across the region. Villages such as Conisbrough, Maltby and Dinnington have been transformed and at New Edlington, as the name implies, a new village was created half a mile away from the original Edlington.

The later and, for the old villages, more destructive effect of coal mining in the east of the region was a direct consequence of the deeper and larger mines necessary to reach the rich seams such as the Barnsley and the Silkstone beds, following the west to east decline of the strata. Coal mining in the west of the area around Barnsley in villages such as Worsbrough, Silkstone and Dodworth grew from an ancient industry carried on by family units on a small scale, whereas those to the east were a late nineteenth century phenomenon which made labour demands beyond the capacity of the indigenous population and attracted great numbers of immigrants seeking work. At the close of the period under review (1851) the full effect on the landscape of this population growth had yet to be realised and the rural scene of village and hamlet in this eastern area of the Coal Measure Sandstones still differed little from the impression provided by Jeffreys' 1770s map of Yorkshire.

The Magnesian Limestone band, noted as at Hickleton above, forms an introduction to a further change as the flat landscape of the rich fertile Permian plain emerges. Settlements are few and of compact form, with open fields rather than scattered farmstead holdings, set in long empty stretches of fenland drained since the early seventeenth century, following initial efforts by Vermuyden¹¹ in the

1620s, to produce the open landscape of the peat levels of Thorne and leading to the flat expanse of the Lincolnshire district of Lindsey beyond Bawtry.

A major feature of the early history in this eastern end of the region is the navigable limit of the South Yorkshire river system. Imports/exports for the industrial areas in the south of the county passed through Bawtry on the Idle as the nearest river port, where access could be gained to the Trent. Hides were imported, for example, and Spanish steel for the Sheffield cutlers; from here their products were exported, together with millstones and lead from north Derbyshire.¹² Alternatively, the north of the county was well-served by Doncaster, at the navigation limit of the Don, which has been a market centre since the Middle Ages and a vital crossing of the river at least since the Romans established their transport system up the Great North Road. It was the area's major link with the outside world of sea traffic, despite the long haul to its wharves from the Pennine foothills across the wetlands beyond the limestone ridge; the situation was not to change until the nineteenth century when the canal network offered the local industries an alternative. Though Doncaster has retained its importance as a market town and river crossing on the Don, it has also been affected by the deep mining of the later nineteenth century, especially in the Bentley area, and its prevailing image now is of a mining and industrial centre, rather than a focal point in the somewhat empty rural landscape still evident at the close of the eighteenth century.

The geological contrast in the county of South Yorkshire, from the unresponsive harsh moorland grits of the west to the rich fertile plains of the east within 35 miles, is dramatic in its variety and, to understand the settlement pattern which has emerged in the region, it is necessary to consider briefly the sequence of occupation. Christopher Taylor, in a postscript to Professor Hoskins's study of the English landscape, comments that contrary to an earlier vision, "*By the end of the prehistoric period England was*

crowded, perhaps overcrowded, with most of its land exploited to a great or lesser extent".¹³ Despite the paucity of present evidence there is little doubt that South Yorkshire was not exceptional and the growing body of knowledge of the period confirms the general conformity. Recent investigations by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Service and particularly the research in aerial photography by the late Dr. Riley compel a fresh view from the evidence of field pattern and settlement cropmarks.¹⁴

Few sites have been excavated but the assembly of flint artefacts found within the Worsbrough township,¹⁵ the work of Radley and Mellars at Stocksbridge and Staincross Common¹⁶, together with the series of hill-forts previously noted, suggest a widespread occupation of the area in the prehistoric period (Fig.2.1). Of the hill-forts in the Worsbrough area, Stainborough, Highstone (in Worsbrough) and Harborough (in Barnsley), only the first received antiquarian attention, when Dodsworth¹⁷ noted, "*North of Stainber, wher ther haith beene an ancient fortification call'd Staynber law.*" The enclosure was considerably altered in 1774 during the creation of a folly castle for the Earl of Strafford and, though small-scale excavations were permitted in the 1960s and 1988, convincing dating and structural evidence are still wanting.¹⁸ At Harborough Hill the fragmentary ditch and bank were destroyed in 1990 during construction of a sports complex. The massive ditch and bank defences of the Highstone fort at Worsbrough, were totally destroyed when Barnsley Borough levelled the site for playing fields.¹⁹ Each enclosed an area of about two acres and can topographically and typologically be ascribed to late Iron Age. The "Castle Hill" field near Worsbrough village, overlooking the valley towards the Stainborough hill-fort, may suggest a similar earthwork for which ground evidence is uncertain. Current investigations by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Service at the Iron Age site on Sutton Common in the east of the region reveal an extensive prehistoric settlement on the arable Permian plain.²⁰

The main Roman influence in the region has long been restricted to the legionary fort at Templeborough²¹ and the fort at Doncaster, with its associated civil settlement, defending the river crossing.²² Chance finds of coins such as at Darfield²³ and in Worsbrough²⁴ where Wilkinson has noted "...*finely worked pieces of ashlar stone, some Roman coins and human remains...*"²⁵ and the reference to a Roman altar associated with a marching camp at Kexbrough three miles north-west of Barnsley²⁶ provide tantalising glimpses of an extensive occupation yet to be explored, even though any lasting effect of Roman occupation on the local landscape appears on present evidence to be negligible.

The Romano-British period is equally poorly represented though West Bretton and Monk Bretton may perpetuate the memory of Romano/British occupation. Sites have been identified in the county at Wharncliffe and Grenoside in the south, and an archaeological excavation in the 1940s confirmed a settlement one mile east of Hickleton near Marr. Chance has preserved a site at Worsbrough on Dovecliff which awaits archaeological investigation but which appears likely to be a significant source of information for the period. Butcher's 1960s survey of the site²⁷ shows an extensive established colony which typologically conforms to the Romano-British pattern. The reasons for its abandonment are not known but it owes its present preservation to the degeneration of the Dovecliff headland into heath scrub unsuitable for the demands of later agriculture.

Though it will be seen that prehistoric occupation may well have affected some local boundaries, the main events which created the modern settlement pattern occurred in the Dark Ages when the region was colonised by Anglo/Saxon and Scandinavian opportunists. The period saw the establishment of settlements, townships and parishes which has persisted virtually unchanged to the present day. A more detailed examination of this process will here be restricted to the Staincross wapentake, representative of events across the

county, to encompass the area which provides a context for the administrative, social and economic development of Worsbrough in the period under review. (Fig.2.2)

The lack of Anglo/Saxon charters for the region places a total reliance on the 1086 Domesday survey to provide the earliest information on its settlement pattern. It is clear, however, that by then all the major settlements in the area, and the townships to which their name devolved, were firmly established, thus supporting Stenton's conclusion that, "*On the eve of the Norman Conquest the local divisions through which England was governed in the middle ages had already been drawn in outline.*"²⁸

The Dark Age migrants from the continent entered the wapentake from the east, no doubt taking advantage of the Humber and the Don to progress into the area. Worsbrough takes its name from "Wirc's burh" after the fortified settlement of an Anglo/Saxon 'Wirc' or 'Weorc'. Mapping the settlements of the wapentake as given in the Domesday survey and noting the dominant Anglo/Saxon or Scandinavian element appears at first sight to justify earlier conclusions that the ninth/tenth century Danish invaders had to move westward to a less agreeable environment as the better land had already been taken by the Anglo/Saxons (Fig.2.2). Such a simplistic view is no longer tenable. The extent to which a later migrant group took over an existing settlement that then acquired a new name is unknown, but likely to be widespread. Thurlstone, for example, combines OD pn. 'Thurulf' with A/S 'tun', suggesting an earlier farmstead re-named by a new Danish owner. From over 1800 place-names in Yorkshire Domesday, "... some 37% are either Scandinavian or hybrid Scandinavian and they are usually taken to indicate the scale of the Scandinavian settlement after 866 or 867, though whether it necessarily entailed a mass settlement of peasant soldiers, or only a displacement at the landowner level, is a matter of dispute."²⁹

Apart from its being unlikely that all those settlements in the west of the wapentake were new Danish

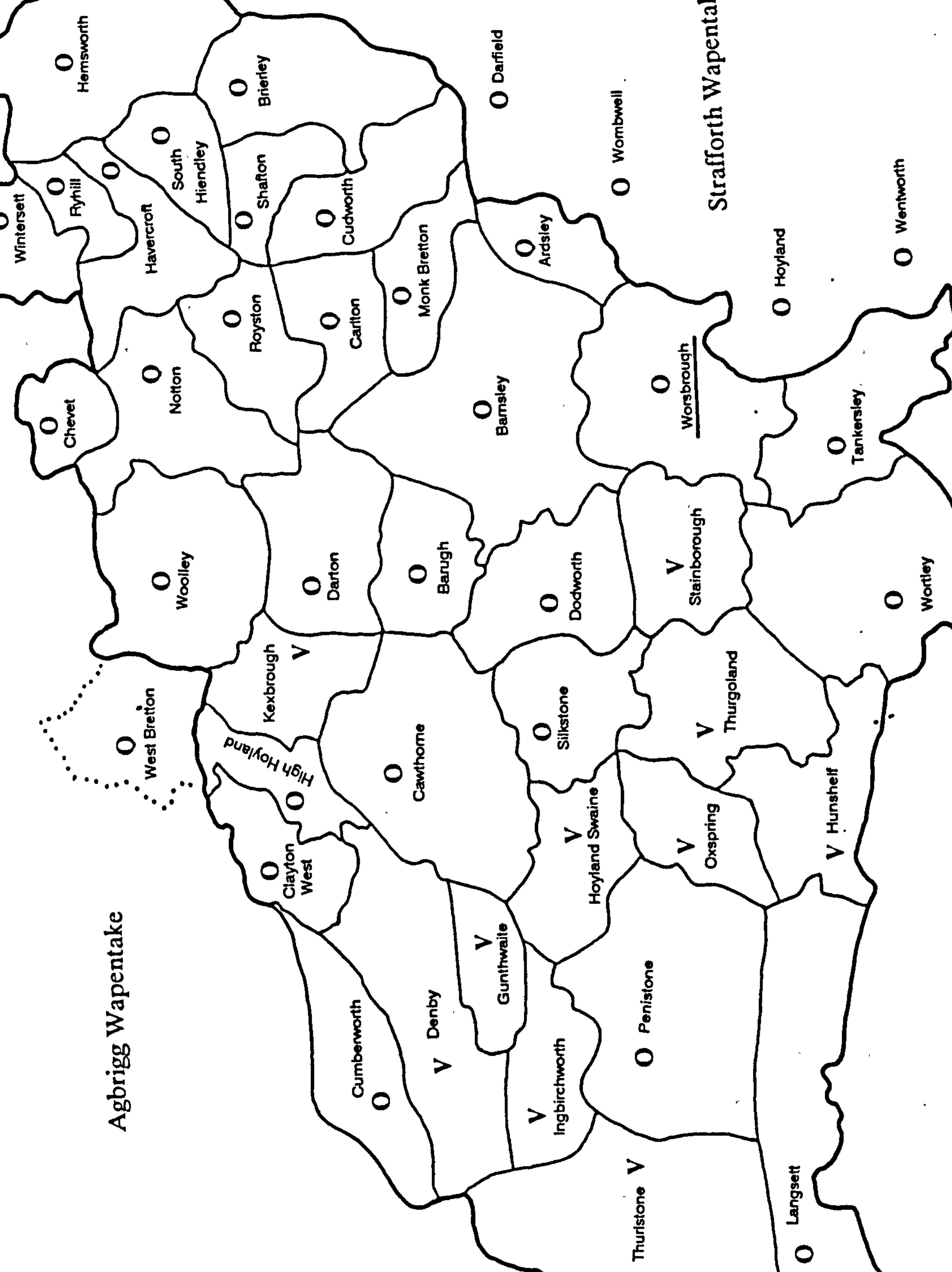


Osgodcross Wapentake

Agbrigg Wapentake

Strafforth Wapentake

Cheshire



5 Miles

5 Km

Fig. 2.2 TOWNSHIPS OF STAINCROSS WAPENTAKE

- V Scandinavian Element
- O Anglian Element

assarts, examination of place-names within all the townships (particularly of hamlets and fields) reveals a mix of both elements. A new detailed study of place-names, such as the work of the Place Names Society edited by A.H. Smith, which could incorporate the results of recent scholarship, is perhaps overdue but, despite occasional errors, Smith's volume still has no rival in its scope. An illustrative example of such errors is to be found in Worsbrough where the house and estate called the 'Yews House', known as 'Views' in the nineteenth century, was derived from 'Glewhouse' in the middle ages. Smith considers it originating from "*the house where glue was made*"³⁰ but is actually derived from the medieval assart of "Henry Glu of Wirkesburgh" whose first dated renewal of copyhold from Nun Appleton and Monk Bretton is at Martinmas, 1386, the court being held at Darley Cliff.³¹

Accepting such reservations, however, it is still possible to see the interaction of the indigenous Anglo/Saxon settlers and the new Danish arrivals. Inter-marriage and the creation of new assarts amongst the existing farmsteads produced a mingling of names which suggests colonisation, or even a merging of cultures, rather than the conquering clearance once envisaged. The majority of field/farmstead names in Worsbrough are of Anglo/Saxon origin but Swaithe (ON '*slippery place*'), Hay Green (Haga Green - *hedged enclosure*), Grymewell, Kyrkbutts, Ouslethwaite (*blackbird clearing*) and others can be ascribed to a Scandinavian origin. Similarly, examination of the township of Denby in the west, despite both its elements proclaiming Scandinavian origin (*homestead of the Danes*) shows it contains a preponderance of OE for its field names.

The roots of Scandinavian and Anglo/Saxon languages were sufficiently similar to allow comprehension and a widespread mutual borrowing of words and structures. As a consequence, giving a Danish name to a field after the Norman conquest within what appears to be an Anglo/Saxon settlement would not be unreasonable as the languages became

common. Many words with a Danish ancestry persist today in the area of the ancient Danelaw; the Danish "lake", for example, still used in the local dialect, has an Anglo/Saxon equivalent elsewhere of "play".³²

The whole question of basing any firm conclusions on place-name evidence alone is still, however, fraught with difficulties. *"The Danes did not enter an empty land, nor did they clear the land of indigenous inhabitants before turning to settlement themselves. Theirs was settlement on terms."*³³ The suffix *-by* as in Denby, generally accepted as indicating Danish origin, may say less on the timescale and direction of invasion than once thought, considering Roesdahl's suggestion that *".. such settlements came into being somewhat later when the large [English] estates were split up into smaller units and given to individuals as their private property."*³⁴

Perhaps all that can be concluded from a general survey of the place-names in the Staincross wapentake is an overall drift of Scandinavian dominance westward prior to the fixing of settlement names when compiling the Domesday survey. Of its timing nothing is known and, other than the emergence of an administrative structure based on the wapentake whose boundaries (like those of individual settlements) may well have already been in existence as Anglo/Saxon Hundreds, the impact at township level is yet to be defined.

The problem of the meaning of a place-name in Domesday will long remain. *"The record of the name of a present-day settlement in Domesday Book does not prove that it was a village or even a hamlet in 1086: it could have been a territorial name for an area of dispersed settlement."*³⁵ Furthermore, as Finn shows in his comprehensive examination of the discrepancies and errors in the Yorkshire Domesday, from even a general understanding of its composition, *"The vill would have been an impossible unit as a basis for the Inquest"*.³⁶ All the site entries recorded in Domesday, from which were derived the township names in the wapentake shown in Figure 2.2, have survived to the present as towns or

villages, excepting Chevet which was depopulated in the sixteenth century.³⁷

Their development since the 1086 record shows wide variations from a multiplicity of causes, but one further point must be considered in the problems inherent in attempting to equate Domesday entries to actual vills identifiable today as villages and towns, namely the interpretation of "waste" in the valuations. "Waste" had acquired a specific meaning in the wapentake during the early modern period, equating to uncultivated "common land" available to villagers under their rights of grazing and turbarry. The meaning of Domesday "waste" is less clear.

The majority of Domesday entries show a reduced valuation compared to that of Edward III but the Yorkshire survey provides the somewhat startling revelation that, from the total of just over 1800 places listed, 480 are returned as "waste" (27%). Attempts to explain this have been less than satisfactory. Palliser³⁸ presents a concise summary of the evidence on which to evaluate the term, questioning the almost universal picture of the effects of the '*harrying of the north*' in 1070, as seen in Muir for example writing of the "*fearful genocide*", which was based on the reports of the cleric Orderic Vitalis."³⁹

That a savage attack on the northern population occurred around 1070 is not in dispute, but the degree of its effect, both short and long term, has yet to be accurately determined. Whatever happened north of our region, Professor Hey rightly asks, "*Can we believe that .. no less than 480 settlements ... recorded in the Yorkshire folios of the Domesday Book, were deserted for at least seventeen years yet nearly all of them were subsequently resettled with their former place-names and boundaries intact?*"⁴⁰ Although Domesday Book is the region's earliest documentary source, "*It cannot be used straightforwardly as a simple index of land still lying waste seventeen years after a recorded devastation and lying waste as a result of that devastation.*"⁴¹ Interpretation of 'waste' in Domesday

Table 2.1
Population Changes; Staincross Wapentake
(East to West - see Fig.2.2)

Township	(a)1379	(b)1672	(c)1801	(c)1851
1. Hemsworth	149 (1)	318 (4)	803 (8)	997 (16)
2. Winterset	47 (18)	81 (35)	133 (38)	168 (36)
3. Ryhill	24 (32)	138 (29)	142 (37)	163 (37)
4. South Hiendley	81 (7)	171 (21)	265 (30)	321 (30)
5. Brierley	57 (11)	195 (16)	415 (20)	467 (26)
6. Havercroft	25 (30)	43 (38)	180 (34)	112 (38)
7. Shafton	49 (16)	105 (33)	174 (35)	248 (34)
8. Chevet	15 (38)	5 (40)	75 (40)	63 (40)
9. Notton	53 (13)	143 (28)	323 (27)	269 (33)
10. Royston	33 (25)	157 (25)	360 (25)	587 (21)
11. Cudworth	98 (6)	200 (13)	396 (22)	529 (23)
12. Carlton	43 (22)	157 (25)	291 (28)	337 (29)
13. Monk Bretton	68 (10)	204 (12)	480 (18)	1810 (5)
14. Woolley	52 (15)	252 (9)	565 (13)	450 (27)
15. Darton	47 (18)	309 (6)	936 (5)	1603 (7)
16. Barnsley	144 (2)	599 (1)	3606 (1)	14913 (1)
17. Ardsley	71 (9)	195 (16)	461 (19)	1528 (10)
18. Kexbrough	27 (28)	166 (22)	601 (12)	577 (22)
19. Barugh	28 (27)	166 (22)	362 (24)	1385 (12)
20. Dodworth	72 (8)	190 (18)	403 (21)	1494 (11)
21. Stainborough	19 (33)	105 (33)	227 (31)	479 (25)
22. Worsbrough	117 (3)	466 (2)	879 (6)	4277 (2)
23. Tankersley	53 (13)	181 (20)	382 (23)	833 (17)
24. West Bretton	32 (26)	52 (37)	491 (17)	492 (24)
25. High Hoyland	19 (33)	133 (30)	270 (29)	240 (35)
26. Clayton West	18 (35)	166 (22)	668 (10)	1566 (8)
27. Cawthorne	115 (5)	318 (4)	1055 (4)	1254 (13)
28. Silkstone	49 (16)	214 (11)	542 (15)	1037 (15)
29. Thurgoland	39 (23)	233 (10)	643 (11)	1548 (9)
30. Wortley	116 (4)	409 (3)	846 (7)	1095 (14)
31. Cumberworth	25 (30)	157 (25)	751 (9)	2384 (3)
32. Denby	39 (23)	257 (8)	1061 (3)	1709 (6)
33. Gunthwaite	15 (38)	29 (39)	111 (39)	77 (39)
34. Hoyland Swaine	26 (29)	190 (18)	562 (14)	690 (20)
35. Oxspring	18 (35)	109 (32)	219 (32)	278 (32)
36. Hunshelf	44 (21)	200 (13)	327 (26)	729 (19)
37. Ingbirchworth	13 (40)	57 (36)	170 (36)	393 (28)
38. Penistone	18 (35)	124 (31)	493 (16)	802 (18)
39. Thurlstone	56 (12)	309 (6)	1096 (2)	2018 (4)
40. Langsett	45 (20)	200 (13)	204 (33)	296 (31)
Total	- -	7703	21968	50218
Note: Strafforth Wapentake:				
Darfield	-	323	447	591
Wombwell	-	328	614	1627
Wentworth	-	499	978	1556

(a) Raw data - number of persons named in 1379 Poll Tax roll.

(b) Hearth Tax; occupied houses x 4.75 (Approximate population uncorrected for missing poor)

(c) National Census Return.

Note: Number in brackets = Rank Order.

remains an enigma.

As William's route through the north is understood to be east of our area, along the line of the Great North Road, a diversion into the Staincross wapentake, creating such apparent destruction, remains inexplicable. The Domesday survey assesses, in general terms, the value attached to a locality for its revenue potential to reflect land values and, in the Staincross Wapentake, the manorial holdings with which the Domesday surveyors were concerned can be identified with 33 of the present township areas, 29 being given a value at both TRE and TRW for comparison. The overall reduction in value of the wapentake is 37.6% but 14 settlements are recorded in Domesday as "now waste". It is to be noted that, in relation to Table 2.1, Barnsley was not recorded individually but listed unvalued with Keresforth, an adjacent insignificant holding, now a suburb of Barnsley.

In relating Table 2.1 to the topographical changes across the wapentake, where its eastern boundary approaches the rich soils of the Magnesian Limestone (Fig. 2.1, p.9), the group of townships 1-14 on Figure 2.2, p.18, lie on the easily worked, well-drained levels of the later Coal Measure sandstones. These townships show the average reduction in TRE/TRW value of 30% but only one, Monk Bretton, is returned as 'waste', with both Hemsworth and Shafton areas highly valued at TRE £4 respectively. The central group, which became the industrial belt, occupy the Coal Measure landscape of wooded valleys and low hills which is valued in TRE in the 20/- range with Worsbrough highest in the group at TRE £4 (reduced to TRW 30/-) and only one settlement, Darton, listed as 'waste'.

However, the picture changes dramatically in the western townships (25-40, Table 2.1), in the area dominated by the Pennine foothills, with the change from Coal Measure to Millstone Grit. Of the 13 townships in this group which can be evaluated, 11 are returned as 'waste' suggesting that whatever the commissioners valued as a potential source of income was lacking.

Unfortunately, comparative values on this basis cannot be projected forwards in time to measure the progress (or otherwise) of the townships and provide a background to the development of Worsbrough. Recourse must be made to changes in population to reflect relative prosperity, assuming the availability of land and work as incentives for immigration and procreation. Estimates of population, however, present their own difficulties and the four years selected for comparison in Table 2.1 are primarily intended to provide approximate rankings to highlight changes, not definitive population totals.

This is particularly true of the 1379 Poll Tax return⁴² for which only the raw data of the head count are given to provide a ranking, in view of the difficulties of its conversion to a population total when it records only a measure of property wealth other than land. In addition, the number too poor to pay is totally unknown and all under 14 are excluded, as are clerics of all hues. Moreover, by 1379 the Poll Tax scheme itself had, in Professor Beresford's phrase, "*lost its novelty*" and an unknown proportion of inhabitants escaped assessment⁴³.

The series of seventeenth century Hearth Tax returns,⁴⁴ of which the 1672 is the most complete for the wapentake, perhaps suffers less from evasion but, in comparison with other areas, appears seriously deficient in its record of those too poor to pay, thus making suspect any derived population total. It is generally recognised that 30%-40% would be a reasonable proportion of inhabitants untaxed⁴⁵ but, with only 3.3% noted in the wapentake overall and many townships such as Thurlstone and Cawthorne showing none at all, the deficiency is virtually confirmed. However, the omission appears to be consistent across the region and, using a common multiplier of 4.75, some indication of change in population of the early modern period is provided and the resulting rank order accorded reasonable confidence.⁴⁶

The Census Returns of 1801 & 1851 used in Table 2.1 present fewer problems. The enumerators appear to have

carried out their duties conscientiously despite complaints of being so underpaid that, "*How then can a correct return of the population be expected?*"⁴⁷ Though minor errors of transcription and confusion of relationships are not unknown, the totals provide a firm base for a ranking exercise. The caution recommended by Wrigley & Schofield when directly comparing different nineteenth century Census returns, which are affected by varying dates of census night and under-registration of young children, is acknowledged, but the minor corrections involved are not considered here to materially affect the overall picture of changes in rank order of population size and the raw data are quoted.⁴⁸

It is unfortunate that the lack of a suitable documentary source precludes the provision of a comparable figure for the mid-eighteenth century, but it is clear that, from the overall total, the population growth in the wapentake more than matched the national rate. Between 1801-1851, for example, England's population grew by a factor of 2.02⁴⁹ compared to 2.33 in the wapentake, with Worsbrough growing x2.3. As with all averages, however, it misleads in suggesting an even expansion when, in fact, it varied considerably in the different townships.

Improvements in agriculture leading to its being less labour-intensive, a decline in peasant holdings, and the national phenomenon of a drift to urban centres are reflected in the eastern townships. Population had grown but not proportionately and the virtual stagnation in areas such as Brierley, South Hiendley and particularly Hemsworth, which lost its leading position, accord with the national view that, by the mid-eighteenth century, 16% of the population lived in towns of about 5000+ but by mid-nineteenth century was exceeding 60% and rising.⁵⁰

However, these were 'open' settlements where amalgamations and enclosures were concentrating holdings, with no major landowner having overall control. Such was not the case at Chevet as a prime example where, following the sixteenth century depopulation of the village, it became a

single estate around the Hall. Similarly Wortley, West Bretton, Gunthwaite, Tankersley and Stainborough were dominated by a resident lord.⁵¹ At Tankersley the land had been emparked in the fourteenth century and effectually depopulated under control of Hugh de Elland and his successors, not beginning to recover until the demolition of the Hall in the early eighteenth century when the then resident Thomas Watson-Wentworth, Earl of Malton (1728), Marquis of Rockingham (1746), moved to his new mansion at Wentworth Woodhouse. The development at Stainborough has been similar where the Cutlers (17th century) and Earls of Strafford (18th century, 2nd creation of the title) kept firm control of the estate. Its history has been examined in considerable depth by Sykes⁵² and many of his findings will feature in relation to Worsbrough, but his general statement of the attitude of major estate owners towards their holding would be applicable to others. When, for example, Gervase Cutler was building a new hall at Stainborough in mid-seventeenth century, he permitted no housing for the workers and Sykes comments that, *"This failure to provide spare accommodation capacity must have been a deliberate act of estate management. In this respect therefore Cutlers operated a closed village, tightly maintaining Stainborough as an estate village where residence and livelihood were under their control."*⁵³

Expansion of industry and commerce was severely restricted under such conditions, irrespective of size of township, as seen in the differing progress between Stainborough (1720 acres) and its adjoining village of Dodworth, which was only slightly larger (1917 acres), but open to enterprising immigrant miners and weavers. The rapid expansion and localisation of what, until late in the early modern period, had been minor cottage industries, such as weaving, lies behind the extraordinary changes in fortune of some of the western townships. These industries will be discussed in more detail when considering the Worsbrough economy (Chapter 6), but Thurlstone, Thurgoland, Clayton

West and Cumberworth illustrate the demographic effect the industries had on these relatively insignificant settlements compared to the farming communities of the east. The ranking positions of South Hiendley (1291 acres), on the rich arable lands to the east of the wapentake, and Cumberworth (1392 acres), on the Pennine moors to the west, have reversed after the development of the latter's weaving industry in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The 1806 Militia return⁵⁴ shows that, amongst the 18-45 years age group, South Hiendley had one weaver amongst its 39 militia men, whilst Cumberworth had 91 weavers amongst 144 men.

The outstanding feature of Table 2.1 must be the meteoric rise of Barnsley; its change in fortune can be attributed directly to the settlement being granted by Ralph de Caprecuria, in 1156, to the monks of the Cluniac Priory of St John at Pontefract⁵⁵ who then planned and built a new town half a mile to the east. The grant of a Wednesday market charter in 1249 and four-day Fair from St Michael's day, in conjunction with its strategic position along established trade routes, ensured its success. Information on its early growth is sparse but the 1379 Poll Tax return shows that, in addition to its population rise from an insignificant Domesday reference, it is the only settlement in the wapentake at the time to include an 'innkeeper' amongst its taxpayers, suggesting that it had already become a focal point for commerce.

It was, of course, not alone in enjoying the boom period of the thirteenth century when markets were freely approved and Professor Hey has identified fourteen in South Yorkshire, ten of which had failed during the economic recession of the fifteenth century. Some are known from existing charters, e.g. Campsall, Wath, Wortley and Hooton Pagnell. In the latter case the charter is preserved in the Hall and the butter cross still stands in the street.

The Worsbrough cross, buried under colliery spoil in the 1940s,⁵⁶ may be mentioned in this context of a possible lost market. It has been described as an eighteen-inch-

square stone pillar, five feet high, set on a square stone plinth⁵⁷ which had been adapted as a guide post in the eighteenth century judging by the script style of its inscription: "*Barnsley 3 miles - Sheffield 11 miles - London 172 miles*".⁵⁸ Recorded on the 1st edition O.S. map (1850) at SE/35350295 on an expansive open flat area at the top of a bank, two hundred metres from the town gate on Hellewell Hill (Holy Well Hills), its purpose is somewhat obscure. Stone mileposts were not uncommon in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire⁵⁹ but surviving examples are simple blocks stuck in the ground, with directional face markings towards adjacent settlements as ordered by Quarter Sessions in the 1730s. The Worsbrough 'stump' had been erected prior to this order, for the Manor Court Roll of 11th October 1688 states: *Item: that George Archdale & Thomas Heeson plash their hedges & scour their ditches in the Lane at the Townend upto the Stumpcross before Christmas next.* It appears an extravagance to invest parish money and labour erecting a way-marker amongst the outer cottages of the village and the information of 172 miles to London appears a luxury rather than an aid to travellers. A preaching cross is a possible alternative, but the nearby village church dates from the Anglo/Saxon period (Appendix - Buildings, Fig.A27, p336) and such a simple cross is unlikely to be a precursor.

Furthermore, the Worsbrough 'Fair' has been celebrated at least since the early modern period in the week beginning the Sunday nearest 15th August, to precede the Barnsley Fair by one week. A search for medieval references has been unsuccessful, but the parish records emphasise the fair's local importance even to the extent that, whilst the Baptism register shows a tendency to avoid the harvest month of August when all were too busy, it is notable that when entries do occur they congregate around that particular Sunday. In 1751 the clerk explained this with a marginal note "*Worsbrough Feast Sunday*" after recording four baptisms on the 11th August. The festival was marked by general jollification for all the inhabitants, as in 1807, when the

Overseer of the Poor claimed £1:14:0 which he "gave to the poor in meat at the Feast."⁶⁰

The only significant challenge to Barnsley as a market centre came in 1698 when Penistone sought to revive its charter to hold weekly Tuesday markets. Leading citizens of Huddersfield and Barnsley objected and a Penistone schoolmaster drew up a petition supporting the application.⁶¹ This resulted in Penistone being granted a Thursday market which would be less of a threat to the centuries-old Wednesday market of Barnsley. Strangely, the petition was signed by all the surrounding villages excepting Worsbrough, an omission for which no explanation can be found.

Barnsley, however, became the centre of commercial activity in the wapentake and Elliott calculates that it was serving a hinterland of up to a hundred square miles, reaching a point even by late eighteenth century when "there were few tastes or fancies that could not be provided in Barnsley via its shops, inns and market place."⁶² He identifies nearly 70 stallholders in the mid-eighteenth century supplying a wide variety of goods; William White's Trade Directory⁶³ for 1822 emphasises continued growth, listing 77 different trades and professions located in Barnsley compared with, for example, 16 at Worsbrough and 8 at Dodworth. The weekly markets were augmented by three annual 'great fairs'⁶⁴ which attracted dealers from a wide area, e.g. John Wasteney of Edlington Hall near Doncaster who bought sainfoin seed at Doncaster.⁶⁵

Adam Eyre, who lived on the moors at Hazlehead two miles west of Penistone, records in his diary on 25 October 1648 that, "This morne I sent 5s to Jo. Mills to bring meate, pitch and tarr from Barnsley."⁶⁶

John Hobson, a Dodworth tanner whose diary covering 1725-1735 is an invaluable source for local colour, travelled widely in the region, even being "At Woosborough Feast" on 14th August 1726. His most frequent journeys, however, were to Barnsley, as on the 22nd November 1734: "At Barnsly. Sent 3 turkeys to London" and, on 20th May 1730, his

visit was perhaps enlivened when: "*At Barnsly. Saw a cow from Switzerland with 6 leggs.*"⁶⁷ The majority of his trips to Barnsley appear to have been less on business than on socialising and picking up the latest gossip, as on 12th July, 1726, when "*Mr Goodwin, of Tanckersley, told me there was at Woodhouse a copy of part of Doomsday booke, taken in Queen Elizabeth's days*", implying that Mr. Goodwin had also made the journey as a social call. On Wednesday 28th June 1727 he joined the celebrations "*at Barnsley at the proclamation of King George the Second. The gentlemen cockades in their hatts of red and orange ribbon.*"

The Probate Inventory of David Cawthorn, yeoman of Bank End in Worsbrough, proved in May 1731, shows that he too was involved with Barnsley market by having fifty loads of wheat and ten loads of blendcorn in "*Chambers at Barnsley*".⁶⁸

The town was well able to cater for the needs of travellers in the provision of suitable hostelries by 1686 when the War Office compiled a list of accommodation facilities.⁶⁹ Its 66 guest beds and stabling for 109 may compare poorly with the South Yorkshire's other major towns (Sheffield, 119 & 270 and Doncaster, 206 & 453), but as Worsbrough could only muster 9 beds and 8 stabling, Dodworth 11 & 4, and Stainborough none, then Barnsley, with its additional seven or eight ale-houses, had clearly become dominant in the wapentake.

It might have been expected that Sheffield, only twelve miles to the south, would play an important part in the social and economic development of Worsbrough. As a market centre serving a rapidly growing population it had outstripped Barnsley, but evidence is lacking for any involvement of the Worsbrough population in this market, either as merchants or, from diary evidence, for social intercourse. The Worsbrough Parish Registers, reliably informative between 1712-1812, further illustrate the lack of attraction towards Sheffield when, of the 404 marriages recorded, 21 females found a husband in Barnsley against only 5 in Sheffield, yet 32 came from over fifteen miles

distant. In addition, it will be seen in Chapter 6 (Economy), that iron-working was a staple industry of both Worsbrough and Sheffield, but contact between the two industries was minimal. The nail-makers of Ecclesfield, on the northern outskirts of Sheffield, appear to have had little contact with those of Worsbrough excepting, perhaps, the migration of John Stancer, nail-maker, to Birdwell in the late eighteenth century. The Worsbrough nail-making industry concerned itself more with that of the wapentake, particularly following its rapid growth in the Darton area. It will be found a recurring theme that Worsbrough constantly faced towards the wapentake as its area of influence and to which it contributed.

The population changes noted in Table 2.1 (p.22) show Barnsley must be treated as exceptional in the Staincross wapentake and its exclusion shows Worsbrough maintaining a relatively high position amongst the remaining townships, with a somewhat spectacular increase in the nineteenth century. All the townships have unique histories and note has been made of the open & closed villages, the arable and pastoral areas of the region and the emergence of craft industries, but a first hint of the uniqueness of Worsbrough can be seen in a closer look at the 1672 Hearth Tax return.

Table 2.2

Hearth Tax 1672 - Number of Hearths

	1	2	3-5	6-9	over 9
Stainborough	12	4	4	1	1 [11 hearths]
Tankersley	18	11	8	-	1 [33 hearths]
Hemsworth	21	22	18	6	-
Dodworth	20	8	4	8	-
Thurlstone	44	9	11	1	-
Barnsley	26	32	55	17	1 [10 hearths]
<u>Worsbrough</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3 [11, 11, 13 hearths]</u>

Table 2.2 compares the detailed composition of Worsbrough with examples of closed villages (Stainborough and Tankersley), open villages in the east (Hemsworth), central (Dodworth), west (Thurlstone) and a town (Barnsley).

The dominance of the landowner in the closed villages, which show a lack of middle-range housing, compares with the wider range in the open villages. Barnsley could be expected to have a wide range to reflect the preponderance of shopkeepers and tradesmen, but Worsbrough shows a similar range and, though it has a larger proportion of smaller houses than Barnsley, it has a greater number of large houses than any other township. The development of Worsbrough in this early modern period will be examined in detail to establish a base from which to compare its dramatic proportionate rise in population, seen in Table 2.1, from 879 in 1801 to 4277 in 1851. At x4.87, this was greater than any other township in the region, exceeding even the x4.14 of Barnsley over the same period.

Attention must turn briefly to Worsbrough's anomalous relationship with Darfield, which affected its development throughout its history until early this century. The Yorkshire wapentakes corresponded, in general, to recognised geographical areas; Staincross, for example, comprised the valleys of the rivers Dearne and Don. Parts of the boundaries were, however, artificial and confusion arises in the west of Staincross with Cumberworth divided into Upper and Lower, portions variously considered to be in Agbrigg or Staincross as a result of confused manorial holdings.

The irregularity of the southern boundary of the wapentake, following two extensive loops into Strafforth to include Wortley and Tankersley, has been cited as evidence suggesting Staincross and Strafforth were once a single wapentake.⁷⁰ Perhaps more positive evidence that Staincross was detached from a larger wapentake is seen in the unusual relationship between Worsbrough and Darfield, the latter regularly benefitting to the detriment of Worsbrough. Large parishes had been formed in the later Anglo/Scandinavian period, following the firm establishment of Christianity in the region, which were often based on an earlier minster church as at Ecclesfield to the south.⁷¹ In

the north of the county, Silkstone became the 'mother' church for an extensive parish taking in virtually the whole of what, by the Norman conquest, had become Staincross wapentake. The situation here is not entirely clear as Cawthorne church was recorded in Domesday and not only incorporates two tenth-century crossheads in its fabric, but the settlement was the seat of Swein, the largest pre-conquest landowner in the region, suggesting Cawthorne has claim to precedence. The absence of any structure earlier than the thirteenth century in Silkstone church is the result of extensive rebuilding and its absence from Domesday is unremarkable, the commissioners following no uniform pattern in recording churches. Kent is a prime example where 365 pre-conquest churches are known, but only 147 are recorded in the Domesday survey.⁷² The situation in practice remains, however, that Silkstone was the mother church with chapels of ease, for example, at Dodworth, Stainborough and Barnsley - all neighbours of Worsbrough.

Darfield was the mother church of another large parish, with a number of chapels of ease in its surrounding townships, including Worsbrough. However, the wapentake boundary divides the two, with the consequence that Darfield parish church is in Strafforth, and its chapel of ease at Worsbrough is in Staincross. The medieval church at Darfield retains re-used Anglo/Saxon cross fragments but, at Worsbrough, the east and north chancel walls can also be dated as pre-conquest with their heavy corner quoins, set in typical Anglo/Saxon 'long & short' pattern, binding rough rubble walling. (Appendix - Buildings, No.18).⁷³ The church has been embellished and extended throughout its history, though always at the sole expense of the inhabitants of Worsbrough, and it could never rival the size and accomplishments of the medieval Darfield church with its greater prestige. All tithes, great and small, were due from Worsbrough to the Rector of Darfield, to be equally shared with Trinity College, Cambridge, who were to provide the priest, and Darfield maintain the chancel. Both repeatedly

failed in their obligations, as in 1716 when Trinity were ordered to pay its half share towards maintenance of the Worsbrough Curate⁷⁴ and, though a common complaint elsewhere in the sixteenth century following the religious upheavals between Protestantism and Catholicism,⁷⁵ Darfield was informed at a Visitation in 1575 that the chancel was in decay.⁷⁶ Apparently Darfield took no action as the next Visitation, in 1615, informed both Darfield and Trinity that, "*the chancell of Worsbrough Chappell is in very great decay and readie to fall downe in ther default.*"⁷⁷

The continuing role of Worsbrough church may even have been called into question immediately following the Reformation. A Grammar School had been established in the village early in the fifteenth century and it is noted in a report of the "Commissioners for Continuance of Grammar Schools", made in 1548, that "*the chaple of Woursbrough ... is a chaple of ease, being distant 2 miles from the parish church, and therefore very necessary to continue for divine service and administration of sacraments to bee had and used to the people there.*"⁷⁸

Friction and a measure of resentment between Darfield and Worsbrough would not be unexpected, considering the importance of the church in a community during the period, particularly as Worsbrough had rights of baptism, burial and marriage in addition to the appointment of a full range of parish officers from the beginning of church records. It considered itself, in fact, a separate independent parish except for the loss of its tithes, with the problems this created for the incumbent.

A satisfactory explanation of the problem is unlikely to be found, as the records of the See are deficient on the matter, but a partial answer may lie in the Domesday record that Chetelber, who was granted one of the Worsbrough manors, also received a Darfield manor. A moiety of this manor centred on New Hall in Ardsley, adjoining Worsbrough, later belonged to the Bosville family who had demesne lands in Worsbrough with free warren in 1381. In 1441, John

Bosville granted his appurtenances in Worsbrough to Matilda, Countess of Cambridge and this moiety was given to Trinity College according to King Henry's Valor.⁷⁹ The advowson had belonged to the Fleming family, who granted it to Archbishop Gray in 1229, from whom it passed to the Hospitallers of the Preceptory of Newlands in 1362. At the Dissolution, this moiety was given by the King to Trinity College.⁸⁰ Hunter would establish a further link in arguing that the Domesday Ketelbiorn is the Chetelburn he shows to be great-grandfather of the earliest known Rockley, a family which, until its decline in the eighteenth century, presided over a considerable area of Worsbrough.⁸¹ Despite the clear early connections with Darfield, however, it will be seen throughout this study that Worsbrough's allegiance was almost invariably directed to its neighbours in Staincross Wapentake, rather than to Strafforth, the seat of its ecclesiastical superior.

NOTES.

2.0 REGIONAL CONTEXT.

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2. Ekwall, E., *English Place-Names*, (1960) Oxford, 320.
3. A general description of the geology of the region in Mitchell, G.H. et al, *Geology of the Country around Barnsley*, H.M.S.O., (1974) with additional comment in Neves, R & Downie, C, *Geological Excursions in the Sheffield Region*, (1967) Sheffield.
4. Neves & Downie, *op.cit.*, Introduction xiii.
5. The role of Barnsley as a growing market town is examined in Elliott, B., *Barnsley: The Anatomy of a Yorkshire Market Town 1660-1760*, (1990). Unpublished M.Phil., Sheffield Univ.
6. An introduction to the Sheffield cutlery trades in Hey, D., 'The Origins and early growth of the Hallamshire cutlers and allied trades', in Chartes, J & Hey, D, *English Rural Society 1500-1800*, (1990) Cambridge.
Professor Hey explores the theme in considerable depth in *The Fiery Blades of Hallamshire*, (1991) Leicester.
7. Defoe, D., *A Tour through England and Wales*, (1928 Everyman) Vol.2, 185.
8. Young, A., *A Tour through the North of England*, (1771) London, Vol.1, 131.
9. Hey, D., *Yorkshire from AD1000*, (1986) Harlow, 275.

10. Ruston, A.G. & Witney, D., *Hooton Pagnell*, (1934) London, 15.
11. Hey, D., *The Making of South Yorkshire*, (1979) Ashbourne, 128-9.
12. *Ibid.* 59-60.
13. Taylor, C., in Hoskins W.G., *The Making of the English Landscape* (1935) London (1988 Edition), 17.
14. Riley, D.N., *Yorkshire's Past from the Air*, (1988) Sheffield
Riley, D.N., *Early Landscape from the Air* (1980) Sheffield
Riley, D.N., 'Air Reconnaissance in Central and Southern Yorkshire in 1976', *Y.A.J.* (1977) Vol.49, 19-33
15. Collected by an amateur enthusiast in the 1970's who omitted to identify precise find sites. Examples are deposited in Sheffield City Museum.
16. Radley, J. & Mellars, P., 'A Mesolithic Structure at Deepcar, Yorkshire', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, (1964), Vol.30, 1-24.
Radley, J.; Tallis, J.H.; Switsur, V.R., 'Excavation of Three 'Narrow Blade' Mesolithic Sites in the Southern Pennines', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, (1977), Vol.40, 1-19.
Jeffrey Radley was investigating the Staincross Common flint-working site immediately prior to his untimely death. His general conclusion of its similarity to the other Pennine Mesolithic sites was conveyed personally but the report was not published and the exact location on the Common not revealed.
17. Dodsworth, R., 'Yorkshire Church Notes', *YASRS* Vol.34, 15.
18. Ashurst, D., 'Stainborough Lowe', *H.A.S.*, (1991) Vol.16, 33-38.
19. Interpretation of the extensive ditch and bank system was confirmed by Professor G.D.Lewis during joint examination to prepare excavation proposal. Permission to excavate was declined by the local authority.
20. Interim report; Sydes, B. & Symonds, J., '1987 Investigations at Sutton Common', South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit (unpublished) and Sydes, B., 'Re-examination Sutton Common' (1992) (unpublished). Work continues during 1994.
21. May, T., *The Roman Fort at Templeborough*, (1922) HMSO.
22. Current (1994) excavations by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Service seek to locate the Roman wharf on the river Don.
23. 'The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme', *Surtees Society*, (1869), Vol.54. Entry for 30 July 1696.
Three further hoards reported for 1947, 1948 & 1950 entered on county SMR. SYCAS.
See also *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth Ser. Vol.10, (1950), 315-7.
24. Occasional coin finds in Rockley recorded County SMR.
25. Wilkinson, J., *Worsborough, Its Historical Attractions*, (1872), Barnsley, 77 and 255.
26. Jackson, R., *The Town and Township of Barnsley*, (1858) London, 233.

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28. Stenton, F.M., *Anglo Saxon England* (1971) Oxford, 502.
29. Palliser, D.M., *The Yorkshire Domesday - Introduction*, Alecto Historical Editions (1992) 18.
30. Smith, A.H. (ed) 'Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire', *English Place-Names Society*, Vol.30, Part I, 296
31. MBC, 19-140, No.440.
32. Trudgill, P., *The Dialects of England*, (1990) Oxford, 111.
33. Loyn, H.R., *The Vikings in Britain* (1977) London, 122.
34. Roesdahl, E., *The Vikings* (1991) London, 247.
35. Palliser, *op.cit.*, 18-19.
36. Finn, R.W., 'The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday', *Borthwick Papers*, No.41, BIHR, 7.
37. Beresford, M.W., 'The Lost Villages of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* Vol.38 (1953) 238,
38. Paliser, D.M., 'Domesday Book and the "Harrying of the North"', *Northern History*, Vol.29 (1993) 1-24..
39. Muir, R., *The Lost Villages of Britain* (1982) London, 80.
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41. Palliser, *op.cit.*, 21.
42. *Y.A.J.* Vol.5 (1887-8). New transcription and analysis forthcoming, Sheffield University.
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44. Two copies survive, in PRO E179/262/15, a copy of original held at the West Yorkshire Archive Service which has been published in Hey, D., (ed) *The Hearth Tax Returns for South Yorkshire Ladyday 1672* (1991) Sheffield University, 75-91.
45. Hey, D., *Family History & Local History in England* (1987) Harlow, 68.
46. *Ibid*, 72.
47. Quoted in Lumas, S., 'Making Use of the Census', *PRO Guide No.1* (1992) 6.
48. Wrigley E.A. & Schofield R.S., *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (1989) Cambridge, Appendix 6, 588-596.
49. *Ibid*, 588.
50. Deane, P., *The First Industrial Revolution*, (1979) Cambridge, 278.
51. For a detailed early history of the families associated with these estate villages see Hunter, J., *South Yorkshire*, Vol.2 (1831). Tankersley (300-305); Wortley (307-329); Stainborough (262-268); Gunthwaite (343-350); Chevet (392-395); West Bretton (239-250).
52. Sykes, P.S., *In the Shadow of the Hill* (1989), Unpublished M.A. thesis Sheffield University.
53. *Ibid.*, 7.8.
54. John Goodchild Collection, Wakefield.
55. Jackson, R., *History of the Town & Township of Barnsley*, (1858) London, 49.
56. Extension of Barrow Colliery by National Coal Board.
57. An appeal has been launched locally for photographs to

- confirm its detail following the generous offer by British Coal to provide a replica after recent excavations failed to find the original.
58. I am grateful to Mr Littledyke of Park Cottages, Worsbrough, for this information.
 59. A comprehensive survey of regional evidence for guideposts in Hey, D., *Packmen, Carriers and Packhorse Roads* (1980) Leicester.
 60. SA/PR3/13/Bk/I.
 61. Hey, D., (1980) *op.cit.*, 164-6.
 62. Elliott, B., *op.cit.* 297. The study provides a detailed account of the development of Barnsley as a market town in the early modern period, citing numerous examples of the range of trade and commercial activity in the town.
 63. Barnsley Local History library.
 64. Owen, W., *Book of Fairs*, (1756) and see Chartres, J.A. in Thirsk, J. (ed), *Agrarian History of England & Wales* (1985) Cambridge, 423.
 65. Hey, D., (1980) *op.cit.* 173.
 66. Adam Eyre, 'A Dyurnal or Catalogue of all my Accions and Expences from the 1st January 1646', *Surtees Society*, (1875) Vol.65.113.
 67. 'The Journal of Mr John Hobson', *Surtees Society*, Vol.65 (1875).
 68. BIHR, Doncaster Deanery.
 69. PRO.WO.3.48.
 70. Palliser, *op.cit.*, 54.
 71. Hey, D., (1979) 28.
 72. Bettey, J.H., *Church and Parish*, (1987) London, 24.
 73. Ryder, P.F., *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire*, South Yorkshire Archaeological Service, Monograph No.2 (1982).
See also Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., *Anglo Saxon Architecture*, Vols. I & II, (1965) for extensive investigation into features of pre-Conquest church architecture.
 74. Hunter, *op.cit.*, 294.
 75. Bettey, *op.cit.*, 78.
 76. BIHR, - V/1575/CB1, fol 91.
 77. BIHR, - V/1615/CB, fol.155v.
 78. Leach, A.F., 'Early Yorkshire Schools', *YASRS*, Vol.33 (1903).
For a thorough historical review of the Grammar School see, Wallis, P.J., 'Worsbrough Grammar School', *YAJ*, Vol.39 (1956) 147-163.
 79. Hunter, *op.cit.* 115
 80. *YASRS*, Vol.61, (1920) 12
 81. Hunter, *op.cit.* 283

3.0 THE TOWNSHIP

The limits of Worsbrough township used throughout this study are based on those formally recognised in the 1816 Enclosure Act¹ and 1838 Tithe Commutation Award² which provide the earliest known complete survey. Unfortunately the Enclosure Commissioner produced no map, commenting in the schedule³ that, "*The survey drawn up by R. Birks about 1804 shall be sufficient, no new survey to be made except for insufficiencies or disputes.*" This 1804 map has not been located. An incomplete plan of the combined Worsbrough and Stainborough townships in the Fairbank archive, recorded as 1814 but including later amendments, is also based on the earlier survey.⁴ The 1838 Tithe Commutation map survives which, although in other respects identical, provides additional information on the further sub-divisions which had taken place subsequently.

An element of vagueness can be detected at various times in Worsbrough's past regarding parts of the township boundary and yet, '*for the community to "know itself" the logical limit to the working and ritual environment was the parish boundary*'.⁵ The ancient chapelry bounds of Worsbrough were recognised as the civil area for rating under the Poor laws on the 1861 Spooner survey,⁶ coincident with the 1837 boundaries, and as a civil parish in 1871, with a total area of approximately 3300 acres. It did not achieve independence as an ecclesiastical parish until the 1930s following a major boundary adjustment transferring part of the northern area to Barnsley (Fig.3.1). This included all the inhabited part of Worsbrough Common, the Warren and Pindar Oaks towards what may have been the ancient boundary between the Iron Age settlements on Harborough Hill and Worsbrough Common noted earlier. Boundaries, once established, have an inherent inertia against change and sufficient evidence has been gathered nationwide to show the potential for even Neolithic boundaries to survive in the modern landscape.⁷

A similar demarcation between hill-forts may have survived between Stainborough and Worsbrough at Round Green. The river Dove, a Celtic name survival meaning "dark water",⁸ may have formed part of the boundary, though the junction could well have been one that was 'understood', each community respecting the other's living area. Joseph Hunter comments, "*It is remarkable that the name of Dove is not found in early charters; but the stream is called Dearne.*"⁹ He is unusually in error here as a series of 13th century charters, granting land, iron mining and woodland rights to the monks of Rievaulx for their smithies on the Stainborough/Worsbrough boundary, are located as '*juxta Duva*'. A further series of grants confirm two acres of land in Worsbrough to Rievaulx Abbey described as '*super ripam rivula qui vocatur Duva*'.¹⁰ The possibility of such continued recognition of an ancient boundary may provide the basis for a township dispute which regularly features in the record between Stainborough and Worsbrough regarding Round Green, assarted in the middle ages. Sykes considers the problem originated from the break-up of two medieval manors (Falthwaite and Rockley), with lands in both townships, part leasehold and part freehold, with clear evidence of a Stainborough connection.¹¹ However, the Worsbrough parish books consistently refer to Round Green as part of Worsbrough. The dispute was finally resolved by the Enclosure Commissioner who notes in the preamble, "*Doubt has arisen concerning the Boundary of that part of the Manor and Township adjoining the Manor and Township of Stainbrough at a place commonly called Round Green.*"¹² His solution was an unhappy compromise as it placed the farm in Stainborough and the fields, with labourers' cottages, in Worsbrough.

Confusion also arises on the eastern boundary at the hamlet of Smithley. Although always officially recognised as geographically within Wombwell township, its inhabitants commonly regarded themselves as part of Worsbrough society, attending its church and Manor Court. The Rayney family, for example, had originated, and took its name, from Ranah in

Penistone parish, but were living in Smithley in the early seventeenth century. John Rayney migrated to London becoming a wealthy merchant draper and, in his Will of 1632, was one of Worsbrough's most generous benefactors, making provision for the better endowment of the church Lecturer (p.239).¹³

A major concern for the inhabitants of Worsbrough was the preservation of the northern boundary adjoining Barnsley. The exceptional rise in the latter's population during the eighteenth century has been noted, and Elliott has shown that much of the increasing industrial activity of Barnsley at the time was associated with the exploitation of the coal outcrops in the Keresforth area, expanding into Worsbrough towards Houndhill.¹⁴

The Worsbrough bounds were regularly 'beaten' at the Rogationtide perambulation and surviving records give precise directions. The report of 1771 is particularly informative, giving details of numerous 'mear' stones (boundary markers) extensively used, in the absence of any natural feature, across the expanses of commons and waste separating Barnsley and Worsbrough.¹⁵ They were a constant source of friction as Barnsley inhabitants frequently moved them to enlarge their intakes on the common, as in 1771 when, *'In the corner of the Parsons Intacks .. a stone had been removed from the bank by the wall side across the ditch.'* During this perambulation, Mr Elmhirst saw John Oxley of Barnsley *'cutting a ditch against Barnsley Intack which ditch had a Mear Stone in it Which I see he had taken up for it lay upon the surface a little from the fence, I ordered him to set it down again in the same place where he took it but did not.'*

The situation apparently continued to deteriorate and, in 1777, Worsbrough commissioned Fairbank, the Sheffield surveyor, to *"attend as referee to settle boundaries of their Common and Barnsley"*, for which he was paid a guinea. His note-book survey sketch lacks dimensions but covers upwards of a mile of the Worsbrough/ Barnsley boundary between Kingstone and Highstone.¹⁶ His survey ploy was

simple and would appease Worsbrough, but the Barnsley reaction is unknown; he drew a curving line into the Barnsley area from a mear-stone agreed at each end (Nos. 18 & 19) to take in a "*stone set by the Inhabitants of Worsbrough*" and one "*fixed by the Earl of Strafford*". Along this line were placed nine new mear-stones as the new boundary. Unfortunately, none appear to have survived.

No doubt some problems experienced in maintaining the physical boundaries were due to their being often rather ephemeral as when, approaching a fence, '*Mr Dixon, curate, read Prayers and cut a cross forward on the Hill on the side of the fence belonging to Woodhead Estate.*'¹⁷ Perhaps they were made more memorable through the liberal provision of ale by the Churchwardens as in 1707 '*charges w[he]n we went about our bounds in Rogation week 13s.*'

In the absence of any survey of the township earlier than the nineteenth century, re-creation of the Worsbrough landscape at the start of the main period of the study (c.1600) must be somewhat conjectural. However, if early assarts are assumed from field names retaining the elements royd, flatt, stubbing, syke, etc. suggesting clearances, and areas of ancient fields and woodland are noted from references in sources such as Wills and the Monk Bretton Chartulary, a general statement is possible, if these are taken in conjunction with the existing ground evidence of selions and field shapes. Further corroborative evidence is often provided by the dates of buildings which can indicate an established site.

Figure 3.1 suggests a possible reconstruction in the light of present evidence. A feature of this early landscape is the occurrence of a circular, divided, field near Worsbrough village, with others at Lewden and Swaithe, which suggest the sites of the original assarts of the first settlers. Aerial survey of the village field revealed the ovoid crop mark of a ditched enclosure covering 1.8 acres in one half. In this exposed position, it cannot be considered as the "burh" of Wirc, the original burh probably being lost

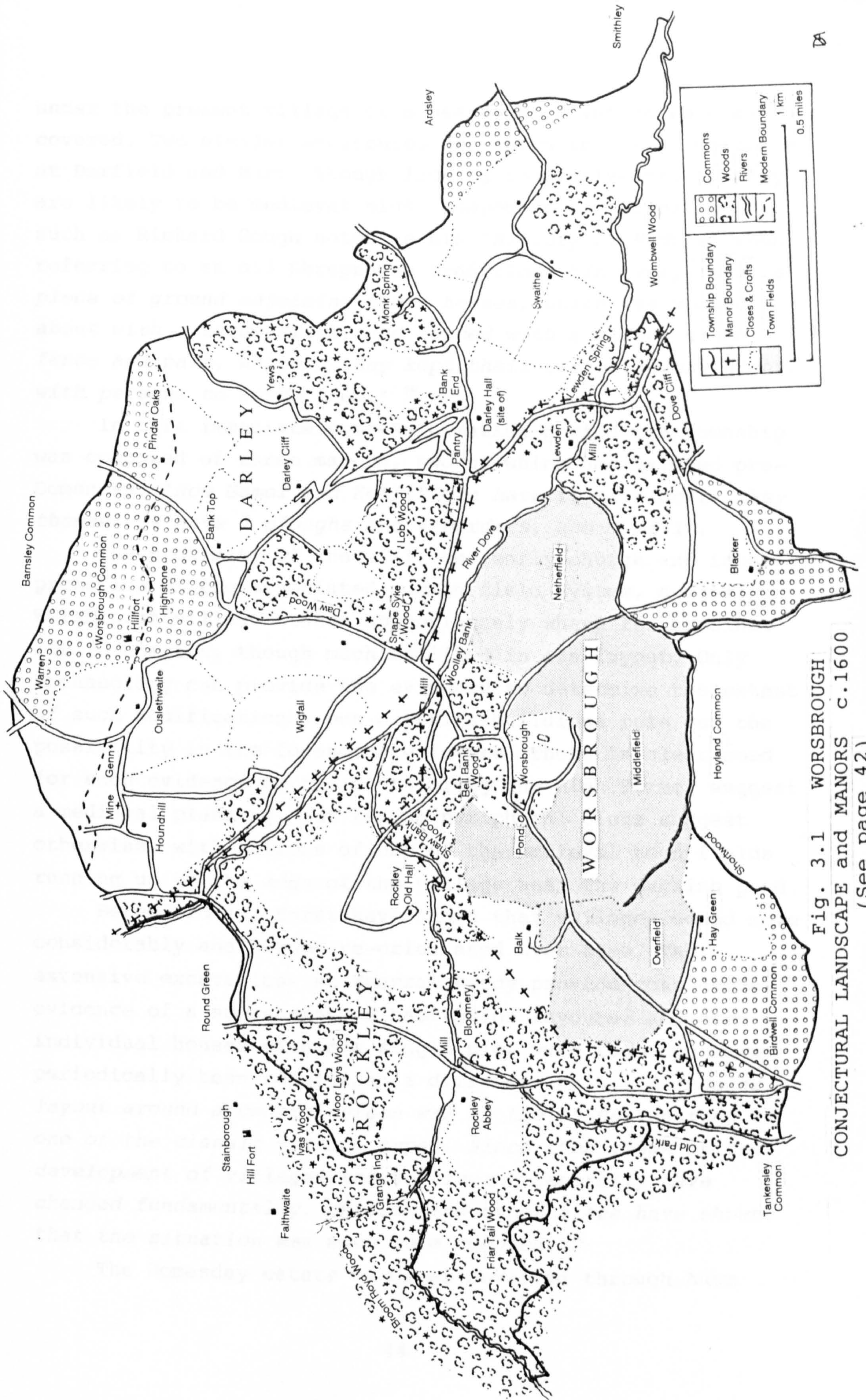


Fig. 3.1 WORSBROUGH
 CONJECTURAL LANDSCAPE and MANORS c.1600
 (See page 42)

under the present village or a nearby site yet to be discovered. Two similar enclosures are known in South Yorkshire at Darfield and Marr. Though lacking conclusive proof, they are likely to be medieval night compounds for livestock, such as Richard Gough notes in his *"History of Myddle"* when referring to an old Shropshire tradition; *"In every town, a piece of ground adjoining their houses, which was moated about with a large ditch, and fenced with a strong ditch fence and pale, wherein they kept their cattell every night, with persons to watch them."* ¹⁸

In this immediate post-Reformation period the township was composed of three manors, two of which had existed pre-Domesday, *"Now Gamel and Ketilbiorn have it of Ilbert. They themselves have 2 ploughs and 4 bordars, and 1 mill"*.

The proximity of the mill, the early church and interpretation of the associated common field system, suggest Worsbrough village stands approximately where it has since its foundation, though much modified in its layout. Only archaeology can provide the evidence to determine the extent of such modifications, but existing buildings rule out the possibility in the foreseeable future. There is clear need for such evidence as the plots along the High Street suggest a medieval planning, but random peripheral plots suggest otherwise, with selions of one of the medieval town fields running up to the edge of the village near the ducking pond.

Beresford and Hurst have shown that villages could move considerably and become re-orientated over time. The extensive excavations at Wharram Percy provide conclusive evidence of a succession of habitation layouts, and even individual houses within a single plot were found to have periodically been rebuilt on a different axis. *"A regular layout around a central green was in the 1950s regarded as one of the classic village types. Since then views on the development of villages and settlement generally have changed fundamentally. Wharram and other sites have shown that the situation was much more complex."* ¹⁹

The Domesday estate of Gamel devolved through Adam

FitzSwein (founder of the Cluniac Priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Monk Bretton in 1153) to his daughter Maud. She married John de Malherb of Stainborough, whose daughter Clementia married Eudo de Longvilliers. Worsbrough descended to Clementia on de Malherb's death and, in 1249, she gave it to the priory of Nun Appleton in the parish of Bolton Percy, six miles from Tadcaster.

There it remained until dissolution of the Priory in 1539 when it passed to the King, who then leased to Robert Darkenhall, a member of the household, from whom it came to the Fairfax family in 1541. Lord Thomas Fairfax demolished the Priory to build his mansion²⁰ but, regrettably, none of the records of the Priory survived the upheaval and the only references to its medieval involvement in Worsbrough are to be found occasionally in the, itself fragmentary, Monk Bretton Chartulary.

Throughout its medieval history, this manor could be regarded as comprising a village with its own field system (of which three 'town' fields can be identified), waste and commons but, as a consequence of its absentee landlord at Nun Appleton, allowing the tenants considerable autonomy and self-regulation. It comprised the land south of the river from Hay Green to Dove Cliff, extending over the river to include the bridge and mill. Worsbrough developed into a 'closed' village in the early modern period, especially after the arrival of the Edmunds family, about 1612. Subsequent to building the Hall (Appendix - Buildings, No.19), they rapidly acquired the Worsbrough manor lands, though not the lordship, and strictly controlled development and immigration within the village, even to the extent of not permitting a shop other than for a butcher. Their successors, and town planners in modern times, maintained the tradition and the village still has no shop, even the butcher having recently closed.

The subsequent development of the other estate of the Domesday survey, belonging to Ketelbiorn and covering the remainder of the township, was very different. This name has

long been assumed to refer to the medieval (and later) manor of the Rockley family and, although Hunter gives a "high probability" that the families are directly related, a vital documentary link is missing.²¹ He implies a replacement of the name Ketelbiorn by Rockley during the period of surname adoption in the early thirteenth century, but numerous grants in the Monk Bretton Chartulary show both names persisting. For example, Henry de Rockley and his brother Richard witnessed a grant by *'Hugh de Nevil to Adam son of Robert de Swathe of an essart [between] an essart called Lauedi Rode whereof one head abuts on the wall between that essart and the essart of Henry Ketilbarne'*.²² The Saxon Ketelbiorn had also held land in Darfield and Ardsley, but the surname may not have survived the Black Death, as no further references can be traced in either area after the mid-fourteenth century. Few of the early medieval field-names continued into the modern period, but the pattern of settlement shows progression from the east into what became Worsbrough township, with the Rockley family originally holding lands at Swaithe as part of their manor. For example, Henry de Blom granted land he tenanted in Swaithe to his son with the proviso of *'grinding their corn growing on the land at the mill of the lord of Rockeley at the twentieth measure'*.²³

Although the formation of the Rockley manor appears to have begun from Swaithe, it became centred on the Old Hall site. A charter dated between 1172 and 1181 confirms a grant by John Malherb of two acres *'in territorie de Wirkesburg super ripam Duve contra domos eorum quas habent in territorie de Stainburg.'*²⁴ The exact location is uncertain, but it probably lies in the area between Old Hall and the Abbey Farm (Fig.3.1). In the fourteenth century the Rockleys lost Old Hall through marriage and the manorial centre moved to the Abbey Farm site. Few court rolls have survived, none later than the fourteenth century, but, together with a written survey dating from late seventeenth century, they show the chief estate comprised the triangular area approx-

imately described by the Dove and the Dodworth beck in the west of the township, including part of Birdwell to the Balk separating the Worsbrough 'Overfield'. The Rockley manor estate remained a discrete personal family holding, with no focal settlement and few other residents, developing its own independent agricultural and industrial pursuits.

However, the manor, and perhaps the entire township, may have become larger had a move by the Rockleys in the twelfth century been successful. The adjoining township of Hoyland in Strafforth wapentake had three divided landholdings, part of which came to the de Busli family with the honour of Tickhill. This was sub-infeuded to the Newmarches and further sub-infeuded to the Rockleys.²⁵ They were still disputing their claim in the sixteenth century when the Tickhill area had passed to the Fitzwilliams. A legacy of this Rockley holding in Hoyland was the annual payment of "out horn money" to the Tickhill honour, recorded in the accounts of the Worsbrough Constable. It is known to have been paid since the early Middle Ages and, in 1703, was 7s annually, growing to £1 3s 0d when payments ended in 1813. How the liability to pay had devolved from the family to the parish is unknown, but the slavish adherence to ancient custom did not go unchallenged. George Milner, who had purchased Rockley Old Hall at the beginning of the eighteenth century, questioned his contribution included in the parish rate, on the grounds that it was a Rockley liability, not part of his new estate. The Constable added a marginal note in his 1722 accounts: '*Mr Milner keepeth 4d for yt he saith he is not liable to pay out horn money.*'²⁶

A Rockley Roll of 1340 states Robert de Elmhirst attended the Rockley Court in connection with his copyhold at Bank Top²⁷ and a later survey suggests detached parts of Swaithe lands around Lewden were part of the manor.²⁸ However, during this obscure medieval period, a third manor, Darley, had been created, comprising the whole of the area north of the river, (Fig.3.1), excepting the Rockley demesne in the western triangle and part of the Lewden valley

including Lewden mill, which remained in the Rockley manor; the above Robert's copyhold would become part of Darley. The manor's few surviving court rolls were signed at Darley Cliff, though Hunter has the manor house as Darley Hall at Bank End (now demolished).²⁹ Darley's origins are unclear but the mutual signing of various deeds in the Monk Bretton Chartulary show the Rockley and Darley families were well-acquainted, with a strong possibility of both families being contemporary in Darfield in the 14th/15th centuries.

The Chartulary shows acquisition of lands from around Swaithe, formerly a Ketelbiorn/Rockley holding, into Darley manor, such as a fourteenth century deed of Hugh de Nevile stating that, the land of Jordan Ketilbarn is "*in the territory of Derlay*."³⁰ The manor included land granted to John Glew in 1413, at the limit of the township adjoining Ardsley, extending the area held by John Frankyshe of Billingley in Darfield parish during the 13th and 14th centuries. They all regularly witnessed each other's deeds. Renewal of copyhold by Robert Frankyshe, surrendering in 1471 to Lady Joan Ryther, Prioress, with an entry fine of 6s 8d, shows Nun Appleton retained an interest in its land within Darley.³¹

The manor developed as a loose collection of scattered separate farmsteads, with no focal point other than the Manor Court and, occupying the poorest land of the township, it included large areas of commons and waste. Shrinkage had occurred by the end of the Middle Ages and a written survey of the manor, made about 1714 on the death of the owner, William Adams a local attorney, suggests copyhold areas at Swaithe and Bank End had been sold.³²

Ownership of the three manors becomes confused after the Dissolution when John Booth, a secretary to the Earl of Shrewsbury, acquired Worsbrough and Darley in 1590; Robert Rockley had Worsbrough and Rockley in 1642; Sir Sidney Wortley held Worsbrough courts from 1630-1701; Christiana Gayner held Worsbrough Dale (Rockley ?) in the 1720s. The Worsbrough and Rockley manors, with part of Darley, were

purchased by the Earl of Strafford in 1723³³, the remaining part of Darley staying in separate ownership, as seen in the 1816 Enclosure Award when William Parkin (minor) of Doncaster held it, being awarded 1/16 of Common. The Worsbrough manor (including Rockley) held its last court in 1857 and Darley in 1858.³⁴

The manorial divisions within the township indicated on Figure 3.1 do not, of course, represent the total land-holding of each manor. For example, the Memorandum summoning a Court Jury in October 1701 is headed "*The Inhabitants for the Mannor of Worsbrough and Worsbrough Dale, Rockley, Falthwaite and Ardsley*".³⁵ The mention of Falthwaite presents an enigma which has defied solution. The area, currently identified as Falthwaite Grange, is in Stainborough township on the Worsbrough boundary at Rockley. Surface evidence suggests a deserted village site and is, perhaps, the '*bovate in the territory of Wirkesburg called Falthwaite*' which Juliana de Rockley quitclaimed to her son William in 1258.³⁶ However, the name 'Falthwaite' became confused with the Rockley Abbey Farm early in the Middle Ages and Sykes considers various possibilities in his history of Stainborough.³⁷ The complexities are illustrated in a 1382 grant, by Robert de Wolthwaite of Keresforth, to John de Falthwayt in Staynburgh, of '*lands and tenements in Wirkesburgh called Oselthwayt, Asspeker and Priesteroides*'; the surviving field names suggest it encompassed an area from Round Green to Birdwell.³⁸ The confusion remained even into the eighteenth century as, for example, in an Indenture for sale by Lewis Westcomb and Catherine his wife (daughter of Robert Rockley) in March 1704 - '*a capital messuage called Rockley Hall alias Falthwaite*'.³⁹ Again, when the Earl of Strafford purchased the Rockley manor in 1723, it is described as '*al that Mannor and Lordship of Rockley otherwise Falthwaite*'.⁴⁰

Similarly, the record is too deficient to explain the inclusion of Ardsley jurors at the late seventeenth century Worsbrough courts. A connection is likely through the

Micklethwaite family, resident at Swaithe Hall in the 16th/17th centuries, who had bought the Ardsley manor adjacent to Worsbrough. The family moved to Middlewood Hall, in Darfield, during the seventeenth century, and Ardsley is excluded from the court record after 1701.

It will be seen throughout this review of changes and continuities in the development of Worsbrough that its early partition into three manors, outlined above, has greater significance than mere administrative interest. The township unusually evolved with three distinct types of settlement within its boundaries, which were still affecting changes in the nineteenth century. Worsbrough manor retained much of its distinction as a 'closed village' in the Stainborough and Hooton Pagnell mould, with its restrictions on immigrant development and aura of superiority amongst its neighbours, until it succumbed to the pressures of industrialisation. Rockley remained a family estate, perhaps comparable to Chevet, with no immigrant incursions, becoming finally little more than a private extension of the Wentworth family's Stainborough estate. Darley, in contrast, continued to be an area of 'open' access more susceptible to change.

Considering the fission which had already occurred between Worsbrough township and Darfield, further fragmentation might have been likely between the clearly disparate manorial holdings, similar to the process closely examined by Professor Phythian-Adams at Claybrooke, in the Midlands.⁴¹ That the township developed into a unified community, and such separation did not occur, was due to the role of the church in providing an early focus, otherwise lacking in the absence of any lord or great landowner with influence over the whole township. Manorial control could ensure reasonably efficient organisation and secular leadership within the separate areas, but the church provided an over-riding focus of allegiance, beyond the bounds of temporal fealty.

The distinction between the manors was emphasised by their differing geography, to which Worsbrough owes much for

its independent economic viability, despite the ecclesiastical dependency. The successful continuity and development of any settlement over the centuries is a summation of the choices made by individuals faced with earning a living, or ensuring security, and implies exploitation of whatever resources are available. Although, as Taylor says, "*Geographical determinism has dogged all studies of settlement since the late nineteenth century*",⁴² Rogers' comment is equally true that, "*The geographical features of the locality greatly influenced both the original siting of the settlement and its later topographical development.*"⁴³ The range of geographical inheritance within the differing manorial structures, which encouraged their disparity, must now be considered.

NOTES.

3.0 THE TOWNSHIP.

1. SA/NBC63
2. Parish Chest - loan deposit Sheffield Archives - Worsbrough Collection.
3. SA/EM1885
4. SA/DAR7S. The map is annotated, "This belongs to J Fairbank & son". It shows Birdwell and Worsbrough Commons partially enclosed but, in addition to minor errors, omits the Blacker area.
5. Phythian-Adams, C., Address to Standing Conference for Local History (1975) 19.
6. Bound personal copy (William Elmhirst, 1861) in Elmhirst family archive at Houndhill. The surveyor notes on the map that it is based on an 1804 survey which appears not to have survived.
7. General introduction to recognition of early field boundaries and possible preservation in the modern landscape in Muir, R. & Muir, N., *Fields* (1989) London.
8. Ekwall, E., *English Place-Names* (1960) 4th Ed. Oxford, 149
9. Hunter, J., *South Yorkshire* (1831) 281.
10. Farrer, W., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol.2 (1916) Edinburgh 334.
11. Sykes, S., *Shadow of the Hill*, unpublished MA thesis Sheffield University, (1989) 10.1 - 10.5.
12. SA/NBC63
13. Will of John Rayney 1632 - copy in Parish Book SA/PR3/12. 272-275.
14. Elliott, B., *Barnsley: the Anatomy of a Yorkshire Market Town c.1660-c.1760*, unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Sheffield University (1990) 223-232.

15. SA/EM771 (1771) and see also SA/NBC92 (1801). Many mear stones survived to be recorded on the 1st edition O.S. 6" map (1855).
16. Survey in Fairbank Collection, note-book SA/FB49; p.83
Bill in Account Book SA/AB4(p.iv) 9 March 1777.
17. SA/EM771.
18. SYCAS/SMR Air photograph Worsbrough.
Gough,R., *The History of Myddle*, (ed. Hey,D.) (1981)
Penguin, 54
19. Beresford M. & Hurst,J., *Book of Wharram Percy* (1990)
English Heritage, 79 and *passim*.
20. Clay,J.W. (ed) 'Yorkshire Monastic Supression Papers'
YASRS. Vol.48 (1912) 140-1.
21. Hunter *op.cit.* 283.
22. MBC 137-8, No.433
23. MBC 120, No.370
24. Farrer *op.cit.* Vol.3, 329.
25. Hunter *op.cit.* 100
26. SA/PR3/12 Bk.I and SA/PR3/13 Bks. I & II.
27. PRO S.C.2. (Court Rolls) 211.112
28. Wakefield Land Registry A540/878.
29. Hunter *op.cit.* 293
30. MBC 138, No.434
31. MBC 135, No.428
32. SA/MD2850
33. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 8.
34. SA/NBC 499/15
Worsbrough Court Rolls 1636-1670 in SA/WhM39
Worsbrough Dale Court Rolls 1679-1685 and Worsbrough
Court Rolls 1709-1857 in private collection.
Darley Court Rolls SA/NBC499/15
35. SA/WhM 40/3
36. Hunter *op.cit.* 283
37. Sykes *op.cit.* 3.6 - 3.7
38. Yorkshire Deeds, YASRS. Vol.3, 43,14.
39. WYRD A/61/104 (1704) and A/148/214 (1707)
40. WYRD Y14/21
41. Phythian-Adams C., *Continuity, Fields and Fission: The Making of a Midland Parish*, Occasional Paper, 3rd Ser. No.4 (Leicester University) 1978.
42. Taylor,C., *Village and Farmstead*, (1983) London, 12
43. Rogers,A., *Approaches to Local History*, (1977)
(2nd.ed.) London, 5.

4.0 TOPOGRAPHY & GEOLOGY

4.1 Stone.

The overall easterly dip of the strata forming the landscape was subjected to considerable local modification during the last period of glaciation, about 10,000 years ago, in addition to the erosion subsequent to the retreat of the ice.¹ Evidence for the successive advances and retreats of the ice sheet from the north-east are sparse, but scattered erratics within a ten mile radius of Worsbrough show the area was once completely ice-covered. Small deposits of boulder clay along the 300ft contour, forming an arc passing through Barnsley, Worsbrough and Wentworth (still visible between Worsbrough and Birdwell),² suggest a pause in the retreat; deposits of sand and gravel, where the River Dove reaches the township limit to the east, are seen as indications of the edge of the 'York Lake' in the final stage of the glacial retreat.³ An earlier 'Barnsley Lake' has been postulated⁴ of which the Worsbrough valley would form a branch, having its eventual outfall through the relatively narrow gap between Swaithe and Dove Cliff, draining from the gentler slopes, below 300ft to the west.

The retreating ice completely denuded the plateaux over 500ft and, though a thin soil has regenerated in the succeeding millenia over most of the areas indicated as 'Commons' on Figure 4.1 and in the areas of Dove Cliff, the latter is still uncultivated scrubland and parts of Worsbrough Common remain stripped to bare sandstone rock.

The exposed outcrop at Highstone, facing Stainborough, was carved with representations of doors and windows for the Earl of Strafford in 1768, together with a mock facade of towers and curtain wall built on the Common, as a folly to be viewed from his mansion at Stainborough. The 1779 etching (Fig.4.2)⁵ shows the emptiness of the Common with the stone in the right foreground. The Highstone and the embattlements above Kingwell quarry survive today, having been retained as local curiosities after enclosing the Commons in 1816.⁶

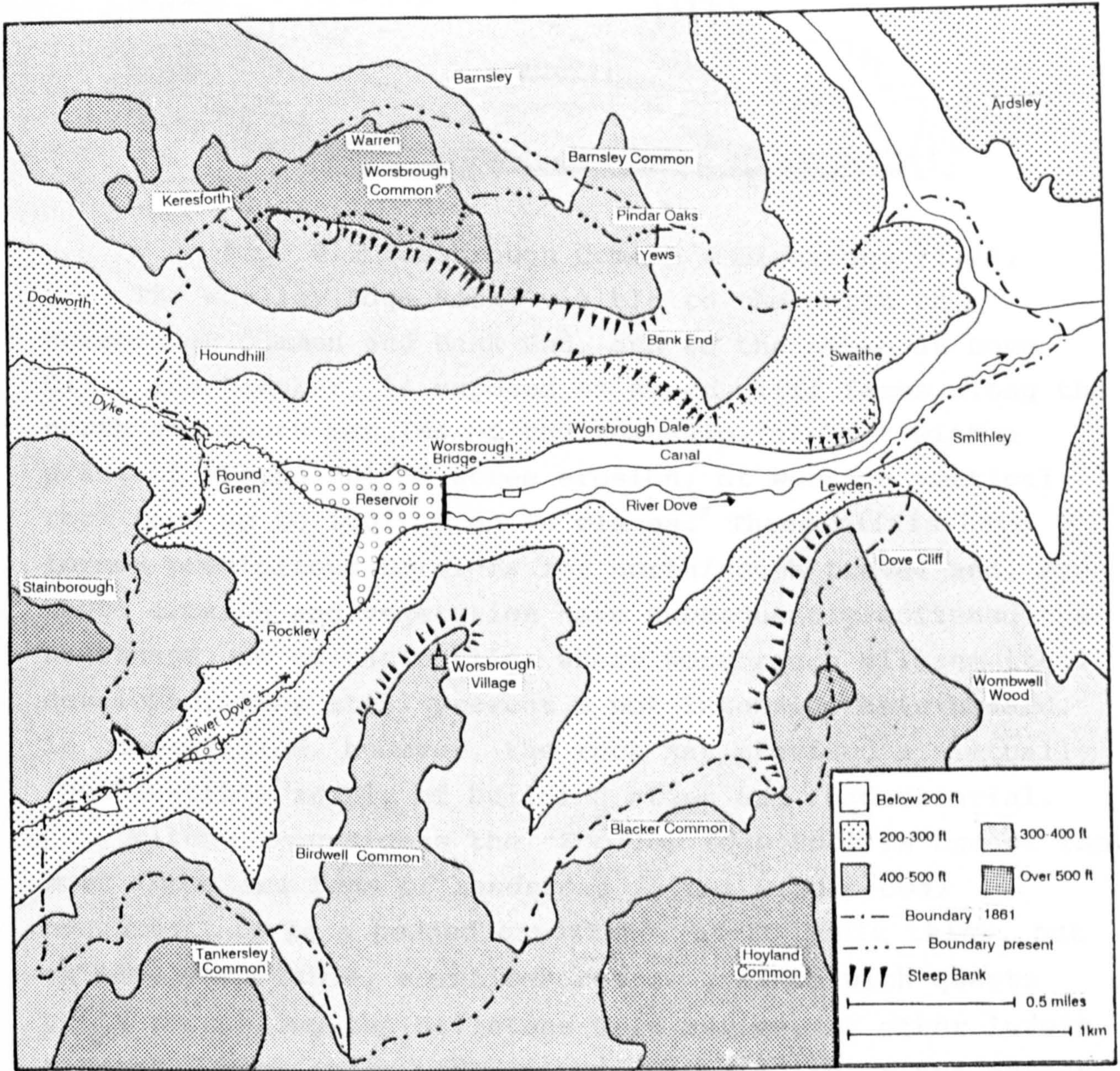


Fig. 4.1 WORSBROUGH TOWNSHIP

DA

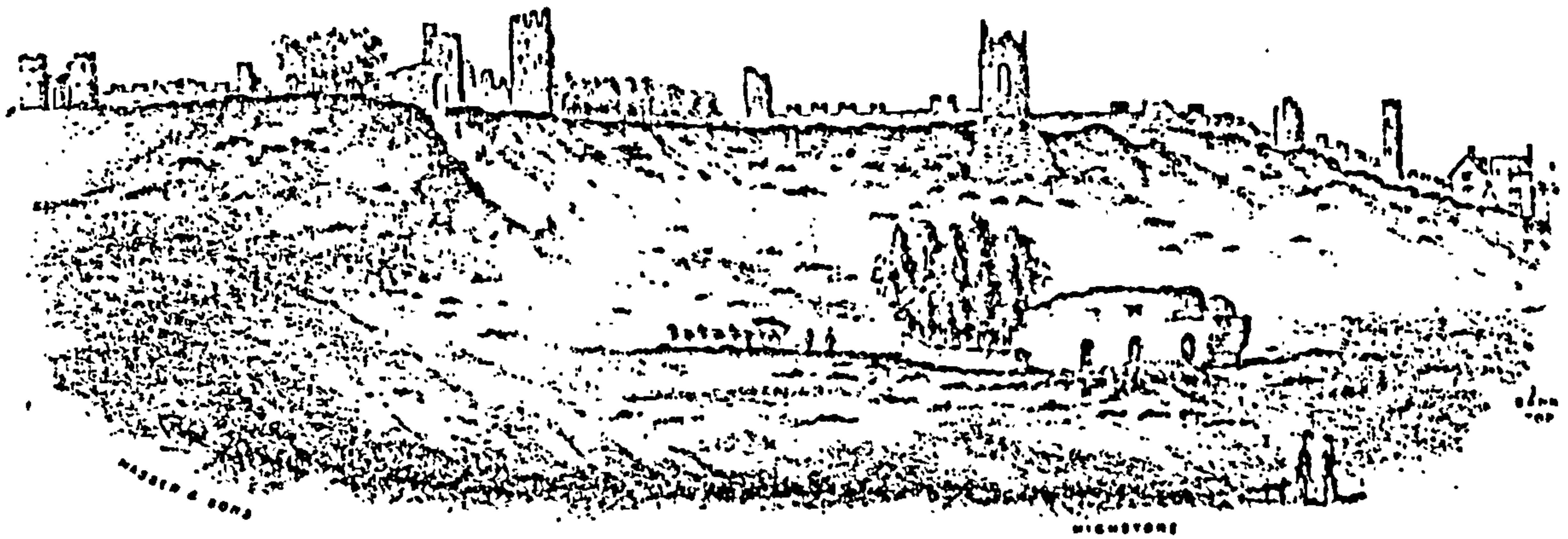
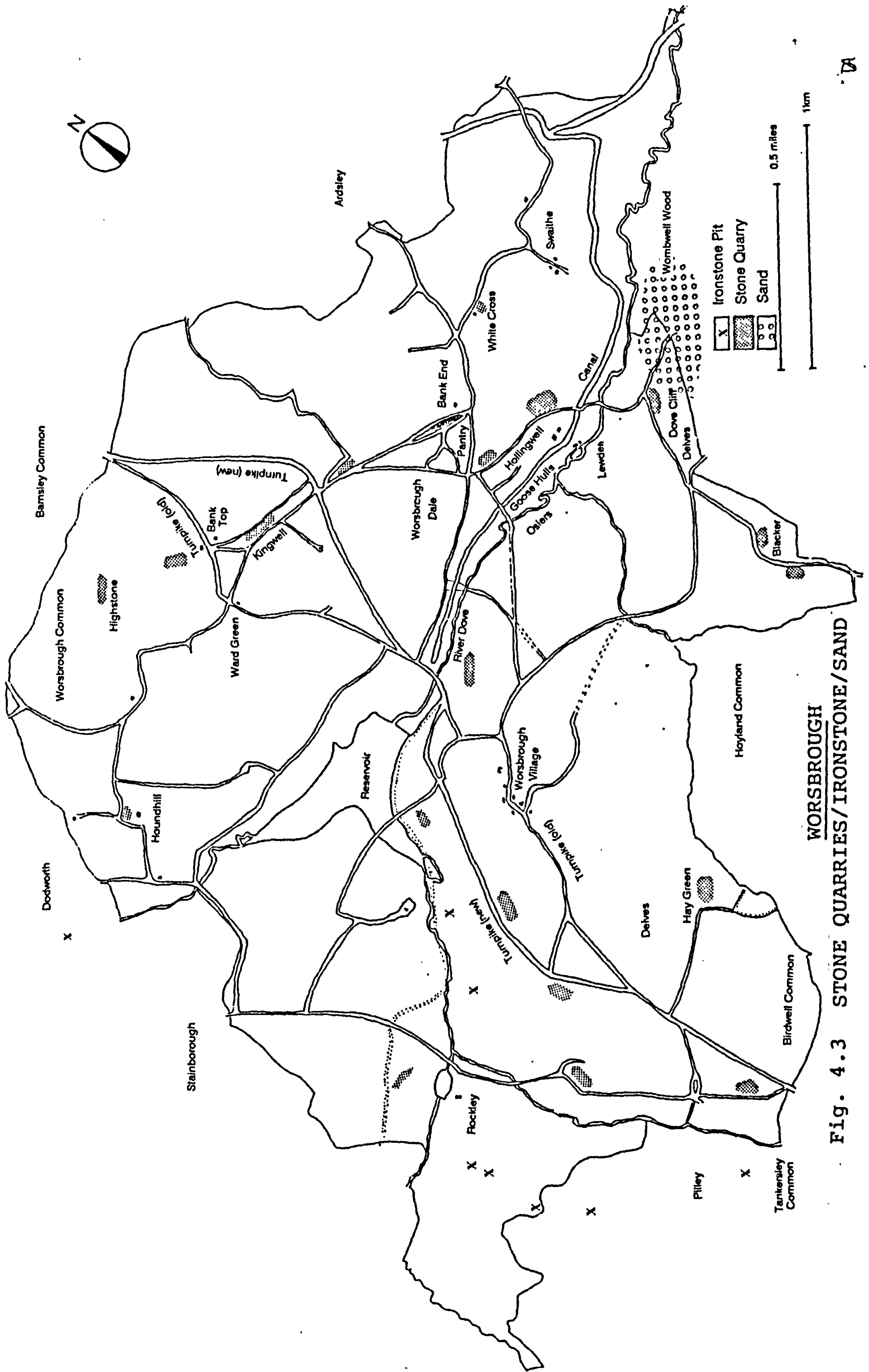


Fig. 4.2 Worsbrough Common - Highstone (1779)

The Woolley Edge Rock, visible to the north on Worsbrough Common and Bank End, and to the south at Dove Cliff and Blacker, is exposed as steep cliff faces along the north and south margins of the township, at best with a gradient around 20% of scree erosion, at worst a vertical rock face up to 100ft high in places.⁷ These cliffs have formed precipitous barriers for north/south travel and, even where erosion and vegetation have subsequently softened the harshness, as on the outlier where Worsbrough village itself developed, they still present a not inconsiderable hazard. In compensation, however, the rock has provided a virtually inexhaustible supply of building stone and road material.

Mitchell considers the "*Woolley Edge Rock is one of the most important beds of sandstone in the Middle Coal Measures*."⁸ It is a bedded sandstone, up to 120ft thick, but extremely variable, sometimes coarse-grained with quartz grits resembling the Millstone Grit series, at other levels a smooth, fine stone much-prized for building to the extent that a quarry was re-opened this century, to provide stone for renovations at Wakefield Cathedral.⁹ The upper levels, however, are coarse and friable, resembling compact gravel, below which are strongly bedded layers which split readily along the bedding plane. Such variability provided a resource to suit virtually all the needs of a mason.

The parish church of St. Mary's illustrates the problems of the local sandstone as a building material. This



WORSBROUGH
 Fig. 4.3 STONE QUARRIES/IRONSTONE/SAND

was the only stone building within the township before the early sixteenth century, but its pre-conquest and medieval builders were quarrying the higher levels of the series. They also tended to set the stone with the bedding plane horizontal, causing severe weather erosion on the outer face. The pre-conquest part of the east wall of the church is particularly weathered, as are parts of the fifteenth century south wall, suggesting a building stone of doubtful quality (Fig.A.27, p.336). Later masons used stone from deeper quarries so that, from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, buildings in the township better illustrate its quality as a picturesque mellow brown stone.

The quarry for the pre-Norman church and later extensions has not been positively identified, but the exposed face of the escarpment, below the present village site near the bridge, has clearly been worked on a small scale, and it would have been logical to use such a convenient source. (Fig.4.3) Later development of this face into a major quarry, during the intensive rebuilding throughout the township in the seventeenth century, would have been inadvisable in such a position near the main river crossing, though it was worked briefly in the nineteenth century when under the ownership of the Curate.

Major quarries were developed at Highstone, Bank Top, Kingwell, Bank End, Lewden, Dove Cliff, Blacker and Birdwell. Numerous minor quarries were scattered throughout the township as at Houndhill and Hay Green.

Quarrying methods offer little by way of dating evidence and the post-medieval records suggest the stone was quarried by traditional wedge and sledgehammer, as in 1801: *pd John Beardshall [blacksmith] for a Mall & Wedges £1-5-8* If the stone was not required in blocks suitable for building, for example when used as road material, a more drastic method was employed by building a fire against the rock face and, when the rock was sufficiently heated, pouring water over it to shatter the face. Highways Accounts also suggest that rock was heaped onto a fire, then quenched

to reduce it even further, before attacking it with hammers:
1812 *pd Richard Bellamy for leading Coals & Slack for
burning stone for repairing Half Ings Lane £16-5-0.*

Houndhill quarry seems to have lacked a nearby water supply
and a pump was installed:

1819 *pd Wm Burns a pump for a quarry at Houndhill £1-10-0*

The technique appears to have occasionally got out of hand:

1811 *Rev. Dixon for stone got in his quarry after Indictment
was discharged viz 304 yds burnt & sixty loads at
3d per ld £4-1-0*

*His tenant Rd. Bellamy for Damages in Getting Burning &
Carrying away same stones £1-8-0*

Many of the quarries can be assumed to have been opened
early in the seventeenth century when the replacement of
timber with stone for buildings will be seen to have begun
in earnest. The earliest specific reference to a quarry is
in the Manor Court Roll for 1735 where one is listed in the
renewal of copyhold lands held by Robert Marrow. However,
the Marrow family had settled in Worsbrough before 1671 and
this quarry date is made less significant as many Court
Rolls are missing between 1685-1735, where an earlier
reference may have occurred.

The opening of only one quarry can be precisely dated
and that was for road stone rather than buildings. The Manor
Court Roll for 23 December 1803 states "*The Inhabitants of
Worsbrough opened a Quarry for the Highways at Bankend which
by reason of its remaining unfenced on the North side .. a
common Nuisance .. therefore amerced the Inhabitants 20s
unless they fenced the Quarry on the North side before
Candlemas the next*". The township's main east/west road
passed along the rim of the quarry and some form of fencing
had been erected in time for the next court in 1804.
However, the quarry remained part-fenced, part-open, until a
substantial wall was built in 1989 to replace a slight wire-
strung split birch paling. It is remarkable that no major
accident ever occurred. The quarry closed in the 1850s and
pitmen's cottages were built below the face.

A similar problem had arisen at the Kingwell quarry in 1798 when the Overseer of the Highways paid, "*John Brameld for posts & Rails set against the Quarry and precipices near the Road upon Banktop Hill £9. 8. 0.*"¹⁰ It was eventually walled off in 1819 when the Highways Overseer allowed a guinea to "*T. Taylor for Wall at Kingwell Quarry*". This had been a major quarry extending half a mile along the Bank, including Kingwell and Bank Top towards Highstone, though a 1798 Fairbank survey,¹¹ showing the '*castle ruins built by the Earl of Strafford*', makes no comment on the quarry below them. Kingwell was a 'township' quarry, as opposed to being privately owned, and so available to villagers. William Elmhirst removed stone from it in 1842 and the crude survey he made, to show the Overseers how much he took, clearly states it was a "*quarry belonging to the Township*".¹² Money raised was paid to the Overseer of the Highways, as in 1849 when William Shaw paid him five shillings.¹³

In contrast, the sandstone exposed on the southern escarpment, along Blacker Common and Dove Cliff, provided the best building stone. The Blacker quarry was owned and worked by the Guest family of masons for many generations, from the late seventeenth century into the late nineteenth century. Unfortunately no family business records survive, but parish records suggest they were held in some esteem, even though one unfortunate member achieved the doubtful distinction of being recorded for posterity in the parish burial register, on 28 July 1765, as "*Richard Guest - Snivelling Dick*".

The Dove Cliff quarry was opened on a large scale in the later nineteenth century, closing early this century and being re-opened in the 1960s to provide matching stone in the current trend for renovation and conservation of early buildings. When the site was being cleared for this re-opening, two unfinished grindstones 1.29M and 1.24M diameter together with numerous fragments were discovered,¹⁴ suggesting a parallel industry developed in the quarry making grindstones, perhaps for the expanding Sheffield cutlery industry. According to local oral tradition,

millstones were supplied to the Worsbrough and Bullhouse (Penistone) mills earlier this century for the grinding of animal feed, the sandstone being too friable for corn grinding. Over twenty smaller, unfinished grindstones, averaging 0.6M diameter and 15cm thick, many lacking the central shaft hole, have been used as stepping stones across the garden of Kendal Green farm and are thought to have come from Dove Cliff. The quarry has recently been largely obscured following use as a municipal waste tip.

Minor uses for the local stone have been found such as the variation of a saddle quern, with stone ball, found at Houndhill, for grinding dye at the 16th century weaving works (p.142), and stone cannon balls about 10cm diameter recently dredged from the farm pond.

These various growing demands for stone in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly the requirements of the gentry and emerging middle-class for house building, made the need for major quarries obvious. Equally obvious was the desire for the less-well endowed citizens to improve their own lot with a stone building, though such quality stone was beyond their means. However, with virtually no soil cover on the heights of the Commons and Dove Cliff, digging any large hole would soon produce sufficient stone for a cottage wall, albeit not the best quality nor neatly trimmed. Much of the evidence of delving has long disappeared but, having been left unfarmed this millenium, Dove Cliff still shows the results of the delves which the Manor Court sought hard to prevent as being dangerous to travellers.

The hard-pressed '*inferior persons*' of the Court records were frequently called to book and the risk of relatively high fines suggests strong motivation to improve their living conditions. The Court regularly made a general order, as in 1685 when a fine of tenpence was set for all who delved on the Commons for stone [*fodiendo lapidus*]. Individuals were regularly summoned, such as Mr. John Naylor who, in 1788 "*got stone upon the Wastes within this Manor*

having no right so to do" and for which the fine had then increased to five shillings. For trying to break out his own quarry on Birdwell Common "[J] Russel was amerced twenty shillings" in 1811.

4.2 Ironstone.

The sandstone beds in the west of the township contain the Tankersley Ironstone band, largely composed of carbonate nodules, which outcrops on the Tankersley and Birdwell Commons, through Rockley to Dodworth and beyond.¹⁵ Figure 4.3 shows the line of iron-ore pits in use during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but it has been mined from at least the twelfth century and into the twentieth. The scale of exploitation has been restricted, however, partly due to the low quality of the ore and partly through the problems of communications in the area. The various phases of the growth of the local iron industry are examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

4.3 Sand.

In addition to the glacial sand and gravel, previously noted, there are pockets and banks throughout the lower levels of the township as a result of the climatic degradation of the sandstone cliffs, the debris being carried along the river banks. It is known that many of these pockets have been exploited but their exact locations have largely gone unrecorded. During the 1960s excavations at the seventeenth century Rockley Smithies, for example, a raised bank was investigated to ascertain if it was evidence of an access road to the site.¹⁶ It proved to be a natural sand/gravel bank left by a change in the river course; exploration down the valley showed similar banks left by ancient meanders. Documentary evidence from the seventeenth century shows sand was proving a valuable asset to the villagers, no doubt as a means of improving the heavy clay soils and for use on the highways. The Manor Court Rolls show that the inhabitants retained rights of commons to

extract sand and gravel for personal use well into the nineteenth century, as no local person was ever brought before the Court unless he was selling it. In 1804 "*James Russel had taken sand from the Waste .. on Birdwell Common into the Township of Stainbrough .. amerced five shillings*", but he obviously continued to build up his enterprise, being before the Court again in 1814 for what appears to be stockpiling: he was amerced five shillings for "*having laid twenty Loads of Sand upon the waste injuring the herbage.*" Timothy Humphries had been "*leading Sand from the Waste and Highways in Worsbrough Dale and selling same*", being fined 10s 6d in 1805.

However, the most frequent entries relate to Barnsley inhabitants coming into the township at the Highstone/ Kingstone boundary to steal Worsbrough sand, Barnsley's own source being some distance away to the north of the town in the Dearne valley. In 1800 "*Mr. John Roper of Barnsley had taken two loads of Sand from the waste of this manor to the Township of Barnsley .. amerced 7s 6d*". Mr. Thomas Totty and John Stocks had also stolen sand and gravel in 1797, for which they were fined 2s 6d each but, in 1796, John Smith was fined 10s 6d for the same offence. The varying level of fines appear to follow no particular pattern and, in the absence of quantities, it cannot be known with certainty to what extent the fine related to quantity or the influence of spleen at the repeated incursions of the Barnsley thieves, or even the rank of the thief. Thomas Ownsworth had been fined 25s 0d in 1791 for taking sand and gravel into Barnsley, but 'John Perkins gentleman' was fined only 2s 6d for the same offence in 1796.

A major demand for sand was created following the establishment of blast furnaces in the Rockley valley, during the second half of the seventeenth century - discussed in Chapter 6. It is noted here that large quantities of sand were required to make the moulds into which the molten iron was cast, new moulds being required for each casting. The few surviving accounts of the

consortium operating the 17th/18th century blast furnaces at Rockley show the sand being brought from the heathland of the Dove Cliff and Wombwell Wood areas (Fig.4.3). During the 1691 smelting campaign, for example, 62 loads of sand were taken from Wombwell Wood¹⁷ and in 1700, George Archdale brought "40 load sand from Wombwell Wood £4".¹⁸

4.4 Soil.

The valleys from Worsbrough Dale towards Dodworth and Rockley retained a richly fertile alluvium able to support thick woodland, pasture and arable farming. On the view shown in Plate 4.1 across the Rockley valley, (from above Houndhill looking south, see Fig.4.1), the rape crops show main cereal fields at the 400-500 foot contour, the wooded valley floors of the Dodworth and Rockley becks in the middle distance and Birdwell Common on the horizon.

Throughout the course of the river Dove, from Rockley to where it leaves the township in the east at Lewden, part of the valley floor, varying in width from a few feet to hundreds of yards, has always been subject to annual



Plate 4.1. Rockley valley from the north.

flooding from the Pennine snow melt, creating flood meadows and flourishing hay fields.

At Lewden an almost permanent wetland was created to provide osier beds, recorded on the first edition O.S. (1855) map, which were possibly medieval in origin and were certainly in use through the post-medieval period to the present century. They provided rushes for thatching and cane for basket-making. Occupations are omitted from the parish registers prior to 1714, but two families exploited these beds after this date - the Ogden family of besom makers, whose house and workshop survives at Birdwell (Appendix - Buildings No.21), and the Parkin family of basket and tems makers. The Parkin family were sixteenth century migrant arrivals, the burial of John Parkin being recorded on 29 July 1574, but it has not been possible to determine when the family first became involved in these trades.

The soil higher up the valley sides, around the 300-500ft contour, consists of a heavy alluvium; the clay content makes it a heavy soil to work but rich in production, particularly when liming became common locally in the eighteenth century, reducing the acidity and improving the texture by flocculation.

The source of the lime is obscure as Worsbrough contains no limestone strata. A kiln site (now lost) was known at Rockley Hall and a Kiln Ing at Blacker¹⁹. A late eighteenth century Strafford Estate Map²⁰ shows a Kiln Field and Kiln Close at Rockley Abbey and Lime Kilns at Worsbrough Bridge.²¹ Many of these are likely to be of ancient foundation and, as none appear on the first edition O.S. maps, must be presumed closed by the 1850s. The site near the Worsbrough Bridge was revived later in the nineteenth century by the Jessop family and operated until the middle of the present century. The source of limestone for the earlier kilns is unclear, but Conisbrough lime is known to have been brought by cart from the Kilnhurst canal basin in mid-18th century²². The Jessop accounts²³ show loads being brought as back carriage, via the Worsbrough link of the

Dearne & Dove canal, from the Magnesian Limestone ridge at Conisbrough and Knottingley. This was the likely source for the earlier lime-burners.

It can be assumed with reasonable certainty that the early kiln references are to lime, not brick, as the latter was little used in the township before the nineteenth century demands of the population expansion. Where any brick kilns are noted, as on the 1st edition O.S. survey, they are specifically recorded as such, in Worsbrough Park, for example, in the 1840s. Similarly there can be no confusion with pottery kilns as, despite the wide availability of excellent ganister clay associated with the local coal seams, there is no evidence to suggest pottery production within the township. It will be seen that, throughout the period under review, a comprehensive picture emerges of the local industries but with no hint of potters in documentary sources, nor amongst the field names at any period in Worsbrough's history.

The surviving Court Rolls suggest a degree of stability in land use until the end of the eighteenth century when there is a surge of cases involving encroachment of commons and waste being brought before the Court in an attempt to preserve the *status quo*. The rising population brought increasing pressure for cultivable land and the township was clearly sensing an unwelcome change in the established order as all the naturally available arable and pasture had long been part of the agricultural balance. No doubt this became an important factor in the demands by the major landowners for a legal apportioning of the land through an Act of Enclosure which was effected in 1816.

Of equal concern was the preservation of the fertility of the land, which had benefited over the centuries from mixed farming, where controlled grazing had made the fullest use of animal dung in the natural annual farming cycle. It is perhaps understandable that those taking in waste and commons, as part of a cottage vegetable plot, would wish to increase its fertility. There was no better way than to

remove dung from the commons, still being used under manorial grazing rights. As this would have been to the detriment of the villagers as a whole, towards the end of the eighteenth century the Manor Court began fining anyone caught taking dung. It is a reflection on the poverty of those involved, however, that in 1803 the Court was forced to record, "*Several persons amerced 5s at the last Court for gathering Dung from the Waste of this Manor appeared at this Court and prayed on account of poverty to be excused from paying such ameracements promising not to commit the same offence again, the Jurors therefore requested the Lord of this Manor not to claim the amercement.*"

It proved a difficult promise to keep in the face of poverty and hunger; cases continued to be brought before the Court. For example, in 1814 Mary Wroe (a nailer family) and the children of William Fisher (labourer), who all lived on the heights of Blacker Common, were presented, "*for frequently gathering Dung from the Waste .. amerced 1s.*"

There may also have been problems with the fertility of land which was part of long-established farms, particularly on the higher, thinner soils which, after three hundred years of continuous cultivation, were perhaps producing smaller yields at a time when farmers were facing greater demand. Some inhabitants went so far as to remove the soil (dung and all) from the Commons to improve their fields, even a personage such as William Elmhirst in 1816. Highly respected and a benefactor to the township in many ways, he was brought before the Court and charged with "*taking a great Quantity of Earth from the Waste ... at Round Green and Ward Green ... amerced fifty shillings.*"

4.5 Water.

Worsbrough always had adequate water supplies, for both domestic and industrial use, which were able to meet its needs as it grew from the tiny pre-Conquest settlement into a nineteenth century industrial township.

The river Dove and its Dodworth tributary (Fig.4.1)

effectively divide the township into three parts and, from the evidence of ancient dry banks along the valley, it is clear that modern drainage has reduced the river to a shadow of its former self. Although it would appear never to have had sufficient depth to be navigable, it was always a restrictive element in north/south travel. However, its flow has been sufficient to work Worsbrough corn mill, since before Domesday, and two further corn mills at Rockley and Lewden since the Middle Ages - the latter converted to a paper mill in the seventeenth century. During the post-medieval period, a small tributary from Birdwell, augmented by a pond system, was capable of driving three water wheels at the Rockley Smithies²⁴ and wheels for two blast furnaces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries²⁵.

It was also a valuable source of protein to the villagers offering a free supply of fresh fish, but the Manor Court, ever conscious of the common good, took steps to conserve the stocks. In 1682, for instance, it imposed a fine of the then enormous sum of ten shillings on all who fished [*qui ponent ullas namos in acquam*] before May. In 1685 the fine for fishing without permission was 3s 4d.

It would seem some villagers needed the strong hand of the court to look after their own interests as a court ruling, in 1685, suggests an extremely anti-social practice had arisen which would threaten the value of the river to the community. Any inhabitant who threw stinking carrion into the River or any pond where cattle drank, [*qui jacebunt cadevera vel fetida in flumen vocat Dove vel alique stagna*], was to be fined 3s 4d. A Roll of 1688, now lost but quoted by Wilkinson²⁶, suggests the practice continued and the ruling had to be further proclaimed.

The village had two ponds, one at each end of the village, the chief being on the green opposite the church tower. This not only served the needs of livestock but was additionally the site of the ducking-stool which had regular use until the late eighteenth century. Presumably the ducking was considered sufficient punishment without the

additional hazards of submergence with rotting dead animals.

The numerous wells throughout the township were made possible by the contorted and dipping strata of ganister clay associated with the coal seams, separated by bands of sandstone varying in thickness from a few centimetres to over a hundred metres. Water percolating through the sandstone is trapped above the clay, emerging as hillside springs or forming aquifers tapped by wells. As these occur throughout the township, its whole area was suitable for settlement at an early date. The majority can be located on the 1st edition O.S. map, including many originating in the Middle Ages (though some such as Agnes Well are now lost). Others have been discovered during the current research, mainly at the sites of the substantial houses built before mid-18th century, and it is likely that all such houses originally enjoyed a private well which cannot now be located. Genn House has the sole surviving local example of a well superstructure, (Appendix - Buildings No.6), but the site of Lewden well was found by a resistivity survey of the courtyard following a chance comment by the farmer. At Houndhill, a well and pump in the cellar of the 18th century extension had long been known, but a second well was discovered during recent excavations in an outhouse attached to the curtain wall of the Civil War fortification ²⁷. Other wells no doubt await similar chance discoveries.

A number of sites, such as Swaithe Hall and Pantry Green, had a well tapping the same source as an adjacent spring and, though the wells have long been disused and sealed, the springs still run today; the Cork Lane spring at Swaithe Hall had a traditional reputation for sweet soft water (now ruined by fertiliser run-off) and the Pantry spring is currently used by allotment gardeners.

The location of some wells far from any known habitation site, such as those shown on the O.S. survey in woods west of Rockley, must raise questions as to their origin for which answers cannot, as yet, be hazarded. Possibly they were for watering cattle, but are relatively

near a stream which would seem to obviate the need. Although Hoskins²⁸ puts forward a generalisation that, "*the green almost invariably contains .. a well*", the Worsbrough evidence points to numerous wells far from any 'green' and at least three 'greens' (Rockley, White Cross and Ward Green) having no known well, implying 'greens' which lacked a settlement.

However, each minor settlement area throughout the township had at least one well nearby from which it often took its name, as at Birdwell, Hollin Well and Kingwell. The latter area was of particular interest in having two wells, one for general domestic use, the other esteemed as a healing well, presumably from its iron content, of a type much loved by Celia Fiennes on her travels²⁹. The Enclosure Commissioner in 1816 decreed: "*I award for the use of the Public a certain well or Spring of Chalybeate water situate on Ward Green Common near an Ancient Inclosure belonging to William Parkin called Owler Close.*"

Worsbrough village had two wells along the High Street. The Monk Bretton Chartulary³⁰ records a grant in 1318 including, "*within the bounds of Wirkesburg in a certain place called Wellehouses*", which possibly identifies with the present Well Croft opposite the Hall. The site of the well is now lost under a modern building, as is the second well in the Back Lane. However, during the investigation of the Vicarage (Appendix - Buildings No.17) a well was located between the kitchen door and the wall now bounding the main street. It became solely for vicarage use but was originally available to the villagers before the wall interposed. A glebe exchange document,³¹ for a graveyard extension in 1826, shows a pump had been erected nearby so that villagers still had access to the water despite the wall. The accounts of the Constable, George Green, in 1826 include, "*Paid Jonas Jowett for mending Town pump - 15s 0d*".

Protection of the well water was considered equally important as protecting the purity of the river and the Constable had responsibility for the safety of wells. The

devastating effects of an impure water supply will be seen in the later demographic survey of the 1830s at Worsbrough Common after parochial control had been lifted.

Part of the Town Rate was used by the Constable to oversee only the wells at Kingwell, Pantry Green, Birdwell and the two within the village. They were provided with lockable lids held by iron bands in a wooden (later stone) structure with doors, all of which required constant repair. For example, the Constable's accounts record:

1707 *Doors for the Town Wells & pd to Tho. South for bands, crooks & nails 3s 7d.*

For lead & boards to Jn Swift for making ye doors 5s 1d.
1716 *John South for ye well lidd on ye Green 3d*

(It had broken again the following year):

1717 *A lid making for Green well 2s 1d*

1725 *Jn South for Green Well Lid making 2s 4d*

(The other wells were equally vulnerable):

1722 *Martin Guest for mending ye Oliver [Hollin] Well 3s 0d*

(But the repair was short-lived);

1723 *Pd Jno Swift for Oliver Well mending 1s
and for lead 1s 8d.*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Copyholders at Hay Green did fealty for a Close containing the oddly named "Pittle Well", a term associated with the local dialect word for urine. It may refer to urine collection for use in tanning or scouring woollen cloth³², but is more likely to be a mis-pronunciation of "pightel", an alternative form of the locally common "pingle", meaning a small enclosure near a house³³. In deference to Victorian sensitivities the name was changed at the 1850 Court to a more ambiguous "Pickle Well". Another well at Kingwell, recorded as 'Bottle Well' on the 1st Edition O.S. map, may have a connection with the local nineteenth century glass industry,³⁴ whilst Windmill House, on Worsbrough Common, possibly recalls an earlier supply, prior to sinking the numerous wells serving the growing population of the early nineteenth century.

Dating of wells by appearance is not possible and total excavation of a significant number, to obtain dating material, is unrealistic. However, the brick-lined pump at the Vicarage is probably 19th century and the adjacent stone-lined well 17th century, befitting the date of building the Vicarage. A pair of wells, similar to the latter, among the selions of the medieval town field running up to the south end of the village near the pond, point to these strips having been amalgamated by the 17th century and turned into a pasture close. It remains as pasture with one well still in use to draw water for the stock. By the nineteenth century some wells had fallen into disuse; the Constable's account for 1808, for example, includes - *James Savile & Wm Butterfield for one each filling up the well by Mr Porter's gates 4s 6d.*

4.6 Woods.

The spread of settlement in the township, encouraged perhaps by the ready access to water, clearly affected the woodland pattern. Contrary to popular belief, archaeological research, particularly in the last two decades, shows conclusively that a search for primeval woodland will be abortive. New woodland, regenerated after the last Ice-age, was systematically cleared by the Neolithic farmers felling and burning, the process expanding more rapidly into the Bronze and Iron Ages as tools improved and the population grew to exceed two million by the time of the Roman conquest³⁵. Extensive field systems had developed during this time, even in areas now considered hostile to agriculture as seen, for example, from Dr. Riley's exhaustive aerial investigation of the South Yorkshire field systems³⁶ and Fleming's interpretation of the pattern of reeves on Dartmoor,³⁷ which show little of the earlier woodlands surviving even to the Roman occupation. Roman organisation of the economy, with planned boundaries of estates, accelerated the changes to the landscape so that "*When the Saxons finally arrived in England, they thus came, not to an empty*

*land of forests, marshes and moorland with the insubstantial remains of a few thousand primitive people, but a crowded, totally exploited country, covered in fields, roads, towns, villages and farmsteads, all organised into a complex system of landholding ... not only fixed but of great antiquity"*³⁸.

Not all these farmed areas survived into the Middle Ages, "*.. much of the wooded land that was farmed in prehistoric and Roman times ... had passed out of cultivation during the decline of the Dark Ages ..*",³⁹ but any timber areas surviving the later assarting and replanting are most unlikely to be older than the remnants of the inheritance from Roman organisation, with the majority originating since the medieval changes.

Worsbrough did not escape the impact of the national pattern of development, particularly where the scattered minor settlements in the north of the township cleared regenerated forests in creating the medieval assarts, and woodland became concentrated in blocks suitable for management as a cash crop. As Christopher Taylor comments, "*Timber was certainly too valuable a commodity for woods to be left as wild waste...Woodland was usually looked after with almost as much care as arable or meadowland and probably much more carefully than pasture.*"⁴⁰

However, retained woodland has to be viewed as a long term asset, only the larger landowners being able to exploit it and replant with any confidence that the income, due many generations later, would enhance the family fortunes. Valuable though a full-grown oak may be to the builder at the time of cutting, it had been a liability and dead capital to the landowner for over a hundred and fifty years. However, replanting continued at Worsbrough into the nineteenth century, especially along the Bank which was too steep for ploughing but could yield a timber crop.

Fortunately, the owner of woodland in Worsbrough had numerous outlets to generate income from his holding - immediate cash return for brushwood and thinnings for domestic fuel, oak bark for the local tanners, great timbers



Fig. 4.4 WORSBROUGH - WOODS & FIELDS 1838

for building, willow for basketry and even holly for winter fodder. A particularly important part of the local timber economy in the Early Modern Period was the supply of charcoal, from managed coppices, for the smithies and blast furnaces to be discussed as part of the iron industry in Chapter 6. Though it is inadvisable to make simple projections of a vegetation landscape back in time in view of the often unknown variables of climatic change, these have probably been too brief, in the period under review, to cause lasting change. The variety of woodland cover during this millenium has been determined by soil conditions providing Worsbrough with a range including wet-loving willows, scrubland birch and the heavier clay-soil oaks.

The Domesday survey is somewhat unhelpful in its information on the early medieval woodland environment; "*wood pasture half a league by half a league*"⁴¹. It not only fails to indicate its location in relation to the settlement, but its dimensions cannot be equated to modern measures. The 'league' was the common measurement used in the north by the Domesday surveyors when estimating woodland and is usually regarded as equal to 12 furlongs, but as 'mile' is occasionally used where 'league' would be more appropriate, and doubt surrounds the origin of both measurements, the dimension cannot be treated with confidence.⁴²

Occasional references in the Monk Bretton Priory Chartulary suggest the township retained considerable expanses of woodland in the Middle Ages⁴³. However, the Chartulary refers only to scattered holdings within the township with which the Priory had any concern, and does not permit any inference of the overall medieval topography, other than items such as the spring wood it held at White Cross, which retains the modern name of Monk Spring Wood. On the contrary, the sparse mentions of woodland indicate it had little value as a grant to the Priory in providing income for a priest to offer prayers for the soul of the donor, arable being more profitable. Where woods are mentioned they are included as an appendage with vague

location as, for example, the grant in 1321 by Robert de Boseville to Philip de Boseville - "*.. a messuage and bovate of land with the meadows and woods adjoining .. in Sunathe [Swaithe] in Wirkisburg.*"⁴⁴

The raw heights of Highstone and Dove Cliff would have thin wood scrub cover when the Dark Age vill was first established, but thick mature woodland would undoubtedly have extended over both sides of the valley in addition to the rich expanse of Rockley to the west.

No indications have been found of any form of large scale clearance such as occurred in the Shropshire township of Myddle and at Cuxham near Oxford⁴⁵, but the evidence is rather for a steady expansion of arable and pasture into wooded areas, typical of the South Yorkshire settlement pattern; a pattern illustrated in the changes noted by Ruston and Witney at Hooton Pagnell.⁴⁶

Where perhaps Worsbrough differed from many contemporary settlements was its polyfocal expansion. Woodland began to submit to plough and pasture from the early medieval period, not only outward from the main village, but particularly from Ardsley township through Swaithe, where assarts were being made certainly in the century following the foundation of Monk Bretton Priory in 1154. A grant in 1301 by Henry Brom to his son Henry of an assart in Swaithe, Blaberoxgang, bought of Adam Blaber, suggests the latter cleared it in the previous century⁴⁷. Similar expansion occurred in the north of the township between Bank End and Pindar Oaks in the fourteenth century when Henry Glu cleared woodland for his house and fields at Yews.

A Court Roll⁴⁸ of Rockley manor in 1340 records the assarted lands of Jordan Wigfall being taken into the lord's keeping as his son Richard was under age. The Priory Chartulary takes this assarting back two further generations when in 1330 Jordan de Wiggefall is recorded passing to Richard, his son, "*a messuage, buildings, tenements, woods, meadows*" inherited from his father Simon⁴⁹. Wigfall is at the heart of the valley, now largely taken over by the reservoir, but

the northern curve of its 'green lane' boundary around the reservoir is preserved in the modern field pattern.

All the major clearances were complete by the end of the medieval period, the town fields being well established, together with the fields of the satellite settlements such as Swaithe, and the assarts of the outlying farmsteads. Much of the remaining woodlands, particularly in Rockley manor, were to endure, albeit with occasional shrinkage and replanting, mainly in response to the need for charcoal in the expanding local iron industry, which necessitated careful management to maintain the supply and thus the income of the landowner. Figure 4.4 outlines the basic woodland and new planting recorded on the 1837 Tithe map which may be compared to the conjectured position in c.1600, previously outlined in Figure 3.1, (page 43).

Great timbers for building were still available towards the end of the sixteenth century when, for instance, in 1595, William Micklethwaite of Swaithe Hall, left to his friend Henry Riley, "*all my timber which is felled toward building.*"⁵⁰ Micklethwaite had intended this for a new kitchen which he actually built in stone, (Appendix - Buildings No.9). In the seventeenth century, however, the situation was changing; early in the century, the purlins used in building the house of blacksmith, John South, were little more than de-barked and roughly trimmed thick branches, (Appendix - Buildings No.12); in 1692 the Rockley ironworks consortium had to pay for "*two trees bought in Derbyshire for Chappell wheele & Slitting mill*" even though small timber for charcoal was still plentiful.⁵¹

The closure of the charcoal-fuelled furnaces and smithies in mid-eighteenth century removed the incentive to maintain the spring woods and coppicing cycle, resulting in deforestation to the point where, by 1813 for example, the Elmhirst estate had insufficient timber to provide fencing. William Elmhirst was obliged to order "*180 dozens of rails, 72 dozens of posts and 3 and a half dozens of gate ledges of Larch*"⁵² from Horncastle (Lincs). Of the 3568 acres recorded

as the township area in the 1838 Tithe Commutation Survey,⁵³ woodland accounted for only 8.2 per cent, a tenth of which was new plantation, suggesting it was no longer self-supporting. The importance of woodland to the local economy declined even further during the nineteenth century, not only as stone replaced timber as the essential building material but, more particularly, a result of the change from an advanced organic to a mineral energy based economy.

4.7 Coal.

The coal reserves, which provided the mineral energy, extend over the entire area of the township in a sequence of high quality, thick beds which outcrop along the north and south faces of the valley. The Barnsley and the Silkstone seams were especially sought after and, as technology improved during the eighteenth century, deeper mining was possible so that the local industry developed to a stage where it could make a national contribution. This, of course, was dependent on transport and the main impetus for the expansion of the Worsbrough coal industry had to await the opening of the canal in 1804, followed by the extension of the rail network in the 1840s. The development of the Worsbrough coal industry will be examined in Chapter 6 and its demographic effects considered in Chapter 7.

The township encompassed an area offering all the potential for successful habitation, with a good water supply, ample timber and a variety of soils to satisfy basic needs, supplemented by stone and minerals essential in the later stages of development during the post-medieval expansion. The sequence of exploitation of these resources is examined in later Chapters on Worsbrough's economic fortunes, but no community can survive long in isolation, however well-endowed, and Worsbrough's particular problems in regard to communications with its immediate hinterland and beyond must now be considered.

NOTES

4.0 TOPOGRAPHY & GEOLOGY

1. General description of the geology of the region in Mitchell, G.H. et al, (1974) Geology of the Country around Barnsley HMSO.
2. *Ibid*, 131 & 134.
3. *Ibid*, 136.
4. *Ibid*, 131.
5. Wilkinson, J., *History of Worsborough*, (1872) 227.
6. Twigg, C., *Stainborough and Rockley* (1833) 3.
This second Earl of Strafford appears obsessed with the invention of history and also modified an iron-age hillfort within the grounds of Stainborough to erect a complete miniature mock castle to impress visitors. See Ashurst, D., (1991) 'Stainborough Lowe', *H.A.S.* Vol.16, 33-39.
7. Mitchell, *op.cit.* 61-63; 71-73.
8. *Ibid*, 71
9. *Ibid*, 71 Probably the Dove Cliff quarry.
10. SA/ PR3/14(1). Accounts of Overseer of the Highways.
11. SA/ FB83. pp 46/7
12. SA/ EM1238
13. SA/ PR3/14(1)
14. SYCAS SMR, registered Ashurst, D. One stone 1.29M dia. and 20cm thick with 7.6cm hole offset 0.5M. Second stone 1.2M dia. x 17cm thick with central 7.6cm hole.
15. Mitchell, *op.cit.* 47 and 142.
16. Crossley, D. & Ashurst, D., (1968) 'Excavations at Rockley Smithies', *PMA*, Vol.2.11.
17. SA/SIR1.p.119. Staveley Ironworks Records.
18. SA/SIR2.p.91.
19. SA/Worsbrough Muniments, Tithe Commutation Award.
20. SA/EM1088, Survey of Earl of Strafford Estate, c.1791.
21. Tithe Commutation.
22. SA EM1005-6
23. Jessop account ledgers, Author's collection.
24. Crossley & Ashurst, *op.cit.*
25. Crossley, D. - report forthcoming.
26. Wilkinson, *op.cit.* 441.
27. Ashurst, D., excavation report forthcoming.
28. Hoskins, W.G., *The Making of the English Landscape*, (1988) 2nd. Ed. London, 57.
29. Morris, C. (ed) *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, London, (1947), 80
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5.0 COMMUNICATIONS

5.1 Roads.

The position of Worsbrough within the regional and national communications network played a vital part in the course of its development. By the mid-sixteenth century, it had become a thriving rural community able to produce a marketable surplus. However, until late in the eighteenth century, it encountered serious problems in reaching suitable markets, both for this surplus and the developing heavy industries of coal and iron, through lack of access to the wider transport network. The growing market town of Barnsley was clearly a target, but reaching it and beyond to any great degree was fraught with difficulty.

The internal road system which developed in Worsbrough served its inhabitants well, but any major contribution to the regional and national prosperity had to await the canal and rail links of the nineteenth century, the introduction of which brought the major changes to be seen in the later social and commercial life of Worsbrough. The present landscape and surviving documentary evidence provide opportunities to follow Worsbrough's progress through the early modern period to when it shared the national prosperity. In addition, the record offers some insight into the democratic way the township conducted its own affairs in the absence of any controlling faction.

The modern countrywide complex of highways has evolved strictly within the limitations of the prevailing geography of each region and, though the growing needs of the population might demand more comprehensive and easier travel, it is inescapable that, as Professor Hey states: "*Human needs have changed from time to time, but the restrictions imposed by the landscape have remained unaltered.*"¹ Such restrictions are particularly apparent at Worsbrough where the almost vertical escarpment running east/west along the northern margin of the township and the lesser, but not insignificant, bank to the south present

difficulties for any north/south route. The situation is then compounded by the river Dove which divides the township and has to be crossed at some point in the valley.

The Romans had established a north/south route from London to York, the later Great North Road, further to the east, which by-passed the region and no doubt exploited an even more ancient trackway. Its sweep north-west to avoid the eastern flood plain established Doncaster as the major crossing of the Don on a crucial trade route.²

Despite the difficulties of the Worsbrough Bank, a medieval regional north/south route became established linking Leeds, Wakefield, Barnsley, Sheffield and, ultimately, London, which skirted the edge of the Pennines and, in avoiding the moors to the west and flood plain to the east, had to traverse the township (Fig. 5.1). This was never an easy passage and it will be seen that the original turnpike failed to find a solution, but the growing economy of the region in the early modern period, particularly the seventeenth and eighteenth century growth of the West Riding textile and Sheffield steel industries, made the link inevitable. The population of Leeds grew from about 10,000 in 1700 to over 16,000 by 1771; Sheffield from 3000 in 1672 to over 10,000 by 1736; Wakefield and Halifax had become major textile markets; Barnsley was recognised as an important market town. Another ancient highway from Richmond to London veered east from Barnsley towards Rotherham by-passing Worsbrough.

A west to east land route was also essential for regional development, particularly to take advantage of Doncaster and Bawtry as ports. Although Neolithic west/east migration routes have been identified, and the Romans later established roads over the Pennines, from Doncaster and Castleford to Slack and Manchester via Blackstone Edge, with a possible branch passing north of Barnsley, these were abandoned by the fifth century³. No reasonably practical Pennine crossing was available for wheeled traffic before the eighteenth century turnpiked roads; until then the

packhorse held sway, as when James Harrop of Silkstone was placed in charge of 20 packhorses carrying goods from Manchester to Barnsley and Pontefract.

The movement of relatively high cost to bulk products, such as textiles and leather goods, by packhorse or cart was economic. However, apart from its early leather industry, somewhat static until its demise in the nineteenth century, an iron industry already in decline and a cottage weaving industry unable to match the major West Riding production centres, Worsbrough had mainly coal to offer the eighteenth century expansion of trade. The township's potential for exploiting its coal reserves could not be realised until the canals and railways broke the road monopoly, enabling Worsbrough to join the commercial expansion of the region.

In reviewing the development of the road network in more detail, it is perhaps pertinent to note, in the words of Christopher Taylor, "*Whatever its origin, whether prehistoric, Roman or Dark Age, our present road system was virtually complete [by the eleventh century] and apart from the modern motorways and a few new roads in particular areas, our pattern of roads is the same as it was 900 years ago*".⁴

Changes in the road network within the township from 1600 to the mid-nineteenth century can be seen as refinements of an existing system, whereby the present roads in Worsbrough are based on well-established tracks. One exception was the completely new road from Dove Cliff over Blacker Common recorded in detail in the Highways Overseer Accounts for Michaelmas 1808.⁵ An additional southern route had been proposed and was surveyed by Fairbank, the Sheffield surveyor, but never completed.⁶

Many entries in the Overseer of Highways accounts might suggest other new roads were being constructed, as in 1803: "*Forming road in Genn Lane & breaking stones 5 days-12s 6d*". However, as with the majority of the lanes, this had been a path for foot or packhorse traffic and the eighteenth /nineteenth century records are of improvement to permit greater use of wheeled traffic. A considerable increase in

horse teams is noticeable in these later accounts, whereas earlier Probate Inventories indicate a shortage of horses and wheeled vehicles in Worsbrough, perhaps reflecting the state of its lanes.

Tudor concern regarding the condition of the highways "*being now both very noisome and tedious to travel in and dangerous to all passengers and carriages*", and which was constricting commercial development, led to the First Statute of Highways in 1555. The constable and churchwardens, officers of the civil parish as at Worsbrough, were to call the townspeople together annually on Tuesday or Wednesday of Easter week to "*elect two honest persons to be surveyors and orderers of the works for amendment of the highways in their parish leading to any market town*".⁷ The inhabitants were themselves to provide the labour for eight hours on four days set aside annually, using their own tools, and each owner of a ploughland or a team provided a cart with oxen or horses. Provision was made for sending a substitute and later for commutation to a money rate.

The Worsbrough practice in 1555 is unknown, but the surviving Highways accounts from 1798-1854 show the Overseers were elected at Michaelmas (not Easter) and the township provided all tools for the day-work labour, for example in 1798, *Jno Brammah for Wheelbarrow Body 5s;*

1800 *Jonas Firth for a New Shovel 3s 6d*

A pickaxe and shovel for Jos Garnet 5s 6d.

A number of payments for tools purchased from the local blacksmith appear somewhat variable in price. For example, a new hammer shaft cost 6d in 1801, 1802, 1803 but, in 1819 "*pd to R. Wordsworth chafting Hammer 4s 2d*". This might suggest a sudden inflationary leap, after early stability, but a new shovel cost 3s 6d in 1800; 3s 6d in 1826 and 3s 0d in 1853. Similarly a mattock costing 5s 6d in 1803 was only 4s 1d in 1806. Clearly it would be unwise to base any judgement of general economic conditions on such data as prices of craft products may contain hidden factors such as size, quality or even 'trading down' to obtain custom.

The Michaelmas meeting elected three Overseers, one as Supervisor, one for the 'Town' [village] and one each for Upper & Nether Dale. The Supervisor collected the Highways tax, authorised and organised the year's work, and presented an account to a town meeting the following year, when handing over to his successor.

The names of the Overseers⁸ are known from 1652-1854. As in other areas of the civic administration in early modern Worsbrough, there was an element of flexibility, almost chaotic at times, as to who was responsible for doing what. For example, the eighteenth century accounts⁹ show the Constable had responsibility for creation and repair of causeys and paths, but not roads, in addition to occasional concern over bridges; the Manor Court also attended to bridges, highway obstructions and encroachments.

This is not particularly surprising when it is seen that, though the personnel change over the centuries, the various officials (Poor, Highways, Churchwardens, Manor Court jurors etc.) are all drawn from the same level of society with the same people moving around the various positions from year to year. Commonly one man held two posts then simply switched one the following year:-

	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Churchwarden</u>	<u>Constable</u>
1708	Wm. Becket & John Turton	Anthony Cawood & Gervas Shepherd	Gervas Shepherd
1709	<u>Gervas Shepherd</u>	<u>Wm Tottington</u>	<u>Gervas Shepherd</u>

In 1729 Nathaniel Shaw held all three positions having already had two in 1723 and again two in 1732.

It would be a relatively simple matter to ask the Constable to ensure the Highways Overseer dealt with a problem when they were one and the same person. Certainly much of the work done was the result of simple personal contact, as in 1734 when the Constable, Joseph Rhodes, paid John Guest (stone mason) 15s 0d for causeying on the order of Nathaniel Shaw, Highways Overseer¹⁰. By the early nine-

teenth century the situation had become rationalised to some extent in that the Constable appears to have no further interest in causeys and highways, leaving it to the Highways Overseer, with only occasional interest in the road gates, eg. 1817 *Pd Geo Bramal new gate for Stampers Lane* £1:19:0.

It is received wisdom that these posts were accepted with reluctance, perhaps merely as an inescapable civic duty, even though they were paid for their efforts. In 1804 Mr. Bowns, for example, received £6:6:0 for six days at York assizes attending a trial regarding repairs to Haverlands Lane (Fig. 5.2) and 2s 0d for making up his accounts. All the accounts include an additional amount for free provision of ale at the signing. The Worsbrough records provide no indication of an overseer's attitude to the work but, with the same few people taking the positions year after year, despite its involving numerous meetings and handling relatively large sums of money, it suggests a degree of satisfaction, particularly when equally competent and socially acceptable inhabitants never appear in these roles.

A town meeting had to approve the accounts of all the Overseers and be signed by a group of those attending, which usually included previous Overseers who were acquainted with the work. To be on the safe side, the eighteenth century accounts included the rider, "*errors excepted.*" This agreed account was then passed to a Justice of the Peace and, on no occasion amongst the surviving Worsbrough accounts, was it not approved, despite some occasionally shakey arithmetic. A retiring Overseer passed unspent allowance to his successor when handing over his books and eventually any error would reveal itself. In 1822 Joseph Hague, presenting his account as Highway Overseer for Swaithe and the Dale, had £15:19:0 remaining as credit for the next overseer, Thomas Tottie. However, the 1823 account failed to balance and, "*At a Publick meeting the Township of Worsbro assembled at the school this day resolved that Mr Jos Hague be requested to Pay to Mr Tho Tottie the amount of the balance due by him to the Township amounting to £15-19-0.*"

Occasionally indebtedness went the other way, as in 1841 when William Wigfield ended his account for £367:16:6 with: "*Balance due to me from Township £17-8-0*".

It would, of course, be natural for an incumbent Overseer to derive benefit from his position by ensuring his particular area was well served. This appeared to cause little comment unless the town meeting felt he had gone beyond reasonable bounds, as did Mr William Elmhirst in 1802 when, as Overseer, he authorised "*2 days hacking Ruts 5s.0d*" in the road near his house at Houndhill.¹¹

Ten inhabitants at the meeting signed: "*Memorandum, That the charge of Five shillings for Hacking Ruts and struck out of the above Accounts was objected to by the inhabitants of Worsbrough ... Mr Elmhirst consented to its being struck out, upon condition that it should be allow'd to him by some succeeding surveyor of the Highways ... if the said road should be hereafter established to be a Highway for carriages liable to be repaired and maintained at the public expence.*" To cover any future litigation the meeting added: "*It was..agreed that the said charge being so entered afterwards struck out, shall have no effect in evidence .. in favour or to the prejudice of any person who may hereafter attempt to prove on any trial at Law the above-mentioned road is or is not a Highway for Carriages liable to be repaired and maintained at the public Expence.*"

This five shilling item was part of a total annual account of £94:11:2 and not only illustrates the care with which they were scrutinised, but also the communal reluctance to accept every lane as a public liability. Many roads in Worsbrough remain 'unadopted' by the local authority.

The highways maintenance fund was raised by lays based on size of land holdings, augmented in the nineteenth century by payments from the Dove & Dearne Canal Company for land absorbed in building the reservoir and canal. Other income included leasing the township's Kingwell quarry¹² and miscellaneous sums such as £2:3:6 in 1827 for a "*Pipe & Trough sold from Pantry Well*". In 1811 Messrs Darwin & Co.

(ironmasters) paid £13:13:0 for, "*two years damage done in Rockley Lane and Birdwell Comon*" when leading ironstone. Unfortunately for the Overseers, such charges for damage to their roads were often offset by claims against them for damage done by their road workers; John Hammond claimed £4:1:6 in 1804 for "*Damages done to his corn*".¹³

Four main routes left the north of the township giving access to Barnsley, Wakefield and Doncaster, but only one south towards Sheffield. The inclusion of 'Lane' in the names of internal routes, linking hamlets and farmsteads, suggests an early medieval origin although, unfortunately, the Monk Bretton Chartulary, the sole medieval documentary source, fails to name any lanes. Its entries are in the form, "*croft abutting Sekkerroyde ... and a certain lane on the east side*".¹⁴ The junction of medieval lanes was imprecise, resulting in areas of common waste which the 1816 Enclosure Act transferred to private ownership; but the lane described in the schedule invariably included, '*line of ancient road*'. Names of lanes refer to a particular feature such as the original assarter (Genn Lane), topographical (Shortwood Lane), landmark (White Cross Lane), agriculture (Balk Lane) or industry (Smithy Lane) and, near the boundaries, indicate the next settlement such as Pilley Lane and Ardsley Lane.

A number of the ancient lanes have remained in the modern landscape as mere bridle-ways, even within the centres of intense development, as for example Dark Lane from the village to Lewden and the Bank End Lane to Pantry Green; other examples in the countryside include Rockley Lane and Swaithe Lane. The only route given the modern name 'road' was the new turnpike section, built in 1759, from the north which, leaving Barnsley, is "London Road" but through Worsbrough the "Sheffield Road".

Change in a lane's status is seen at Rob Royd, opposite Houndhill (Fig. 5.2) where, with an apparent lack of foresight, John Cawood had built himself a substantial house and tanning works in the seventeenth century, but had no

access lane. Robert Copley of Doncaster, who owned the adjacent field, gave him a 'way right' to take his carts "across my close called Cow Close" at five shillings a year, to be renewed annually. Cawood was to provide all gates and posts. Bartholomew Hattersley of Houndhill allowed him to pass by his land, but not over it, for another five shillings.¹⁵ The restriction still stands and the Elmhirst family, present owners of Houndhill, retain a memorandum that, '*This paper to be carefully kept as it hereby appears Cawood has no right of way through the grounds at Houndhill.*' This track across Cow Close became the present Houndhill Lane, whereas the original lane behind Houndhill to Kendal Green, is reduced to a mere footpath.

A vital link in the medieval and early modern network was the route from the Worsbrough bridge, through Swaithe along Cork Lane, towards Stairfoot and Ardsley (Fig. 5.2). Although this route avoids the Bank, it has its own hazards reflected in its earlier designation as 'Calcker Lane'. Local explanations for the name Calcker look to the boat building yards, established along the banks of the 19th century canal near Worsbrough Bridge, i.e. 'caulking' planks. However, in the previous century, the Lane had been known throughout its entire length from Stairfoot to Worsbrough Bridge under various spellings as Cawker, Calcker, Cowker, corrupted on the 1st ed. O.S. map to Cork Lane. A topographical explanation for its unusual name is possible.

Passing through Swaithe from Stairfoot the route climbs and descends a steep, slippery clay bank, then climbs again more gently to Bank End before another steep descent to Lewden. Smith¹⁶ suggests 'Swaithe' is derived from ON 'a slippery place'. As part of a main medieval route from Doncaster to Sheffield, this would present considerable difficulty, but could be overcome by fitting a horse with a shoe having a 'calk' (projecting iron piece) or by turning down the end of a shoe, known in the fifteenth century as 'calkin'. It would be well-known amongst the packhorse leaders as a place advisable to fit 'calks' for safety¹⁷.

The need for such aids along this route would be particularly demonstrated in the transporting of iron plates which were being produced at the Rockley furnaces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They weighed a ton and were taken by cart from Rockley to Doncaster, for shipping to Henry Lysle at the alum works near Whitby. In the Autumn of 1692, for example, 13 tons were moved at 8s 0d a ton.¹⁸ The Swaithe Hall section has proved unsuitable to develop into a modern road and remains as a sunken lane with causey.

Journeying from Swaithe through Ardsley was often a cause for concern. Richard Micklethwaite, yeoman of Swaithe Hall, left provision in his Will of 1638: "*Item, I give unto the amending of the hyhe waye in Ardesley Lane leading to Wombwell forty shillings*".¹⁹ In 1669 the West Riding Quarter Sessions ordered, "*wheeras the Kings highway Leading between the market Townes of Barnsley & Doncaster in a certaine place called Ardsley Towne Street was formerly presented to bee in much Ruine & Decay & that the Inhabitants of Ardsley aforesaid ought to repair the same.*"²⁰

A feature of the Worsbrough landscape was the widespread provision of 'causeys' for packhorse and foot traffic, which no doubt formed the basis for the lane network. Locally pronounced 'corsy' and written as 'causeway' as an attempt at sophistication, it is still the local name for the normal roadside pavement. From the French 'caucie', implying treading, it was a means of negotiating boggy or uneven ground on foot or horse and, though timber had anciently been used, as seen in the excavations of the Somerset Levels²¹, the survival rate of timber causeys is low and, being buried, locating them a matter of chance. In contrast, stone causeys have been shown by Professor Hey to have been particularly widespread throughout medieval and later periods and, being on the surface, their disappearance has been due more to human deprivations using the stones as a free quarry than natural destruction. He has shown a vast network throughout the South Yorkshire region²².

Short lengths, consisting of a series of sandstone

slabs about a half-metre square and 10-15cm thick placed in line, have survived within the township (Fig. 5.2) at Genn Lane, Houndhill Lane, Kingwell Road and near Swaithe Hall. The latter has another distinctive feature when a causey had to climb a hill - the slabs remained level, but each was set about 15cm higher to progress in a series of steps. Such an arrangement is probably reflected in the name of Stairfoot, where the causey had to climb, not only in the Swaithe direction, but also into Ardsley, as a 'stair'.

Causeys are impossible to date, but the evidence suggests the township was served by a causey network from its earliest days which was maintained, and even extended, until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Swaithe Hall section has remained a sunken lane, barely a cart width, deeply eroded, and with a stone causey up to a metre higher on one side for the packhorse traffic. Too narrow for a horse to turn when opposing traffic met, it involved one string reversing half a mile to more level ground.

From the seventeenth century the Guest family (who owned the Blacker quarry), and the Leach family, were the leading masons of the community for many generations. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the parish records show they had a virtual monopoly for the laying and repairing of causeys, using stone from the Guest's quarry.

Repairs were often minor as in the 1716 Constable Accounts, "*For stoping holes in ye causway below Wid. Hinchs - 8d.*" The 1808 Highways Account, for example, shows a major repair was occasionally necessary, "*Wm Guest for work causewaying in Blacker Laine 246 yards takeing up, makeing bed, dressing old & new £4.12.8.*" The bed was of gravel, the leading of which gave employment to carters like John Guelder, "*leading gravel to Causeway 15/-*"

Some causeys, such as that from Kingwell down the Dale, carried heavy traffic and received constant attention, with a particularly bad year in 1726 when Michael Leach, Martin and John Guest were paid £7.2.2 for repairs in May, August and October, including mending the sewers. (All causeys and

lanes were provided with "pairs of sewers", the ditches along each side to carry off surface water).

Decisions to repair or create causeys were usually left to the Highway Overseers, but the Constables frequently allowed inhabitants of yeoman rank to undertake work, then send the Overseer a Bill. For example, Joseph Rhodes, the 1733/4 Constable, paid "*Jn Guest for causeying by Order of Nath Shaw 15s*".

Causeys were being taken up by 1803, *Jo Wood removing Causeway stones hedge & ditch £1.15.8*, but the last new causey was not set down until 1815 when John Guest was paid "*for laying causeway in school-house-lane £2.9.10*". The last reference to causeys is 1851 when the Overseer received from "*Messrs HJ & J Spencers as Their Portion of repairing the Causway in Brough Green Lane £1.19.10*".

Causeys clearly played an important role for foot and horse traffic, though the state of the lanes may have left something to be desired. However, movement around the road network generally during the early modern period, not merely in Worsbrough, is perhaps worthy of reconsideration. Horror stories of disastrous journeys can be found in all periods but, for each that found its way into an irate diarist's record, hundreds must have passed by uneventfully. The high rate of mobility of the population would suggest that travelling around the country, albeit on foot or horse, was commonplace throughout the period. The Worsbrough record will show the 1662 Act of Settlement seems to have done little to halt this mobility.

Travelling around the region over lanes and causeys, on business or pleasure, was part of everyday life, as seen through the eyes of local diarist Adam Eyre of Hazlehead who thought nothing of a day in the saddle. For example, in 1647 he went by horse from home to Bullhouse in the morning, on to Cawthorne, Denby then Wakefield to stay the night - a journey of over thirty miles on the 25th of January, much of it over moorland²³. The following day "*Wee gott up earley in the morning..*" and, crossing the Aire by ferry at Methley,

went on to York where he had a committee meeting, "*Thence to Capt. Boynton, with whom we supped...Thence to Andrew Corney'; to Coll. Mat. Allured about election of men to London to get us our arreres .. wee went back to our lodgings to Mr Fairwether's and spent 3s 6d .. I rid on Ed. Mitchell's mare to York and home again.*" A busy day covering upwards of eighty miles in midwinter²⁴.

John Hobson, the Dodworth tanner, was an equally intrepid traveller whose diary shows him continually on the move around the region. In 1726, between the 17th of May and 25th June, he visited Halifax, Worsbrough, Wakefield, Holmfirth, Kimberworth, Wortley, Wharncliffe, Sheffield, Barnsley and Ripon²⁵; round journeys varying from 5 to 40 miles, including long stretches of open moor.

Once away from a firmly established route such solo travel was not, of course, without its hazards and, even when almost home, disaster could strike as on the 17th April, 1731, when David Cawthorne, yeoman of Bank End died falling from his horse on Barnsley Common only a mile from his farm (Appendix - Buildings No.13). Hobson tells us, somewhat tersely, that Cawthorne was "*very much concern'd in drink*" at the time!²⁶ Adam Eyre found himself lost in the dark only ten miles from home on January 9th, 1647, having to pay, "*to a guide as wee came homewards .. 2d*"²⁷.

Becoming lost was a particular hazard on the widespread open moorland and the comments of Celia Fiennes regarding Derbyshire were no less applicable to South Yorkshire. She noted in 1697 that it, "*makes travelling tedious .. you see neither hedge nor tree but only lowe dry stone walls round some ground*".²⁸ In more thickly populated areas the sight of a wayside marker such as the white painted stump cross which no doubt stood on White Cross Green, on the brow between Swaithe and the Dale, helped those who missed the way. A church tower would be equally effective.

The situation improved after 1733 when the West Riding Justices ordered the erection of guide posts in remote areas - inscribed stone pillars or wooden posts with arms showing

destination and, after mid-century, mileages.²⁹ In 1733 the Worsbrough Constable paid '*To Joseph Watson for 2 Guide Stoops 4s.0d*'³⁰ and, in 1810, the Overseer³¹ paid, '*John Bramal for six guide posts £3.0.0*' and Matthew Fletcher '*for painting and riteing six guide posts £1.7.11*'.

Recent research shows that wide ranging travel by wheeled vehicle was also more commonplace, even in the Middle Ages, than previously thought reasonable. Harrison³² in his study of bridges makes a sound case for their being virtually no part of the country that could not be reached with dry feet and wheels by 1500. Having once sited a bridge, the route over it was unlikely to change and the road network became fixed and familiar. So familiar that, by the seventeenth century, long journeys became almost routine, though Adam Eyre suggests a slight air of apprehension before tackling a trip to London - "*22 March 1647: This morning my purpose is, God willing, for Darby, and so for London, whither I pray God direct mee, and bring mee safe again..*" He goes on to make provision for his debts and gifts, just in case³³.

No such doubts appear in the minds of the Elmhirst and Edmunds families of Worsbrough, however, who in the seventeenth century, both had houses in York, the county capital, which they used as second homes and visited regularly by horse or carriage. They were even caught living there in the Civil War trying to avoid the problems at Worsbrough³⁴.

It is clear from the conclusions drawn by Professor Chartres that, towards the end of the seventeenth century, carrier services throughout the provinces grew considerably³⁵. The 1787 Universal British Directory³⁶ shows that a national network of highways was available to the region and, though some roads might give cause for concern to the traveller, others, like the road from Bawtry to Doncaster, could be described by Defoe in the eighteenth century as "*a pleasant road, and good ground, and never wants any repair.*"³⁷ The West Riding Quarter Sessions records between 1692-1731, setting the charges for wagons and carts, show

that transport over great distances had become very big business. Charges from London to any of the market towns in the West Riding averaged 1s 2d a stone; from York to any place within 20 miles was 2d a stone.³⁸

The high volume of road traffic which the available evidence indicates, and proportionately small instances of disaster, would suggest that travel in early modern England was perhaps not as bleak as is often claimed.

In accordance with the national trend towards improvement, travelling conditions within Worsbrough changed significantly in the early nineteenth century when the ancient muddy lanes and causeys were transformed into 'roads'. The accounts suggest a shift had occurred in responsibility for roads during the eighteenth century as seen, for example, in dealing with trees which grew over the highway. Manor custom had placed the responsibility on the landowner adjacent to the highway and was dealt with by the Manor Court³⁹: *1701 Wee lay a paine upon Willm Irish that he fell or cause to be felled such a bough of a certain yewtree growing in the oald tree close adjoining the highway being Comon thereto & dangerous to travellers ... forfeit to the Lord of this Leet the sume of iis iiijd.* By 1800 responsibility had passed to the Highways Overseer; he paid £1 to *Wm & John Walker for Stubbing Ash trees.*⁴⁰

An Act of George III in 1815 sought details of existing roads, "*Procuring Returns relative to the Expence and Maintenance of the Poor in England and also relative to the Highways.*" The Return for Worsbrough, copied into the Highways book, shows it had: 3m 2f 1ch 14yd of paved streets and turnpikes for wheeled carriages and 13m 4f 1ch 10yd of other highways which were costing the township £387:9:7 annually to maintain. This total comprised £170:18:1 raised from the Highway Rate, £159:4:0 from labour performed in kind and £57:7:6 money paid in lieu of labour.

Income additional to the Highway Rate was obtained by halting the traffic at a bar, the 'turn pike' or 'gate', and charging a toll to proceed. Details of Worsbrough tolls have

not survived but bars are known to have been erected at Worsbrough Bridge, Birdwell, Bank Top, Lewden and Genn Lane. Bar maintenance was charged to the Constable: 1723 *Richard South [blacksmith] for work done at ye turn pikes 4s 4d.* 1812, *Pd Martin Guest for repairing Bird well Gates 9s 6d.*

Turnpiking certainly improved travelling conditions but, as turnpike trusts were organised for profit, not altruism, they almost certainly painted a blacker picture than reality when putting forward a case to obtain the necessary sanction. Even when seeking to increase their income, trustees were not averse to criticising their own roads as when an Act was applied for in May 1754 to repair the east side of the Barnsley/Grange Moor turnpike because it has "*become deep and ruinous, that in Winter and wet Seasons, the same is almost impassable to Wheel Carriages, dangerous for Travellers to pass through*".

Figure 5.3 shows the Worsbrough section of the Leeds to Sheffield turnpike [modern A61] within the regional network (Fig. 5.1). Built in 1758, it took the route of the original lane from Barnsley over the Bank Top through Ward Green. However, the precipitate drop down the Bank proved too steep for coaches and led to a succession of accidents as vehicles approached at speed to climb the slope from Barnsley, then suddenly met the drop over the Bank. A particularly serious accident occurred in December 1824 when the Leeds/Sheffield coach overturned injuring the occupants and killing a highly respected Sheffield dancing master, Mr George Gordon.⁴¹ It led to the turnpike being re-routed in the 1860s over new ground, half a mile to the east, after blasting a deep cutting through the rock of the Bank at Darley Cliff.

On the other, south, side of the valley the route up the bank into the village was little better. A coach overturned in 1833, wagons frequently went out of control on the hill, and coaches negotiating the sharp narrow bends in the village created a traffic hazard:

*1793 Martha daughter of George Gelder labourer - killed by a Post Chaise running over her - aged 5 and a half years.*⁴²

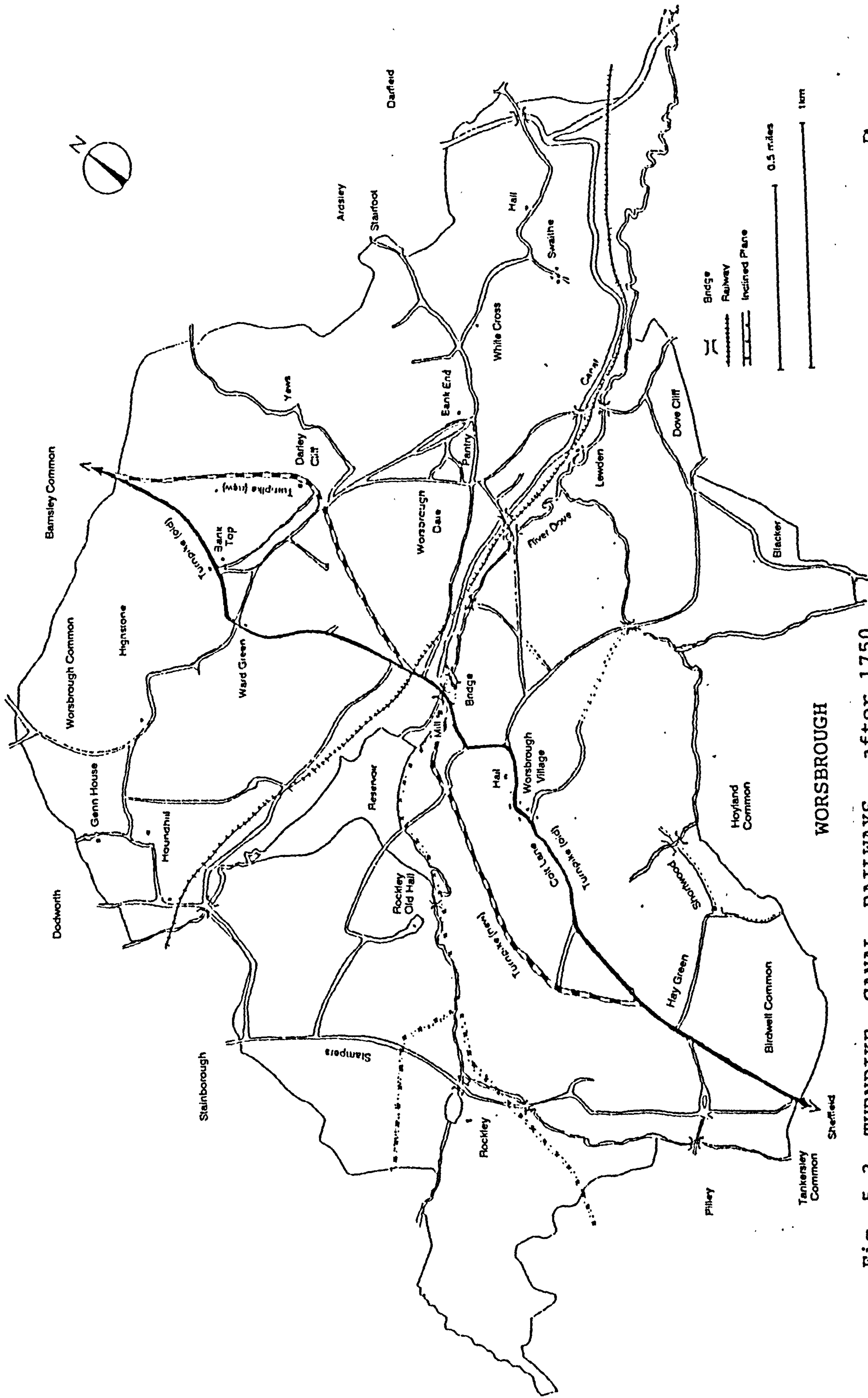


Fig. 5.3 TURNPIKE, CANAL, RAILWAYS - after 1750

DA

The most influential voice in the demand for change in the village came from W.B.Martin, Justice of the Peace, who lived in the Hall at the edge of the village. He owned the greater part of the township, having inherited from the dominant Edmunds family, and disliked the turnpike passing only a short distance from his front door. He obtained an Act of Parliament in 1840 to re-route the road to its present position, skirting the village round the hillside to Birdwell (Fig. 5.3). He promptly built a lodge at the bottom of the bank near the bridge, placed gates across the entrance to the village (see Frontispiece) and created a private park.

Over the centuries the villagers of Worsbrough were accustomed to speaking with common voice and the lack of a resident manorial lord or dominant landowner usually meant that common custom prevailed. Any inhabitant who attempted changes, which the other inhabitants viewed with suspicion, was immediately challenged. This has been seen previously in the case of Elmhirst, accused of misuse of his position as Highways Overseer, and becomes a recurrent theme in the development of Worsbrough over the centuries. The move by Martin to close the village road up the bank, through his new park, is a further example. The challenge led to an arrangement whereby, residents of the village proper were permitted to open the gates, with free use of the road through the park. All others, whether travellers or residents elsewhere in the township, had to take the new turnpike and, to reach the village, come back along Colt Lane from Birdwell to reach it.

This must have caused considerable inconvenience to the population at the time but provided an unwitting bonus for both historian and environmentalist in that the village, now isolated, was not urbanised in the nineteenth century industrial expansion. Its present layout reflects at least its seventeenth century form and probably much older.

The introduction of tolls in the township was accompanied by a marked change in road construction. The

main concerns along the old lanes were to avoid waterlogging and remove ruts. Manorial custom made the owner or occupier of land adjacent to a lane responsible for maintaining its ditch, failure resulting in appearance at the Manor Court: 1637 '*We present William Plates not scouring his ditch at longe Howe xid*'. The last such Manor Court entry was 1798 when William Wood was amerced 10s 6d for '*not cleansing and scowering the Ditch adjoining the Turnpike Road*'. Subsequently the Highways Overseer accepted responsibility, as in 1800 when he paid '*James Tunnicliffe 2 days letting off water & scouring Ditches 5s*'.

Ruts caused by cart and carriage wheels, eventually digging down to axle level, had been a permanent feature of the old lane system, seen in numerous payments such as: 1800 *John Winder 6 days hacking ruts = 8s 0d.*⁴³ Dissatisfaction was common as when John Nicholson, yeoman, returned to his farm at Bank End after a journey in 1810. He claimed from the Highways Overseer, "*Bill for my Man Hacking Ruts after journey to Wortley 13s 6d*". From 1799 an alternative approach to hacking the ground back into the ruts was tried by filling them with stone: *Joseph Smith breaking stones in the Ruts 3 days 3s 6d*. Crowning then encouraged surface drainage. 1803: *Jonas Firth 82 roods of Road Crowning on Lewlin Bank £4 2s 0d*.

There are no specific payments for hacking after 1810. The end of the eighteenth century had seen the beginnings of a major change in local roadmaking technique by the widespread use of stone to rebuild the lanes, providing a more resilient surface, possibly influenced by the turnpikes.

The local quarries, particularly those at Kingwell, Hay Green, Lewden and Bank End, were exploited for vast quantities of stone which, after carting to the lanes, was broken up on the road surface and further compacted with gravel. In 1808, for example: *James Savile throwing up & forming the Road & Breaking stones in Dovecliff 46 days at 3s 0d = £6 18s 0d*. The accounts show roadwork was not an exclusive male occupation, Grace Kenworthy was also leading

stone in 1808.

All the roads of the township were similarly given a stone surface during the early years of the nineteenth century, though no particular sequence of priorities is discernible other than a natural tendency for the Overseers and major landowners to have nearby access roads improved early. This is not the demonstration of self-interest it may first appear as these landowners, the Elmhirsts and Edmunds for example, also owned extensive coal mines and an improved transport infrastructure could only improve profitability and economic growth to benefit the whole community.

The quantities of stone being moved are quoted by 'loads': 1804 *Getting 56 loads of stone in Lewden Quarry for the Roads* £1 1s 0d. Calculations from the accounts would suggest that a 'load' approximated to a ton, and the rate of pay for breaking road stone is somewhat short of generous even for the period. A typical payment was, 1798, *Josh Fox pd breaking 130 lds stone at 2d load* £1:1:8. The stone road surface would, of course, not be rammed hard and the passage of vehicles and horses tended to dislodge stones. These washed into the side ditches which required constant attention, for example: 1799 *Joshua Fox for getting stones out of Lewdin ditch* 2s6d.

In 1812 Messrs Darwin began operating a blast furnace near the Worsbrough Bridge, producing cast iron (Chapter 6, p155). A waste product from blast furnaces is the basic slag, tapped off the surface of the molten iron, and which sets to a hard amorphous mass. This material, referred to in the accounts as 'blue dross', was immediately exploited for roadmaking and led to a dramatic fall in the quantities of stone being consumed for roads, particularly important for the township's resources as an extensive building programme was under way to accommodate the increasing population.

The quantities indicated in Table 5.1 are obtained from payments for slag broken out from the furnace to use on the roads. However, they understate the total quantities used as similar slag was being purchased from the Milton ironworks

at nearby Elsecar, which is quoted by the 'boat load' having been brought by canal, and the true tonnage cannot be calculated. In addition, the two works (Worsbrough Bridge and Milton) were supplying cinders during the 1840s to augment those being bought from the local bleachers. Cinders were used to produce a smoother top surface as an alternative to the gravel previously used which must have been approaching exhaustion after centuries of exploitation.

Table 5.1

Tonnes of Road-making Materials					
	1800-1809	1810-1819	1820-1829	1830-1839	1840-1849
Stone (tons)	6216	5967	3814	1983	97
Dross "	-	3406	4168	5302	3745
Cinders "	-	-	-	-	2437

Unfortunately for the Overseers, using the iron slag to conserve stone made roadworks more expensive as, being amorphous and lacking the bedding planes along which stone could readily be fractured, it was more difficult to reduce to the required size. Where previously a labourer had been paid 2d (occasionally 4d) a ton to break stone, it now cost 10d to 1s breaking dross. By way of consolation in the long term, the road would last longer as the dross did not weather or shatter easily under wheels and hooves. In mid-nineteenth century it could have been a difficult decision to use this new material as an alternative to the then traditional stone. (This hard layer is still encountered in road works during modern services excavations).

The Tudor legislation of 1555 had decreed that the inhabitants provide labour, carts or teams for road work on four days a year. As a means to improve the highways this "common day work" system was not an unqualified success; no doubt it improved on the previous system, but resentment was the seed of failure. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it had largely faded away to be replaced by a local tax providing funds for the Overseer to pay day labourers. As so often at Worsbrough, the change came slowly and, even

into the nineteenth century, road work was being performed that the Overseer classed as "common day work".

It had been custom to provide the "common day" workforce with free ale and all the accounts until 1845 include payments listed as "Ale for Common day work", clearly an essential part of any road-worker's income: 1735 *Drink for labour wn they lead Causeway stones to Brough Green 3s 4d.* The accounts note the payments made by the Overseer to the local ale-house keepers, (Worsbrough had ten in the eighteenth century) and, although usually listed "as per Bill", a number give sufficient detail to indicate the quantities consumed. The 1804 account states: *To Eliz Wildsmith for Ale allow'd by the Town 1 Quart for each labourer and driver of a Team £1 14s 0d.* From this it can be estimated, for instance, that the 1811 overseer (Wm. Elmfirst) provided 190 quarts of ale for 134 labour days costing £4 17s 3d. This was a particularly busy year when 367 yards of causeway were repaired and 1387 tons of stone used on the roads.

5.2 Bridges

The Statute of Bridges (1531) gave Justices of the Peace, "*.. power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine ... of all manner of anoyances of bridges broken in the highways to the damage of the King's liege people and to make such process and pains upon every presentment afore them for the reformation of the same, against such as ought to be charged for the making or amending of such bridges..*" The Wapentake, town or parish was to take on this responsibility and the Constable "*have power and authority to tax and set [assess] every inhabitant in any such city, town or parish..*"⁴⁴

North-south traffic had to negotiate the river Dove at the major crossing point near the mill, below the village. Though fording may have been possible in high summer at this point, it would have been bridged at an early date as the winter snow-melt from the moors would make fording

impossible. The minor streams throughout the township would equally limit movement until bridged, although locals about their daily travels may simply have crossed in the manner Celia Fiennes saw them cross the Esk where, "*The common people, men women and children, take off their shoes and holding up their cloathes wade through the rivers*".⁴⁵

No medieval records have been found relating to the Worsbrough bridges but they are assumed to be wood until the eighteenth century. Constable accounts show that the main bridge over the Dove was still a wooden structure in 1736/7:

Oct 20 To Luke Outram for sawing rails for the Bridge 4s.8d
Oct 27 To Mr Oates for Wood for Worsbrough Bridge £1-0-0
To Mr Oates men for marking and felling Money and charges 3s.8d

To Joseph Rhodes for bringing Wood to the Bridge 6d.
The work in 1736 was a major repair and, in the absence of any subsequent entries, it may be assumed the bridge remained serviceable until the early years of the nineteenth century when it was replaced by a stone bridge.

The provision of a more durable bridge was necessitated by the increased traffic attracted after the road was turn-piked, but the history of the stone replacement reveals an anomaly in the County administration which it has not been possible to resolve. The case must cast an element of doubt over previous assumptions based on the Quarter Sessions review of the County's bridges (compiled in 1753) which may not have been as comprehensive as generally accepted.

A consequence of the Tudor legislation had been the adoption of some bridges in the West Riding of Yorkshire to be the County's responsibility, others to be under the care of individual Wapentakes. The remainder were a mixture of private and parish. By 1753 the situation had become so confused that, at the March Quarter Sessions in Wakefield, the Justices ordered a survey of all the bridges in the County to ascertain those for which the County had responsibility. The resulting "Book of Bridges"⁴⁶ identified 129 bridges in the Riding's care, with plans and descriptions.

Worsbrough was not amongst them.

A complementary survey⁴⁷ identified 308 other bridges specifying those in the care of Wapentakes. Worsbrough was also not amongst these.

Examples of bridges included in the survey, in the immediate vicinity of Worsbrough, were the bridge on the north side of Barnsley at Burton Grange, where the County paid £5 for repair in 1677; liability for the Darton bridge, north-west of Barnsley, was questioned in 1682 but taken into County care by 1701. From 1638 the Darfield bridge on the Saltersbrook/Doncaster turnpike was deemed a joint responsibility of the Wapentakes of Strafford, Tickhill, Staincross and Osgoldcross which conjoined near it.

Although Worsbrough does not appear on any of the County or Wapentake lists, the Constable's accounts show the township was paying "Bridge Money" to the County for the upkeep of other bridges at least from the end of the seventeenth century. The amount varied according to the pound rating fixed at each Quarter Sessions but the 1705 total was typical at £2:2:10.

It is apparent that Worsbrough's bridge was its own responsibility, but its local resources would be unequal to the cost of building a stone bridge. Throughout the later eighteenth century the national population was rising continuously and, though the economy in general could cope with this rise, particularly through improvements in agricultural practice, the situation for the mass of the population is summarised by Dean as living "*.. close to economic disaster and, unless they were unusually lucky or hardworking, they had little prospect of enjoying a higher standard of living within their lifetime.*"⁴⁸

This would undoubtedly be the prevailing view in Worsbrough at the time and large-scale building works, financed through higher local taxes, would be resisted. The situation was exacerbated by the continuing effects of the Tudor poor laws, particularly that of 1601, which began to strain the pockets of those with funds as the demands of the

poor increased with population growth.

Harrison⁴⁹ has shown that throughout the country the majority of bridges over major and middling rivers were stone by mid-sixteenth century; towns on major rivers in the region were no exception, with stone bridges at Doncaster (13c.), Sheffield (15c.) and Rotherham (15c.)⁵⁰. Worsbrough had no pretensions to possessing either a major river or the status of a burgeoning town; its resources were adequate but under strain and, in these circumstances, the inhabitants would look elsewhere to finance a stone bridge. A submission made to the Quarter Sessions in 1808 for a new stone "Worsbrough Dale Bridge", on a minor lane leading from the Dale to the village, was approved by the Justices, possibly unaware it was not a County bridge.⁵¹ No formal adoption can be traced such as that in 1712 for the Aldham Bridge⁵² near Stairfoot, in Wombwell township, which the 1711 Quarter Session accepted as "*useful to Public and the Riding*".

In accepting the initial Worsbrough application, perhaps by default, subsequent bridge work was approved unquestioned, including a stone replacement of the wooden bridge at the main crossing of the river Dove. This was replaced by a larger bridge in 1823 which extended the associated approach road and was made over 40 feet wide, with decorative buttressing (Fig. 5.4)⁵³. It remains as the modern crossing of the A61 over the river. None of these bridges appear in the County or Wapentake lists.

Under manorial custom, bridges over the streams in the township were the responsibility of the owner of adjacent land but, by the 1720s, the situation was becoming confused. Constable accounts show some, such as the stone bridge at Lewden, (Fig.5.3), being maintained by the township:

1728 *Martin Guest & Mich Leach for Lewlin Bridge and
causewaying* £1-18-1

11 Cramps for Lewlin Bridge 2s. 3d

The Constable paid for a widening in 1799 and a further extension in 1817, providing a double arch to accommodate the by-pass made in the river to supply the paper mill.

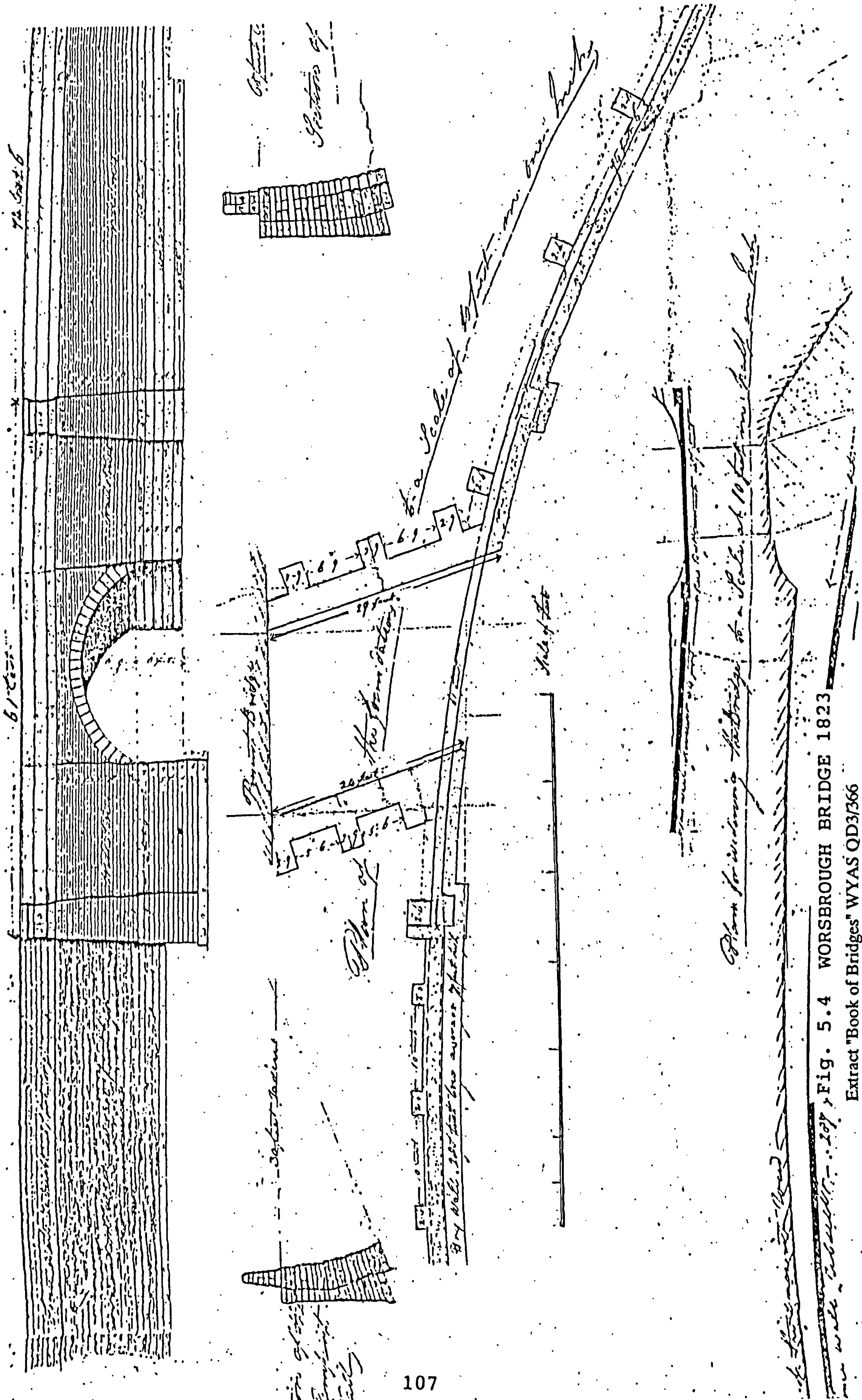


Fig. 5.4 WORSBROUGH BRIDGE 1823

Extract "Book of Bridges" WYAS QD3/366

However, in 1729, the Cock bridge (midway between Pilley and Rockley) was completely rebuilt in timber:

Posts & Rails for Cock bridge 2s. 6d

11 Pounds of Lead for sodering ye cramps 1s 10d

Robt Watson for setting ye Rails at Cock Bridge 3s 0d

Jn Guest [carpenter] for making Cock Bridge £1-16-10

*Rich South [blacksmith] for making Cramps & Cotters for
ye Cock Bridge & mending a pair of Lanes 3s 11d*

Mr Hall [lawyer] his Bill about Cock Bridge £9-17-4

*Mr Staniland [Curate] for going to ye Sessions about Cock
Bridge 6s 8d*

The entry suggests the rebuilding had been directed by the Justices following a complaint, but the relevant papers have not survived.

In the seventeenth century, a wooden bridge over the Dove at Rockley, a hundred yards west of Abbey Farm, was kept in repair by the operators of the local iron furnaces. In 1692 they paid "*Jo Tyas for wood for Rockley Bridge 14s 6d*".⁵⁴ By 1723 the township had taken over responsibility and paid for a new stone bridge :

*pd Michael Leech & Martin Guest for building a bridge at
Rockley £2-12-0 : for a load of lime for building ye bridge
withall 11s. 0d.*

No stone is included in the account and examination of the bridge shows the masons were using stone from a furnace. A few feet away is the site of a demolished 17th century blast furnace for which no structure remains; the clear inference must be that this provided their stone. (See Chapter 6, Economy, p.150).

Another bridge at Rockley, near Old Hall, further illustrates the problems of responsibility encountered in the early eighteenth century. The Constable's accounts⁵⁵ for 1713 include:

Pd for Old Hall Bridge mending 1s. 2d

Pd Mr Milner for Wood for mending it 2s. 6d

Milner was a prosperous farmer and landowner living at Old Hall and a Memorandum added to the account shows dissent at

the town meeting: "*Memorandum yt wh was allowd for Old Hall Bridge is a Mistake, it ought to be done & repaired by who lives at Old Hall*". Twenty three years later the position had changed and claims were passed without dissent:

1736 *To a Rail for ye Bridge at ye Old Hall 8d*

1737 *To Jn Elliot for mending ye Old Hall bridge 3s.0d*

In contrast, the bridge at Brough Green was still regarded as the responsibility of the adjacent landowner in 1791. He was brought before the Manor Court: "*The Homage presented Thomas Eaton of Round Green for not repairing and amending a wooden Bridge over the Brook from Broo Green into Fisher Field, which by him ought to be repaired and amended ... unless repaired before Twelfth Day of next Month amerced 5s.*" It required attention again in 1798 when the Court fined him a further 21s.⁵⁶

Similarly in 1798, Francis Edmunds was before the Court for "*not putting up a Wooden Bridge over the River in the Common Way from Worsbrough Bridge to Round Green Common. Unless he put up such a Bridge before first May next ... amerced 30s. 0d*". Despite Edmunds being the chief landowner, Justice of the Peace and most powerful inhabitant of Worsbrough, the democratic conduct of the township's manorial custom was not to be denied. The Jurors included those he might consider lesser mortals - innkeeper, tanner, surveyor, gardener, mason, husbandman and a labourer, who clearly placed the good order of the township above rank. The Court Roll for 1800 confirmed the work completed. This bridge and a "Bow Bridge", referred to in the Constable's accounts for 1730, are now lost following flooding of the valley in 1804 to create the reservoir.

The Court Rolls contain no further bridge charges after 1805 and entries in the accounts of the Highways Overseer show that, by mid-eighteenth century, all bridges were maintained by the township, even the Brough Green bridge (Fig.5.2), though costs appear to have risen:

1841 *Benj Leach as per Bill for repairing Brow Green Bridge £21:18:21*

The track from Birdwell to the village, through Short Wood, (Fig. 5.3) was never developed as a road and the narrow, primitive eighteenth century stone bridge partially survives. The stream runs in a deep hollow and was simply bridged using large stone slabs with a small parapet, wide enough for foot or horse but not carts. It was last repaired in 1839 and illustrates the local agreement when a bridge was also considered to benefit a neighbouring parish⁵⁷:
1839 Expenses repairing Short Wood Bridge one half the Township of Hoyland the other half £9-6-3.

5.3 Canal and Railways.

The improvements to the township's roads and bridges in the eighteenth century no doubt eased the lot of the inhabitants in their everyday life by facilitating internal communications. It will be seen in Chapter 7, for instance, that large quantities of coal were being moved around the township in the eighteenth century to the increasing numbers of poor, as part of their 'outpay', but such improvements were having only a marginal effect on the overall economy. The dramatic change in Worsbrough's fortunes began in 1804 when the canal was completed.

A Dearne & Dove canal was first proposed in 1792 when on 26 October: "*At Barnsley .. there was a meeting of gentlemen, landowners, merchants and others to take into consideration the proposed scheme to making a navigable canal from the River Dun at, or near, Swinton to and above Barnsley..*"⁵⁸ The first phase of the canal from Wakefield to Barnsley opened in 1799, being extended to the Aire & Calder and Swinton in 1804.

The Worsbrough section formed part of the 1804 construction as a feeder canal and it is perhaps ironic that, in view of its subsequent effect on Worsbrough, the fortunes of the township were probably not uppermost in the minds of the canal shareholders. A fall in level, exceeding 130 feet on the main Barnsley to Swinton canal, necessitated provision of eight locks at Stairfoot and the Canal Company was denied

permission to extract water from the Dearne or Dove rivers except in flood. The Worsbrough valley was chosen as the site of a reservoir to provide a permanent supply for the lock system, and wharves were provided in the basin at Worsbrough Bridge.

The canal proposal initially aroused considerable opposition from many local landowners, but appeasement was gained mainly through the inclusion of a clause in the Act which allowed any landowner to make a railway from any mine he may have within 1000 yards of the canal.⁵⁹

The benefits of the canal were immediately felt as Worsbrough gained access to the entire region for bulk exports from its coal and iron industries and imports of limestone; a cost differential of 200:1 in favour of water over road transport was estimated at the time.⁶⁰ The barges were hauled by horses provided at stages along the canal network but, as the engraving (Figure 5.5) shows, many were also equipped with a simple square sail to take advantage of the straight sections when favourable.⁶¹

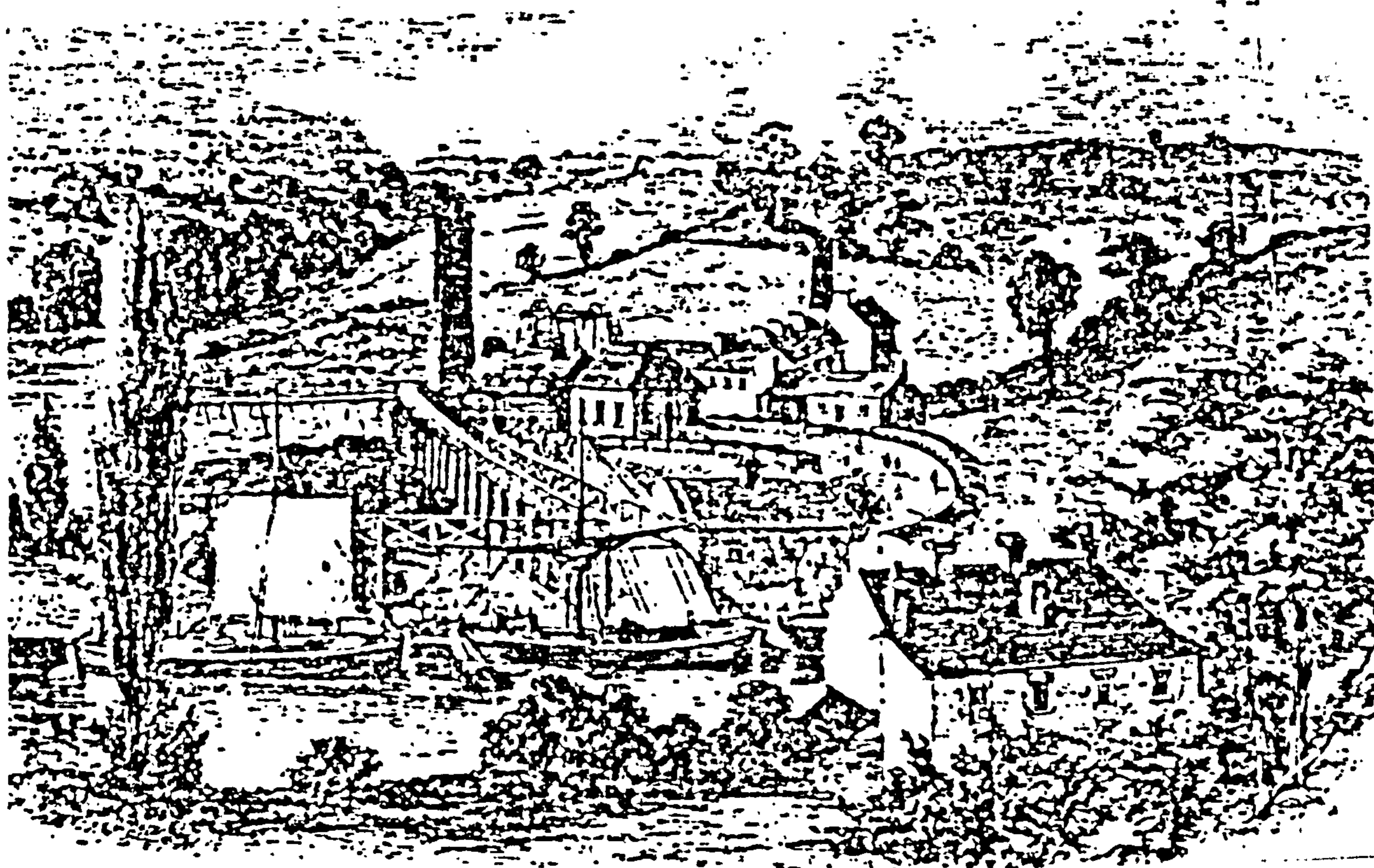


Fig. 5.5 WORSBROUGH CANAL & EDMUNDS COLLIERY - EARLY 19c.

Courtesy Mr.K.Hawkins, Sheffield. (Private collection).

Records of the actual construction of the canal are not available, but examination of the parish registers from 1799 to 1804 shows no entries for persons other than previously known Worsbrough families. Of these, the few recorded as 'labourers' were probably agricultural labourers, suggesting that the local population played no part in its construction and the 'navigators' of the canal Company appear to have been an independent group who left no mark in the local record. The initial route through the Dale and Swaithe, to Aldham Bridge in Wombwell, was surveyed by Fairbank, of Sheffield,⁶² but sections required further attention as in 1815 when the Highways Accounts note, "*James Green attending Mr. Rich. Birks [surveyor] when surveyed Lewden Common concerning canal.*" Even as late as 1840, the basin at Worsbrough Bridge was causing concern as the wharf, set by Fairbank, had cut the Calker Lane and interfered with access to the bridge and turnpike, making a new alignment for the lane necessary.⁶³

On completion of the canal, mines in the Stainborough, Rockley and Worsbrough Dale valleys, which for centuries had supplied only local needs, were enabled to expand and rail tracks were built to bring the coal to the canal basin, in accordance with the concession to landowners in the canal Act. These railways (Fig. 5.3) carried horse drawn trucks or, in the case of the Stainborough-Rockley track, were inclined so that full trucks moving towards Worsbrough Bridge hauled the empty trucks back to the mine. This railway from the Stafford mines in the north-west had to cross the early eighteenth century coach road by which the Earl's mansion at Stainborough Castle was approached from Birdwell.⁶⁴ The road was carried over a tunnel, which survives in a ruinous condition, in Broom Royd Wood. The trucks could pass through it, and its associated cutting, unseen from the house.

Transport for the coal, iron and limestone industries was further improved in the 1840s when a steam engine

railway, originally called the Old Silkstone Branch, was extended through Worsbrough Dale to Silkstone from the South Yorkshire main line at Stairfoot. However, the major provision of railways in the township was delayed until the late nineteenth century, (after the period under review), when coal output from the numerous mines exceeded the capacity of this initial network.

Unfortunately for the canal shareholders, the new steam railway brought about the demise of the canal which had created this prosperity. Within a few years it fell into disuse as mineowners built their own railway sidings, gaining access to the national rail network and a still wider market. It is, perhaps, ironic that this in turn brought about the demise of all the mines but one, the Barrow Haematite Iron & Coal Company mine developed from the Park Pit of the Edmunds family, which out-performed all the others. The cycle, however, is now complete - the canal (excepting the basin) is infilled, all mining and iron production has ceased and the railways are closed, now being reduced to footpaths.

Changes in the communications network over the centuries mirror the progress of Worsbrough from a rural agricultural to an urban industrial community. The situation after the first decades of the nineteenth century was totally unlike anything which had gone before as industry superseded agriculture, taking advantage of the improving transport technology in exploiting the natural resources. These changes in the economic structure of the township must now be considered.

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52. WYAS QD1/707
53. WYAS QD3/366
54. Staveley Ironworks Records SA/SIR1, 2nd fol.p.110.
55. SA/PR3/12 - Bk.I Constable
56. MCR
57. SA/PR3/14(1)
58. Eli Hoyle, *Barnsley Chronicle*, 18 November 1905.
59. Wilkinson, *op.cit.* 262
60. *Ibid*, 263.
Costs for transporting coal from the Tyneside mines to London in 1675 suggest 300 miles over water equating to about 3 miles over land. See Levine, D. & Wrightson, K., *The Making of an Industrial Society; Whickham 1560-1765* (1991) Oxford 9.
61. Courtesy of Mr. K.Hawkins - private collection.
62. Series of short surveys by Fairbank in SA/FB75.
63. SA/EM1795
64. SA/VWM R63

6.0 ECONOMY

6.1 AGRICULTURE

The economy of Worsbrough has always been dominated by a system of mixed farming (arable and animal husbandry), which, as noted in Chapter 3, had evolved by the early modern period into three distinct groups of organisation based on the ancient manorial divisions.

a) Darley. The northern area of the township from the river to the Barnsley boundary, largely Darley manor land, was populated by separate farmsteads which had developed from assarts such as that of Henry Glu at Yews, previously noted. His fields had been '*enclosed by a fence and ditch*' or were walled¹, eventually forming a holding of 99 acres. At some point in the manor's history the farmsteads may have shared a common field in the area of the Dale called the "Darley Field" (Fig. 6.1)². The paucity of documents concerning these farmsteads precludes the possibility of detailing their early developments, but occasional references combined with landscape evidence can suggest the general pattern.

The original assart at Wigfall, for example, (Figs. 6.1 & 6.2) was well-established by the middle of the thirteenth century when, at the time Worsbrough was given to Nun Appleton, it was used to locate a farm in a grant to Simon the clerk.³ Etymology suggests it had been a pre-Conquest assart, as Smith derives the name from either ON 'Wigg' (a stead) or OE 'wicg' (a horse) with 'fall' where trees had been cleared⁴. The name is one of a number of examples where a relatively common modern surname, with a national distribution, arises from a single locative origin in Worsbrough⁵.

The first reference to its use as an inherited surname is 1330, when Jordan de Wiggefall granted the farmstead to his son Richard, which he had inherited from his father Simon. The founding family which took its name from Wigfall was clearly successful, as seen in 1342 when Henry, son of Thomas de Wigfalgh, bought land at Blacker from the manor



DA

Fig. 6.1 WORSBROUGH FIELDS 1838
(ELMHIRST, WIGFALL, ROCKLEY)



Fig. 6.2 WIGFALL
Based on 1838 Tithe Commutation Survey - Parish Chest

Lord. In the 1379 Lay Subsidy, Johannes Wigfall and his wife Agnes, Alicia de Wigfall and Ibota de Wigfall paid 4d whilst Henry de Wigfall, a webster, and his wife Matilda paid 6d.

The ancient field plan survives in the landscape showing the curving boundary of the assart with field names including 'royds' (woodland clearance), ings (meadows) and crop use as in 'havre' (oats). The mixed nature of the farming at Wigfall is seen further in the alternative name of 'Line Close', for 'Little Close' (field 319 & 320), indicating a flax crop⁶. The road shown on the map passing through Kendal Green and Wigfall is described in the Enclosure Survey⁷ of 1816 as an 'ancient road', but post-dates the field network where it cuts through fields such as 395/316 and 397/312.

The fate of Wigfall also illustrates the complexities of changes in land ownership encountered throughout this investigation of Worsbrough, frequently frustrated through lack of surviving evidence. In 1467 part of Wigfall called 'Broderoyd', which can be identified as Dusting Royd, (Fig.6.2), was granted to Monk Bretton Priory by Robert Cawood after the Wigfall family had presumably left their ancestral home to settle at Dayhouse Farm near Highstone (Fig.6.1). By 1701 Wigfall was part of the Rockley lands and was mortgaged to Thomas Rayney of Doncaster for £100, in 1709, when all the fields of the original Wigfall were shown again as a unit⁸. It descended to the Pashley family of Doncaster who still held it complete in 1851.

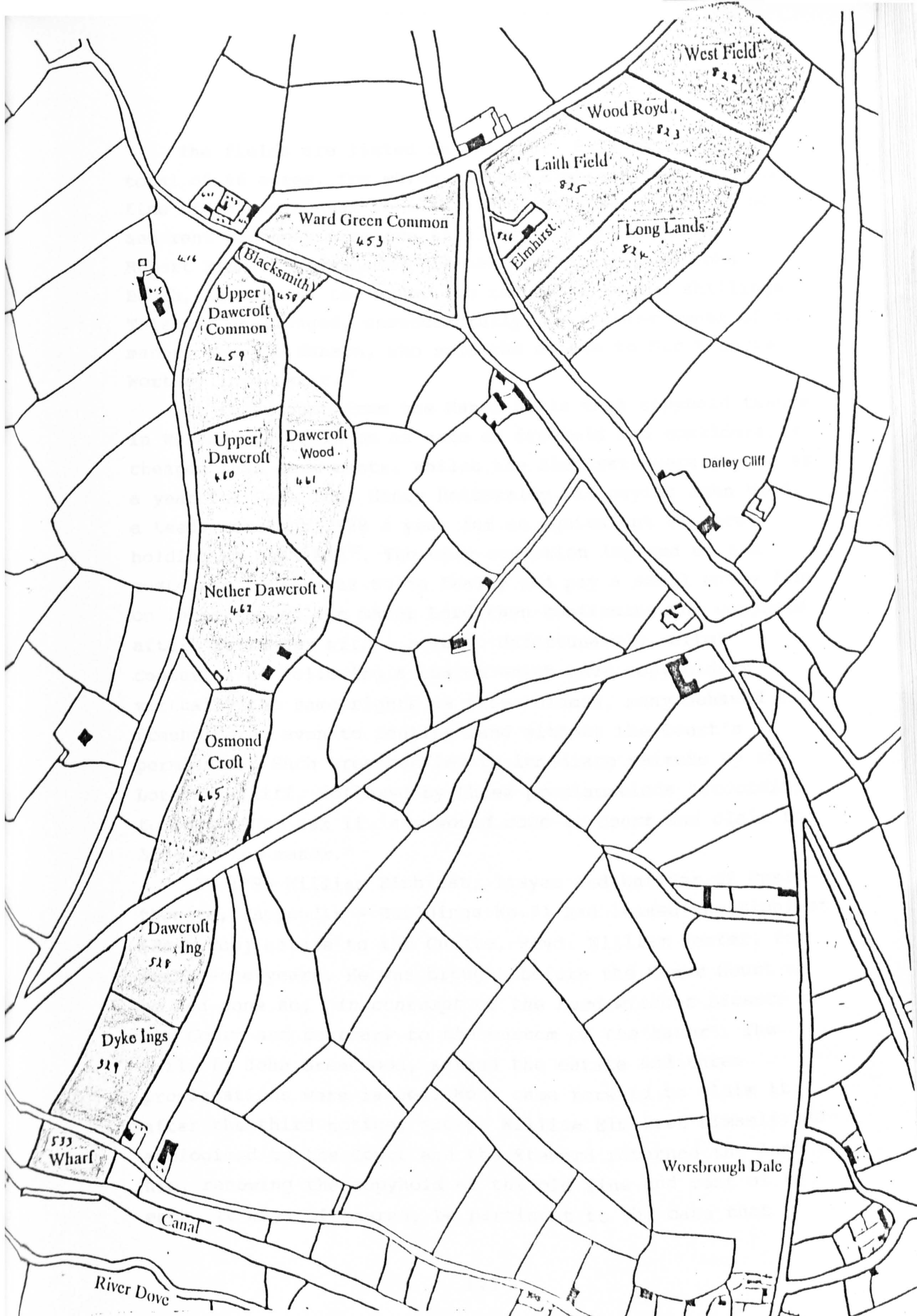
Henry, the last local male Wigfall of the original medieval family, had left Worsbrough in the early eighteenth century. He died in London a prosperous 'soap boiler' and the female line had married into the wealthy Hall family, Worsbrough lawyers of Swaithe, through whom Dayhouse Farm descended to the Elmhirsts in 1731.⁹

The name of the farmstead changed from Wigfall to the modern Wigfield during the seventeenth century, though an exact date cannot be determined as neither name appears in the available seventeenth century records which list owners,

not sites. Jeffrey's map of Yorkshire, 1778, gives Wigfield. A twist in the pursuit of the Wigfalls and Wigfields occurs in the parish registers where, from 1692, numerous incoming Wigfields are recorded as farmers and nailers, including a family from neighbouring Hoyland, but a genealogical connection between the earlier Wigfalls and the modern Wigfields has proved elusive. The present farm buildings at Wigfield are modern, entirely replacing an earlier timber, post & truss, frame structure which was totally destroyed, unrecorded, during the rebuilding.

The development of the Elmhirst estate provides an illustration of a trend, noted at other farms in the northern area of the township, as a family sought to amass a variety of soils to facilitate mixed farming, when building up a holding from an early assart. The family name derives from the original medieval assart, field 826 on Figure. 6.3, called in OE 'Elm Hyrst' (wooded height)¹⁰ at the site, now known alternatively as Elmhirst or Bank Top, overlooking the Worsbrough valley. (Appendix; Buildings, No.3)

The family is first recorded in the 1379 Rockley Court Roll where Robert is fined 4d for two horses roaming in the Lord's meadow. The farm was already well-established, with 30 acres in the town fields in addition to the copyhold land assarted from woodland at Bank Top, comprising the West Field (822), Wood Royd (823), Laith Field (825) and Long Lands (824). However, it has been noted previously that this was poor quality soil and, even though the family left the ancestral site at Elmhirst in the fifteenth century to settle at Houndhill, (Appendix - Buildings Nos. 4 & 5), they retained the copyhold Bank Top estate, continuing to extend it towards the more productive soils in the valley. By 1536 they had acquired the Dawcroft lands (458, 459, 460, 461, 462) and, in 1637, taken a strip to include lush meadow along Osmond Croft (465), Dawcroft Ing (528) and Dyke Ings (529). The acquisition of Ward Green Common, in the 1820s, completed the run from marginal arable to watery meadow which the family retained as copyhold and leased to tenants.



Based on 1838 Tithe Commutation Survey - Parish Chest 121

Fig. 6.3 ELMHIRST (BANK TOP) ESTATE

The fields are listed in the Court Roll of 1737, a total of 46 acres, for which William Elmhirst paid an entry fine of 4s and annual rent 4s. In 1608, however, the fine and rent had been nineteen shillings and ten pence but Robert Elmhirst persuaded his new brother-in-law, John Booth, as lord of the manor, to reduce it to two shillings. This was challenged, unsuccessfully, by a later owner of the manor, Gervase Hanson, who sold the estate to Sir Francis Wortley in despair.¹¹

It is evident from the Manor Rolls that copyhold tenure in Worsbrough could be as safe as freehold and considerably cheaper than term rents. Whilst the Elmhirsts were paying 4s a year for Bank Top, Henry Hattersley was paying John Wood, a Leeds merchant, £28 a year for an equivalent 45 acre holding at Bank End¹². The only condition imposed on the customary tenant was to do fealty and pay a small entry fine on inheritance, the manor Lord then confirming the copyhold after "*surrender with a straw*". Unfortunately, after centuries of following a custom which gave copyholders virtually the same rights as free-holders, many behaved as freeholders, even to renting land without the Court's permission. Such breaches led to immediate seizure by the Lord's bailiff, followed by three proclamations "*according to custom*" to ask if "*any would come to court and claim to hold of the manor.*"

In 1790 William Elmhirst, lawyer and builder of Ouslethwaite, (Appendix - Buildings No.7) had leased the Elmhirst (Bank Top) estate to the Curate, Revd. William Porter, for twenty-one years. He was brought before the Manor Court as he had done so, "*in contempt of the Lord without Licence of the Court and contrary to the custom of the Manor*". The bailiff, John Greenwood, seized the estate and three proclamations were issued. None came forward to claim it after the third notice, except William Elmhirst himself. He apologised to the Court and the Steward returned the land to him, renewing the copyhold at the old fine and rent of 4s each. It may, of course, be pertinent to the case that

William Elmhirst happened to be the Manor Steward at the time and friend of the Earl of Strafford, Lord of the Manor.

The Elmhirsts went on to increase their estates, acquiring Genn House in the seventeenth century (Appendix - Buildings No.6), Ouslethwaite Hall in the eighteenth century (Buildings No. 7) and Round Green in the nineteenth century to become one of the largest landowners in the township.

b) Rockley. Agricultural development of the Rockley area, to the west of the township, followed a contrasting course. The early medieval manor was centred on an assart in a '*clearing frequented by rooks*'¹³, from which the family surname of Rockley derived. Despite losing the original family seat at Old Hall in 1280 through a disputed marriage settlement to the Everinghams¹⁴, they built up a substantial demesne centred on Rockley Abbey Farm, alternatively known as Rockley Hall or Falthwaite, (Fig. 6.4). A barn with an ecclesiastically architectural gable, recently demolished, had long been considered an Earl of Strafford folly¹⁵.

However, The monks of Rievaulx had worked iron in the area in the thirteenth century and field-names such as Grange Ing (203), together with a statement in an Inquisition of 1534 that the manor was held by the Rockleys from Rievaulx '*in socage by the service of one penny per annum*'¹⁶ suggest the displaced Rockley family may, in fact, have acquired a monastic grange.

The manor formed but a small part of the family wealth, not only within the township through farms such as Balk (Appendix - Buildings No.15), Blacker (Buildings No.20), the outlier of Lewden (including the mill), and fields in Darley manor, but also widespread holdings throughout the south of the county. In the seventeenth century, Robert Rockley was a personal friend of the 1st Earl of Strafford, overseeing the latter's Tankersley estate, and the association was continued by his son, Francis, who inherited in 1644. He was a staunch Royalist whose loyalty cost him the family estates in the Civil War.

Along with the majority of Royalist landowners he

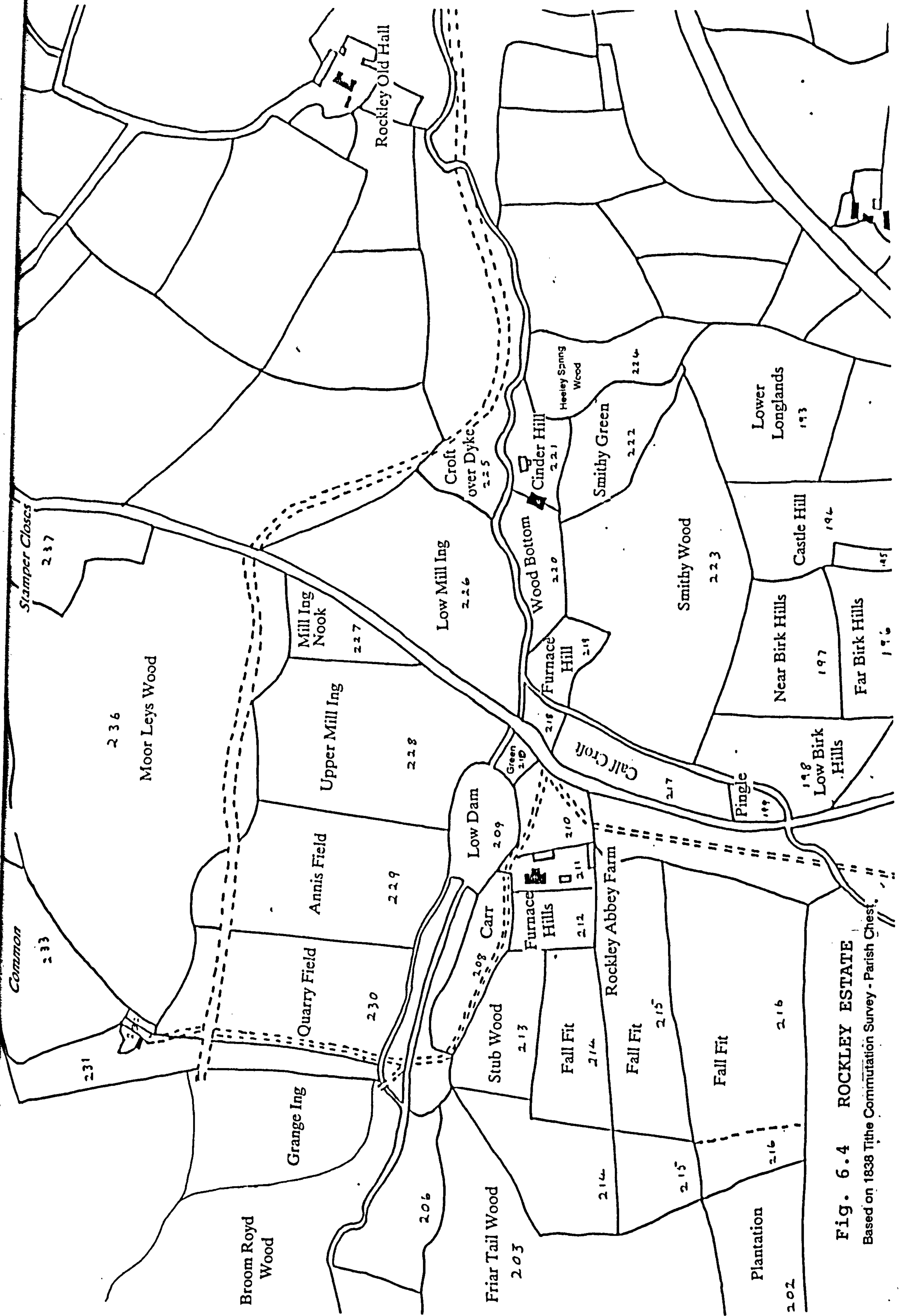


Fig. 6.4 ROCKLEY ESTATE
Based on 1838 Tithe Commutation Survey - Parish Chest.

regained the sequestered estates¹⁷, on payment of a £390 fine¹⁸ but the family never recovered. The final blow to the family fortunes was a case of embezzlement by Hayford, their Steward,¹⁹ which resulted in Francis Rockley dying in a debtor's prison in 1679. The estate passed to his son-in-law Lewis Westcombe in Somerset. Later deeds show the demesne land still intact as a unit in 1707 and 1723 when it was purchased by the Earl of Strafford of Stainborough²⁰.

The major consequence of the manor being run as a private estate was the absence of population pressure creating demands for land clearance. It was the prime land of the township with meadow, arable, fish dam, river, mill and woodland.

It has been seen in Chapter 4 (page 76) that the township had been largely stripped of timber during the middle ages in the drive for farm land. Small pockets of spring wood had survived amongst the fields, for example, Monk Spring at White Cross and Jarratt Spring in the Dale, the whole totalling 67 acres and a further 24 acres of scrub woodland on Dove Cliff. The Jarratt Spring was producing a profit in the nineteenth century when, in 1829, Robert Elmhirst received £77-6-1 for 21 trees,²¹ but was grubbed out earlier this century for building land.

At Rockley, however, a different balance emerged - of the 650 acres demesne land sold in 1707, there were still 227 acres of standing timber. Much of this was spring wood, farmed and coppiced as a cash crop, supplying charcoal burners serving the ironworks in the Rockley valley from the 13th to the 18th century, (see later, Ironworking, p.151). It can be agreed with Dr. Redmonds that, perhaps contrary to popular conception, *'One result of the importance of the iron industry in parts of the West Riding [of Yorkshire] was the preservation of woodland areas, not their destruction.'*²² Further profit came from the felling of larger timbers, permitted *"from time to time ... to keep buildings in good repair"*²³ and oak bark sold to the local tanners. In 1696 Sir Gervase Cutler of Stainborough was also

selling spring wood to the Rockley charcoal burners, charging £6-15s an acre in Ivas Wood, adjoining the Rockley woods.²⁴ Large areas of these woods in the Rockley and Stainborough estates have been removed in recent years during extensive opencast coalmining and replaced by conifer plantations by the Forestry Commission. Occasional evidence of pollarding can still be found where the ancient woodland remains, particularly near the river, untouched by opencast working.

c) Worsbrough. The Worsbrough manor, comprising all the township south of the river Dove, provides a further contrast in land usage. The siting of the Anglo/Saxon settlement in the area of the present village could perhaps be confirmed by archaeological evidence but, with a pre-Conquest church, is a reasonable assumption. Its early layout, however, is completely unknown and probably totally unrelated to the modern village. It has frequently been shown that not only have dwellings moved but often entire villages were repositioned in the early medieval period. Christopher Taylor quotes numerous examples of villages expanding, contracting and moving²⁵. Evidence from the extended excavations at Wharam Percy shows impermanence was the keynote, as exemplified in one plot which changed use from manor house to quarry, to a succession of peasant houses on different alignments in three centuries²⁶.

The medieval period saw major changes in the development of villages such as Worsbrough, when a planned structure was imposed, and population growth resulted in occupation of the village green. Though the change here is impossible to date, the influence of Nun Appleton as the new owners in the thirteenth century is perhaps likely as they sought to maximise the efficiency of their new acquisition through planned development. Evidence of planning at Worsbrough may be seen in the regular plots extending back from the main street, on the south side of the church, over what had probably been an early green. A further area of green, referred to as 'waste' at the time, was taken over in 1560 as the site of the new Grammar School.



Fig. 6.5 WORSBROUGH TOWN FIELDS 1838

Equally impossible to date is the adoption of a common field system of agriculture, still visible in the landscape and confirmed in documentary sources. An Indenture²⁷ of 1650 mentions selions in Overfield, Middlefield and Netherfield which can be identified from furlong names, such as 'Priest-hoodhole' in the Middlefield which has been retained as a modern field-name. The later accumulation of strips by exchange and purchase has produced the classic long narrow shapes of furlong blocks in the modern fields (Fig. 6.5). This was clearly visible on early twentieth-century maps, less so today following removal of hedges and recent opencast coal mining.

It has now been shown conclusively that it is, "*no longer possible to argue that the Anglo/Saxons brought from Germany a fully-fledged common-field system*"²⁸, but was an early medieval development, though the mechanism of its progress is still debateable. Small areas of surviving ridge and furrow and the location of adjacent strips in the Indenture above, show Worsbrough did have a "fully-fledged common-field system". One field with reversed 'S' ridge & furrow runs to the edge of what was the village green, near the ducking pond, suggesting early clearance. However, common field working must have been discontinued at least by the close of the sixteenth century, as the earliest seventeenth century records, particularly the Manor Court Rolls, contain no references to the arrangements necessary to make the system work, such as control of the communal grazing rights after harvest. Loss of the Nun Appleton records also makes it impossible to know whether strip owners operated their own individual cropping and grazing sequences, or if the three town fields rotated in unison, following the commonly perceived traditional pattern.

It was not uncommon in the early modern period for tradesmen to own farm stock and a small croft as insurance against dearth; even landless cottagers had their common grazing rights. The 1762 Probate Inventory of John South,

the blacksmith at Ward Green (Appendix - Buildings No.12), shows he had a fold with '*one old Cow and Calf £2.2.0; a quantity of unthrashed oats £1.10.0 and a parcel of Hay £1.1.0*'. In the same year, George Burgain, a slater, left '*two young calves £1.6.0.*'²⁹ The swampy ground called Goose Hulls, near the river at Lewden, (Fig. 6.1) was held in common for geese.

Such homes cannot be seen as 'farms', however, in the sense of buildings assembled specifically for agricultural use. Examination of the surviving early farm buildings in Worsbrough, (detailed discussion of each in Appendix - Buildings), suggests a pattern of development. Early in the seventeenth century the medieval, two-bay cruck, farmhouse at Elmhirst (Bank Top) was extended, in line, by adding a house and byre, with cross passage in the old style of a long-house. (Buildings No.3). The cruck building was probably relegated to a barn and store. A further extension in the eighteenth century added a longer byre, beyond the cruck building, the original byre becoming a store and the cruck building reverting to a dwelling. The result was a farm with house and ancillary buildings in an extended line. The fifteenth century, timber-framed farm, at Houndhill (Buildings No.4), with its five bays, was a further example of this early pattern, as may also have been the original farmstead at White Cross (Buildings No.14) although here the sixteenth century farmhouse was totally replaced in the eighteenth century.

White Cross shows another stage where, in the 17th/18th century, the barn, stye and cart shed were rebuilt along the sides of a square leaving an open courtyard. This re-arrangement produced a planned farm setting as seen at Genn House, (Buildings No.6) where, in mid-seventeenth century, the complex had been designed round a courtyard with house, stables, stye and sheds along different sides leaving an open courtyard. The house was rebuilt in the early eighteenth century and separated from the courtyard by a low wall but retained the courtyard setting. A similar sequence

was followed at Balk (Buildings No.15) in the eighteenth century where the seventeenth century stable was retained.

A different pattern emerged amongst the gentry/yeomen, with an early example at Houndhill in the sixteenth century (Buildings No.5), where the house is detached from the working farm buildings to provide privacy and reflect a new social standard. William Elmhirst followed this pattern when rebuilding Ouslethwaite (Buildings No.7) in the late eighteenth century by placing the house well to the fore, to make a statement of social class, with the farm buildings to the side and rear, partly out of view. This approach was taken to its ultimate at Worsbrough Hall, built by Thomas Edmunds in the 1620s (Buildings No.19), where only the stables are near the house. The farm buildings were placed on the opposite side of the village, west of the church, and even the walled garden was built away from the house, on the south side of the church, giving the family total isolation from the smells and activities of the working farm.

Valuations in the Inventories of Worsbrough's eighteenth century farmers indicate individual preferences in the approach to mixed farming, judging from the percentages of stock compared to arable, though too few Inventories survive to permit anything but a general picture.

When Arthur Young passed this way, in 1771; he complained, "*Grassland they manage in a very defective husbandry*", sowing a scanty measure of seeds on unlevelled ridge and furrow. "*As to sheep the whole country [South Yorkshire] has nothing that deserves the name of a flock, the number kept by farmers rising only from ten to thirty*".³⁰ However, Saltonstall had 45 sheep and 12 lambs in 1690 valued £6 at Houndhill and also a flock worth £45, about 360 sheep, on land near Wakefield. Similarly, in 1730, Thomas Knutton of Balk, had 85 sheep on two separate farms and the Pennine moors were close enough to Worsbrough for use as summer pasture, the flock being brought off the moor in winter. Perhaps Young was only seeing the sheep on the home farms.

Table 6.1 Farming Elements in Inventory Totals

(Figures in £ and % rounded to nearest whole)

	Stock		Arable		Total Inv.
	£	%	£	%	£
1690 Saltonstall, Houndhill, gent	72	39	35	20	181
1693 Carrington, Blacker Hall, gent	119	43	85	29	279
1717 Marrow, Marrow House, gent	9	15	9	15	60
1746 Milner, Old Hall, gent	110	28	118	30	390
1746 Hall, Swaithe House, gent	75	12	198	33	605
1719 Ellis, Yews, yeoman	32	38	38	44	86
1730 Knutton, Balk, yeoman	136	49	76	28	272
1731 Cawthorne, Bank End, yeoman	85	32	136	50	270
1717 Becket, Highstone, husbandman	31	21	75	49	150
1722 Ounsworth, husbandman/tailor	13	28	15	32	47
1753 Sykes, Robt, White Cross, husbandman	65	26	128	51	250
1765 Sykes, Ricd, White Cross, husbandman	48	21	104	47	223
1772 Wilkinson, husbandman	25	47	11	20	52
1692 Allott, Lewdin, farmer	70	17	216	54	401

The Inventory information, augmented by the doles of corn for the poor, suggest the eighteenth century Worsbrough farmers produced crops in an approximate ratio:

Wheat : Oats : Barley : Peas : Hay

11 : 10 : 5 : 3 : 3

Flax, clover, beans, potatoes and rape also featured occasionally. Turnips were grown as a winter feed but appear to have provoked discussion on how best to present them to cattle and, in correspondence with a Mr. Stainsby of Bag Enderby, Lincolnshire, in 1802, William Elmhirst was sent a working drawing of, "A model or draft of a turnip fold tray" to hold the turnips.³¹ Amongst Elmhirst's farming notes is the sole reference to the level of tithes being paid to Darfield by the Worsbrough farmers. In 1783 he paid for sheep 1d, lambs 2d (up to 5 then 1s for 10), cow 1½d, pigs 1s a litter, geese 6d (breeding), foal 1d and bees 1d swarm to a total of 12s 5d.³²

The name of the bank, Hollingwell, running above Goose Hulls, suggests an ancient source of holly as a winter feed

supplement, the OE name 'Hollin' possibly dating from the earliest settlement. Its value as a browsing crop is well-known but recent evidence shows that, in particular areas such as the southern Pennines, it was used as a winter feed for sheep.³³ At the 1614 Manor Court, James Micklethwaite was fined 3s 4d after he '*had lopped or cut off branches of the green trees called holly growing upon Roome Greene.*'³⁴

In his Probate Inventory of 1755, John Tattershall is described as a 'gardener', fore-runner of the modern nurseryman. He had 200 holly trees (£1.13.4), 180 apple trees (18s.0d), a 'parcel' of Fir trees (10s), a parcel of unspecified plants (2s 6d) and an acre of clover (3s 9d).

It is evident from the various sources that the quantity of food being produced exceeded what was necessary for the self-sufficiency of Worsbrough, the excess being a source of profit for the improving farmer. No doubt the bulk of this excess production went for sale at the Barnsley market, to feed its growing population, as seen in the Inventory of David Cawthorne of Bank End with 50 loads of wheat and 10 loads of blendcorn in his Barnsley warehouse.

Improvements in efficiency were not achieved without a price. Regrouping of selions in the old town fields, begun before the sixteenth century, continued into the nineteenth as when Francis Edmunds persuaded Reverend Henry Cooke, the Curate, to arrange with the Archbishop, in 1826, to exchange part of an Edmunds croft near the church, to use as a graveyard, for a piece of glebe land in a town field adjoining an Edmunds farm.³⁵

However, the limits of such exchanges were approaching even by the end of the eighteenth century and the small band of wealthier land-owners sought expansion onto the township's commons. Further pressure on any common land was being exerted simultaneously by the incoming population demanding house plots and, as Edmunds prevented housing expansion in the village to preserve his park, the majority of incomers gravitated to Birdwell and the Dale. In addition, as the cost of living rose, the landless labourers

wanted 'gardens' to grow some of their own food and also began to extend their little house plots.

Precise figures offering detail of these changes have not survived for Worsbrough, though the pressures on the peasant economy were probably little different from the situation at Wigston, in Leicestershire. Professor Hoskins was able to show there, not only how its land area was devolving to fewer owners, but, through an agreement at a town meeting in 1707, the area of common ground was fixed, together with regulations on its use by setting new stints limiting grazing numbers. The intention was to preserve a new balance of commons pasture to arable, to help the small peasant farmers who were the largest class but with only a small proportion of land. Of the 99 Wigston landowners in the mid-eighteenth century, 70 had less than 24 acres, representing one fifth of the parish, whereas a dozen held three fifths. Cottagers with no land at all, however, still had 35 cows and 220 sheep between them on the commons.³⁶

Despite the lack of precise figures for Worsbrough, some similarities can be detected as, for example, in a Land Tax statement³⁷ of 1715 which shows 41 held taxable land (of whom eight were non-resident) but only six were taxed over £30 and 23 under £10. As the population at the time was probably in the range of 110-120 households, it indicates a landless majority to whom the commons played a vital role in their survival to eke out their wages. Although documentary evidence of their 'rights' appears not to have survived, various entries in the Manor Court Rolls, in addition to occasional evidence of disputes, suggest some form of agreement existed and it was to the Manor Court that any could appeal for redress and the Court, in turn, enforced agreements. The Court remained active until the mid-nineteenth century but to less effect after implementation of the Act of Enclosure in 1816.

It is noted in the Worsbrough Court records that three differing terminologies are defined under the ancient '*rights of commons*'; commons, greens and waste. The commons

of Birdwell, Blacker and Worsbrough Common (Fig.6.1) could be considered the traditional spaces for rough grazing allocated by stint. In addition there were at least fifteen sites designated as 'greens' which, in view of their location, would provide good quality grazing and were used communally, despite the proximity of many to a farm. Some 'greens' were alternatively referred to as 'commons', at Kendal Green, for example, where field 378 (Fig. 6.2) is also called Kendal Common.

The development of ancient, even prehistoric, greenside settlements investigated in East Suffolk³⁸ is difficult to relate to Worsbrough, where many greens, for example Wigfall Green and Round Green, are small uncultivated areas close to a single habitation, which had remained so since the original assarting. In other cases a green can be identified at a junction of tracks, possibly resulting from the need for a wide turning circle for carts, as at White Cross Green and Brough Green. A further complication of nomenclature is seen in the village 'green', to the south and west of the church, where the land provided for a school-house was described as 'waste'.

The importance of the various commons to the general population is illustrated in the reaction to enclosure attempts made by the bigger landowners. In 1700, for instance, 53 freeholders, copyholders and cottagers signed a petition against a move by the Earl of Strafford, Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Elmhirst and Mr. Wombwell³⁹. In 1718 a further attempt was fervently resisted when 75 inhabitants protested against a plan to take in "*severall of the comons and Wast grounds*" to augment Curate Staniland's income, which was "*pretending a mighty zeale for the Interest of the Church*", but disregarded the "*manny Necessitous families in the Townshipp who are cheafly supported by the keeping of A few sheep toward their clothing.*"⁴⁰ Thomas Archdale, a prosperous farmer at Ouslethwaite, endorsed the petition (no doubt recognising that Poor Relief would have to support those affected) and added £30 to the villagers' £50, which

they offered in lieu of the enclosure. He also pointed out that the move was not initiated by a sufficient majority of the freeholders' lands.

Thomas Wentworth, the Earl, took a hand as principal freeholder, keen on the enclosure. He wrote from London in July 1718 telling Edmunds to speak with Thomas Cawthorne, owner of Bank End estate who opposed the plan, and if he would not sign then Mr Greenwood, Rector of Darfield, was to "*turne him out of the Tyths he rents of us*". A further letter in December suggests an Act to complete the enclosure had been prepared but its conclusion is unknown.⁴¹

Control of the commons by the Manor Court continued regardless. In 1701 Robert Oxspring and Anthony Wood were fined ten shillings for "*infectiond horses*" on the Birdwell Common. The same Court found farmer Edward Saville "*hath An horse infected with the Crabb*" and during the "*continuans of that infection he Doe not at any time turn these horses upon any part of the Comon within this Liberty.*"

Minor infringements of the waste and commons, such as Benjamin Ruddleston's pig sty on Brough Green, were promptly quashed by the Court until the end of the eighteenth century, when a change of policy can be detected following the succession of FTW Vernon Wentworth to the Worsbrough estate after the death of the third, and last, Earl of Strafford in 1799. Clothier Charles Fearn "*inclosed part of the Waste at Broo Green*" in 1801, but was allowed to keep it on payment of 2d rent, as were labourer James Tunnicliffe and gardener John Yates who enclosed waste in the Dale. A new element was added in 1806 when Benjamin Woodhead erected a cottage on Birdwell Common, without permission, but retained it on paying 2s to the Lord of the Manor. Three or four such cases occurred each year until 1811 when it is evident that the initiative by the major landowners to totally enclose the commons became general knowledge. In that year the Court approved ten unauthorised enclosures, referred to as 'gardens', in various parts of the township as extensions to cottages at 2d rent each. This

was followed by six in 1812, six in 1813, nine in 1814 and six in 1815, including a new cottage.

The process was halted in 1816 when the Enclosure Act⁴² was drawn up, to be given Royal Assent on 23 May 1817. All enclosures within the last 20 years were to be accepted as part of the occupants entitlement to 'rights of common', at a rent charge, and allocated to Vernon Wentworth for the manors of Worsbrough and Worsbrough Dale (Rockley), with Darley granted to the then owner, William Parkin. The Commissioner, Thomas Gee of Ackworth, produced no Enclosure map but included sketches of roadside greens and road junctions, showing allocation to adjacent fields, to which he added, "*No person shall graze or pasture Cattle in or upon any of the Roads or Ways*" and gave orders to "*impound every horse ass and sell all other beasts found grazing.*"

The impact of the enclosure on any affected individual would, of course, be serious but, the effect on the township's total agricultural economy was minimal. Unlike Wigston, for example, where over 2887 acres in a total of about 2994 acres were allocated,⁴³ a mere 384 acres of Worsbrough's 3300 acres had remained as common land to be allocated. The apportionment provided 94 acres sold to defray expenses, Francis Edmunds (Worsbrough Hall) to receive 116 acres, Vernon Wentworth (of Stainborough) 48, William Parkin (Doncaster) 21 and William Elmhirst (Ouslethwaite) 19. The remaining 86 acres were shared in small lots by 33 inhabitants.

It will be seen in the following chapter that the major population pressure for housing was to come, not only from Worsbrough, but also from Barnsley, where the linen industry was expanding rapidly in the south of the town adjoining the Worsbrough boundary (Weaving, p.146).

Vernon Wentworth received the Worsbrough Common, a rocky area previously noted as unsuitable for farming, and recognised its housing potential. He immediately began releasing strips of this Common allocation to speculative builders who erected rows of cheap housing to accommodate

what became an overspill of the Barnsley weavers. The effects will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but he effectively created an area dependent on Worsbrough society, yet whose social and working life faced towards Barnsley, becoming a densely populated, detached enclave, prone to disorder and disease⁴⁴.

The thirty three who received minor awards, but had lost their common grazing rights, including greens and waysides, were clearly unable to maintain their independence and increasingly sold out to the major landowners. When the 1861 Spooner Survey⁴⁵ was made for the Poor Law Union, virtually the whole township in the hands of three families:

WB Martin (inheritor of the Edmunds estate) = 51.3%

FTW Vernon Wentworth (Strafford estate) = 24.3%

William Elmhirst = 13.8%

The remainder had passed to Religious/Education Charities = 8.9% and the Dove & Dearne Canal reservoir = 1.7%

One effect of the enclosure process would be the loss of rabbit as part of the Worsbrough diet, whether by poaching or legally. The north-westerly area of the Worsbrough Common formed an extensive 'coney' warren, which was absorbed within the enclosure granted to Vernon Wentworth, and, though not specifically noted in surviving documentary evidence, must be assumed lost to the population under the new housing. Another warren within the township, near Birdwell, was part of the Rockley estate and unaffected by enclosure; it remained under Rockley control.

The drive towards engrossing and enclosure had a minor consequence which, to the paupers and labourers, meant a serious loss of additional income in the struggle for survival. For centuries the Church Wardens had paid regular sums towards pest control amongst the town's fields and flocks. In 1727, for example, blacksmith John South was paid 2d for a weasle's head; labourer Adam Birkinshaw 4d for a fulmert (polecat); labourer John Harrison had 2s for two otter heads with a further 6s for five fox heads and a badger. Particularly at risk in the countryside were the

harmless urchins (hedgehogs), as seen in the 1727 account where 38 urchins are claimed at 2d each. Their vulnerability no doubt arose from the country lore which accused them of drinking cows dry in the field at night. It was more likely a human agency as recorded in the 1636 Manor Court Roll where "*Dobson wife was takn milken Mr Kays Kyne and that shee should have beene whipt.*"

All such payments ceased by 1800 and the only concession to pest control was the appointment in 1824 of Michael White to "*kill and distroy the moles*" in the township⁴⁶.

Agriculture in Worsbrough had entered a new era.

6.2 INDUSTRY

Throughout its history Worsbrough has been able to support both an agricultural and industrial economy integrated as an interdependent whole. In common with most settlements there "*were domestic industries subordinate to agriculture*"⁴⁷ and such "*rural crafts tended to be simple and require little capital.*"⁴⁸ Worsbrough had its weaver/farmer Roger Elmhirst in the sixteenth century, whose '*ploughlands became pastures*', raising sheep for their wool⁴⁹; blacksmith John South, in his Inventory total of £10-15-10 in 1672, had £4-13-0 of farming stock, little different from some local husbandmen⁵⁰; Michael Leach was described in the parish registers as a button-maker at the baptism of daughters in 1795 and 1800, but as the inn-keeper of the old Red Lion near the bridge at his burial in 1803.⁵¹

Amongst these 'minor' industries may be considered the corn-mill, which has been in continuous operation throughout the history of Worsbrough, but was reduced to production of animal feed after roller-milling captured the flour market towards the end of the nineteenth century. (Appendix Buildings, No.23). Two further corn-mills operated until the eighteenth century at Rockley and Lewden.

Several small-scale craft workers found a niche in the local markets and there were numerous opportunities for

earning a living which, though not strictly within the accepted concept of an 'industry', were part of its overall economy. These will be considered briefly at the end of this chapter.

However, the township's industrial base went deeper than such craft activities, developing to the point where, by 1851, it had become an industrial urban community having made what Wilson terms the "*economic exit from medievalism*."⁵² The pace of change was initially slow and uneven but, if a crucial date is to be identified, it must be 1804 with the opening of the canal following on the turnpike improvements. Many industries which had served the community well throughout the medieval and early modern period disappeared, others prospered and new ones emerged. All depended on the key which geology had provided in Worsbrough to facilitate the adaptation, namely, coal.

Hartwell makes the essential point that, "*more land devoted to the production of timber or wool meant less land available to produce food*."⁵³ However, Worsbrough had virtually lost its reserves of great timber and much of its underwoods by the early modern period but land was not simply the principal source of food. It was also virtually the sole source of the raw materials used in industrial production, particularly fuel. Wrigley pursues the argument to show that, under the medieval 'organic' economy, a limit is reached where, in the demand for fuel supplies, domestic and industrial, from existing resources, the challenge will be won by food production and thus strangle industrial development if an alternative fuel supply is lacking. Land exploitation under a strictly organic economy leads to diminishing returns; a mineral-based economy, in contrast, "*freed dependence on the land for raw materials*."⁵⁴ Mining as a distinct industry will be discussed later, but the easy availability of coal, affecting all aspects of the variety of industries found in Worsbrough, cannot be underestimated.

It is, perhaps, difficult to define at what point an expanded dual-occupation, such as the weaver/farmer, becomes

an 'industry', as distinct from creating an iron works which required initial investment capital to build the necessary furnace. It could possibly be argued that production far in excess of local needs suggests the basis for the definition of an industry; such a case may be the first 'industry' that can be confirmed in Worsbrough.

i) Leather. The 1379 Lay Subsidy (Poll Tax) records the occupation of 'souter' (shoemaker). In the sixteen townships of the region around Worsbrough there are three souters in Barnsley, one each in Penistone, Ardsley and Havercroft with none in the remainder, excepting Worsbrough which has eight. Even allowing for the vagaries and known deficiencies of the Subsidy record such a contrast has to be significant, suggesting Worsbrough was serving a wide regional market. The occupation of 'tanner' is not recorded but, unless an extensive trade in leather was established along the pack-horse routes through the township, perhaps the 'souter' was himself the tanner.

Regrettably the sparse records of the intervening centuries are deficient regarding occupations until the seventeenth century, when it is again apparent that Worsbrough is a regional centre for leather-work with ten shoemakers and five cordwainers. There were six tanners operating three, possibly four, tanneries such as the Allotts at Lewden with John Elmhirst as dyer⁵⁵, the Oxleys of Swaithe and Cawoods of Rob Royd. Joseph Green of Round Green is recorded as 'tanner' in 1790 but additional confirmation is lacking.⁵⁶ (Fig. 6.11, page 168).

The Cawood family were friendly with the diarist John Hobson, tanner of Dodworth, who was godfather to a daughter, Mary Cawood. She died of smallpox in 1726 aged six months and Hobson records another loss that year for the Cawoods when son Anthony aged 2½ years "*drowned at the tan-yard*".⁵⁷ No evidence of what would have been extensive tanning pits has survived in the landscape near any of these works other than the possible re-use of the Lewden pits by a late

nineteenth century chemical works.

The Worsbrough tanneries were part of a regional industry which thrived during the eighteenth century in Barnsley and the surrounding townships⁵⁸. Early in the nineteenth century, however, all but two at Cawthorne had closed - the Cawood tannery at Worsbrough closing in the first decade. The ten shoemakers and five cordwainers of eighteenth century Worsbrough had been reduced to four shoemakers by 1843 and these were perhaps better considered 'repairers' rather than 'makers'.

The causes of decline in this regional leather industry may lie in the greater accessibility to hides and leather products from cheaper Midlands sources along the growing communication network, but it is clear from Hobson's search for hides, even to buying in South Shields, that local farmers were probably moving away from stock rearing which had for centuries adequately supplied the leather workers. It is recognised that the surviving eighteenth century Inventories of Worsbrough farmers cannot be seen as a viable statistical sample but it is notable that none include a cattle herd and few even have milk cows.

ii) Paper. A slightly unexpected industry was paper-making on the site of the mill at Lewden, last recorded as a corn mill in 1690.⁵⁹ (Fig. 6.11). Lacking a pond, it is assumed to have used an undershot wheel fed directly by an artificial loop in the river Dove. It was owned and operated throughout its life as a paper-mill by the Rhodes family, a branch of a Worsbrough long-stay family of farmers who were probably related to the Rhodes of Monk Bretton, paper makers in mid-seventeenth century, though the genealogical link has yet to be confirmed⁶⁰. The Register entry of a baptism, *William son of Joseph Rhodes paperman* in 1713 is the first certain reference to the industry although Rhodes lived at Lewden at the end of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century they were joined by the Pashleys and Harrisons in what was clearly a successful enterprise. The

1852 "General Directory of Sheffield" by William White shows the works still in production under John & George Rhodes.

In the absence of surviving family papers the products of the works must remain conjecture but, apart from the possibility of writing paper, it was almost certainly mainly devoted to satisfying the growing demand for all forms of wrapping paper created by the expanding Barnsley market. Specialist paper, strong but coarse, for bagging small quantities of a wide variety of produce, such as sugar and flour, was increasingly used. As this paper was made from rag material, it is significant that Moses Jackson earned his living in Worsbrough in the 1750s as a rag gatherer.

The closure of the Worsbrough paper mill in the mid-nineteenth century was no doubt hastened by the opening of a rival works in Barnsley, the Star Paper Mill, in the 1850s which also produced grocery papers.⁶¹ In addition to a more convenient location, it had the advantage of improved methods of production.

No evidence for the Worsbrough mill survives in the landscape, the looped head-race feeding the wheel, recorded on 19th century maps, has been in-filled, detectable as a depression across the meadow, with no trace of the building.

iii) Weaving. Henricus de Wigfall webster, Thomas Genne tailor and Robertus Dikkonson tailor of the 1379 Poll Tax were fore-runners of one of the township's major industries. Local weaving took a major forward step when Roger Elmfirst increased his sheep flock to concentrate on wool production and established a weaving mill complex at Houndhill and Kendal Green⁶² (Fig. 6.11). Excavations in 1979 confirmed the sixteenth century building date, from stone purchased at the demolition Priory of Monk Bretton, but no information on the contemporary weaving process⁶³. Roger left his two looms, shears and other weaving equipment to his second son John in 1594 and Kendal Green to his eldest son, which would suggest the enterprise was already in decline. The products would be hawked around the markets by 'chapmen' one of whom

was a younger son, William, described as a 'decayed chapman' living in Ireland in 1634.⁶⁴

The origin of the name, Kendal Green, is the source of much speculation in the Elmhirst family seeking to associate it with the Cumbrian cloth of that name, which Dr. Satchell traces to a particular dye combination used in the Kendal area of Cumbria.⁶⁵ However, 'green' is a customary Common in Worsbrough and a more likely origin is a medieval connection with weavers from the Cumbrian Kendal, working at Wakefield in the fourteenth century where, in 1314, John de Kendale obstructed Wrengate with his dunghill⁶⁶. A neighbour of Henry de Wigfall, the webster, could well have been a "de Kendale" who gave his name to the "common" of Kendal Green.

The excavations at Houndhill produced the only tangible evidence of Worsbrough's weaving industry in the form of lingoos (weights) and reed fragments. These date from the eighteenth century when, unfortunately, Houndhill was no longer in Elmhirst possession and a period when the family papers are silent. The finds suggest the weaving mill was then producing heavy fancy brocades.

Worsbrough was a part of the regional weaving industry which expanded rapidly during the eighteenth century⁶⁷. The distribution of weavers and clothiers in the Staincross wapentake is indicated by the 1806 Militia Return, with 15 in Worsbrough.⁶⁸ The list only includes males between 15 and 45 years, not all weavers, but the varying concentrations in the townships offer a comparison, (Fig.6.6). However, weaving was a family concern involving females, children and the elderly to the extent that the more detailed data in the Worsbrough 1851 Census shows, in the total of 384 weavers, 115 (30.0%) were female. In addition, 72 (18.6%) of male weavers were over 45 years and 36 (9.4%) under 18 years. This could suggest that perhaps the 1806 totals may be about 50% too low, emphasising even further the two dense areas seen around Barnsley and Cumberworth.

However, the industry in the west of the wapentake was part of the West Riding woollen industry, whereas the group

around Barnsley was linen weaving. When occupations are noted in the Worsbrough parish registers, after 1776, 'linen' weaver is often specified and five flax dressers are recorded. Linen cloth required bleaching which gave rise to two bleach works in the township and fields specifically allocated for the 'tenters' on which the linen was stretched when sun-bleaching (Fig. 6.11). George Fearne, weaver, was before the Manor Court in 1801 and amerced ten shillings for "*erecting tenters for Cloth on the Waste at Broo Green*" near his cottage. However, a wool comber and a worsted weaver, recorded in 1791, indicate variety was maintained.

Even if the 1806 total of 15 for Worsbrough is inflated to 25, allowing for those unaffected by the Militia limits, the rise to 385 at the 1851 Census suggests an exceptionally rapid growth in the local industry. It is tempting to compare this with the rise of other textile industries such as the frame-work knitters of the Midlands at Wigston, for example.⁶⁹ Both were similarly organised where the frame or loom was hired from a master and working materials supplied, suitable houses and shops were built with well-lit upper rooms for knitters, basements for linen weavers. In both areas the population was growing through in-comers and landless labourers seeking alternative work. The growth comparison ends, however, when considering the distribution. In Wigston the increase from its seventeenth century origins had been spread throughout the township. Although the distribution of weavers in Worsbrough had also been spread originally, the rise from 15 in 1806 to 385 at 1851 had, in fact, little to do with the Worsbrough industry *per se*.

The 1806 weavers can be located living at Blacker (3), Birdwell (5), Houndhill (2), Kendal Green (2), Bank End (1), Highstone (1) and Ward Green (1) with none on the Common where the only house was the Sod Hall (Appendix - Buildings No.1). The distribution in 1851 had changed to the Dale (3), Bank End (1), Swaithe (1), Kendal Green (1), Houndhill (2) and 376 are listed on Highstone and Worsbrough Common.

These were Barnsley weavers who could no longer be

accommodated in the terraced rows, built specifically for them, in the south of the town, and the Worsbrough industry from then is perhaps better regarded as an extension of the Barnsley linen industry, which began its rise in the late eighteenth century.⁷⁰ The reasons why the industry expanded at Barnsley to the point where, in the later nineteenth century, it was recognised as a principal centre of linen manufacture awaits a satisfactory explanation. Improved transport links, flax grown locally and a town labour force seeking employment, for example, would all play a part, but none adequately explains its meteoric rise.

The 1750s had seen the Wilson brothers established as organisers of a weaving workforce in Barnsley which continued to grow when other entrepreneurs, such as Joseph Beckett and Foljambe Wood, set up in business later in the century. The Militia Return shows that by 1806 about 28% of Barnsley's male population aged between 18-45 were involved in weaving, rising to 44% by 1831. In mid-century there were 4000 handlooms and 1000 power looms producing up to two million pounds' worth of linen goods exported world-wide. Although the power looms were in the town centre factories, the hand weavers, employed as outworkers completing stints using materials and looms provided the magnates, were to the south of the town near the Worsbrough boundary. With no available space in the town, their encroachment onto the Worsbrough Common was, perhaps, inevitable.

The concentration of weaving on the Common was noted in 1838, '*where is Dumfries Row, and many other cottages, occupied by linen weavers, and built since 1822 when the common was enclosed.*'⁷¹ This was the land previously noted as granted to Vernon Wentworth under the Act and the influx of weavers created an instant demand for cheap, high density housing. The overall population density of the township in 1851 was 1.3 per acre but in the Worsbrough Common area the main concentration of housing developed into dense rows at 30 houses per acre with an average occupation of 4.93 each house giving a population density of 148 inhabitants an

acre. Its total population of 1063 included 794 working adults (over 11 years old) of whom 47.3% were weavers, only eleven of whom worked on the factory power looms in Barnsley. However, of the 259 heads of household, only 17.3% had been born in Worsbrough. In 1840 there were 518 looms in 162 of the houses, with 64 houses containing 4 looms.⁷²

The houses were built in close rows using local sandstone and generally contained living room and kitchen with two bedrooms above and, below ground level, what may be considered a half-cellar. Unlike the West Riding wool weavers who worked in upper rooms lit by long multi-light windows, examples of which remain in nearby Thurlstone for instance, the linen weavers had their looms in the cellar which was half below, half above, ground level. The insanitary condition of these houses is graphically described in a report by the Barnsley General Board of Health on the 1849 cholera outbreak, (p.193):

*"The chief evil connected with the weaving shops arises from the surface drainage of the streets. The ceiling of the weaving shop is generally about 2 feet above the surface of the ground and is provided with a window, which does not open, the sill being level with the street outside. In the window there is generally a small aperture for the admission of air. Immediately under this aperture runs an open channel to carry off the liquid refuse of the neighbouring houses, so that every breath of air that comes into the weaving shop is poisoned in its passage over the filthy and half stagnant gutter. In wet weather the occupants are obliged to bale them out two or three times a day and a large proportion of the weaving population are living in and breathing the atmosphere of a cesspool."*⁷³ The situation was not helped by there being an average of only one privy to twenty-eight houses and, in parts, only one to ninety six.

No weavers' houses remain on Worsbrough Common after a total clearance of the area in the inter-war years, when they were replaced by a municipal housing estate (Chapter 8). The last surviving terrace of weaver houses in Barnsley,

Taylor Row, was demolished in the 1960s, during construction of a new road scheme; the only known photographic record was made of such houses by Edward Tasker⁷⁴

iv) Iron. The bed of Tankersley iron ore, outcropping in the west of the township, has long been exploited. Rievaulx Abbey was almost certainly involved in the early medieval period.⁷⁵ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ore was mined by bell-pits, particularly in the woods of the Rockley estate - Friar Tale, Old Park, Grange Ing, Moor Leys together with Broom Royd in the Stainborough estate. (Fig.6.7). The upcast of a group of such bell-pits, part of the later industry, is clearly visible across the Tankersley golf course, to the west of the northbound M1 motorway, when approaching Worsbrough. Composed of iron carbonate nodules, the ore only proved suitable for low quality products and played little part in the vast Sheffield industry, shown by Professor Hey to have depended on imported Spanish and Swedish iron for its world supremacy⁷⁶.

The earliest confirmation of iron-working on any scale is the 1522 Will of Roger Rockley which includes a bequest to his "smith's workmen"⁷⁷ and presumed to be working on the field marked 'Cinder Hill' (Fig. 6.7). These ironworks are included in an Indenture of 1723 when the Earl of Strafford purchased the estate,⁷⁸ despite a note by the sequestrators in 1646 that they were then not valued "*by reason no profit was made*"⁷⁹. This area, locally known as Rockley Smithies, was to be destroyed in the M1 construction and a full-scale archaeological investigation was undertaken in the 1960s,⁸⁰ which revealed extensive remains of a bloomery dating from the early 16th to the mid-17th century, with two hearths blown by two water-wheel-driven bellows, chafery, finery and a water-powered hammer. Its products and their destination are unknown, though a Worsbrough nail-making industry in the early eighteenth century may have unrecorded antecedents.

The superstructure of a blast furnace, Low Furnace,

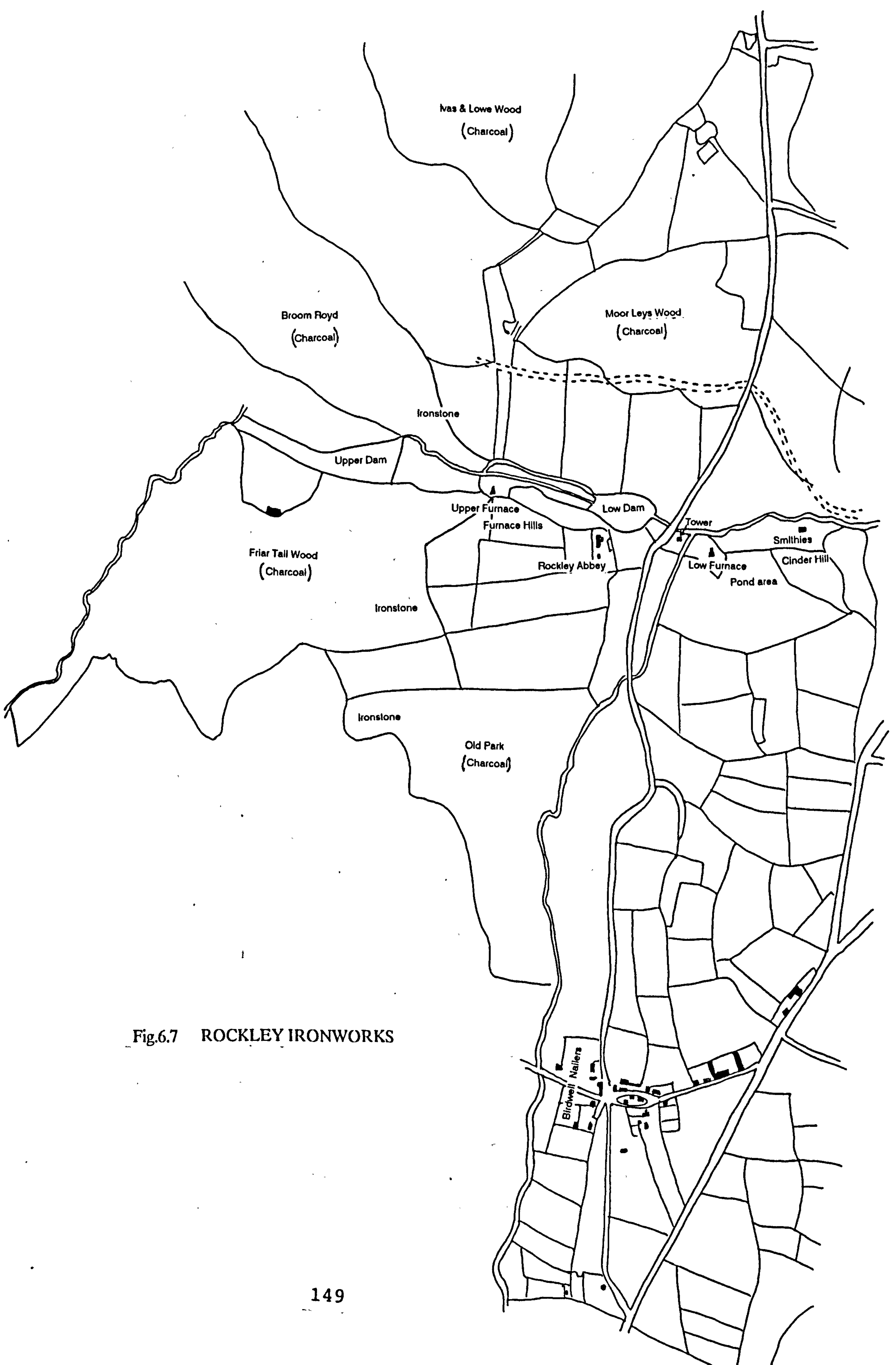


Fig.6.7 ROCKLEY IRONWORKS

survives in a field adjacent the Smithies and has long been assumed to have been built in 1652 by Lionel Copley of Rotherham⁸¹. Recent research raises considerable doubts and the true situation has yet to be resolved satisfactorily. An estate map⁸² of c.1726 and field names noted in seventeenth century leases initiated these doubts. As the field names have now been located during the present research, it becomes clear that another furnace existed higher up the valley near 'Furnace Hills' (Fig.6.7). The site is identified by reference to a lease⁸³ granted by Dennis Heyford, (agent for Francis Rockley, then in prison for debt), of a furnace on a meadow called 'Little Carr', indicated by a symbol on the 1726 map. This was the Copley furnace. Excepting ground disturbance, no structural evidence is now visible at the site and it must await archaeological investigation. (Use of its stone in building the adjacent bridge has been noted on page 108).

However, an Indenture of 1704 refers to 'furnaces' [plural],⁸⁴ one being the Copley furnace, the other a new furnace built between 1698-1704 which is the present standing structure. It is the latter furnace, noted in the 1723 Indenture listing the Rockley estate, which may have run to the end of the eighteenth century having changed from charcoal to coke fuel from the evidence within the hearth.⁸⁵

Late seventeenth century records of the Staveley Ironworks, kept by John Fell for the partners in a consortium which included Wortley, Wadsley, Sheffield and Attercliffe forges, in addition to Chapelton and Rockley blast furnaces, are an invaluable source of information on the running of the westerly (earlier) Rockley blast furnace.⁸⁶ A further group of accounts, kept for John Spencer, a family involved nationally in a number of ironworks consortia, occasionally contain duplicate entries from the Staveley record. In the brief period of overlap about 1700,⁸⁷ it is clear, however, that the Spencer record does not refer solely to the westerly furnace, despite being entitled 'Rockley Furnace', and may contain data concerning

both the Rockley furnaces, in addition to extracts for the Chapelton furnace. This, in turn, implies the Spencer family had holdings in both furnaces which could explain the seizure by John Spencer, in 1704, of the ironworking stock of Lewis Westcombe, Francis Rockley's son-in-law, then running the westerly furnace.⁸⁸

Throughout the run of both sets of accounts it is noticeable that raw materials are occasionally obtained from the same sites, eg. charcoal from Lund Wood, near Monk Bretton in Barnsley, and ironstone from Friar Tail in Rockley. It is equally clear that the Spencer papers, in general, refer to different sites from those of Staveley. Expenses for furnace repairs appear to concern different furnaces and it is probable that, on present understanding of the evidence, the two Rockley furnaces were operating at the turn of the seventeenth century under different partnership agreements, with the Spencers having a share in each, and whose accounts contain reference to both furnaces.

The Staveley papers show the upper furnace producing iron in a range from 290 tons in 1691 to 441 tons in 1695, averaging around 300 tons, during a blast running from November to May, or October to June. This was mainly 'pig' iron, which went to the Wortley and Attercliffe forges, and the 'allom' plates noted earlier for the east coast alum works. However, nails and bars were sold from the furnace which could not have been cast iron and, if produced at the works, implies the existence of a finery furnace to convert the cast to wrought iron. Entries for 1700 possibly allude to such a secondary furnace - '*2 brayes Braggas for finery Chimney*' and '*to mend finery chimney and morris*'.

Charcoal was obtained from the managed woodlands of the Rockley and Stainborough estates, particularly Old Park, Friar Tail, Moor Leys and the Stainborough Lowe woods beyond Broom Royd (Fig. 6.7) with occasional small amounts from Monk Spring, Swaithe, the Dale and Lund Wood.⁸⁹ This was clearly insufficient and large quantities had to be brought in from a wide area of the region, despite the expense of

carriage and, though usually within a five-mile radius, on occasion was brought from Sprotbrough, twelve miles east of Worsbrough. In 1691, for example, from a total of 1230 loads of charcoal, only 337 came from the township area, the remainder being from further afield including Hoyland and Grenoside (near Sheffield).

All the ironstone, however, was mined in the immediate vicinity at Friar Tail, Broom Royd, Old Park and Grange Ing,⁹⁰ excepting one new mine opened at Dodworth in 1692 which cannot be located. The need for this mine is unclear as the existing Rockley mines were still productive. Opencast mining and the M1 motorway have destroyed the landscape evidence of the Rockley iron mines.

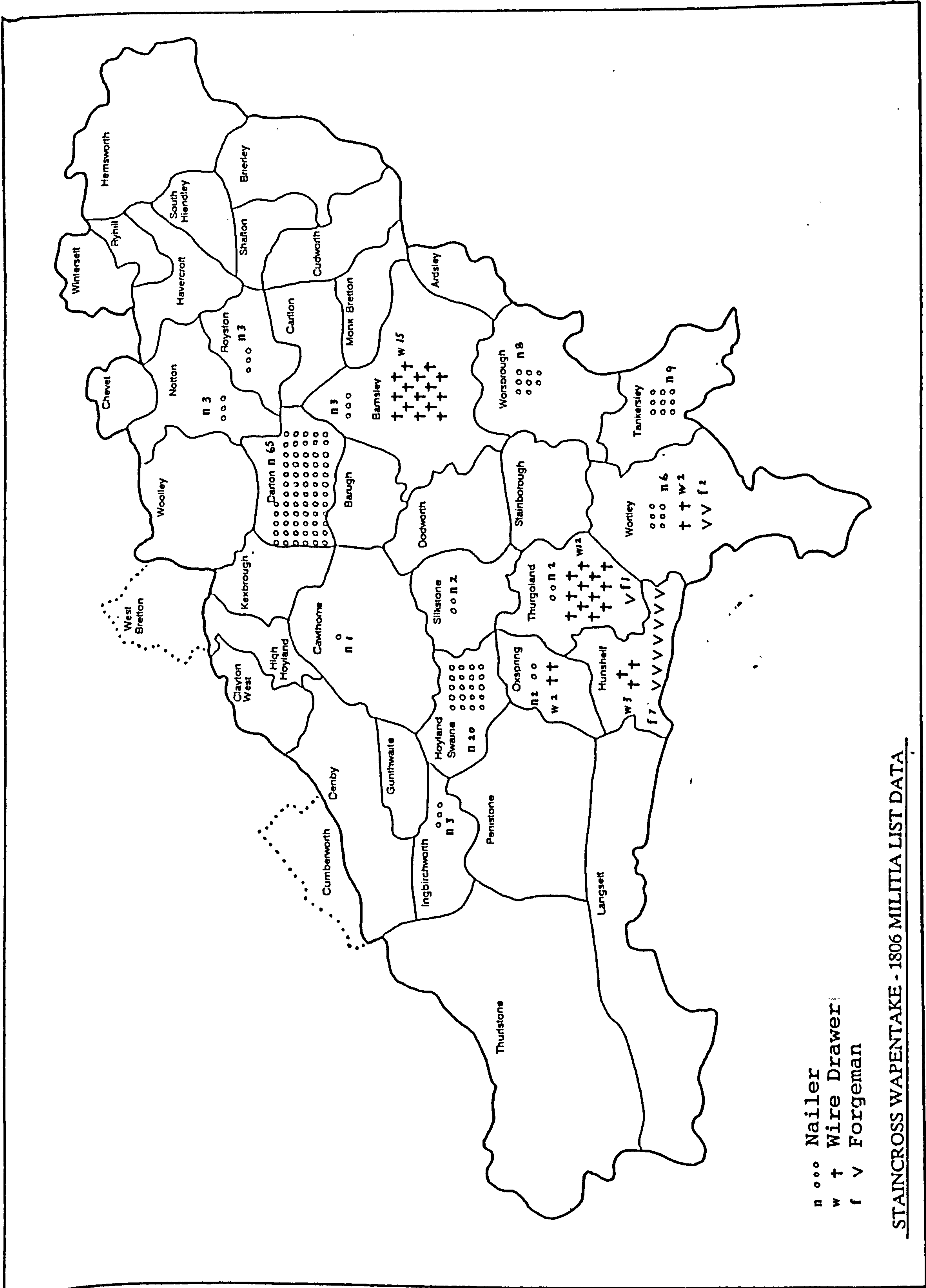
Moneys 'carried forward', to and from books not extant, obscure the true annual turnover but appears to be regularly in the range £2000-£3000, from which the partners would derive a satisfactory income and also provide a wide range of employment within the township. The knowledge and control of the actual furnace operation appears to have been invested, however, in one man - the founder. In the late seventeenth century this was Robert Froggat, being paid about £30 a year, but who was not averse to a shady deal. In 1692 he charged for three tons more than he actually produced and in 1699 claimed £1;11;6 against Chapeltown furnace for a backstone which was broken and not used. He was removed, becoming a carter, to be replaced by John Allen, brought from Chapeltown furnace who, in 1702, pleased the partners and was, '*Given per Mr Heyford's order above his wages because he Blew Easily and made a good Blast £2.*'

Each year contains details of the various repairs to furnace and water-ways in which local tradesmen were employed such as blacksmith, John South, and carpenter, Michael Wilkinson. The accounts show the main income for the inhabitants came from digging the ironstone, cutting and charcoaling timber and their leading to the furnace in addition to delivery of the products. The parish registers of the period are deficient regarding occupations and only

Robert Froggatt, the 'founder', and 'a stranger who died at the furnace' on 21 January 1657 are recorded as having any connection with iron working. The Staveley accounts show, however, that, between 1690 and 1702, there were 108 persons deriving income from the upper furnace alone. They included 28 'stonegetters' (ironstone miners) from 20 different families; 12 'colliers' (charcoal burners) from 10 families; 30 'leaders' (carters) from 27 families. Some of these men were themselves often employers of others as, for example, Ralph Tingle, iron miner in 1701, received £31;13;4 to include "& partns". In all other statements the amounts paid are to a single person, which suggest some extraordinary incomes as, in 1691, Nicholas Turner, a charcoal burner received £279;3;8 and another, Edward Tompson, earned £172;6;10. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain from the accounts the size of the gangs employed by such men. Where individual wages can be isolated they suggest annual earnings of £20-£30. Wilkinson quotes a 1769 report (now lost) in which iron workers were paid 12s-14s as forgemen, 7s-10s foundrymen and boys 3s-4s a week.⁹¹

Further examination of these families would suggest that their involvement with ironworking was other than merely casual. Migration will be considered in more detail in the following chapter but it is noted that, of the 57 different family surnames connected with the upper furnace, only seven can be identified with any certainty as being families resident in Worsbrough prior to these works being established, and only four were still in the area after closure in the mid-eighteenth century. Their destinations are unknown but the possibility must arise that these men continued their trade association by moving to newly emerging iron industries.

Little is known of the Low Furnace, the main structure of which remains as an industrial monument, other than its probable origin about 1700, as noted above, and a closure in the mid-eighteenth century.⁹² The products of the furnace are unknown. Local lore claims the numerous three-legged



n o o Nailers
 w t Wire Drawers
 f v Forgemans

STAINCROSS WAPENTAKE - 1806 MILITIA LIST DATA

Fig. 6.8

cast iron pots found languishing on local farms and of particular interest is the claim recorded by Wilkinson that, "*Francis Rockley ... made use of this furnace to manufacture implements of war.*"⁹³ His source is unknown but excavations in 1978 provided credence when a gun-casting pit was discovered alongside the standing furnace structure. However, typology would suggest a date a century after Francis, placing it in a postulated late-eighteenth century firing using coke fuel.⁹⁴

The Staveley records suggest there was a group of nailmakers in the township during the seventeenth century, though the parish records are then silent on occupations. Certainly a group of eleven nailers was still producing during the first three decades of the nineteenth century at Birdwell and the 1806 Militia return shows them as one of the scattered groups in the south of the wapentake which can be associated with the Wortley forge, (Fig. 6.8). The family of Stancer, once prominent in this group of nailers in Birdwell, had moved up-market following their involvement as parish officers and leaders of the new Birdwell chapel. The name changed to Stancell and they appear in the parish Registers after 1837 as 'jeweller'. The 1851 Census records three nail-makers still working at Birdwell.

A convincing explanation for the large group at Darton has yet to be found as it appears isolated, with no known ironworks nearby.⁹⁶

The Worsbrough iron industry had a brief resurgence after the canal opened in 1804 providing cheap transport for heavy bulk materials such as limestone in and iron goods out from Worsbrough. Darwin & Co. of Chapeltown erected a blast furnace near the Worsbrough Bridge in 1812 which the White "General Directory of Sheffield" of 1851 shows had then been taken over by the wealthy local families, Fields of Marrow House with Faulds and Cooper of Mount Vernon (Bank Top). The ore was mined from deeper seams in the Rockley valley, in Old Park for example, necessitating a pumping engine to extract water, the tower of which remains near the Rockley

Abbey Farm. In 1851 there were 23 ironstone miners, from 12 different families, working these ore mines but all were living in new housing at Birdwell. No housing for workers was provided on the Rockley valley estate, even for estate employees, other than the iron-founder's seventeenth century house at Low Furnace and an eighteenth century woodman's house near the upper dam, both of which are now demolished.

Ore was brought down the valley to the Bridge furnace along a tramway built to bring coal from the Earl of Strafford's mines at Stainborough to the canal basin near the bridge. An early twentieth century photograph shows the furnace split vertically, beyond repair, and the Worsbrough iron industry finally closed.⁹⁷

The lime kilns which had existed near the Bridge since at least the eighteenth century also expanded through use of the canal importing limestone for the furnaces from Pontefract and Knottingley in addition to supplying increasing quantities of burnt lime to satisfy the growing demands of local farmers improving their fields.⁹⁸

v) Coal. Underlying the entire township are a sequence of high quality coal seams,⁹⁹ many outcropping at the surface or can be reached within a few feet at various locations along the sides of the valley.¹⁰⁰ In earlier centuries it would be possible to collect surface coal and, though the medieval record is silent on the subject, it was no doubt a common domestic fuel as the woods declined. When coal begins to receive mention in the 17th and 18th centuries it is usually being mined by day-holes, the miner following a seam outcrop into the hillside, resulting in a scar often still visible, as at Kendal Green, Lewden and Stampers Hill (Rockley). These were small-scale family operations severely restricted by Worsbrough's communication problem until the canal became available and little information can be traced to ascertain quantities and costs, even for the early modern period, to estimate the size and output of these mines.¹⁰¹

The general prosperity of Worsbrough, particularly its

growth in the early modern period, was directly related to the easy availability of coal. Even the small landowners were relieved of the necessity to preserve timber for fuel as *"the central feature of the mineral-based energy economy was its ability to free production from dependence on the productivity of the land."*¹⁰² The paupers and labourers would have been in dire straits to maintain the barest level of existence without coal for cooking and heating, and the parish records list regular supplies of coal to the poor until the early nineteenth century when they become intermittent, presumably then being supplied as need arose.

The Overseer of the Poor reckoned the quantities in "pulls" or "loads" which cannot be equated to modern weights but, assuming a "pull" to be the basket hauled up the mine, would be approximately a hundredweight. For example, in 1730, he supplied a 'dozen pulls' each to eighteen paupers and two loads to Widow Crosland, paying the collier £4-10-6. The main supplier at the time was Edward Rock from his mine on land at Keresforth Hill, near Genn House. His lease of 1693, at £5, from Thomas Rhodes, was *'for such coales as I gott in coale pitt close'*.¹⁰³ Rock also delivered the coal to the houses of the poor and his claim on the Overseer immediately highlights Worsbrough's problem where the transport costs affected any attempt to expand its mining industry. In 1732 Rock charged £2.7.6 for the coal but £2.3.0 to deliver it. Irregular deliveries were made to Barnsley but, as even local transport almost doubled its cost, hopes of a wider market were in vain when pack-horses, carrying perhaps 2-3 cwt, or ungainly wains hauling at most two tons over the existing tracks, were the only means available.

The London market would have been most attractive to the Worsbrough mine-owners but land transport of coal was uneconomic compared to Whickham, for example, with its access to the Tyne. Carriage rates were set by the West Riding Quarter Sessions in 1731 for wagons between Barnsley and London at 14d-16d a stone, depending on season.¹⁰⁴ A horse could pull at best two tons and the additional cost of

£10-£11 a ton more than doubled the price at the pit-head.

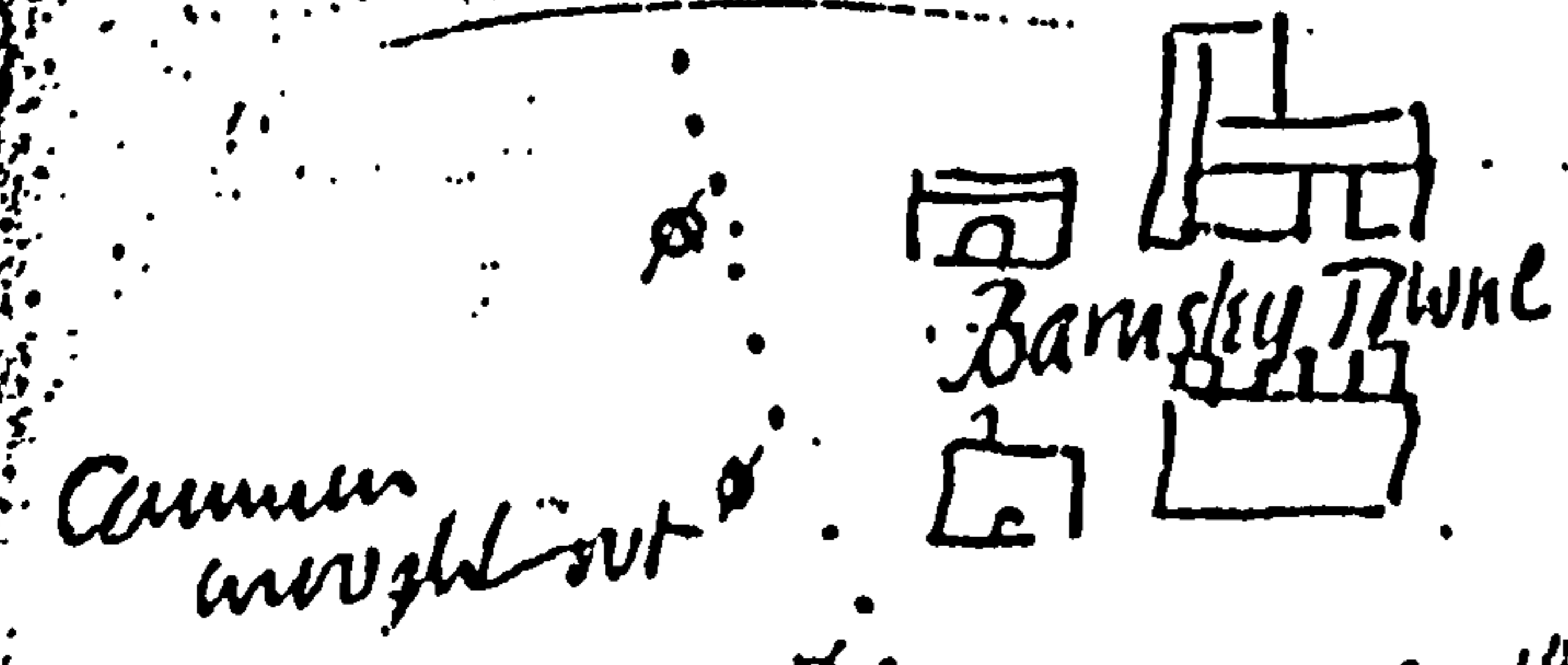
There were, of course, few alternative local markets, other than Barnsley, as Worsbrough's neighbouring parishes were exploiting their own coal deposits; Silkstone, Darfield, Hoyland, Stainborough, Dodworth were all rival suppliers. However, the situation changed dramatically when the service canal came into use in 1804 providing access to the whole regional canal network and beyond. It has been recorded as not unusual for barges, containing up to sixty tons, being hauled along the South Yorkshire waterways by a single horse, with occasional sail assistance where possible. (Figure 5.5, p.111).¹⁰⁵

Unfortunately, as virtually no financial accounts for the Elmhirst & Edmunds families, largest owners of land and mining rights, can be consulted, their success as mine-owners can only be measured indirectly. Both bought land and houses extensively, particularly in the eighteenth century, mainly from the proceeds of their collieries and the one surviving Elmhirst Probate Inventory (William Elmhirst, 1843, of Ouslethwaite) illustrates the expensive life-style to which they aspired.¹⁰⁶ The Wentworth family at Stainborough, as Lords of the Manor, owned the mineral rights, but seem to have freely granted leases to mine coal.

The Manor Court was only involved when copyhold was 'inherited' and two entries offer a brief glimpse of profitability in mining, as in 1852 when Elizabeth Bower was given leave to, "*lease to any person ... for the term of fifty years ... at a Rent they think fit ... all mines and seams of coal*" under her closes at Hay Green. This was a particularly profitable seam of coal called the Worsbrough Thick and was, indeed, nine feet thick. The deed also gave liberty to make roads, waterways, erect engine houses, engines and machinery, to erect coke ovens and burn part of the coal into coke. She leased to three miners who were to pay a yearly rent of £300 per acre for 35 years on an area of approximately 37 acres. The copyhold fine and rent to the Lord of the Manor for this land had been 19s 10d at the turn

Barnsley Colliery October the 24th 1719

3752



The Quantities of Acres Computed to be woun
by this New Well may be as followeth (viz^t)

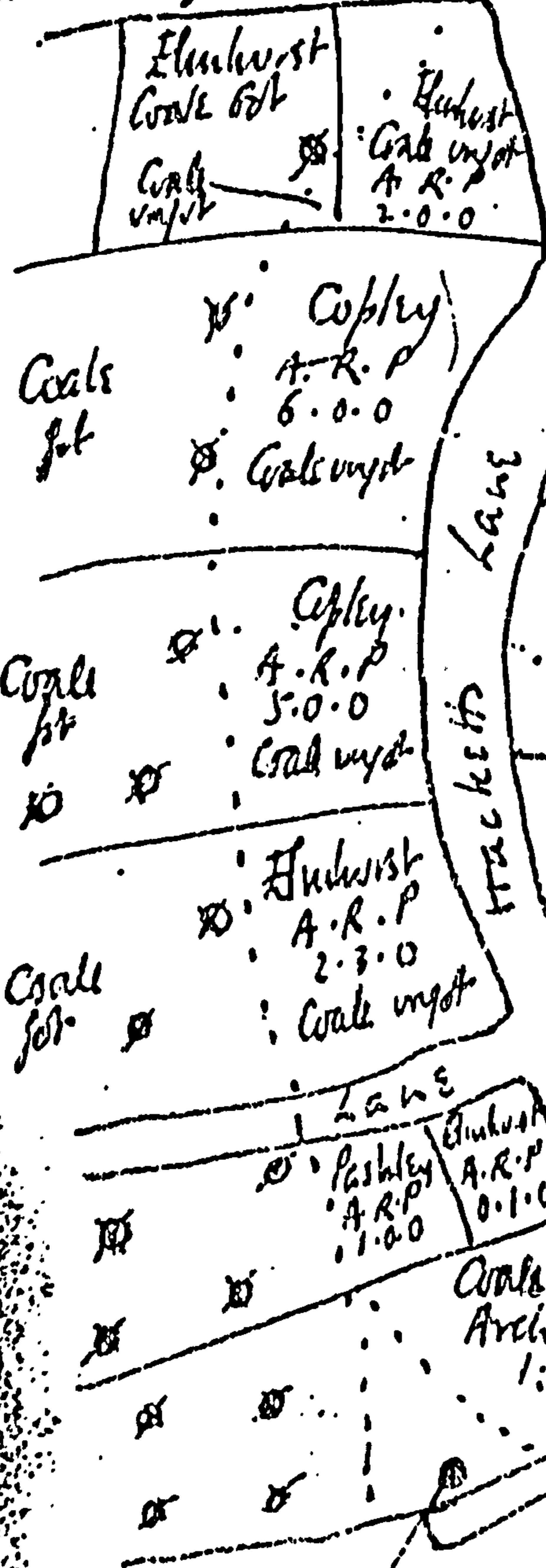
Mr. Elmhurst's Grounds	6	0	0
Mr. Copley's	11	0	0
Mr. Archdale	1	0	0
Mr. Hackett's Lane	3	0	0
	21	0	0

... All on the Right
side of this Present Line
is supposed to be whole
Coal w^out
old pits wrought out

Common unwrought

Possably there may be Co^l more on
the East side of the Lane but uncertain
by reason of the Great Delving of the Co^l.

In Mr. Archdale	4	0	0
In Mr. Elmhurst	2	0	0
Mr. Hackett's Common	1	0	0
	7	0	0



If all be woun and wrought for the
Inclusors: as above there may be woun on
the Common (In all Possibility) about
30 Acres more.

Now what will advise to be done as matters new
stands is as followeth (viz^t)

- To Agree with Mr. Elmhurst and confine
the Basin w^out
- To let Mr. Phipps to frame Mr. Hackett's
Lane's Common (viz^t) to have all the Coal in
S^r Lane's Common at 25[¢] per Acre & not other
have any Liberty in the said Lane to dig or work
Coals & to have the said Lane for 21 years at the least.
Now referring Mr. Hackett's Lane & Mr. Elmhurst's
Grounds keeps Copley just so that in all
Probability Copley will come to reasonable
Terms, w^ould ought to take his money as
the Coal is wrought at 25[¢] per Acre
rather than not to agree to pay 30[¢] per
Acre or a little more but to be dig^d up to
pay for no more w^osten shall be wrought
3rd [3rd]

Mr Rocks working pitt
in Mr. Archdale's Ground

Pro Carr
Autho. Leat^r

Fig. 6.9 Barnsley Colliery 1719

Elmhirst family papers - "Evidences of Edward Elmhirst".

of the century and not likely to have increased, suggesting a considerable profit for the Bower family. When William Elmhirst of Ouslethwaite inherited the Elmhirst estate in 1791 he was granted "*all and every Mine or Beds of coal lying or found within the said Copyhold*", for which his fine and rent to Strafford was 4s each.

With such manorial freedom to exploit by sub-lease, a proliferation of mines was to be expected and Elmhirst pits spread along the northern outcrop from the Barnsley boundary at Highstone Farm to Ouslethwaite, and from Round Green to Kendal Green. A survey, made by John Carr for Hon. Sidney Wortley in 1719, showed seventeen small pits between Genne House and Highstone Farm, Figure 6.9¹⁰⁷, but, as deeper mining became necessary in the early nineteenth century, they were reduced to the Highstone and Ouslethwaite pits, with one pit owned by the Copley family of Houndhill. A nineteenth century mine survey in the Elmhirst family papers shows the Ouslethwaite mine extended under the entire area of the house, the coal having been extracted by "pillar and stall", whereby six-foot square pillars were left along a grid of roadways to support the ground and house above.

The Edmunds collieries concentrated in the valley from the Bridge to Lewden, with a large mine near Hellewell Hills which, originally the Park Pit, was sold by Francis Edmunds to the Barrow Haematite Steel Co. in 1872. Exploiting a particularly rich seam of Silkstone Bed coal, this mine became the most productive in South Yorkshire early this century, and incorporated the largest coke oven plant in Europe. During the 1980s the site was totally cleared and is now landscaped as low grassy hills.

Even such fragmentary documentation is lacking for the other families who owned small pits and the extent of the local industry, in the early surge of the industrial revolution, can only be gauged at the time of the first Ordnance Survey of 1850. The mines recorded on the survey are indicated on Figure 6.10, including others known from diverse sources, but, in the absence of comprehensive

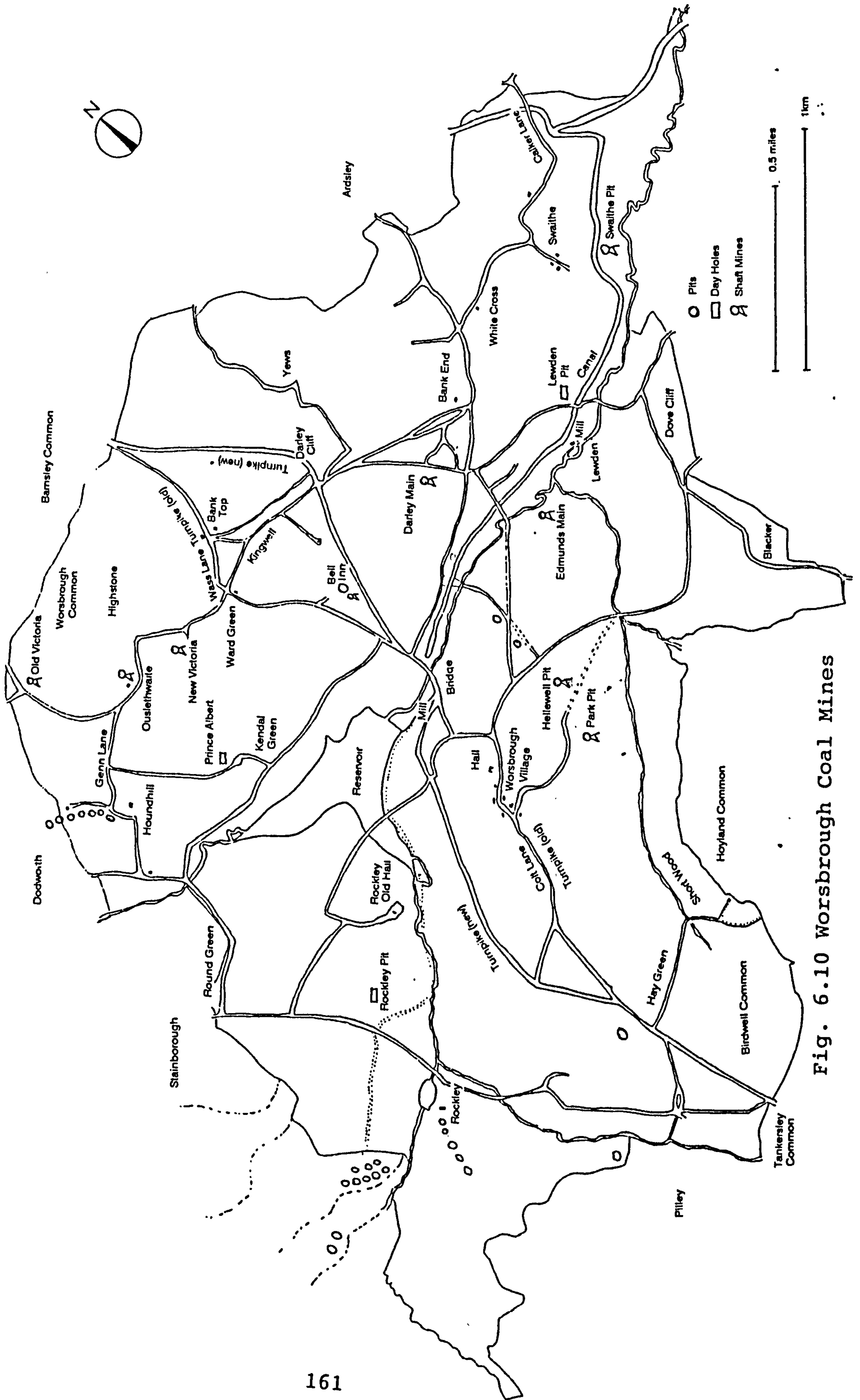


Fig. 6.10 Worsbrough Coal Mines

records, they cannot be said to present a total picture.¹⁰⁸

Some small indication of the rate of growth can be seen in the number of miners noted in the Parish Registers. There are 14 known miners working between 1750-1800 and 24 between 1800-1812. However, the 1851 Census shows 288, a twelve-fold increase within 40 years. Such an expanded workforce could not have been recruited locally and the Census shows only 37.5% of the 1851 miners had been born in Worsbrough whereas 22.9% came from the less productive adjoining villages such as Darfield and Silkstone with 39.6% being distant migrants. Many of these originated from Derbyshire, perhaps as the lead industry declined, and from Lancashire, probably accompanying the weaver immigrants. Expansion of the industry in the early nineteenth century was widespread throughout the region and it has been calculated that, by 1855, there were 81 coal mines concentrated in the Barnsley area, producing 2.8 million tons a year¹⁰⁹.

The human cost of this expansion was considerable as accidents were frequent and violent. Many other examples of 'general' accidents, such as roof falls or the three men falling down the pit shaft at the Edmunds Worsbrough Park Pit in 1851, must have gone unrecorded. Worsbrough was fortunate not to witness an accident similar to that at Silkstone in 1838 when a flash flood drowned 26 children in one of the Clarke mines.¹¹⁰ The Worsbrough mines, however, appear particularly prone to explosions and their reporting perhaps reflects society's attitude to the miner's miserable working conditions. In the parson's register entries, for example, all burials are simply recorded as "died" except where miners were killed in a pit accident where, as in 1836, he adds a note to the burial of a man and two youths - "*Burnt to death at Park Pit explosion of fire damp. Dashed to pieces.*" In 1755 three men at the Genn Lane pit are said to have been "*slain*"; John Tattershall is noted "*killed*" at Elmhirst's pit in 1765 in the church register, but "*slain*" in the Bishop's Transcript.

The explosions were primarily caused through the use of

naked candles as the sole lighting, which ignited coal dust, thus setting off the methane (fire damp) explosion. Some mines were more unstable than others, the Edmund's Darley Main, in Worsbrough Dale, being particularly vulnerable. Records for this mine¹¹¹ show an explosion in 1843 killed one, with two further explosions in 1847 killing eight more. An explosion in 1849 killed 75 and three died in 1851. This sequence of fire-damp explosions after the perfection of a safety lamp by Davy in 1815 must be a comment on the prevailing attitude of mine owners towards safety in continuing to use candles.

The 1847 explosion at Darley Main, however, was the first local example of a new danger in mining through the use of gunpowder to remove waste rock and increase production. A group of gunpowder makers from Tonbridge and Greenwich, trading as Shortbridge & Wright, set up a works near the Darley Main in 1846 to supply the local mines¹¹². This particular explosion at Darley was recorded as the result of gunpowder misuse.

Responding to an increasing demand for coke, particularly from the blast furnaces as at the Darwin works in Worsbrough Bridge, coke ovens were built early in the nineteenth century at the Hellewell pit and near the canal basin, for which no landscape evidence survives. However, a handwritten note on the Elmhirst's copy of Spooner's 1861 survey indicates coke ovens on Goose Halls. No other record of these can be found but part of the structure remains, the rear wall being built into the canal banking. The numbers involved in coking cannot be calculated as the parish registers, for instance, fail to make a specific identification, excepting perhaps John Frost, who is described as a '*cinder burner*' at his son's baptism in 1812.

The actual number of mines declined during the later nineteenth century as the higher seams were worked out. The Elmhirsts returned to farming; the Edmunds' mines were reduced to the Barrow Main, which rapidly made what remained of the early industry uneconomic. One new mine, at Swaithe,

had opened in the 1840s which incorporated extensive banks of beehive coking furnaces. It initiated the first major expansion of the hamlet, including a terrace row of brick houses for the miners. It closed in December 1875 following a major explosion which killed the entire work-force of 140 men and decimated the hamlet, an event from which it never recovered. All trace of the mine has been removed, other than part of a waste tip, after use as a municipal refuse site and the terrace houses have been demolished.

vi) Glass.

Excepting the small-scale gunpowder factory, the sole major new industry which had no antecedents was glass manufacture, whose introduction to Worsbrough had an instant but brief demographic effect. Why four Worcester glassmakers (Usherwood, Barron, Cartwright & Perkes) chose to set up a glassworks at Worsbrough in 1832 is not known, but obvious attractions were the ample supplies of cheap coal available (with its associated ganister clay for the crucibles) and the canal. The latter provided not merely economic transport for bulk supplies of the Knottingley limestone and King's Lynn sand, but offered safer movement for fragile glass than jolting along the inadequate road network¹¹³.

However, when they arrived there was no core of suitably skilled labour upon which to draw. Glassmaking demands a high level of skill, developed over many years, and glass had last been made in the region a century before at Silkstone. It would be a locally lost skill. Of necessity they brought their own workforce and were joined in 1834 by brothers John and James Wood from a Wordsley glassworks and later by another brother Eugene Wood in 1851. It then traded as Wood Brothers, specialising in high quality flint glass tableware and cut-glass crystal, achieving considerable success. The workforce totalled 33 in 1851 but glassworkers had always been a group of itinerant skilled craftsmen, constantly moving round the nation's glasshouses, and an analysis of the Worsbrough glassmakers shows 40% came from

the Midlands and 25% from the Manchester glass industries, the remainder being local men with a less-skilled role.

A particular technical difficulty in glassmaking at the time was the unpredictable nature of the melting process, whereby the glass founder was expected to have prepared fresh molten glass in the crucibles over a weekend, ready for the glassmen on arrival at 3.0AM on Monday morning. Frequently he failed, and the men had to be sent home until it was corrected. The owners must then seek out the men at home to report for work. It was clearly to the owner's advantage the men lived nearby and the Wood brothers built a row of cottages alongside their wharf, whilst the remaining workmen lived in existing cottages in the Dale. The effect was to create an almost closed enclave of glassworkers around the works who seem to have played little part in any of the parish affairs. The works was closed in 1874 when W.B.Martin, inheritor of the Edmunds estate, refused to renew the lease and the firm moved to a new site near the canal at Hoyle Mill in Barnsley taking the entire group of glassworkers with it. The Worsbrough works was demolished and an entire industry had been created and disappeared without trace in forty years.

The South Yorkshire canal network brought increasing prosperity to the region as a whole, particularly eastward along the Dearne valley from Barnsley, and provided a base on which was built the later mining industry that achieved dominance in national coal production. Of Worsbrough's neighbours, perhaps only Dodworth was unable to enjoy this early nineteenth century prosperity as, lacking a canal link, it had to await the development of the rail network.

vii. Minor Occupations

In addition to the major industries described above, 36 other occupations have been noted in which the Worsbrough inhabitants were involved, all of which played a part in the overall economy of the township. They ranged from servants to nineteenth century boat builders and included many of the

ancient crafts surviving from earlier periods such as besom makers and beer sellers. However, the 235 workers noted in these occupations during the latter part of the early modern period, were thinly spread with few of each in any one area. For example, the Parkin and the Ibbot families were hatters in the early and late eighteenth century respectively, and the Ogden family were besom makers through three generations in the eighteenth century. (Their house and workshop in Appendix - Buildings No.21). William Parkin was a tems (sieve) maker in the 1720s and William Crawshaw the local clock-maker in the 1730-40s. In 1760 Joseph Broadhead, a stick-maker, appears in the baptism register with the accolade of "Mr." which becomes clear in the burial register, where Reverend Dixon records, "*Joseph Broadhead, alias Parson Broadhead, his degree from Cambridge & turned stick maker buried 25 August 1768*", though he fails to explain the humble status.

Occasional work on the roads under the Highways Overseer was regularly available, labourers earning 10d to 1s9d in the eighteenth century, rising to between 1s4d and 2s6d in the early nineteenth century. The parish accounts show that 1788/9, for example, of a total around 120 families in the township, 44 had some member engaged in roadwork of some kind. Carters for iron and coal and the Church Wardens paying for vermin extermination have previously been noted as contributing to the economy. Church maintenance was also a source of income for tradesmen and labourers, as in 1710 when it was completely re-roofed at a cost of £89.1.2. Four members of the Guest family of masons were employed for 88 days in early summer under master mason William Guest (at 14d a day), together with eleven local labourers who were paid amounts varying from 4d to 1s, providing a total of 269 man-days of work. There were, in addition, fellers and leaders. Among the more unusual jobs for the Guests occurred in 1719, when the clock was being repaired, and they received 7s 0d "*For pointing where it dropt in the church*".

The Church Wardens' accounts contain details of regular annual payments such as; 1710, "*Wm Hawkesworth for Clock keeping ½ year 13s 4d*"; Tim Wildsmith, the parish clerk, added bell-ringing at £1.6.8 a year to his income (1730) and "*Church Linnen washing and Mending 5s 6d*" (1706); amongst the annual payments for cleaning is Ann Archdale, in 1710, "*carrying up 2 load of sand & cleaning ye church 8d*". The Dog Whipper was invariably either a pauper, such as Dan Oates in 1703, or an elderly labourer with no family to support him as William Butterfield in 1807; the annual pay was 5s 0d in addition to the parish relief and free coal and a uniform. Amongst the wide variety of occasional work offered to villagers were, for example; (1703) *Bells wedging 6d and window poynting 1s6d*, (1704) *Colouring the church 4d; For pulpit cloth mending 3s; (1705) Pd for bier mending 9d; For North door bolt mending 2d*. (The last was an almost annual task for blacksmith John South). In 1703 an enterprising villager charged the Church Wardens, *For loane of a Barre of Iron, 4d*.

Ale was in constant demand, particularly in the early modern period before the wider acceptance of tea and coffee.¹¹⁴ The middling farmers and yeomen of Worsbrough, William Milner at Rockley Old Hall, for example, could be self-sufficient with a Brewhouse containing: *3 large tubs, 1 tunnel, 1 hop seive, lading piggin, 1 Brewing copper*. However, at the end of the eighteenth century, the villagers were supplied by eleven ale-house keepers, such as widow Mary Wildsmith, and an unknown number of unlicensed home brewers. No doubt the curate, Reverend Jeremiah Dixon, who died in 1774, augmented his £40 per annum by supplying the 'church ales', as his Probate Inventory includes 13 barrels with his brewing equipment, three more than that of Abraham Moorhouse (1767) who held the township's largest inn.



WORSBROUGH

Fig. 6.11 SUMMARY OF MAIN INDUSTRIES TO 1851

Figure 6.11 summarises the general location of the main industries of Worsbrough through the early modern period, and into the early decades of the industrial revolution. No records can be traced regarding the 'Chemical Works' noted on the 1st edition O.S. map, beside the canal near Lewden, and appears to have left no local memory of its name or products.¹¹⁵ The area to the south of the village, once the old 'town fields' (Fig. 6.5, p.127), were largely untouched during the early growth of industry, but were virtually destroyed this century by the spoil heaps of the expanding Barrow Colliery.(Fig.8.1)

Throughout this review of the general economy of Worsbrough, incidental reference to the widening gulf between rich and poor has been inevitable. The early decades of the nineteenth century, in particular, had seen the earlier gradations of living standard eroded as the few became wealthy and the many were left to seek a means to earn a living as craftsman or labouring wage-earner. The structure of the community must now be examined in more detail to explore the changes as it moved from one which, in the main, worked together despite social disparity, taking care of the less fortunate, to an urban community verging on disintegration.

NOTES

6.0 ECONOMY.

(a) Agriculture

1. MBC 137 & 139.
2. The main map, Fig. 6.1 and subsequent enlargements of separate landholdings are based on the 1838 Tithe Award Map (Parish Chest) with field names derived from this award and the later, 1861, Spooner Survey.
3. MBC 122.
4. Smith, A.H. *Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Part 1, (1961) Cambridge, 293.
5. The area is now called Wigfield, a simple derivative of Wigfall, and the two variants are from the same source.

6. I am grateful to Mr William Morton for sight of his preliminary investigations to correlate the two sources of field names, i.e. 1838 Tithe Award and 1861 Spooner Survey. The Tithe map is preserved in the Parish chest and a private copy of the Spooner map is held in the Elmhirst family archive at Houndhill. The Spooner report book is extant and provides much additional information, but field numbers do not correlate with the Tithe Map and many field names are changed. Comparing areas, ownership and survey sequence etc. it has been possible to complete Mr Morton's work and all field numbers used here are those from the Tithe Award, although the information regarding particular fields is frequently an amalgam of the two surveys.
7. SA/NBC 63
8. WYRD E/269/396 dated 9 January 1711. Elmhirst genealogy in "Peculiar Inheritance", 125-132.
9. Elmhirst family papers and WYRD S/693/934
10. Mawer, A., *Chief Elements used in English Place-Names*, English Place-Names Society (1930) Cambridge, 40-41.
11. The case is outlined in, Elmhirst, E., *Peculiar Inheritance*, 35-44 and full extracts from PRO records in his "Evidences", Elmhirst family archives.
12. WYRD Indenture O/136/211 of 2 May 1719.
13. Smith, *op.cit.* 293.
14. Wilkinson, J., *History of Worsborough*, (1872) 59.
The families were still quarrelling in 1381 when they fought inside Worsbrough church and Everingham was excommunicated.
15. Wilkinson, *ibid.*, 76,
16. Wilkinson, *ibid.*, 97.
17. The effects of sequestration discussed in Thirsk, J., "The Civil War and Interregnum", *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol.5 (II Agrarian Change) (1985)
18. Clay, J.W., "Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers", *YASRS*. 15 (1893) 146.
19. SA/WM765
20. WYRD, A/148/214 (1707) and Y14/21 (1723)
21. SA/EM812
22. General article on the origin and maintenance of spring woods in Redmonds, G., "Spring Woods 1500-1800", *Old West Riding*, Vol.3, No.1, (1983) 4-9.
23. SA/WM319 - Indenture of 1630, Nicholas Cocke.
24. SA/WM277.
25. Taylor, C., *Village and Farmstead*, (1983) London, 125-174.
26. Beresford, M & Hurst, J., *Wharam Percy*, English Heritage (1990) 48.
27. SA/WM332.
28. Thirsk, J., "The Common Fields", *The Rural Economy of England*, (1984) Hambledon, 43.
29. BIHR Probate Records, Doncaster Deanery.
John South Dec.1762; George Burgain Dec. 1762.
30. Arthur Young, *A Six Month Tour through the North of England*, BLHA Y942.704, 305.
31. SA/EM673

32. SA/EM888, "Ledger of William Elmhirst 1769-1773" and additional notes in "Evidences of Edward Elmhirst" (1954) - family papers.
33. Spray, M., "Holly as Fodder in England", *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.29 Part II, (1981) 97-110.
34. Walter Hall, T., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Edmunds Collection* (1924) 41
35. BIHR - Glebe Exchange/Worsbrough G58.
36. Hoskins, W.G., *The Midland Peasant*, (1957) London, 238-242
37. SA/PR3/12.Bk.I
38. Warner, P., *Greens, Commons and Clayland Colonisation*, (1987) Leicester, 29-43.
39. SA/PR3/17(4).
40. SA/PR3/17(1).
41. SA/PR3/17(2a).
42. SA/NBC 63
43. Hoskins, *op.cit.*, 250.
44. It was detached from Worsbrough in the 1930s, becoming part of Barnsley Borough.
45. SA/NBC 94
46. SA/PR3/13

(b) Industry

47. Deane, P., *The First Industrial Revolution* (1979) Cambridge 15.
48. Hey, D., *Yorkshire from AD1000*, (1986) London 138.
49. Elmhirst, E., *Peculiar Inheritance*, (1951) 29.
50. BIHR Probate Inventory, John South December 1761.
51. The present Red Lion inn replaced that of Michael Leach on the other side of the turnpike when the approach road was widened earlier this century.
52. Wilson, C., *England's Apprenticeship 1603-1673*, (1965) London 236.
53. Wrigley, E.A., 'The Supply of Raw Materials in the Industrial Revolution' in Hartwell, R.M., *The Causes of the Industrial Revolution in England*, (1967) London 98.
54. Wrigley, E.A., *Continuity, Chance and Change*, (1988) Cambridge, 18 & 29.
55. BIHR Wills - John Allott, Lewlin tanner 1625-fol.39/17.
- John Elmhirst, Lewlin dyer 1625 - fol.38/534
56. Parish Registers.
57. "The Journal of Mr John Hobson", *Surtees Society*, Vol.65 (1875) 250.
58. Elliott B., *Barnsley: Anatomy of a Yorkshire Market Town 1660-1760*. Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Sheffield Univ. (1990) 246-265.
59. SA/VWM 369
60. Schmoller, T., *Sheffield Papermakers* (1992) Sheffield, 53
61. *Ibid.* 9.
62. Elmhirst, E., *op.cit.*, 29.
63. Ashurst, D., 'Excavations at Houndhill', *P.M.A.* Vol.13 (1979) 227-238.

64. Elmhirst, *op.cit.* 36.
65. Satchell, J., *Kendal on Tenterhooks* (1984) Kendal 22-23
66. Satchell, J., *The Kendal Weaver* (1986) Kendal 23.
67. Hey, D., *Yorkshire from AD1000*, (1986) London 230.
68. John Goodchild Collection, Wakefield Local History Archive.
69. Hoskins, W.G., *The Midland Peasant* (1957) London, 225-273. Additional detail in publications of the Oadby & Wigston Buildings Preservation Trust, eg. restoration of the Bushloe End framework knitting complex and in Varey, I.R., Notes on Frame-knitting.
70. A comprehensive history of the Barnsley linen industry is long overdue. An early comment on the industry is in Jackson, R., *The Town and Township of Barnsley* (1858) London 167-8 and a brief account by John Goodchild in, 'Golden Threads', *Textile History*, Vol.3(2), (1983) Wakefield 249-269. A recent survey, which includes identification of groups of weavers and their workshops, by Harold Taylor, *The Handloom Weavers of Barnsley in the 19th Century* (1991) unpublished typescript, Barnsley Local History Archive.
71. William White, *History Gazetteer and Directory of Yorkshire*, Vol.2, (1838) 171.
72. Goodchild, *op.cit.* 257
73. BLHA B614
74. Edward Tasker, a professional photographer, donated his extensive collection of photographs of early Barnsley to the Barnsley Local History Archive. Many are published in, Tasker, E.G., *Barnsley Streets* (1974) Chesterfield. Included are the weaving mills and cottages, for example, No.4, page 58 shows Taylor Row.
75. Wilkinson, *op.cit.* 74, suggests Roman exploitation and, though Worsbrough lore is not to be dismissed lightly as it too often conceals more than a germ of truth, the claim is at present unproven.
76. Hey, D., "The origin and early growth of the Hallamshire cutlery and iron trades", *Early English Rural Society 1500-1800*, (1990) Cambridge, 343-367.
77. BIHR - Will - Roger Rockley fol.11/124.
78. WYRD Y14/21
79. YASRS, Vol.18 (1895) 146-7.
80. Crossley, D & Ashurst, D, "Excavations at Rockley Smithies" *PMJ* Vol.2 (1968) 10-54. Still the most comprehensive introduction to the history of the industry in Schubert, H.R., *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry c.450BC to 1775AD*, (1957) London. (Comparison of bloomery and blast furnace, 157-161). More recent findings and new understanding of its history in Crossley, D., *Post-medieval Archaeology in Britain*, (1990) Leicester, which includes comprehensive bibliography.
81. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 75-76
82. SA/VWM 63.
83. SA/VWM 369
84. WYRD A/61/104.

85. The complexities of the inter-relationships of the Rockley furnaces are being further investigated by David Crossley for later publication. I am grateful for his exchange of views on current understanding.
86. SA/SIR 1-2 Journals (1690-3 and 1699-1702) and Ledgers SA/SIR 12-16 (1693-1698). I am indebted to Mr David Crossley for drawing my attention to these records.
87. SA/Sp.St. 60469(1-11); 1699; 1701-1706.
88. SA/Wsb.987 f.1r; BL Add Mss 22243 f.6sq.
89. Following subsequent changes of name, some woods cannot now be identified such as 'Mr.Virigneys' and 'Lady Wood' but, from estimates of transport costs, they appear to lie near the township.
90. All these woodland areas, excepting Old Park, have been largely destroyed by open-cast coal mining. A small area of Broom Royd Wood survives near the upper dam which retains a run of coal bell-pits.
91. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 243.
92. Lease of 1726 to Cotton-Shore partnership for 16 years. Rentals to 1741 in Strafford papers; BL Add Mss 22242.
93. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 76.
94. Interim report by David Crossley, *Rockley Furnace Excavations 1978*, Dept. Economic & Social History, Sheffield University.
95. A general history of the Wortley complex in Andrews,C.R., *The History of Wortley Ironworks*, (1950) Mexborough.
96. The problem is being researched by local historian, Mr Harold Taylor, the findings to be deposited in Barnsley Local History Archive.
97. Barnsley Library Photographic Archive.
98. Jessop lime kilns accounts - author's collection.
99. Detailed geological survey in Mitchell,G.H. et al, *Geology of the Country Around Barnsley*, (1972) HMSO.
100. Barnsley became the centre of production in the Yorkshire coalfield but the rate of extraction this century has led to exhaustion and deep mining ceased in Worsbrough in the 1960s. Spoil heaps are returned to grass and the last extraction by open-cast working is currently in progress near the village.
101. The majority of mining rights devolved to the Elmhirst and Edmunds families in the eighteenth century. Relevant business accounts for the former have not been made available and the latter appear to have been lost. An archive of unknown content passed to the NCB on nationalisation but requests for information have been disappointingly unproductive. A history of the Yorkshire coal industry is much to be desired.
102. Wrigley,E.A., *op.cit.* 32.
103. Brotherton Library, Leeds University, MS Dep.1949/1-70/217.
104. Robinson,L., "Carriers' Rates", *Old West Riding Vol.1*, No.1 (1981) 15.
Levine,D & Wrightson,K., *The Making of an Industrial Society; Whickham 1560-1765*, (1991) Oxford, 9.

105. Clark, A., *Through a Glass Clearly* (1980) London, 21.
106. SA/EM1873
107. Copy of survey, made to emphasise the Elmhirst connection, in "Evidences of Edward Elmhirst", (1955), (Elmhirst family papers), from original in SA/WhM 114.7.
108. Few mines were recorded on contemporary maps and constantly cause surprise in the region when ground suddenly collapses into old workings.
109. Neville, R.G., "The Yorkshire Miners 1881-1926". Unpublished PH.D. thesis, Leeds University, undated.
110. Monument in Silkstone churchyard.
111. An incomplete summary of accidents in the south Yorkshire coalfield compiled by D.H. Rogerson of the National Coal Board from British Coal records for Elmhirst family papers.
112. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 220 and 1851 Census return.
113. An account of the works in its regional context in Ashurst, D., *History of South Yorkshire Glass*, (1992) Sheffield University.
114. For a comprehensive review of the part ale played in society see, Clark, P., *The English Alehouse; A Social History 1200-1830*, (1983) London.
115. When the county of South Yorkshire was created in 1974 a new county archive was established which passed to the Sheffield Archive after the county was dissolved at the 1986 reorganisation of boundaries. However, few of the records of the, then, Worsbrough Urban District Council, appear to have survived the various moves and cannot be traced.

7.0 COMMUNITY

7.1 Introduction

The concept of 'community' is open to a variety of interpretations depending on the viewpoint of the observer. The sense of community to be examined here is that geographically defined within the township of Worsbrough which functioned as an autonomous group with a high degree of self-governance. It has been suggested that such a closed organisation might better be defined as a 'local social system'¹ in contrast to other forms of community to which the inhabitants could see themselves as belonging simultaneously. The rich landowner families of Elmhirst and Edmunds in Worsbrough, for example, were associated with the county hierarchy even to the extent of having second residences in the county capital, York; the village tanners associated with tanners in neighbouring villages; no doubt the mobile poor felt common cause to see themselves as a community of disadvantaged, switching allegiance to wherever happened to be their present temporary place of residence.

It is the community of the township, a local social system, which must now be examined - its structure, changes and continuities. The basic building block in the creation of such a community has to be the nuclear family, where close ties of affection and economic dependence hold the unit together. It might commonly be supposed that inter-relations between family groups in a spreading kinship network would, of itself, create such a community; this assumes a static community and the weight of evidence now shows clearly that populations were far from static. It will be seen that Worsbrough was no exception.

This is not to say the family was unimportant but nuclear families appear limited to close kin; Dr. Wrightson confines it to father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, uncle and aunt adding that the household rarely included other than husband, wife and children.² In

seventeenth century Terling less than half the homes had relatives other than the householders; Myddle may have been closer knit, but the general impression is one where the community structure evolved from mutual interests of rank or occupation as much as, if not more than, blood ties. Association of these family units with others in the community needs to be explored to assess the degree of communities existing within communities, to what extent marriage links and other associations occurred across rank barriers. Perhaps patriarchal vertical kinship, in a genealogical sense, was only of particular importance to those sufficiently wealthy to be concerned with inheritance, whereas the less fortunate looked to their preservation and stability horizontally across family confines. Marriage itself as an institution and the expanding relationships within the new social unit it created are basic to the community.

The integration of the units and factions within the community to form a viable and vibrant local society has to be seen through the sparse surviving record of administrative documents, with little help from contemporaries. Valuable though the diaries of Adam Eyre and John Hobson may be, they tell little how the community grew or maintained itself economically. Even the briefest glance at the population changes (Table 7.1, p.184) reveals a major transformation in the later period which demands attention. Trying to understand and explain these changes in Worsbrough, yet be conscious of the many continuities, strains the available evidence to the limit and cannot be expected to present a complete picture.

However briskly one may dismiss the sentimental yearning of George Sturt³ for the supposed contented way of life of the disappearing peasant and the resented intrusion of the new civilised masses, perhaps he was merely trying to articulate an echo of the emotional response felt by such as the core community of the 'old' Worsbrough when it was transformed into a totally different community during the

two life-times prior to 1851. It will be seen throughout this section that, whatever aspect of Worsbrough society is considered, a sharp contrast is evident between the early modern period, which itself shows steady change to the end of the eighteenth century, and the first decades of the nineteenth century industrial revolution following improved communications and the changes in land ownership.

Contemporary emotional reactions are the most elusive by nature and not available to us except through an occasional brief glimpse. Levine and Wrightson were making specific reference to the coal industry when writing of the lost knowledge of social transformations which industrial growth "*expunged from historical consciousness*"; coal and much else contributed in Worsbrough to this loss of historical consciousness and, to coin their exquisite phrase, this chapter seeks to "*contribute to the overcoming of that historical amnesia*".⁴

7.2 Demography.

It is a prime necessity to establish the size of the population at risk before embarking on any analysis of the demographic trends exhibited in a community. Unfortunately, given the evidence available to the historian, this is a most difficult figure to establish, often bordering on the impossible before the decennial Census surveys from 1801. Even these have serious limitations for a detailed local study; page summary totals can be at variance with the numbers listed, babies could have been missed and almost certainly some families were 'not at home' to the enumerator in the hope of avoiding what many considered, in the early censuses, to be a conscription tally. The 1801-1831 returns provide total figures and for 1841, in addition to giving County origin, note ages rounded to the nearest five for adults over 15 years. The Census of 1851 is the first of particular value to the historian in providing information of household relationships, places of origin and a more accurate age despite omissions, transcription errors and evasions being not uncommon. They do, however, form a base

line incomparable to anything previously available.

England is fortunate in having the parish registration system from 1538 giving details of baptism, burial and marriage, offering a range of information from which can be derived a skeletal framework to populate a community.

Worsbrough is amongst the more fortunate, both in the survival of its Registers and their relative completeness from mid-16th century.⁵ These alone can usefully illuminate short-term trends such as isolating crisis years and noting seasonal variations. To do more, however, it is essential that "*both the number of events of a particular type and size of population at risk*" are known.⁶

Wrigley and Schofield have shown that, on a macro scale, it is now possible using advanced statistical techniques and increasing computing capacity to derive reliable population totals by the method of 'back projection' from which it is reasonable to ask, and receive answers for, a range of demographic questions. Their tables and conclusions form a necessary background against which to view the micro events of a small township. Unfortunately, the latter does not lend itself readily to such sophistication and, though the computer has even here proved invaluable, it has been necessary to attempt analysis of Worsbrough's population relying more on statistical probabilities based on fragmentary surveys and family reconstructions. The latter were more limited than hoped in view of the paucity of additional information in the Registers which would identify inhabitants more firmly. When the Curate himself became confused in his 1784 Baptisms and adds a note, "*There is two William Seniors labourers residing in the Township,*" it is less than encouraging for the modern researcher attempting to connect families to events.

Any derived totals can, at best, represent an instant 'snap-shot' of a moving population target at a particular date which, even then, cannot recognise immigrants who become emigrants before leaving a mark on the surviving documentary evidence.

It has been seen how clearance and settlement rapidly progressed in the township after Domesday to the position in mid-sixteenth century when its land area was fully exploited. However, the 14th century Lay Subsidies, which might be thought useful pointers to the medieval situation, have been discounted in the present review (page 24) as too imprecise to be of value.⁷

Various types of population head count have been found for Worsbrough from 1546 which offer a guide on population growth, but all present their own particular problems and will be considered in chronological sequence.

a) The first post-Reformation count at Worsbrough was the 1546 Chantry Survey for the Chantry of Our Lady noting "300 houselings".⁸ These represented the number of communicants usually considered to be over 14 years old, an age used in the following analysis to define children. This age is questioned by Wrigley and Schofield, who point to the 15th century common law stating the minimum age as 7 years⁹, whilst the 1571 Canons give 10. Their back-projection forecast would point to 24.9% being under 10 years setting a Worsbrough population of about 375 in 1546. Hunter proposes 600 persons presumably by a simple doubling.¹⁰ However, the figure of 300 is suspiciously 'round', providing an uncertain base.

b) The Worsbrough Manor Court frequently defers a decision until the "Resiant Roll" could be consulted, which the Constable had presumably forgotten to bring. Such a Roll survives for Worsbrough covering eleven courts between 1631-1636 and appears, at present, to be a unique document.¹¹ It consists of six parchment folios, four headed "*Resiants within the Constabularie of Worsbrough*" and two "*Court Baron*". To the left is a list of names, much amended by crossing and insertion, with the sheets then ruled into columns headed by a date. In the columns opposite each name are a variety of notes and symbols, some being obvious such as 'mort' (deceased), 'esson' ('essoign' = excused), a shorthand symbol 'C' representing 'comparuit' (= present)

and 'd' = distrained. A number of other comments, however, have defied interpretation including 'agrot', 'abyt', 0, 1, occasional sums of money and unintelligible marks.

It is unfortunate that the Manor Court Rolls for these years cannot be traced to permit comparison of events with the column notes, but they are clearly a rough record kept by the Constable and not intended for preservation, being maintained by him for his own guidance. The 'Resiants' column is a complete list of the tithing members of the community, whereas the 'Court Baron' lists only the Manor tenants¹². It appears to be a dual purpose document acting as a register of attendance and for keeping notes from which he afterwards wrote up the Court Record. Giles Jacob in his guidance to Court Stewards advises they begin the Court announcing, "*Rescians of the Tything of W draw near and answer your Names etc.. select jury then call them over, mark them that appear ap. Call over Defaulters thrice, and not appearing, fine them 6s 8d each.*"¹³

The document is worthy of further investigation but in the present context it is a useful guide to the Worsbrough population of the 1630s in providing a list of the inhabitants. The 96 names cover residents of the three manors (see Chapter 3) as the Constable was responsible for the whole township. A check against events in the Parish Registers between 1620-1640 reveals no names other than those in the Resiant columns. Using the standard multiplier of 4.75, a population size of 456 is indicated which, by extraction from the Registers, included 145 (31.8%) children under 14 years in 1631.

In this, as in the following attempts to estimate the number of children by extracting names from the Registers, it is recognised that an unknown percentage of Baptisms will have gone unrecorded. Against this, it can equally be anticipated that Burials are also under-recorded and, on the basis that the exercise is to obtain comparable figures as none of the documents can offer precise numbers, corrections will not be attempted.

Introducing arithmetical corrections to a set of 'raw' figures to aim at a 'true' picture of the population at a fixed reference point may result in a 'correction' more in error than the raw data. In summarising the difficulties encountered when trying to apply correction factors previously thought reasonable, (Baptism +15% and Burial +10%), the Cambridge Group concluded that, although under-registration cannot be disputed and a national rate may even be determined, there "*cannot be a single local rate of correction applicable for all events and for all areas ... Moreover, applying correction factors to close the gap [between known and estimated population] may be completely mistaken if the gap is in fact due to migration*".¹⁴ Some degree of correction can be considered in a fairly complete set of registers and is further explored by Wrigley and Schofield,¹⁵ but the level of sophistication required is considered here to be a luxury of precision not required by the general trend being sought. They conclude that, in general, little is to be gained from the elaborate attempts to apply correction factors particularly where, as will be seen in Worsbrough, migration is a significant factor.¹⁶

To estimate the child population, the method adopted in this study was to list names of all children baptised within 14 years of the particular survey date, then delete burials to provide the number expected to survive at that date. Also deleted were any whose surnames disappeared during the interval, and not returned afterward, to estimate the emigrants. A check was run to identify immigrant children during the period who might otherwise not be recorded in the 14 year interval, though the available documentation was rarely equal to the quest to obtain exact answers. The totals obtained might suggest a spurious precision, but must be seen as comparative figures to identify a population trend, using a common approach to documents which were compiled with a completely different purpose in mind.

c) An Estreat¹⁷ (tax assessment) for the Staincross wapentake in 1660 demanded a "*Certificate and true returne*

of all persons according to their degrees and qualities within the sd Constabluarie of Worsbrough and alsoe the Names and yearly value of the Lands of such as are not Ressedent within us." The list is a complete roll call including wives. Extracting those 'not ressedent' leaves 200 names of which 72 are wives, included simply as 'et ux', giving a family total (x4.75) of 342. The 128 singles (widows, servants and, where it can be determined, elderly), are assumed not to have young children. Parish Register extraction shows 198 (42.0%) children, 14 years and under, probably still living in Worsbrough in 1660 giving a total population of 470.

d) The Worsbrough Hearth Tax return of 1672 has been previously discussed (pp. 24 & 31), noting under-recording of the poor.¹⁸ The list gives 5 poor, marked CED, in a total of 103 entries, but seven core families not recorded are known to be resident before and after the tax, in two cases being present two centuries later with no observable break, plus one family recording a baptism and a burial within a few months each side of Lady Day 1672. These could inflate the total by a further eight. The standard multiplier gives a total population of 527 and the Parish Register calculation suggests 202 (38.3%) children in this total.

e) A Suit Roll¹⁹ of 1701 is headed "*The Inhabitants for the Manna of Worsbrough & Worsbrough Dale Rockley Falthwaite & Ardsley for the Jury of the Manner*" summoned in October. The inclusion of Ardsley complicates the calculation for the Worsbrough township population and appears in the Roll merely because the Ardsley manor had become linked with Worsbrough, for jury purposes, under the joint ownership of the Wortley family. (Ardsley separated again in the 1720s when the Earl of Strafford purchased Worsbrough manor). Extracting the known Ardsley residents provides a total of 32 males for Jury service.

The Roll continues with a list headed "*The rest of the Inhabitants for the said Manner*" which, again extracting Ardsley residents, gives a further 109 for Worsbrough

including 11 widows and 2 spinsters (one of whom is recorded as "*Mrs Martha Wood spinster*"). Unfortunately the list fails to note the number of wives but, using the simple 4.75 multiple for the 128 male adults, gives an approximate population of 621 which would include 167 children (26.8%) calculated from the registers as above.

f) Appeals against "Enclosing parts of the Commons" in 1700 and 1718 were signed by the inhabitants under headings of freeholders, tenants and cottagers.²⁰ Although 53 signed the former and 75 the latter, neither list can contribute to the debate on total populations at the time as an unknown number failed to sign. George Staniland, the parson, for example, is absent as he joined with the enclosers, the extensive Guest family of masons are also absent. Valuable though the document is for other purposes, it offers little towards the present discussion.

g) The return made in 1743 for Archbishop Herring's Visitation is equally of small value. The Curate, George Staniland, answered question one: "*In the Township of Worsbrough We have about a Hundred Families*". In question ten he states: "*We have above two hundred Communicants*".²¹ His other answers display an equal tendency to despatch the return as quickly as possible, giving 'round' figures with small attention to accuracy. He further states, for example, that, "*about forty are taught in the Grammar and thirty in the English school*", which conflicts with the villagers' view expressed in the above Enclosure appeal where they say, "*The school being now very Much Dwindled [as a] consequence of want of diligence*". The return has to be regarded a too glib and unreliable base for population statistics.

h) A return was required by Archbishop Drummond²² in 1764 when the parish officially had no Curate, although Jeremiah Dixon as Lecturer (p.238) was acting as Curate. In consequence, the return was submitted by the Rector of Darfield himself and, though brief in his answers, inspires greater confidence in its accuracy. No doubt the information was supplied by Dixon, perhaps partly anxious to please

through conscientiousness in his ambition of being accepted as Curate, but also in his greater involvement with the parishioners than his predecessor Staniland.

He records 162 families and no Dissenters. The common multiple would indicate a total population of 769 and from the register extraction this would include 266 (34.6%) children. A check was run on the accuracy of his family total by noting all surnames in Baptism, Burial and Marriage registers from 1754-1764 giving a total of 174. After excluding those such as incoming 'foundlings', who died young, and families known to have died out in the interval (14), the revised total of 160 compares well to the Rector's 162 and, in view of the vagaries of parish registers, the latter may be accepted as more accurate.

i) The decennial Census returns from 1801, despite their failings discussed earlier, provide total population figures which are a reliable guide for the present survey.²³ The totals for the decades 1801-1851 are included in Table 7.1 to illustrate the population growth, the 1851 Census being preferred for fuller analysis in the present research providing, as it does, a final statement of the population structure at the close of the period under review.

Table 7.1 Worsbrough - Summary of Population Totals.

	1379	1546	1631	1660	1672	1701	1764	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851
Total	243	375	456	471	527	617	769	879	1070	1392	2677	3800	4274

Historians are generally agreed that, on a national scale, a period of steady population growth during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was followed by a period of stagnation and decline for six or seven decades after 1650, succeeded by an accelerating increase which continues today. The view is reinforced by the collected evidences of Wrigley and Schofield.²⁴ The Worsbrough totals appear to conflict with this trend, continuing to increase

steadily around the turn of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth. The effects of exceptional migration patterns on a local population size in the period are evident at Whickham,²⁵ with a "*perennially high degree of population mobility*". Worsbrough was similarly affected with wide-ranging effects on its social-economic development.

Parish Registers form the essential link between the fixed points to illuminate any changes, and the Worsbrough registers generally meet the arbitrary, but soundly-based, criteria suggested by the Cambridge Group as a guide to register reliability. Baptism rates to exceed 30/1000 and death rates of not less than 15/1000 are suggested - the Worsbrough rates during the late seventeenth century for example are baptisms 34.3/1000, burial 24.3/1000 and for early nineteenth century 29.8/1000 and 16.5/1000 respectively. For the same two periods the number of live births per marriage are 2.8 and 4.2 per family which are close to the suggested range of 3-5.

The marriage rate however causes some slight concern. When compiling the family reconstructions to view the extended families, it frequently occurred that a chain halted through lack of a marriage link. The total absence of marriage entries in 1647/8 was no doubt a consequence of the Civil War; periods such as 1670-75 recording only 12 in the six years are less easy to explain; certainly the institution of civil marriage in 1653 made little difference to the background level of marriage rates at the time.

The Cambridge Group somewhat hesitantly propose about 8/1000 marriages which, at 5.3 and 6.1 in the periods above, Worsbrough fails to achieve. Though not disastrously low, the figures suggest a level of under-recording requiring investigation. Part of the answer lay in the relationship of the Worsbrough church with Darfield previously discussed and a search of the Darfield register produced some of the missing marriages. The reason for choice of church cannot be known but the lack of a priest at Worsbrough on occasion, particularly during the Interregnum, would be a factor and

there may also have been some element of prestige, Darfield being the mother-church. A search of neighbouring parish registers found further examples which, though not solving the problem of all the missing marriages, points to a sense of belonging to a wider community than the home parish.

The phenomenon of the "missing marryers" of the late seventeenth, early eighteenth, centuries is, of course, not confined to Worsbrough and a detailed examination of the problem at Colyton by Sharpe has offered various lines of inquiry.²⁶ As with Worsbrough, some were found in neighbouring parishes but insufficient to close the gap between the actual and forecast marriage numbers, consonant with the prevailing baptism and burial rates. Her conclusion of unrecorded nonconformist marriages amongst a significant number of the Colyton population, who continued to otherwise play a full part in the community, even to baptising and burying in the established church, is one which offers a realistic solution. Non-conformity will be considered later in this chapter but the increasing power of the Edmunds family as local justices and leading landowners, who were committed upholders of the established church in Worsbrough, could suggest it may have been unwise to admit to such leanings and has led to an inadequate record of dissent in the township. Perhaps Reverend Staniland's complaint in the register of 1716 is not unrelated that various people had been married by "*lawless people*" and a "*stop ought to be put to such irregular marriages*".

Recent work by Dr. Ann Mitson²⁷ has shown how such deficiencies in the parish record can often be explained and resolved when the family reconstruction is extended into what she considers a "neighbourhood area." She describes such families as 'dynastic' but it is preferred here to refer to them as the 'long stay' families, though the identification is similar. She concludes that such families are "*more likely to be found extending beyond the single parish into a neighbouring area*".²⁸ The effects seen in her tabular summary showing the marriage patterns in parish and

neighbouring areas²⁹ lead to the conclusion that individual parishes may have their own distinctive features, but neighbourhood areas can also be expected to reveal distinct differences of character which affect their association.

In the case of Worsbrough, for example, there is a clear tendency for closer ties with the village of Silkstone, four miles away, in seeking a spouse, than Dodworth two miles nearer and which must be passed on the way. Too close attention to a single parish may distort many conclusions and any analysis must be seen in the context of the wider neighbourhood. Figure 7.1 shows the immediate 'regional' range in the choice of marriage partner by a Worsbrough inhabitant, though biased towards females choosing husbands as many Worsbrough men would be marrying at the parish of the bride and become "missing marryers". Whilst it shows a long-standing association with places inside a five-mile radius, the slightly more distant connections with Ecclesfield and Sheffield would develop from the common interest in iron works. Joseph Owen, for example, a Sheffield cutler, married Sarah Beckett in 1725 and another cutler, John Hall married Martha Lindley (of a prominent Worsbrough family) in 1731; James Crawshaw, a Sheffield grinder, married Elizabeth Tottington, also a long-stay Worsbrough family, in 1736.

Ardsley and Tankersley are contiguous with Worsbrough and their association would be natural, as with Darfield, but no pattern is readily discernible to explain the close ties with Silkstone and Royston in preference to the many similar local villages in which no record of a Worsbrough spouse has been found. In contrast to the craftsman connections to the south of the region, those to the north, particularly Leeds and Wakefield, were minor gentry, mercer, tailor, etc. of a more exalted status. However, only five can be identified from beyond South Yorkshire during this period - Manchester book-keeper; Edinburgh squire; Stixwold (Lincs.) gent; Thomas South blacksmith returned to Worsbrough from Broughton (Lincs); an unknown suitor from York.

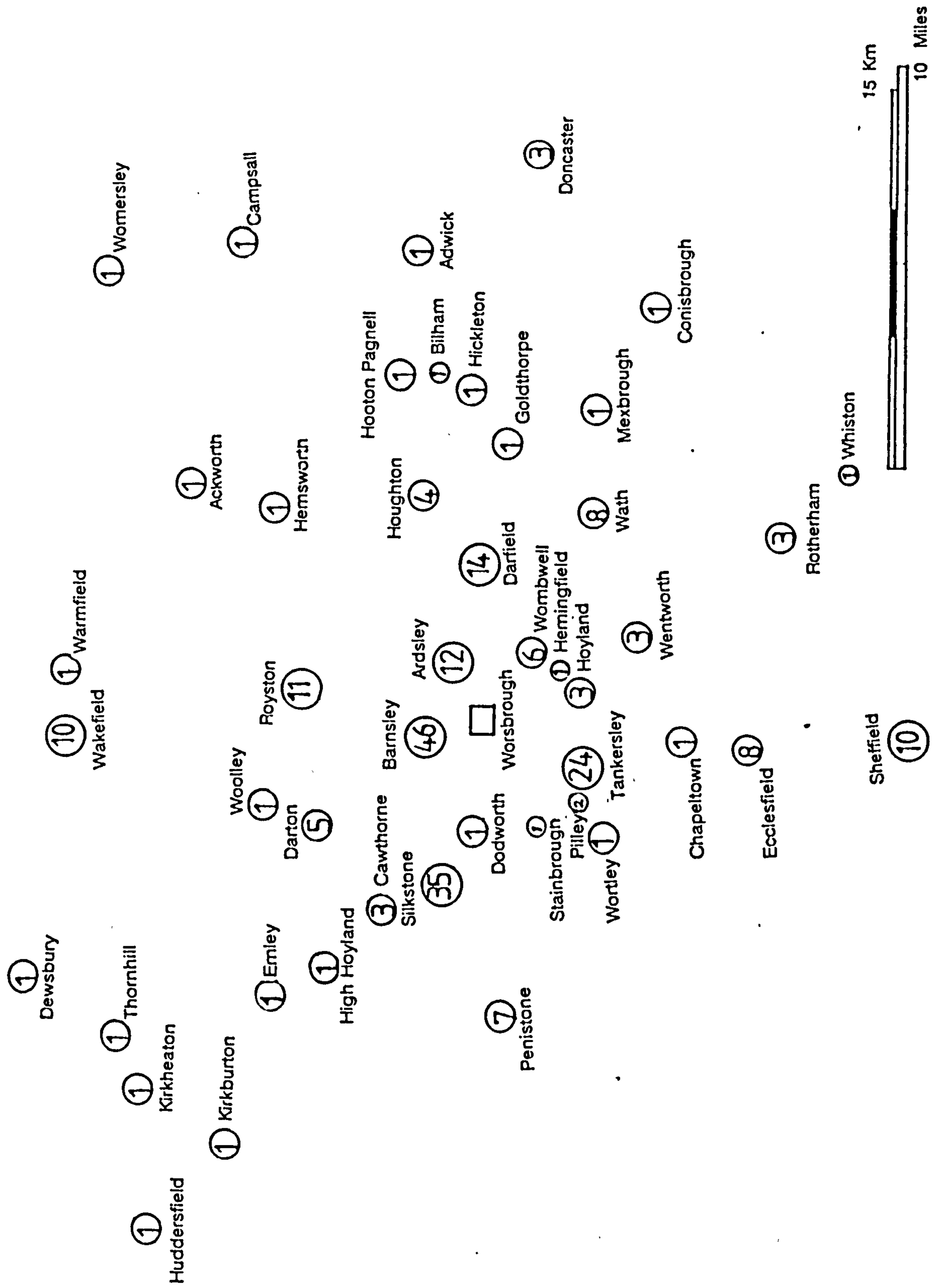


Fig. 7.1 WORSBROUGH MARRIAGE PATTERN 1651-1851

SPOUSE ORIGIN

DA

When plotted over time rather than location the pattern of spouse origin suggests the influence of factors other than migration and business contacts.

Table 7.2

<u>Marriages - One spouse not Worsbrough origin</u>			
1700-1725	13 in 88 marriages	=	14.8%
1726-1750	27 in 90	"	= 30.0%
1751-1775	39 in 79	"	= 49.4%
1776-1800	52 in 106	"	= 49.0%
1801-1825	56 in 161	"	= 34.8%
<u>1826-1851</u>	<u>75 in 453</u>	<u>"</u>	<u>= 16.6%</u>

Information before 1700 is too fragmentary but the familiar Worsbrough names suggest a figure similar to 1700-1725.

A major factor responsible for the increasing percentage peaking around 1800 would possibly be the improved travel conditions previously discussed which, in turn, would appear to belie the sudden drop in the 1826-1851 period. However, this was a time of intense immigration offering a wide range of new families from which to choose a spouse, without need for an extended search, leading to the majority of Common and Dale area immigrants inter-marrying. During this period, in only 7.8% marriages at Worsbrough Common were both partners born in Worsbrough, in 19.6% one spouse and in 72.6% cases neither was born locally. The pattern amongst the long-stay families in the remainder of the parish remained much as before.

Problems encountered in attempting the detailed examination of the Worsbrough population can perhaps only be resolved by a survey of its South Yorkshire 'neighbourhood' on the lines of Dr. Mitson's research based on all the registers of the region in an extended investigation.

Despite the absence of such a wider context the Worsbrough analysis can illuminate much on the collapse of the medieval community to an emerging industrial society. Selecting only those where the baptism of the mother could be established it has been possible to reconstruct over 150 family 'units' (parents, children, grandparent(s)) for

analysis, many of which could be linked to give an extended family as a basic genealogy. Others were compiled for interest where the mother's baptism was unknown.

Reconstructions prior to 1713 were severely restricted by the almost total lack of distinguishing features, such as occupation and place of residence, to aid identification of individuals. Even after 1713 difficulty persisted due to the strong tendency for families to favour a particular fore-name. For example, the Guest family, still resident in the township today since 1566, are not unlike other long-stay families with their favourite names. During the early eighteenth century, the brothers William, John, Martin (and possibly Jonathan) each had sons baptised William; John also had a son John. This generation continued with a William having William & John; Martin had Martin & William; Jonathan had a William. As all were stone-masons living in Birdwell hamlet it proved impossible to sort a satisfactory scheme of relationship, particularly when in mid-18th century there were three Johns and, by the end of the century, three Williams, all contemporary. The three Williams died aged 84, 71 & 64 having produced their share of John, William and Martin.³⁰ The choice for girls showed the Guests' preference for Martha, Ann and Elizabeth which created further difficulties in establishing marriage links.

The summary of population growth, Table 7.1, is reflected in the combined graph of Baptism/Burial events in Fig. 7.2, which mirrors the national scene in general until the dramatic increase in mid-19th century points to a local phenomenon, further highlighted in Fig. 7.3. The latter indicates possible crises in late 16th, mid-17th and early 18th centuries, but only 1849 is an obvious crisis event. The dearth years of the later sixteenth century are seen in the failure of baptisms to maintain parity with burials; 1576 was particularly dire with 21 burials when the decadal average was 8 and was 19 in 1592 against an average of 10. Increasing births restored the balance of population only to be seriously affected again in mid-17th century. Overall

Fig 7.2
WORSBROUGH PARISH REGISTERS

Baptisms Burials ———

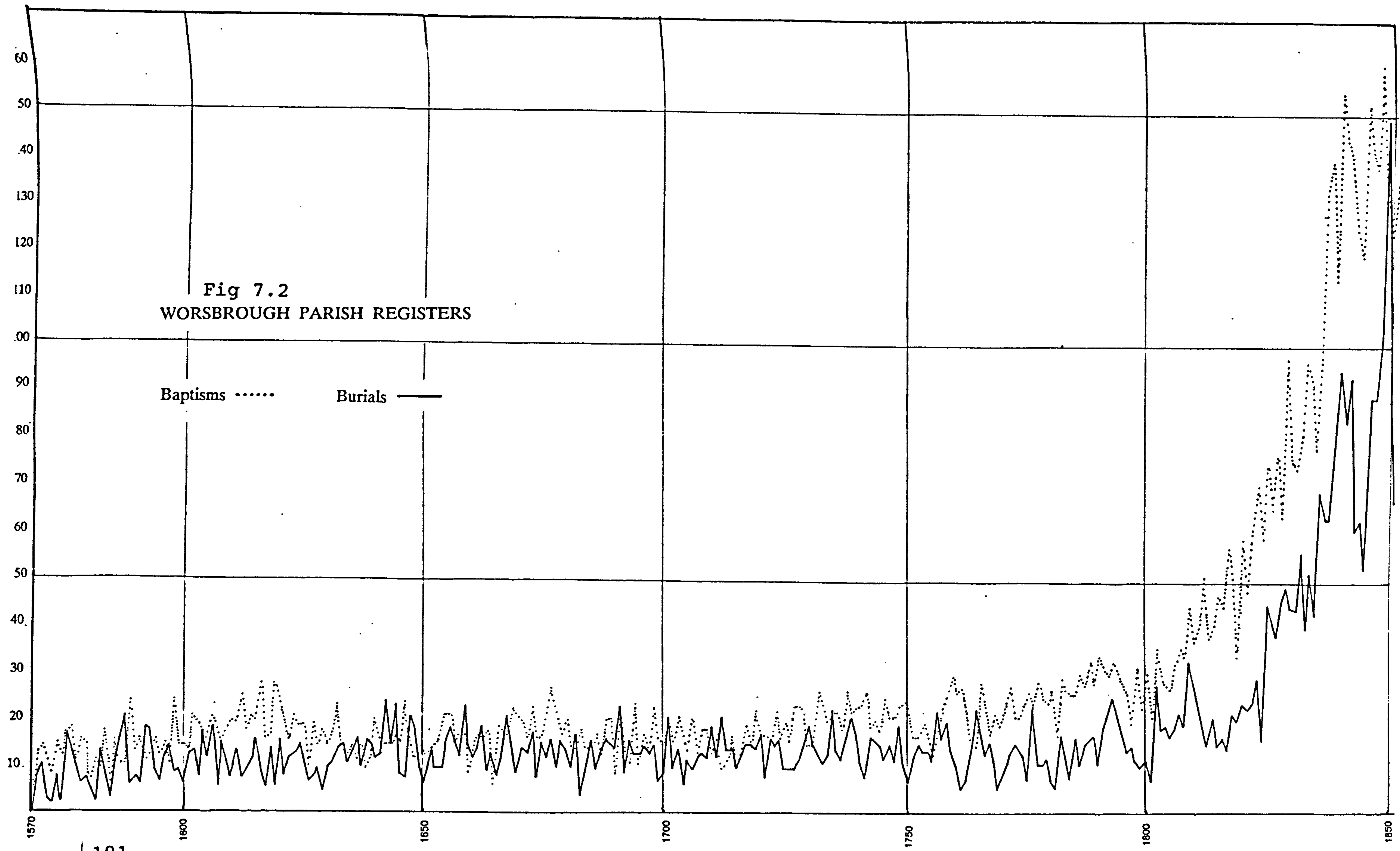
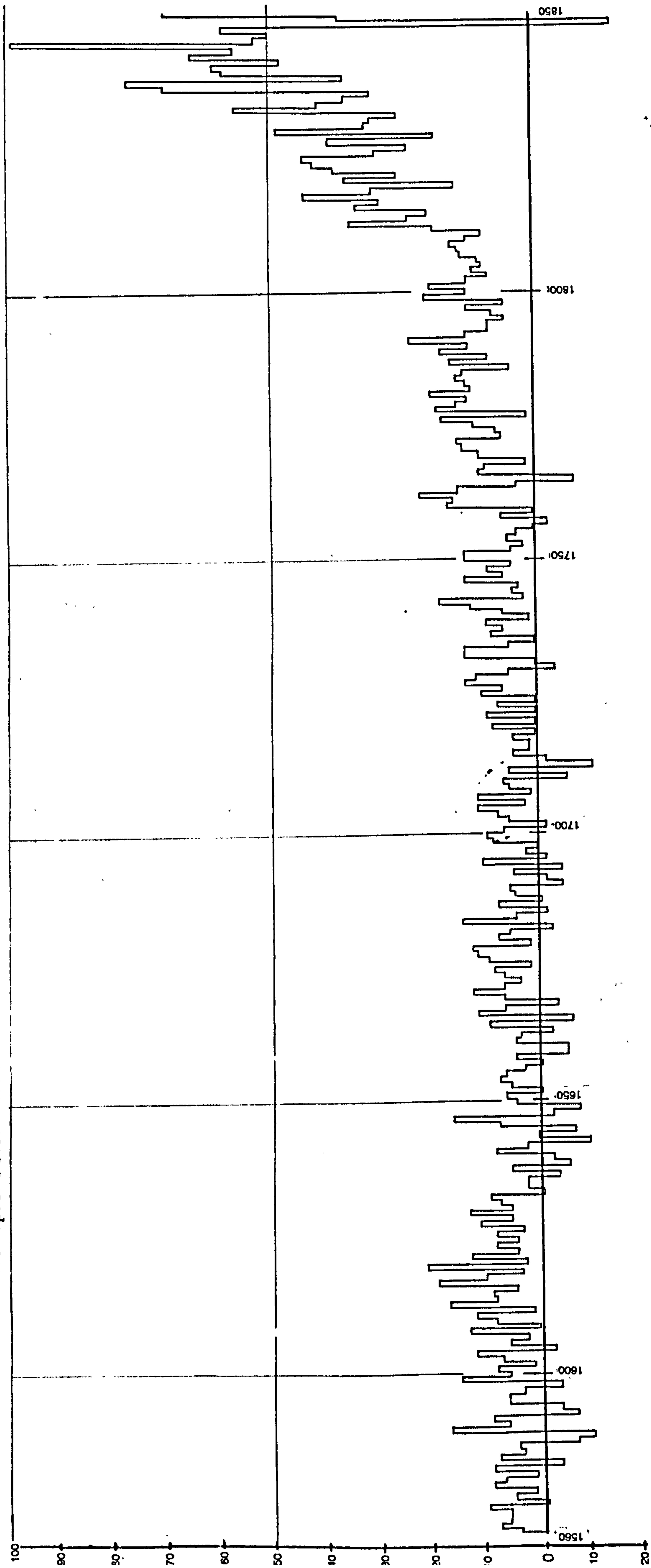


Fig 7.3
WORSBROUGH PARISH REGISTERS
Excess Baptisms over Burials



DA

figures of general population increase hide years such as 1642 when 24 deaths contrast with 13 baptisms and, although the probable under-recording of the latter exaggerated the effect, the mid-17th century period as a whole suggests many inhabitants faced serious problems which the available documentary evidence fails to explain. The accelerated rebuilding programme noted amongst the upper levels of Worsbrough society in the seventeenth century (Appendix - Buildings) would suggest the greater difficulties were being experienced by the smallholders and labouring poor.

Few causes of death are recorded, but full monthly totals, calculated from the registers, provide no firm evidence of seasonal deaths indicating plague periods,³¹ for example, rather suggesting weakness from under-nourishment leading to vulnerability to an array of epidemic diseases is more likely. This is perhaps seen in the marginally higher burial totals in February and March over the whole period. The fluctuating pattern follows trends observed by Wrigley and Schofield³² and is not dissimilar to that experienced at Sheffield and Myddle, though the problems in 1585/6, where both Myddle and Worsbrough suffered high death rates, are exaggerated at Myddle by a low baptisms record and disguised at Worsbrough by an increase in baptisms.³³ The mechanisms of such population fluctuations are still far from clear.

The major crisis at Worsbrough which appears obvious at first sight is 1848-1849 with 101 and 147 burials respectively. However, the two are unrelated. In 1848 a high incidence of child deaths (54% of total burials were under 5 years) suggests one of the infectious diseases to which children are prone (diphtheria, measles etc).

In 1849 two events inflated the total. On 22 November a canal boatman, Thomas Dolphin,³⁴ living in Worsbrough Dale, died of cholera, which he contracted in Hull on his last journey. He had visited relatives on Worsbrough Common where the disease took hold and was quickly transmitted to Barnsley whose Officer of Health, M.T.Sadler, reported, "*I was called to attend on a girl on Barebones*³⁵ ... who had

been into a house on Worsbrough Common where one of the inmates had died of cholera."³⁶ The Coroner certified 33 cholera deaths in Worsbrough of whom 18 lived at the Common. The 1849 figure was further inflated by the explosion at the Darley Main colliery, (page 163), resulting in the deaths of 75 miners.

However, Fig. 7.3 indicates a rate of constant increase in population which conflicts with the population totals previously calculated. From 1701-1801, for example, the calculated increase is about 270, whereas the increase suggested by the excess Baptisms over Burials indicates an increase of 760. Such a discrepancy is too great even allowing for the in-built approximations adopted in the estimates. The most likely explanation lies in the degree of emigration from the township throughout the period. Until the nineteenth century, when the census returns show Worsbrough was virtually absorbing its growing population, the excess, such as younger sons unable to obtain land or work, would be looking to the growing towns for a living. London had attracted the more adventurous locals such as John Rayney about 1600 as a draper and William Allott a few years later as a merchant tailor, both of whose Wills contained gifts to their less-fortunate Worsbrough contemporaries. Dr. Wrightson illustrates the magnet of London when he notes the parish of Stepney with Whitechapel had a population of 21800 in 1610 growing to 59000 in the 1690s.³⁷

The destination of the majority of Worsbrough emigrants must be sought nearer home where the obvious focus of attraction was Barnsley as a growing urban market centre. Elliott has shown that during the later seventeenth century it was absorbing as least twenty new families a year and one in four marriages involved a spouse from a neighbouring settlement. A population somewhat over 1000 in 1750 grew to 3606 by 1810 despite a high ratio of burials to baptisms.³⁸

The Worsbrough registers bear out the supposition of regular migration of the younger sons as, for example, in the Cudworth family between 1578-1796 where, from 17 male

and 15 female children, only one male and three females married to stay in Worsbrough. The Gelder family is recorded having 23 surviving males between 1727-1810 but only two married in Worsbrough. The Mossforth's had 13 males surviving between 1677-1795 but none stayed to marry or be buried in the township. Even an important family of middling rank, Tattershall, had 27 male children baptised between 1655-1810 of whom 19 are never heard of again. Two of those remaining, both called William, died in 1794 aged 80 and 83. The pattern is repeated in almost every family where the relationship of the baptism to burial register appears reliable. Again it would suggest that a detailed study of all the South Yorkshire records could well illuminate a distinct local pattern of migration.

Similarities of settlement invite comparison with Terling in Essex during the post-medieval period to mid-18th century (though events in Worsbrough after 1800 demand separate attention). The intricate and detailed analyses presented by Wrightson and Levine³⁹ cannot be emulated here but Table 7.3 shows minimal variation of age at first marriage and neither Terling nor Worsbrough conflict with

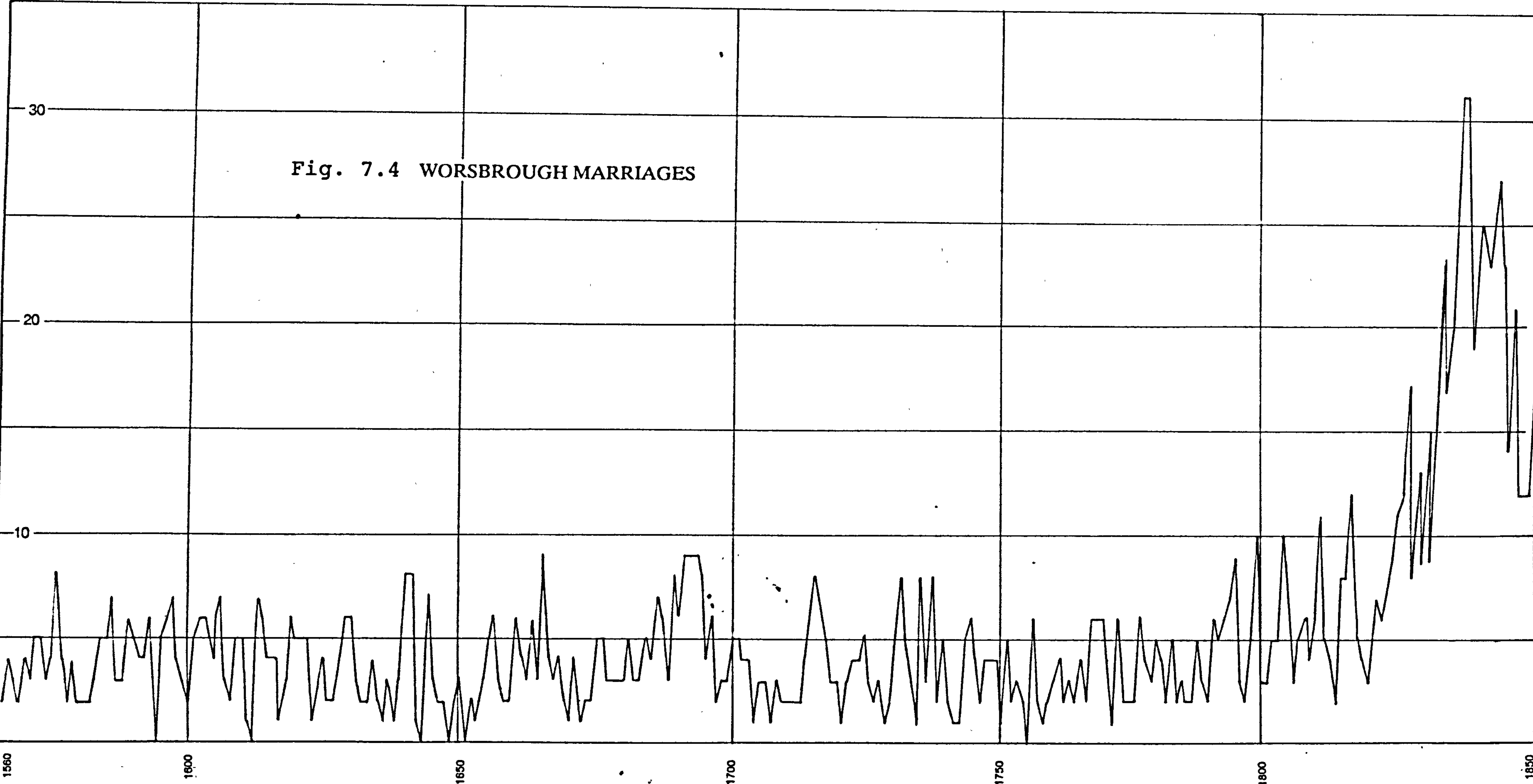
Table 7.3 Age at First Marriage

Comparison - Worsbrough:Terling

	Men		Women	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
Worsbrough	66	26.6	71	24.5
<u>1560-1751</u>				
Terling	112	25.3	178	24.6
<u>1550-1724</u>				

the overall conclusions reached by Wrigley and Schofield on changes in population structure on a national scale but local niceties of variation are inevitable. The figures for Worsbrough, provided by the family reconstructions in the century blocks (Table 7.4), suggest a slight lowering of the mean age at first marriage for women. (It would, perhaps, have been instructive to have repeated the analysis subdividing these blocks into social divisions, but it was felt

Fig. 7.4 WORSBROUGH MARRIAGES



that, in view of the small numbers this produced in some groups, it would stretch the data beyond its credibility and only general comments could be offered on this aspect). However, a closer examination of the nineteenth century figures show that, at the start of the century it increased slightly to 25.0 in tune with the general depression of the period, but from the 1830's it fell sharply to 22.0.

Table 7.4 Worsbrough - Age at First Marriage

	<u>1551-1651</u>	<u>1652-1751</u>	<u>1752-1851</u>	<u>1837-1851</u>
Men	27.0	26.2	25.0	25.1
Women	24.8	24.3	24.5	22.0

Consideration of the graph showing the Marriage trends (Fig.7.4) underlines the nineteenth century expansion, which is too great to be accounted for by increasing family size from the longer child-bearing period, through lower age at marriage, and must be due to an influx of population. On the Common the lower age led to a population with 41.0% children, at a density of 4.6 people per household, where the inference must be that work was plentiful in the last two decades to 1851, encouraging earlier marriage which, in turn, increased the population level further.

Obviously not all children survived to adulthood and Table 7.5 summarises the half-century percentages.

Table 7.5

	<u>Percentage Child Deaths to Total Baptisms</u>						
	1560	1600	1652	1700	1752	1800	1826
	<u>-1599</u>	<u>-1651</u>	<u>-1699</u>	<u>-1751</u>	<u>-1799</u>	<u>-1825</u>	<u>-1851</u>
Under 1yr	4.23	6.72	8.68	8.54	5.61	12.6	16.6
Under 5yr	7.62	11.1	14.4	14.7	9.68	15.9	31.3
<u>Under10yr</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>13.4</u>	<u>18.5</u>	<u>17.8</u>	<u>11.2</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>33.9</u>

Causes related to the higher levels in the century 1652-1751 probably lie in the re-organisation of the township after changes in land ownership and farming practice in conjunction with the accelerating sharper stratification of the "haves" and "have nots" within the community. As in other studies, (eg. Terling & Myddle), the growing polarisation of wealth in seventeenth century Worsbrough created a widening

gulf between the reasonably prosperous and the poorer craftsmen/labourers. To the latter can often be ascribed the reduced chance of survival. The poverty and overcrowding at Worsbrough Common again inflate the figures and, if excluded, the under 5 mortality rate for the township is reduced to 18.6. Sharpe's questioning the term 'village community' has validity where "two cultures" were visibly emerging in post-medieval Worsbrough.⁴⁰

Human nature changes little and not all children were born within the marriage bond. Wrightson and Levine have drawn attention to the complex pattern of bastard frequency over the early modern period, particularly showing how Terling conforms to a pattern noted by Oosterveen which shows a peak at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁴¹ Thereafter it decreases to become more rare after 1630. The reason has proved elusive but Worsbrough declines to follow the suggested trend as seen in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Worsbrough - Illegitimacy.

	No. Base	No. Baptisms	% Base
1560-1601	26	469	5.54
1602-1651	23	821	2.8
1652-1701	6	803	0.75
1702-1751	34	903	3.77
1752-1801	78	1151	6.78
1802-1826	73	1075	6.79
<u>1827-1851</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>2785</u>	<u>5.64</u>

The true bastardy rate could well be higher if pre-marital conception were included. Much as the church might frown on pre-marital intercourse, the evidence clearly indicates that some form of betrothal, or intent to marry, was a signal for intimacy. Some bastards were perhaps the result of expressed intent not being genuine but merely seeking gratification - certainly none were found amongst the gentry where family pressure, perhaps not available to lower ranks, restricted such actions. How many were "shot-gun" marriages cannot be known but certainly a significant number of women were pregnant at the altar (Table 7.7). It

has to be accepted that the completed family reconstitution forms are likely to be an unsatisfactory sample because of the erratic survival of evidence, but the Worsbrough totals summarised in Table 7.7 must still provide food for thought:

Table 7.7 Worsbrough - Pregnant Brides

	Total Brides	Pregnant Brides	% Pregnant
16th cent.	9	4	44.4
17th cent.	38	14	36.8
18th cent.	31	13	41.9
19th cent	95	36	37.9

No pregnant brides can be found amongst the high status families. The strength of parental blackmail, to prevent such behaviour, is illustrated in the case of Richard Micklethwaite of Swaithe Hall in his Will⁴² of 1638. He leaves his grandchild Sarah Cawthorn sums of money owed to him and ten pounds-worth of goods, "*But if she do not marry with any by the surname of Mansford ... I bequeath to her the some of hundred pounds more..*" She married Matthew Langdale in 1640.

Bastardy as a result of promiscuity was not uncommon, as Table 7.6 suggests, and whilst, a woman having one child out of wedlock could be a wayward lapse, having two seems intentional: more begins to look like prostitution. Certain male members of the population might be endeared to such women but not the Overseer of the Poor, having to pay them relief and search out the father for contributions. Separate accounts were not kept for bastard payments in the early 18th century books but, as typical payments, he gave £15 1s "Bastard" money to the mothers in 1800 and received £10 13s from the known errant fathers. Mary Swan did penance in church in 1739 for her base daughter Mary by a married man, Jonathan Bingley; the effect was transitory - she had another in 1747 by John Hayes who "ran away" and a third in 1758 for which she was excommunicated.⁴³

The Lockwood family are perhaps the extreme example. Father Joshua was receiving parish relief when his wife Mary had base son William in 1737, by an unknown father. Her

daughter Margaret had bastard Elizabeth in 1775, but promptly married Thomas Jacques, the father. Her second daughter Sarah had her first bastard child in 1779, when aged 20, followed by others in 1782, 1788, 1790, 1794, 1798 and 1802; none of the fathers were identified. She received parish relief at 1s 2d per child per week in the 1790s, increased to 1s 6d after 1800, with 5s 6d for coal, then further increased to 2s 8d weekly pay about 1820. In 1802 she was paid £2 for her "lying in" and £1 10s for clothes; the Overseer of the Poor claimed 6s for, "*taking Sarah Lockwood to Filliate and going to Wintworth with her.*" to seek out the father. She died at Birdwell aged 80 years.

To test the extent to which the immigrants were being absorbed in the community during the nineteenth century surge, the baptisms being registered for different parts of the township are summarised in Table 7.8. The general background shown by Town, W.Bridge, Highstone and Birdwell contrasts with a substantial rise in W. Dale and the sudden change at W. Common after 1821. In addition, the topography of the heights of Blacker and Worsbrough Common are so similar in their exposure, and lack of soil to support farming, that the growth of one and not the other must be due to exceptional immigration. The Highstone area is adjacent to the barren Common and its population was employed at the Highstone coalmine or, where the soil improves slightly, at the Highstone Farm. The single occupant on the Common prior to 1821 was at the 'Sod Hall', a squatter's enclosure. These variations must be seen in the context of the changing complexion of Worsbrough industry following opening of the canal and enclosure of the remaining Commons.

Occupations noted in the 1806 Militia List offer a last glimpse of the old order, with its mix of agriculture and small craft industries, (Table 7.9, p.202). The population, about 900, was scattered throughout the township but with minor foci, other than the old village, developing from the location of particular crafts such as the ironworkers and

Table 7.8
Worsbrough Baptism by Area Summary - 5 year Totals

	Town		W. Dale		W. Bridge		Highstone		W. Common		Birdwell		Blacker	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1812-1826	59	38.8	37	24.3	12	7.9	13	8.6	1	0.7	23	15.1	7	4.6
1817-1821	97	43.9	50	22.6	15	6.8	22	10.0	0	0	31	14.0	6	2.7
1822-1826	98	33.6	71	24.3	17	5.8	16	5.5	29	9.9	53	18.0	8	2.7
1827-1831	72	21.2	81	23.8	22	6.5	12	3.5	88	25.9	55	16.2	10	2.9
1832-1836	82	20.2	95	23.4	31	7.6	15	3.7	110	27.1	61	15.0	12	3.0
1837-1841	119	19.2	118	19.0	32	5.2	15	2.4	221	35.6	69	11.1	46	7.4
1842-1846	109	17.8	175	28.5	49	8.0	16	2.6	137	22.3	85	13.8	43	7.0
1847-1851	107	16.9	203	32.0	42	6.6	14	2.2	124	19.5	78	12.3	67	10.6

nailers settled in Birdwell, the paper makers at Lewden and groups of miners in Blacker and the Dale. The weavers and bleachers, as with other crafts noted in Table 7.9, were wide-spread and the high number of labourers represents the persisting rural economy as agricultural labourers.

Table 7.9

Occupations - 1806 Militia Return							
Miner	1	Clerk	2	Tanner	1	Cordwainer	2
Weaver	16	Skinner	1	Butcher	1	Nailer	8
Labourer	46	Tailor	1	Bleacher	9	Papermaker	1
Farmer	9	Husbandman	4	Gardener	2	Malster	1
Carpenter	2	Broom-maker	2	Esquire	1	Servants	19
Blacksmith	3	Mason	6	Flax Dresser	2		

When the variations in Baptism rates, Table 7.8, is compared to the distribution of trades, after the industrial changes of the early nineteenth century discussed in the previous chapter, a different picture emerges of distinct concentrations of population. Worsbrough village and the agricultural areas around Rockley, Houndhill, Lewden and Swaithe were largely unaffected, but the growth in total population, from 1392 in 1821 to 4274 in 1851, was far from evenly distributed. The imbalance in the social grouping, caused by the unprecedented immigration, is seen in the distribution of new families in these industrial areas, summarised for the major industries in Table 7.10. The miners, weavers and glassworkers were not only moving onto the marginal land, or expanding the earlier minor foci, but were concentrating in specific industrial groups.

The immigrants counted as born within a ten mile radius can usually be traced from adjoining townships, whereas the 35.5% considered as 'Distant' range nationwide. The great majority of weavers on Worsbrough Common, occupying the cheap new houses built on the waste allocated to the Earl of Strafford under the Enclosure award, originated from Ireland and the depressed areas of the Lancashire weaving industry

Table 7.10 Selected Occupations by Area - 1851 Census - Immigration Totals

	Town			W. Dale			W. Bridge			Highstone			W. Common			Birdwell			Blacker		
	W	N	F	W	N	F	W	N	F	W	N	F	W	N	F	W	N	F	W	N	F
Miner	9	2	2	21	25	39	17	1	4	11	8	8	32	16	11	47	9	22	15	7	29
Weaver	-	-	-	3	1	1	3	-	-	3	2	8	100	134	129	1	-	-	-	-	-
Glassworker	-	-	-	14	3	16	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farmer	5	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	1	3
Agr. Lab.	2	1	1	2	-	3	2	-	3	-	1	1	2	2	9	11	2	10	1	2	6
Labourer	1	-	3	13	11	23	5	4	17	1	-	4	3	4	2	5	-	3	-	-	-
Carpenter	-	-	3	7	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	1	1	2	2
Blacksmith	1	-	-	3	2	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Mason	1	-	-	4	1	1	1	3	1	1	-	-	3	3	1	5	2	5	4	-	2
Iron Miner	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	3	6	1	-	-
Others (36)	5	3	21	22	11	26	1	2	9	2	1	4	21	14	20	20	7	7	8	11	20
	24	6	30	91	56	118	33	12	35	19	12	26	162	175	172	101	23	55	31	25	62

[W = born Worsbrough: N = born within 10 mile radius: F = Distant origin]



Fig. 7.5

Areas of Population Density c.1850

around Wigan. Even the 100 listed as 'born Worsbrough' were mainly first generation descendents of immigrant families from the same areas. Similarly the glassworkers came from specific areas such as Dudley (home of the founder of the Worsbrough glassworks), St. Helens and Leeds.

As an overall picture of the degree of immigration to these areas, it is noted that 63% of all the workers in the trades listed, had not been born in Worsbrough at the 1851 Census with the proportion in Blacker being 73.7%, on the Common 68.2% and in the Dale 65.7%. The areas of the township which became densely populated, following the growth of industry in the early decades of the nineteenth century, are illustrated on Figure 7.5 and it is in these that the evidence emerges for the breakdown of the old order. The new arrivals had their own loyalties, by kinship and occupation, which were reinforced by living in what became virtually separate communities - weavers on the Common, glassworkers clustered around the glassworks in the Dale, miners living close to the Darley and Edmunds mines in the Dale, the Hellewell mine at Birdwell and Victoria mine at Highstone. The core families, which had maintained the customs of Worsbrough over the centuries, were beginning to be overwhelmed by the waves of immigrants, and the customs themselves became unequal to the demands of the new order.

7.3 Social Structure

It is self-evident that any community will not be composed of exactly equal individuals, but an acceptable definition of 'class' has yet to be agreed which permits the grouping of individuals into the constituent orders of society that interact in making that society function. Attempts at definition frequently end in a circular argument, as exhibited in the Oxford dictionary⁴⁴ where 'class is a division of society according to status' and 'status the study of a person as determined by his membership of some class'. As Sharpe points out, conflict in classifying arises from there being two approaches, "one which sees society as a hierarchy" in which people existed

in "an ordering of ranks from the highest to the lowest", the other as a vertical model where "*.. loyalty would be to trade, parish, region ... rather than to a class*". He concludes that few saw themselves in class terms in early modern England and that "*neither the class model nor the deference hierarchy one is fully applicable.*"⁴⁵

The problems of classification are more fully explored by Wrightson⁴⁶ showing the limitations of the three views of social order - contemporary perceptions, social-distribution or social relations. Any attempt based on wealth or inherited rank must fail to accommodate the merchant or professional, as these are not distinct homogeneous groups. Even were the construction of social tables, such as Gregory King's (1688) or Joseph Massie (1759), thought a reasonable base for comparison,⁴⁷ the terminology would be suspect. "*In comparing a gentleman or a yeoman of one time or place with a gentleman or a yeoman of another, we may not be comparing like with like.*" Dr. Wrightson concludes that the problems of social identification are best explored at the vitally important local level.⁴⁸ The experience of Worsbrough illustrates that the raw population figures, in Table 7.1, hide a complex re-ordering of the people over time into a bewildering array of classifications depending on how the society was viewed. Wealth provides one order, occupations, kinship and social responsibility offer differing lists when priorities are sought. Of these, 'social responsibility' perhaps offers the best guide at Worsbrough of how the inhabitants saw themselves in relation to each other, though the Manor Court experienced similar problems in trying to classify the population. When fining those who failed to attend court to do fealty, the medieval rolls have only two categories, esquires and gentlemen as against '*all other inferior persons*'. The seventeenth century rolls have three groups:- "*everie esquire and gentleman that made default xiid ... everie yeoman xid ... everie inferior person iiijd.*" The term "yeoman", however, is a vague term which dodges the issue to include all those not in the other two.

By the end of the eighteenth century any attempt to classify had been abandoned and the court record merely states "*persons .. in the freehold, customary tenants and Resiant Rolls ... in default ... amerced 2s 6d.*"

The upper echelons had always been easy to define. In pre-Reformation Worsbrough the Rockleys, with their feudal estate and whose monuments dominate the church, were a powerful gentry family, perhaps equalled only by the Everinghams, who had displaced them from their ancestral home at Old Hall. (Appendix - Buildings No.8). Everinghams cannot be found to have played any significant part in local affairs. Occupiers of outlyer farms such as the Glews, who built up the Yews estate in Darley manor, no doubt saw themselves of a higher order than the inhabitants of Worsbrough manor who, under the distant control of Nun Appleton, seem to have lacked a dominant family at the time.

However, a middle group was emerging during the 17th century which formed the core of the township's prosperity. This was the expanding gentry group of the court roll and, though its persona changed over time, can usually be recognised in the record as 'Mr'. They were mainly families whose names come through from pre-Reformation days such as the lawyer, Francis Hall of Lewden, who rebuilt Swaithe House to demonstrate his improved status (Appendix - Buildings No.10). He added an eighteenth century, architect designed, frontage presenting a statement of prestige, yet retained the seventeenth century, outmoded vernacular house, behind it. There were, in addition, entrepreneurs from other areas seeking a country estate, following the release of land held by the Crown since the Dissolution. William Turner of York, for example, bought a homestead called Godsacre, in the early seventeenth century, which he sold to John Marrow of Doncaster in 1671. The latter rebuilt the house in stone, later to be known as Marrow House (Appendix - Buildings No.16), and purchased Kendal Green Farm to extend the estate. However, the family had little concern in running the township and moved on in the early eighteenth century.

One family moving in during the seventeenth century, however, stayed to have a considerable impact on Worsbrough. Thomas Edmunds was a secretary to the Earl of Strafford when the latter was building his mansion at nearby Wentworth.⁴⁹ He arrived in Worsbrough in the 1620s and built Worsbrough Hall (Appendix - Buildings No.19), which dominates the village. The family clearly set out to build up a large estate to be socially dominant in the township after the execution of Strafford enforced Edmunds' retirement from public affairs. To achieve their aim, Thomas's successors borrowed heavily from the Sitwells of Renishaw who, in 1739, were demanding settlement of a £14000 loan, which necessitated the sale of part of the estate in 1741 to discharge outstanding debts.⁵⁰ They became the local justices and leaders of the community late into the nineteenth century, but their role was not achieved with local affection and it is often seen that, whatever the Edmunds did for Worsbrough, part of the equation shows it was for Edmunds' gain as much as parochial benefice. They never became 'lords of the manor' by title but, owning the larger part of the township, appear to act such by deed. The local rule of law was one of consent, *'backed by norms of behaviour which men at all levels of society held to tenaciously'* and it can generally be said that *'the gentry accepted that they, like the people, were subject to the rule of law'*.⁵¹ There is no evidence to suggest the Edmunds family did anything other than accept the rule of law and apply themselves in the role of justice as an honourable duty whilst, at the same time, enhancing their local status. However, as with other families of this 'middle' group such as Hanson of Darley Cliff, Elmhirst of Houndhill (Buildings No.5), Genn of Genn House (Buildings No.6), Milner of Old Hall (Buildings No.8), Beckett of Highstone and Cawood of Rob Royd, when they tried to overstep what was perceived as proper for the benefit of the community, they were confined by the "customs of the manor".

Excepting one instance, no written record has been

found of these "customs" and reliance may have been in the communal memory, passed through generations. The single exception occurred in 1618 when the widowed Elizabeth Elmhirst was in dispute with Gervase Hanson, lord of the manor, on refusing to take all the copyhold lands of her late husband "*according to ancient custom*". She wished to take only the "*widow's third according to present custom*", which had been adopted during the Civil War, and the Court was reviving Worsbrough's earlier custom. An appeal to the Earl of Northampton⁵² for a ruling supported the custom applied by the Court as "*discontinuance of the use of customs doth not abrogate the custome beinge duly proved to have beene a custome*". A lengthy lawsuit followed in Chancery but, in 1626, her son Richard came of age, claimed all the lands, and from then Elmhirsts have been recorded as 'gent' rather than 'yeoman'.

Worsbrough's affairs were conducted democratically until the upheavals of the early nineteenth century, involving not only the big land-owners of this 'upper' middle group but also men such as John Wardrobe, a footman. To retain the knowledge of the complex customary laws of the township almost demands that a core of families, able to administer them, existed over long periods.

Worsbrough church played a vital role in this continuity throughout the early modern period, despite its minority status with regard to Darfield. As a focus for the whole township, irrespective of manorial boundaries and strongly supported by the core families, it effectively operated as an independent parish, electing its officers from a wide range.

The most prestigious post was Churchwarden and the surviving parish books (1703-1736 & 1797-1826) show it was filled by esquire (2 occasions), gent (12), farmer (35), yeoman (3), husbandman (14) and on 30 occasions, for one or two years only, by a full range from lawyer to labourer, representing 19 different occupations in the township. The Overseer of the Poor became a position of great trust and

responsibility during this period and, though the holders represented a similar mix - gent (4 times), farmer (15), yeoman (1), husbandman (4) - only 10 other occupations were represented on 12 occasions. The position required deft handling of what was ultimately high finance, in addition to coping with delicate social problems, and in 1818 "*At a public meeting in the school it was unanimously resolved that a Perpetual Overseer shall be appointed ... at a Salary of Twenty Pounds and paid for Journies as usual.*" He was also to be assisted by the normal voluntary 'deputies'.

The position of Overseer of the Highways also became a permanent post after 1769 when the Savilles (William then Thomas) held it to 1826, followed by John Clark to 1832 and William Wigfield to 1847. Joseph Mitchel and William Guest followed and Joseph Porter was Overseer to the end of the record in 1854. It had previously been held by a gent (9 times), farmer (20), yeoman (5) husbandman (9) and on 17 occasions representing 11 trades. The Overseer had normally two assistants, again from a range of occupations.

The Constable had an unenviable roll, but was still appointed at the town meeting on a democratic basis, being held by gent (1), farmer (8), husbandman (4) and miller, papermaker, tailor, mason and clothier once each. It was put on a more permanent footing in 1816 when George Green, a lawyer, was Constable to the end of records in 1825.

In electing these officers the inhabitants gave youth a chance, ages ranging from 20 to 68, though it is noticeable that 45% of the Churchwardens were between 37-45 and 53% of Highways Overseers between 35-47. The average age of the Constable was 43.8 and Overseer of the Poor 42.

Some families appear to have been regularly elected to these posts; the Brough Green weaver George Fearn had six years as Churchwarden, five as Overseer of the Poor and one as Constable. His son William had four years as Overseer of the Poor, which ended unhappily when he handed over to John Nicholson in 1822 - his account was £69 17s 3d short, a considerable sum. A note in the account book fails to

explain where the money had gone, but the town meeting agreed to Mr. Edmunds making Fearn a loan, to be recouped at £10 a year for five years, and let him off the remaining £19 17s 3d. Robert Lindley had a turn at all the posts between 1683 and 1730 on 24 occasions. The post of Parish Clerk differed in being a paid job, but a family tradition emerged here when Richard Wildsmith, after being Churchwarden in 1671, was appointed Clerk. He was succeeded at his death in 1721 by his son Timothy, who died in 1753, being followed by his son George as Clerk until he died in 1772.

The clear tendency for family traditions in taking up the administrative responsibilities, essential to good governance of the township, is brought out by their being only 158 families involved from the late 17th century to the early 19th century, despite their being over 800 different surnames in the parish registers of the period.

Factors affecting their appointment are not known but two families deserve comparison. The Ogden family of besom makers and the Sykes family of husbandmen are both first recorded in Worsbrough by 1710, and remained over five generations. Their houses are comparable - Ogdens at Besom Cottage (Appendix; Buildings No.21) and Sykes at White Cross (Buildings No. 14) - both buildings show signs of eighteenth century improvements as a measure of improving status and life-style. However, Robert Sykes held various parish posts between 1723 and 1747, whilst no Ogden ever served in any role, despite their association with the church.

A core of responsible, long-stay families was essential for continuity of customary knowledge and, in an attempt to reconcile that need over 300 years, with the apparent rate of migration, all the surnames in the available documents were listed. (Witnesses to Wills and Inventories were excluded, as many were known to be non-resident, and register entries scrutinised to exclude such as Elizabeth Downing, a Quaker from Silkstone, baptised in 1735).

The 1229 surnames occurring between 1559 (start of parish register) and the 1851 Census were grouped to show

when the name first appeared in any record and the year it disappeared. It cannot, of course, offer precision by exact years - a Baptism, for example, as a first or last record, can still imply the family of that name resident some years before or after. Similarly a single record may represent a day or many years - Samuel Almond, for instance, had a son baptised in 1738 but, with no other record, it cannot be known exactly how long he represented a family residence. However, in the context of revealing a general pattern, his recognition as a single generation is acceptable.

A more serious source of error is the recurrence of a common name, Smith, Hill etc. or even less common such as Hampson when a long interval is apparent. As a rule of thumb it was assumed that a gap in the record of two or more generations, equating to about 60 years, suggested the earlier family had left and the recurrence was a new family of the same name.

Table 7.11 Immigration & Emigration

<u>Worsbrough Families by Surname</u>							
Years	1559	1575	1600	1625	1650	1675	1700
	-1574	-1599	-1624	-1649	-1674	-1699	-1724
<hr/>							
Immigrant							
Families	88	112	80	76	94	73	58
<hr/>							
Emigrant							
Families	13	68	65	57	84	64	51
<hr/>							
Years	1725	1750	1775	1800	1825		
	-1749	-1774	-1799	-1824	-1851		
<hr/>							
Immigrant							
Families	60	78	64	110	380		
<hr/>							
Emigrant							
Families	68	45	64	49			
<hr/>							

Initial analysis showed a degree of migration which could militate against the proposition that the township had long-stay families in which the corporate memory resided. The figures in Table 7.11 draw attention to the high rate of

mobility of the population to further discredit the popular myth of a static rural population seeing out its days in the place of birth. The community may have been stable but was far from static. Even the 1662 Act of Settlement hardly affected the rate, though movement had to be approved to give some control on the numbers of migrating poor for whom a parish would be responsible.

The Worsbrough Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor kept a record of certificates they granted in the parish books. For example, they gave a certificate to John Teasdale and his wife in 1715 to move to Bolsterstone but assured the latter that if "*.. hereafter they become chargeable to ..[that].. Town we promise to receive them into the sd town of Worsbrough to be provided for*".

Occasionally the movement of a family was objected to by the receiving parish and came to the Quarter Sessions for resolution, as when Abraham Oates moved to Killamarsh in 1709. The latter objected but the Magistrates approved the order at the Doncaster Sessions on 18 January 1709. An appeal was refused on 18 April 1710 when the Magistrates instructed "*that the said order be discharged.*"⁵³ The reluctance of Killamarsh is not surprising as Oates was a pauper receiving 1s 6d a week in 1710. The Overseer spent 7s 6d taking him to Barnburgh and a further 4s 7d fetching him back again. Clearly this was one long-stay family Worsbrough was keen to lose but a descendant, William Oates, died at Sod Hall, the turf house on Worsbrough Common, in 1833 aged 99 years - one of the few verifiable claims to longevity. (Appendix-Buildings No.1)

Obvious examples such as Oates, Edmunds or Elmhirst, showed that some families, from pauper to gentry, remained in Worsbrough over long periods. The number of years that 834 surnames appeared in the records from 1559 to 1821 were divided by thirty to represent approximate family generations. A single entry was counted as a generation, as were new names appearing in 1821, and fractions were rounded to the nearest complete thirty.

Table 7.12
 Number of Generations Families were Resident in Worsbrough

Number of Generations Resident	Number of Families Arriving Between Years :									
	1552-1581	1582-1611	1612-1641	1642-1671	1672-1701	1702-1731	1732-1761	1762-1791	1792-1821	1821-1851
1	51	79	61	64	43	41	56	38	67	
2	13	11	11	6	18	9	12	21	11.....>	
3	16	7	3	10	2	9	9	16.....>		
4	16	9	4	7	3	10	10.....>			
5	9	4	6	5	10	3.....>				
6	5	-	3	8	9.....>					
7	1	2	4	5.....>						
8	2	-	4.....>							
9	3	4.....>								
10	4.....>									
	Number of Families									

Nine names were discarded which lacked confirmation whether one or more family. A surname could be lost through marriage of a last surviving female; it was noted, in the majority of cases, the husband's name remained over further generations, so maintaining a continuity. Given present evidence, full reconstruction of the total population over the period is impossible but Table 7.12 offers some general evidence of length of stay. The choice of ten generations, covering the period in the analysis, is corroborated by the equivalent generations in the Elmhirst pedigree. The totals suggest something of an exodus from Worsbrough in the early Stuart period, perhaps not unconnected with the demise of common field farming and the aggregation of land. There is, however, a constant inflow of families which remained through many generations, despite the 60% overall who only stayed one generation.

Analysis of the families in the 1806 Militia List perhaps suggests a general background picture of the migration pattern. There were 19.4% recent immigrants, 10.8% had been in Worsbrough for one generation, 39.6% from two to five and 23.0% were long-stay families of six or more generations. In addition, 19.8% had left the township by 1851.

Four families have been present throughout the period under review and, in common with other 'long-stay' families, have varied backgrounds. The Elmhirsts, exceptionally resident from the 1300s to the present, progressed from copyhold husbandmen to gentlemen farmers owning seven of the largest farms, four major residences and received a tenth of the land awarded at the 1816 Enclosure.⁵⁴ The Guests have been masons throughout and are also still resident in Worsbrough. The Lindleys, mainly husbandmen/farmers had mixed fortunes, Robert being a pauper on relief in 1715 and another Robert, a weaver, buried in 1735. The Leach family were craftsmen ranging over various trades, including mason and cordwainer, with a late-eighteenth century Michael combining button-making with inn-keeper of the Red Lion at Worsbrough Bridge.

It is to the middling group of long-stay families, and those arriving in the decades around 1650, who stayed five or more generations, that Worsbrough owes its rebuilding in stone during the seventeenth century. The exceptional survival of these buildings has been remarked and examples are discussed in the Appendix-Buildings. These families formed a vital core of influence during the succeeding turbulent century when the process of "social polarisation" was reaching a climax. Wealth was gravitating to the upper ranks, mainly land-owners, and there was a growing divergence in the living standards between these and the poor in all aspects of early modern Worsbrough.

Of Wrightson's three views of social order perhaps 'contemporary perceptions' are the most significant, illustrated at Worsbrough in a personal judgement made by Richard Townend. He earned his living in the late sixteenth century as a poacher, dying in 1608 a very rich chapman. An Indenture he made in 1603 is recorded in the parish books⁵⁵ making provision for Worsbrough's poor of 40s annually. The Trust was to be administered by 24 men from the 15 families which he considered to be worthy, reliable citizens. All the names are prominent as long-stay, 16th century, families who can be seen in the 17th century as having built up small estates as copyholders and free-holders. Five of these families were still prominent amongst the 49 families shown in the 1672 Hearth Tax return who had two or more hearths. Continuity can again be seen where 24 of the families are still to be found amongst the 54 paying as freeholders to the town's Poor Rate in the early decades of the 18th century.

The contributors to the Poor Rate formed the core of inhabitants conducting the affairs of the township, whereby 46 of the 54 families being taxed, held a position as one or more of the Parish Officers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The tax payers who did not serve were the Curate and Schoolmaster (excused), the Marrows and Oates have been previously noted, Westcombe was a gent occupying Rockley Old

Hall and of the remaining three nothing is known, other than their period of residence was less than a generation.

It has been previously noted that 158 different families occupied positions as Parish Officers at various times during this period, but many never appear on the Rating lists. Their election at the town meeting to positions of responsibility, despite their low estate, must imply that relative standing in the community reflected character/popularity as much as prosperity. In general, however, a family does not appear among the Parish Officers until resident for at least a generation, with an occasional exception such as Thomas Hinch, made Churchwarden after about seven years.

It is further noted that amongst the 30 Appraisers of the Probate Inventories between 1690 and 1719 known to be Worsbrough residents, 27 also feature as Parish Officers. Occupation of these posts to illustrate the social structure can only be seen in general terms; Michael White, the mole catcher, was unlikely to be considered for Churchwarden, for example, but a gentleman, William Elmhirst, was Constable in 1730, usually considered a humble role.

The church provides an additional opportunity to note some of the nuances of social alignment in its seating arrangements, where a strict order of priority was intended to demonstrate the orders of importance. Two seating plans survive for St Mary's. At the Archdeacon's Visitation in 1796 it was ordered that the church be re-pewed and a plan was made to assess the situation. It shows the chaotic arrangement which had developed over the centuries of changing family prominence.⁵⁶ A second plan of 1836 sets out the proposed new pews, adjusting the seating priorities.⁵⁷

Pews belonged to the house designated on the plan, but the eighteenth century occupier is indicated on an accompanying key and it is apparent that the pulpit being against the south wall had created problems. The prestigious households would be expected near the pulpit to indicate superiority through proximity with the preacher. The Edmunds

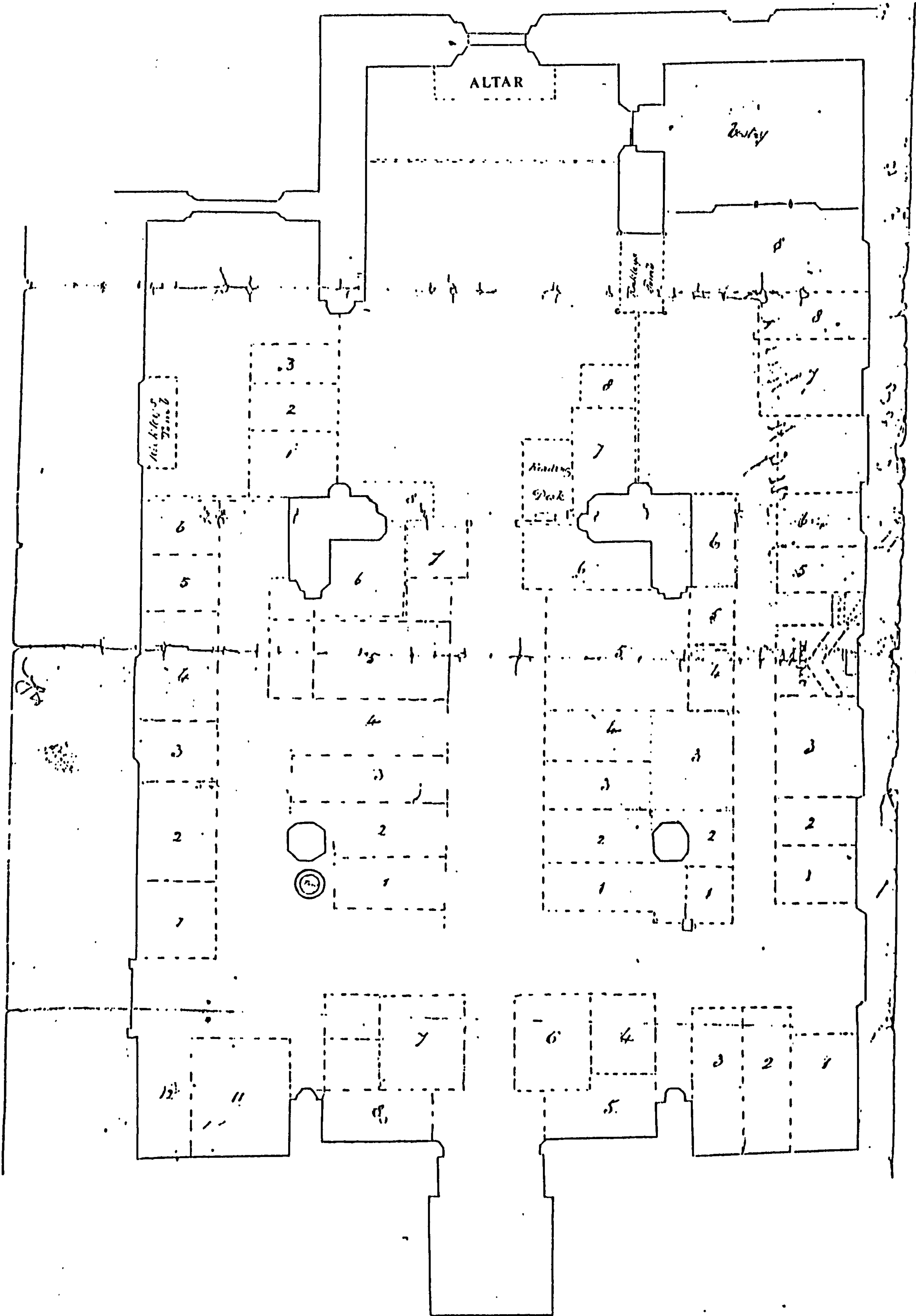


Fig.7.6 ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WORSBROUGH - SEATING PLAN 1796
 Elmhirst Muniments - Sheffield Archive (EM1017)

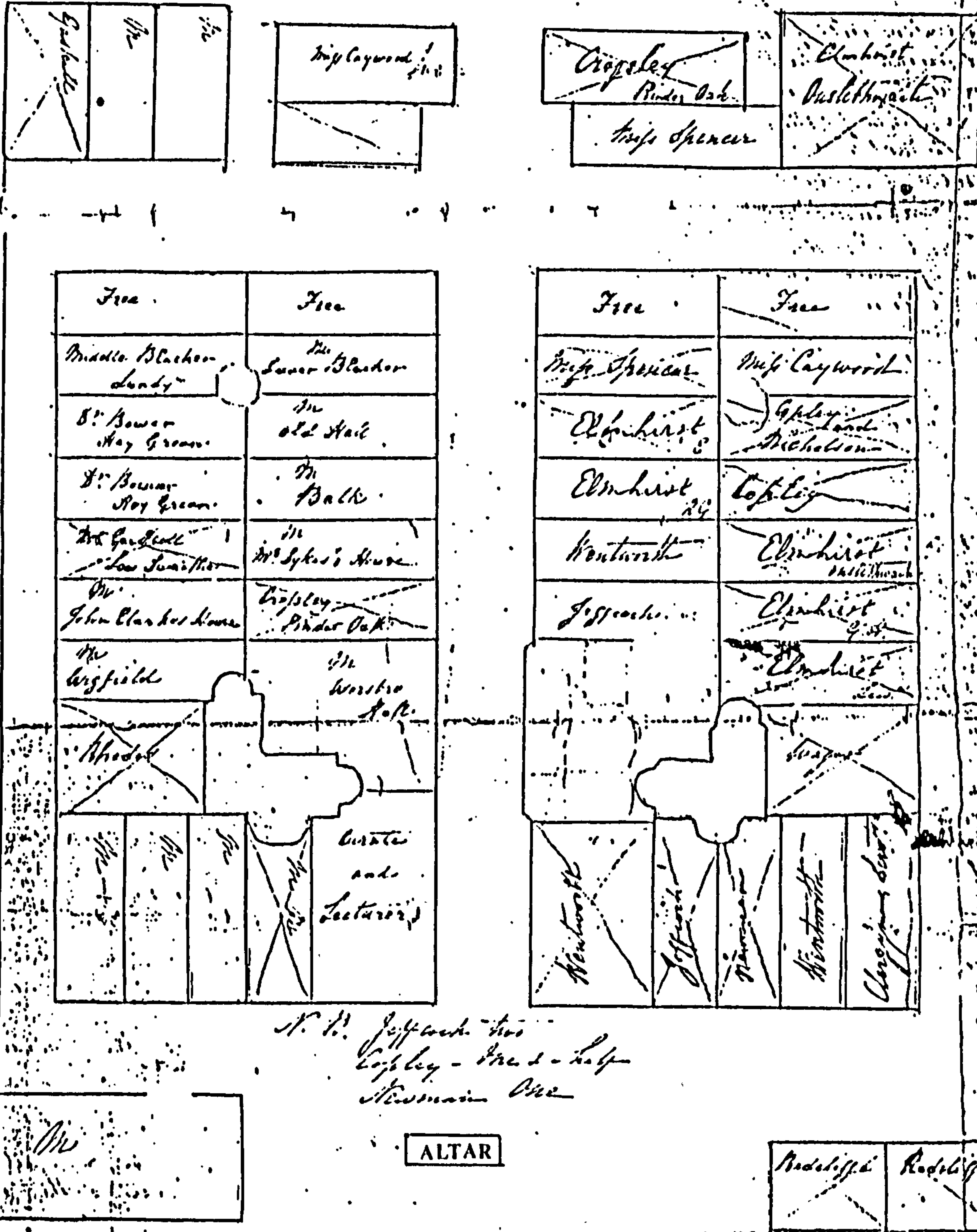


Fig. 7.7 ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WORSBROUGH SEATING PLAN 1836

Elmhirst Muniments - Sheffield Archive (EM1018)

family pew was at 5 (Fig. 7.6) directly opposite the pulpit, with property pews occupying all the south aisle, excepting Turner (4) and the south nave, excepting Hammond (4). Consigned to the west and north-west were the wealthy families of Elmhirst (7 & 11) and Cawood (6). Servants occupied all the pews around the south chancel pier, in addition to the south nave, with important farms relegated to boxes around the north pier. Three influential families (Rhodes, Hammond & Wagstaff) were in the north chancel amongst the servants in the old Rockley chapel. Furthermore, pews best suited for the pulpit were poorly sited to witness the rituals of the chancel, the view being blocked by the chancel piers. Sundry servants and labourers had a prime position near the Reader's desk and the centre nave.

The new plan (Fig. 7.7) corrected the order giving due regard to the current social structure, all the separate farms of the earlier plan having been absorbed in the aggregated holdings of the few. Wentworth was lord of Worsbrough & Rockley manors, Jeffcock lord of Darley; Edmunds occupied pride of place near the new position for Curate and Lecturer. Remaining freeholdings were graduated towards the free and servant pews to the west, whilst a gallery was added to accommodate the growing congregation.

One further source of evidence for the prevailing social network is the selection of marriage partners, where the pattern points to an understood limitation in social mobility. Four general 'classes' might be identified in the marriage links: (i) gentry (such as Rockley, Edmunds, Elmhirst); (ii) upper 'middle' group of prosperous farmers and businessmen (Cawood master tanners, Allott farmers, Hall lawyers); (iii) a lower 'middle' of small landowners and craftsmen (Wildsmith husbandman/clerk, Stancey the nailer, South the blacksmith, Guest the masons); (iv) a group of poor husbandmen, labourers, paupers. The latter proves to be a fluid group as families fall on bad times, or their fortunes improve, and can fluctuate between official 'poor' and lower middle. It is, however, significant that marriages

amongst the Worsbrough families normally occur within a group, with occasional links to an adjacent group, but no marriage has been found where partners were two groups away; an Elmhirst marries an Allott but never a Wildsmith; a labouring Tingle never a Cawood. The community was not tightly classified and exhibits some degree of social mobility, but within self-perceived bands.

Lacking a local diarist such as Adam Eyre, there is little evidence of emotional attachment within the Worsbrough marriages. However, his record of married life offers the flavour of marital relationships in the middle range of society in rural areas such as Worsbrough. He was prone to spend nights away from home but treated his wife occasionally by taking her out to visit friends, "*.. my wife and I went to Swath..*" and a night out, "*..after supper, I and my wife went downe to drink ale in the house with Edward Mitchell.*" Marital tiffs were not uncommon, "*This morne my wife began, after her old manner, to braule and revile mee .. and accused mee for treading on her sore foote..*" The day after, he "*rested within til noone, and in the afternoone I gave my wive 1s*" and, on the strength of this peace offering went to the ale-house in the evening and "*played at bord-end with the soldiers for ale.*"⁵⁸

It would be fair to interpolate the atmosphere of marriage portrayed by Eyre to that of the similar society level at Worsbrough, a supposition perhaps borne out in the surviving Wills. Careful provision is always made for a wife, albeit often in the stilted phrases of the drafting lawyer, but the spirit of affection seems clear and the frequent phrase, "*my deare and loveing wife*", appears sincere. They invariably contain clear provision for the education and care of children, only two examples illustrating the tensions which must occasionally have arisen.

John Tattershall, gardener of Hollingwell (Lewden) left everything in trust in 1756 to his son William, "*provided he behaves himself well and does not breed any Contest amongst the Rest of my Children but shall be Content with what I*

*hereby intend for him". He receives the farm tenancy, a third of the barn, middle part of the house with one chamber and the farming equipment. The remainder goes to a grandson, John, who is to continue to lease the rest of the house and gardens to a son-in-law, John Hall. If William, "is not content with the same ... the Trustees shall only give unto him the Sum of one pound and one Shilling in lieu."*⁵⁹

When Robert Sykes of White Cross made his Will in 1754 he was, perhaps, anticipating a problem which suggests his wife and son John may not have been on the best terms. In leaving everything to him he specifies that John *"maintain and keep my loving wife Mary his mother sufficiently with Meat drink Washing and Lodging and all Manner of Wearing Apparel and houseroom ... But if they shall Disagree and Shee ... be willing to maintain herself and leave my said son [he] shall pay unto her the Sum of Six pounds yearly during her natural life [giving] also the Bedstead Bed and Bedding as it now standeth in the great Chamber with Striped hangings and her own Leather Trunk."*⁶⁰

The evidence suggests that, throughout the early modern period, a wide range of Worsbrough's social groups, with the exclusion of the meanest poor, played a part in running the community and demonstrates a viable system of democratic conduct. The constant referral to ancient custom suggests a long-established democratic approach. Hints of prevailing good neighbourliness are provided by the occasional Will such as that of Daniel Ellis, yeoman of Highstone, in 1718, who gave to *'my good Friend and Faithful servant Joseph Rhodes of Highstone husbandman all my Close of Meadow or pasture ... known as Old Moore and all my personal estate.'* Other Wills, particularly of widows, illustrate the common practice of lending small sums to those in need; Beatris Ellis was owed £14 in 1702 and Martha Pool £55 in 1723.

Why the system failed in the early industrial period will be considered shortly and, despite examples of anti-social behaviour such as Mabel Tottington before the Manor Court in 1641 for *'making a fray & blood of Jervas Sele'*

(fined 10s), a reasonably peaceful society may be inferred. Major disruptions and civil disorder, frequently related to the ever-present problem of 'the poor' during the period, appear to be absent in Worsbrough and it will now be considered how the community tried to cope with inequality.

7.4 Poverty

Central government made its first major intrusion into local affairs with the Tudor poor laws, particularly the 1563 Act instituting a compulsory local poor rate, and the 1598 Act, re-defined in 1601, which placed firm responsibility on the parish.⁶¹ Amongst other features they distinguished between giving alms to '*deserving impotent poor*' and those '*sturdy beggars able to labour*'; gave direction on poor apprentice children; authorised the establishment of '*convenient houses of dwelling*' where the impotent poor might be provided with work.

Worsbrough, as often, was slow in the last provision, but the surviving accounts, from 1705-1739 and 1797-1826, indicate a well-established system from at least the 17th century and suggest it worked tolerably until the 19th century, when it was swamped by sheer volume. There is no doubt, however, that comments in the accounts indicate a worthy level of compassion, although the effect was to modify the "*relations between the mass of the poor and those who employed them*" and the "*administrative innovations of the period left their most permanent legacy*".⁶² The accounts differentiate between three classes of payment:- monthly pay for those on permanent out-relief; accidental (occasional) relief; donations to beggars with passes.

Regular monthly pay varied to reflect inflation but must have offered the bare minimum for survival. It included pauper widows, unmarried mothers, labourers and husbandmen no longer capable of work and the disabled. In 1703, eight recipients consisted of four widows receiving 3s a month, a spinster 2s 6d, two men 3s and 2s. Thirty years later payments were one widow 2s, five widows at 3s, one at 6s, four men at 3s and one each at 4s, 5s and 6s costing £2.9.0

to the parish. It has not been possible to confirm why the rate per person differed, but it is known that Robert Murfin and Ralph Tingle, who were later to be receiving relief, had some common rights in 1700 when they signed the appeal against enclosure⁶³ and the Overseers may have taken such rights into account when assessing need.

The missing account book (1740-1796) is an unfortunate loss as the resumption, in 1797, shows that, during the interval, there had been a considerable increase in the allowances, reflecting a rising cost of living and growing numbers. The rise in population was already beginning to have an effect on the social structure of Worsbrough - farms were engrossing and small husbandmen, no longer able to live off their tiny plots, were selling out; the old crafts were dying out, not yet replaced by the opportunities of the new industries of the 1820s. To again quote the Murfin family; Robert, as a small freeholder, had been Churchwarden and Overseer of the Poor in 1715, but shortly afterwards was clearly in some difficulty and sold out to Edmunds in 1728. He made his first application to the new Overseer for 1s in 1729, and from then received regular payments towards rent and clothes until his death in 1737.

In 1800 payment had become weekly, in amounts varying from 1s to 7s, at an average of 2s 8d, the numbers having grown to 49 paupers, costing the Overseer £6.11.10 a week. The last available accounts, 1825, list 56 weekly payments (including 14 children) averaging 2s 5d a week costing the parish £6.13.6.

Accidental pay covered clothes, shoes, house repairs, burial, even "*Edward Hinch his windows glazing 5s*" (1723) and "*William Houseman a table £1 4s 6d*" (1710). Poor families were frequently supplied with spinning and weaving materials to help earn extra money, as in 1704 a "*wheel and spindle for Elizabeth South 2s*" (blacksmith's wife), and in 1722 "*Half pound of wool to South's*". Coal was regularly supplied at a usual rate of one 'pull' or 'corf' a month, a variable quantity of about 1cwt. The later 19th century

accounts included a separate entry for 'bastard' pay which totalled £79.10.0 in 1825.

The summary of poor provision in Table 7.13 showing the increasing cost reflects the general situation which led to the setting up of the Poor Union in Barnsley in 1837.

Table 7.13 Worsbrough - Summary of Poor Payments

	1703	1733	1800	1825
Month Pay;				
No.	8	13	49	54
Average.	2s 1d	3s 9d	£11.15.0	£12.6.7
Range	1-4s	3-6s	1s-4s 6d	1s 6d-8s
Accidental	£8.3.9	£15.2.11	£165.2.5	£347.7.9
Total cost	£18.9.1	£47.16.11	£501.16.4	£723.6.3

(The Total Cost includes a variety of payments not included in the main headings).

The rates may seem meagre when it has been seen that a labourer on the highways in 1800 earned from 1s-1s2d a day, but he had to provide for his rent, fuel and clothes, where those on relief needed only food. It is questionable what income provides for the basic necessities, as these are impossible to define, but the Overseers must have considered their allowance sufficient, bearing in mind the possibilities for occasional work as on the highways for men, or sewing for women, if recipients were able.⁶⁴ That the numbers receiving relief was not higher must bear some relation to family support, in view of the number of elderly in the community shown in the Registers.⁶⁵ (Table 7.14).

Table 7.14 Worsbrough "Senior Citizens" 1780-1810

Age	70+	80+	90+	100+
Male	20	19	7	2
Female	10	31	5	-

Mary Wildsmith, in her Will of 1729, for example, after leaving a feather bed to a friend, bequeaths '*All the rest of my goods & personal estate to Sarah Wildsmith, my granddaughter, who now lives with me & has taken care of me severall years by past.*'⁶⁶ In addition, not all who were considered poor received assistance - the 1806 Militia list includes 42 of the 139 men marked as 'poor', although only

three (including one insane) received poor pay.⁶⁷

The Urtons were a typical family on relief. George Urton arrived about 1670 and married Maudlin Burnley, of a local pauper family. He had a small-holding, paying 11s 4d tax in 1705. They had three girls, (Ann & Mary died young, Elizabeth died 1710) and a son George born 1694. Between 1705-1717 they received 29s 6d in coal, 15s rent, £6.14.10 clothes and £1.18.7 for eight pairs of shoes, plus 4s for repairs and 4s monthly pay. In 1711 the Overseer paid 9s when son George was indentured to Mr Marrow as a parish apprentice. Father George's burial in 1717 cost 12s 1d.

From 1717-1721 mother and son George received 6s pay monthly, two loads coal 9s 6d, clothes £2.2.3, rent 7s 6d, new shoes £1.0.0 and repairs 10s 3d. Mother's burial in 1721 cost 7s 3d. Son George received no monthly pay or coal allowance, but had a total of £5.0.3 for clothes, 5 pairs of shoes £1.3.4 and mending three times 2s 7d. His burial in 1729, aged 34, cost 9s 10d when the village celebrated the last Urton with 8s 2d in ale and bread at the funeral.

In 1715 the Overseer, Robert Murfin, copied into the parish book the instructions from the Justices that all in receipt of poor pay had to wear a large 'P' (pauper) and 'W' (Worsbrough) on the shoulder of the right sleeve.

His fortunes have been seen to decline, however, and in 1738 he was one of six people moved into the new workhouse, set up by the inhabitants as an alternative to out-pay. The house, on Haverlands Lane opposite Wigfall farm, had been provided by Thomas Edmunds in 1737. The town paid Edmunds £1 10s per year rent, in addition to full repair and maintenance including re-glazing, roofing and frequent new locks. It was equipped with four chaff beds plus sheets and bolsters, kneading kit, frying pan, 6 trenchers, 6 spoons, 6 piggins, water kit, 2 barrels and 3 chamber pots. Food included vinegar, salt, sugar, malt and bacon. The poor brought their own 'goods' and coal but a comb was provided. Occupants were regularly supplied with spinning and weaving material as were the out-poor. The last entry for repairs

was in 1808 and a copy of a government questionnaire, in the parish book, shows the workhouse unoccupied in 1812.

Money for the poor was raised by a series of 'lays' twice a year, based on the rating of land owned, usually at 10d in the pound. In 1730, for example, 33 lays produced £38.14.9 and 160 lays in 1800 amounted to £184.0.0. To this was added the income from the Worsbrough portion of the 1631 Rayney bequest, originally £1.5.0 annually, and the Townend 'dole' of 1603 giving £1, both rising to £2 in the 19th century and, in addition, interest from Francis Wilson's gift of £20. Further help came from occasional bequests such as William Allott's in 1641 who, as a London merchant, remembered his home town by leaving £60 to invest in land providing 12d a week in bread for the poor. Jennet Hawksworth left 6s 8d and, in 1662, Thomas Edmunds gave 20s to each of the ten poorest inhabitants. Richard Elmhirst left £5 in 1673 and John Marrow £2 in 1701 for instant donations to needy persons chosen by their executors. Henry Edmunds left money in 1708 to buy six coats for poor men and six gowns for poor women.⁶⁸

The rising cost and increasing administrative burden led to the formation of the Poor Law Union in December 1849, composed of seventeen local townships. Barnsley was levied highest at £3071 and Worsbrough second at £948, based on the rateable values which, in 1850, were Barnsley at £33449 and Worsbrough £10050. The Union workhouse, built in the Pogmoor district of Barnsley, could accommodate 300 who, if able-bodied, were to work on gardening plots and breaking stones to earn bed and breakfast.⁶⁹

7.5 Sickness.

The parish registers provide no evidence of the cause of death before the middle of the 18th century and then but rarely. Occasional crisis years can be identified from statistical evidence that all was not well, as in 1576, and particularly the years 1591-96 when the number of deaths, calculated by 'harvest years', was almost double the background rate. These were years of national dearth where

similar evidence is provided as at Myddle.⁷⁰ The increased death rate between 1630-50 noted on Figure 7.3 (p.192) occurs mainly in the winter months, excepting 1644 when 12 of the 23 deaths recorded are in the summer/autumn plague months. Other disastrous years which can probably be attributed to sequences of bad weather are in 1641/2; 1644-48; 1656; 1734; 1738. It is seen, for example, that the 'harvest year' figures for 1792-4 are twice the background totals and corroborative evidence is available in a local newspaper confirming adverse weather conditions.⁷¹

A "*constant succession of wet weather*" had kept back the corn season and "*last year's crop is not expected to turn out more than equal to two thirds of the previous one*". However, the accompanying mildness produced "*an abundance of feed. Hay falls in price from the same cause*".

The mixed farming economy of Worsbrough was probably an effective cushion against starvation but low calorific intake would leave many prone to the multiple diseases common throughout the period. As a guide to disease crises, however, the registers are less than helpful until the nineteenth century when the cholera epidemic has been noted. The variety of epidemics - typhus, influenza, measles, cholera, smallpox etc. - and the confusion of variable symptoms, even in what might be thought instantly recognisable, such as bubonic plague, make diagnosis at this distance in time impossible. Statistical search of the registers for tell-tale signs of July/September peaks, suggesting possible plague outbreaks, were inconclusive. The only year, 1666, when plague was known from another source to be in the township, the register is 'normal' but 1667 has 9 from 20 burials in the late summer period. Plague was endemic until that year, when it mysteriously disappeared nationally, with contemporary explanations as to its cause and cure as varied as they were ineffective. Comets, miasma, God's punishment and even gluttony were blamed.

Slack's conclusions regarding the contemporary view of plague⁷² where "*Natural and supernatural explanations of*

plague thus reinforced one another" could be equally applied to the prevailing view of any sickness. Despite the "prating, pompous physician, spouting Greek aphorisms" it was clear "medicine patently had no answers to the fatal diseases which time and again proved such scourges".⁷³

Where avoidance was easier than cure it was to Worsbrough's advantage that the population at the time was scattered in small groups. Its spirit of community however was exemplified in the 1666 plague when Henry Edmunds, as effective leader and JP, issued instructions that, *"whereas it has pleased God to visite the town with a violent feavour wherof diverse persons have lately dyed and ... inhabitants have resorted to the houses in which the disease ... hath lately bene ... itt is feared the sickness may increase and spread abroad in the towne."* Inhabitants were forbidden to visit each other and, if necessary, *"warders be placed at the door"* to prevent entry to a stricken house, the inmates being given the *"necessary provision"*. Those attending the sick were *"not to intermingle with the other healthful people"* and *"fail not hereof as you shall answere the contrarie at your perill."*⁷⁴ He was following the prevailing attitude towards plague control set out in various 'Orders' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁵

It could be concluded that plague featured little in the health history of post-medieval Worsbrough but other epidemics were understood no better, nor treated with any greater effectiveness. If disease struck and prayer failed, then medical attention could be sought though *"against such diseases, the healer's art proved a broken reed."*⁷⁶

From the register evidence it is apparent that sickness in a family could be disastrous for rich or poor. In 1763 the gentry family of Milner, at Rockley Old Hall, lost both daughters Ann (in June) and Douglass (July) to smallpox. An unknown illness decimated the pauper family Bingley, taking sons Thomas, aged two, and infant William in November 1716 then daughter Ellen aged seven in January 1717. Edmunds were not immune as when Thomas, his wife Ann, son Wentworth and

daughter Ann all died from an unknown disease in 1662.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, health was a matter of balance of the body's fluids, which could be adjusted by purging, sweating, vomiting, diuretics and blood letting. Drugs in the modern sense were limited to using quinine (rarely), opium to relieve pain and mercury against syphilis (which probably killed more than the disease). Other medications were prepared from herbal mixtures in hope rather than conviction. Physicians were few and to be found only in major cities (none have been found in South Yorkshire until late 19th century). Surgeons were more common but restricted in scope to setting bones or attending to boils etc., not intrusive surgery until the 19th century. Apothecaries were officially employed to prepare the physician's medications but, being more plentiful and cheaper, they were regarded as the medical adviser by the mass of the population.

A theme of the previous section has been the concern shown by the township toward its less fortunate brethren in providing succour against the extreme effects of poverty. This is further seen in the provision of what was virtually a free health service, making care and cure, within the limits of contemporary medical knowledge, available to the needy. The Overseer of the Poor paid the Barnsley apothecary "*Mr Rock for curing Abm Oates Leg 15s*" (1719) so that the Constable could later claim 2s "*for going to the justice with Abm Oates*". The family seemed afflicted with leg problems as his son John required "*salve for his leg*" (1736), helped out by "*2 bottles of Daffy's Elixer 2s 6d*" (1736). It failed to work - he was buried a pauper in 1737. The occupants of the workhouse were cared for on a regular basis with a £10 retainer to an apothecary in the 18th century and, after its closure, the Overseer had an open commitment to treat paupers; in 1807 Dr. White, Dr. Ladley and Dr. Crowther cost £14.11.2 and in 1825 "*Doctor Crookes for attending the poor two years £10.10.0.*"

During the eighteenth century, Worsbrough had its own

apothecary, William Elmhirst. As a young man he had chosen training as apothecary/surgeon, much to the disgust of the family who could well afford training as a physician like his Cambridge graduate uncle. He qualified as an apothecary in 1743 and, on inheritance of the Elmhirst estate in 1746, devoted his life to caring for the sick in the region.⁷⁷

Arguments seeking correlation between the rapid population increase of pre-industrial revolution England with improved medical care, clean water and effective sewage disposal deserve caution.⁷⁸ Certainly the improvement occurred after the rise was already established in the late eighteenth century and, if the contribution by William Elmhirst was typical, even allowing any success inoculating against smallpox, the increasing availability of qualified surgeon/ apothecaries merely extended the range of medieval medicine to a wider social scale. It is difficult to assess the balance of good or harm resulting from such treatment offered by apothecaries; perhaps in the prevailing attitude toward disease they offered hope to augment prayer.

William kept precise records of all his expenses and treatments but, of the account books he refers to, only one has survived for the years 1769-1773.⁷⁹ He gives precise Latin names, using his own idiosyncratic abbreviations for the medications and exact quantities, but, excepting injuries, never gives the nature of the sickness he is trying to alleviate.

A typical entry is the treatment for husbandman George Fearne of Kendal Green, who was somewhat constipated approaching Christmas 1770, requiring a series of laxatives and a blood tonic:-

Dec. 8th 1770	
Pil: ve praep	1 . 3
Pil:purg: dos: ijij	2 . 6
17th Rept: Idem	2 . 6
Rept: Pil: V: praep	1 . 3
Janr.5th: Rept: Pil: ij:praep	9
Rept: Pil:purg: dos:ijj:	1 . 6

Janr.20th. Idem dos: ij	1 . 0
Pil: ij:praep	0 . 6
Elect: Antiven v olla	<u>3 . 6</u>
Wt. Dd.	£0 . 14 . 9

The analysis which follows is based on interpretation of a given prescription to identify the ailment to which it would normally be attributed in early pharmacological practice. His powders and potions still aimed to correct the balance of the 'humours' and doubtless the conditions he was called upon to cure differed little from those prevailing in earlier centuries, so offering an indication of the general health of the community.

Elmhirst's practice spread widely in South Yorkshire reaching Rotherham, Sheffield, Penistone and Ingbirchworth covering about thirty square miles, all of which he travelled on horseback. He used the turnpiked roads when possible (charging the 2d toll to his patients) but the hazards of his journeys culminated in his being thrown from his horse on 19th July 1773, dying instantly, after visiting patients at the Birdwell 'Hangman-stone', a mile from home in an area he must have known well.

His treatments were diverse and his patients came from all levels of society. He received £10 annually attending the workhouse poor of Worsbrough, Hoyland, Silkstone, Dodworth and Higham, in addition to treating those on out-relief. He ministered to the gentry, including the Edmunds families⁸⁰, who also purchased from him considerable quantities of potions and mixtures two and three times a year, indicating the Edmunds, "*as educated lay-people might reasonably feel that they could understand medicine on a par with the professional*".⁸¹ A separate bill to Edmunds for 1769 covering visits and medication to adults, children and servants amounted to £171.11.6.

During the 14 years covered by his note-book he treated over 300 patients around the district but examples are chosen here from the Worsbrough residents. Attempts to calculate William's income from his practice have been

defeated by his obscure accounting system, not aided by constant reference to debts in other notebooks which have not survived. He was also not averse to accepting payment in kind - after treating Richard Bellamy (farmer) for chest infection, arthritis, muscular pain and letting blood, he accepted "*1 sheep for his pt. being the Medicines.*" He regularly bought fish from Thomas Wells in Barnsley and, after giving him a laxative and expectorant, accepted fish and cockles in part payment; he did a deal with Josh Bentley, a weaver with dermatitis, by accepting cloth in full payment. He even accepted three loads of manure from Richard Coward at Brough Green as a payment. He trusted an illiterate labourer, Edward Hammond, who owed £6.8.10 to pay the amount at £2 a year.

He used opportunities for trade on his visits; these appear regularly amongst the medical accounts as when he treated John Hammond, innkeeper at Bank Top. He prescribed laxatives and blood-letting, then bought two gallons of rum and a quart of white wine and sold Hammond "*Coles as by Bill £1.19.8*" from his coal-mines. On a domiciliary visit in 1771 he sold Josh Green 30 cocks of hay for £6.7.6 and in 1772 sold Mr Brooke of Bullah Hall "*a side of pig 7s 12d*" [sic].

His bills often end by leaving payment partly to the patient's discretion, "*To Rideing charges wt you please.*" Generosity is occasionally abused as when Dame Mathewman in 1772 is charged £12.4.10 for "*curing your son's leg*" but she only paid five guineas and "*refused to pay the other part of the Bill.*"

The bulk of his practice consisted of basic medication combined with regular blood-letting (including one unusual example in 1771, "*VS sub Lingua*"). He set broken elbows, arms, legs, fingers (often small boys), a shoulder blade and in 1770 set the broken jaw of Hannah, the 63 year old wife of John Rhodes, paper-maker of Lewden. He treated hernias with a plaster, probably quite ineffectively, trying it twice with farmer Wm. Parkin in 1770, later provided him with a truss. Inoculation against smallpox was becoming

common but, despite knowing the family of Lady Mary Montague Wortley who popularised it in the 1720s, William seems to have shown limited faith. The majority of his charges referring to the 27 inoculations he performed simply state, "*What you please*", suggesting a lack of commitment.

In February 1769 he amputated the index finger of farmer Mr Wood and followed this in May with his most ambitious undertaking when he amputated the leg of a labourer, Thomas Gelder. He was paid £3.3.0 by John Guest, Overseer of the Poor, and another £1.1.0 in October for "*Dressing Thos Gelder's leg*". The operation, extremely dangerous and excruciatingly painful for the patient, appears to have been a success, although Gelder seems not to have worked again as he died a pauper in the workhouse, on 26 July 1774, having survived a further five years.

William Elmhirst added a further string to his bow in the role of a Vet after Joshua Jubb, known as the "cow doctor", died in 1768. The farmers called on William, and that year he dealt with two cows, a pig and four horses.

In a typical year, May 1768-April 1769, he issued 1127 prescriptions, 38 related to injuries, 96 pain relief, 2 gout, 5 fainting, 3 epilepsy, 1 insomnia, 1 hysteria, 9 sedative, 7 toothache and the remainder may be grouped:

SKIN	PULMONARY	DIGESTIVE
abscess 10	asthma 25	anaemia 3
antiseptic 28	cough 32	appetiser 6
boils 35	bronchitis 73	carminative 106
creams 137	cooling 52	colic 30
plaster 14	diuretic 81	diarrhoea 47
scabies 23	expectorant 94	emetic 56
impetigo 6	pleurisy 11	indigestion 13
sore throat 20	purgative 39	laxative 869
lice 3	phlebitis 1	scurvy 28
shingles 2	phlebitis 1	tonic 12
		worms 5

The number of chest problems no doubt resulted from smoke-filled houses. The dietary deficiencies of fresh

fruit, or vegetables and fibre, are reflected the staggering number of laxatives and purges he issued, 908 in a year.⁸²

William treated the social range of Worsbrough, gent, husbandman, nailer or pauper, but there were clearly many who simply bore their afflictions. A final social comment illustrating the likely bias in his clientele was his treatment for the public infection, crab-lice. He prescribed for only two gentlemen farmers and the schoolmaster - it must be safely assumed they were not the sole afflicted but the remaining population simply bore it as best they could.

7.6 Social Control

Central to the good order of the township was the Constable. The loss of the late 18th century parish book is particularly unfortunate as his role in the community changed dramatically during this period. Evidence from the earlier book (1703-1739) suggests he was then still conducting his affairs in the manner of the medieval Constable. His was a most varied life though no doubt making him the least popular inhabitant.

He imposed the curfew and set the night watch, even providing brazier fuel for their comfort, "*5 pulls of coal and leading them for the watch and ward 1s 10d*" (1716). Mounting the "hue and cry" was frequent, and usually towards Tankersley. His responsibilities for causeys, bridges, wells and pumps has been noted previously, but he also repaired the butts and maintained the pinfold in addition to the whipping post and stocks; "*To John South for the Whip Post setting*" (1728); "*Thos. Morehouse for mending the stocks and cuckstool 1s*" (1730). The 'cuckstool' or 'ducking stool' is the most enigmatic evidence of local punishment. It stood by the village pond, on the green to the west end of the church, and must have been in regular use, requiring repair on 13 occasions between 1703-1737, but, despite an extensive search, no record has been found of any victim being ducked.

He was called on to search houses for weapons, cloth and papists; collect taxes (window, land, town rates etc.); organise the annual boundary perambulation in Rogationtide;

control ale-houses and attend Brewster Sessions in Barnsley. There were frequent inquests to organise, often for children drowning, "*Journey to fetch Coroner to sit over Wm Leach's Child drowned and serving summons £1.9.0*".

His duties as a Constable in the modern sense, apprehending miscreants, seems to have been the least of his problems as the citizens on the whole appear a peaceable community, where less than 1% of the known inhabitants ever occur in his records or the Manor Court Roll. Theft was the most common and he was responsible for delegating safe-keeping of a thief until appearance at the Sessions, "*Wm Shepherd for attending on Peter Murfen 10d*". In 1705 the Constable Thomas Hinch paid 4d to "*Mr Prince's man for bringing the man down that broke into Mr Carrington's house*" and provided the local blacksmith, Whitlocke, "*Ale when he came to set the lock on him 4d*". The system occasionally failed, as in 1642, when Isaac Firth, a Worsbrough labourer, was indicted at the Pontefract Quarter Sessions on 1st April for "*stealing .. a mill of Robert Allott's and eight eggs, value 2d.*". The Constable had put him in the charge of Anthony Shawe, smith of Worsbrough, who was himself indicted on the 11th April for "*negligently permitting one Isaac Firth to escape from his custody there when conveying him to the House of Correction.*"⁸³ Nathaniel Shaw, the 1715 Constable, took greater care with a sheep stealer, "*Paid 4 men for attending Lyalls the sheep stealer 6s.*"

A form of insurance was instituted at a town meeting in 1706 when it was agreed that "*... if any Inhabitants shall have any Goods Chattels or Cattells ... gone or stolen from them the same shall be prosecuted att a publick Charge of the Inhabitants ... and disbursed by the Constable ... and allowed by the Town.*"⁸⁴

Two cases of murder are recorded; John Hobson in his diary⁸⁵ states William Cudworth was killed by his son-in-law in 1654 and, according to Wilkinson,⁸⁶ George Blackburn, farmer at Bank Top (Elmhirst) was killed by four men in 1840. Both events occurred outside the years of surviving

Constable accounts and the relevant Court papers have yet to be located for confirmation.

A major preoccupation of the Constable extending from the Middle Ages was the provision of alms to licensed beggars (any arriving unlicensed in Worsbrough were usually despatched to neighbouring Tankersley or Pilley). Every year records examples of succour to a range of nationalities en route to all points of the kingdom, suffering almost any known eventuality; in 1716 to two Dutchmen 2d, two more who 'got left behind' 2d and carrying a lame Dutchman to Ecclesfield 1s2d; in 1722 he provided a "*Guide to a soldier to Ecclesfield 4d*" and *Gave two men that were turkey slaves 1s.*" However, 1714-1716 were the most disastrous years for help to ex-soldiers and seamen, following the 1713 Peace of Utrecht. In 1714 he gave 2d each to 98 such men (a third with families and many lame), in 1715 there were 58 and by 1716 it had reduced to 18. In 1716, however, the number of civilian wandering poor peaked at 48, of these, 15 had wives and children and to 12 he provided "meat and lodging".

The Churchwardens occasionally provided alms, but their expenses claims rarely equated to those of the Constable for reasons which must be left to conjecture. In 1726: "*To a Soldier and his wife for Supper & 2 pints of Ale*" the Churchwardens claimed £1, whereas the Constable entertained "*Wm Brown soldier his Wife & 5 children supper Breakfast & lodging at Robt Stones*" claiming only 3s 6d.

When the parish books resume in 1797 the Constable's role had changed. He retained responsibility for wells, bridges and the occasional 'distressed' persons, with the added duty of granting bounty for killing sparrows; in 1820, for example, he paid £1.17.6½ for 753. He was now occupied more in the role of 'keeper of the peace' and apprehension of miscreants, helped by his 'bye-lawmen' paid at 12s a year. His dominant role however, in keeping with the needs of the early nineteenth century, was towards the militia. He supervised its state of readiness and assembly, maintaining the list of suitable men, as in September 1806, a record

which has survived⁸⁷:-

Delivering the Blanke Papers for returns out 5s

Taking militia names down 5s

Journey to Barnsley with Lists 1s

He had already been "round the Township to see who wd be Volunteers" in 1805 and, after their medical examination in Barnsley, they were rewarded by the Constable "Treating the Volunteers at Worsbro £3.17.6".

The Constable cost the township £10 in 1703 and even though 1806 was an expensive year at £62.14.10, compared to 1825 at £26.3.2, it represents good value for money to the community, in view of the many services he had to provide.

The Manor Courts, as additional agents of control, continued to meet until 1857 for Worsbrough & Rockley and 1858 for Darley. By then, however, they had lost their effectiveness following the mass immigration of the earlier decades of the century. Where it had been normal throughout the previous three hundred years for two or three tenants to be fined for not appearing at court to do fealty, in 1833 fifty six defaulted and, at the next court in 1836, there were sixty eight. Many were new immigrants but it is noticeable that the long-stay families also defaulted and has to be seen as a rejection of ancient custom.

7.7 Nonconformity.

Little evidence has been found for any significant level of dissent against the established church in Worsbrough during the 17th and 18th centuries. This could possibly be attributed to the capricious nature of the survival of documents were it not significant that the inhabitants, especially the major families, appear strong supporters of the established religion judging by the available evidence, particularly their memorials within and around the church. The indications are that a compromise was achieved which, though reflecting the changing mood towards religion, fell short of firm commitment.

The Worsbrough incumbent was a 'Perpetual Curate', who had regard to the cure of souls. The teaching of Christian

duty and exhortation through preaching, a vital element in anti-establishment religion, was undertaken by a 'Lecturer', which suggests Worsbrough was responding to the national mood. Wilkinson implies the founder of the Worsbrough Lectureship to be John Rayney, the London draper noted earlier from the hamlet of Smithley.⁸⁸ However, his Will of 1632, providing for the post, left £30 a year from the income of three inns in Grace Street, London, for the "perpetual better maintenance of a learned and religious preacher".⁸⁹ This would imply Worsbrough already had a Lecturer, though the means of remuneration and date of foundation of the earlier Lectureship are unknown. The Will further states that the Lecturer was "*to preach twice every Sabbath day throughout the year in Worsbrough [and] read Divine service if occasion so require*".

Hugh Everard, Curate from 1624, was the first recorded holder of the position and, though in theory they were separate appointments, in practice the future Incumbents held both.⁹⁰ As the stipend at the time was £5 a year, the additional £30 would have been welcomed.

In his return to Archbishop Herring, in 1743, Reverend George Staniland stated, "*We have not one Roman Catholic, nor any Dissenter of any Demoniation.*"⁹¹ Staniland's accuracy has already been questioned, (page 183), though surviving Wills provide no evidence of Catholic adherents nor dissenting phraseology. There was, however, a dissenting group emerging at Swaithe immediately after the Restoration through John Wordsworth of Swaithe Hall. He was a member of the Wordsworth family of Water Hall in Penistone, leading dissenters and, as a Non-conformist and Puritan, used his house frequently for meetings with other notable Yorkshire dissenters.⁹²

The Micklethwaite family, to whom he was related, were also dissenters who attended the meetings. They had previously lived at the Hall and considerably extended it (Appendix-Buildings No.9), but had moved on to Middlewood Hall in Darfield. The meetings attracted such prominent Non-

conformists as Oliver Heywood whose preaching no doubt drew a local following. After the death of John Wordsworth, in 1690, no further evidence of support for the 'new religion' has been found for Worsbrough until 1822. This is not to deny it existed, but may have gone underground in the face of opposition from the leading families such as the Edmunds and Elmhirsts who were strongly against the movement. Clark concludes, "*Nonconformity lived on mainly among the humble people*" and it is they who have left so little to show.⁹³

Attendance at church had been made compulsory in the 1559 Act of Uniformity although there is no evidence to suggest how effective this was in Worsbrough. Perhaps an underlying current may be indicated as punishment was still being administered in 1675 when five prominent yeomen were "*before the Court for not coming to church.*"⁹⁴

The general pattern of dissent in South Yorkshire was distinctly uneven - Sheffield had 300 known dissenters among 3000 communicants yet Doncaster had only 8 from 3000 and Barnsley 7 from 638. "*Economic and topographical considerations favoured the spread of dissent but did not automatically produce it.*"⁹⁵ It was more successful in rural areas such as Penistone where an Independent Chapel was founded in 1692 at Bullhouse and the Quakers had a meeting house at High Flatts. The first positive evidence that it had taken root in Worsbrough is an application in 1822 when, "*I Mary Gelder widow of Worsbrough ... certify my house [in Birdwell] is intended forthwith to be used as a place of religious worship by an assembly of protestants.*"⁹⁶ Her group flourished and a Methodist New Connection Chapel was erected at Birdwell in 1823, suggesting an informal group had existed some time before Mary Gelder's application.⁹⁷ The Birdwell chapel was soon followed by a Wesleyan Chapel built at Worsbrough Bridge in 1836.⁹⁸

The Religious Census of attendance at Divine Service, on 30 March 1851, which provides the evidence of this first chapel in Worsbrough, is often suspect with its spurious accuracy and tendency to offer neatly rounded (up?) figures,

but it, at least, confirms a settled community of dissenters in the township in the nineteenth century. The wave of immigrants discussed in the previous chapter were no doubt influential in furthering nonconformism, having little concern for the old order in establishing their own identity in the growing centres of population. It is, perhaps, a comment on the self-awareness displayed by the committed nonconformists, regarding their new role in society, that the return for Birdwell chapel was signed by Joseph Stancell. He was head of the long-stay family of Birdwell nailers, but now called himself 'jeweller'.

Table 7.15

Summary - 1851 Religious Census

Attendance at Divine Service 30 March 1851 - Worsbrough

	Sitting	Attendance		
		Morn	Aft	Eve
St. Mary's Church	850	600	300	-
Methodist (Birdwell)	188	-	-	100
<u>Weslyan (Bridge)</u>	<u>272</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>80</u>

[Sunday School scholars omitted]

The Census leaves open to doubt how many of the congregation attended both church and chapel that day, particularly as neither chapel had a morning service and the church had no evening service, leaving opportunity for dual attendance. However, they indicate a firm nonconformist base.

Although strictly beyond the period under review, it is to be noted that the movement grew rapidly later in the century, in response to the growing number of nonconformist adherents amongst the miners in the area. In 1852 the Ebenezer Wesleyan Reform Chapel was built in the Dale, followed by a Primitive Methodist in 1871 and a larger Ebenezer Reform chapel in 1872. Blacker, another centre of immigration, had a Primitive Methodist chapel in 1859 and Ebenezer Wesleyan Reform in 1854.⁹⁹ The old village church of St. Mary's reacted by adding galleries in 1838, which were removed in 1859 when additional churches were built, St. Thomas in the Dale and St James in Worsbrough Bridge.

The resistance towards nonconformity by the Edmunds family apparently ceased with the death of Francis Edmunds, last of the line, in 1825. The estate was inherited by a nephew, W.B.Martin, whose subsequent family were not resident in Worsbrough, having little interest in the estate except as income. It is, perhaps, significant of the still prevailing attitude of the local hierarchy towards the non-conformists, that the inheritors sold land for the Birdwell and Bridge chapels, but the Guest family, the local masons, gave the land for the Blacker chapel. In contrast, building the St. Thomas church was paid for by F.W.T.V.Wentworth, as lord of Worsbrough manor, on land donated by J.Jeffcock, the lord of Darley manor.

The rate of expansion of the population through indigenous fecundity and immigration, the changes in social structures and the resultant strains on social cohesion after the early modern period were directly related to the township's capacity to respond to a changing economic climate. Though not somnolent until the nineteenth century, change was, at least, gradual providing time to adjust, albeit painfully at times. The situation after the first decades of the nineteenth century was totally unlike anything which had gone before as industry superseded agriculture as the driving force of Worsbrough. Manorial divisions had been replaced by virtually independent, separate, industrial communities whose inhabitants had closer bonds to kin and workplace. The church had lost its central guardianship role in the township, as part of the caring society which evolved during the early modern period, and industry had become the dominant force in changing the face of Worsbrough to an urban community.

Industrial change continued, at an ever-increasing pace, into the present century, with effects on the remaining rural landscape which will be considered briefly in the next chapter.

NOTES

7.0 COMMUNITY

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7. Beresford, M.W., *Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes*, (1963) Phillimore, 24.
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9. Wrigley & Schofield, *op. cit.*, 565.
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11. Discovered at the National Registry of Archives under NRA1077 it is now lodged at Sheffield Archives as Wh.M.40/1. I am grateful to Professor PDA Harvey for his comments on the document in taking its interpretation a stage further.
12. The list headed "Court Baron" has the sub-title "Liberi Tents" with 57 names of which 16 are known non-resident tenants and a short list of 8 under "Ten Manii" who are known residents. These are merely tenant lists and not intended as a general inhabitant record.
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14. Eversley, D.E.C. et al, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, CGHPSS No.1 (1966), 831
15. Wrigley & Schofield, *op.cit.*, 19-32.
16. Eversley, *op.cit.* 84
17. SA/WhM - Bright Papers, 20.
18. Two copies survive, PRO E179/262/15 and a copy of the original held at the West Yorkshire Archive Service which has been published in *The Hearth Tax Returns for South Yorkshire Ladyday 1672*, (1991) Univ. Sheffield, 89-90.
19. SA/WhM 40/3 - Suit Roll
20. SA/PR3/17(4) - 1700 and SA/PR3/17 - 1718
21. "Archbishop Herring's Returns" (Vol.3) (1743), YASRS. Vol.75 (1929), 194/5

22. YASRS. Vol.75 (1929).
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27. Mitson, A, "The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-west Nottinghamshire", Ph.D. thesis summarised in Phythian-Adams, C.(ed), *Societies, Cultures & Kinship 1580-1850*, (1993) Leicester, 24-76.
28. *Ibid*, 42.
29. *Ibid*, 60.
30. The tradition persists and Birdwell still has its Martin Guest, mason.
31. Slack, P., *The Impact of the Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1985) Oxford 25
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34. Wilkinson, J., *History of Worsbrough* (1872) 52
35. 'Barebones' - district of Barnsley adjacent Worsbrough Common.
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38. Elliott, B., *Barnsley; the Anatomy of a Yorkshire Market Town 1660-1760*. Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, 1990, University Sheffield.
39. Wrightson, K. & Levine, D. *Poverty and Piety in an English Village, Terling 1525-1700*, (1979) London.
40. Sharpe, J.A., *Early Modern England 1550-1760* (1991) London 92
41. Wrightson & Levine (1979) 127
Laslett, P and Oosterveen, K., *Long-term Trends in Bastardy in England 1561-1960*, 256
42. BIHR - Will Richard Micklethwaite 21 Feb. 1638.
43. BIHR Archdeacon Records: Court Books Y.V/CB (3-18)
44. Shorter Oxford Dictionary (1983)
45. Sharpe, J.A. *op.cit.* 121
46. Wrightson, K., 'The Social Order of Early Modern England: Three Approaches', *The World We Have Gained*, (1986) London 177-202
47. Gregory King's statistics reviewed in Lindert, P.H. & Williamson, J.G. 'Reinterpreting Britain's Social Tables 1688-1913', *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol.20, (1983) 94-109
48. Wrightson, K. (as note 46) 189 & 201.
49. Hey, D., *Yorkshire from AD1000* (1986) Harlow 164.
50. SA - WhM 77/78 and WhM 79/8
51. Fletcher, A. & Stevenson, J., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (1985) Cambridge 15

52. SA - WhM/43-6. The town's connection with the Earl is unclear.
Full extracts of the Chancery proceedings in PRO C21 E.19.8 are recorded in Edward Elmhirst's "Evidences" (family papers) and briefly in "Peculiar Inheritance".
53. WYAS - QS10/12/153 and QS/10/12/151
54. SA - NBC 63.
55. SA - PR3/12 Bk.I, 102
56. SA - EM1017. The document includes an extensive key to the seating, too lengthy for insertion here.
57. SA - EM1018
58. Adam Eyre, 'A Dyurnal or Catalogue of all my Accions and Expences from the 1st of January 1646', *Surtees Society* (1875) Vol.65, 11 May 1647; 22 April 1647; 8 June 1647.
59. BIHR - Will of John Tattershall April 1756
60. BIHR - Will of Robert Sykes 15 August 1754.
61. Tanner, J.R., *Tudor Constitutional Documents 1485-1603*, Cambridge, (1940) 469-473 & 488-494.
62. Wrightson, K., *English Society 1580-1680*, London, (1982) 181
63. SA/PR3/17(4)
64. The distinctions of 'necessities' and 'luxuries' are explored in the context of Probate Inventories in Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, London, (1988) 14-16.
65. The majority were not born in Worsbrough and few females could be traced through their marriages but approximately 10% were verified as stated in the register.
66. BIHR - Will Mary Wildsmith 19 December 1729.
67. Wakefield Local History Archive - Goodchild collection.
68. BIHR - Wills - Jennet Hawksworth Fol.29/167 6 oct. 1603
" - Thomas Edmunds Esq 7 Oct. 1662
" - Richard Elmhirst proved 24 March 1673
" - John Marrow proved 10 Dec. 1701
" - Henry Edmunds 7 June 1708
Copies of deeds of gift by Richard Townend (1603), John Rayney (1631) and William Allott (1641) in Parish Book SA/PR3/12.
69. BLHA - B940 (p.119)
70. Hey, D., *An English Rural Community - Myddle*, (1974) Leicester 48-51.
71. SA - Sheffield Register 15 February 1793.
72. Slack, P., *The Impact of plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1990) Oxford 29.
73. Porter, R., "Disease, Medicine and Society in England 1550-1860", *Studies in Economic & Social History*, (1987) Basingstoke 14.
74. Parish Book 18 May 1666.
75. Slack, *op.cit.* 207-216.
76. Porter, *op.cit.*, 15.
77. Edward Elmhirst, *Peculiar Inheritance*, 74-77.
78. See Levine, D., "Some Competing Models of Population Growth during the first Industrial Revolution" *Economic History Review* Vol.7 (1978) 501-2.

79. I am especially grateful to Mr Bryan Ellison, Barnsley pharmacist with a special interest in early medicine, for his identifications, used in this survey, of the ailments based on Elmhirst's obscure abbreviations. The original note-book is in the Elmhirst family papers intended for deposit in Sheffield Archives. A transcription was made by Humberside College of Education, undated and unpublished which contains various minor errors and a new transcription would be necessary for the more detailed study the document deserves in its value to the medical historian.
80. The Humberside College 'Introduction' incorrectly states Elmhirst did not attend the gentry class.
81. Porter, *op.cit.* 29.
82. I am assured in a straw poll of local pharmacists that the consumption of laxatives is virtually on a par with modern sales of proprietary medicines.
83. 'West Riding Sessions Records' YASRS. Vol.53 (1915) 363-4. The outcome of the case is unknown.
84. SA/ PR3/12 Bk.2 (758)
85. 'The Journal of Mr John Hobson', *Surtees Society* Vol.65 (1875) 290.
86. Wilkinson, J., *History of Worsbrough* (1872) 433.
87. Wakefield Local History Archive - Goodchild collection.
88. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 319-320
89. Copy in Parish Book SA/PR3/12. 272-275
90. The Incumbent continues to be designated "Vicar & Lecturer"
91. As note 21, 194-5
92. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 197-204 and Hey.D., *Yorkshire from AD1000*, 207-8
93. Clark, Sir G., *The Later Stuarts*, (1956) Oxford 23-24.
94. BIHR Archdeacon's Records - Court Rolls, V/CB; 3-18, fol.334
95. Hey (1986) *op.cit.* 207
96. BIHR Dissenter Meeting House , DMH Reg.1,pp 387-8
97. SA/(SYCRO) 376/K(67)
98. SA/(SYRCO) 376/K(66)
99. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 429-432

8.0 LANDSCAPE IN POSTSCRIPT

A feature of earlier chapters has been the rapid changes wrought on the Worsbrough landscape by the rising dominance of industry in the early decades of the nineteenth century and their effect on the population. These industrial changes continued well into the present century, reaching a peak in the 1940s. However, this increasing rate has been matched by an equally rapid decline since mid-century. This chapter briefly sketches the major events since 1851 which, together with survivals from earlier periods, have created the Worsbrough landscape. The summary plan of modern Worsbrough, Figure 8.1, might be compared to that of c.1600, Figure 3.1 (p.43), contrasting changes and continuities.

Some are immediately obvious. The road network, for example, which developed from the medieval lanes, remains unchanged as to width and line, from that formalised by the Enclosure Commissioner in 1816. The only new road, excluding the minor access roads on the later housing estates, has been the M1 motorway built through the Rockley valley in the 1960s. Like the eighteenth century turnpike, in following a contour chosen for ease of traffic flow, it ignored existing field boundaries. The late nineteenth century railways similarly showed scant respect for the ancient field pattern.

A feature of the agricultural landscape in the east of the region, on the plain towards Doncaster and the Lincolnshire fenland, is the loss of hedges and field boundaries, creating larger fields to facilitate modern farming practice. It is noticeable that the Worsbrough fields still reflect the format suited to the mixed farming its tenant farmers have followed over the centuries. Few fields have been enlarged and, where this has occurred, is usually the result of opencast mining, rather than agricultural use, particularly in the west of the township.

With regard to housing, however, landowners sold blocks of land which respected field boundaries and, though these largely disappeared within the block, as developers planned

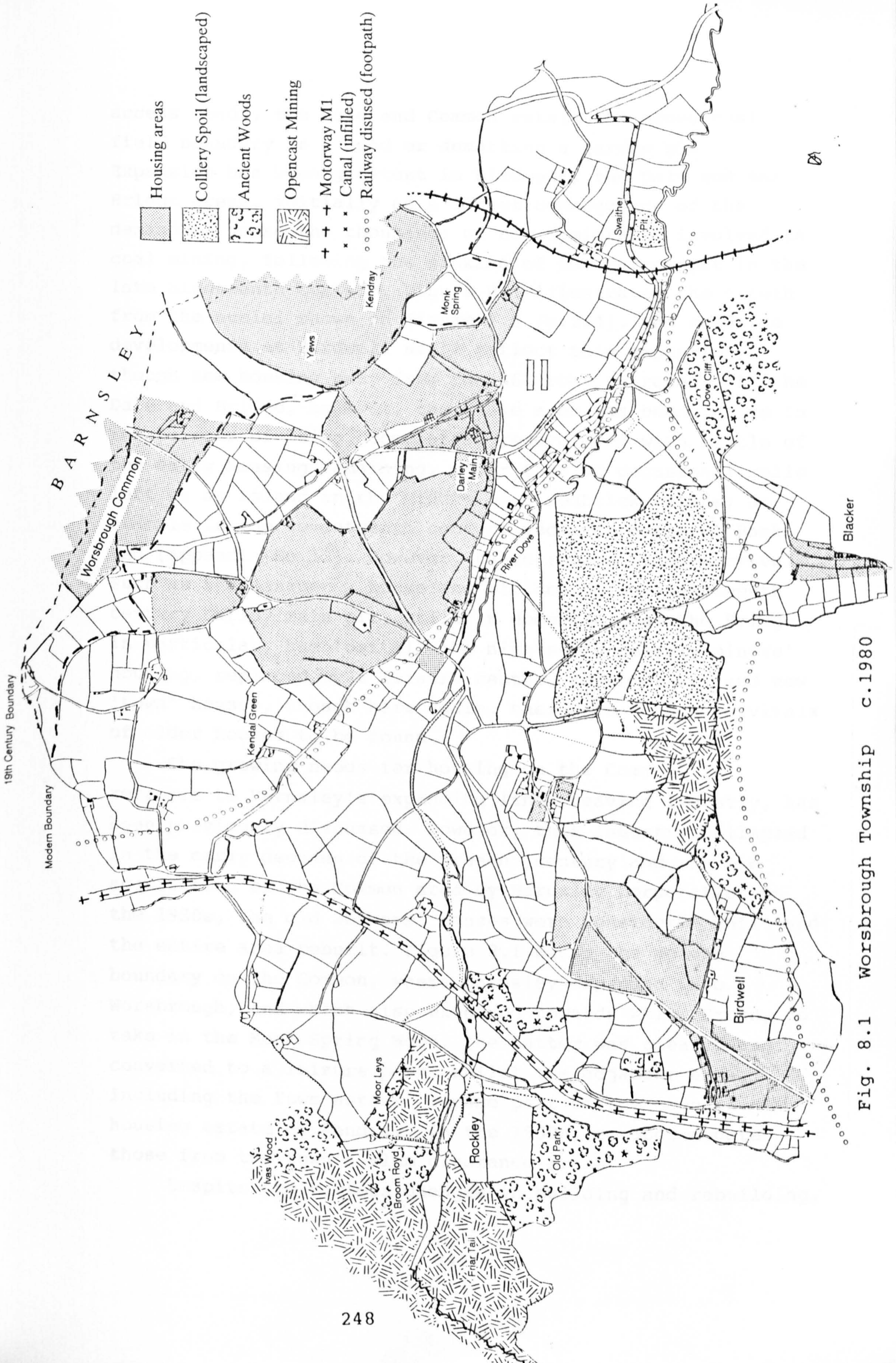
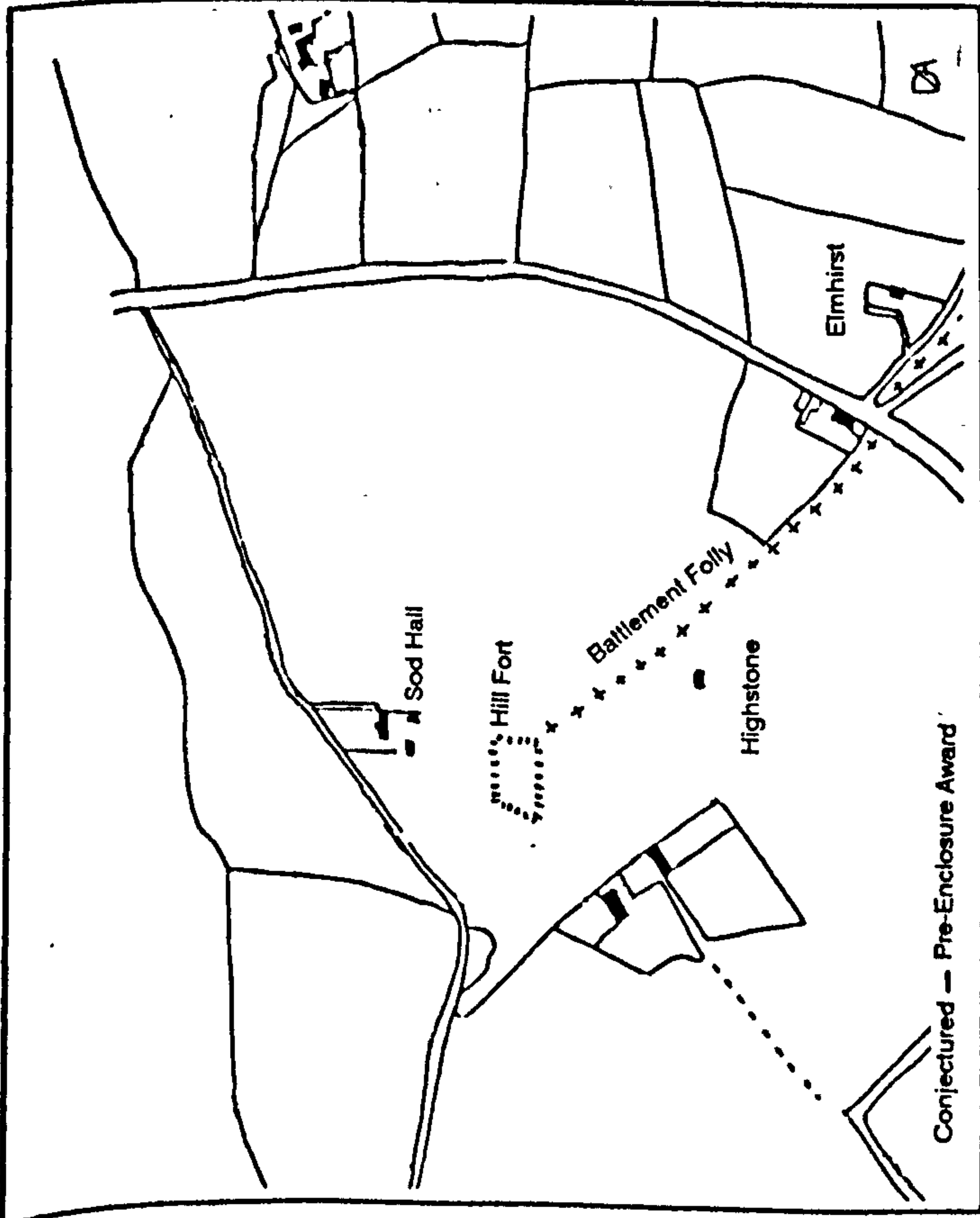


Fig. 8.1 Worsbrough Township c.1980

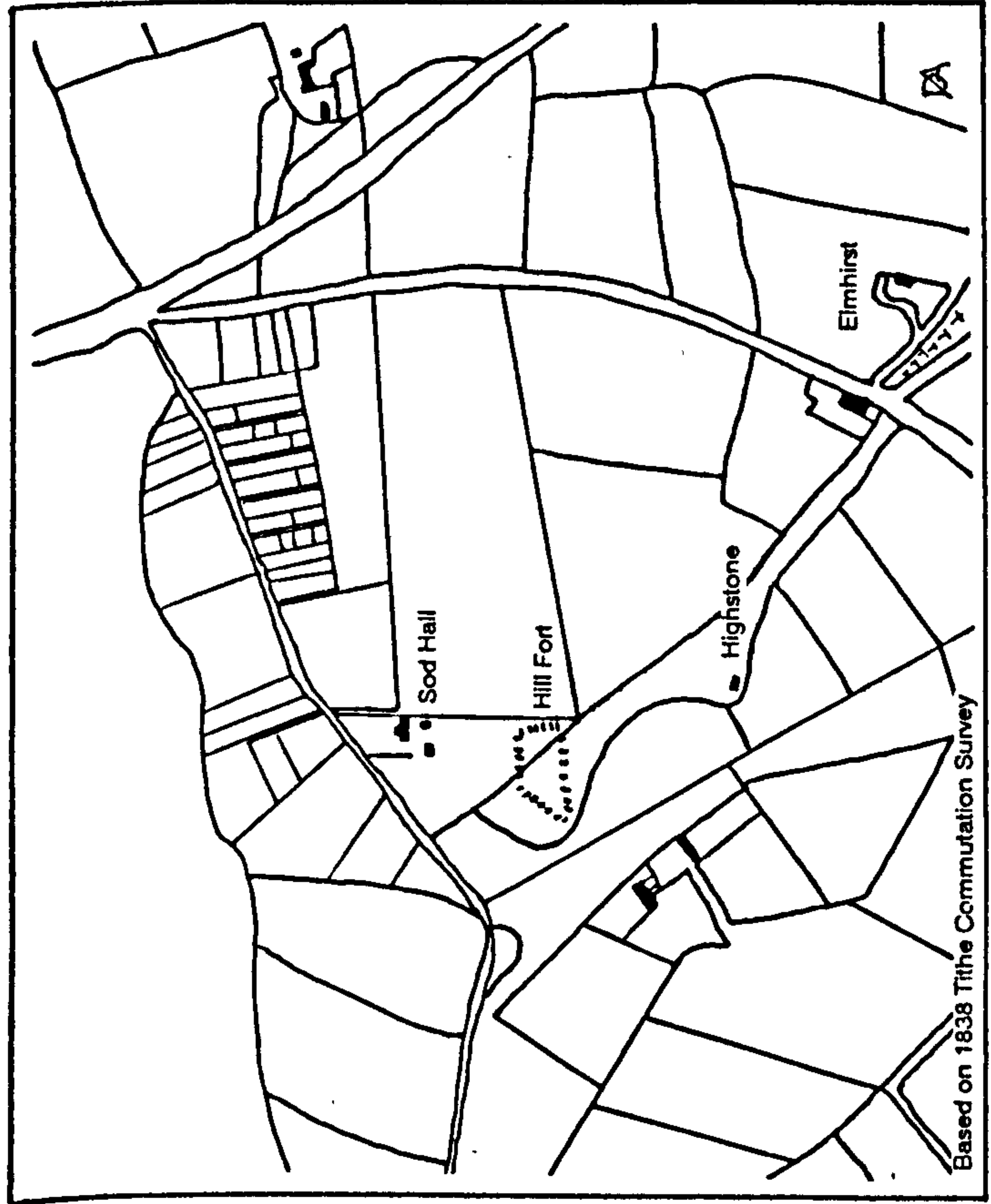
access roads, the Dale and Common retain the occasional field boundary as a road or demarking a garden plot. Expansion has been greatest in Birdwell, the Dale and the Bridge areas, initially as a direct consequence of the demand to house the thousands of new immigrants involved in coal mining, following the sinking of the Barrow pit in the late nineteenth century. Figure 8.1 illustrates the growth from the nuclei shown on Figure 7.5 (p.204). The roadside developments at Birdwell still reflect this expansion, though new housing away from the A61 road is recent. At the Dale and Bridge, however, the whole area has been, or is in the process of being, completely redeveloped with little of the early housing remaining, other than an occasional relic left as an island in the middle of a redbrick estate; an example is the seventeenth century yeoman's house at Bank End (Appendix No.13). However, there remain other survivals, such as the manager's house and offices of the eighteenth century Darley Main pit, still in domestic use. The Bridge, in particular, has lost all the nineteenth century miners' housing, replaced by a leisure centre, supermarkets and new 'town' houses, though here again, there are chance survivals of older houses to be found.

The growing needs for housing on the Common, in response to Barnsley's expanding linen weaving industry, has been previously discussed. However, this industry collapsed in the early decades of the present century and, on the acquisition of the Common area by Barnsley Corporation in the 1930s, the old weavers' houses were considered unfit and the entire area rebuilt. Figure 8.1 shows the modern boundary on the Common, where Barnsley expanded into Worsbrough, and which also extended towards White Cross, to take in the Monk Spring Wood. The latter was cleared and converted to a leisure park, whilst the adjacent area, including the Yews estate, became part of the council housing estate of Kendray, in the 1930s, to accommodate those from the town's slum clearance areas.

Despite the various changes in building and rebuilding,

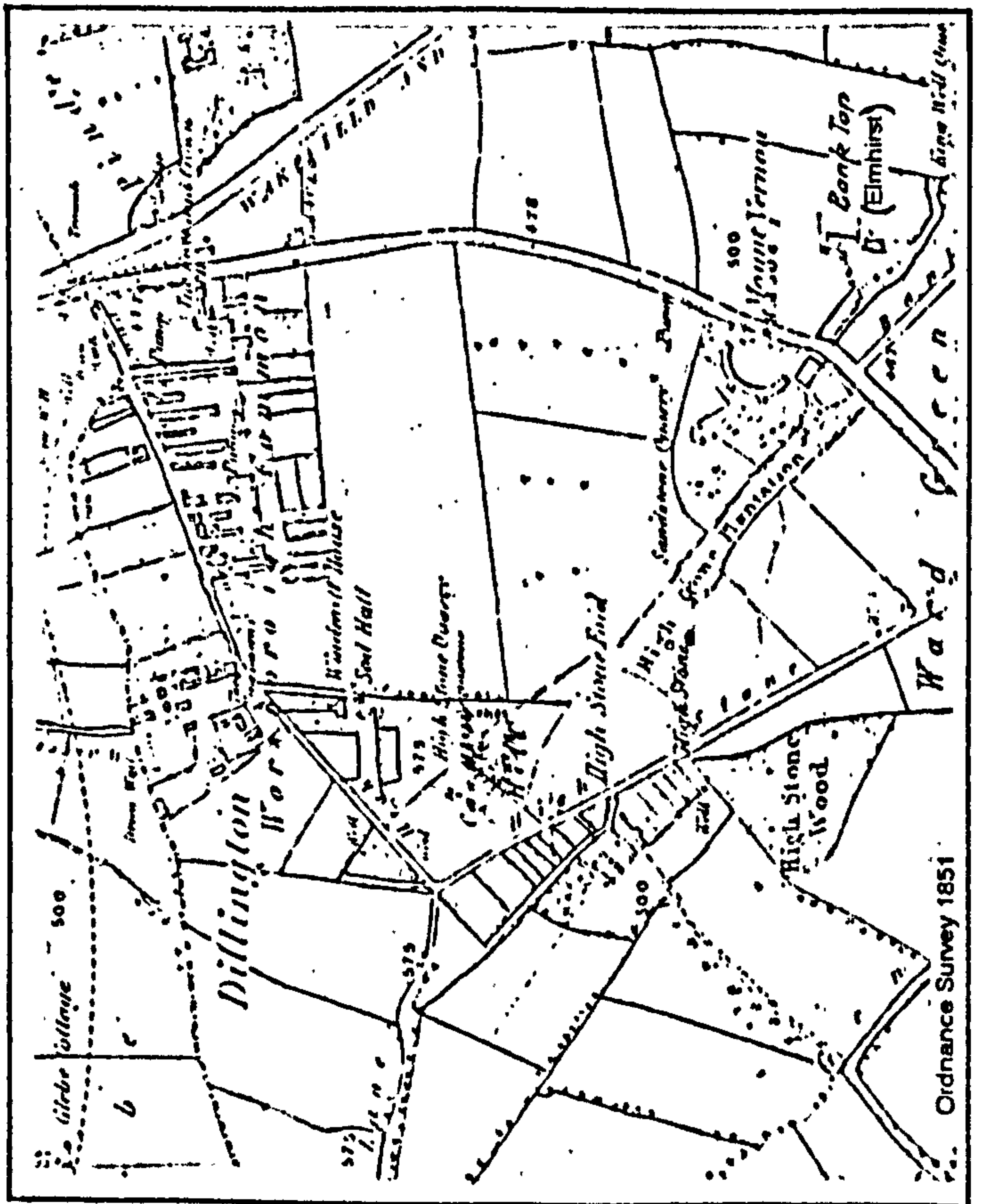


1800

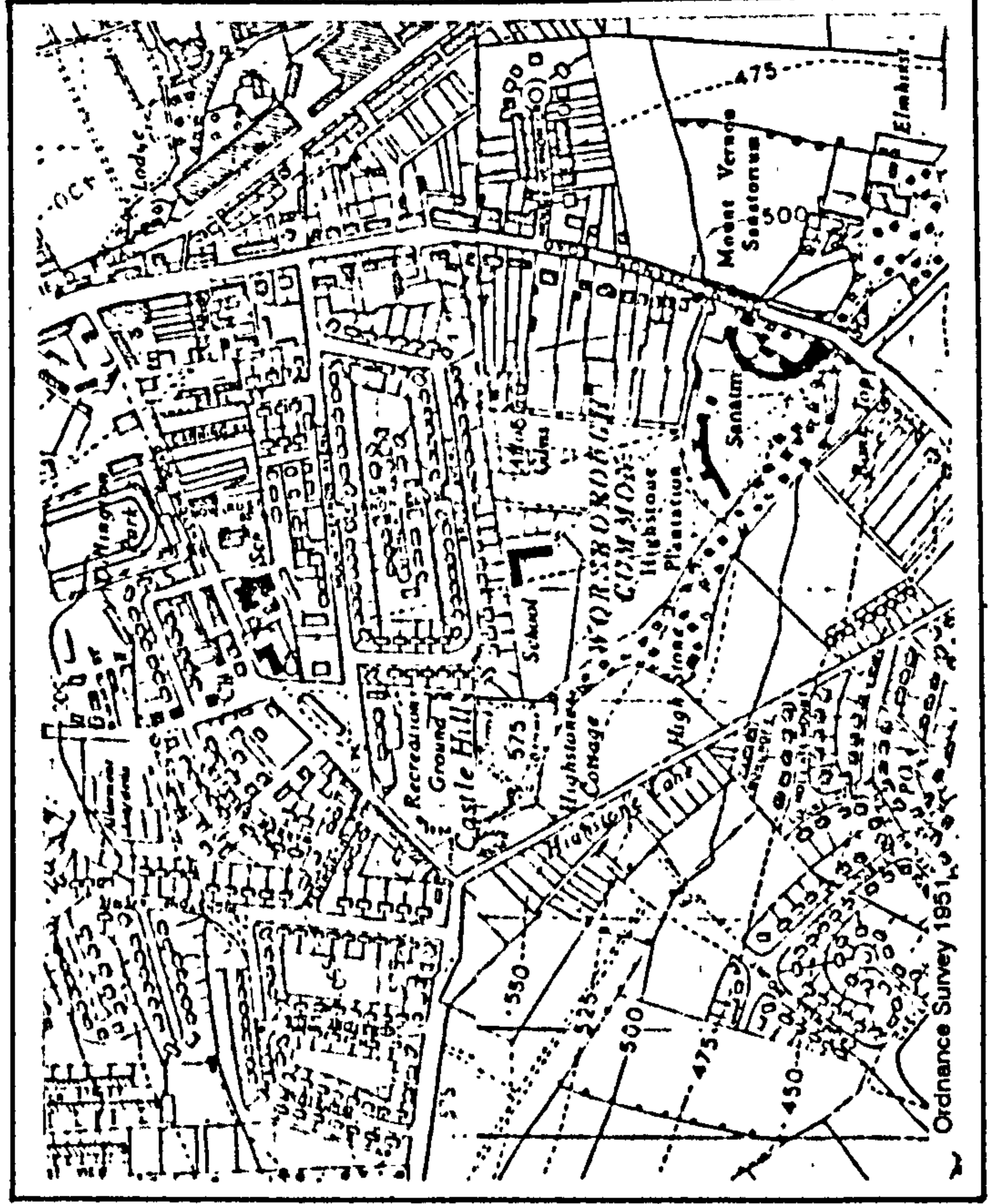


1838

WORSBROUGH



1851



1851

COMMON

Fig. 8.2

on what had been open waste land 150 years ago, the present plan of the Common still reflects many of the features of the ancient landscape. Figure 8.2 summarises these changes and, not only is the old road system immediately apparent, but the early field boundaries, particularly those set out when enclosed, have been largely retained, albeit now marked by walls rather than hedges.

Blacker appears to have missed out on this expansion. It always had a disadvantage, of course, on a barren, exposed, hill-top and, though topographically similar to Worsbrough Common, lacked the external pressure for housing which the Earl of Strafford exploited in selling off building plots to accommodate the Barnsley overflow. By the turn of the century, Blacker had an additional handicap to development in being directly above the huge Barrow colliery, with its integral chemical and coke plant, considered the largest in western Europe. Unfortunately, Blacker lay in the path of the prevailing wind, and was never free from the noxious fumes and smoke from the works, to the extent of being virtually invisible for long periods. This problem no longer exists, but its exposed position, and lack of local industrial incentive, has left the area with little appeal to the modern developer. Much of its unattractive nineteenth century appearance remains.

The quantities of spoil generated by the Barrow colliery over the years were heaped on the surrounding fields. Following the recent closure of the pit, as part of the general run-down of the South Yorkshire mining industry, the works and spoil have been removed, the whole area being landscaped to resemble the pre-industrial contours. (Figure 8.1). Unfortunately for the landscape historian, the mine had destroyed much of the field pattern of the old town fields, which cannot be restored, and what few furlong strips remained have been merged into larger fields.

To the west of the township, in the Rockley valley, though much of the field pattern remains unchanged and there have been no housing developments, a major disturbance to

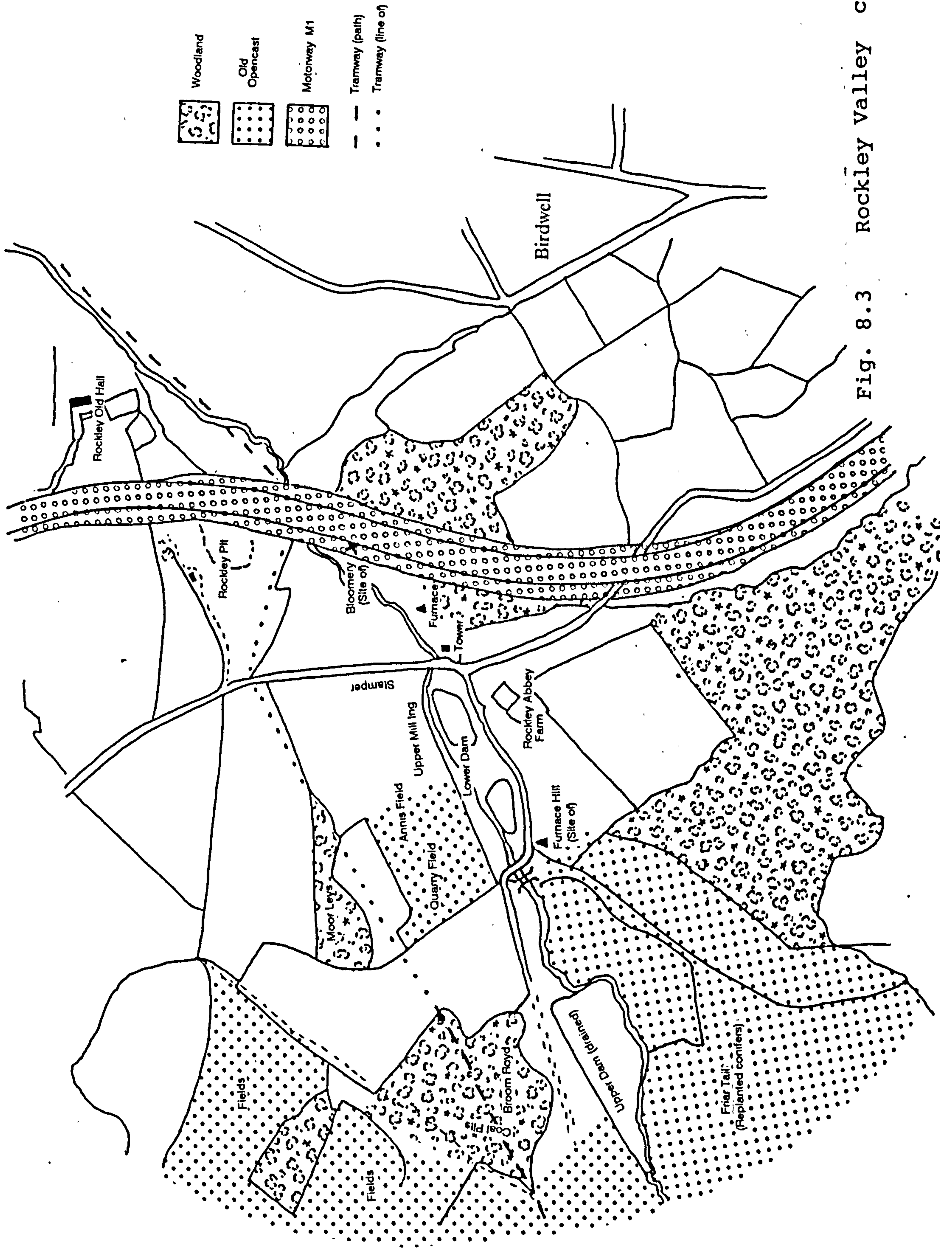


Fig. 8.3 Rockley Valley c.1980

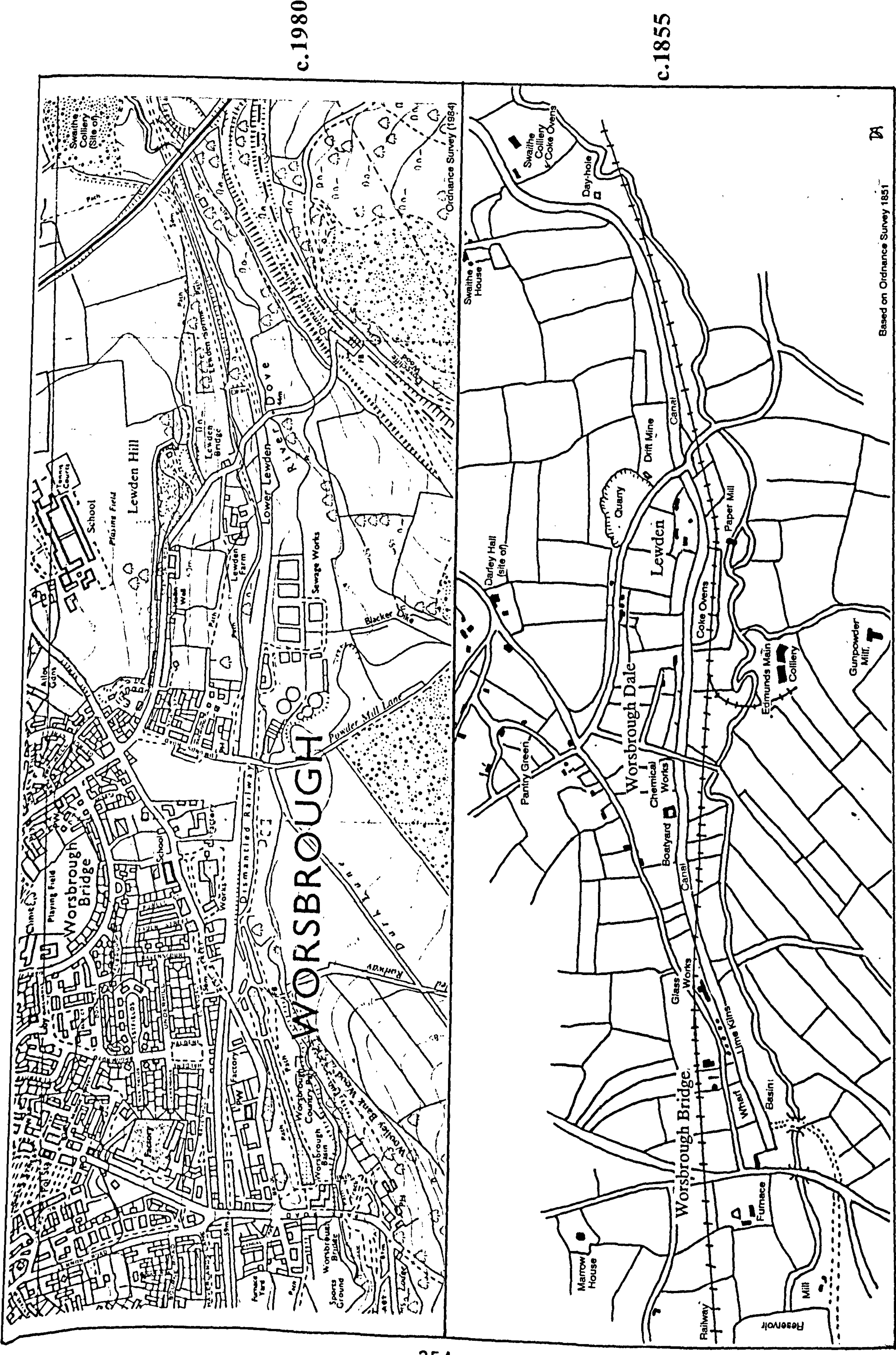
DA

the landscape has been caused by the post-war extraction of coal by open-cast working.

The drift mine at Kendal Green was re-opened in 1954/5 to provide employment for Hungarian refugees, including the building of new bath and office blocks. The enterprise failed within two years through shortage of man-power and the buildings, excepting part of the offices, dismantled after the mine was re-sealed.

Little remains of the ancient woodlands, once the source of the charcoal for the Rockley furnaces and, though part of Friar Tail Wood has been replanted with conifers, the main areas have been grassed. Woodland was further reduced during construction of the M1 motorway, on its route through Old Park and Smithy Wood, where it also destroyed the Smithies bloomery site. However, much evidence of Worsbrough's early industries has been preserved in the Rockley valley; the bell-pits and rail tunnel in Broom Royd wood remain, as do the seventeenth century blast furnace and the nineteenth century pumping tower of the ironmines. Opencast working stopped a few metres short of the upper furnace site and a new bridge has left the eighteenth century bridge unused, but becoming ruinous. A red ash spoil heap marks the site of the Rockley pit day-hole, two hundred metres north of the Smithy site, beside the motorway. The upper dam was destroyed in the 1950s to prevent flooding of the underlying mineworkings, but the lower dam has been restored by the present owner of Rockley Abbey Farm.

In the east of the township, at Lewden and Swaithe, the main changes relate to the demise of the canal and railways, Figure 8.4. The railway through the Dale to Swaithe has been converted to a footpath, whereas the canal has been infilled along its entire length from the Worsbrough Bridge basin. In the Dale area it has been overbuilt by small engineering works, on the site of the nineteenth century boatyards, the remainder converted to meadow or gardens, detectable only as a depression. Similarly the loop of the river which served the water wheel at the Lewden mill has



c.1980

c.1855

Based on Ordnance Survey 1851

Fig. 8.4 Worsbrough - Lewden Valley

been infilled, showing as a depression across the meadow. The spoil heap and day-hole entrance to the Lewden pit are indicated by profuse growth of gorse on the hillside above the canal site near Lewden Farm. At Goose Hulls, a hundred metres along the line of the canal west of the Lewden hamlet, the fragmentary remains survive of the nineteenth century coke ovens, probably part of this mine working.

The Dove Cliff and Blacker quarries have been obscured as landfill sites and no signs remain of the nineteenth century Swaithe mine, or its banks of coke ovens, following use as a municipal refuse tip. The row of miners' houses, along Swaithe's only street, were cleared in the 1970s and recent developments have seen the partial destruction of the seventeenth century Swaithe House, in addition to conversion of farm buildings to create a new Swaithe hamlet.

Change is inevitable, and not necessarily undesirable, but the speed of such change, facilitated by modern technology, sees Worsbrough's past heritage disappearing at an ever increasing rate. This present review is already out of date as work recently started on an extensive new opencast site, in the south of the township, linking the old Barrow spoil heap area to Birdwell and Blacker Commons, extending into the neighbouring Hoyland township. The full extent of the resulting changes to the landscape has yet to be determined.

9.0 CONCLUSION

Modern Worsbrough retains none of the heavy industry which brought the nineteenth century transformation, though its legacy is still visible in the landscape. The concentration of housing for the workers, near the scenes of those industries, left large tracts of the township unaffected where the agricultural economy, once dominant throughout, prevails to a degree which shows Worsbrough in one view as a rural settlement, in another a typical South Yorkshire industrial urban community. In reviewing the progress of the township from different aspects, through the changes over ten generations of its inhabitants, certain general features can be observed which, singly, were perhaps of small moment, but collectively have led inexorably to the present apparent dichotomy. The evidence has been presented for the social and economic changes in Worsbrough, through the early modern period to its establishment as a contributor in the emergence of Britain as a major industrial nation in the nineteenth century. Displays at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition of coal from the Silkstone beds at Worsbrough, regarded as a prime mineral of the day, and examples of craftsmanship from its glassworks, bear witness to self-awareness of its new status as a partner in the growing South Yorkshire industrial conurbation. Beneath the surface of this industrialisation, however, scenes of a more rural Worsbrough survived in part. It is not intended to recapitulate this evidence, but certain aspects deserve emphasis, to demonstrate how the township became different from its neighbours, yet maintained strands of continuity preventing its isolation.

The overwhelming impression, from the variety of evidence providing insight to the origins and development of Worsbrough, is one of a self-assured, caring society, largely self-sufficient. No community can exist in total isolation and change was inevitable, whether from external pressures through State directives, imposing an organisation

to provide poor relief, for example, or internal when a landowner sought to exploit his mineral assets. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these changes were slow in effect, allowing the community to adjust, causing least disruption to what appears to have been a stable society. During this period, enclosure encompassed virtually the whole township, land being parcelled out amongst the few, yet, despite the occasional challenge, was effected apparently without violent protest. There was no sudden collapse of the peasant economy at enclosure as seen in the Midland counties, where it was late and total, such as Wigston, for instance, with its wholesale conversion from arable to pasture.¹ Geography largely determined the basic agricultural economy of Worsbrough; being between the western moors and the eastern plain positively encouraged mixed arable and pasture farming, a mix better able to withstand damaging fluctuations in arable or stock yields.

When industrial change gathered pace, geography, or at least the underlying geology, became a prime influence in the course of Worsbrough's development. Again to compare Wigston, where its sole growth industry, frame-work knitting, offered some relief for the inhabitants to earn a living, at Worsbrough there was a wide variety of craft industries, already well-established, in a village craftsman context, over many generations, which was able to expand when improving communications brought new markets within range. Many neighbouring villages were less fortunate in this variety where in Darton, for instance, nail-making was dominant, Grimethorpe had only coal, Hemsworth was limited to agriculture and Stainborough remained a closed estate.²

Barnsley had been the main market for Worsbrough craftsmen since the Middle Ages; by the end of the early modern period, the town was firmly established as a regional centre, serving the Staincross Wapentake and covering much of South Yorkshire. The town became the prime commercial and social focus for the growing villages of the region.³ Throughout this period, Worsbrough was a constituent part of

the wapentake, as seen in its marriage pattern and Militia commitment, and in this direction its loyalties are seen to lie, particularly with regard to Barnsley, which provided an outlet for its varied industries such as tanning, iron working, coal and paper. The area of Worsbrough concentrating on weaving, in fact, became so closely allied to the Barnsley weaving industry, which had extended onto the Worsbrough Common, as to eventually transfer over the border to become a part of Barnsley. These workers were immigrants, working for Barnsley masters, turning only to Worsbrough for succour when in need, their contribution to nineteenth century Worsbrough industry being negligible.

The benefits of the growing Barnsley market, and the demands of the region's coal and iron needs, could not have been enjoyed unless the ownership of Worsbrough's potential had been such as to facilitate exploitation. Here again, variety played a part. None had ever gained overall control of the township; on the contrary, three distinct medieval manorial organisations had emerged which persisted into modern times, each having a separate identity and sequence of development which could readily have fragmented the township. Some form of fragmentation had already occurred during the early medieval history of the region when it can be presumed that a large parish, with Darfield as the mother church, covered much of South Yorkshire. At some point, yet to be convincingly defined, Worsbrough became detached as a separate township, but ecclesiastically under Darfield as a chapel of ease. In the division of a large parish at Claybrook, in the Midlands, a similar detachment was effected by the Leicestershire/Warwickshire county boundary, whereas the Worsbrough divide was the wapentake boundary, geographically less obvious, but equally effective.⁴ The township was totally committed, socially and economically, to the Staincross wapentake and, whilst it clearly resented the Darfield dependency, particularly the loss of tithes, saw itself as an independent parish in its organisation and participation with the other townships of the wapentake.

The major consequence of this appreciation of independence is apparent in the role of the church at Worsbrough, especially through its officers, in uniting the inhabitants in a common purpose despite the three manorial divisions. Though one manor was owned by an absentee ecclesiastical landlord, one a feudal estate and the third a loose federation of farmsteads, the church remained a focus to engender a "spirit of belonging" to Worsbrough which was to persist until the early nineteenth century. Having no over-riding controlling influence as at neighbouring Stainborough, where the Earls of Strafford inhibited industrial diversity, opportunities could be taken freely to develop enterprise, conditional on being "according to custom". This preserved a democratic attitude towards self-control into the early modern period, the 'town meeting' with its jury elected from a wide cross-section of society playing a major part, either through the manor court or church, ensuring progress was monitored with the common weal to the fore. To this end, Worsbrough had similarities with other areas such as Terling, for example, where the system helped control and improve early modern society as differentiation between township elite and labourers widened.⁵ However, the continued presence of families residing in Worsbrough over many generations provided a stability to the community which ameliorated the possible effects of an otherwise constantly mobile population. During the seventeenth century many of these families built houses expressing confidence in their position and permanence which remain as witness to their relative prosperity.

However, despite a numerical and economical superiority over other wapentake townships throughout its history, excepting Barnsley, Worsbrough was never prosperous in the sense of being able to offer a challenge as a regional centre. Its communications problems militated against establishing a market to rival Barnsley, nor could its early industry mature to create the wealth of another Sheffield. There were, of course, wealthy families, such as the Edmunds

and Elmhursts, just as there were poor families in dire need, but the range of wealth and poverty was not the extreme that could be found in such towns. The iniquities were no doubt more real to the eighteenth century inhabitants of Worsbrough than they appear now in retrospect when viewed across the region, but not so oppressive as to produce evident divisive social discontent. Few required poor relief, help in sickness was freely available and adequate opportunities existed for earning a living in some form of work for those who stayed. Surviving Probate Inventories suggest most inhabitants had some degree of comfort, if cushions, linen and clocks, for example, can indicate life-style.

Such discontent might have surfaced, with danger to the long-established social stability, following the mass immigrations driven by the industrial expansion in the early decades of the nineteenth century when the informal conduct of the township's affairs through its church officers and manorial courts was terminally disrupted. During the lifetime of two generations at the start of the century, engrossing on a greater scale than perhaps even at Myddle,⁶ destroyed the peasant culture, but the new industries created demands for labour which provided new opportunities.

The absence of social tensions which might otherwise have arisen, as Worsbrough's population grew from 879 in 1801 to 4274 in 1851, was due in large measure to the absorption of the new immigrants in discrete areas of the township. These evolved near the place of work (mine, glassworks, furnace) to a degree where group loyalties derived more from their origins and place of work, to the detriment of the wider concept of belonging to the township. The inhabitants of these areas were ceasing to 'belong' to Worsbrough but rather to specific areas; Irish and Lancashire weavers on the Common, Derbyshire ore miners at Birdwell, Midlanders at the Dale glassworks. The separation was further reinforced by traditional family occupations as, for instance, at the Wood Brothers glassworks in the Dale,

where 19 fathers had 25 sons and 2 daughters who followed them into the works, and only 5 other sons who chose an alternative employment (4 miners and 1 wheelwright).⁷

During the early decades of the nineteenth century the wapentake began to lose its importance as a regional influence and Worsbrough began to turn in on itself. Whilst the long established families maintained a background of the 'old' Worsbrough, particularly in the village, the township as a whole evolved into a group of separate communities, with a localised identity and largely self-sufficient. The population in the Dale, for example, had its own shops and places of work with little need for unity with Birdwell or even its neighbouring Bridge area. The church had lost its central role as a community focus and provider of welfare, the latter coming under increasing pressure until it became recognised as a civil matter, resulting in setting up the Poor Union with its neighbours as almost the last joint venture of the wapentake region. Reaction against the established church was not new in the nineteenth century, but the growing immigrant population felt less confined by the old authority, leading to the establishment of non-conformist places of worship in each area which further reduced the once central position of the church. The extent of separation created by these forces became so complete on the Common, where immigrants with a similar origin, in the same trade and working for the same Barnsley masters, it led to eventual transfer of the district to Barnsley.

Throughout the early industrial period, Barnsley had continued to grow as a magnet for commerce to which Worsbrough subscribed but the, almost fortuitious, provision of a canal link in the Dale, quickly followed by national railway connections, opened horizons beyond its immediate neighbourhood. New capital was introduced by such as the Fields family of ironmasters, who rebuilt Marrow House, and the Coopers, colliery owners, who extended Swaithe Hall. The vast reserves of top quality coal, estimated over a thousand acres under the township, could be exploited to the full.

However, access routes to this new transport network and the pattern of land-ownership, focussed extraction on one mine, the Barrow pit developed from the eighteenth century Park Pit, which came to dominate the township economy, leading to total closure of all others. Historical speculation is fraught with difficulty, but reference to events at Whickham, near Durham,⁸ are inevitable where access to the river Tyne, and the effects of the Grand Lease, provided opportunities in the seventeenth century to serve national markets not available to Worsbrough until the nineteenth century. The early catastrophic destruction of the old community of Whickham, as the multiple pits grew, might readily have been Worsbrough's fate without the delay occasioned by its communications problems. When the situation changed, in the nineteenth century, its diversity of industry and solid agricultural base were too firmly established to be swept away.

During the nineteenth century almost every village in South Yorkshire became dominated by its deep mine; in 1873 alone, there were 30 new mines opened in the Yorkshire coalfield, with notice of a further 97 to be started.⁹ Many villages, such as Goldthorpe, Wombwell and Dinnington, succumbed to the point of being little more than a dormitory for miners, with little else to offer. Worsbrough has retained sufficient of its heritage never to completely lose its earlier identity and, as industry now recedes, the separate communities created by industrialisation continue to grow, merging to form a new community, which seeks to find a role, as an almost contiguous neighbour of Barnsley, in the urban conurbation of South Yorkshire.

As the scars of Worsbrough's past industry are landscaped, and vegetation returns for sheep and cattle to graze where once stood pit-head gear and furnaces, perhaps Joseph Hunter¹⁰ was right after all when he wrote in 1831 that, *"Nothing can destroy the beauty of the vale of Worsbrough through which the gentle river Dove winds its way."*

NOTES.

9.0 CONCLUSION

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APPENDIX

BUILDINGS

i) Introduction.

Since the late Professor Hoskins drew attention to the changes in sixteenth century vernacular architecture, for which he coined the phrase the "Great Rebuilding",¹ subsequent research into various aspects raised by the proposition has shown that the concept is questionable. The thesis was based on the dated inscriptions on buildings. This has been explored further to consider a national picture but, as the sample found is always likely to be statistically unsound, through capricious survival and doubt as to the actual event the date celebrates, (or even a Worsbrough example where the datestone came from another building), delineation of rebuilding 'periods' by this means will remain inconclusive. A further, early eighteenth century, 'great rebuilding' can be postulated using such evidence, but regional variations blur conclusions to the point where the value of attempting to define a particular rebuilding period even in a particular area is of doubtful value.² The inscribed dates found on the Worsbrough houses, described below, are no exception.

A further problem to be recognised in applying a date to a building is the range of accretions and modifications which preclude the notion of its having a particular date. It will be a hybrid, created over time, and any discussion of building technology or design or how it functioned must first define the building as it was at the period being considered - a single date will not suffice in the majority of cases investigated.

Such an approach requires the dating of different phases of each building by an alternative method, either through documentary material or architectural features or, preferably, both. Whether this approach could lead to a more refined notion of a succession of 'great rebuildings' is beyond the scope of the present survey. Certainly the Worsbrough evidence will be seen to suggest that the poor

end of the social spectrum were not to enjoy the benefits of stone buildings until at least two centuries after they had become commonplace for the more fortunate. The criticism, however, does not detract from Hoskins's intention that historians should consider buildings in any study of a community as he himself widened the discussion later when writing: "*We ought to place all types of houses in their human background and relate them to the social and economic history of their immediate surroundings*".³

Vernacular architecture is seen as the use of local materials in the creation of a building which reflects the status of the occupants, or its purpose as a workplace, in a manner which echoes the local traditions and levels of skill. Polite architecture, in contrast, introduces elements of design and materials from beyond the local sphere.

The number and variety of vernacular buildings of all periods is a feature of the South Yorkshire region which has long been recognised. The pioneering work of Sidney Addy (1898), Charles Innocent (1916) and Joseph Kenworthy (1920s) provided a foundation for a comprehensive regional survey which has never materialised.⁴ Occasional papers by Ryder⁵ in the 1980s continued to draw attention to the region's wealth of material. It is unfortunate that, after the excellent series of publications by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, which covered the houses of North and West Yorkshire, a change of policy resulted in South Yorkshire being omitted from the series.⁶

This Appendix attempts to illustrate the value of the building evidence surviving at Worsbrough, relating to various levels of society, in examining use of space, construction methods and social status of the occupants. Survival of humble houses 'modernised', refaced and hidden amidst the twentieth century industrial expansion was somewhat unexpected, in view of recent clearances and the surge in provision of municipal housing.⁷ Selection has been necessary and only those pre-dating the mid-eighteenth century were investigated in detail. Over forty such houses

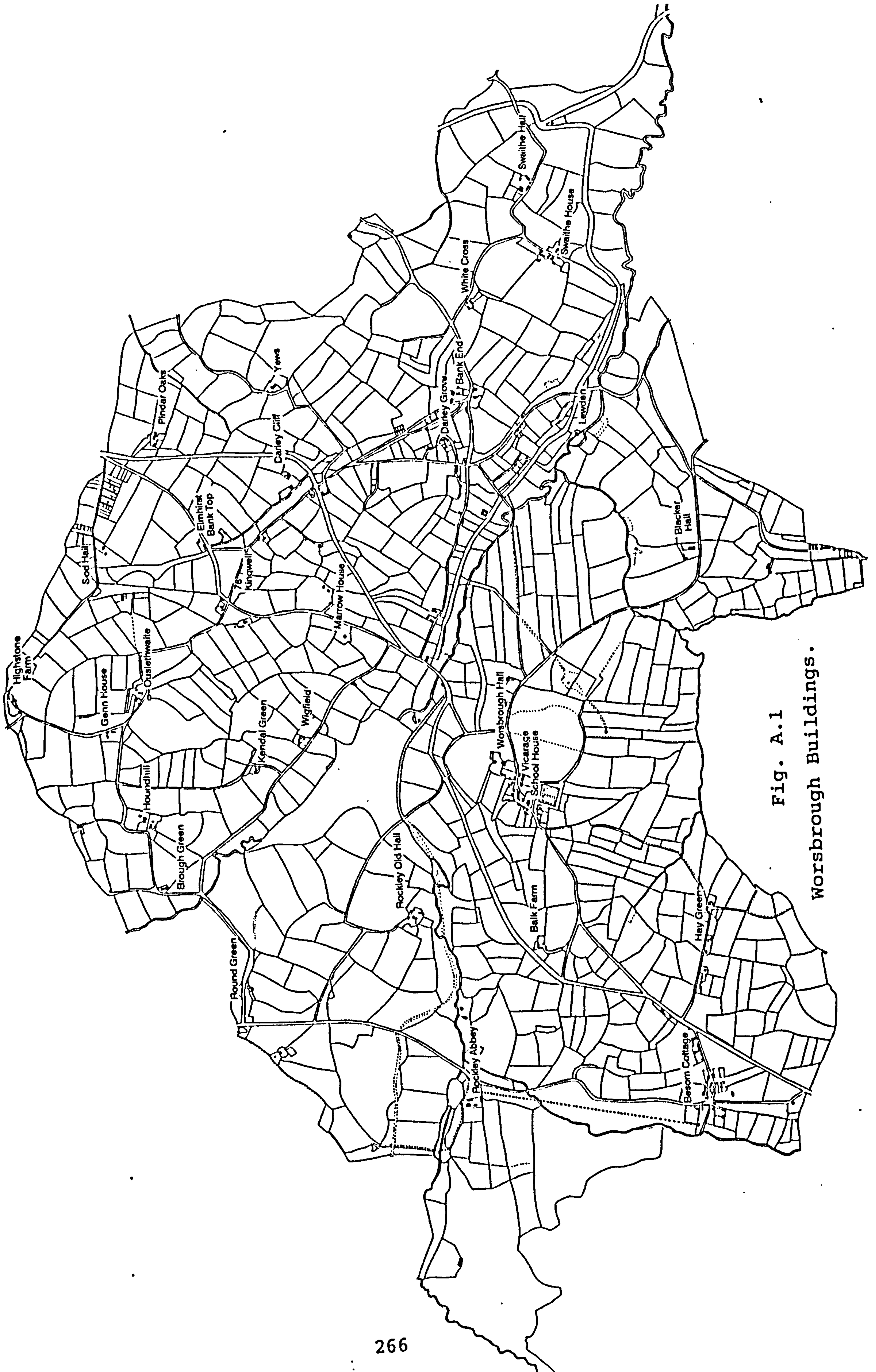


Fig. A.1
Worsbrough Buildings.

have been located and further selection has been made in the following survey, particularly as many were farmsteads with a range of ancillary buildings, which would increase the number of actual buildings by half again. Buildings selected are shown on Figure A.1.

ii) Inventories.

A primary consideration in the selection was the relationship of the Probate Inventories to existing buildings. Thirty nine Inventories survive, dating from 1690-1783, plus one for 1843.⁸ Of these, twenty three can be identified with a known building, either from internal evidence or other sources previously discussed. Two relate to Smithley which have been excluded, as access could not be gained, (the loss is of small consequence to any discussion on Worsbrough as it has been noted earlier that the hamlet is better considered part of Wombwell township). Three Inventories refer to buildings whose sites are known but no trace remains and no pictorial record has been found;⁹ one relates to traces of an undecipherable foundation;¹⁰ one has been lost under a colliery spoil-heap but can be related to a 1920s photograph.¹¹ Although the majority of houses had been modified internally, the survey could reveal the structure at the time of the Inventory, except in one example where complete gutting had left the exterior in period, but given a totally new interior and had to be excluded.¹² Access has only recently been gained to Highstone Farm (Inventory of Daniel Ellis, yeoman, 1719) and Besom Cottage; they are worthy of further study should opportunity be presented to identify the seventeenth century building within modern rebuilding.

Three Inventories relate to Rockley Old Hall at different dates, as do two for both Houndhill and White Cross. The existing buildings which can be identified with a 17th or 18th century Inventory have been investigated in detail and survey plans prepared. A further consideration in selecting houses for a full survey where no Inventory, but

often a Will, exists was its relationship to the history of Worsbrough to illustrate a range not truly reflected in the Inventory selection. Examples of other houses, examined but not surveyed, are noted where relevant.

The involvement of the ecclesiastical courts in the process of inheritance and proving of Wills can be traced to the evolving Anglo/Saxon laws devised to protect land grants which were usually intended to imply the heir was a religious community.¹³ Responsibility for Probate remained with the church until becoming a civil matter in 1858.

Secular heirs and beneficiaries were clearly in need of further protection by the sixteenth century when a law of 1529 bound the executors of an estate to present to the court of the diocese a document which set out "*a list or repertory orderly made of all dead men's goods and Chattels, prised by four credible Men or more, which every Executor or Administrator ought to exhibit to the Ordinary, at such time as he shall appoint.*"¹⁴ The Worsbrough Appraisers regularly included a member of the deceased's family, until the later eighteenth century when only two Appraisers were involved.

Letters of administration would only be granted to the Executors by the ecclesiastical court on production and acceptance of this 'Inventory', which they presented personally to the court official in York as part of the Doncaster Deanery together with any Will. Three Worsbrough Inventories were valued under £5 and hardly seem worth the effort of making such an expensive journey by the relatives.

The information contained in the Inventories is invaluable to the historian in providing the kind of detail which illuminates the lives of people at all but the poorest levels of society and which is not to be found elsewhere. They do, however, have serious limitations and the original intention behind the document has to be kept firmly in mind when formulating the question to be asked.

Various collections of Inventories covering certain geographical areas have been published¹⁵ and historians of different interests have studied particular trades or

agricultural communities. They frequently occur in small local history publications as illustrative material for public interest and without analytical pretensions.¹⁶ Brears uses a group of Yorkshire Inventories to illuminate a way of life now disappeared by relating groups of goods to household activities such as cooking, eating, brewing etc.¹⁷ Professor Hey, in his introduction to the published collection of Chesterfield Inventories,¹⁸ provides an erudite interpretation of the documents in relation to the economic activities and social structure of an expanding market town. On a wider scale, Dr. Weatherill demonstrated the use of a nationwide sample, augmented by diaries, to examine trends in household consumption and, from this, draw conclusions on social aspirations and habits from a study of the household contents.¹⁹ Dr. Spufford has drawn upon a nationwide sample to investigate the role and activities of Chapmen, an elusive group in society, who left little trace other than Inventories.²⁰ A study of room-use in an urban setting has been attempted in a review of Norwich housing in the 16-18th centuries²¹ and Barley produced an unequalled pioneering investigation of the relationships of Inventories to actual buildings in a rural context.²²

No approach has met with unqualified success despite the euphoria of first acquaintance with Inventories and the problems were all too apparent in the present study; any conclusions must be hedged about with the necessary precautions which emerge from the limitations inherent in the documents as a source of information.

Any statistical approach involves insoluble sampling problems,²³ not least as the mass of information Inventories contain is too great and varied even for computerised analysis, making a selection of goods imperative as in Dr. Weatherill's survey, and thereby reducing the scope of the picture being sought. In addition, the Inventories do not cover the whole of society as many, perhaps at least 20%, would have no goods worthy of record in the probate process and, of those who did, the poor survival rate of Inventories

reduces the available evidence regarding questions of social structure in the absence of supporting documentation.

The surviving Worsbrough Inventories are preserved at the Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York. Regrettably, an enthusiastic cleric in the last century, desirous of additional shelf space, achieved his object by destroying all the South Yorkshire Inventories earlier than the end of the seventeenth century. The archive contains 37 Worsbrough Inventories dating between 1690-1783. (One further Inventory of 1843 survives amongst the Elmhirst family papers). As a comment of survival rate it is noted that, during the period of the 37 Inventories, there were 1153 deaths recorded of whom, excluding known paupers, visitors and children, 599 might reasonably have been expected to require an Inventory - a sample survival of only 6.2% which is probably not unusual.

A particular problem for a national approach is the variation in their structure, as no rules were laid down on setting out the document. Rooms may or may not be stated; some goods were considered for inclusion in some areas but not in others; soft furnishings and linen, important in any household, were often grouped together with no differentiation as to function (table, beds, etc.); clothing was normally given a single figure under 'Apparel' and only one Worsbrough Inventory (Elizabeth South, the blacksmith's widow - 1693) provides a detailed list. The result of such limitations is to reduce the value of any attempt to use this class of documents on a national basis, though both Weatherill and Spufford show the approach can provide a unique insight otherwise not obtainable.

Where smaller groups of Inventories are to be used, as in the present study, any attempt at statistical analysis would be most inappropriate and some of the limitations achieve even greater significance. Perhaps the most important reservation is that the money value stated bears little true relationship to the wealth of the deceased. The Inventory was concerned only with moveable goods, excluding

real estate (copyhold or freehold) or wife's portion or income from occupations. Weatherill is particularly concerned that they never record debts owed by the deceased, but the Worsbrough appraisers, typically not conforming, carefully list both debts and credits. This is particularly useful in cases such as Robert Allott (1692), who has one of the highest valuations in the Worsbrough series at £478:13:5 but, being in debt to the tune of £379:3:5, his Inventory worth is reduced to £99:10:0.

The listed contents of rooms and outbuildings may not be all they should be. It can be assumed the Appraisers were doing their best but, with little guidance, they were recording what they thought was important at the time, as they went round each room in turn and different Appraisers can be expected to have different ideas on selection. Some curious omissions occur, such as a gentleman farmer and three husbandmen who have no plough, yet there is no record of a 'church plough' for loan. Appraisers usually noted all 'Ranges' in rooms, but Betris Ellis (1701) has cooking equipment, brass & iron pots and frying pan and no 'Range'.

Arriving at a valuation for probate must often have been a bewildering problem as it was supposed to be the value obtainable, if the goods were sold as found, on the second-hand market. Examples such as a paper-maker and a husbandman, both illiterate, valuing Widow Shaw's goods in 1708, which included items like "Blew Curtaines and Valance" amongst a range of linen, suggests illiteracy was no handicap when asked to appraise.

The value given a 'Range', for example, was usually about 2s 0d to 2s 6d but could be 1s 0d for "an old one" or up to 4s 0d. However, the Overseer of the Poor in 1737 paid for a "New Range" for the pauper, Wm Crawshaw, costing the parish 9s 0d. Where a mixture of items is given *en bloc* it becomes impossible to attach a value to any particular item. In the Inventory of the yeoman, Daniel Ellis (1719), is a list containing: "One long table 2 large armed Chaires 3 old Chaires a pair of Garden Shears a brass Mortar & pestill 2

formes 1 little old table & 3 window hangings" which were valued at 10s 0d. The Inventory of husbandman James Ounsworth (1722) contains: "one long table and 2 chests" valued 13s 0d. The two are quite incomparable.

A further difficulty arises concerning the interval between death and taking the Inventory. Even assuming relatives or neighbours did not immediately take what they fancied, or perhaps thought had been justly promised to them, any lengthy delay put the house contents at risk. Locking doors might help prevent premature disposal,²⁴ but the unpleasant possibilities are illustrated in the case of relatives of Martin Sales of Worsbrough (1691), where a document attached to the Inventory states that, "*William Vesty ... Elizabeth Lofthouse & Mary Lofthouse ... haveing a full intent & designe, to defraud the nearest Relacons of Barbara Haxby deceased & particularly her children, did posses themselves of all & Singular the Goods & Chattels mencioned..*" Further details of the family dispute have not survived but the recorded total of his remaining possessions is "1 cow & 1 heifer = £4:0:0.

Table A.1 shows the interval between burial and date of compiling the Inventory, where known, for the Worsbrough sample, excluding one, Abraham Moorhouse 1767, which was written and proved within two days of burial. Table A.2 gives a general statement of the period required to settle the deceased's affairs.

Table A.1

Worsbrough - Interval between Burial & Taking Inventory

	Months											
Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<u>No. Inventories</u>	9	-	2	3	2	1	2	2	-	4	-	1

Table A.2

Worsbrough - Interval between Burial and Proving Date

	Days			Months						
Period	2	3	10	1	2	3	4	9	10	
<u>No. Inventories</u>	2	1	1	9	-	2	4	1	1	

John Hobson, the Dodworth diarist, was asked to make an Inventory in his own village and, though a successful man of business who impresses as a conscientious member of society, he clearly had problems fitting it into his busy schedule. His brief note on 25 January 1728/9 says all:- "*At Mrs Wilkinson's. Completed her husband's inventory begun August 17 but not finished till now. It comes to £749:0:0.*"²⁵ The Silkstone Parish Register records: "*1728 Aug.5 - Mr Richard Wilkinson of Dodworth buried*".

The selection of Appraisers in Worsbrough follows no discernible pattern. A relative, often an in-law, was involved in about half the cases and, although a farmer was usually one of the team, the choice ranged across virtually all levels of male society, from parish clerk to magistrate, excepting labourers and paupers. Contrary to the original Tudor legal requirement of four Appraisers, Worsbrough often had two. It is not known how the selection was made, but it produced curious anomalies where, for instance, William Edmunds (magistrate and biggest landowner), with William Durham (prosperous farmer), appraised Martha Pool's goods in 1723, which involved only nine items (value £4:19:9) and, in the case of Widow Ellis, 1701, two farmers, a priest and a husbandman dealt with her eleven items, valued at £3:15:0. However, only two men, farmer and mason, appraised one of the largest inventories, Richard Sykes in 1765, containing 156 different groups of items, totalling £223:16:11.

It is perhaps not surprising in view of the efforts expected of them that, of the 85 appraisers recorded, they were all involved just once apart from eight who did two each and two doing three valuations.

iii) Buildings Survey

No.1 SOD HALL

The ancient rights of turbary are normally recognised as the freedom of villagers to dig peat, turves or sods, for fuel, within the limits set by the manor court. Worsbrough

inhabitants had turbary rights and any who transgressed had to answer to the court:

1685 - ...*imposuerunt penant super omnes illod qui ..
fodiendo lapidus & cespides ...* [Fined 1s 10d]

1788 - *They also presented that Thomas Tottie graved sods upon the Wastes ... having no right so to do* [Fined 5s]

However, Worsbrough has no peat within its boundaries. Although 'moor', as in the adjacent Tankersley Moor, may suggest a nearby source, this is unlikely as the soil is a sandy clay²⁶. In addition, the supply of small wood for fuel was never totally exhausted and the ready availability of coal would make the necessity to burn grass turves most unlikely. The digging of turves and sods referred to in the Court Roll was for building material. The Rockley ironworks accounts²⁷ show sods being used in building the 'bray house': (1700) *John Wright 6 days getting sods and laying them on Brayhouse 7s*

Lacking access to sufficient large timber or a suitable clay to build in cob, the poor of Worsbrough turned to turf.



Fig. A.2 Sod Hall (Worsbrough Common)

Wilkinson, J., "History of Worsbrough", p.228

The trimmed turves would be built on a foundation of stone rubble, then the wall surface daubed or plastered for waterproofing. A thatch roof, with moss used to fill in draughty gaps, would make a sturdy one-storey dwelling.²⁸ Such was the cottage called 'Sod Hall', an early squatter intake at Worsbrough Common. It survived well into the present century when it was destroyed for redevelopment and, regrettably, no plans or photographs were preserved. (Fig. A.2 is taken from a 19th century etching).²⁹ Wilkinson states that the centenarian William Oates, who died at Sod Hall in 1833, claimed his family lived there many generations implying its long service.³⁰ It was still occupied at the 1851 census by two families, a gardener and a weaver.

The parish books provide further confirmation of the use of turf in building. The houses of the poor received constant attention and the community paid for repairs which the Overseer of the Poor often lists in detail as in 1710 when Widow Woodhead's house required attention:

*Repairs to Wid. Woodheads chimney and for mortar leading 11d
A tub for the chimney 8d Pd Richard White
for Sodds getting and laying on & daubing 2s 6d.*

Robert Morehouse, who died a pauper in 1747, seems to have earned a living as a "jobbing" builder, working on the houses of the poor, as in 1726 when he rebuilt the house of widow Edith Hinch. Amongst the items listed by the Overseer were:

*5 Poles out of Wombwell Wood [Dovecliff] & Carriage 3s 6d
For Nails to Rich South [blacksmith] 5s
To Thomas Morehouse [wheelwright] for 18 pieces of old
Heartwood for Studs 3s
2 Loads of Mortar Leading 8d
To An Wood for Sods Leading 2s*

Building of sod houses appears to cease during the interval of the missing Poor Accounts (1739-1797). The later accounts suggest a change had occurred as payments for repairs are few, and limited to walling or thatching, with no further references to sods.

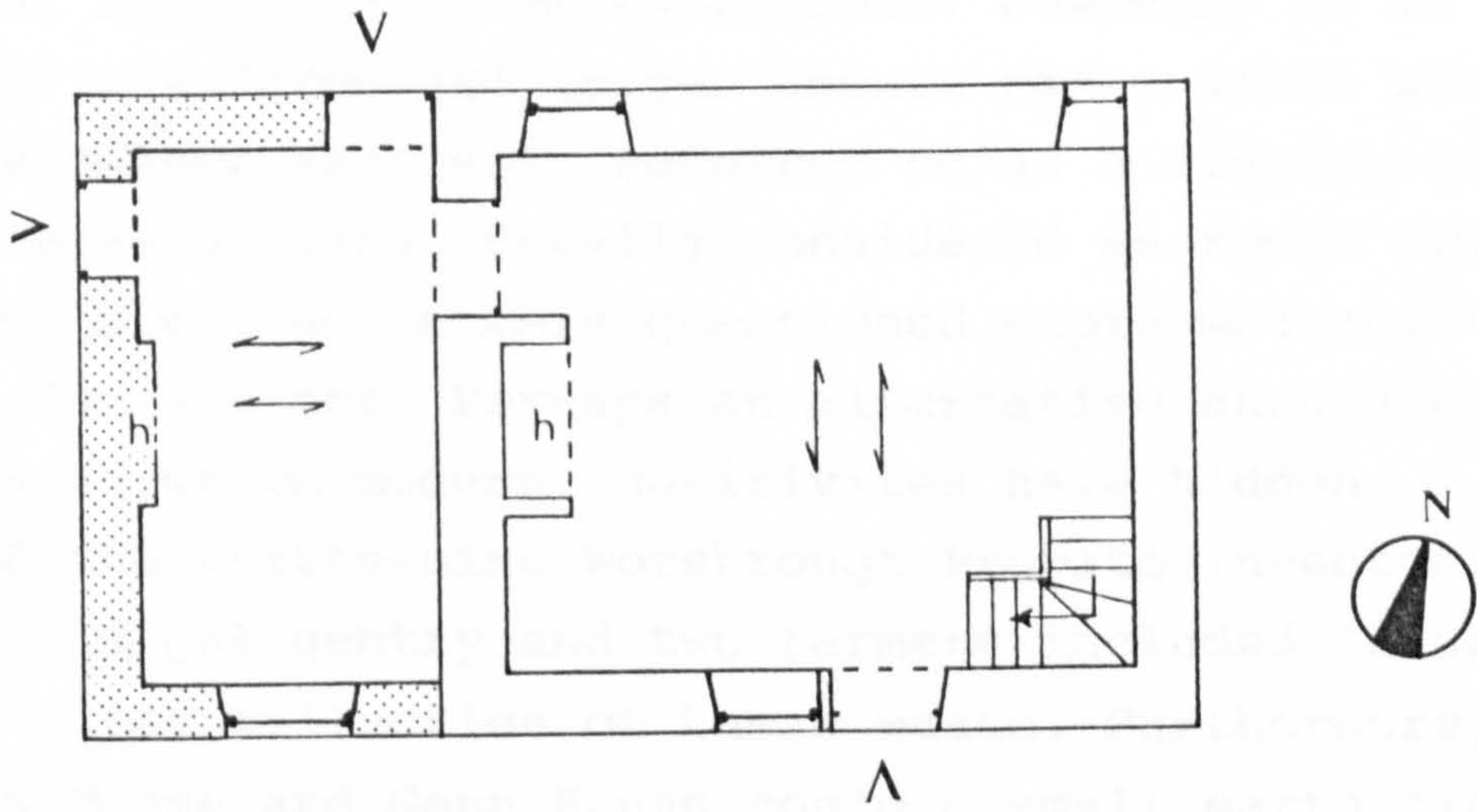
No.2. HAY GREEN

A reference to the village mason, William Guest, in the parish books for 1806 suggests stone was replacing sod as a building material even for the poor: *Wm Guests Bill at Ann Osticks house 3s.* A ruined farm labourer's cottage at Hay Green ('Haga'=an enclosure) illustrates the poorest class of housing, when rebuilding in stone reached the lowest levels of Worsbrough society, in the eighteenth century. The Manor Court Roll of 1816, transferring the 34 acre Hay Green Farm to Sarah Mower of Wath, includes "*a cottage situate in Haigh Green near the Farmhouse and usually let*". (Fig. A.3 and Plate A.1)

Originally it consisted of a single cell with chamber above reached by a ladder, later replaced by a narrow (45cm) stair. The walls are rough hewn blocks (10-15cm thick) split from the poor grade, iron-stained, sandstone from such as the Blacker Quarries, with little attempt to trim the outer face. Its open hearth, with chamfered heavy stone surround, indicates a late 17th or early 18th century date and parts of a medieval wall-plate, forming headers for the door and a window, perhaps suggest the earlier date, being re-used material taken from a dismantled superior timber-frame house. (The distinctive rafter notches of these wall-plates will be seen later in the Vicarage analysis).

The brick chimney is a later replacement inserted when the western extension was added in the late 19th century, but whether replacing a smoke hood or stone chimney cannot be determined. The extension provided a kitchen, with piped water to a stone sink and a water-boiling hopper, and above it an extra chamber. Water for the original single-cell cottage would be obtained from the nearby Pittle Well but, even in its extended form, contained no sanitary provision. The lack of sanitation is a feature of the pre-1750 houses discussed in this Chapter and deserves comment.

It is not unlikely that, in the total absence of water sanitation systems, a small structure over a simple ash pit



HAY GREEN LANE
(Deserted Cottage)

Fig. A.3

□ 1st Phase

▤ 2nd Phase

— 3m

— 10ft



Plate A.1 Hay Green

sufficed in houses of whatever rank. However, it is noted that all the farms and larger houses had a small area of rough woodland adjacent, referred to as a Pingle, whose use is somewhat obscure. Usually considered as rough grubbing for pigs etc., no farmers questioned expressed any clear reason for its use. Perhaps an alternative should be considered which modern sensitivities have hidden.

Of the thirty-nine Worsbrough Probate Inventories, only those of eight gentry and two farmers included 'close stools', for collection of human waste. Furthermore, only at Swaithe House and Genn House could a small earth closet be located. It must be considered that such single provision for the master of the house, his lady, children, servants, apprentices and farm hands would be somewhat inadequate. However, it is known that, until the 1940s, farms on the Yorkshire Wolds had a single earth closet, the use of which was restricted to the ladies of the farm. All males were obliged to use a small copse, the Pingle, near the house for toilet purposes, from which all animals were excluded other than geese and hens.

The labourer's cottage at Hay Green was not abandoned until the 1940s, when the occupants, man, wife and seven children, were moved to municipal housing. Earlier occupants cannot be identified and the sole surviving example of a Worsbrough labourer's Inventory lists no contents. Perhaps Beatris Ellis, a poor widow, lived in such a dwelling as her Inventory (1702) contains merely a bed, 3 pots, frying pan, chest, 2 pewter dishes, one chair and 'one little table', all valued £3:15:0.

No.3. ELMHIRST (Bank Top)

The fortunes of the Elmhirst family will be followed as an example of the building changes taking place over the township, providing a rough time-scale against which to judge other houses being considered.

In addition to the sod houses, the poorest inhabitants no doubt lived in flimsy wooden structures, for which no

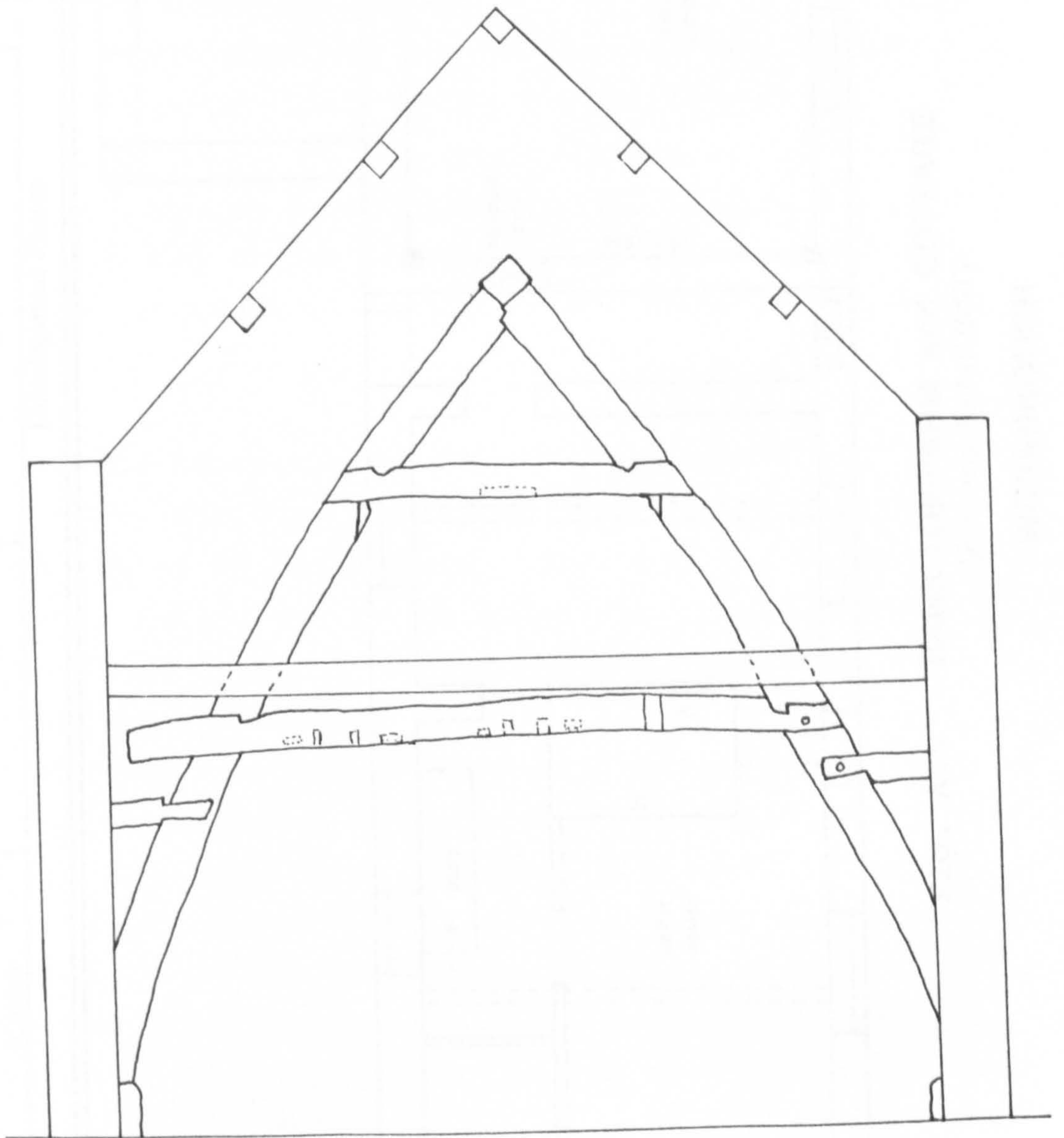
evidence remains other than vague references to laths and poles in the Parish Accounts. The simplest wooden structure sufficiently robust to survive is that based on the cruck. Three cruck buildings have been located in Worsbrough, one a barn (Swaithe Hall), one dismantled and the crucks re-used as beams and purlins (Balk Farm) and a surviving two-celled house at Elmhirst, (Bank Top).

The Elmhirst cruck cottage changed use to a byre when the building was extended in the seventeenth century; one cruck frame became embedded in the passage wall, to be subsequently hidden beneath thick plaster. Its presence was detected by Ryder³¹ in 1981. Later reconstruction of the byre to a dwelling fully exposed the complete cruck frame (Fig. A.4) and revealed parts of two further crucks with a section of wall-plate. The oak blades are relatively slender at 20-25cm square and the spur height of 2.5m, indicating the outer wall height, suggests the structure was too low for chambering, remaining open to the roof. The ridge pole is set according to type 'M' of the Vernacular Architecture Group classification.³² Dendrochronology tests, carried out on all the surviving timbers, failed to provide a reliable date³³ but must be earlier than the seventeenth century when incorporated in the later building (Plate A.2), which can be dated from the surviving mullioned windows.

It is known the Elmhirst family left this site in the fifteenth century, moving to Houndhill (see later), having prospered in the later fourteenth century, taking advantage of their survival of the Black Death. The crucks suggest a relatively modest dwelling, but commensurate with improving status, in comparison to the sod or flimsy timber house of the general peasantry. The family retained the copyhold of the Bank Top estate (Fig. 6.3, p.121) and used their improving fortunes at Houndhill to extend the Bank Top house, in stone, in the seventeenth century. The plan (Fig. A.5) echoes the ancient traditional 'long houses', with a cross passage separating people from beasts, but providing easy access in all weathers. However, the normal derived



Plate A.2 **BANK TOP FARM** (Formerly ELMHIRST)



CRUCK FRAME

Fig. A.4 **BANK TOP FARM** (Formerly ELMHIRST)



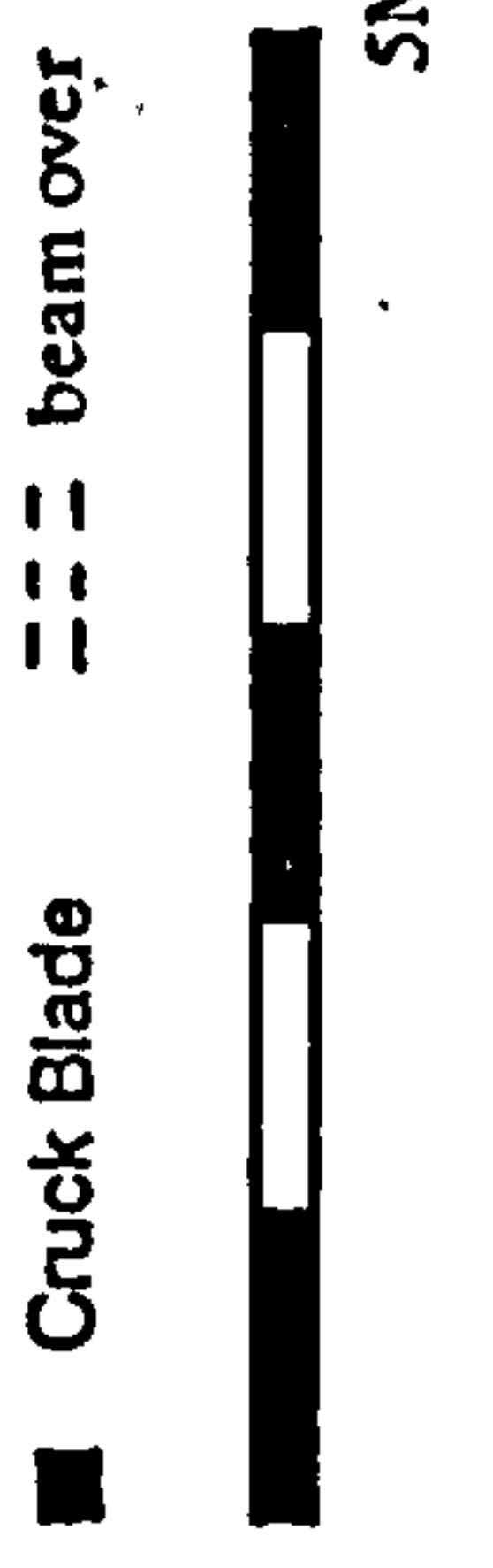
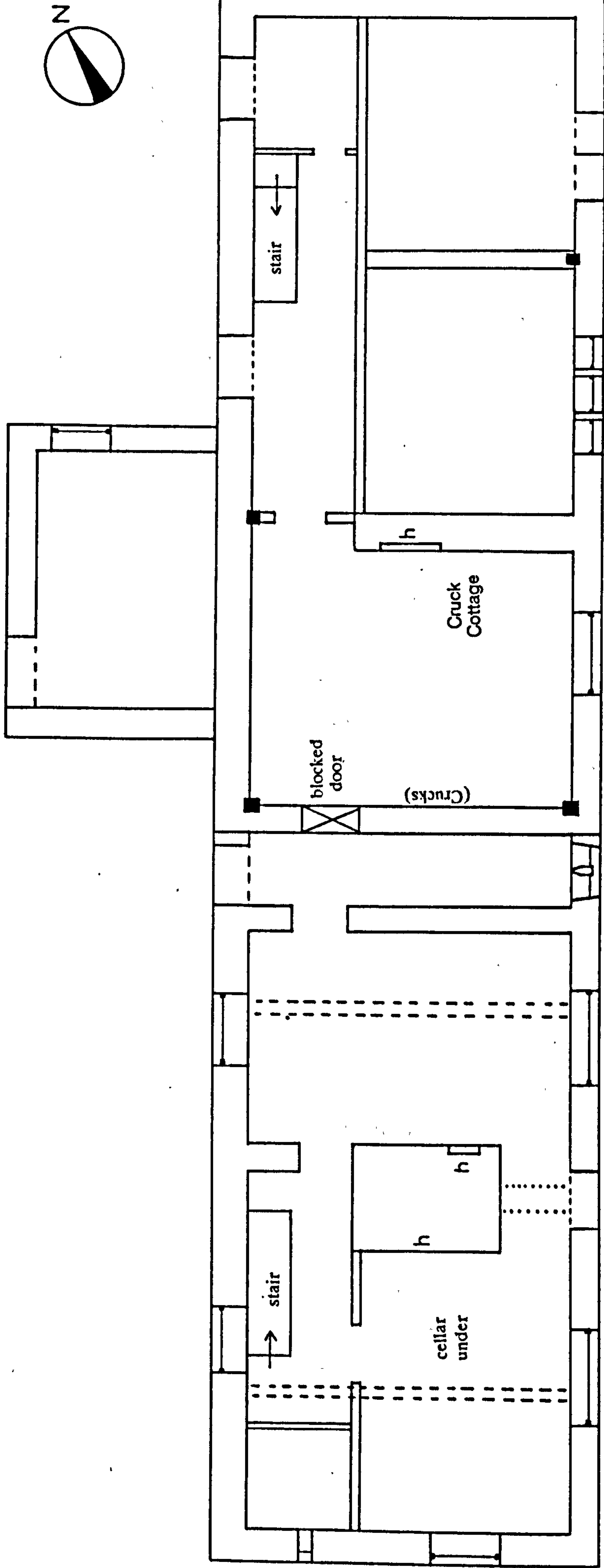
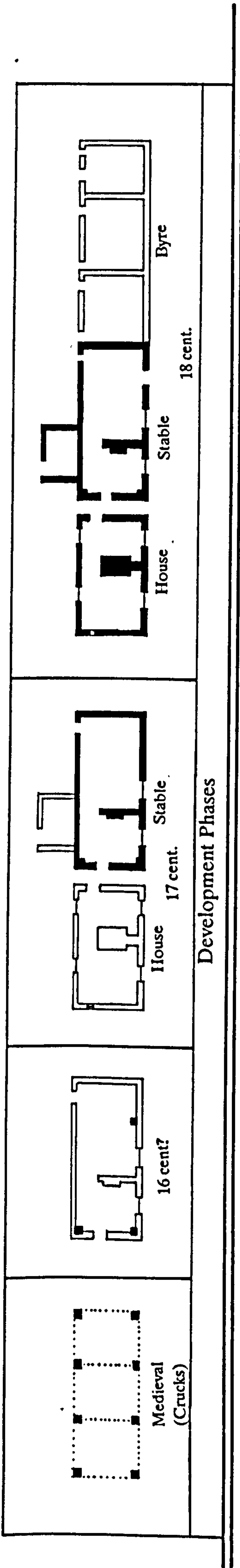


Fig. A.5 BANK TOP FARM and COTTAGE
(Formerly ELMHIRST)
WORSBROUGH

long house had a stack on the passage wall, whereas here it is between the two new rooms.³⁴ (The hearth in the cruck house, shown on Figure A.5, is a modern insertion).

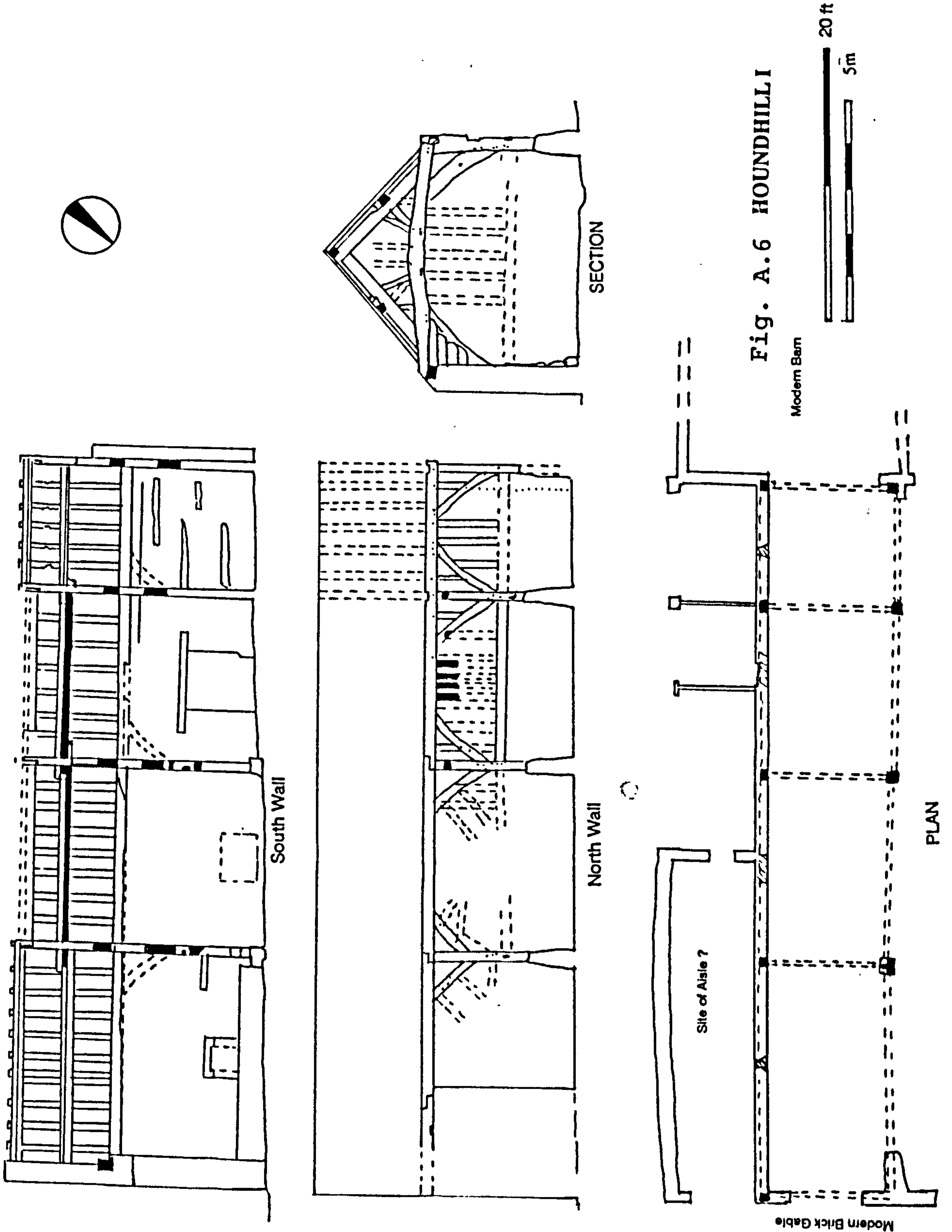
Lacking an Inventory, it must be assumed the room nearer the passage was the 'house' and far room the parlour. Both rooms were chambered over. The cross passage is now blocked on the south side, by re-use of a seventeenth century mullioned window from the house-room, and other windows modified in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to include Yorkshire sliding sash and vertical sash. Stonework is local gritty sandstone, with a rough dressed outer surface from an unknown quarry. Blind mortices in the crucks and wall-plate indicate timber side walls originally but the date of rebuilding in stone and raising to the height of the new house extension is not known.

No doubt the Elmhirsts' three-bay cruck house at Bank Top, with or without chambers, would provide acceptable accommodation, its limitation being the difficulty of enhancing its appearance if the owner wished to display status. As the Elmhirst family grew in importance and wealth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such a statement may have become desirable, leading to the move to Houndhill.

No.4 HOUNDHILL I

The post and truss timber building at Houndhill, currently a store for farm machinery, would offer such status to an improving husbandman. (Fig. A.6 and Plate A.3). Dendrochronolgy dating has established the single storey building is of oak timbers, felled between 1486-1495 and used immediately, unseasoned.

Originally of five bays, the final westerly bay was destroyed recently by fire and the east bay modified to provide an entrance for farm vehicles. The south wall, originally timber, was replaced in stone at an unknown period and the wall-plate was reversed, showing stud mortices on the upper surface, but the posts remained on their stylobates. The north wall, though much damaged, gives



an indication of its medieval appearance, despite the posts being shortened recently and placed on tall concrete blocks replacing the stylobates. Gales in the 1980s destroyed the roof which has been rebuilt using the original stone slabs and rafters where possible. The 'interrupted' sill beam is of the type Ryder considers typical of the region³⁵ and grooves cut in the soffits of the cross beams show where timber boards could be slotted to divide the bays into separate chambers. Fragmentary detached structures beyond the south wall are possible remnants of an aisle.³⁶

Whether Elmhirsts built it, or even lived in it, however, is unproven as the family archive can only confirm they were well-established at Houndhill by 1552, though the growing wealth of Widow Margaret Elmhirst and her sons would suggest much earlier.³⁷

No.5 HOUNDHILL II

During the sixteenth century the family removed from the low, long timber house to a new two-storey timber house, 100m to the north. It was built by an Elmhirst with initials "R.E." and forms the east wing of the present house. (Fig. A.7 and Plate A.4). The whole building presents a challenge to the architectural historian which so far has defeated all attempts to produce a satisfactory interpretation of the dates and sequences of building.³⁸

Problems of dating the timber building begin where a damaged inscription was revealed on the south gable when rendering was removed in the 1930s. (Plate A.4). At the time it was read as "R 1066 E". This was considered inappropriate and re-cut to "R 1606 E". During the 1960s the building was renovated, following subsidence damage, and the architect felt that '*1566 might be just as reasonable an interpretation as 1606*', on which basis it was again re-cut to read, as now, "R 1566 E". Unfortunately, attempts to resolve the problem by dendrochronology have failed as an entire new roof in the 1930s and weather damage to the external woodwork have left no timbers suitable for boring samples.



Plate A.3 Houndhill I

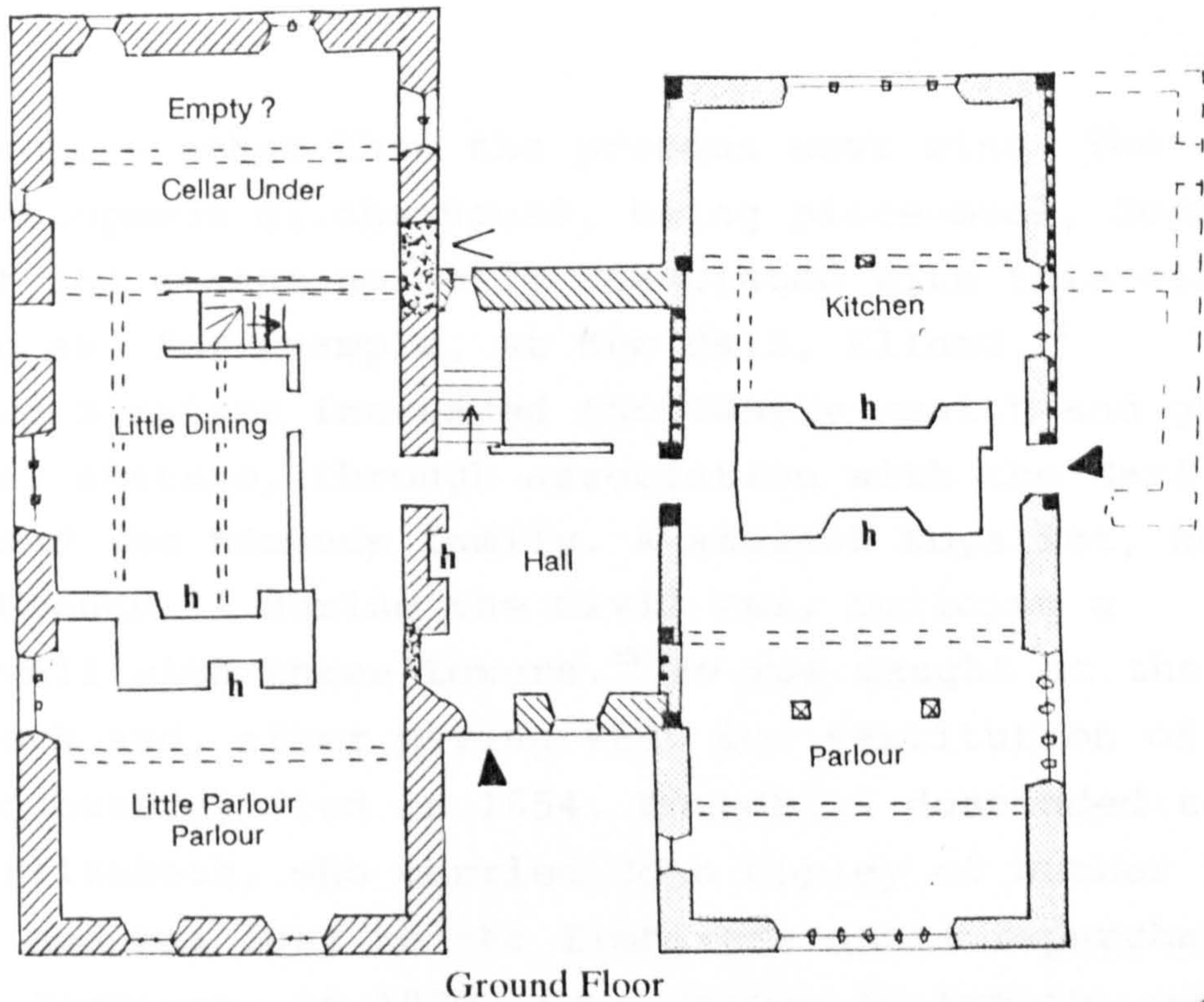


Plate A.4 Houndhill II

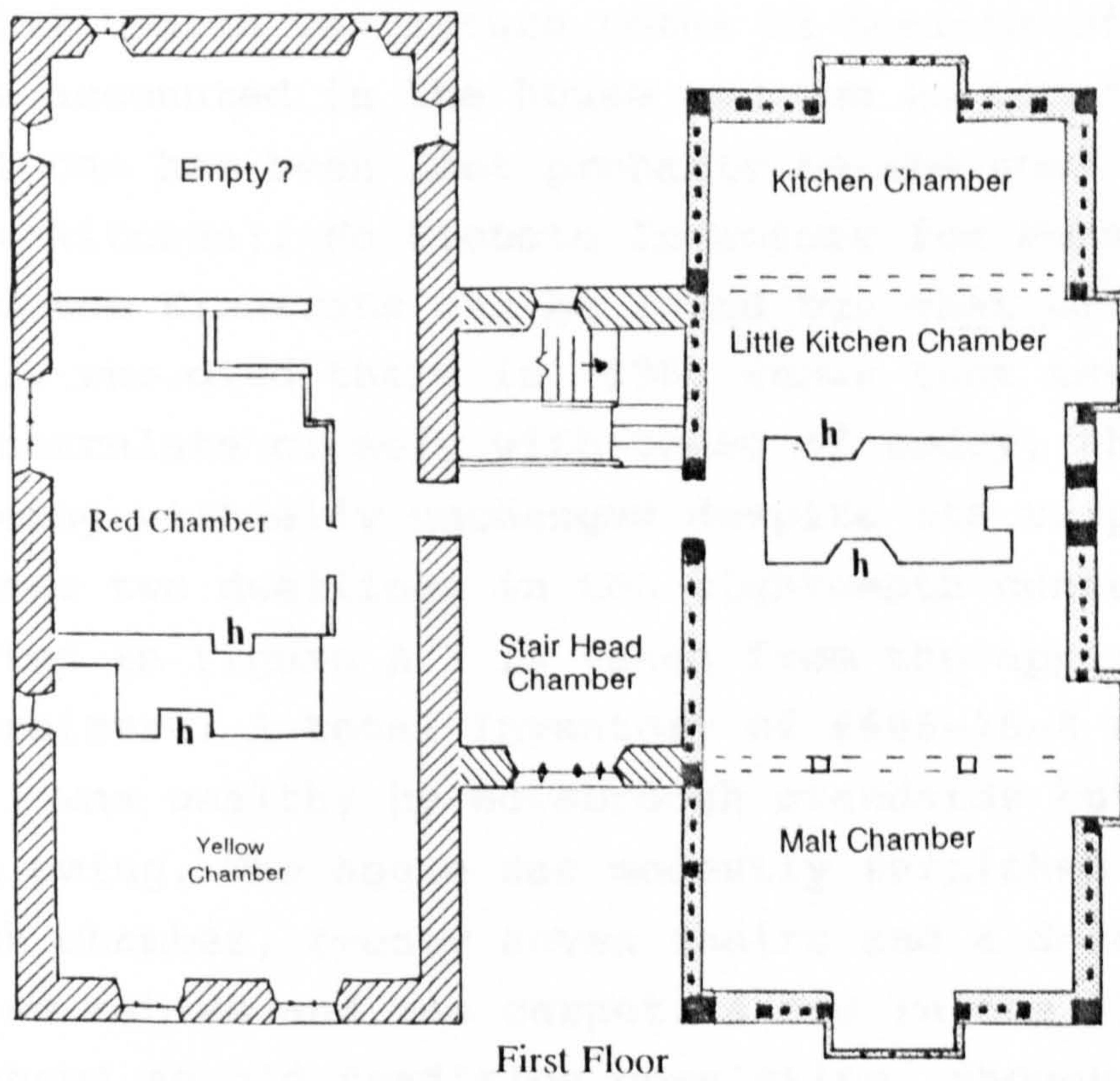
"RE" could be Robert Elmhirst (1450-1519) or Roger Elmhirst (1520-1594). The latter may have been the more prosperous, with his ventures into sheep farming, but, if 1566 is to be admitted, it is strange that within a few years he built an adjacent extensive weaving mill entirely in stone.³⁹ If the former, then perhaps it could as easily read 1506 (only the first and last figures are not disputed) implying Robert was wealthier than Edward Elmhirst claims in his family history.⁴⁰

The chevron pattern of the gable timbering and the style of studding are common features in sixteenth century buildings which offer little help in dating.⁴¹ Construction of the studding on the west wall of the timber wing, visible within the hall, shows this to have been external originally but peculiarities of roof structures in the north-west corner hint at a possible contemporary timber extension over the hall area.

The west wing, entirely of stone, can be dated typologically to the late sixteenth century. It may once have stood alone, claimed by the Elmhirst family to have been built by Roger as a wool store using stone from the demolished Monk Bretton Priory, for which no documentary evidence can be found. An external stone staircase once featured on the south gable and a doorway, large enough to admit a cart, has been blocked on the north-east corner by the north wall of the hall. In addition, the architect for the 1970s renovations considered there was evidence that the central stack of this block was a later insertion all of which may lend credence to the Elmhirst claim. The hall itself was certainly added later in the seventeenth century to join the two wings and may have replaced any extension of the timber east wing. It would always have been too small to function as a central feature of the house, as if derived from a medieval open hall with cross wings and, although it has been suggested the two doors from the hall into the west wing corridor remain from a screens passage, excavations in this corridor, during the renovations, produced no evidence



Ground Floor



First Floor

Fig. A.7 HOUNDHILL II

- Timber
- 16 cent
- ▨ 17 cent I
- ▩ 17 cent II
- h Hearth
- ⊠ Blocking

of any structure other than the present west wing. The overall development of the house, being piece-meal, deprives the hall of the status normally associated with this class of building as, for example, at New Hall, Elland.⁴²

Richard Elmhirst increased the family wealth and grew in political stature, through association with the Earl of Strafford and the Edmunds family. A staunch Royalist, he fortified Houndhill during the Civil War, building a defensive wall with three towers.⁴³ He was caught at the siege of York and, after paying £600 for restitution of his sequestered estate, died in 1654. Houndhill descended to his daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Copley of Nether Hall, Doncaster, and was lost to the Elmhirsts until repurchased by Leonard Elmhirst, in 1932, from Vernon-Wentworth, owner of the Worsbrough manor estate.⁴⁴

The 1672 Hearth Tax return notes 11 hearths of which nine can be accounted in the house and one as the farm smithy, but one has been lost probably in the room over the cellar (now kitchen). No Probate Inventory for Houndhill relating to the Elmhirsts can be found but that of Samuel Saltonstall, who died there in 1690, shows that the room divisions correlate closely with those of today, the building being virtually unchanged despite its temporary division into two dwellings in the eighteenth century. Room use suggested in Figure A.7 is taken from the apparent route of the Appraisers. A total Inventory of £685-16-8 suggests Saltonstall was wealthy by Worsbrough standards but included £513 debts owing. The house was modestly furnished with a bed in each chamber, twenty seven chairs and a dozen stools, but only two tables and one carpet. A bed in the "little parlour" shows an old tradition persisting, though £20 of silver plate, glasses and a 'looking glass' suggest a degree of gentility which is emphasised by a room being designated as a 'dining room' at a relatively early date. It is the first recorded in Worsbrough but had no table, containing only stools and chairs.

No.6 GENN HOUSE.

Dr. William Elmhirst, uncle of Elizabeth, who might reasonably have expected to reside at Houndhill, had to find alternative accommodation after the Copley marriage. In 1638, Richard Elmhirst set down details of all the family's properties for the information of his descendants.⁴⁵ It included 'Genn House Farm', 200m north of Houndhill, to where Dr. William removed. No Inventories for the building survive but the development sequence illustrates stages in Worsbrough's rebuilding.(Fig. A.8).

The Genn family name was common in South and West Yorkshire in the late middle ages, with a particular concentration in the Kirkburton area, near Huddersfield, where the surname continues.⁴⁶ The Worsbrough Poll Tax of 1379 includes Thomas Genne, a tailor, and the present site was no doubt the medieval assart of the local family. They prospered but never acquired gentry status, though Nicholas Genn is commemorated on the sixteenth century south door of the church. The family will be seen later living at Ouslethwaite but the name disappears from the Worsbrough area with the death of William Gen in 1686.

Unusually for Worsbrough, the change from timber to stone was total at Genn House (Plates A.5, A.6, A.7) with no vestige of early timber work surviving. The Byre lacks dateable features and the cart-shed conversion has destroyed any evidence which might relate it to the three known phases on the site.

The earliest structure is the Sty (Plate A.6) which conforms to a style common in West and North Yorkshire. It has external stone stair, curved soffit lintels and a damaged two light mullioned window; the upper floor was probably a hen house.⁴⁷ The stonework is robust but rough, even compared to the simpler split-blocks used in the later adjacent stable, which was built with little attempt at finesse. A datestone on the gable of the stable, "An Do 1659", may correspond to the initial rebuilding of the main house from timber to stone. However, when Dr. William moved

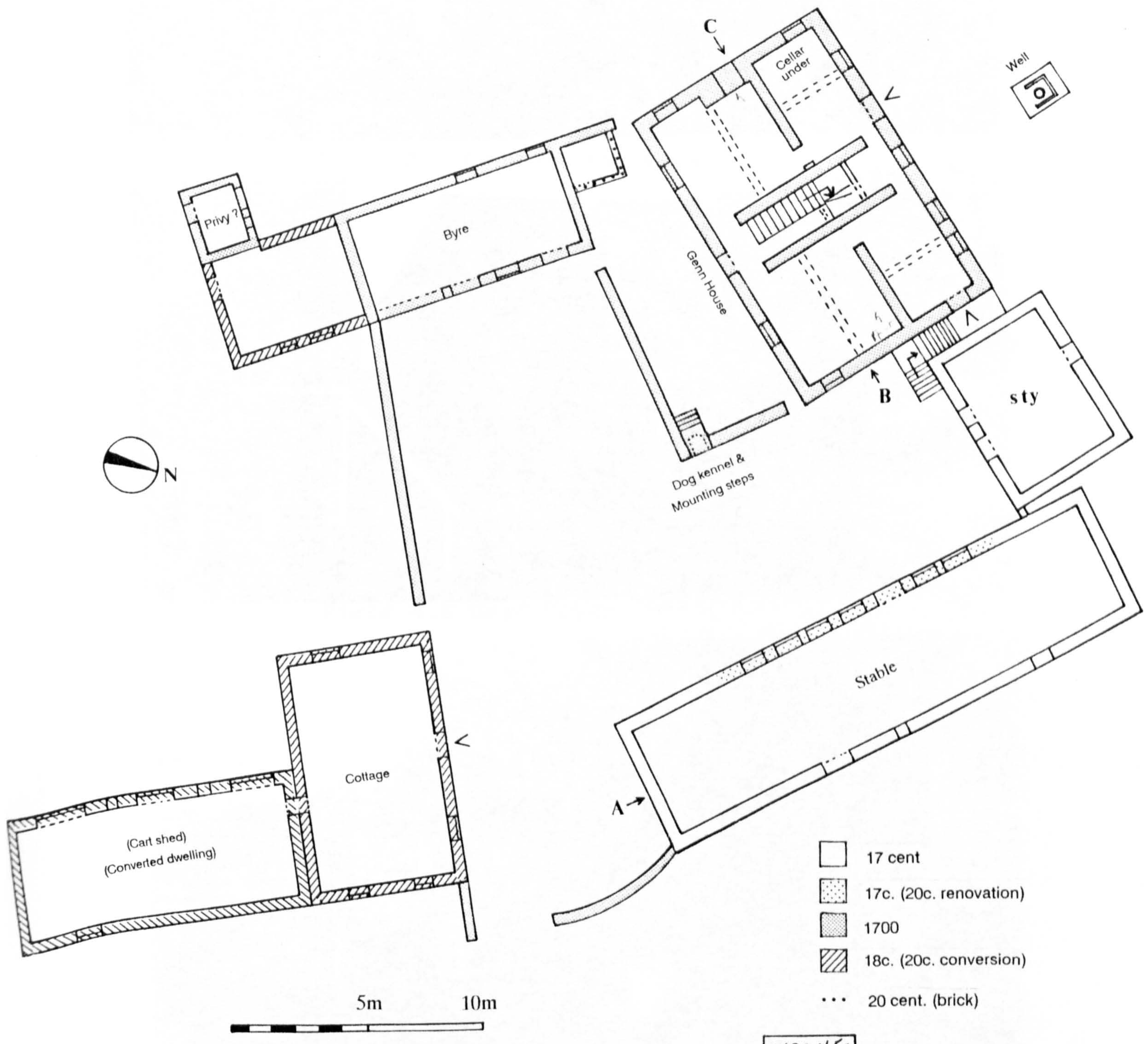


Fig. A.8 GENN HOUSE - WORSBROUGH

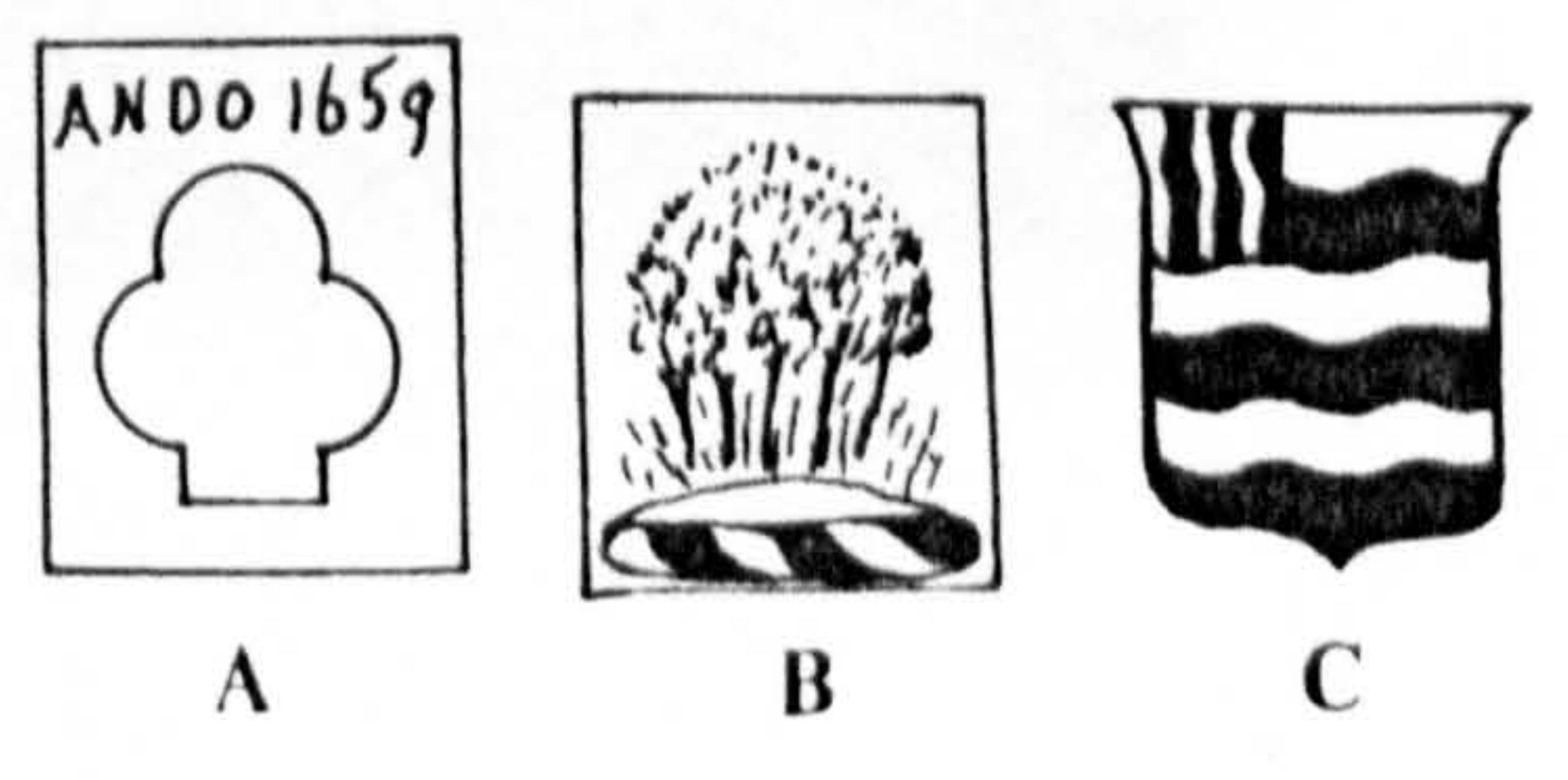




Plate A.5 Genn House (Front)

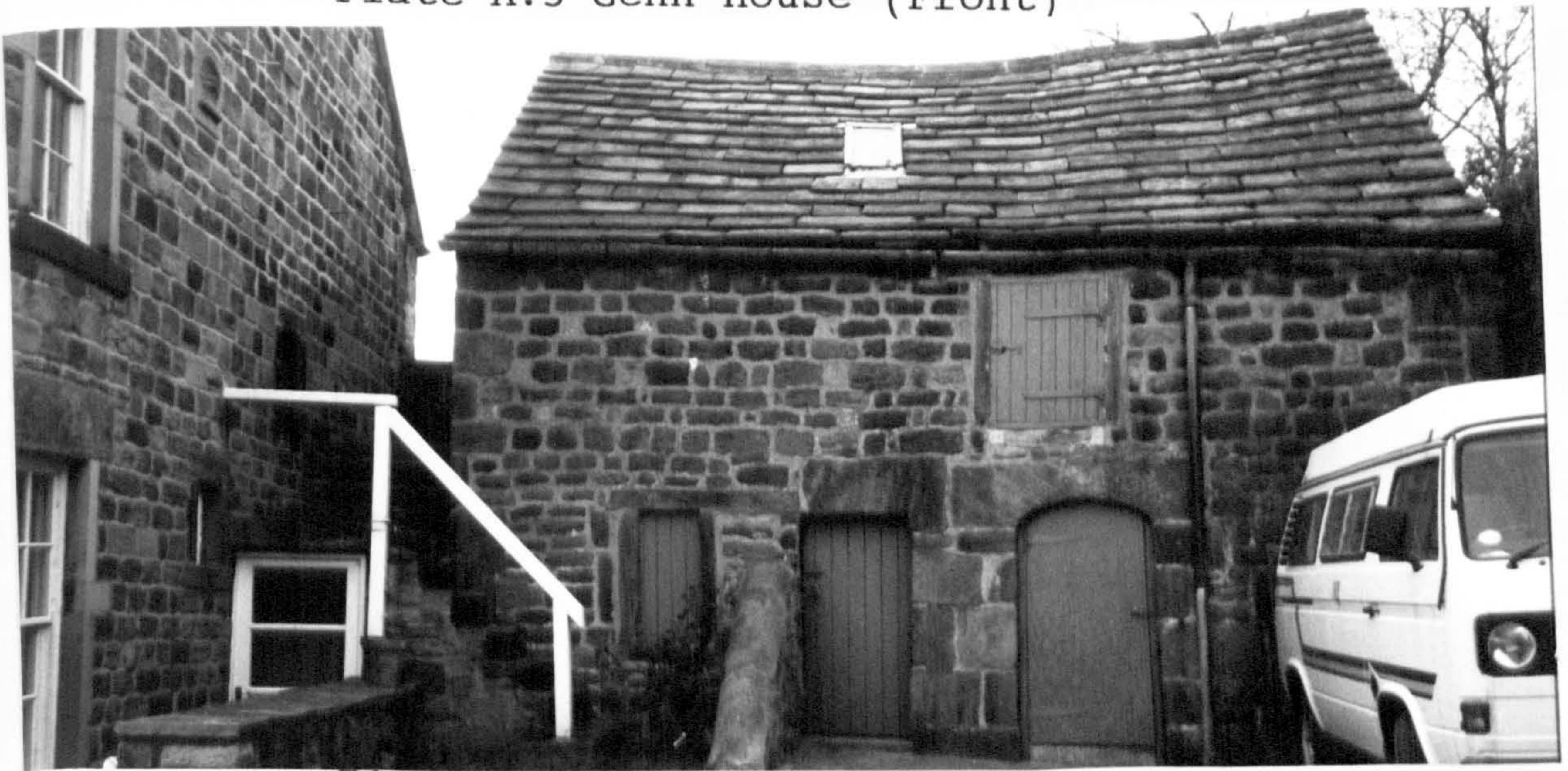


Plate A.6 Genn House (Stye)



Plate A.7 Genn House (Rear)

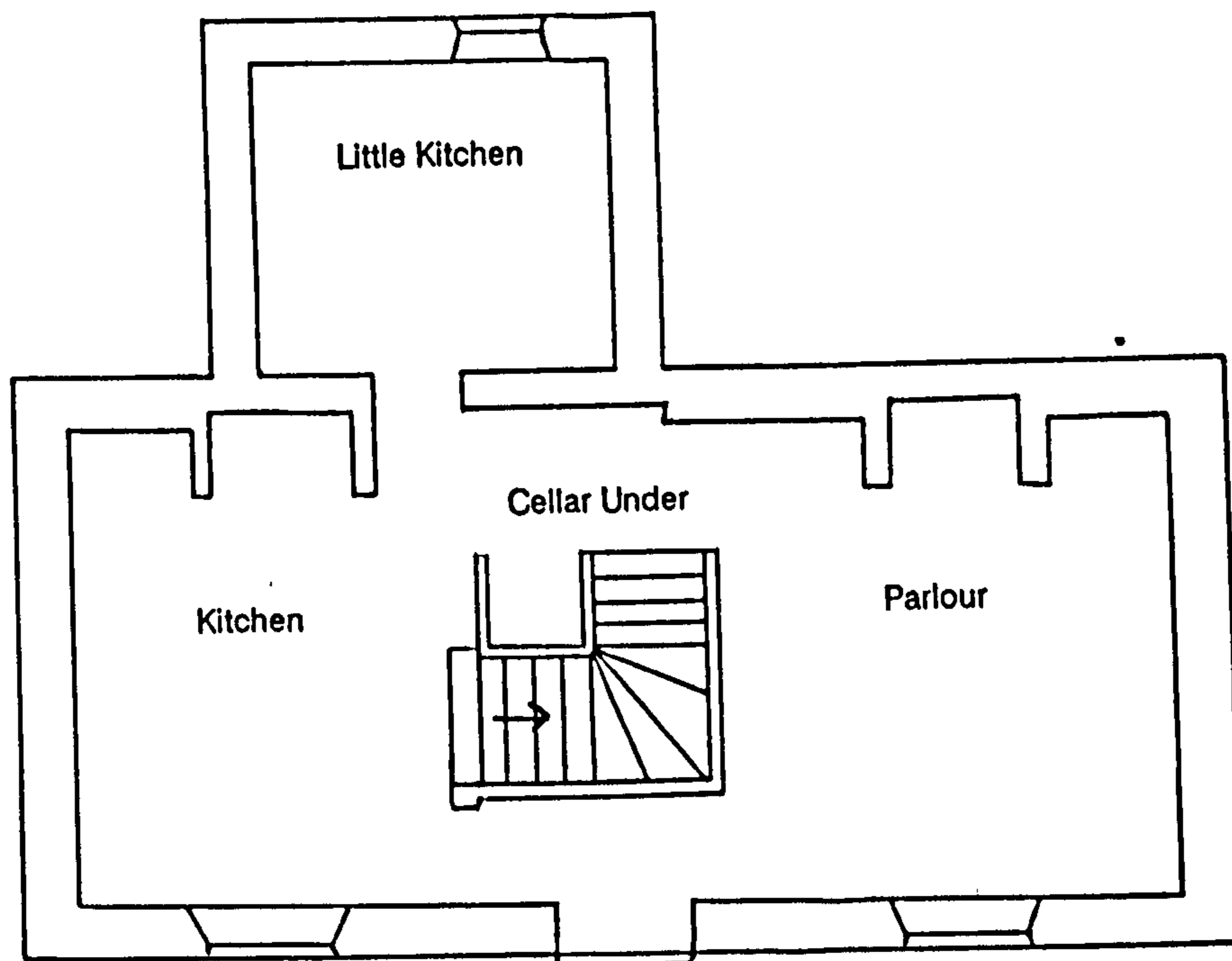
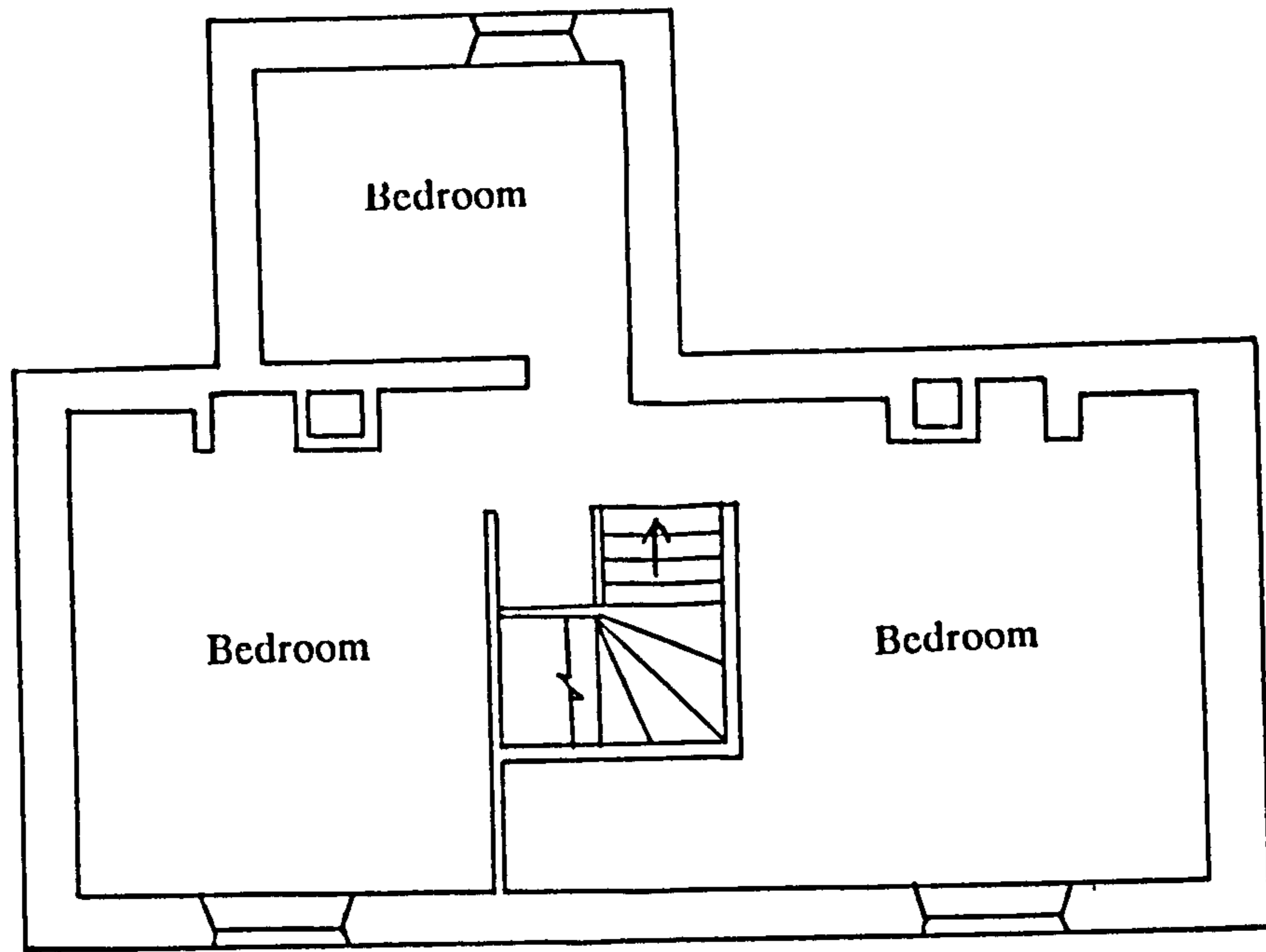
in during the late seventeenth century, he destroyed all trace of any earlier house, building anew from the foundations in c.1700, joining it to the earlier sty. (Plate A.5). Built in finely trimmed sandstone with vertical sash windows, it is typical of the small gentry house with kitchen, dining area and two parlours. The west gable is not original to this period, however, following an accident during subsidence repairs in 1963 when the "*west Gable fell into Wyatt's scaffolding*" - it was rebuilt with windows rearranged "*3-2-1 asymetrically*" to suit the architect's taste and confuse future architectural historians.⁴⁸ The house was divided into two dwellings in 1791.

The new house was surrounded by a low garden wall which included mounting steps incorporating a dog kennel.⁴⁹ The assumed arms of Elmhirst were placed in the east and west gables during the 1960s restorations (Fig. A.8). A unique feature at Genn House is the surviving eighteenth century well behind the house (Plate A.7),

No.7 OUSLETHWAITE HALL

An early branch of the Genn family assarted the area around Ouslethwaite, 100m east of Genn House. Elements of timber framing, discovered during recent conversion to flats, were suspected by the architect to be remnants of their medieval timber building which had been absorbed in the early seventeenth century stone structure. The Hall was inherited from the Genns by the Archdales, a gentry family, then Thomas Hammersley, who placed it for sale in 1768 at the White Bear, Barnsley.

William Elmhirst, the apothecary living at Genn House, had an annual income in excess of £400 and was ever ready to invest. He bought Ouslethwaite in 1769 for £3000 but lived out his days at Genn House.⁵⁰ His son, William, trained as a lawyer and, on inheriting the Elmhirst estates after his father was killed falling from his horse in 1773, continued to improve the farms and develop his coal and iron mining industries. His widowed mother remained at Genn House. In



10ft

Fig. A.9 OUSLETHWAITE HALL
(Mid-18th century - SA/EM1761)

1788 William married his cousin Ann Rachel and decided to completely rebuild Ouslethwaite to provide a house reflecting the Elmhirsts' perceived status in Worsbrough society. His house (the central block in Plate A.8) totally absorbed the original small house (Fig. A.9)⁵¹ and, excepting retention of the staircase and the positions of the two ground floor rooms (parlour & kitchen on Fig. A.9), no trace of the early building was positively identified during the 1970s conversion. (The side wing extensions were 19th century additions).

Genn house could, perhaps, be considered 'polite', in the sense of being built in a fashion aimed at creating an impression on visitors, but was weakened by its lack of position. Ouslethwaite, however, was certainly a contrived design, built to impress in the latest style, (which was being adopted nationally), and with extensive views over the



Plate A.8 OUSLETHWAITE HALL

estate, with space before a front curving wall for visiting carriages. Built in deeply-coursed, finely dressed sandstone, the aim was to achieve symmetry with large windows and identical spacious rooms, their function determined by

planning, rather than growing from a working need. Similar houses are to be found over large parts of Yorkshire, with a particularly comparable example at the Old Rectory, Mickletown (Methley) near Wakefield.⁵²

In 1843 Ann Rachel, now a widow, was living at Ouslethwaite and her son, another William, took an Inventory of the Hall's contents in 1843 when he purchased the furnishings from her.⁵³ The total at £292:7:0 included an impressive list of a wide variety of tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, silver, glassware, clocks, china, etc. An important change in nomenclature of rooms is noted where those previously described as 'chambers' are designated 'bedrooms'. The closely-written ten pages of items illustrate the standard of luxury to which the family aspired having climbed to the peak of Worsbrough society.

No. 8 ROCKLEY OLD HALL.

In contrast to the rising fortunes and improving status of the Elmhirsts seen through their enhanced living conditions, the Rockley family illustrates decline. They lost the original family seat at Old Hall in the fourteenth century and the present building, dating from late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, has no connection with them though the name of Rockley Old Hall persists. (Plates A.9 & A.10).

Again dependence must be placed on the judgement of the restoring architect of the 1960s, when converting the Hall into four flats, that a medieval timber Hall survives in large part within the stone structure of the central portion.⁵⁴ The main house, consisting of hall and cross wings built about 1600 of ashlar sandstone, appears to mirror this earlier timber frame house of the Everinghams to whom Old Hall came by marriage early in the fourteenth century.⁵⁵ The south wing was added by mid-seventeenth century and the house as it stands can be ascribed to the Walker family who purchased from the Everinghams in 1573. The Quaker family of Milner bought the house in the late seventeenth century, by which time it appears to have been

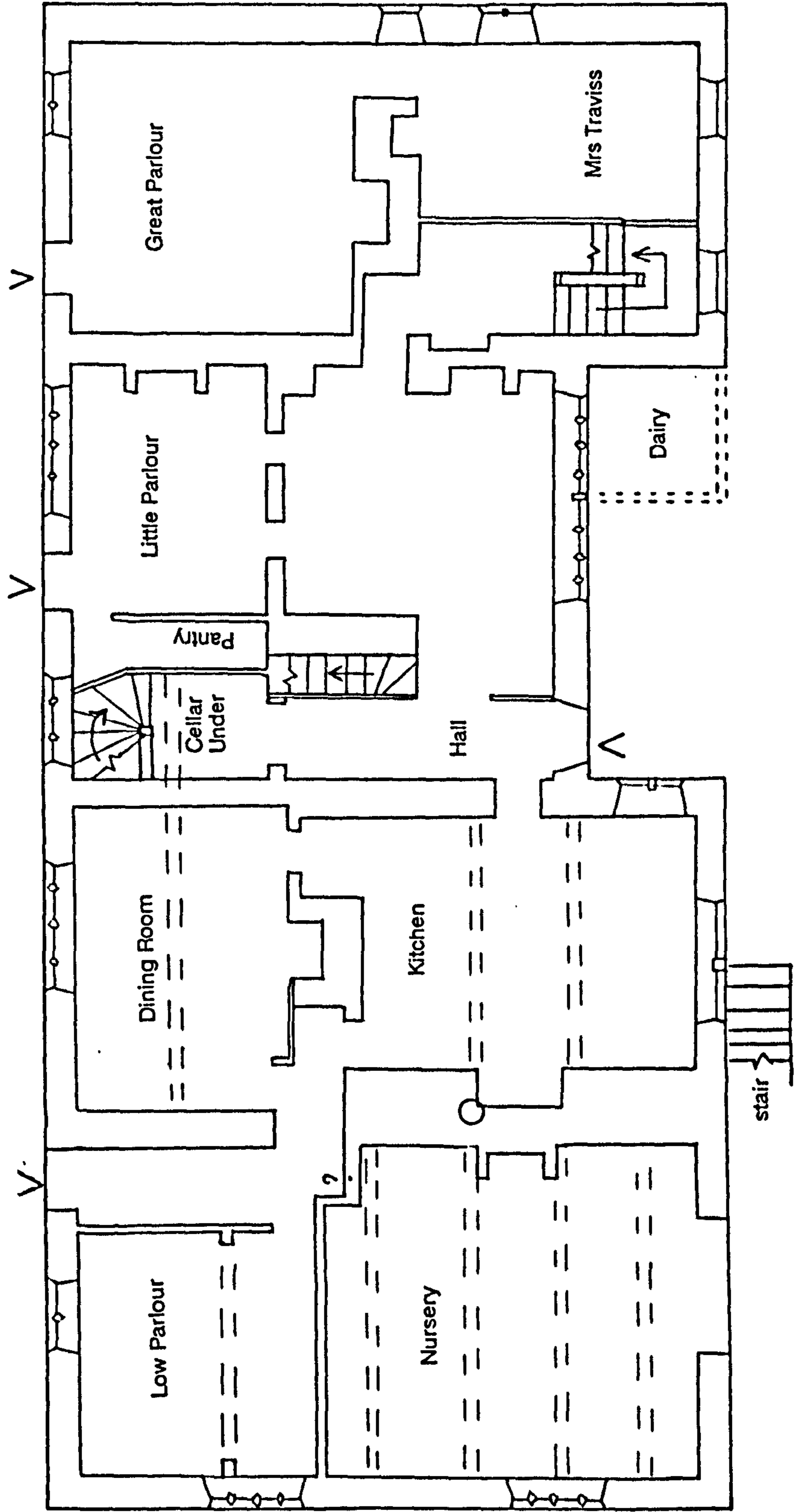


Fig. A.10 ROCKLEY OLD HALL



Plate A.9 ROCKLEY OLD HALL - East Elevation



Plate A.10 ROCKLEY OLD HALL - West Elevation c.1910
(Copy of photoprint - negative not extant)

too large as a single residence, no longer of squirearchy status, and is listed as two dwellings in the 1672 Hearth Tax return.

The building retains its original seventeenth century appearance, excepting additional entrances to north and south wings and removal of the Dairy extension at the 1960s conversion. The suggested room use, on Figure A.10, is derived from 1746 Probate Inventories of William Milner and David Traviss, though it is noted in a 1730 Inventory (Thomas Knutton) that 'Little Parlour' was 'Low Parlour' and 'Great Parlour' the 'Middle Parlour'.⁵⁶

Milner was a farmer and held all the farm buildings, whereas it was simply a residence to Traviss. As chaplain to the Earl of Strafford, at Stainborough, Traviss played an important role in the general election campaign of 1734.⁵⁷ He was buried at Worsbrough church in the Wentworth vault. His Inventory suggests he enjoyed a comfortable standard of living with a variety of tables and chairs, knives & forks, glasses, decanter and china and framed maps of England and Scotland. His 'dining room' was clearly used as such with mahogany table, eleven chairs, fire screen, cupboard of china and, unusually for Worsbrough, paper hangings. Oddly for a Chaplain, he had no books, not even a Bible.⁵⁸

Milner was clearly a successful farmer and his part of Old Hall could even boast of window curtains, numerous pictures, a wide selection of silver & glassware and a coffee mill. However, he had no designated 'dining room'. His Inventory total of £390:5:1 included a locally impressive farm valuation of £269:14:1 which had livestock at £109:14:6, arable £118:3:6 and equipment £41:16:1. In the malt kiln house were "5 ceild chairs 7s 6d" and "6 chairs unfinished 6s" suggesting a level of self-sufficiency.

The double cellar had only one shared entrance, causing problems of access, yet both families stored quantities of barrels, glasses, etc. at the cellar head.

After the death of David Traviss in May 1746, his widow remained at Old Hall and Milner's inventory shows her living

in what would now be considered a furnished flat, but with all furnishings listed under Milner as "At Mrs Travisses", presumably after the sale of her own possessions.

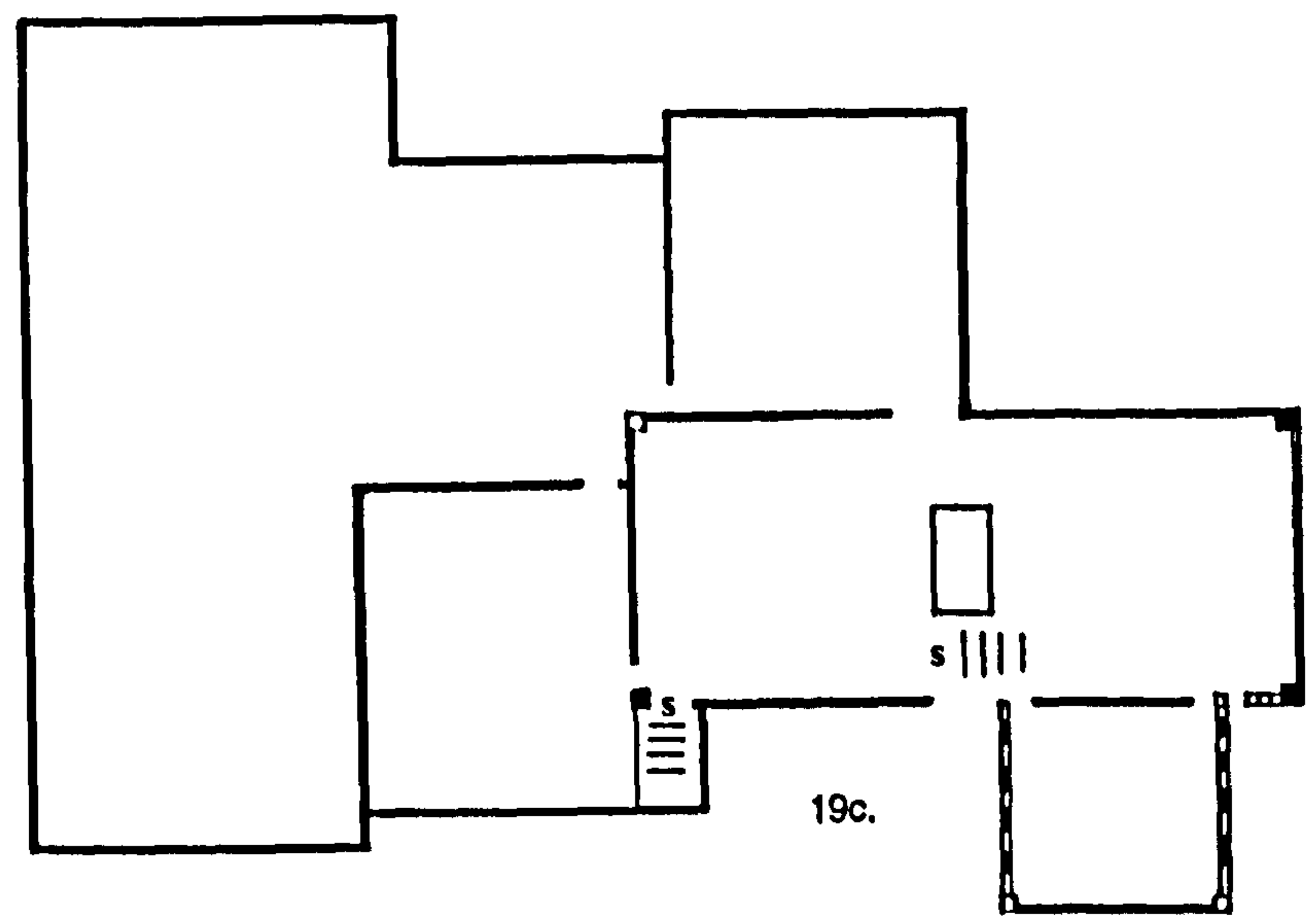
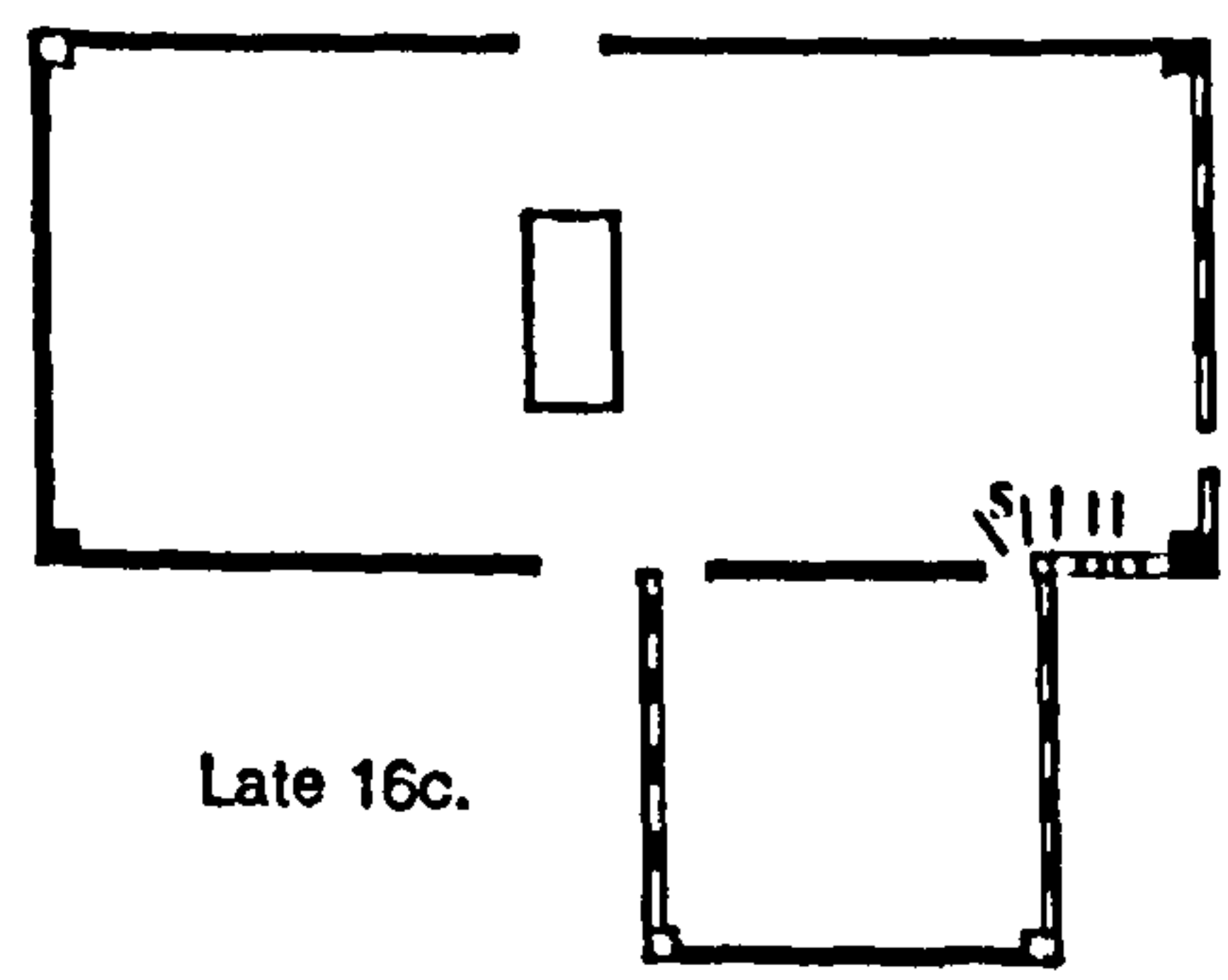
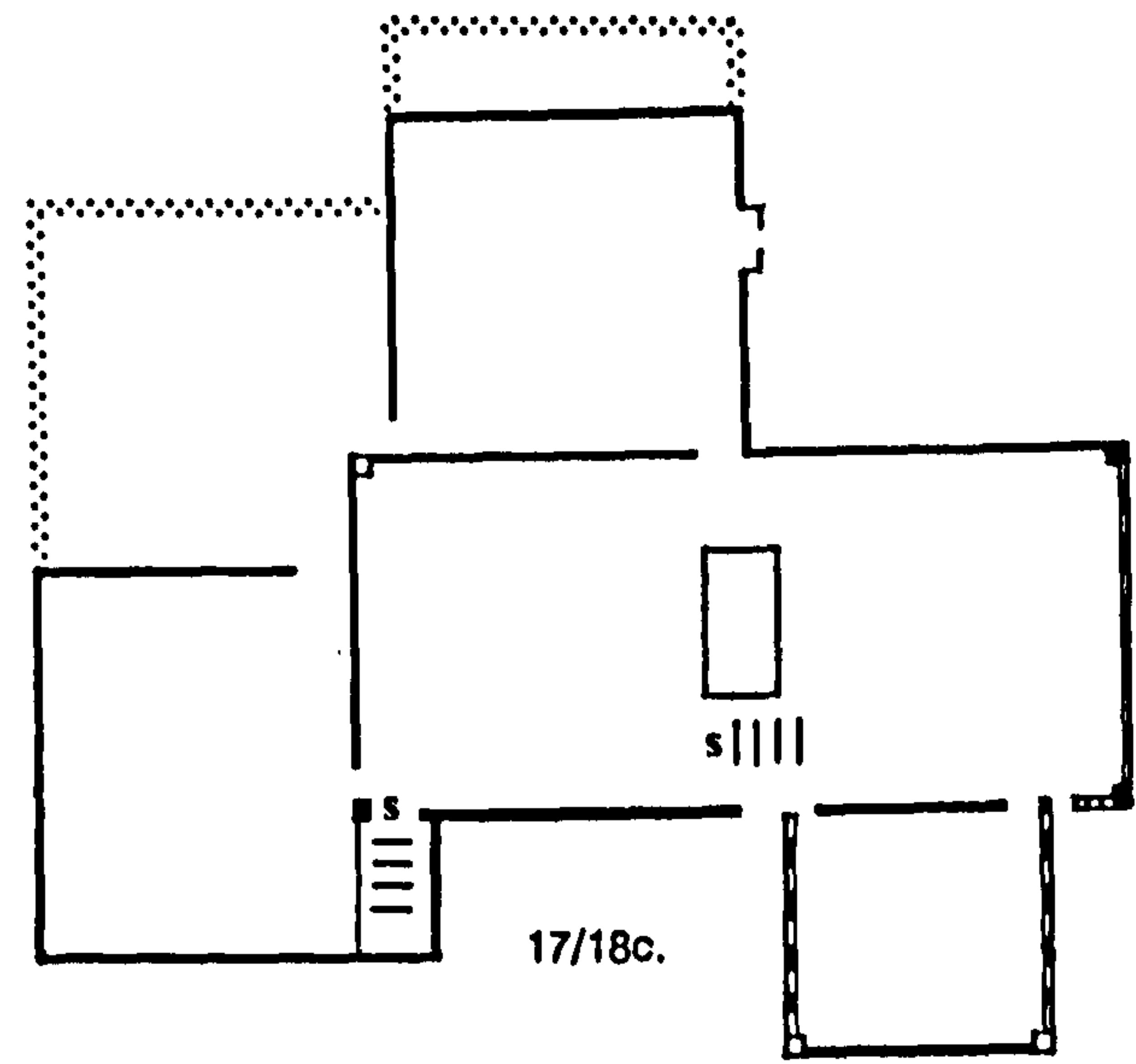
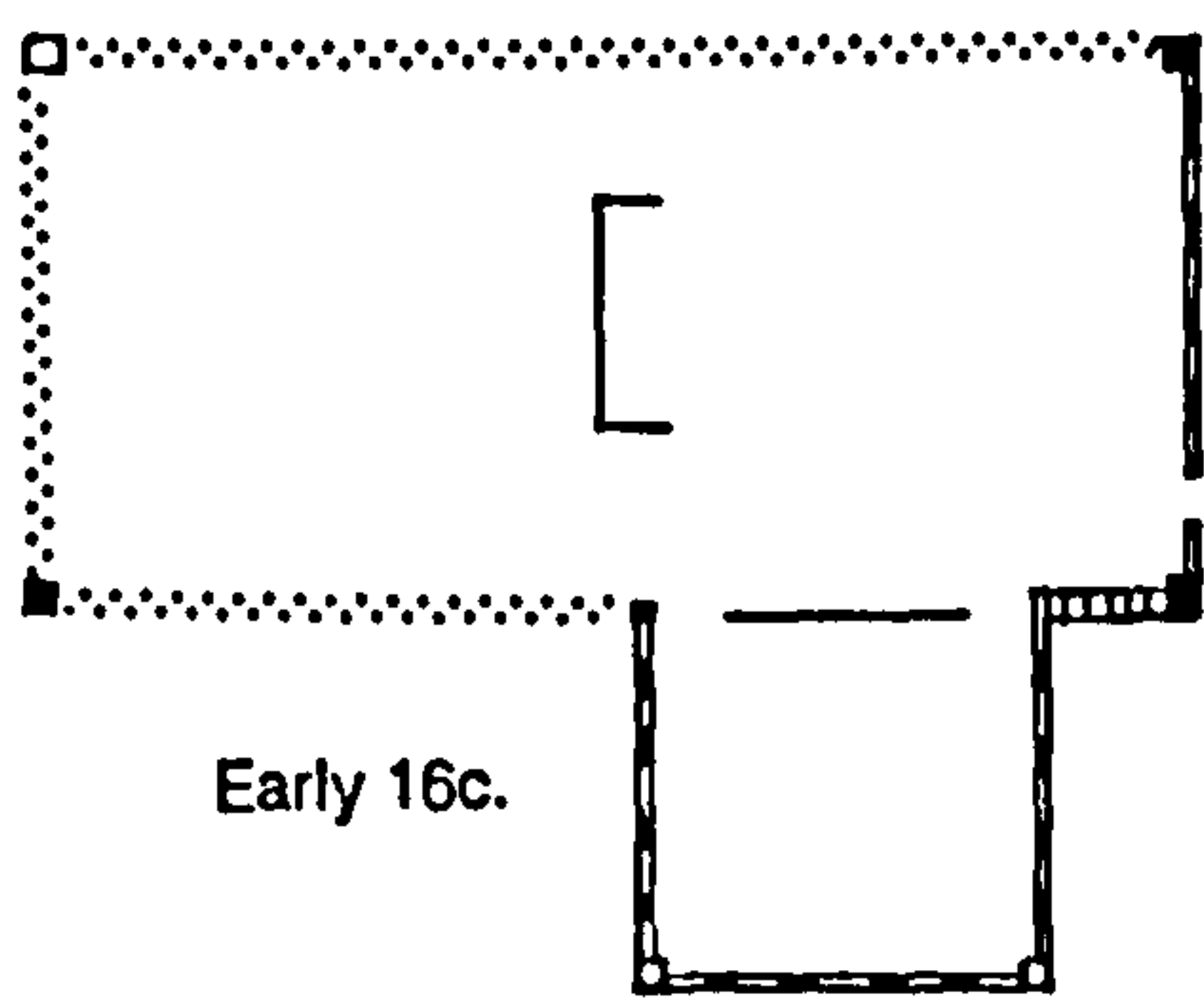
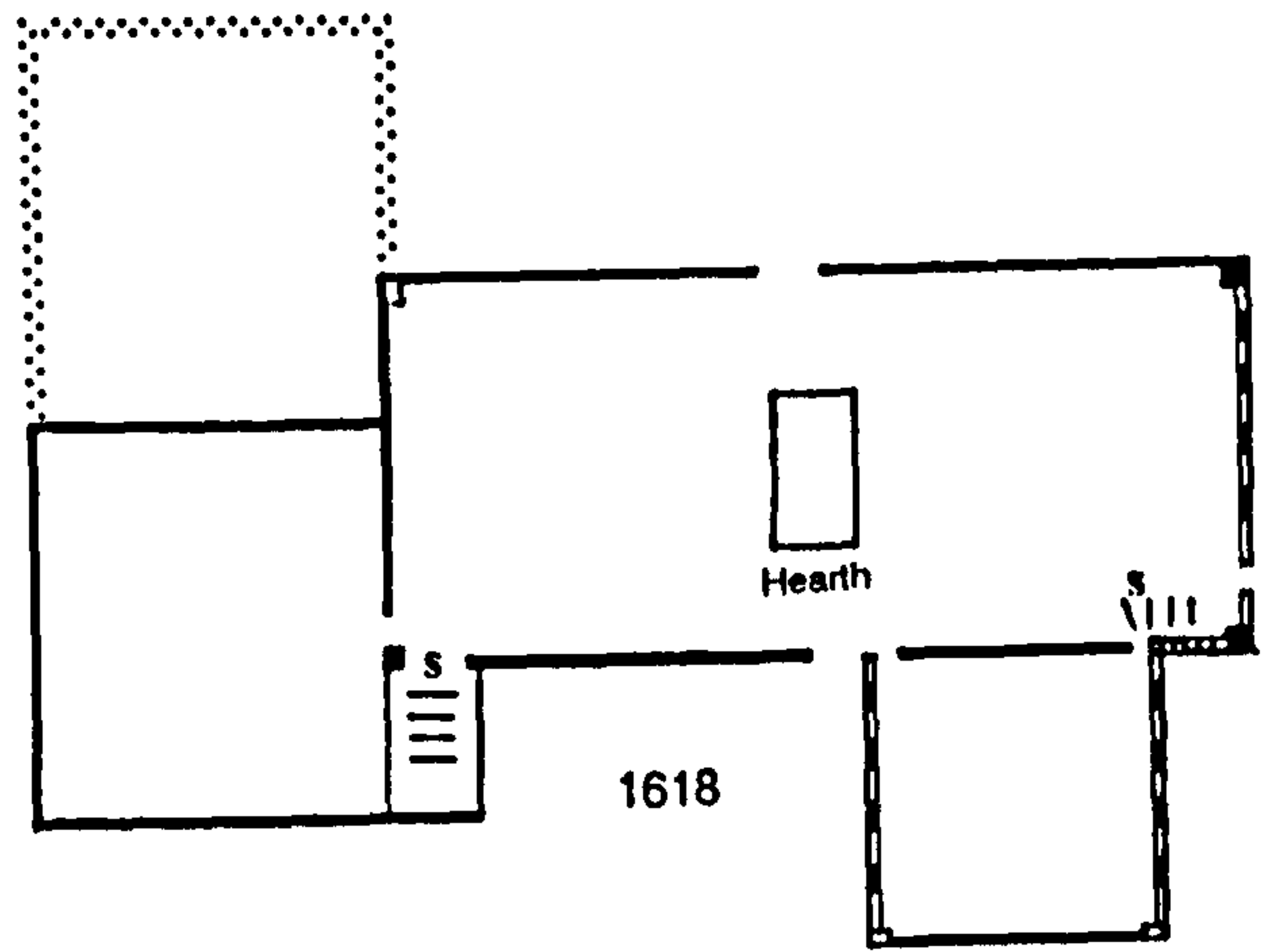
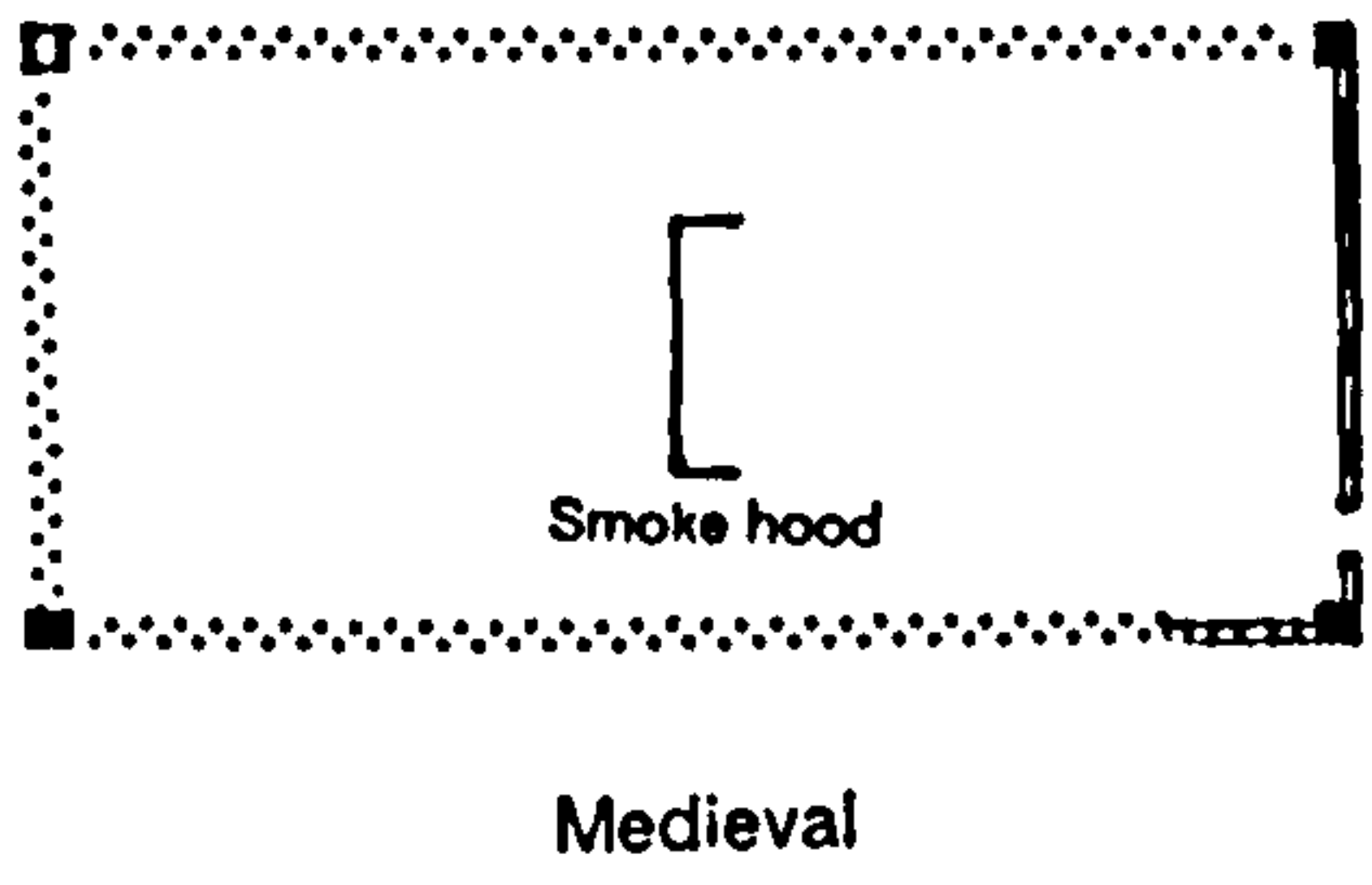
Note: Rockley Abbey Farm.

The enforced move of the Rockley family to the Abbey Farm site has been described earlier. The house was listed with 11 hearths in 1672 under 'Mr Hayforth', the Rockley's agent responsible for their downfall through embezzlement. In the middle years of the nineteenth century the entire house and farm buildings were rebuilt from the foundations⁵⁹ and in the 1950s further remodelling showed nothing remained of the early Rockley dwelling, other than re-used oak beams of uncertain provenance.

No.9 SWAITHE HALL

The Hall illustrates the constant piecemeal changes, introduced by successive owners, in modifying a building to match changing needs and status. Figure A.11 summarises these modifications, in the light of present evidence, showing the building began life as a two-cell timber house some time in the later medieval period. Roofing construction and window mullions suggest the projecting north wing was added early in the sixteenth century. Later that century the outer frames were replaced with dressed sandstone but retained the king post, diagonal studding and corner posts on the east gable with sections of vertical studding on the north wall (Plate A.11) reminiscent of Houndhill.

At this stage the east end and parlour were chambered over with the hall open to the roof, (Fig. A.12). Examination of the roof timbers showed little blackening but evidence of an earlier exit hole for smoke suggests the possible use of an iron chimney. Two local examples are known from Wills of the period in this standard of housing as when Thomas Cutler in 1540 bequeaths his 'yron chimney' to his son Laurence.⁶⁰ During the later sixteenth century the house was occupied by



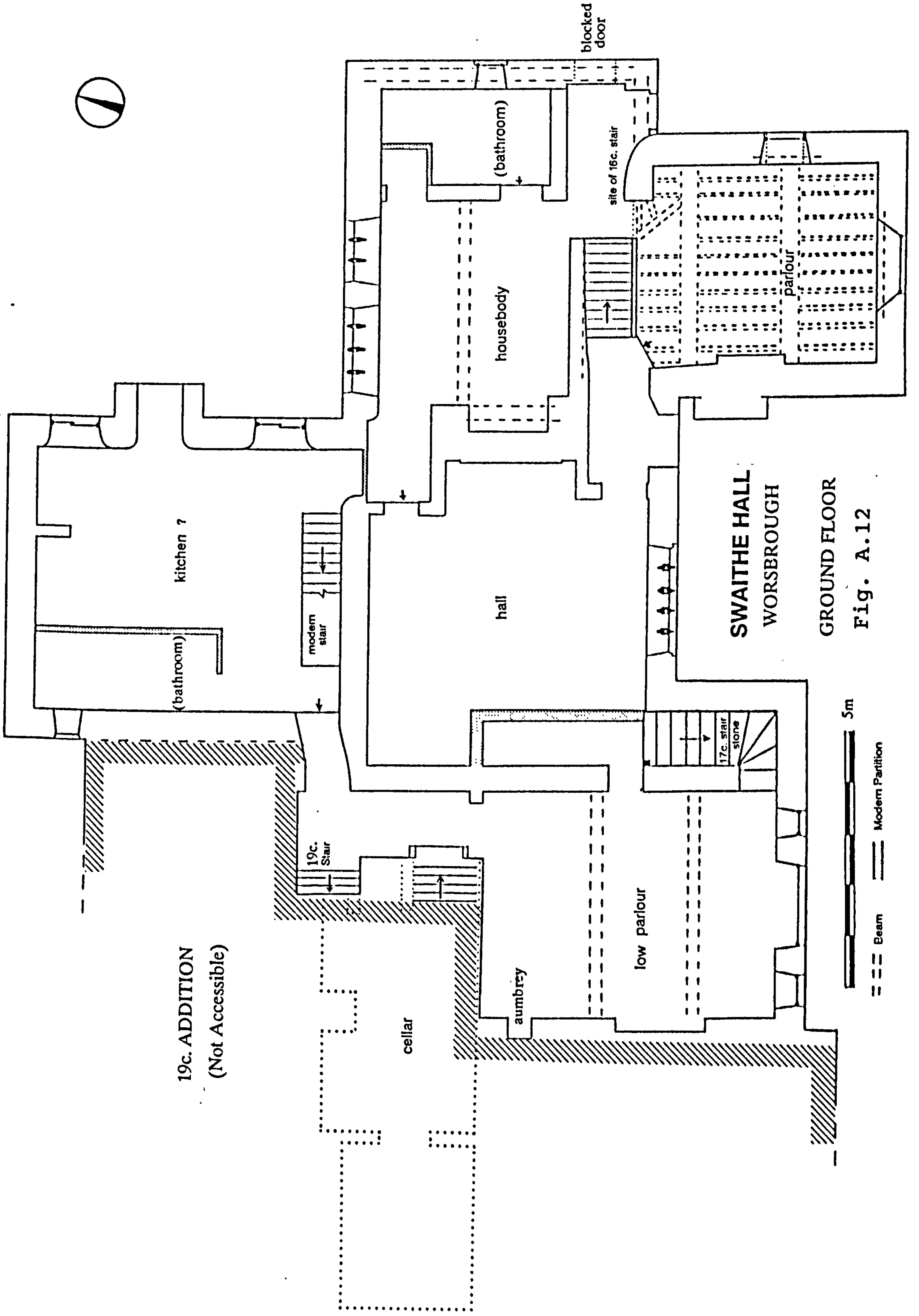
- Conjectured
- Timber frame
- Stone walls
- s Stair

SWAITHE HALL

Fig. A.11 Development Sequence



19c. ADDITION
(Not Accessible)

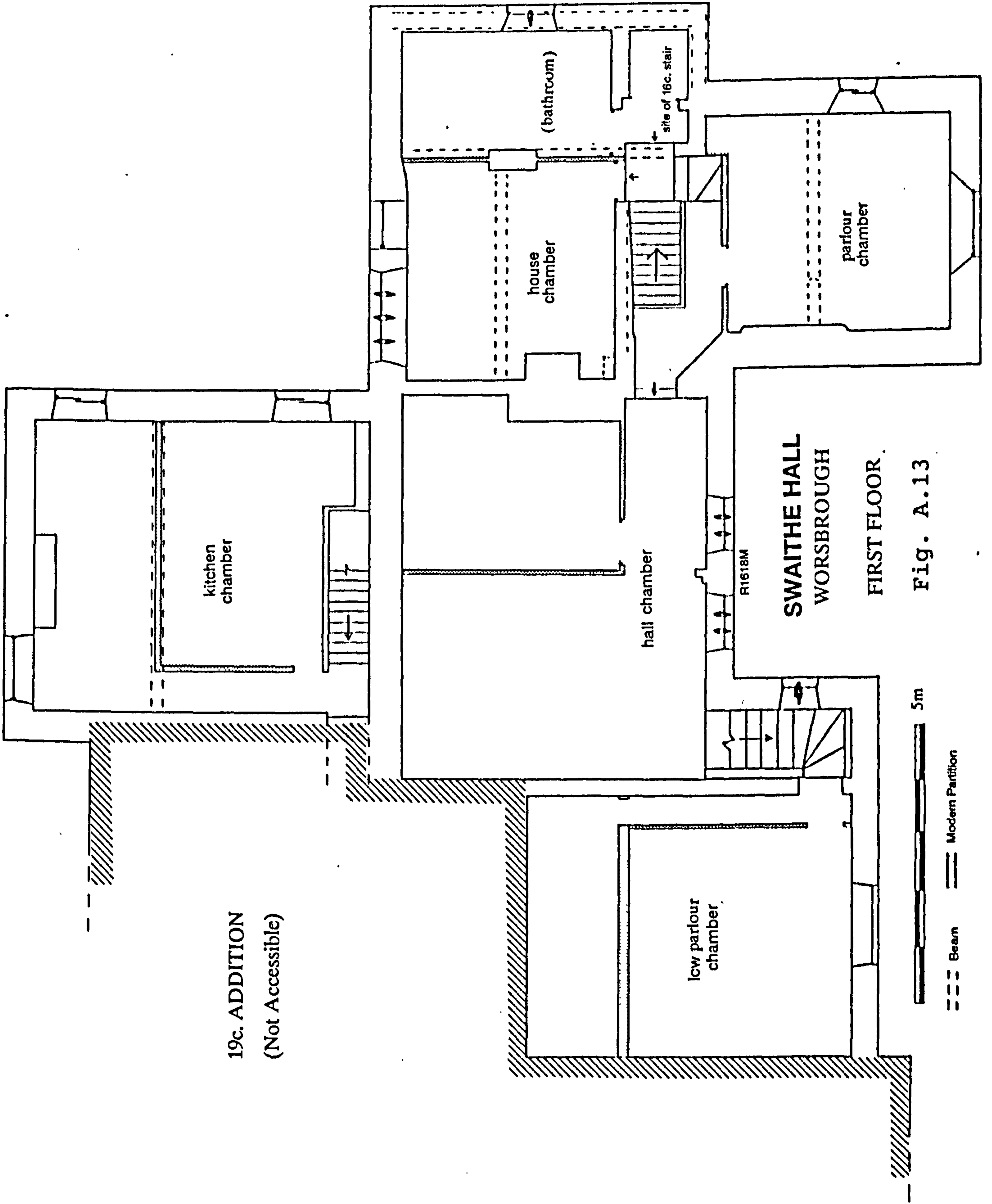


SWAITHE HALL
WORSBROUGH

GROUND FLOOR

Fig. A.12





the Micklethwaites, yeomen farmers who migrated from the medieval assart at Micklethwaite, in Silkstone, from where the family name originates. The extensions of the timber building would be the work of William (died August 1595) and Thurston (died April 1596). It appears from William's Will that he intended further timber extensions as he leaves "*Henry Riley all my timber which is felled toward building*" and the "*slate stone he provided towards my new kitchen*". It is noted he also left Riley (his son-in-law) "*all the glasse in the windows in the house conveyed to him*", emphasising the value placed on glazing which would have been rare at the time even for a prosperous yeoman.⁶¹

In 1618 Richard Micklethwaite, son of Thurston, improved the house by ceiling over the hall to provide additional chambers and added the low parlour with stone staircase. The timber gable (Plate A.12), over the sixteenth century five-light mullioned window of the hall, inscribed "R 1618 M", is now obscured by rendering. A crude ladder (*in situ*) from the 'bathroom' area led to the servant garret still containing part of the wiring for the bell signalling.

At the close of the seventeenth century Swaithe Hall was largely as it stands today and had been acquired by the Wordsworth family of Penistone, on the marriage of Richard Micklethwaite's daughter to John Wordsworth. His other daughter, Margaret, married Richard Elmhirst of Houndhill, showing the close network of class limitation amongst the yeomanry. After the death of John Wordsworth in 1690 the Hall had a succession of owners, often being divided into two dwellings, until the major addition on the west, by coal magnate Joseph Mitchell about 1870, damaged part of the original house by removing the end bay at the rear of the cross wing.

No Probate Inventories relating to the house have been located and the sole information regarding furnishing is a brief reference in Thurston's Will (1595) leaving a "*stande bedde steade and joyned chist*" to his daughter Alice and Richard (1638) leaving the "*Two tables a forme a Cupbord a*



Plate A.11 SWAITHE HALL - EAST END AND CROSS WING.



Plate A.12 SWAITHE HALL - CENTRAL HALL

Range & a Clocke" in the hall to his son-in-law Elias Micklethwaite. (The 'range' reference confirms its mobility and reinforces caution when equating 'ranges' in Probate documents to 'fireplaces' in standing buildings).

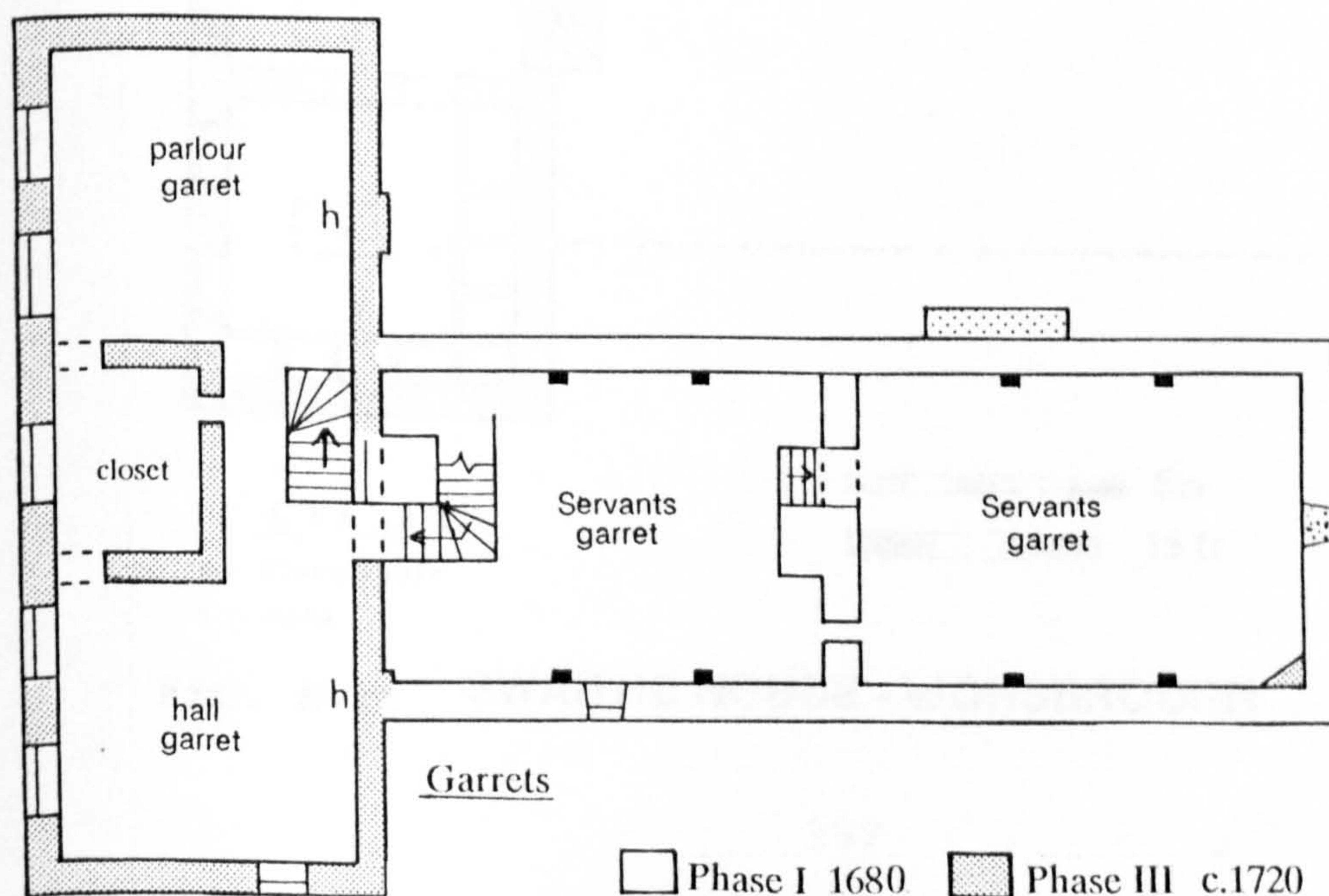
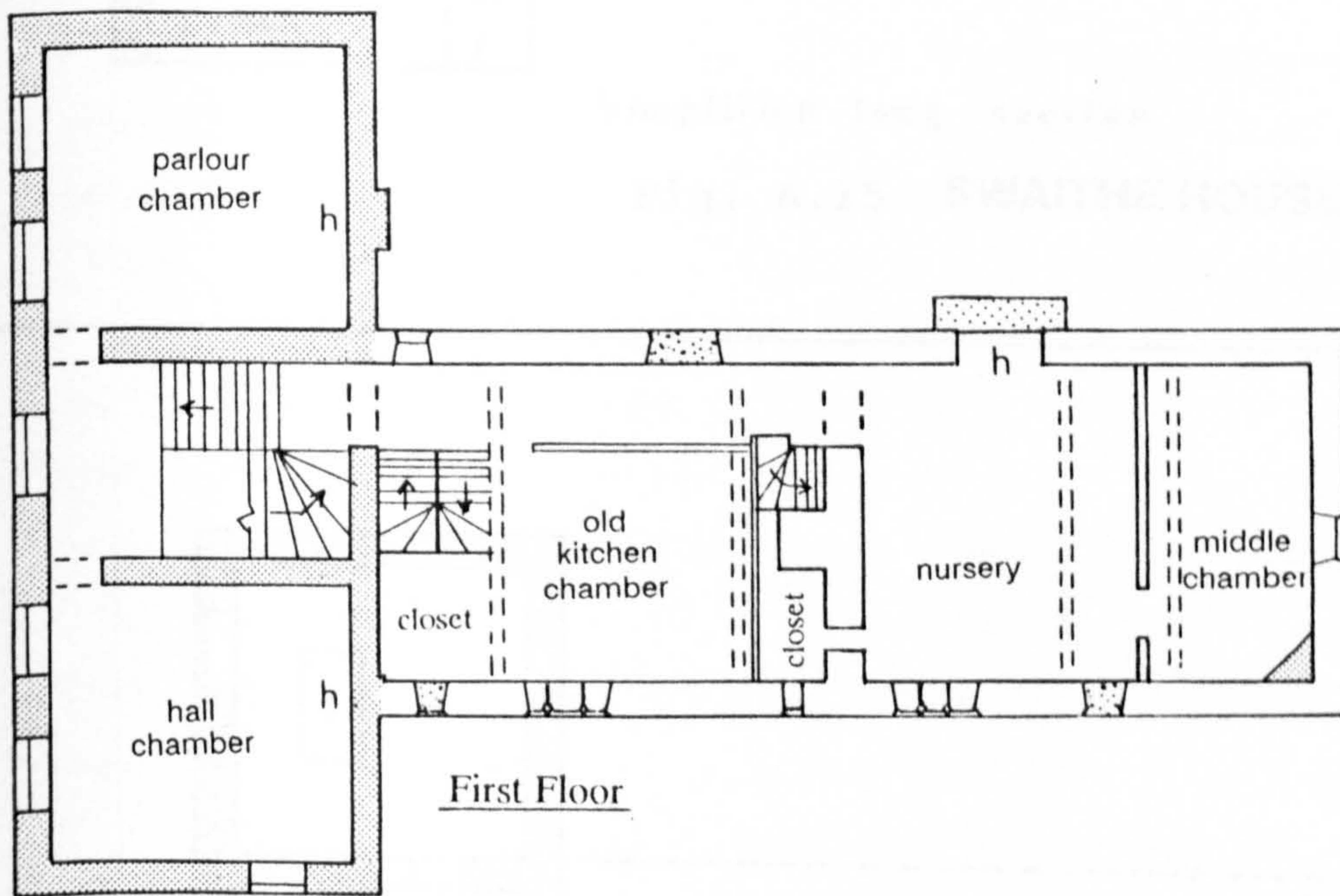
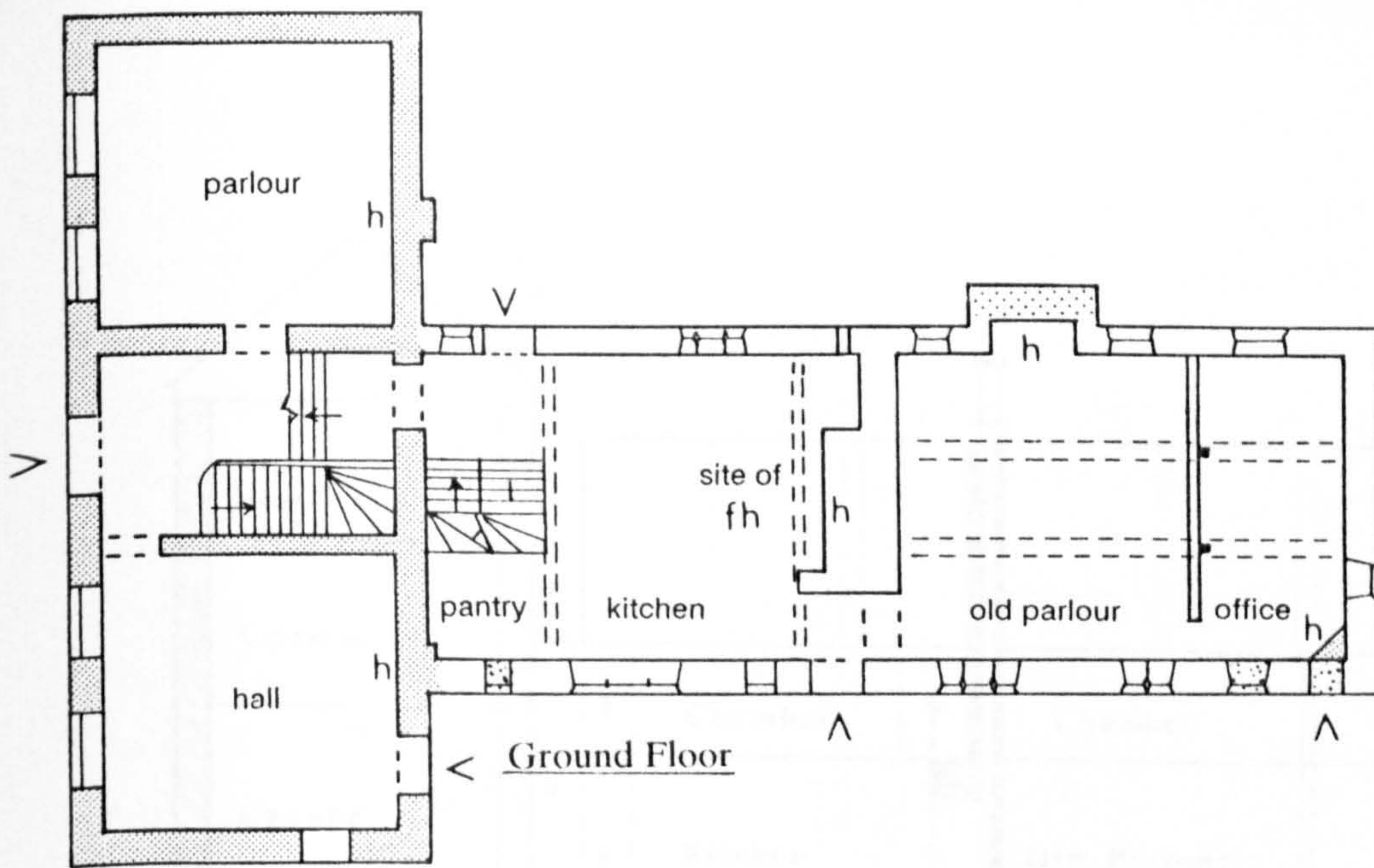
Associated with the Hall is a cruck barn of three bays. The four crucks have apexes of Type 'A', with wall ties and a wall plate; its soffit is obscured by the stone side walls which may have replaced the earlier timber walling. No date can be ascribed to it other than assuming its relation to the timber-frame stage of the Hall.

No.10 SWAITHE HOUSE

Unlike Ouslethwaite, which immediately demonstrated the gentry status and prosperity of the Elmhirsts, the Swaithe House development illustrates the result of a family seeking to create an impression of greater importance, but perhaps over-reaching their resources. The discussion centres on the eighteenth century house of Francis Hall at Swaithe, since when it has remained virtually unchanged, apart from structural neglect, until its recent demolition during the course of this investigation.

The Hall family were formerly of Lewden and appear to have risen from obscurity to relative wealth without the long process of improvement noted in other Worsbrough families. The original source of the wealth, which brought the family to local prominence in the seventeenth century, is uncertain but John Hobson in his diary relates a somewhat bizarre account concerning buried treasure. He records that the grandfather of Francis unearthed a lead-encased hoard of medieval silver coins when ploughing a close near the farmstead, sufficient to fill the paniers of two horses - "*which was the first rise of the family of the Halls of Swaithe*".⁶²

The house may have had the traditional three-cell format but lost the servant cell in the 1720s changes, (Fig. A.14).⁶³ Built of local rough-trimmed sandstone, with a stone slated roof, the baffle entry carries a datestone, now indecipherable but, by consensus, read "W1680H" or "W1689H",



- Phase I 1680
- Phase II
- ▨ Phase III c.1720
- ▩ blocking

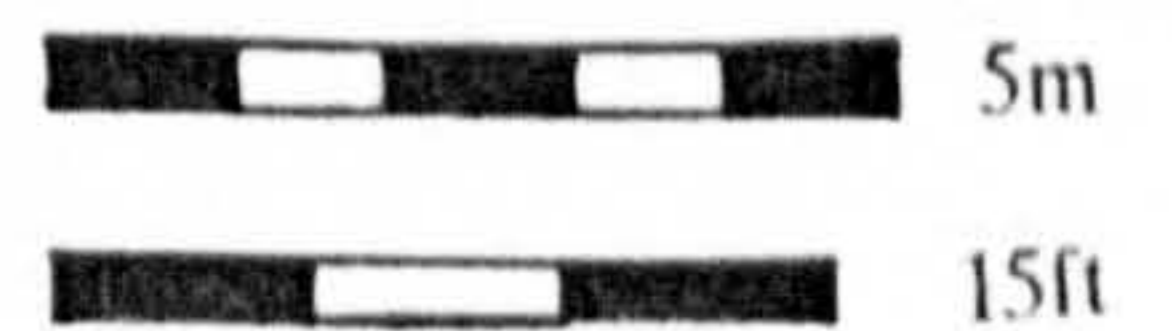
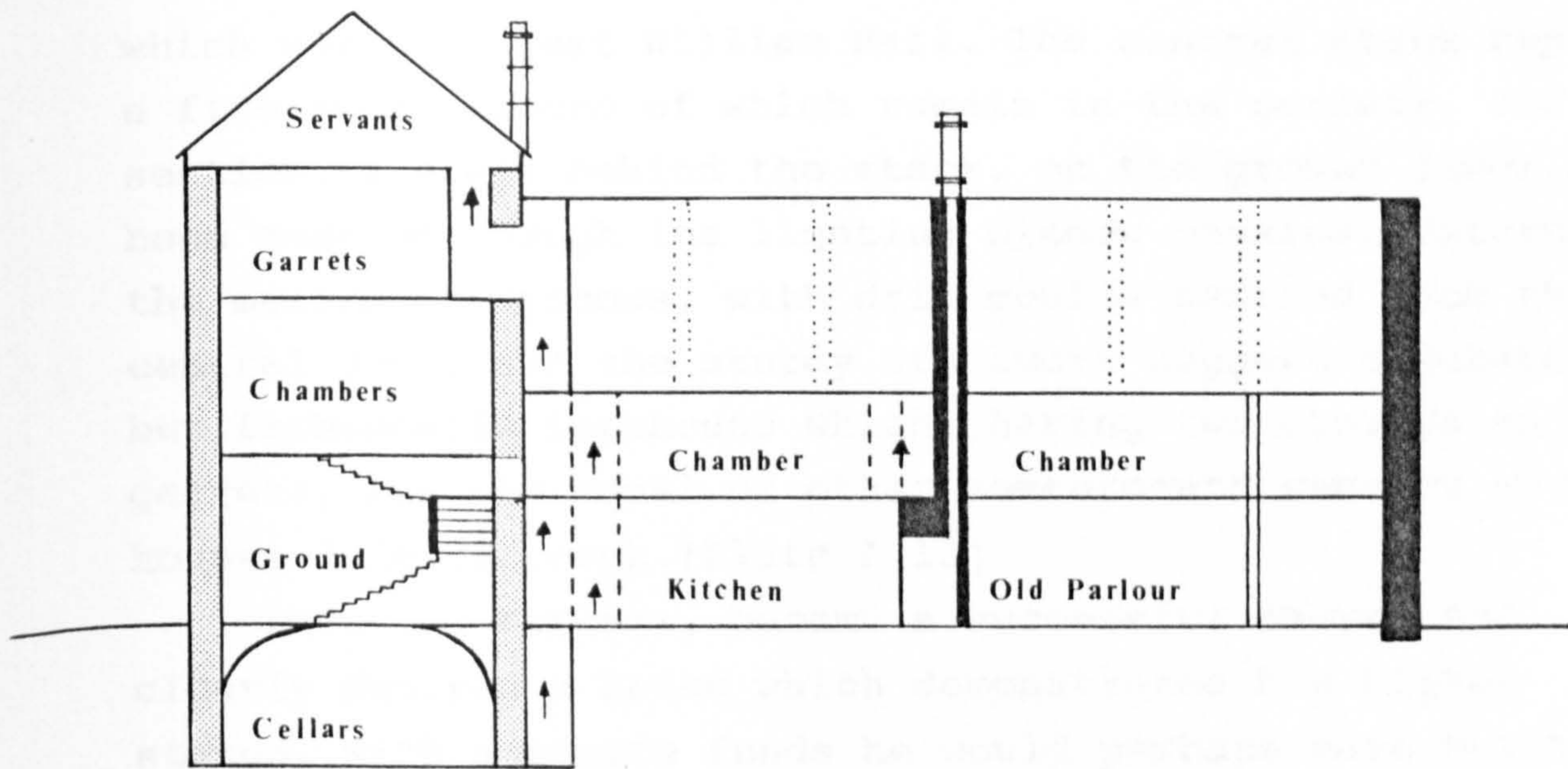
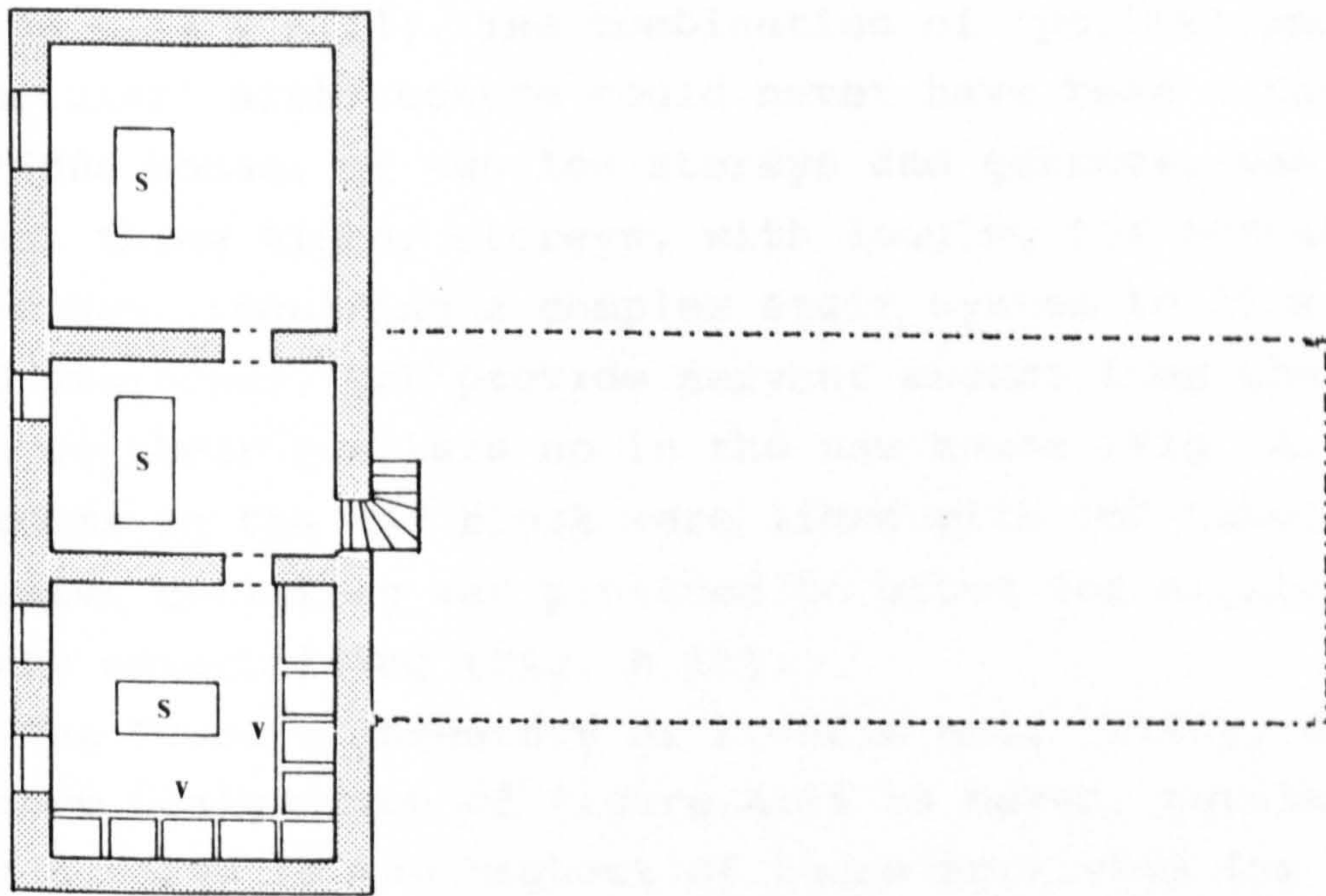


Fig. A.14 SWAITHE HOUSE - WORSBROUGH



Simplified long section

Fig. A.15 SWAITHE HOUSE



CELLARS

s = stone table

v = vats

5m

15 ft

Fig. A.16 SWAITHE HOUSE - WORSBROUGH

which would suggest William Hall. The central stack replaced a fire-hood, traces of which remain in the garrets, and the section of stair behind the stack, on the ground floor, had been removed though its lighting window remains. Externally, the mullioned windows, with drip moulds carried from the central door, and the sturdy stonework suggest a substantial but fashionable farmhouse which, having two storeys and garrets, was the equal of other seventeenth century yeoman houses in Worsbrough. (Plate A.13)

Francis, however, became a successful lawyer and clearly desired a house which demonstrated his higher status. With adequate funds he would perhaps have built a new 'double pile' house which had become the early eighteenth century fashion of the gentry houses. Instead, in 1720, he built only the front half of a double pile. (Phase III, Fig. A.14) The sawn wall-plates and irregular masonry joints show he removed the servant 'cell' at the west end and added the impressive new front of only one room depth.⁶⁴ (Plates A.13 & A.14). The combination of 'polite' and 'vernacular' architecture could never have been a happy one. The 1680s house, of two low storeys and garrets, was fitted against three higher storeys, with lodging for servants in a roof-space, requiring a complex stair system to link the grand staircase, yet provide servant access from the old house to their quarters up in the new house (Fig. A.15). All rooms in the new block were lined with oak panelling and extensive cellaring was provided to cater for eighteenth century entertaining (Fig. A.16).

The Probate Inventory of Francis Hall (1746), on which the room designation of Figure A.14 is based, totals £605:15:0 and is the highest of those surviving for Worsbrough.⁶⁵ His household goods total £204:5:0, more than twice the next wealthy (William Milner at Rockley Old Hall) and he carried £90 "in his Purse", which itself was more than the total inventory of a successful yeoman such as Daniel Ellis of Highstone at £86:3:7 in 1719. Furnishings reflect his wealth in unusual items for Worsbrough - spinet,



Plate A.13 SWAITHE HOUSE - 17TH CENT. EAST END



Plate A.14 SWAITHE HOUSE - 1720s FRONT

various items of mahogany furniture, bureaux, pictures, maps, writing table and curtains. He had back-gammon tables and a laundry equipped with a mangle, not noted elsewhere.

The Revd. Francis Hall of Tankersley sold the house in 1773 to the Milner family of Monk Bretton, relatives of the Milners at Rockley Old Hall, and was subsequently leased to a succession of tenants as a working farm, ceasing to be the intended country residence of a gentleman.⁶⁶

No.11 LEWDEN

The complex illustrates the degradation of dwellings to humble farm buildings as housing needs change. Documentary sources indicate that from late sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century three, possibly four, successful long-stay families were contemporary at Lewden hamlet, (Allott, Elmirst, Hall & Rhodes), where now only one dwelling remains. (Fig. A.17)

Buildings 'A' and 'B' were found to be modern.

Building 'C'. An early seventeenth century two-storey structure of five bays, possibly truncated at the west end. Two-light mullioned windows and an upper floor of gypsum plaster, but no form of heating or evidence of partitioning, suggest use as a barn.

Building 'D'. Originally a two-storey timber post and truss building of late sixteenth century, it was encased in stone in the eighteenth century. The posts visibly survive within the walls to below first floor level and the roof trusses of tie-beam and principal rafters are chamfer decorated, suggesting a domestic building. Two bays survive but the timber framing at the west gable is intermediate, implying the removal of at least one bay.

Building 'E'. The first phase appears to be an early seventeenth century hall and cross-wing house. A blocked window in the cross-wing gable has monolithic jambs and chamfer treatment, similar to those of Building 'C'. Early sixteenth century roof timbering survives with an unusual continuous wall-plate where each section is jointed at the angle to the next by bridle joint. In mid-eighteenth century

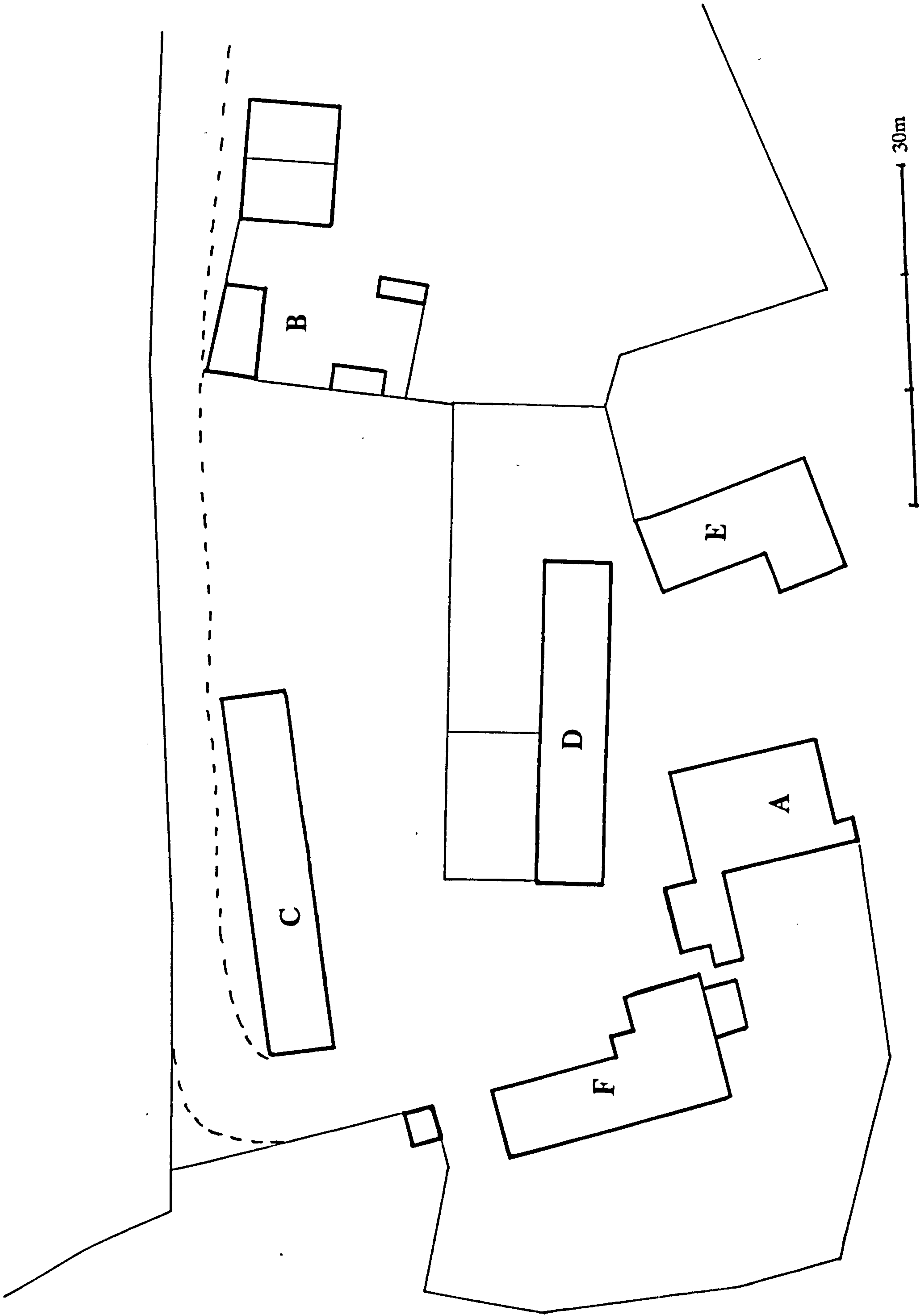


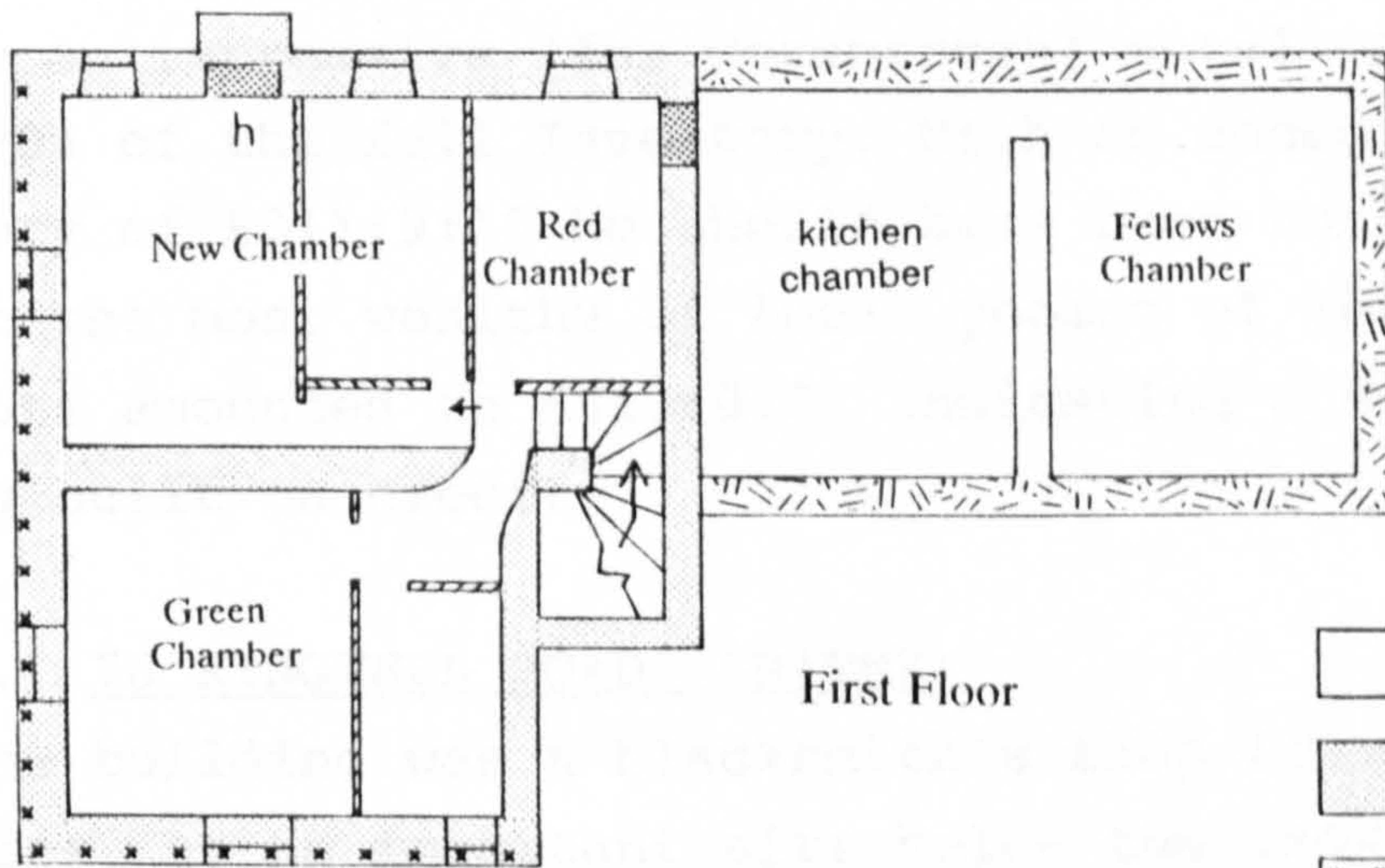
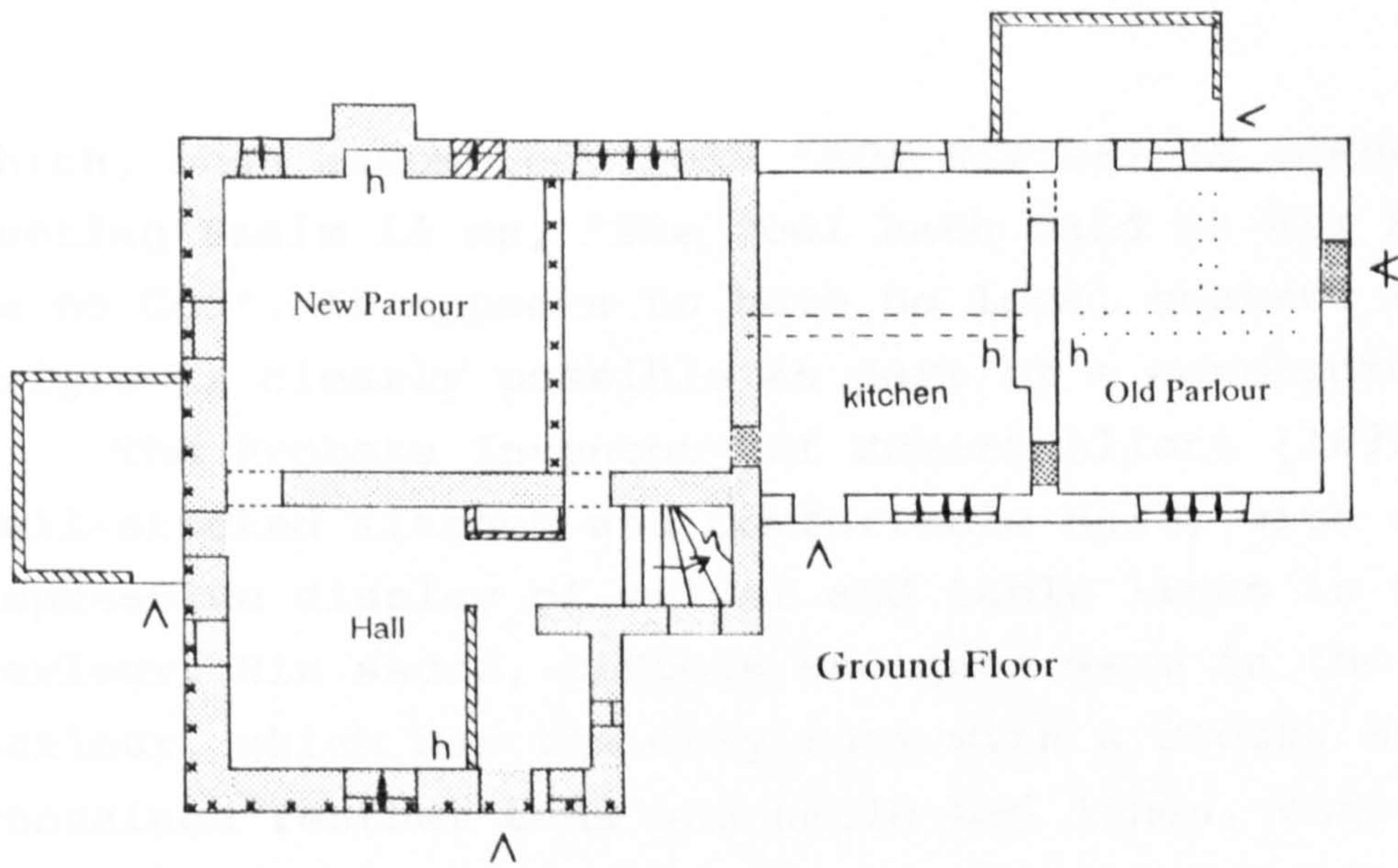
Fig. A.17 LEWDEN

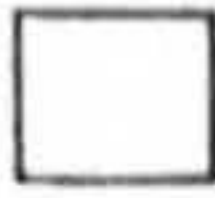

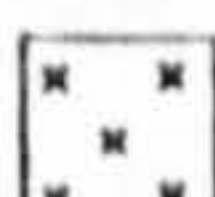



the building was converted to a barn and provided with pitching doors and a new floor. Disused corbels suggest the original building had two floors with garrets.⁶⁷

Building 'F'. The present Lewden farmhouse consists of two phases of seventeenth century building, in deeply coursed local sandstone, (Fig. A.18). The Allott family were at Lewden from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century and, as there is no evidence here of earlier timber framing, this building was probably built by an Allott, transferring from Building 'D'. Currently divided into two dwellings, the room designation on Figure A.18 is from the Inventory of Robert Allott (1692) when a single house.

Structural features can firmly date the seventeenth century origins, though the position of a 1610 datestone on the inside of the New Parlour, above the south-west corner, is surely misplaced. Further difficulties for the architectural historian emerge when restoration work this century is reviewed. Though carried out with the best intent to preserve appearance, it adds to the problems of identifying a building sequence. The upper wall of the two northern bays was taken down and rebuilt in 1934 by William Elmhirst (adding a 1934 datestone); a 17th century five-light mullioned window in the New Parlour was reduced to the present four, the spare pieces being used with similar window parts found in a builder's store to add a two-light window to this room in the 1960s. An eighteenth century chimney stack was purchased at the same store and used to replace the existing Victorian stack of the kitchen. As part of this later renovation the southern block was totally refaced and a new doorway provided, which had been taken from the demolished police station at West Melton (a village four miles east) because "*it looked better*".⁶⁸

As frequently happens with the Worsbrough buildings, claims have been made for use of stone from the dissolved Monk Bretton Priory. Fragments found in the wall surrounding the complex may, in this case, be supportive. Four broken stones, of fine texture, carry parts of an inscription



-  17 cent 1st Phase
-  17 cent 2nd Phase
-  19 cent
-  17 cent (20c. renovation)
-  20 cent.
-  Blocking

5m



**LEWDEN FARM
WORSBROUGH**

Fig. A.18

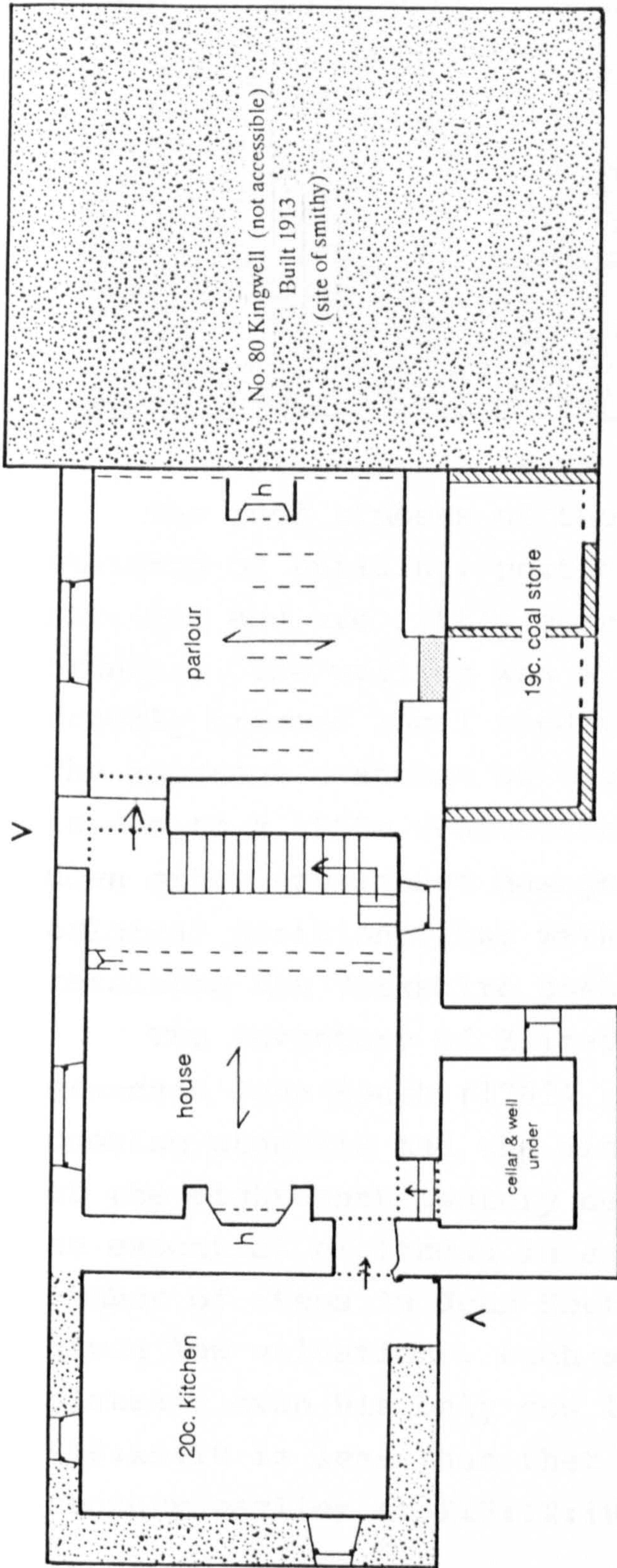
which, when assembled, read "*NON EST DEI IN CORDE SUO PSXIV*" quoting Psalm 14 as, "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God". It appears to have no local context and a Priory origin is clearly possible as part of a consignment.

The Probate Inventory of Robert Allott (1692) shows a well-stocked Kitchen and comfortable Hall, with an impressive display of silver and table linen in the New Parlour. His sword, pistols and guns were in the Old Parlour, which was the only room with a clock. His Chambers contained feather beds and ample bed linen, carpets and curtains suggesting a man of undoubted prosperity, even though he lacked any crockery, but with eight dozen trenchers he perhaps had little need. His household goods came to an impressive (for Worsbrough) total of £83:9:10, being 20% of the full Inventory. With an added farming inventory of £311:9:10 he should have been considered amongst the most wealthy of local yeomen of the time, except his debts amounted to £513:0:0, indicating a substantial holding built on credit.

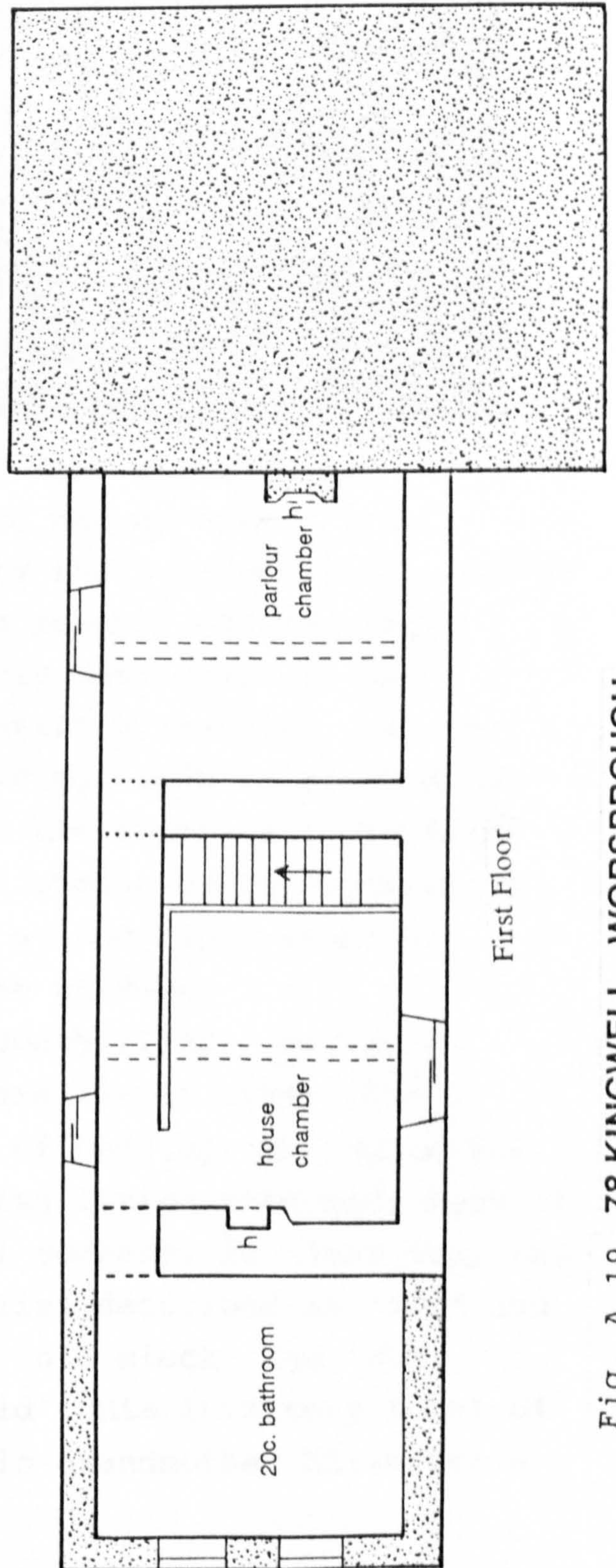
No.12. 78 KINGWELL ROAD (SMITHY)

The building was a blacksmith's shop for almost three centuries, at an important site below the bank on Wass Lane, part of the eighteenth century Turnpike. The South family were the blacksmiths from the early 17th to the mid-18th century, followed by the Jubbs, blacksmiths from Silkstone, until closure early this century. In 1770 Richard South married Mary Jubb, establishing a family link.



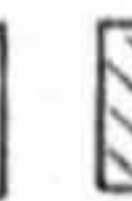

In the seventeenth century it was a one-cell building (the 'House') with smithy, the latter having a wide door entrance now blocked behind the coal store. In the 1672 Hearth Tax return, John South paid for two hearths, one being a forge. In the eighteenth century it was extended to two cells by converting the smithy to a Parlour and adding a new smithy, which was demolished in 1913 when William Elmhirst built the adjoining house at 80 Kingwell Road leaving no trace of the workshop. (Fig.A.19)



Ground Floor



First Floor

-  blocking
-  17 cent.
-  19 cent.
-  20 cent.

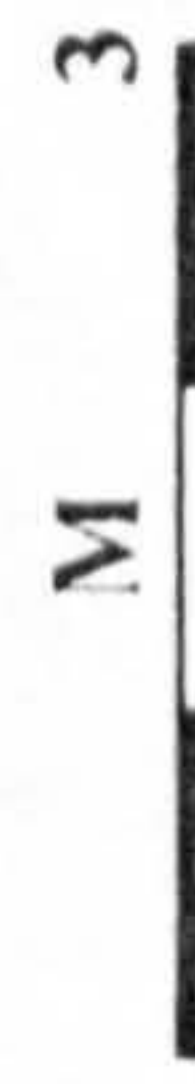


Fig. A.19 78 KINGWELL - WORSBROUGH



Plate A.15 78 Kingwell Road (Smithy)

The roof timbers of the house demonstrate a low standard of building, particularly the purlins which are not straight and are little more than roughly trimmed thick branches. The walling was similarly poor quality, the crudely trimmed local sandstone still evident at the rear. The apparent neatness of the building, seen in Plate A.15, is due to a 1960s renovation when the front wall was taken down after subsidence damage, the stones being replaced in original positions, but with new ground floor windows, retaining the Yorkshire sash upper windows.

The Inventory of Elizabeth South (1693), and her grandson John South (1762), contain little other than cooking utensils and the minimum of bedding. An indication of the eighteenth century depressed living standard, even of an essential craftsman in a rural economy, is clear from the number of items in John South's list described as "old" and given low valuations, such as an 'old clock' and 'old plates'; even his only cow is 'old'. His Inventory total of £10:15:10 is less than that of his grandmother Elizabeth a century earlier at £13:12:10.

No. 13 BANK END (7 Rook Hill).

The position of the yeoman working farmer, wishing to emulate the house rebuilding of the 'new' moneyed minor gentry, is illustrated by the Cawthorne family of Bank End, where the conversion from out-moded timber to gentry stone, was never quite completed. (Fig. A.20).



Plate A.16 BANK END (7 ROOK HILL)

Sawn projecting wall beams and purlins, on the east gable, suggest a bay of the timber house was removed in the first stage of stone building. A buttery extension was added and a new stair with small window lights in the 'kitchen'.

The house, at this 17th century phase, was probably still half-timbered (as at Houndhill) - the outer wall of the first floor, being half thickness of the lower, suggests the upper timber wall was replaced later, using a single course, probably in the eighteenth century when the Yorkshire sliding sash windows were installed in the upper floor, retaining mullioned windows in the lower. The 17th century internal stud & plaster walls and wide, oak plank, floorboards have been retained in the upper floor.

The 'house' of the timber building phase had been heated from a large open fire with smoke hood, the upper

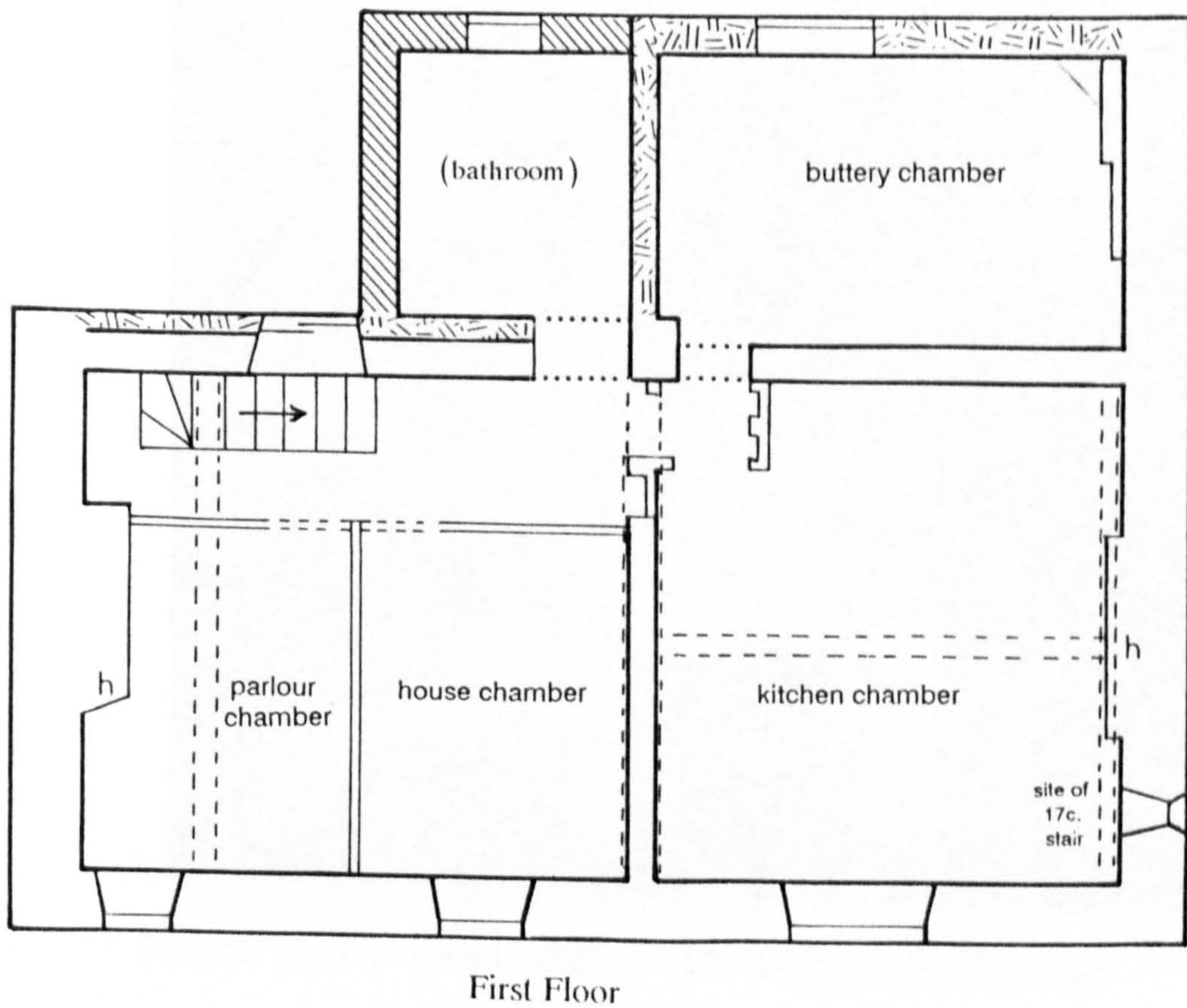
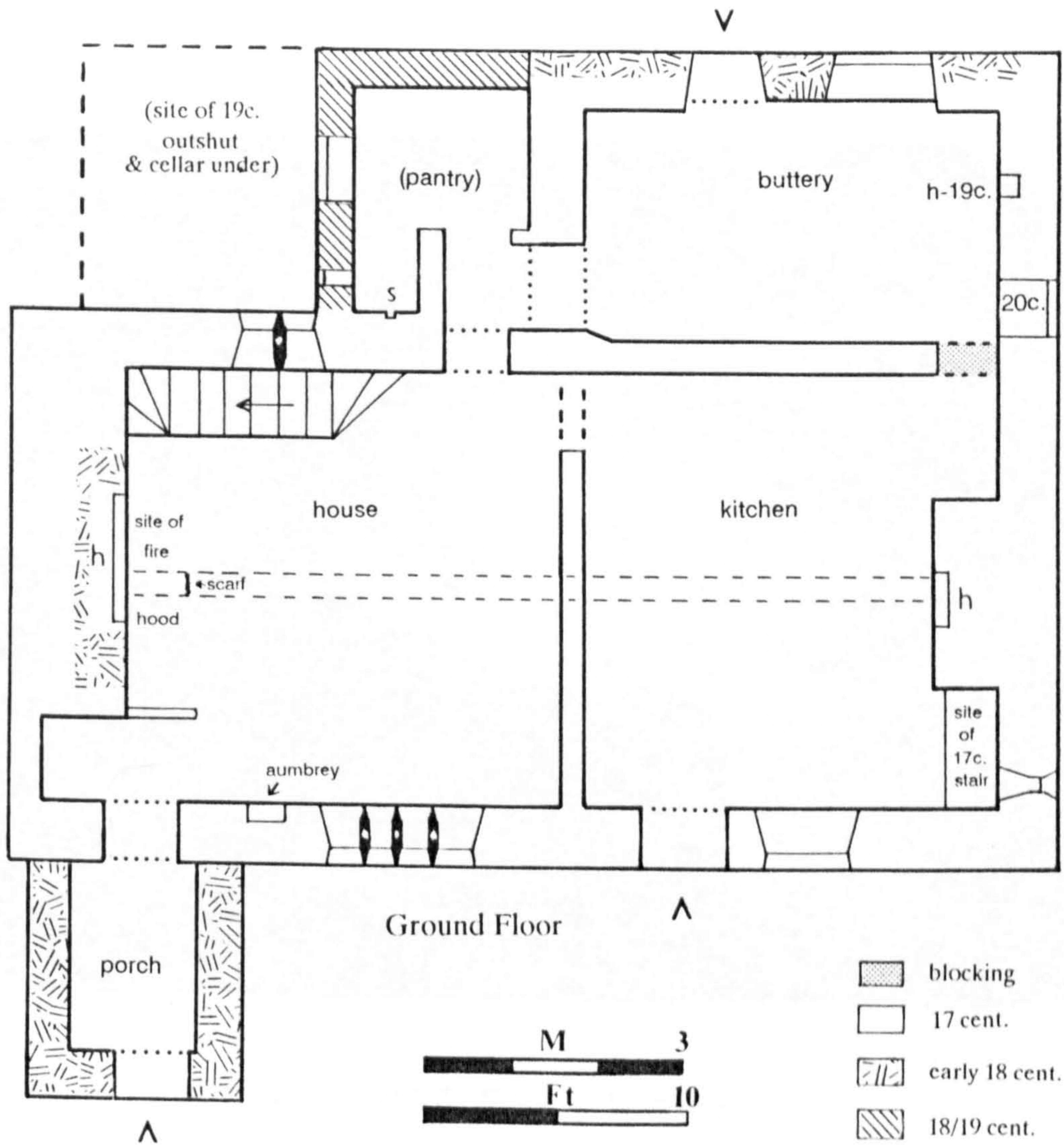


Fig. A.20 Bank End (7 ROOK HILL)



Plate A.17 BANK END - SMOKEHOOD



Plate A.18 BANK END - 17/18C. FIREPLACES

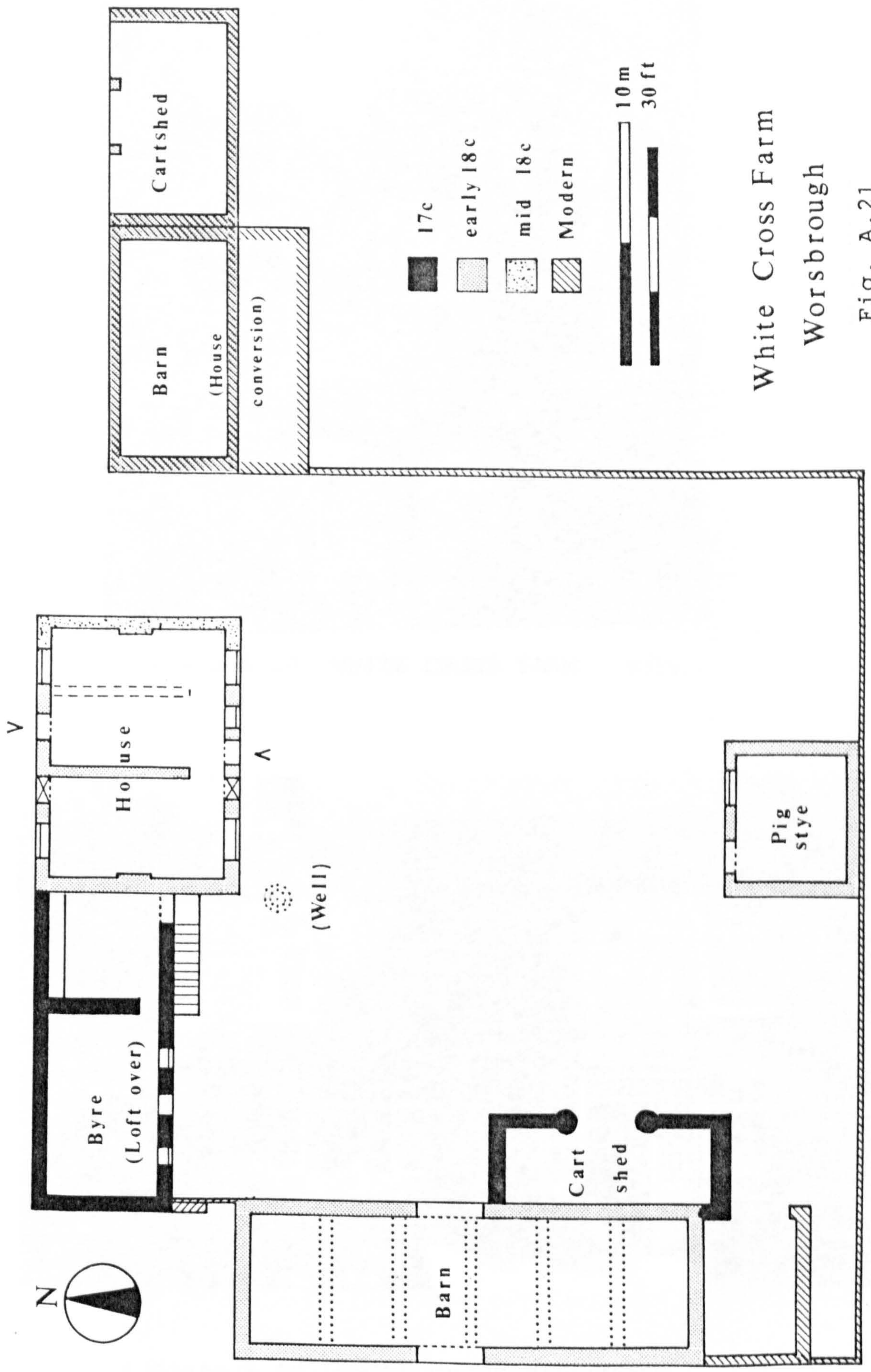
structure of which remains in the loft space as a crude wooden framework, plastered over, through which the eighteenth century chimney projects. (Plate A.17). A transverse beam in the 'parlour chamber', immediately above the former bressumer position in the 'house', has a mortised soffit and upper face for the smoke hood framework, its inner face deeply blackened with signs of burning.

The spine beam of the ground floor had originally been supported by the bressumer but, when the latter was removed on changing to a chimney fire, it was extended by a spliced addition, reinforced by iron bands, to reach the new fireplace position. Two earlier fireplaces were revealed behind the present hearth during recent renovations, but the space beyond, over six feet to the outer wall, which formed the early smoke-hood hearth, is still unexplored. (Plate A.18). A stylobate in the pantry, aumbrey, mullioned windows, Georgian ceiling with moulded centre piece in the 'Kitchen' (now Lounge) and a Victorian garden window indicate how features remain from various periods as each change was never quite completed.

David Cawthorne's Inventory of 1731, despite a respectable total of £270:16:3, and his success on the Barnsley corn market, shows little other than basic possessions for feeding and sleeping, with not even a clock in the house. It is noted, however, that his bedding was all in the Chambers unlike the Marrows, a gentry family, still with beds in the parlour at this period, (page 326).

No.14 WHITE CROSS

The declining fortunes of the village craftsmen, such as John South, contrast with the continuing improvement in conditions for the eighteenth century husbandman, as in the case of the Sykes family of White Cross. Early in the century Robert Sykes had retained the old cart shed⁶⁹ and byre, built in rough sandstone blocks, but removed the seventeenth century house which, in series with the byre, reflected the ancient 'long house' tradition (Fig. A.21).



White Cross Farm
Worsbrough

Fig. A.21



Plate A.19 WHITE CROSS FARM - BYRE



Plate A.20 WHITE CROSS FARMHOUSE

The surface finish of his new, one cell, house, with strong corner quoins, shows his intent to demonstrate his success (Plate A.19). His Inventory of 1753 notes only one chimney, with range in house and chamber. His son, Richard, continued to improve the family fortunes and enlarged the house to two cells. His Inventory of 1765 now shows two ranges on each floor, and close examination of the building reveals the join of the extension with a difference in treatment of the corner quoins. On Plate A.20 the position of the join is artificially emphasised by the cable of the safety light, though the actual join is irregular, judged by changes in texture and finish of the stones. During the nineteenth century the building was divided into two dwellings but is now restored to a single house with one door back and front blocked. (Fig. A.21).

In addition to the ample cooking, brewing and farming equipment, both Inventories show the family well provided with clocks, mirrors, comfortable furniture etc. and Richard had acquired a writing desk, tea chest and oval table to improve on his father's lifestyle.

No.15 BALK FARM

Named from its position at the limit of the old town field, Balk Farm illustrates the piecemeal changes often found in Worsbrough, particularly in the case of such courtyard farms.

The seventeenth century stable block incorporates two cruck blades from an earlier building, (Fig.A.22, C1 & C2). Later in the century a byre and cart shed were added, augmented by the large barn in the eighteenth century. The present house, Plate A.21, was built about 1800, though changes in wall texture and alignment, with repositioning of doors, show parts of an earlier house were retained. It clearly emulated the style being adopted as at Ouslethwaite and Swaithe House, on a smaller scale, but with the only example in Worsbrough of a tall staircase window in the rear. Further additions in the present century show how a

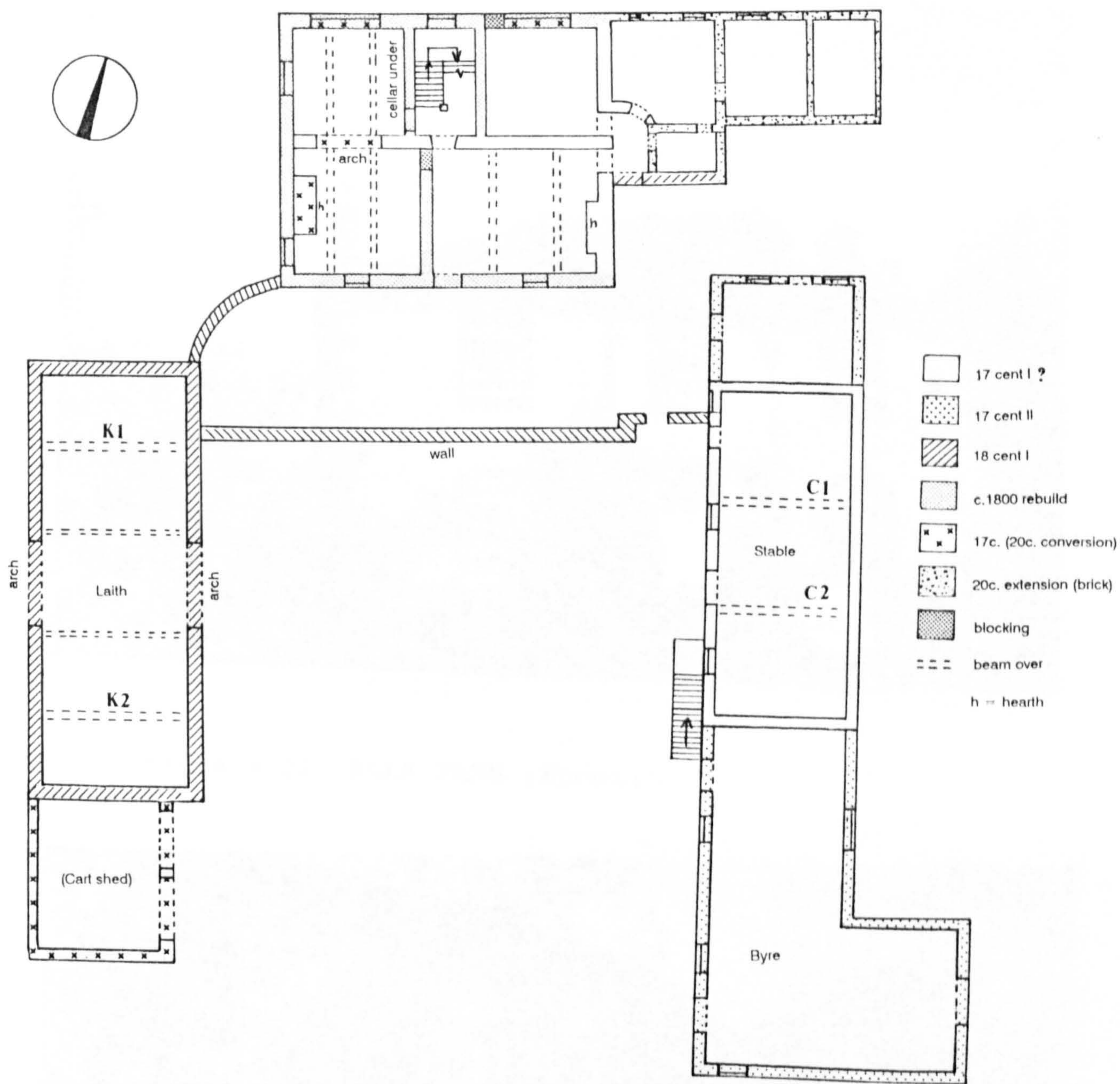


Fig. A.22

BALK FARM
WORSBROUGH

5m



Plate A.21 BALK FARM (Front)



Plate A.22 MARROW HOUSE

local working farm has continued to function over three centuries, despite modification of parts at intervals.

Henry Cock's 1705 Inventory at Balk, totalling £145:12:4, has evidence of the typical mixed farming of Worsbrough, with sheep flock and cereal production, suggesting the variety of buildings already existed and the eighteenth century barn merely replaced Henry's smaller version on the same site.

No.16 MARROW HOUSE

Late seventeenth century Worsbrough had its attractions for new wealth as successful entrepreneurs sought an estate to join the established gentry. In mid-century the Turners, minor gentry from York, had converted the two-cell timber house to stone but, when John Marrow bought it later in the century, he rebuilt completely, doubling its size. The Turner building comprised the area of the Kitchen & Hall of the later house (Fig. A.23), of which the only surviving dateable evidence was a two-light mullioned window (now obscured) in the present dividing wall. Although John Marrow's basic design was to remain, the house was refaced by the Field family of ironmasters, in the late nineteenth century, installing the present bay windows. This later exterior of the house is still preserved, but the interior was completely gutted and rebuilt in the 1980s by the present owners to a new arrangement - interpretation of John Marrow's Inventory has to be related to the pre-1980s house.

A small garden "house" carries a datestone "IM 1704" and can be safely ascribed to John Marrow's rebuilding programme. However, the ancillary farm buildings have recently been demolished and completely rebuilt, during conversion to dwellings and garages, in the course of which another datestone "RMB 1662" has been incorporated. It was found amongst a load of building stone and positioned on the rebuilt stable block as decoration - the origin of the stone and its initials are unknown.

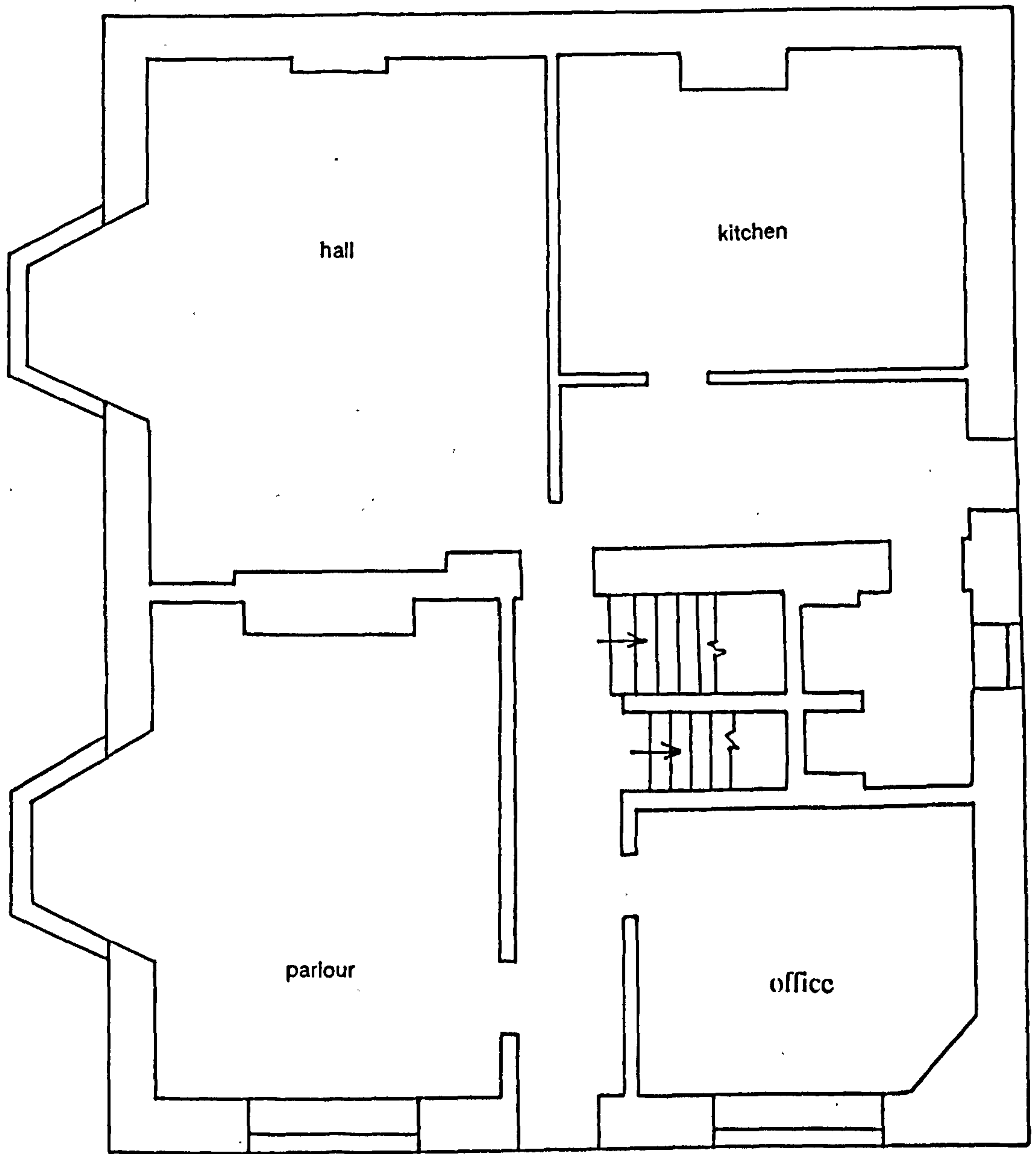


Fig. A.23 MARROW HOUSE

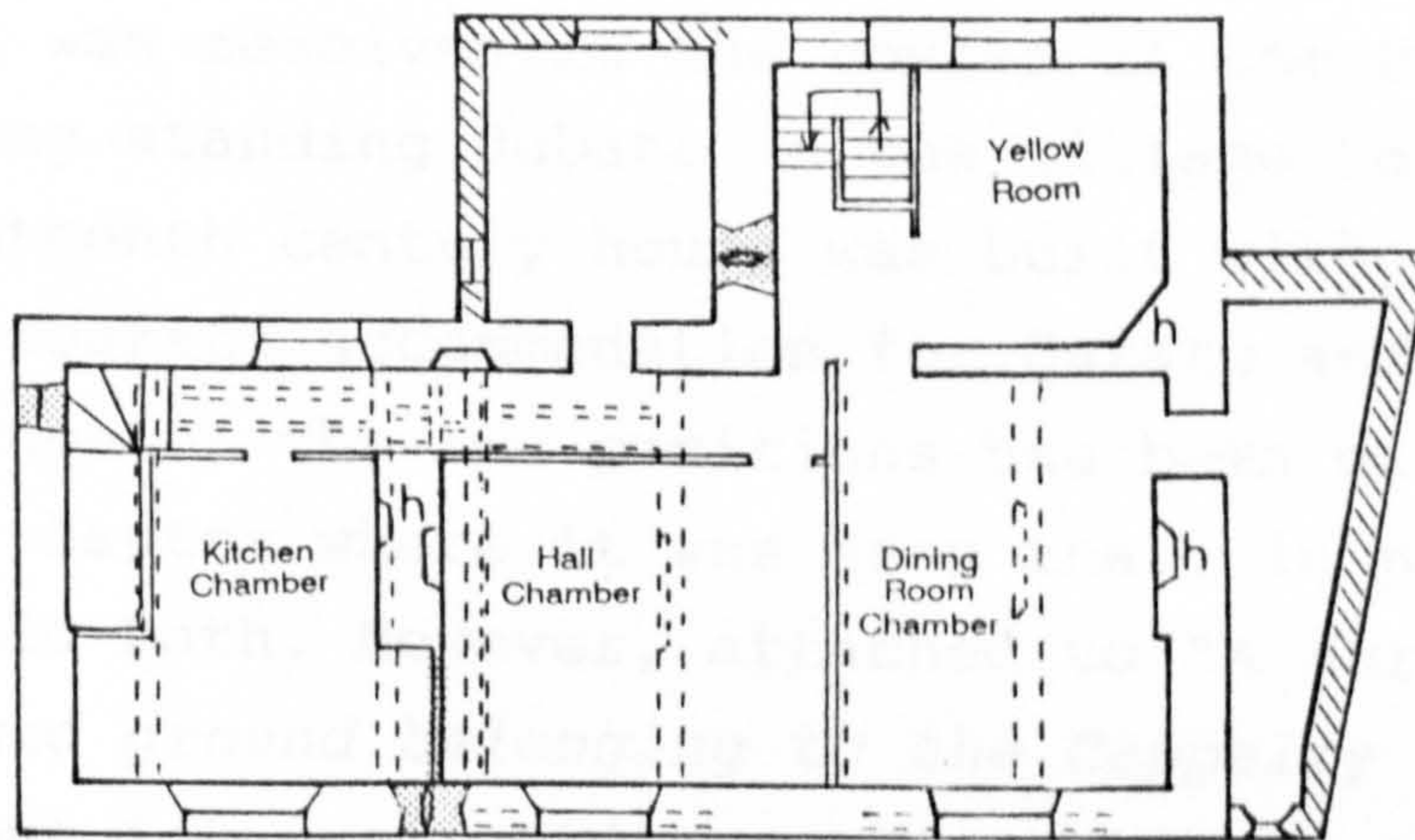
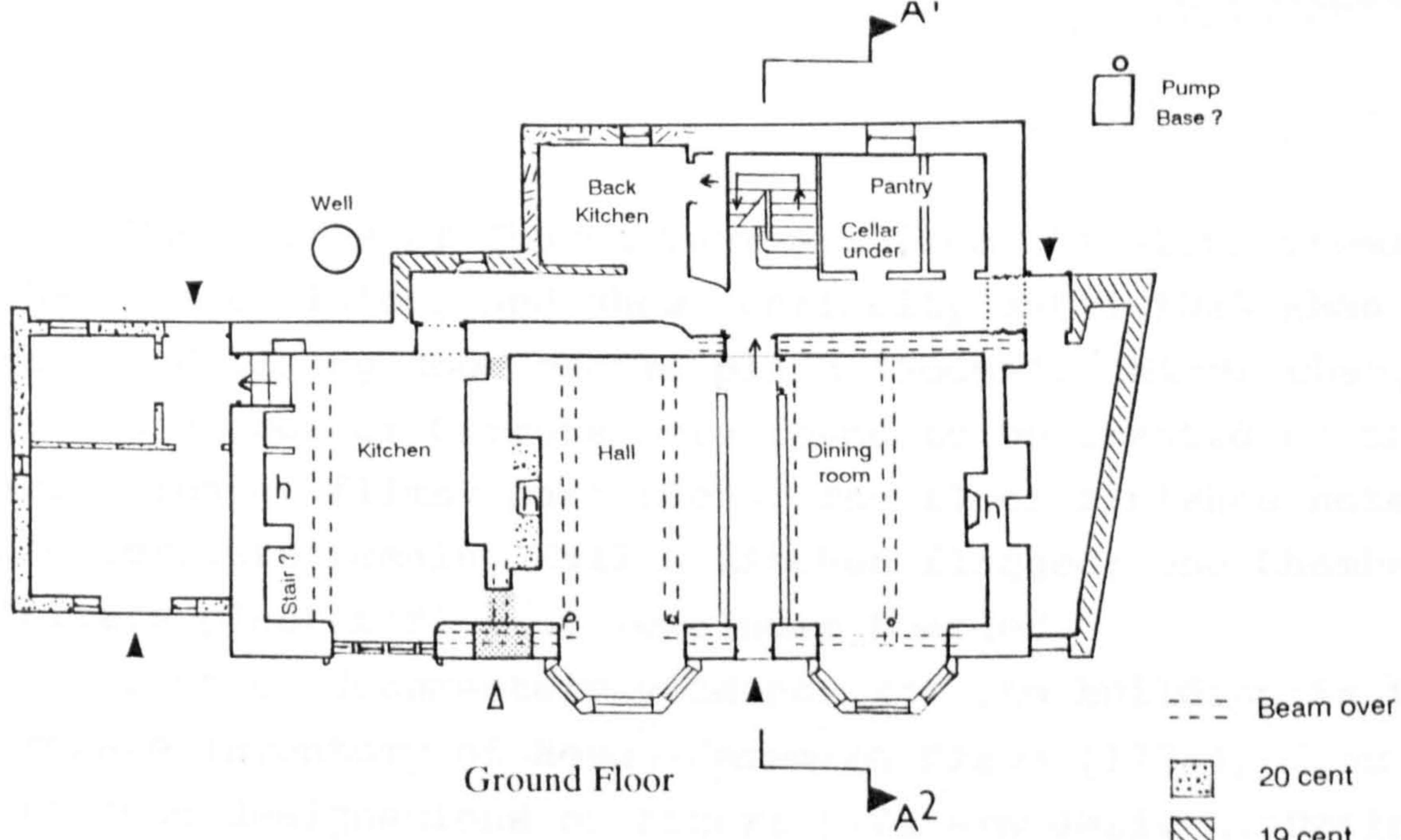
John Marrow's Inventory of 1718 is strangely at odds with any impression he may have wished to create as the 'gentleman' of his description. Certainly he had books, pictures, maps and clocks on show in the Hall, but there were still beds and a close stool in his Parlour with two spinning wheels in the Office. Having two Chambers filled with peas and varieties of corn, he was somewhat confused as to his social status, whether farmer or gent.

No.17 OLD VICARAGE

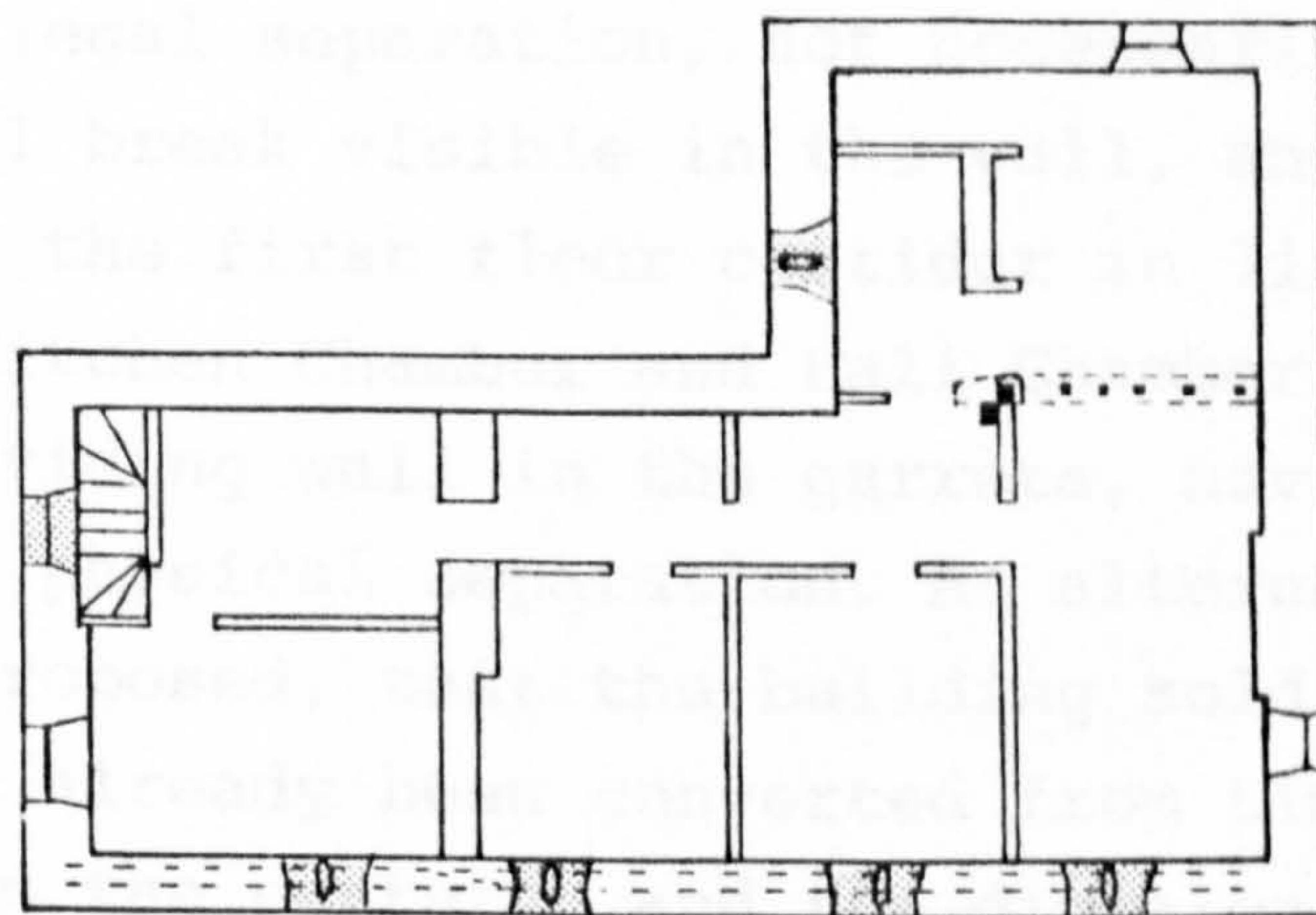
When the Old Vicarage was sold by the Church Commissioners in 1989 as a private dwelling, a serious structural fault was discovered, requiring extensive reinforcement and removal of wall plaster, which offered a unique opportunity to investigate the evolution of the building and gain some insight into the building methods of the local masons.

Jonathan Cudworth, member of a prosperous yeoman family from Eastfield (Thurgoland), and owner of various properties in Worsbrough, had inherited a cottage, barn and croft in the village "*beinge a parcell of the Wellcroft ... buttinge on the Townstreete .. in the occupation of Richard Wildsmith and Ralph Sheppard*". In 1688 he sold it for £25 to Henry Edmunds, Thomas Edmunds, William Skiers (Hay Green), George Milner (Old Hall) and Francis Hall (Swaithe House), representing the villagers for the "*sole and proper use of Thomas Woodfen Clerke Curate and Lecturer of the Chappelry and his successor Curates and Lecturers for ever.*"⁷⁰

Wildsmith and Sheppard appear to have been ejected to permit building of the present stone structure, which incorporates parts of the earlier timber frame building. A datestone of 1696, on the south elevation, commemorates a rebuilding, though it cannot be confirmed whether this was the date of conversion from timber to stone, or the remodelling in stone to a vicarage. However, the work cost the considerable sum of £250, suggesting a major work. It was raised by local subscription, the Edmunds giving £100.



First Floor



Garrets



Fig. A.24 OLD VICARAGE

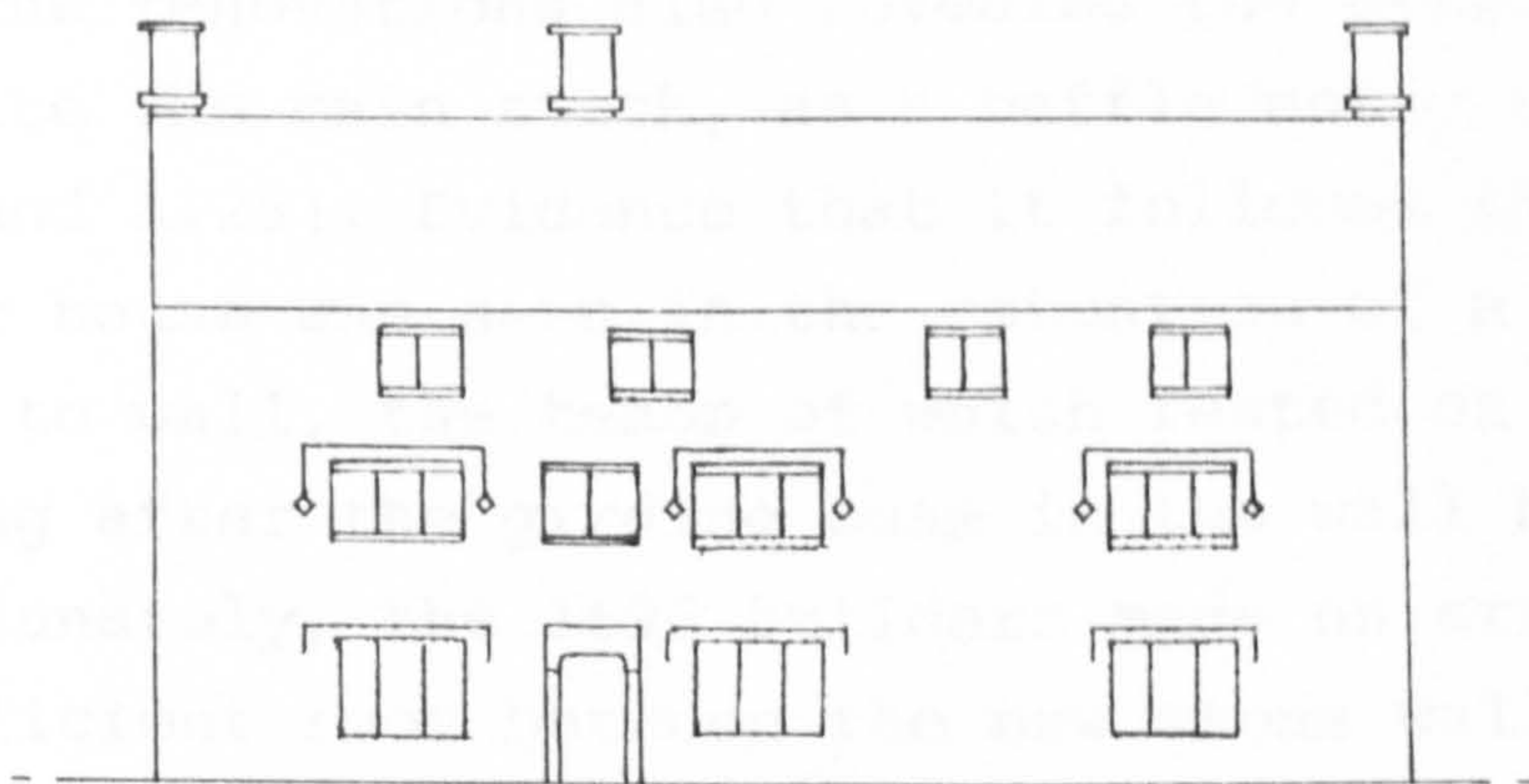
The series of Church Terriers from 1716-1865 itemise the room divisions and show continuity until 1825 when the Hall and Dining Room become plain "Rooms".⁷¹ Minor changes in the number of Garrets were found to be created by the insertion of flimsy partitions. The floor finishes noted in the Terriers remain: Hall & Kitchen flagged; one Chamber and Garrets plaster floors; remainder boarded.

Further documentary evidence for the building is the Probate Inventory of Revd. Jeremiah Dixon (1774), from which the room designations on Figure A.24 are derived. During the investigation, it was found that the probable route of the Assessors was difficult to reconcile with the present house plan, but was resolved in the course of the renovations.⁷²

A long-standing debate in the village has been whether the seventeenth century house was built with a division to provide separate accommodation for Curate and Lecturer. The significance of the two positions has been discussed in a previous chapter where it was seen that, in practice, one person held both. However, attached to "*A Survey of parcels of Inclosed ground belonging to the Cappelry of Worsbrough*", undated but internal evidence places in mid-eighteenth century, is a scrap of paper stating "*Half the house & premises belong to the Lectureship & the Witch Croft and all the School Buildings are separate from the Livings*". This may be a legal separation, not necessarily physical, but a structural break visible in the wall, and a floor level change on the first floor corridor in line with the dividing wall of Kitchen Chamber and Hall Chamber, with a similar broken dividing wall in the garrets, have been taken to confirm a physical separation. An alternative interpretation is here proposed, that the building sold by Cudworth, in 1688, had already been converted from timber to stone earlier in the century, and the division into two dwellings, a one bay and a two bay, each provided with kitchen and stair, was that occupied by Wildsmith and Sheppard. The division may even have continued into the Vicarage stage, as it provides separation of servants from household.



Plate A.23 Old Vicarage - Present



Elevation

Fig. A.25 Old Vicarage (1696)

The basic plan was a three bay building, with one bay divided by the main stack from two bays flanking the present front door. The easterly bay extends towards the street giving an 'L' outline. A single storey outshut provided a Back Kitchen, rebuilt in late nineteenth century to two storeys to provide a bathroom, when a four-light stone window (which appears to be from another building) replaced the Kitchen mullioned window and two large 'bay' windows replaced those of the Hall and Dining Room. The present door and corridor date from this same period.

It is noticeable that the garrets (Plate A.23) appear to lack windows, but removal of wall plaster revealed each had a blocked, early seventeenth century, two-light mullioned window (Fig. A.25). All walls were found to be constructed from split sandstone blocks, approximately 30cm x 8cm, mainly trapezoidal, with the outer face roughly trimmed, and built as a double skin with only the outer face mortared, the inner being little more than dry-stone walling, with loose rubble filling the gap. Disturbance of the thick wall plaster permitted the inner skin to slide on a number of occasions during the renovations. The Guest family of masons in Worsbrough had been wall builders, on the Stainborough estate, and perhaps the Vicarage was one of their early approaches to the new demand for stone houses, which later became their speciality.

The renovations also revealed the original front door opposite the main stack, as a baffle entry type house (Figs. A.24 and A.25). Evidence that it followed the plan of the timber house was seen in the retention of a ceiling beam from stack to wall, the tenon of which rested on the inner dry walling after the girding beam in the wall had been removed. Unfortunately, the 1696 builders made an error in leaving insufficient room between the new stone wall, twice thicker than the original timber wall, and the stack, so that the front door failed to open fully before hitting the stack. A seventeenth century iron studded door, made with exterior planks vertical and inner boards horizontal, was found

serving as a cellar door and may be the builders' compromise, (Plate A.24). Perhaps to aid ventilation, it divides horizontally as a stable door, permitting the bottom half to be closed to prevent animal ingress, the upper half being hinged vertically to fold back against the wall.⁷³

Much of the timber building remains within the stone walls, though some beams had been re-used in a new position. The main ceiling beams of the Chambers over Dining Room and Hall, for example, have a two metre rebate in the middle length which has caused much speculation - even being thought to accommodate the top of a four-poster bed. They are actually re-used sections of girding beams and the



Plate A.24 VICARAGE DOOR (1696)

rebate was the location for the mullioned window, confirmed by beams retained under the first floor front windows.

The main stair had been continuous from cellar to garret, though the upper section had fallen into disuse and the servant stair at the Kitchen end has lost its lower Kitchen section. The building has been recently re-roofed in Welsh slate but the gap, from modern common rafter to the original wall-plate, indicates an earlier stone slab roof which had been supported on sturdy rafters fitting into carefully cut sloping mortices in the wall-plate. Such a beam has been previously noted re-used at Hay Green.

The roof timbers display an assurance in woodwork lacking in the stonework of the building. Surviving parts of the original posts are shaped and chamfered and a very sophisticated joint had been accurately constructed to connect the common rafters to brackets locked into the wall and wallplate (Fig. A.26). In the roof space above the garrets over the Kitchen a structure of plastered scantling, similar to that at Bank End (Plate A.17) remained from a smokehood pierced by the eighteenth century chimney; unlike Bank End, no associated timber work had survived in the rooms beneath. Excepting the stone wall between Kitchen and Hall chambers previously noted, upper room divisions were plaster covered timber stud walling (Fig. A.26).

In addition to his previously noted brewing activities, the Revd. Jeremiah Dixon's 1774 Inventory shows he fed and slept well, having the most extensive collection of cooking equipment of any Worsbrough household and all his Chambers were provided with feather beds, ample coverings and a selection of chairs, tables and mirrors. He was particularly conscious of the need to display his social standing in his Hall and Dining Room with mahogany furniture, glass, china, tea-making equipment, book case and knives and forks all helping to present a gentry aura to visitors on entry. Their arrival would be less auspicious through having to pass the sty near the front door, from which he allowed his pigs to roam freely, hence the need for a folding door.

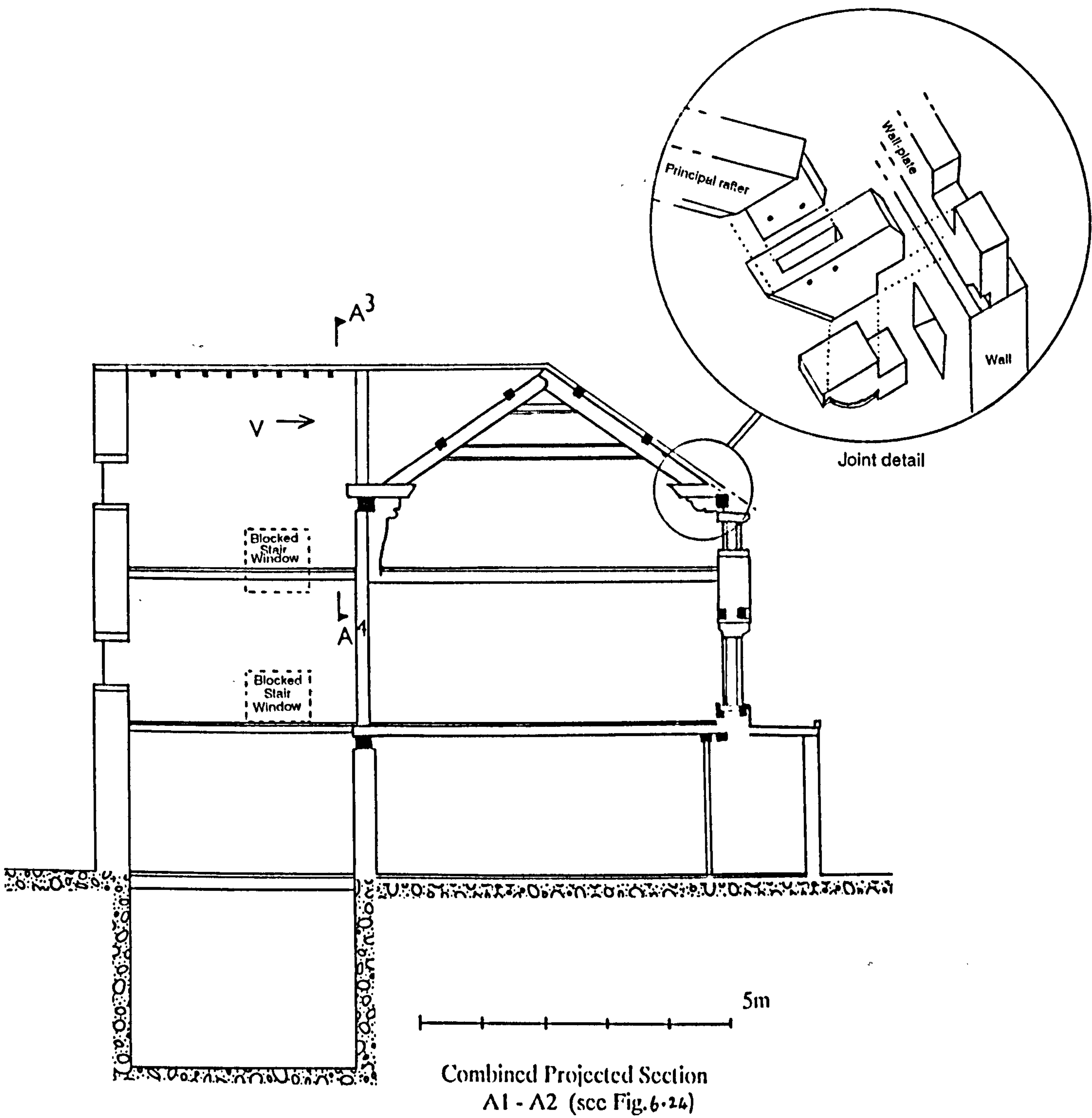
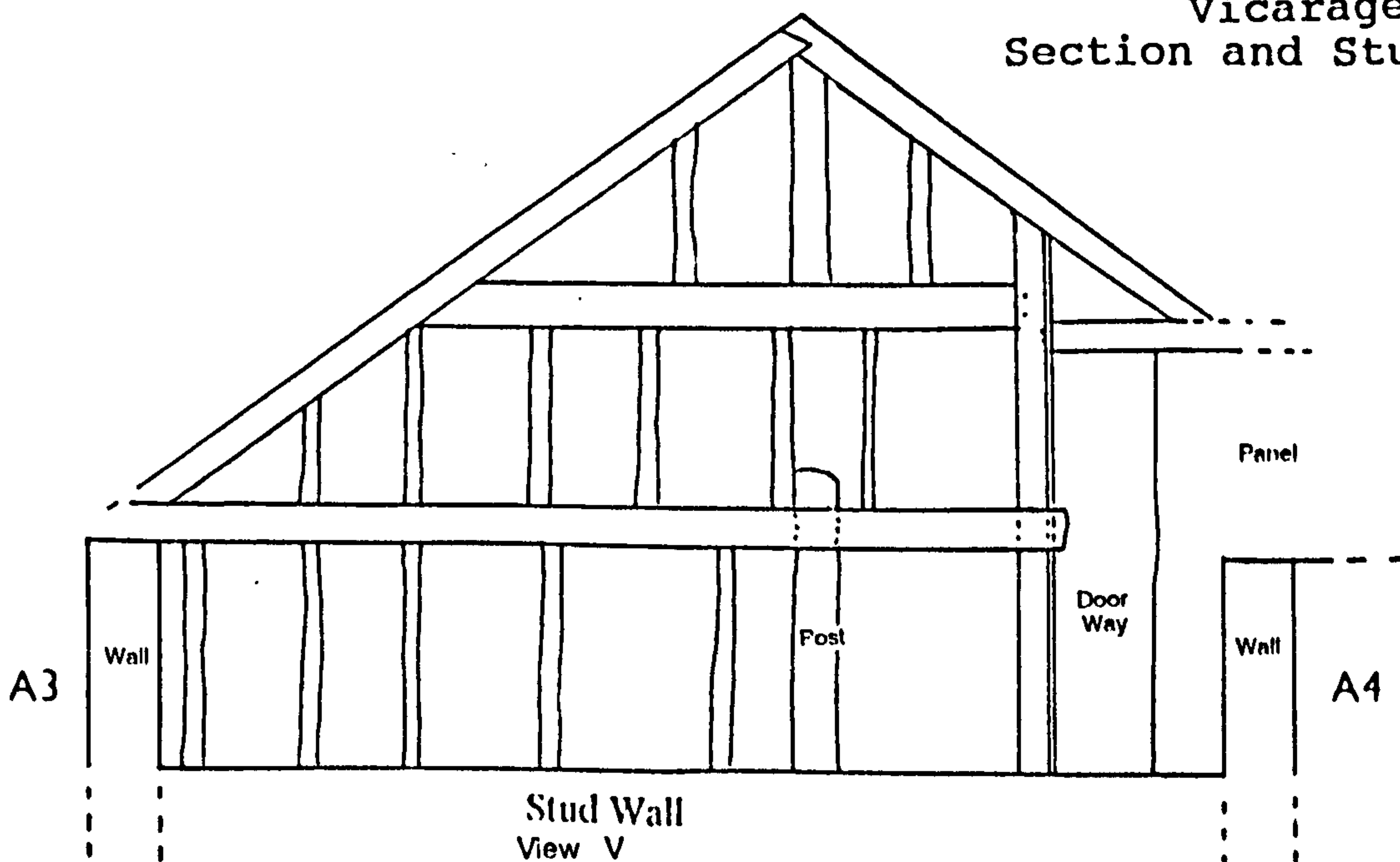
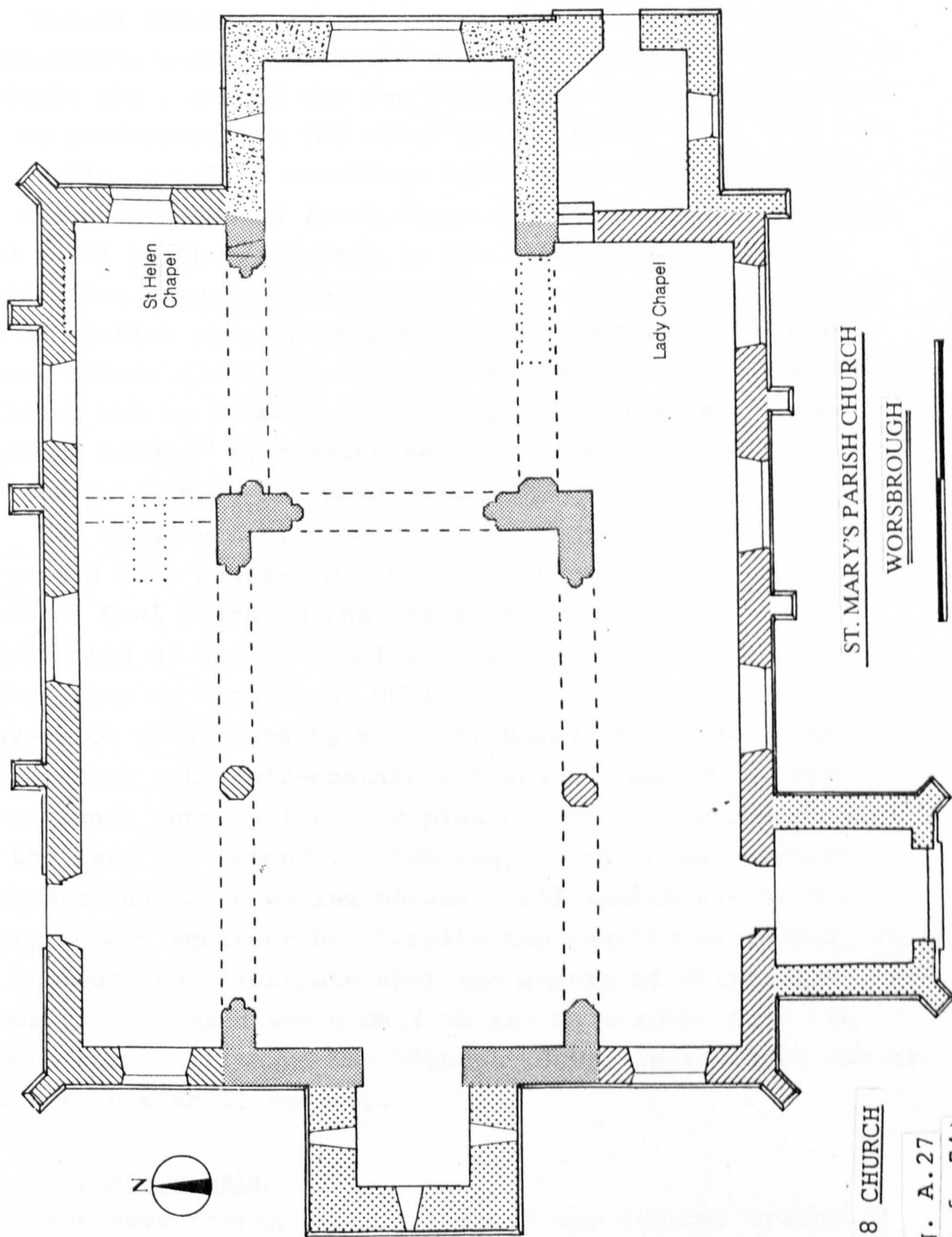


Fig. A.26

Vicarage
Section and Stud Walling





St Helen Chapel

Lady Chapel

ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH
WORSBROUGH

No. 18 CHURCH

Fig. A.27
(See fn.74)

- Anglo/Saxon ?
- Norman 'overlap'
- 14 cent. } 2 phases
- 14 cent.
- 15 cent.

No.19 WORSBROUGH HALL.

Thomas Edmunds, arrived in Worsbrough in the 1620s, sufficiently wealthy to build his Hall in the old village on a virgin plot, one of the few Worsbrough stone houses which had no predecessor on the site. (Plate A.25)

Built in ashlar sandstone with stone slate roof, its 'U' shape with gabled front wings and Tudor-arched doorway in a small porch off-centre to the right, has a distinct Elizabethan flavour. The design was at least half a century out of fashion when built but no doubt reflected Edmunds' taste, albeit a relatively young man. No strictly comparable building can be located in the region but similar houses noted in London⁷⁵ with which he was probably acquainted on his Court business may have been influential.

The Edmunds family occupied the house until 1831 when it passed to a nephew, W.B.Martin, then purchased by the National Coal Board in the 1940s. No inventory or description of its internal arrangements have survived (other than an etching of dubious accuracy)⁷⁶ and, after conversion to offices by the Coal Board, followed by restructuring into self-contained flats in the 1960s, the seventeenth century interior plan cannot now be described. To the rear are extensive stabling, coach house, servant quarters and large walled garden - all indicative of the early modern squirearchy. Despite the paucity of detail, it is included to illustrate what the gentry of Worsbrough clearly considered was a Hall to set them apart from the yeomen farmers. It had the highest rating in the 1672 Hearth Tax return with 13 hearths.

No.20 BLACKER HALL

The seventeenth century home of the younger branch of the Rockley family, it was a much more modest building than Worsbrough Hall. The family was then in decline and the Hall was purchased by the Carringtons of Yews in the early eighteenth century. It was destroyed under the expanding coal spoil heap of the Barrow colliery in the 1950s.



Plate A.25 WORSBROUGH HALL



Plate A.26 BLACKER HALL

c.1930. Courtesy of Mr.W.Morton, Worsbrough



Plate A.27 BESOM COTTAGE

No.21. Home of the Ogden family, 17-18th century besom-makers at Birdwell.



Plate A.28. School House

No.22 SCHOOL

Worsbrough was rebuilding other than dwellings during the seventeenth century. On a plot adjacent to the Vicarage is the schoolhouse. Worsbrough Grammar School had been established early in the fifteenth century⁷⁷ but the present building was founded by public subscription, in 1560, following approval by the Manor Court, for William Elmhirst and William Broddesworth to erect a school on the waste north of the burial ground.⁷⁸ It was probably completed shortly afterward as the 1632 John Rayney bequest, supplementing the income of the Lecturer, includes mention of "*the place which is now used as a school*". (Plate A.29).

The building is now simply referred to as the school-master's house. The ground floor room on the left retains an ashlar open fireplace and, on the right, a bressumer beam across an open hearth, beside which rose the original stairs, illuminated by the small windows seen to the right on Plate A.28. The present school, extending from the house, is nineteenth century but evidence such as the plinth points to its having replaced an earlier school building.

Any success rate of the school is impossible to measure and, with too few Wills etc. to permit analysis of literacy on the accepted criteria of ability to sign, even literacy is difficult to gauge.⁷⁹ The document of 1718, appealing against enclosure, signed by 72 inhabitants, shows 38.9% illiterate but, as it excludes the labouring landless and servants, cannot be representative. Schooling was, however, available to all who sought it in the eighteenth century, including girls at the Dame School across the main street, (now demolished), created under the Will of William Skiers in 1714 for "six poor girls".⁸⁰ The Overseer of the Poor paid for any unable to afford the fee, such as the Kingwell blacksmith in 1714, *South's girl 2s* and, in 1813, *Schooling for Woodhead's Child 3 weeks 6d*, in addition to paying Revd. Staniland 13s 4d for teaching poor children.

Not until the nineteenth century marriage registers can a more reliable guide on literacy be seen when, between

1841-1851, a total of 200 marriages showed 55.5% were illiterate. This hides a significant gender difference where 71.0% brides compare to 40.0% grooms being illiterate, but it has to be noted, however, that this was the period of high immigration of weavers and miners swelling the indigenous Worsbrough population.

No. 23 MILL

The improving seventeenth century economy of Worsbrough appears to have demanded a rebuilding of the mill on its ancient site. The middle block is the seventeenth century replacement of an earlier structure, of unknown design or date, containing the water wheel and grinding machinery, (Plate A.29). The miller's house on the left is an eighteenth century replacement and to the right is the 1843 addition to accommodate a steam-driven mill, installed to augment the water mill in response to increasing demand.⁸¹ The complex is maintained as a visitor attraction.



Plate A.29 WORSBROUGH MILL

iv) DISCUSSION

The rebuilding of post-medieval Worsbrough was a long and complex process. Despite often misleading information of datestones, the initial change, from timber or sod to stone, gained momentum during the seventeenth century, though no pattern is discernable of hierarchical drive where rebuilding begins with the gentry to descend the social scale.

The Edmunds family were the exception, with an architect-designed stone house on a virgin site, though in a safe familiar form - nothing experimental. Other inhabitants rebuilt in phases, presumably as spare funds became available, producing a variety of approaches to the problems. Some reinforced the timber house then added stone extensions as at Swaithe Hall and Houndhill; others absorbed the original within a 'polite' house as Ouslethwaite, Old Hall and Marrow House. Common practice was to retain parts of the timber frame in the structure, to strengthen the relatively insubstantial stone walling as in the Vicarage, or re-use timbers to reinforce the stonework in humbler houses as Hay Green. Some abandoned the timber house completely, demoting it to a farm building, to build on a new site as at Houndhill and Lewden. The experimental combination of 'polite' and vernacular at Swaithe House has no equivalent. Frequently the change was piecemeal, with ground floor walls retaining an upper timber framing, or stone rooms added to the main timber structure which in turn was replaced in stages.

Throughout these changes no identifiable "Worsbrough type" house emerged to provide the instant recognition of a style, such as seen in the equivalent West Yorkshire houses of the Calder Valley⁸² where rapidly increasing wealth from textiles generated the essential spare income which came but slowly in Worsbrough. The general trend towards 'L' shape houses amongst the middle social range occurs, either by addition of a short cross-wing as at the seventeenth century Blacker Hall which provided extra rooms⁸³ (Plate A.26) or, lower down the scale, the projection of one room provided

with a gable to create an impression of a cross-wing. The latter merely enlarged, not added to, the accommodation and is seen at Besom Cottage, (Plate A.27), which had its workshop to the rear. The low end of the scale, representing craftsmen who had improved from sod or flimsy wattle, is seen at the Kingwell blacksmith's house.

The early eighteenth century saw another phase of rebuilding where stone houses were being improved as life-styles changed with the new social order, particularly the courtyard farms such as Genn House (Plate A.5) and White Cross (Plate A.20). These changes of life-style are further illustrated in the Probate Inventories of the period, though it is frequently noted, as in the case of John Marrow, that external splendour was not always reflected internally. Too few Worsbrough Inventories survive to permit meaningful statistical analysis such as the wide-ranging investigation by Barley.⁸⁴ The analysis of room use in Norwich urban houses appears to draw conclusions regarding the 'kitchen', for example, perhaps at variance with what might be seen in a comparative study of an equivalent number of rural Inventories and such a study would be valuable.⁸⁵ A particular trend is apparent in Worsbrough, however, concerning the use of the 'Parlour' during the span of Inventories from 1690-1782. Of five gentry, one still had beds in his Parlour in 1717, whereas of six yeomen farmers four had beds and one used it as a store; of seven husbandmen four used it as a bedroom, the latest being in 1772. Perhaps William Ellis, Earl of Strafford's woodman, had a bed in the 'House' part because his Parlour and two Chambers lacked ranges according to his 1773 Inventory.

Chambers can usually be identified as sleeping provision, to free the parlour for more social use, but in 25 cases, 12 families used at least one as a store, with seven examples where beds were in the Parlour and the Chamber was a store.⁸⁶

Dr. Weatherill's demonstration of a distinction to be drawn between goods representing 'front stage' activities

and 'back stage' is, in general, reflected in the Worsbrough houses where Inventories permit such analysis, though the inhabitants were perhaps a little slow to adopt the new life-style.⁸⁷ Provision for hot drinks, for example, first appears in 1745, some fifty years after her first sample and only amongst the gentry - none are mentioned for the lower orders; similarly with knives and forks. On the other hand, clocks appear in 13 Inventories across all classes, including one widow with three.

Modifications to buildings to accommodate changing life-styles can be seen at the Vicarage, (Fig. A.24, p.329), where the 1774 Inventory of Rev. Jeremiah Dixon shows the house still in its seventeenth century layout. In the Hall he displays his clock, Japanned tea board, tea kettle lamp & stand and two oval tables. He no longer ate in the 'house' but had a 'Dining Room' with a dozen knives & forks in a case, three square tables, mahogany table, chairs, desk, bookcase, carpet and glassware. However, the building created a problem where the baffle entry decreed that the middle bay be the Hall, so enforcing the wide separation of main Kitchen and Dining Room; his back kitchen serving only light meals. This was no doubt the reason for the Victorian changes to the Vicarage when the old door was blocked, and the present doorway created, to bring the visitor to the Hall on the right, the middle bay becoming the Dining Room.

Such niceties, however, were not for the many inhabitants of Worsbrough still living in houses with sod walls and sod roofs during the early modern period. Home conditions had probably improved little since the days of the widow in Chaucer's, 'The Nonne Preestes Tale', where "*Ful sooty was hir bour, and eek hir halle, In which she eet ful many a sclendre meel*".⁸⁸

NOTES

APPENDIX - BUILDINGS

1. Hoskins, W.G., "The Rebuilding of Rural England 1570-1640" *Past and Present*, No.4 (1953) 44-59.
2. A definitive consideration of the difficulties encountered in attempts to generalise from inscribed date evidence in Machin, R., "The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment", *Past and Present*, No.77 (1977) 33-56.
3. Hoskins, W.G. *Fieldwork in Local History*, (1967) London, 94.
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5. Ryder, P., *Timber Framed Buildings in South Yorkshire*, Monograph No.1, South Yorkshire Council.
6. *Rural Houses in West Yorkshire 1400-1830*, RCHM, HMSO (1986)
Houses of the North York Moors, RCHM, HMSO (1987)
7. Indications are that more await discovery under their modern disguise. A similar survival has been noted in the surrounding townships but to a lesser extent.
8. Ouslethwaite, William Elmthirst, SA/EM1873
9. BIHR Probate Inventories:
Pindar Oak - Nicholas Medley 1716
Worsbrough Bridge Inn - Abraham Moorhouse 1767
Rockley Buildings - William Ellis 1773
10. Hollingwell - John Tattershall 1756
11. Blacker Hall - John Carrington 1694
12. Marrow House - John Marrow 1718
13. Stenton, F.M., *Anglo/Saxon England*, (1986), 3rd Ed. Oxford 307/8.
14. Thomas Blount, *Law Dictionary* (1670).
15. A general bibliography of Inventories in Overton, M, *A Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*, (1983), Newcastle.
16. Cooper, S., *A House Divided*, (1987) Penistone, 58.
17. Brears, P.C.D., "Yorkshire Probate Inventories". YASRS, (1972) Leeds, 134
18. Bestall, J.M. & Fowkes, D.V., "Chesterfield Wills and Inventories 1521-1603", *Derbyshire Record Society*, Vol.1 (1977), Derby.
19. Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1769*, (1988) London.
20. Spufford, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England* (1984) London.
21. Priestley, V., Corfield, P.J., Sutermeister, H., "Room and Room Use in Norwich Housing 1580-1730", *PMA Vol.16* (1982) 93-123.
22. Barley, M.W., "Farmhouses and Cottages, 1550-1725", *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser. VII (1955).
23. Weatherill, *op.cit.* contains a summary of the difficulties met in sampling Inventories.
A comprehensive discussion of the problems encountered

- in using Inventories by Spufford, M, 'The Limitations of the probate inventory', *English Rural Society 1500-1800*, Chartres, J. & Hey, D. (eds) (1990), Cambridge.
24. Cooper, *op.cit.* 64.
 25. "The Journal of Mr John Hobson", *Surtees Society* Vol.65 (1875)
 26. Dr. Redmonds finds 'moor' a reliable guide to identify sites of early peat extraction in the Huddersfield area: Redmonds, G., "Turf Pits", *Old West Riding*, Vol.7, No.1 (1987) 13-14.
 27. SA/SIR2, fol 1, p.114.
 28. Perhaps an alternative possibility has to be considered to interpret the sparse rubble building foundations frequently found in the course of archaeological investigations of deserted settlements. A common assumption is the loss of upper walling due to robbing: perhaps many were 'sod' houses which, in decay, would return to humus leaving no trace but the rough stony foundation.
 29. Wilkinson, *History of Worsbrough*, (1872) 228.
 30. The dry local humour had styled it a "Hall" as a comment on its lowly status as the sole nineteenth century survivor of an earlier culture.
 31. Ryder, P., Recorded at South Yorkshire Archaeology Service, PI2133.
 32. Alcock, N.W., *A Catalogue of Cruck Buildings*, (1973) Phillimore. Discussion of local crucks in Ryder, P., *Timber Framed Buildings of South Yorkshire*, (1970s) South Yorkshire Archaeology Service, Monograph, No.1.
 33. Dendrochronology Laboratory, University of Sheffield, 1993. Three groups of cores at 42, 44 and 56 rings failed to correlate with reference chronologies.
 34. Discussion of long-house developments in *Houses of the North Yorks Moors*, (1987), RCHM, HMSO 63-76.
 35. Ryder, P., *op.cit.*, 17
 36. Compare Shore Hall, Penistone, surveyed by Ryder, published *ibid.* 80.
 37. Elmhirst, E., *Peculiar Inheritance* 25-27 and Will of Margaret Elmhirst BIHR Vol.13 fol.915.
 38. The discussion on Houndhill is based on personal research, correspondence in the Elmhirst family archive between Dr. E. Gee (late RCHM), J. Miller (architect responsible for the 1960s restorations) and discussion with Stanley Jones (architectural historian). See also Wilkinson, *History of Worsbrough*, 128
 39. Ashurst, D. "Excavations at Houndhill", *P.M.A.* Vol.13 (1979) 227-238.
 40. Edward connects Robert by marriage to the Seele family which he states is not a Worsbrough family. He is in error here as they had a medieval farm which continued to be charged Parish Rate into the 18th century as "Seele's Farm" - the Seele surname had died out in the 17th century, lacking a male heir.
 41. Examples at Swaithe Hall; Bishop's House, Sheffield; Banks Hall Farm, Silkstone.

42. *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire*, (1986) HMSO, 6.
43. Local romantic stories of its being attacked by Cromwell and Fairfax may be dismissed - Wilkinson *op.cit.* 129.
44. I am greatly indebted to Mr. A.O. Elmhirst, present head of the family, for granting me total freedom to examine the house and related buildings in addition to free access to the family papers.
45. "Instructions Touchinge the Title and Tenure of All My Lands" - Richard Elmhirst 1638 (family papers).
46. I am grateful to Dr. G. Redmonds for reference to his researches on the Genn family.
47. Compare to Becksides Farm, Danby - *Houses of the North Yorks Moors*, (1987) HMSO, 184.
48. Correspondence with J. Miller, Harrogate, architect in charge. (Family papers).
49. A similar arrangement survives at Cockerham Hall, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley.
50. Elmhirst, E., *op.cit.* 90
51. SA/EM 1761
52. *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire* (1986) HMSO, 85
53. SA/EM 1873
54. John Miller of Taylor, Brown & Miller, Harrogate - personal communication.
55. Hunter, J., *South Yorkshire*, (1831) 284-5.
56. The only survey of the building prior to conversion was destroyed by an arson fire at the architects' offices and the micro-fiche copy lodged with the then South Yorkshire Archive Service was lost in transmission to the Barnsley Planning Authority on the abolition of the County. I am grateful to the architect Mr. J. Miller for permission to view his notes on which the plan (Fig. A.10) is based.
57. A selection of Traviss letters in Cartwright, J.J. (ed) *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, (1883) London.
58. BIHR Probate Inventories - Doncaster Deanery:
David Traviss Oct. 1746
William Milner July 1747
Thomas Knutton March 1731.
59. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 77.
60. 'Wills from York Registry', *Surtees Society*, Vol.6 (1902) 84 (Thomas Cutler 1540).
61. No glass was made in the region before 1631 and the Micklethwaite source may have been Haughton (Manchester) or Kings Lynn. (See Ashurst, D., *History of South Yorkshire Glass*, (1992) Sheffield University.
62. "Journal of Mr. John Hobson", *Surtees Society*, Vol.45 (1875) 316.
63. Compare Plan 'h' in Brunskill, R.W., *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (1987) 3rd Ed. London, 107.
64. An almost identical house of 1708, Newstead Hall at Havercroft, suggests the same unknown architect. *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire*, (1986) HMSO, 85.
65. BIHR - Probate Inventory Francis Hall, August 1746. The Inventory of Robert Allot totals £694 but of this he owed £513 whereas Hall had no debts recorded.

66. The house is listed Grade II* but, following recent arson and demolition, its future is uncertain.
67. As a consequence of this research the Lewden complex has been recorded by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and listed Grade II.
68. Information from the present owners. The building was listed Grade II in 1966 but the investigator failed to note any of the misleading modifications.
69. The round pillars of split sandstone are unusual for the area. The only similar examples are found in the seventeenth century barn of Stainborough Castle.
70. SA/PR3/16(2).
71. BIHR RIII.F2. to RIII.F18.
72. I am indebted to Mr & Mrs A. Richardson for granting total freedom to follow all stages of the work and carrying out the survey during the renovations.
73. The door has been restored and relocated at the rear entrance.
74. A brief architectural and historical survey in Ashurst, D., *A Visitors' Guide to the Parish Church of St Mary, Worsbrough*, (1962), Slaithwaite; a revised edition by Thomson, C., *St Mary's Parish Church, Worsbrough Village*, (1982) Worsbrough.
75. My thanks to Mrs Melanie Richardson for this information noted in her preliminary studies of London buildings.
76. Wilkinson, *op.cit.* 44.
77. For a thorough historical review of the Grammar School see, Wallis, P.J., "Worsbrough Grammar School", *YAJ*, Vol.39 (1956) 147-163. See also Leach, A.F., 'Early Yorkshire Schools', *YASRS*, Vol.33 (1903)
78. The present occupiers were disinclined to permit a full survey of the house.
79. Wrightson, K., *English Society, 1580-1680*, (1982) London, 190
80. Wilkinson *op.cit.* 418.
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82. *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire*, HMSO (1986).
83. My thanks to Mr W. Morton for permission to reproduce his copy of the only known photograph of the Hall.
84. Barley, M.W., *op.cit.* 291-306.
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