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Memorial Edition

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# **A Yorkshire Town:**

# **The Making of Doncaster**

**History, Buildings & People**

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by Derek and Enid Holland

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*The origins of this book are rooted in the work of my late parents, Derek and Enid. Together they explored and researched the history of Doncaster. Their discoveries most often appeared in the classroom, as they shared their knowledge with children and adults alike.*

*They had the vision to conceive and write a book that embraced the story of Doncaster's past - the making of a Yorkshire town. Unfortunately they both died before the book could be published and therefore did not see their dream become reality. This ebook is about making that dream happen in the memory of two Doncastrians. Technology has played a great role in achieving this, but so has the hard work of Louise Robinson and myself in transforming the text in to a digital form. However, the text itself is based wholly on the finished manuscript they left, and as such inevitably cannot account for more recent developments in the town.*

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*I hope this book inspires you, as did the work of Enid and Derek inspired so many in their lifetimes. My own interest in history was fostered by their enthusiasm and the many enjoyable journeys into the past we shared as a family.*

*Sarah Holland*

*August 2012*

### **Derek Holland**

*Derek was a passionate historian who specialised in buildings, landscapes and social history. He was educated at schools in Doncaster and at the University of Nottingham. Upon qualification he began a career in adult education, both as tutor and as an organising tutor for the Workers' Educational Association in South Yorkshire. He never tired of sharing his wealth of knowledge with other people, and inspiring them to explore the heritage on their doorstep and further afield. In addition he encouraged several groups to research and publish local history projects.*

### **Enid Holland**

*Enid was an enthusiastic teacher who kindled a love of learning in those she taught. She was educated in schools in Wharnccliffe Side and Penistone, and at Derby Diocesan Teachers' Training College. She qualified as a teacher with a Certificate of Education from the University of Nottingham. She went on to teach at Primary Schools in Stocksbridge, Nottingham and Tickhill. Enid was also the Secretary of the Doncaster Branch of the W.E.A.*

## **A selection of other Published Books and Articles by Derek Holland**

*Warmsworth in the 18th Century: Population Change, Agriculture, and Quarrying in a Rural South Yorkshire Community* (Doncaster, 1965)

"An Edlington Account Book of the Early 18th Century", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 2 (1973)

*Bawtry and the Idle River Trade* (2nd edn.; Doncaster, 1976)

"Made in Doncaster: Jackson's Cheswold Motor Car", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 3 (1976)

*Changing Landscapes in South Yorkshire* (Doncaster, 1980)

"Local Communities in South Yorkshire: The Framework of Society, 1750-1850", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (1980)

"Jigsaws of Building History: Three Parish Churches in the Lower Don Valley", in B. Elliott (ed), *Aspects of Doncaster: Discovering Local History 2* (Barnsley, 1999)

"Bawtry: History in the Townscape", in *Aspects of Doncaster: Discovering Local History 2* (Barnsley, 1999)

Some of these publications, and others by the author (including works edited), are available to read in the Doncaster Local Studies Library and Doncaster Archives.

It is hoped that further works by the authors of this book will be digitised in the future.

If you are interested in receiving information about these then enquiries can be made to [sarah.holland3012@gmail.com](mailto:sarah.holland3012@gmail.com)

# A Yorkshire Town:

## The Making of Doncaster

History & People

by Derek and Enid Holland

Modern Doncaster grew from an agricultural market town and coaching centre on the Great North Road to a railway centre and industrial town. Its development over the last two hundred and fifty years occupies much of the present book. We have sometimes strayed very near to today in our exploration of the past. As Henri Pirenne once told Marc Bloch, “If I were an antiquarian, I would have eyes only for old stuff, but I am a historian.” (Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*). However, the town’s origins and early development, from Roman times onwards, have not been neglected. As Professor A E Smailes observed in *The Geography of Towns*: “Towns do not exist in vacuums, cut off from the contiguous areas along clear-cut municipal boundary lines,....Town and country are indivisible.” The creation of the metropolitan borough in 1974 confirmed this unity. Our last chapter deals with the area around Doncaster, so that the ancient town and its surrounding countryside are linked together. There is an emphasis throughout the book on buildings and landscapes. This stems from personal interest and from our belief in the need to link history with the visual heritage.

We are truly grateful to our daughters Rachel and Sarah for their help and support. Rachel typed the original draft of a difficult handwritten text. Sarah word processed the final text and compiled the bibliography. Such help - at times when they were busy with their own work and projects - was invaluable. We thank other local historians who shared ideas and views with us



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over the years; we hope we have not trodden on exotic blooms in other people's gardens. We also thank the librarians and archivists, who have made materials available for study over many years. Last, but far from least, we thank the many members of the WEA courses, who have long contributed to discussion of local history.

No local historian is likely to be infallible. As Professor R H Tawney long ago wrote in *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*: "The student who works over considerable masses of material will be fortunate if he does not introduce some errors of his own." If we have, indeed, done so, after our careful endeavours, we ask our reader's indulgence in the spirit of R H Tawney.

D.H. - E.M.H.

Spring 2000

# Before the Railways

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**From Roman Forts to  
Friaries - the foundations  
of a modern town.**

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## Site, Origins and Early Development

The site of Doncaster lies just east of the north-south magnesian limestone ridge, with marshland and peat moorland to the east and north-east and sandy heathland to the south and south-east. The settlement grew to the south of the point where a major north-south routeway crossed the eastward-flowing river Don. Routeway and river were in use for long-distance travel and transport from Roman times onwards and probably even earlier. They have formed a continuous thread running through Doncaster's history, linking its development from century to century. A large number of chance finds have been made during the 19th and 20th centuries, in and around Doncaster, indicating activity in the prehistoric eras from Palaeolithic to the Iron Age. (1)

A fort was built here by the Romans in the second half of the first century, certainly by the early '70s, as a part of their push northwards and westwards from bases in the East Midlands into Brigantian territory. It was one of a series of forts, with others at Rossington Bridge (south of Doncaster) and Templeborough (west of Rotherham). In the greater peace and prosperity of the second and third centuries, a large civil settlement (vicus) grew up alongside the fort at Doncaster. As with so many others, the end came with the departure of the Roman army; order

seems to have been succeeded by chaos, with hovels and rubbish pits constructed in some of the Roman streets. (2)

Scholars have long believed the name of this fort and settlement to be DANVM, but some now think that this name (recorded only three times) could equally apply to a fort near Jarrow, in County Durham, on another river Don. (3) The Antonine Itinerary (early 3rd century) points to DANO (DANVM) being Doncaster, because of mileages given, whereas the NOTITIA DIGNITATVM (c. 395-408 A.D.) reference to DANO points to the site near Jarrow. It is recorded only in late Roman sources and may be a corruption of the place-name ending -DVNVM and thus an abbreviation of the Roman name. Many Roman place-names ended in -DVNVM, indicating fortified sites usually. The river Don was traditionally often referred to as the Dun. DANO was the Latin abbreviation for DANVM and meant simply 'water'. The original name could well have been CAMPODVNVM, which is recorded by Bede. (4) The Venerable Bede would thus be the last literate person of the Dark Ages twilight to know and record the name of this Roman settlement, the settlement itself having declined some 300 years before he wrote his History of the English Church and People.

The balance of probability is that a small settlement continued here and grew in subsequent centuries. Bede's CAMPODVNVM was the site of a royal villa and a church. (5) The Anglo-Saxons recognised enough of the ruined Roman fort to

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call it Castra Daun or Donacester. By the 10th century the place was of some military importance again and was surrounded by a massive double-ditch. (6) King Athelstan's campaigns against the Vikings in the north, following those of Edward the Elder and Aethelflaeda mostly in the Midlands, seem to have led to the fortification or refortification of a group of settlements along the rivers Don and Dearne. Doncaster was the eastern most of these burgs. Because its Roman ancestry and earlier military importance were reflected in its Anglo-Saxon name, it did not have the -burg ending which characterises the others to the west: Sprotbrough, Conisbrough, Mexbrough, Barnburgh, Masbrough, Measbrough, Kexborough, Worsborough, & Stainborough. Some of these originally date from the 7th century, when this area formed a frontier zone between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia. (7) The river Don itself may once have been part of this frontier. A boundary somewhat further south is suggested by 942, when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that King Edmund conquered Mercia "as far as Dore and Whitwell Gap the boundary form". (8)

At the northern end of Doncaster, the north road bends slightly to the west, as if round an obstacle. This was probably caused by the building of the Anglo-Saxon burg around the ruins of the Roman fort and the civilian settlement beyond its walls. On one occasion, in 1015, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to the seven boroughs of the Danelaw (9), when normally only five are

mentioned: Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln. Some think, on circumstantial evidence, that Manchester and Doncaster (both having been Roman forts) were the two additional boroughs referred to in this source. (10) However, Sir Frank Stenton thought that Torksey and York were the likely identities of the extra boroughs. (11) This all presupposes that seven is not a scribal error for five, at some period in the history of the manuscript.

Domesday Book of 1086 did not seem to include a town called Doncaster; indeed Doncaster was only listed among the lands of the manor of Hexthorpe. There were burgesses in Dadsley (now Tickhill) to the south and in Tanshelf (now Pontefract) to the north, but none at all in the vicinity of Doncaster. However, the Hexthorpe entry lists 40 sokemen - too many, one might think, for the rural manor of Hexthorpe. (12) It is just possible that these 40 sokemen were in fact townsmen of Doncaster, and that the sokemen could be a scribal error for burgesses.

By the mid-12th century there was a street in Doncaster called Vico Gallico, now Frenchgate (13), lying along the north road at the northern edge of town. Frenchgate was a Norman plantation, with narrow burgage plots running back from both sides of the street. It marks the beginnings of Doncaster's expansion as a medieval town. Subsequent development led to the laying out of a market place and other streets, together with the building of a large new church in the late-12th century Romanesque

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style (St. Mary's). John Leland in the 1520s mentioned the ruins of a castle (14) near St. George's church, but this might have been part of the Roman fort walls. There is reference in 1290 to "le Aldecastledick" (15), but this could refer to the great Anglo-Saxon ditch. The medieval castle, postulated by some local historians, seems to have left remarkably little trace in documents or the landscape; archaeology has revealed only part of a motte abandoned by 1200. (16)

In 1194 Richard I was persuaded to issue a charter for this small town on royal lands, which gave it a measure of short-lived privilege. It was limited enough: in return for the privilege of paying its tax quota (then 100 marks) direct to the Exchequer (instead of to the King's sheriff), Doncaster agreed to increase its contribution to 125 marks, with a lump sum payment of 50 marks (1 mark = £2/3 = 13s-4d). In 1130 the manor of Doncaster had been mortgaged by its lord (Robert Fossard) to the Crown. In 1197 the lord (Robert of Thornham, married to Joanne Fossard) redeemed the mortgage. Doncaster thus passed out of the Crown lands and its charter of 1194 became defunct. (17)

By the late 14th century Doncaster's economy was recovering from the ravages of the Black Death of 1348-9. The town contributed more to the 1379 Poll Tax (£11-13s-6d) than any other community in South Yorkshire. In the whole of the West Riding it was exceeded only by Pontefract (£14-8s-10d). Sheffield,

Tickhill, and Rotherham each contributed just over half as much as Doncaster. The town's recorded adult tax-paying population numbered 757 in 1379, 301 married couples and 155 single people, representing a total estimated population of probably no more than 1,359. Tickhill had 463 recorded taxpayers and Bawtry 264, and these were Doncaster's nearest neighbours as market towns. The majority (408) in Doncaster paid the basic 4d rate, with 21 at the 6d (or craftsman) rate, and 27 over 6d. Doncaster's economic pre-eminence over its trading neighbours is reflected in its merchants and chapmen, goldsmith, weaver, tailors and drapers, fishers, fishmongers and butcher, shipwright, smiths and wrights, skinner and cordwainer, and "glassenwright". Three inns and a tavern are listed in Doncaster; there were only two in Tickhill and Rotherham, and none in Bawtry. (18)

In 1379 Doncaster's population included many people from other places, who had migrated to the town. The revival of town life, some 30 years after the Black Death, drew people from the surrounding villages and from further afield. Perhaps this was always so in places like Doncaster. Towns at the junction of transport networks, towns on the frontiers of farming regions, old towns with diverse populations, and towns with developing economies: such places were likely to attract folks from other communities, who were looking for new opportunities. In 1379 it would have been difficult to walk along the streets of Doncaster without meeting people who had recently moved

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there. Among them would have been Robert of Hexthorpe, Alice of Bessacarr, John of High Ellers, John of Balne, Emma of Balne, Nicholas of Bramwith, John of Rawcliffe, John of Blacktoft, John of Scawsby, Thomas of Carcroft, Leticia of Consibrough, Robert of Wadworth, Robert of Harthill, Joan of Work-sop, William of Silkstone, John of Methley, and William of Elmley. Those from still further afield included Roger of Bolsover, John of Glentworth, Eleanor of Hull, Lady Agnes of Goxhill, Nicholas of Farndale, Robert of Cleveland, Joan of London, and John of Sandwich.

Doncaster's greatest privileges of self-government came in 1467, when a charter of Edward IV bestowed the right for the borough to be governed by a corporation comprising a mayor, 12 aldermen, and 24 common councilmen. This structure provided the basic framework of the town's local government for five centuries, with the charter being renewed by subsequent monarchs. During the Middle Ages the chartered borough was administered from the Moot Hall, which was situated to the east of St. George's church. It served as the town's administrative centre until the Town Hall (or Guild Hall) was built in the market place in 1575, incorporating the ruins of St. Mary Magdalene's church. The Moot Hall still survived in 1649, when it was referred to as "over and nether Moothall in Fishergate...with the Armourhouse adjoining". (19) During the 17th century rooms in the Moot Hall were let to various tenants.

## The Plan

Doncaster's traditional plan focussed on the market place, the Great North Road, and the river. Narrow lanes linked the market with the through-road to the west and with other streets. The late Norman church of St. Mary Magdalene stood on the eastern edge of the market place, whilst St. George's stood a short distance away to the north, near the river. The town ditch with bars (or gateways) delineated the built-up extent of the medieval town, with only minor suburban development (including pottery-making) up Hall Gate to the south.

Medieval Doncaster was a compact town with the York-London road running north-south through its midst. Its built-up area was encircled by a ditch (the Bardyke) and the main approaches guarded by bars over a ditch: St. Mary's Bar (north), Sun (or Sunny) Bar (east), Gilott (or St. Sepulchre) Bar (west), and Stone Bar (south). The main streets were then as now: Hall Gate (called High Street from 1723), St. Sepulchre Gate, French Gate, Baxter Gate, Fishergate (now Church Street), High Fishergate (formerly Sostang Lane), and the Market Place (formerly Marketstead). (20) The name Hall Gate has been transferred to the upper slope of the main street.

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In the town centre was the Carmelite Friary (established in the late 13th century), from which the early 19th century street Priory Place takes its name. The precise site and buildings have never been located. Lawrence Cooke was the last prior here at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries. He was implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace and this led to his execution in 1540. On the northern edge of the town was the house of the Greyfriars, and the northbound road out of Doncaster passed over Friars' Bridge nearby, where it crossed the Cheswold. Greyfriars Road, a late 19th-century thoroughfare, takes its name from these friars. Again, never precisely located, it is thought that this site lay mostly in the marshy area towards the River Don. (21)

St. Sepulchre Gate (first mentioned in 1372) (22) still leads from the town centre to the western outskirts of the medieval town. During the digging of foundations for the new G.P.O Mail Sorting Office here in West Street, a large number of skeletons were discovered. This was the burial ground, which must have given rise to the name St Sepulchre Gate. Burial grounds were usually sited in relation to the parish churches, whereas clearly this one was not; it may have been a site for plague burials at the time of the Black Death. Not far away, and probably related, was the site of St. James' chapel.

## Glimpses of the Tudor and Stuart Town

John Leland, writing about Doncaster in the 1520s, said that, despite the great quantities of stone to be found nearby, it was built of wood. (23) In other words, Doncaster was full of timber-framed buildings at that time, as was Tickhill. Few timber houses survived in Doncaster beyond c.1900, but a few were captured on photographs from the turn of the century, like the one near St. George's church. Some were clad in stone or completely replaced by stone houses in the 17th century, or by brick houses in the 18th century. One house (converted into shops) survives next to Barclays Bank Chambers in High Street; tall pointed dormers project from the roof, and part of its timber-frame survives embedded in later work.

By 1697 Celia Fiennes could write: "Doncaster is a pretty town of Stone Buildings". (24) Her comment illustrates the extent to which a widespread rebuilding had taken place since the time of John Leland. An engraving of Baxter Gate in 1800 shows a building of c.1600; it was built at right angles to the street, and its steeply pitched roof was thatched. Along the ground-floor frontage had been built three lean-to-shops, with wooded shut-

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ters, some of which had been replaced with small-paned windows by 1800. (25)

Alderman Pell's house is depicted in another engraving of c. 1800. It was situated near Pell's Close, which name still survives off Printing Office Street. The house was built in an L-shaped plan, with its main three-unit range along the street and a wing at the rear. It was probably built in the mid-17th century, with cross-windows on the ground floor, mullioned windows upstairs, and dormers in the roof. (26) Alderman William Walker, a wealthy draper, had a large house, and his probate inventory of 20th January 1717-8 lists the following rooms: kitchen, hall, parlour, pantry, chamber over hall, chamber over parlour, chambers over pantry, entry, and shop, kitchen chamber, and garrett, together with a warehouse (fairly empty), and a well-stocked shop (with a wide range of coarse and fine cloths). His voluminous possessions included a walnut table, eight pictures, and a copper coffee pot. The total value of the inventory was £555-6s-3 & 1/2d, of which £107-7s-6 & 1/2d comprised debts owing to Walker. (27)

Mr William Cooke's house contained parlour, hall, kitchen, street chamber, and a "chamber next to the church". He was a large-scale butcher and grazier, related to the Cookes of Wheatley Hall, and his inventory totaled £647-15s-0d. His possessions included several items made of silver - spoons, a tankard, and two porringers. He had a fabulous array of animals: a sow

and 10 pigs, 33 cows, a calf, 81 beasts, 159 sheep, and 5 horses. Among his debts was a sum of £60 owing to Sir George Cooke for rents, almost certainly for land (probably in Wheatley) on which he grazed his animals. As well as a slaughter-house, he had a shop and three stalls in the Market Place. (28)

Much less wealthy (and indeed more typical) than these urban plutocrats was Robert Parkin, a mason, whose inventory on 1st June 1698 totaled £32-10s-6d. His house had only three rooms: house, parlour, and parlour chamber. In the parlour, in addition to the normal items of furniture and furnishings, he kept the tools of his trade:- "three plaister flailles and trough, two trow-ells, a plevett, a paving pick, two slate hammers, three triangles, a plum rule and a runspindle, 5s.0d., a grinding stone and two short laders, 3s.6d.". (29)

In the late 17th century Doncaster had hardly grown beyond the confines of the medieval town. Its population in 1672 numbered around 1,765 people, only 406 more than it had been three hundred years earlier. The 1672 Hearth Tax returns (30) distinguished poor households, people in receipt of poor relief and therefore judged too poor to pay the tax. This information provides a rough indication of the distribution of poor families around various parts of the town, and it is summarised in the following table.



caster in 1672

Don-

Street	Household Total	Poor Household	%
Baxtergate	28	1	3.57
Market Place	90	4	4.44
French Gate	78	4	5.12
Fishergate	25	2	8.00
St George Gate	23	2	8.69
High Street and Scott Lane	75	11	14.66
St Sepulchre Gate	34	5	14.70
Marshgate	33	7	21.21
Hall Gate	62	15	24.19
St Sepulchre Gate-without-the-bar	65	25	38.46
All Town	513	76	14.81

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All streets had some poor households in them, to a greater or lesser degree. Streets with less than 10% of poor households were situated in the wealthier part of the town around the Market Place: Baxter Gate, Market Place, French Gate, Fishergate, and St George Gate. At the opposite end of the wealth spectrum were streets with over 20% of poor households: Marsh Gate, Hall Gate, and St Sepulchre Gate-without-the-bar. All three were situated at the northern, southern, and western edges respectively of the built up area of the town. They were starkly-contrasted areas were three central streets with less than 15% of poor households: High Street and Scot Lane (grouped together) and St Sepulchre Gate. These conformed to the average of the whole town.

At this time Doncaster's position on the Great North Road, at the head of navigation of the River Don, and its situation at the junction of three agricultural regions (limestone uplands, marshland, and sandy heathlands) gave its market considerable importance. It was one of the major corn markets of the north, and the wool market was of crucial importance to the English woollen industry. From the mid-1620s onwards wool was regularly brought to Doncaster market from Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, as well as Yorkshire. (31) Saturday was then the special market day for wool in Doncaster. In 1642 it was said that "sometymes fortie sometyes three score and sometyes fower score packes of wooll sould in the markett in one day". (32)

At the end of the 17th century Celia Fiennes visited Doncaster and noted in her journal its stone buildings, good streets, handsome market cross, the large church and "a good large Meeteing Place". She concluded: "we were here the Lord's day and well entertained at the Angel". (33) An almost contemporary visitor to the town was Daniel Defoe, whose own journeys were published in 1724 as A Tour through England and Wales. He found the town "very full of great inns" and that the mayor was an innkeeper and postmaster, whose wealth and position in society are indicated by Defoe's comment that: "he kept a pack of hounds, was company for the best gentleman in the town or in the neighbourhood, and lived as great as any gentleman ordinarily did". (34) The predominance of inns in a major market town on the Great North Road is only to be expected, and traffic was increasing in the years before and after 1700. Defoe also drew attention to "two great, lofty, and very strong stone bridges over the Don, and a long causeway also beyond the bridges". (35) Of the two bridges over the Don, one was over the Cheswold (Friars' Bridge), though this river was little more than a short branch of the Don. Though Defoe described Doncaster as "a noble, large, spacious town", he also said: "the town seems as if it wanted another conflagration, for it looks old again, and many of the houses ready to fall". (36)

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## 1750 - 1850

Something of the fabric of Doncaster before the railways and industrial development can be seen in surviving Georgian houses. Many ground-floors have been destroyed in the development of the modern retail trade, but the upper levels of the Georgian facades can be seen around the edge of the Market Place, in High Street and Hallgate, and in Waterdale. The house built by architect William Lindley for himself at the top of Hallgate (37) is of three storeys high and has a symmetrical front with curved bay windows two storeys high. A large number of Georgian houses can be found in South Parade and Bennethorpe. This southern area of the town was newly-built in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when coach traffic plied along the Great North Road in increasing quantities and when these were prime building sites on or near the main road. It represented Doncaster's new suburban development. (38) Built of brick, sometimes rendered, they speak of a quieter age, before all the chaos, bustle and traffic congestion of modern towns. Bay windows, elegant doorways with fanlights over them, lofty rooms, and hung sash windows - these are their hallmarks. However, all was not sweetness and light. Such were the sanitary arrangements of the time that a long row of large three-storey late Georgian houses in Waterdale (then called Horsfair) had earth closets in the yard at the rear. There was no

means of emptying them other than to carry the sewage through the house to a cart in the street. (39)

The most famous house remaining from Georgian Doncaster was lived in by Dr. Edward Miller, the organist of St George's church after 1756. Now St George's house, it stands north-east of the church facing Church Hill (40), and the ground-floor plan comprises a long rectangle of two rooms and a passage with a small kitchen wing at right angles. This is not, however, a Georgian house, but an earlier house in Georgian fancy dress, for its origins appear to go back to the early 17th century. Its three-room linear-plan stood at right angles to the road. The mid-Georgian alterations involved creating a two-storey canted bay window in the north end, to illuminate the best parlour and the best bedroom, overlooking the river and canal. The south end of the house was probably shortened by one room, to create a front garden. The south gable end was re-windowed and given a crowning triangular pediment, together with the decorative string course carrying the inscription "HARMONIAE SACRUM". A kitchen wing was added to the east side, but its south-facing facade is largely early Victorian and displays a half-curved gable; the string course on this wing is not on the same level as the Georgian one.

Much late Georgian or Regency housing in Doncaster sadly disappeared in the large-scale street clearance scheme of the 1960s, in the area now covered by the Waterdale shopping pre-

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cinct and the southern bus station. This was the urban frontier of Doncaster in the early 1800s, and a whole range of elegant housing was to be seen in streets like Spring Gardens and Cartwright Street. Spring Gardens was built in the early 1820s, linking St James Street and Cleveland Street. The elegant houses were for the moderately affluent. Most cottages of the labouring population, on the other hand were often crowded in yards and back alleys behind more elegant facades in the town centre (e.g. along Frenchgate). The new suburban building offered escape from an increasingly crowded town centre. But late Georgian building never reached out very far into the green fields. (41)

The pleasant appearance of Doncaster is something which greatly impressed people at this time. In 1828 Joseph Hunter wrote of a “wealthy and truly beautiful town”. (42) The Revd. J. G. Fardell, rector of nearby rural Sprotbrough, in 1850 described Doncaster as “one of the most striking and beautiful of England’s towns”. (43) In 1837 William White wrote of the town: “The streets are generally spacious and well built, and contain many handsome houses and elegant public edifices”. (44) In 1838 Dr. T. F. Dibdin wrote: “Of all the towns I have entered on the continent or in England, I am not sure that I was ever so impressed with the neatness, the breathing space, the residence-inviting aspect of any, as of the town of Doncaster. It is cheerful, commodious, and the streets are of delightful breadth. You need not fear suffocation, either from natural or

artificial causes for no smoke is vomited from trailing column from manufacturing chimneys. The sky is blue, the sun is bright, the air is pure”. (45)

Doncaster was noted for its wealthy inhabitants, who were drawn there principally by the absence of heavy industry and a cheap and abundant supply of provisions. One contemporary wrote, in the late 1830s, “there are but few towns in the Kingdom in which so great a portion of the inhabitants are possessed of independent fortunes”. (46) This group was augmented by the middle-class business population of the town. Together they occupied the fine terraced houses in streets like South Parade, Regent Terrace, Spring Gardens, Priory Place, Hall Gate and High Street. The same reasons which made Doncaster a fashionable place of residence also fostered the establishment and growth of boarding schools and academies, to which wealthy middle-class families sent their offspring. Most of the pupils at such schools came from neighbouring counties. (47) Thus in 1851 the 46 boarders at Edenfield House School were almost exclusively from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire. At Sarah Parker’s school in South Parade, the 25 pupils came mostly from Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland. (48)

The business structure of this market town can be worked out from the commercial directories of 1837 and 1852. (49) They give a reasonably accurate picture of the range of business ac-

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tivities in the community, though they do not give information about the size of a particular firm. The 1852 directory produces similar results to the earlier one and thus helps to confirm its accuracy. The high proportion of distributive businesses is characteristic of early 19th century market towns, and it is significant that more than two thirds of these were concerned with food. Equally significant for the character of the town was the large number of businesses in light manufacturing and the small number in heavy manufacturing.

Doncaster was also an administrative centre. The Poor Law Union of 1837 with its workhouse and board of guardians was centred here. Furthermore, the Corporation of Doncaster had magisterial jurisdiction in the borough and soke of Doncaster - the latter comprising the parishes of Rossington and Loversall, and the townships of Balby-with-Hexthorpe, Long Sandall-with-Wheatley and Blaxton-with-Auckley. The quarter sessions and petty sessions for the borough and soke were held in Doncaster, as well as those of the county for the lower division of Stafforth and Tickhill Wapentake. Ecclesiastically, Doncaster was the centre of the great Doncaster Deanery, which covered almost the whole of South Yorkshire.

In 1838 in the township of Doncaster (identical with the borough) over 50% of landowners owned less than five acres, whilst only 1.8% rank as large urban landowners. The Corporation had 435 acres and Edward Thomas Copley of Nether Hall

had 150 acres. A similar structure of landownership prevailed in the adjacent rural township of Balby-with-Hexthorpe, where the Corporation owned 790 acres. In the eastern adjacent township of Long Sandall-with-Wheatley, the structure of landownership was similar. The Corporation held only three acres, whilst Sir William Cooke of Wheatley Hall had over 1000 acres. But the town and its immediate surroundings formed an area in which small property owners were a majority. It is against this background that we must view contemporary complaints that the Corporation was not powerful enough to deal with problems that arose, especially in the field of public health. The amount of total acreage owned by the Corporation of Doncaster itself was only 23% - whereas in Balby-with-Hexthorpe and Long Sandall-with-Wheatley the largest landowners had 50% and 89% respectively. (50)

The working population necessary to man the trade and services, which formed the basis of Doncaster's economy, lived in more lowly streets and in the yards, whose bad conditions featured in the 1848 Sanitary Inquiry. The size of the labouring population can be judged from the fact that the business people entered in the directories numbered less than 1,000 in 1837 and just over 1,000 in 1852, with a total population of 11,220 in 1841 and 12,967 in 1851. Assuming an average family size of four people, this gives 4,000 in the independent and business section of the population, with c.8,000 in the labouring classes. But not everyone in this early Victorian town had the good for-

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tune to work - in 1851 there were 100 adult and 97 children in the Union workhouse, 44 of whom had been born in the town. (51)

The living conditions of the working classes varied enormously, but reached a low-water mark in the yards, alleys and courts of the town centre in this period. (52) Plenty of lurid evidence is presented in the 1849 report on the sanitary condition of the town. (53) The water supply came under heavy criticism: “The inhabitants at present derive their supply of water principally from two sources, the river Cheswold and common wells”. Of 2,500 houses, 915 (in which lived 3,795 people) fetched water for washing and cooking from stand-pipes, pumps, or the river. Mr W. C. Russell, medical officer of the western district of the Poor Law Union, underlined the folly of Doncaster’s reliance on this water: “The water abstracted from the river is very bad, owing to the drainage. The water conveyed from the river into the town is very highly charged with the matter conveyed into the river from the drainage. The back water is sufficient itself to impregnate that which is sent up the pipes. There is a considerable amount of inorganic matter held in solution. I believe the same may be said of several of the wells, in consequence of the sides not being kept sufficiently protected”. (54)

The Corporation waterworks simply drew water from the river and relayed it through the town; there was a main pipe into Hall Gate and branch pipes along adjoining streets. Other medical

practitioners supported and supplemented Russell’s evidence; one of them was Dr. Dunn, who said: “The people residing in Moverley’s-yard, in French-gate, had neither wells nor stand-pipes, and are, therefore, obliged to fetch water for all purposes from the river, which they obtain by dipping in that parts near to where the sewage is discharged.” (55)

Even those houses with access to stand-pipes or pumps often had to share the advantage with neighbours. In the 97 yards, courts and passages in the town conditions were particularly bad in this respect. In 1849 only 16 streets out of a total of 66 were sewered. Mr Butterfield, the Corporation Steward, explained: “it being the practice with parties to set out new streets, and letting ground for building without making any provision for draining the premises; in some cases cesspools are made, and in others the foul water, etc., is thrown upon the surface”. (56)

The distribution of privy-sharing was roughly similar to that of sharing pumps and stand-pipes. The following comments are typical of what was said at the inquiry. Samuel Walker, “a renovator of nuisances”, said: “I get the soil out by means of baskets and barrows, as the nature of the premises may admit. We are not allowed to commence work before twelve at night, but I have done so many a time, and had to pay the fines”. (57)

The Revd. J. T. Cooper lived in Cartwright Street and spoke of the houses around him: “There are cesspools or open gutters to nearly all the houses. The pits are emptied about once a year.

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In some instances one cesspool is common to two houses, and the overflowings run into adjoining premises. The yard to my house is almost always flooded, the cesspool having been only partially emptied once within the last six years. There are no back entrances, and all the soil has to be brought through the houses". (58)

This was not the only area in town where such conditions prevailed. Flooding added to problems of water supply, drainage and sewage. The 1849 floods had recently filled the cellars of houses in Marsh Gate and even reached the bottom of the ground-floor staircases. Clean floodwater would have been disastrous enough, but the Don and Cheswold were filthy.

Housing conditions again reached their low-water mark in the courtyard areas of the town. Many houses were subdivided into tenements to house several families. 3,795 people (over a quarter of the town's 1851 population) lived in 915 tenements in this sort of setting. Thus more than 25% of Doncaster's population lived in sadly inadequate accommodation, deficient in space, light, air and hygiene. Most houses in the courts were built in confined spaces and many had no rear entrance; here and elsewhere there were some back-to-back houses. 57% of these tenements had two sleeping rooms, whilst a further 33% had only one. In 1% there was no sleeping room; the remaining 9% enjoyed three or four sleeping rooms. As to down-stairs rooms, 77% of these dwellings had just one room in which the inhabi-

tants cooked, ate, washed and dried, and managed to store food, fuel and water. Another 22% had two or more rooms for these purposes, whilst in 1% a single room had to do for living, eating, sleeping, washing and storing. Those unfortunate enough to be homeless ended up in the workhouse or a common lodging house. The latter were the focus of typhus in 1847, and of cholera in 1849.

Doncaster Corporation was not totally inactive in dealing with some of these problems. During the years 1836-48 it had been discussing such matters as sewers, housing, water supplies, street-lighting, road surfacing, burial grounds, stench-traps and the "health of towns" movement generally. Perhaps one of the most significant discussions was on the question of housing in courts. At a council meeting held on 7th June 1836, we learn that "Mr. Sheardown moved that all future courts be open. Mr. Birley moved (an amendment) that the courts remain as they now are". The voting went in favour of the amendment, for which 11 members (including the mayor) voted; only four were against the amendment and in favour of Sheardown's original motion. (59) Doubtless vested interests were at work, fearing the loss of rent if property could not be developed to the full by squeezing the maximum number of houses into a yard or garden. Perhaps they even feared what might have been the next step, that of opening-up existing courts on one side.

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The health of any community is, in large measure, dependent on the quality of its water supply. Thus the council spent much time in dealing with this question. For instance, on 9th July 1836 it was: “resolved that it be referred to the Committee of the whole Council to take into consideration the General supply of Water to the Town and to report to a future meeting of the Council the practicability of giving a better supply to the outskirts of the Town and to obtain the necessary estimates for the purpose”. (60)

The water supply was to prove a problem without an easy or quick solution, and it occupied the town council up to and beyond the 1849 report. However, important small measures were decided upon, such as not allowing plumbers to put any branch water pipes into the mains without the corporation’s consent, and the decision to buy existing private water-pipes in some streets. (61) And yet, even in 1849, Dr. Dunn’s plan to filter the river water at the Cheswold waterworks, before being supplied to the population through the mains, was not supported by the whole council. It was decided to seek an engineer’s report with a view to the cost of filtering, but the project was abandoned because of the expense. (62) Day-to-day maintenance (such as servicing pumps and cleaning out wells) was attended to, but this was rather fruitless in the absence of bold action to deal with the underlying inadequacy of the town’s water supply. Similarly, the council showed itself able to effect some worthwhile improvements in sewage disposal, without be-

ing able to entirely remove the sort of conditions reported in 1849.

Environmental improvements were made in other spheres. In May 1846 it was decided that future repairs to town streets should be by the use of tarmacadam, and during the next two years some of this was carried out. (63) There are frequent references to the erection of public street lamps during the early Victorian period. The gasworks was built in 1827 by a company in which Doncaster Corporation had majority shares, and which they soon completely controlled. (64) By the late 1840s over 200 public lamps had been erected in the town, the expense being met by a rate levied to cover the cost of this amenity. (65) Old churchyards filled to capacity were a common feature of growing 19th-century towns, and Doncaster was no exception. In 1848 the corporation planned a new municipal cemetery, which was opened in 1854 in Hyde Park.

Doncaster was a municipal, though not a parliamentary, borough in this period. Under the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act it had been divided into three wards, and was governed by eight borough magistrates, a mayor, six aldermen and 24 common council-men. One readily-accessible source, which enables us to glimpse the composition of the town council is the commercial directory. The lists of names of aldermen and councillors for a given year can be followed up in the trade section of the directory to see from which sections of the community these



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people were drawn. In 1837, for example, the council comprised eight shopkeepers, seven professional people like doctors and solicitors, four merchants, a small manufacturer, a craftsman, a farmer and a miller, with one seat vacant. (66) In 1852, to take another year for which a directory is available, there were ten professional people, eight shopkeepers, five manufacturers and craftsmen, and one merchant. (67) Some councillors owned property in the worst parts of town, so we should hardly be surprised that they did little to remedy some of the worst problems of housing, water supply and sewage. But the main cause of the town's chronic problems in these spheres was rapid population growth.

The role of the Corporation was important in fostering various social and economic development. It had invested in three local canal companies and five turnpike trusts, and had played a major part in 1827 in floating the local gas company. In its new improvement of facilities in the Market Place in 1756-7, Doncaster Corporation built the New Shambles (for the sale of meat) and the Butter Cross (for dairy products), at a cost of £550. The New Shambles was roofed with slate and supported on a colonnade of 24 pillars, with stalls underneath. This building replaced the old Shambles, which the Corporation had built before 1579 to house butchers' shops and stalls. The plan of the Butter Cross was octagonal and its pointed roof, crowned by a lantern, was supported on square stone pillars. Butter,

eggs, milk, cheese, and vegetables were all sold under the shade of its roof. (68)

In the 1840s the council acted as a pressure group promoting the building of railways in the area. (69) Doncaster's regional importance as a market town, just before and during the railway age, was secured by the council's provision of modern market facilities in an enlarged and rebuilt market place. (70) The Corporation also played an important role in the provision and encouragement of cultural and recreational facilities. High on its list of priorities was the racecourse and race-meetings. The Corporation's expenditure on racecourse improvements between 1777 and 1837 was estimated at about £20,000, but in 1839 alone its income from the racecourse was over £2,000. (71) Respectable organisations seeking rooms to meet in, or aid with finances, were nearly always helped by the Corporation. As patron of the grammar school, Doncaster Corporation provided a new building in 1849, after destroying the old one in the course of the Market Place improvements. A subscription library and a theatre also received continuous corporation support in this period. Lastly, the organist of St George's church (the civic and parish church) was paid a corporation salary, and musical concerts and recitals there were encouraged.

The old Corporation had spent money fairly freely, not only upon improvements but upon good living and good causes. In 1797, for example, in patriotic fervor it subscribed £1,000 to the

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English war effort against France. (72) As Edward Baines wrote in 1822: “The funds of the Corporation are extremely ample, amounting to at least £7,000 a year, and a considerable portion of which is employed in improving the town and its precincts, and adding to the comforts of its inhabitants”. (73)

Rates were hardly a problem for the people of Doncaster, owing to the Corporation’s generosity, as Baines again tells us: “The inhabitants have many advantages rarely to be met with in other places. They have no assessments for lighting or paving the streets, the expense of which is defrayed by the Corporation, no police rate or constable ley is levied, and the expenses for the poor’s rate and highways are very moderate”. (74)

Such expenditure and largesse were, to a considerable extent, facilitated by the income from both the Racecourse and the rural manor of Rossington. Change came in the 1830s. The Municipal Corporations Act brought the Reformed Corporation into existence, and its expenditure during its first year (1836) was £10,429. This was £8,000 less than the old Corporation’s expenditure in the preceding year, and £3,000 less than the average of several previous years. (75) Furthermore, the Rossington estate was sold in 1838 to a private buyer.

# After the Railways

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The expansion of  
Doncaster from 1850  
onwards.



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## 1850 - 1914

Between 1851 and 1901 Doncaster's population grew from 12,052 to 28,932, or from 12,967 to 39,404 including that of the suburbs. This enormous expansion was primarily due to the coming of the railway and the building of the Great Northern Railway's engineering works "The Plant". Also, the growth of smaller industries was stimulated by the development of the railway system. Railways made Doncaster an industrial centre of national importance, and its production of steam locomotives, coaches, and waggons became legendary.

After 1850 Doncaster was transformed from a country town and coaching stop on the Great North Road into a railway engineering town. Important changes took place in the town centre between 1850 and 1914. New public buildings were erected, such as Wool Market (1862-3), the Corn Exchange (1867-73), the Infirmary (1868), the Public Baths (1882), the Public Library (1889), and a variety of schools, churches, and chapels. From the 1890s into the early 1900s there was a programme of road-widening; streets like Scot Lane and Baxtergate (both from High Street to Market Place) together with Cleveland Street, Silver Street, and Wood Street benefitted from this movement for better access. The new Clock Corner was built as part of the Baxtergate widening, and the upper rooms served as the offices of J. G. Walker, the architect who designed the building. (1) These years also witnessed the beginning of an era of re-

building for most of the town's banks, which stretched from the 1890s to the 1920s. It began with the building of the Midland Bank at the corner of High Street and Baxtergate in 1895, followed by Lloyd's Bank in High Street and Cleveland Street, which was built in 1905-9 on the site of the Ram Hotel.

New shops arose, including Doncaster Co-operative Society's department store in Station Road and Hodgson and Hepworth's food emporium in St Sepulchre Gate, both in the 1890s. Station Road was constructed in the 1890s to link St Sepulchre Gate and the railway station, and thus to provide railway travellers with suitable access to and from the town centre. (3) New properties being built along the new road during the 1890s included, besides the Co-op, the Temperance Hotel, the Grand Theatre and Oriental Chambers. Just before the First World War Doncaster gained its first cinemas, small beginnings of a trend that really took hold in the 1920s. At the north end of the town the North Bridge was erected over the railway and canal, to solve the problems of entry and exit at this point, after several years of tram services having to cope with the barrier of a level-crossing.

In 1858 the Corporation conveyed to Moffat and Hawksworth, for building development, the piece of ground now known as Regent Square. The water-house and reservoir, which had been built there before 1800, was then dilapidated and redundant following improvements made to the town waterworks. Moffat and

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Hawksworth undertook to build high-quality and expensive villa residences around three sides of the square. They agreed to set aside a piece of ground in the middle of the development, which would be enclosed, planted and maintained by the Corporation as a private garden for the square. (4) In 1868 William Sheardown wrote: "A large three-gabled brick edifice, in Regent Square, from plans by Mr. Godfrey, architect, built by Mr. Wood, is a most commodious house; and of a character much needed in Doncaster, for the residence of private persons with means". (5) Sheardown also commented on Doncaster generally in 1868: "The houses recently built show a decided improvement in their style, by the employment of professional architects for their construction". (6) In 1869 he went on to write at length: "Some of the houses erected during the year are more of ornamental character than usual. One on Hall Cross Hill, the property of Mr. C. E. Palmer, is styled by the builder, Mr. Athron, domestic gothic. It is a well arranged house. The material is Conisbro' pressed brick, with drawn joints, having Ancaster stone dressings; the caps, bosses, etc., are bold, and have been richly carved in the conventional style by Mr. Scrivens. The entrance has a large bay window on either side, double windows over - a single one over the door - a stone cornice and dormer windows above." (7)

As the 1849 report had shown graphically, one major area where Doncaster had to make huge improvements was in the quality and quantity of the water supplied to its people. In the

1860s complaints about the poor quality of its water were not unusual. At the Infirmary Bazar in 1867 a sample of water from the waterworks was tested in a new carbon filter. The pre-filtration sample was full of sediment, thick brown in colour, and with an unpleasant taste. After passing through the filter, the same sample became clear and colourless. (8) Even a simple filter could greatly improve the quality of water coming out of the Corporation waterworks at this time. But until 1880 Doncaster's people depended for their water upon river water - pumped out and distributed by the waterworks. However, new works were undertaken in 1874 to remedy the matter. Water was collected above Conisbrough and taken to a new reservoir at Warmsworth. From there it was distributed to the population of Doncaster. These new works were finished in 1880 at a cost of £170,00. (9) The old Doncaster waterworks was left for use in sewer-flushing and street-cleaning. Between 1895 and 1914 Doncaster shared with Sheffield in the construction of two new reservoirs at Underbank (Stocksbridge) and Langsett.

Another step closer to civilisation was taken in the steady provision of gas lamps to light the streets. These grew from 242 lamps in 1860 to 341 in 1868. (10) Much of this increase resulted from the laying of gas mains in the expanding parts of town. For example, in 1867 new lamps were erected in Regent Square, Church Street, Church Lane, Hexthorpe Lane, Spring Gardens, Cleveland Street, Portland Place, Printing Office Street, Young Street, Baker Street of New Balby (around Balby

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Bridge). (11) Then in 1868 a new main was laid from Cleveland Street along John Street, linking with the St. James' Street main, and then running to the top of Oxford Street. (12)

By the end of the 1860s the local medical officer of health could report: "Many of the most noxious places in the borough have been improved, gully holes have been trapped, ashpits periodically emptied, and dwellings which were unfit for human habitation are now properly cleansed and ventilated" and:- "It is much improved; more houses have been built, relieving the overcrowded dwelling; more pumps put down, securing better water for drinking purposes; and few local nuisances exist. St Ann's-Square and its neighbourhood is an exception, where the old state of things still remains. The old pump has been locked up, but no other has been put down, and the filthy river water is still their only supply". (13)

In 1860 the Local Board of Health for Doncaster district published its bye-laws to regulate the physical development of the town, covering streets, houses, public buildings, schools, shops, factories, drainage and sanitation. The Local Board was specified as "the Town Council of Doncaster, acting as the Local Board of Health". Anyone who carried out work contrary to the regulations was to have this demolished and incur the expenses involved. The bye-laws formed a comprehensive body of regulation, which closely affected urban building and planning and shaped the nature of streets erected in the 1860s and

after. Reinforced by the provisions of the 1875 Public Health Act, such regulations influenced building for the rest of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. All streets were to be at least 30 feet wide, and the mode of street construction and materials was subject to the Board's approval. Buildings were not to be higher than the width of the street. Wall-thickness of buildings, their ventilation, placing of windows, and roofing were all subject to the Board's specifications and approval. The Drainage and sanitation regulations specified that drain-pipes should be glazed stone-ware or fire-clay, and that joints should be water-tight. The pipes were to be embedded in well-puddled clay. Right-angled junctions were to be avoided and care taken with connections to the main sewers. Water-closets and privies had to be approved by the board, and cesspits were to be avoided unless other provision was impossible. No new house was to be occupied until the drainage was completed and approved by the board. Damp-proof courses were to be built into all new buildings. No projections into the street were to be allowed. Industrial chimneys were to be built at least 90 feet high, where a steam engine was not employed. Such a regulation related to a wide variety of premises, such as mills, breweries, chemical works, gas works, foundries, and other factories. The "planning approval" process was then very speedy. Plans and applications were to be deposited with the surveyor of the Local Board, with 14 day's clear notice of the intent to build. The Local

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Board would approve or disapprove of new works or buildings within 14 days of receiving notice. (14)

The coming of the railways, with their engineering works in Hexthorpe, ushered in a great expansion of the housing area on the western side of Doncaster, in Hyde Park, Hexthorpe, and around Balby Bridge. Apart from a couple of streets in Hexthorpe put up by the Great Northern Railway, all of this house-building was done by private enterprise. Street after street of brick terrace houses, nearly all two-up and two-down, were built over green field sites. The early ones in the 1850s and 1860s had no front or rear gardens and only small yards at the back. Gradually in the 1870s and 1880s some streets were built with little front gardens, but this was the exception even at the end of the century. Interspersed amongst the houses in these new suburban streets were churches, corner shops, public houses, and workshops. People with railway occupations filled up most of these streets. In Bond Street (off St James' Street) in 1861 every head of household was in railway employment, and this extended to other members of the family and to lodgers as well. Other streets showed the same railway ties. The 1861 census shows that the building development of the Hyde Park area was so new that many of the streets had not been given names, though they were named soon after. By 1869 Catherine Street was being built, and there were 17 untenanted houses ("mostly new") in it, together with four in the process of building. (15). Much of the area where Hyde Park and

Hexthorpe were built had been covered with nurseries and market gardens, with a sprinkling of cottage plots in the days before the railway.

The influx of railway workers was mainly from the countryside. The 1861 Hyde Park census returns show that, out of 124 households, 55 heads of household had railway jobs. Of these, 21 were born in Yorkshire, another 14 in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, whilst the rest came from scattered birthplaces in East Anglia, the south-east, the Midlands, the south-west, and the north. 14 other people in Hyde Park (all males) worked on the railway in 1861, and 9 of these were born in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, or Nottinghamshire. All but one of the rest (from Somerset) came from the Midlands. Over the railway, just beyond Balby Bridge, was Belmont Terrace along Balby Road, built during the 1850s. In the 1861 census the heads of household in these houses were railway clerks. (16)

Further building development took place in Hexthorpe between 1890 and 1910, with new streets of houses filling in spaces in the old railway suburb and on agricultural land to the west. Two road-names in the latter area, which closely reflected their period of origin, are Gladstone Road and Salisbury Road, named after Victorian prime ministers. During the 1890s and early 1900s suburban houses were being built along the road leading to Bentley, across the marsh to the north of town. They were mostly terraced brick houses, with small gardens attached.

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Building development here had begun on a small-scale in the 1870s and 1880s in this area, on land sold by the Wheatley Hall estate. (17)

On the eastern side of Doncaster, building development was initially constrained by the existence of the Copley family's Nether Hall estate, centred on a house and park of c.1700 and after. Beyond this was the Cooke family's even bigger Wheatley Hall estate, where the hall dated from c.1680. Sales of land from both of these estates from the 1860s onwards made possible the expansion on this side of Doncaster. The roads around Dockin Hill were built from this time onwards and filled with two-up, two-down brick terraces (Market Road, Millbank Street, Beckett Road, etc.). At the southern, elevated end of Nether Hall Park, a group of high quality houses were erected in 1869. They were described by William Sheardown, as follows:- "Four of ten to be built, semi-detached houses, erected on St George's-terrace, in the Nether Hall grounds, on Thorne-road, are of one design, neat and convenient. They are of brick, with white brick jambs, mouldings and string courses, with pierced stone balconies and stone cornice on top of a white moulded string-course. Built by Mr. Charles Verity". (18)

Further out, on former Wheatley Hall land beyond the borough boundary, Avenue Road was begun in the late 1860s. It was a low density development, with large detached and semi-detached houses set in spacious gardens. A number of wealthy

shopkeepers and town councillors moved out of the crowded town centre to new houses here. Only the eastern side of the street was started in the 1860s, and Avenue Road remained isolated amid green fields until the 1890s, a measure of the extent to which its builders had jumped over several fields and perhaps overestimated the degree to which the town would grow at that time. By the end of 1869 there were seven completed houses in the new road, and three more in progress. William Sheardown wrote : "They are varied in character and neat in appearance, and convenient comfortable residences". (19)

In the 1890s Avenue Road was completed, and the neighbouring streets of Auckland Road, St Mary's Road, and Thorne Road were built. (20). Development continued through into the early 1900s, stimulated by the new tramway system, with a terminus at Avenue Road. Two houses in Auckland Road, a semi-detached pair (numbers 6 and 8), were in process of being built in June 1896 by George Beal, a land agent. He gave them the military sounding names of "Sandhurst" and "Naseby", the first the military academy and the second the English Civil War Battlefield, and these names were carved on the gate posts. For £1,400 Beal sold the pair to Fredrick Splurge, a haberdasher, who sold number 8 to William James Green and lived in number 6 himself. (21). There was further suburban development in Wheatley, with building on land to the north of the Avenue Road area. Jubilee Road - commemorating Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee of 1897 - Cranbrook Road, Lowther Road - and a



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host of others were developed just before and after 1900, on former fields called the Holmes. (22)

In the first decade of the 20th century, fine houses with Dutch gables, splendid turrets, and spacious gardens were built along Thorne Road. The Edwardian Town Moor estate was built by Harold Arnold; it's southward-sloping site between Thorne Road and the Racecourse benefitting from a tramway terminus at both of these extremities. (23) The names given to the roads on this estate of high-quality houses reflected Britain's royal heritage: Windsor, Balmoral, Osborne, Imperial, Victorian, Craithie, Glamis, etc. The most expensive houses were towards the top of the slope in most roads, and in Windsor Road they became smaller and closer-built as the slope descended. All down Town Moor Avenue, however, where the houses faced the Town Field, they remained large and expensive. Harold Sayles Arnold's own residence (Allerton House) was situated on a plot of higher ground towards the top of Windsor Road, at it's junction with Victorian Crescent. Architecturally more distinguished than the rest and built of brick and limestone, it sat in ample garden with its asymmetrically-placed front door led along a longitudinal entrance passage to a central lobby, from which doors led into downstairs rooms and a staircase upstairs.

During the early 20th century Doncaster's immediate countryside changed, as the town grew outwards and absorbed some of the villages forever. The tramway was the first agent of mod-

ern change, in the years before the First World War. Balby, to the west, grew considerably after the tramway travelled to the village from 1902 onwards. During the first decade considerable building took place on Balby's green fields. (24). Houses followed the tram-lines along the main Doncaster-Warmsworth road, and it was here that the most expensive houses in Balby were built. The name of Morraine Villas on High Road recognised the position of the new houses on a glacial moraine of the Ice Age. (25) Brunswick Terrace is dated 1908. (26) The side roads at right angles to the main road date from the same time or slightly afterwards. Right at the heart of the old village, near the tramway terminus, streets of new terrace houses were built. Even the village street itself (Low Road) took on an Edwardian appearance as terrace houses replaced old stone cottages. The process of development, continued right up to the First World War. In 1913 the Doncaster Co-operative Society built over a field, erecting a grocery store and a butcher's shop, with a warehouse over and a delivery yard behind. (27) Adjoining their retail premises they built three streets of houses to complete this rectangular development (Laurel Terrace, Alder Grove, and Warsworth Road). In 1912 the tramway system was extended one and a half miles further west to the village of Warsworth. The tram terminus was placed just west of the village, at the cross roads. Here again the Doncaster Co-operative Society bought a field and built shops and houses. (28) Speculative buildings added a few more houses to this de-

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velopment. However, the Edwardian development of Warmsworth, being further out from the town centre, was nothing like as extensive as Balby. The village fabric of Warmsworth remained intact then and later. Today this village is still physically recognisable, with its narrow streets and old limestone buildings, despite suburban development having covered all the fields around it with brick houses.

## Since 1914

The inter-war period saw much new building in the centre of Doncaster, as the town enjoyed its new-found status as the "Coalopolis" of eastern South Yorkshire. New large shops built in these years included Burton's ("tailors of taste"), Woolworths, Marks & Spencer, and Boots. New banks in the High Street included the National Provincial (1923), and the Westminster (1925). The Danum Hotel built a new large extension in Cleveland Street in the 1930s, and two new hotels (Earl of Doncaster and Rockingham) were erected in Bennetthorpe, along the Great North Road at the southern end of town. New cinemas were built in the town centre between the wars, to promote a way of life novel to the nation. After the First World War the major change in Doncaster, as in most towns, was wrought as a result of the 1919 Addison housing act. The obligation placed on local councils by central government, to build houses for renting to working people, ushered in the great growth of council estates around the edge of Doncaster during the 1920s and

1930s. This made possible the clearance of some of the worst housing areas in the town centre, especially the yards and alleyways behind the main streets.

The earliest Doncaster council houses of 1919-20 were built in Balby and Hyde Park. In both the number was originally small and they were probably experimental. In Balby they were in a block along part of three streets: Aneley Road, Armitage Road, and Smith Street, and in Hyde Park part of Theobald Avenue, Stockil Avenue, and Wainwright Avenue. They were all tall, terraced buildings of good brick, with projecting rear wings. They were set along wide streets, with narrow garden plots at the front and small yards and narrow passages at the back. The models for these houses were the larger speculative terrace houses of the suburbs and the early houses of a mining village like Edlington (e.g. Staveley Street and Thomson Street), all built just before the First World War. They were of doubtless the expensive sort of council house which brought Addison and his housing act unfairly into the critical arena, and brought a temporary halt to council house building nationally. As houses these early efforts were large and spacious, but as yet there was no concept of building them in spacious garden plots.

The next stage in council-house, building in the mid-1920s is represented by Morris Road and one side of Ivanhoe Road in Balby, where the houses were of the half-exposed brick and pebble-dash type. The houses were mostly semi-detached of

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two storeys, and smaller than the first type discussed above. The front and rear gardens, however, were larger, but the streets narrower. By the late 1920s some two-storey rows of three or four houses had been built in Smith Street and along the remaining sides of Ivanhoe Road. The early 1930s saw a considerable expansion of the Balby council-house building programme with brick and pebble-dash dwellings, often in rows, built in several streets to the north and south of the main road to Doncaster. Those lining the main road were regarded as show houses and built of good quality brick throughout. With the scarcity and expense of good quality bricks in the 1930s a large number of houses on the Balby estate were built of rougher brick and completely pebble-dashed over. In the late 1920s and early 1930s the new Woodfield council estate was built in Balby; it took its name from one of the old open fields. It has the usual mix of brick houses and brick and pebble-dashed houses as the original Balby council estate.

The same type of brick and pebble-dash houses were built in a great expansion of the Hyde Park estate, to the south of Doncaster, along Carr House Road and roads leading off to the south. Similar brick and brick and pebble-dash houses were erected on a new council estate at Intake, south-east of Doncaster. This was built over the fields of Intake Farm, which the Corporation had purchased specially for this purpose. It was here that the new Doncaster Fire Station was built in 1937 on land opposite the Racecourse. The large amount of land at

Wheatley, which the council had purchased from the Wheatley Hall estate, was partially built over (to the south of the Bemberg factory) with a small council estate during the mid to late 1930s. It was served by the new Park infant and junior school, built in spacious grounds. The small wooden library provided for the community fulfilled its original purpose until 1996.

The same era saw much private house-building in the suburbs, though in Balby and Hyde Park on a smaller scale than council building. Much of this took the form of brick semi-detached houses, mostly rather plain, though occasionally with individual decorative and design features copied by their builders from the past. On Tickhill Road in Balby are two detached houses of the 1930s (both very different) in the mock timbered style. Most of the private development in Balby was fitted into pockets of land around the old village centre in the inter-war period, and most of the houses were for owner occupiers. However, one group of houses here, built by Thomson and Dixon of Balby, was for renting and these were in Oswin Avenue, Thomson Avenue and Dixon Crescent. In Hyde Park an estate of owner-occupier houses was built to the north and south of Carr House Road at its eastern end.

Two Doncaster suburbs were entirely created by private development in the 1920s and 1930s: Wheatley Hills and Bessacarr. At Wheatley Hills, detached and semi-detached houses were built along Thorne Road leading eastwards from Doncaster.

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There were two small cul-de-sac developments off this main road: Crossways and Rockley Nook, both with select houses. The amount of building was greatly increased by an estate of detached bungalows, laid out along Thorne Road, Thornhill Avenue, and the Grove. Two bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen, and a bathroom, all of them fairly small rooms, were the norm. These bungalows were all set in reasonably-sized gardens, and when new they cost the buyers £250 each. A few roads of semi-detached two storey houses were built further east around Chestnut Avenue. During the 1930s a further area of private house-building was created to the north of Thorne Road.

A large suburban development took place in Bessacarr, along the Great North Road to the south of the Racecourse and on a glacial ridge east of the low-lying Potteric Carr. This was an expensive area of large detached and semi-detached houses and bungalows, much favoured by wealthy town centre shopkeepers and manufacturers. The Parkinson, Nuttall, and Pinney families (to name but a few) all had a house here. The area gradually became a favourite haunt of professional people, though its social appeal widened considerably since the 1950s. Prior to the 1930s Bessacarr was a small agricultural hamlet with farms and cottages on the North Road, the manor house further south near the railway and the Grange out in the fields towards Cantley. The small hamlet of Eilers lay a little further west on the edge of Potteric Carr, but after shrinking to a couple of farms by the 1960s has now disappeared under new

housing developments. Inter-war Bessacarr contained considerable high-grade middle-class housing, mostly detached houses and bungalows set in very large gardens. Much of the building development was initially along the existing Bawtry Road, where provision of services was easy, and some of the houses and gardens here are among the largest in this suburb. Other roads where building took place in the 1930s include the Oval, St Augustine's Road, Boswell Road, St Eric's Road, and St Wilfrid's Road. A fashionable road-house (Punch's Hotel) was built, and further south was a golf course and club-house, with yet more spacious and detached houses and bungalows stretching southwards to Rossington Bridge, including those along Bawtry Road and in Warning Tongue Lane. St Wilfrid's Drive and Warning Tongue Drive remained as unmade road-surfaces into the 1960s.

On the late Victorian Wheatley Park building estate, the subsequent history of "Sandhurst" in Auckland Road (built 1896) is interesting for the light it throws on the changing history of suburban houses generally. In 1921 Fredrick Spurge, the original owner, sold this house to Andrew Birchall, a brassfounder. The new owner lived here until 1936, when he sold the house to William Edmund Mounsey, a schoolmaster. Andrew Birchall moved out to the rural delights of Sprotbrough, to a house called "Sunnyside". In 1948 Mounsey sold the house to Mrs Marge Russell, who came from St Wilfrid's Road in Bessacarr. In 1952 she sold it to a man called Barnwell, a chartered ac-

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countant, and in 1954 he sold the house again. (30) The next owner lived here for over 20 years.

During the late 1920s Doncaster's suburban frontier on the north-west moved out to Sprotbrough, where the hall and park were sold by the Copley family in 1925. The hall was pulled down and its materials used for rubble infilling and walls. The park was sold off in lots for building development, and the bungalows and houses along Park Drive and adjacent roads were erected. (31) During the 1930s some houses were built along Melton Road to the north. For thirty years this new development stood side by side with the old village. In the late 1920s and 1930s speculative semi-detached houses were also built along the road (now Sprotbrough Road) leading to Doncaster Bridge, with further streets running off. A new primary school was built here at Richmond Hill. A council estate was built nearby in the years after the Second World War, and the school expanded considerably. There was also considerable development northwards beyond the borough boundary along the Great North Road (York Road) with spec-built private houses taking up most of the land. One unusual area was Sunnyfields (32), where an estate of modern-style, flat-roofed, semi-detached houses was built in the 1930s. Whilst such houses were occasionally built singly amongst more traditional houses, this is the only such mass development in the Doncaster area.

After the Second World War and Labour victory in the General Election of 1945, there was renewed large scale building of council houses, including some prefabricated dwellings ("pre-fabs"). The council estate at Wheatley was considerably extended in the post-war era and many prefabricated steel houses of two-storeys were built here. In the 1950s the estate was expanded with streets of brick semi-detached houses and a few blocks of flats. The whole complex was served by the Kingfisher infant and junior schools and a neighbourhood centre with shops. Another large area of prefabricated houses - in this case bungalows - was built in Balby, along with Springwell Lane and in Weston Road. Also in Balby, many new brick houses were added to the pre-war Woodfield estate during the 1950s. Large numbers of brick houses were added to the council estate at Intake in the 1950s. Some old people's bungalows were built on the council estates in this decade. Out at Clay Lane, to the east of Wheatley, an isolated estate of prefabricated houses was built by Doncaster Council. A bus service had to be provided to link this with the rest of the urban area, and there were few amenities provided. A new school was built and staff relocated there from the closed St George's church school in the town centre. An estate of concrete-slab council houses was erected by Doncaster Rural District Council at Richmond Hill, Sprotbrough, where the school buildings were doubled.

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Especially significant in the 1950s, for the great inroads which it made into the housing waiting-list and its impact on the landscape, was the building of a huge new council estate at Cantley. This was built in several stages from the early 1950s onwards, in district neighbourhood groups, including shops and schools. Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Nonconformist churches were gradually added, together with a library, health centre, and public houses. A variety of mid-20th-century housing types can be seen in Cantley, including semi-detached, terraces, and low level flats. The area was joined up to Bessacarr by a series of private housing developments during the 1960s and 1970s. Now the whole complex quite dwarfs its small and ancient village neighbour, which became known as Old Cantley.

The 1960s were characterised by demolition, clearance, and redevelopment in and near the town centre. The old Hyde Park/ St James' Street area, to the west of the town centre, was cleared of its hundreds of Victorian terrace houses, dating from 1850s to the end of the century. With these went churches, shops, and public houses; whole streets just vanished off the face of the landscape. In their place were built tower-blocks of multi-storey flats, together with some lower-level development in housing and local shops. In the town centre a large area of shops and offices in the angle between Frenchgate and St Sepulchre Gate was totally cleared. Redevelopment as the Arndale (now Frenchgate) Centre brought Doncaster indoor shopping malls, as well as on-street properties. In addition, many in-

dividual properties, scattered throughout the town centre, were demolished and rebuilt in a brutalist modern style of steel frame, concrete and glass. New banks, new shops, new office blocks were all felt to be expressive of Britain's much-pursued progressiveness of the 1960s and 1970s. The disappearance of the Guild Hall in Frenchgate was a particular blow to the landscape at this time.

Around the town centre a dual-carriageway ring-road was constructed in the early 1970s; it had been started as a single carriageway in the early 1960s. It cut St Sepulchregate in two, joined by a pedestrian subway. It ran along the edge of St George's churchyard and effectively cut the parish church off from the rest of the town centre, though a narrow pedestrian subway was provided. In this process St George Gate lost two inns (the Waverley Hotel and the White Lion), its early Victorian Grammar School, and its late Victorian Public Library. The rest of its historic properties - including Georgian houses - were all allowed to disappear in commercial redevelopment. People still remember the charm and character of this street in the 1950s and early 1960s, and how it led directly into a peaceful oasis around St George's church.

The 1960s were also a decade of great change in Waterdale. (33) An area of largely Georgian properties was cleared to make room for the Golden Acres shopping precinct (now Waterdale Centre). Its original name was somewhat imaginative, as

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many shop-units stood empty for several years. It was right on the south-western edge of the traditional shopping area, and there was no hurry by retailers to lease properties in the complex. Eventually the Public Library was relocated there, in a building which had originally been intended for prestige offices. Across the road, the Museum and Art Gallery was being squeezed out by the new Technical College. Housed in the Victorian Beechfield House, its garden (including grotto and zoo) disappeared in the college building plot, and the final phase of the Technical College required the demolition of Beechfield itself. Victorian character gave way to more modern brutalism as the fashion for out-of-scale buildings rolled on. A modern Museum and Art Gallery was built on a new site in Chequer Road, and opened in 1964. Planners and architects of the 1950s and early 1960s had envisaged a grand civic centre around a public square in Waterdale. Sir Fredrick Gibberd had acted as the consultant town planner for the scheme. The first part to be built in the early 1960s was the new Technical College, but their dreams were never completely fulfilled. A new Law Courts building and a police station were built on the southern side, to replace the old Guildhall in Frenchgate and the West Riding Magistrates Court of the 1890s off West Laith Gate.

There were large new private house-building developments in the suburbs of Balby, Wheatley, and Bessacarr in the 1960s and 1970s. In Balby this included the Alverley, Broomhouse, and White Church estates, and in Bessacarr the vast expanse

of west Bessacarr. Elsewhere a great deal of infilling was taking place. Cantley and Bessacarr were finally joined together. Council-house building was also in the nature of improvement, infilling and replacement. At Intake in the 1960s the housing stock was augmented by the erection of three tower-blocks of flats. In the early 1970s the small estate of prefabricated bungalows off Springwell Lane in Balby was demolished. Replacement was in the form of terraces and low-level blocks of flats, so that the resulting density was much greater than in the days of the prefabs. Old people's bungalows were built in all the suburbs, including the Marshalls, off High Road, in Balby. During the 1980s an estate of prefabricated bungalows off Weston Road, on the Woodfield estate in Balby, was improved and skinned in brick. By preserving the original layout and scale, as well as the buildings, the local authority has created an excellent example of refurbishment and landscape, whilst giving the retired people living there greatly improved homes. This form of improvement has been used elsewhere, as at Richmond Hill in Sprotbrough, where an estate of two-storey concrete-panel houses was cased in brick.

The process of change continues in the town centre. A huge new block of offices for the benefits' agency has been built in Wood Street. Many people interested in the conservation of the townscape have regretted its vast scale in relation to the street in which it's situated, and also the demolition of the Education Offices (originally the Old Infirmary) in Princegate behind. On

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the other side of Wood Street the old borough rates offices have been tastefully converted into a public house and restaurant. A striking new development by the local authority on the edge of the carr-land, just south of Hyde Park, has taken place in recent years. The first part of the complex to be built was the Dome leisure centre (opened in autumn 1989) and the Campanile Hotel nearby. These are on the old Doncaster Airport site. During the early 1990s the Doncaster Carr commercial estate was developed, with a motorway link-road as its spine for good access. This area includes the Royal Mail sorting office, warehouses, garages, large offices and a retail complex. It is in this area that a new Euro-railport has been located.

In 1914 the municipal borough of Doncaster absorbed its two neighbouring urban district councils of Balby-with-Hexthorpe and Wheatley. They had been created in 1896 under the 1894 local government act. These places, now joined physically to Doncaster, were considered part of the town by the First World War. Around this time of amalgamation, new urban district councils were created for the growing mining areas of Bentley-with-Arksey (where a new town Hall was built in 1913), Adwick-le-Street, and Conisborough. That at Tickhill dated from post-1894. Then in the early 1920s the Doncaster Rural District Council came into being to govern the rural area around the Doncaster district. In 1927 the chartered borough, with a history stretching back into the Middle Ages, became a county borough, completely independent of the surrounding West Riding

County Council. It retained this status until 1974 when a new local government reorganisation made it part and parcel of the new Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council. This also encompassed the surrounding rural and urban areas formerly governed by Doncaster Rural District Council, Thorne Rural District Council, and the Urban District Councils of Bentley-with-Arksey, Adwick-le-Street, Conisborough and Tickhill. The new metropolitan effectively created a "greater Doncaster", with the town and its dependent suburban, satellite and rural communities joined under one council.



# Public Buildings, Commerce & Industry

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The Town Hall  
Mansion House  
Guild Hall  
The Gaol  
Market Place  
Churches and Chapels  
Banks  
Shops  
Factories and Workshops

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## Town Hall, Mansion House & Guildhall

The Town Hall, where meetings of the Corporation and its committees were held and where its officials worked, lay in the Market Place and was built in 1575 amid the ruins of the disused church of St Mary Magdalene. This building also housed the court house for the quarter sessions, and the Grammar School. In 1784 the Elizabethan building was altered to give an up-to-date Georgian facade, with further renovations in 1800. In 1811 the Corporation established the English school in part of this building, and here boys received English lessons. Then in 1828 the Town Hall was enlarged to improve accommodation for judicial business and also a small gaol was built underneath. (10) When Doncaster Corporation began to replan and rebuild the Market Place in the 1840s, the Town Hall stood in its path and was demolished along with other properties.

Probably following the example of York in the 1720s, and London in the 1730s, Doncaster Corporation embarked on the building of the Mansion House in High Street in the early 1740s. Planned in 1744, started in 1745, and completed in 1748, its function was to provide a residence for the mayor during his year in office, as well as a venue for official banquets and other functions. The designer of the Doncaster Mansion House was the Yorkshire architect James Paine, who modelled his building on Palladio's Italian villas. The building was not completed as Paine planned, for it was left without the intended end pavilions

and triangular pediment, the project proving too expensive for the Corporation's purse. The interior was adorned with superb plasterwork decoration by Joseph Rose, another Yorkshireman who often worked with Paine. The total cost of the building was over £8,000. Additions were made to Paine's building by later generations. In 1801 a new storey was added at a cost of £950, and in 1805 a new dining room was built and this cost over £180. Then in 1831 a major development was the building of a new saloon, which cost £4,000. (2) These additions were built onto the rear of the original building.

A new Guild Hall was built on the site of the old Angel Hotel in Frenchgate. An impressive Greek Revival building, it was designed by the borough surveyor John Butterfield and erected in 1847-8. This building cost £4,123, with building work by Latham & Taylor of Darfield (£2,400) and joinery work by Illingworth & Beanland of Bradford (£1,087) accounting for most of this total. (3) The use of the Guild Hall soon took account of the expansion of the Corporation's law and order business; it housed the police station and law courts, and other town hall business was transferred to the Mansion House. John Tomlinson tells us that: "During the rebuilding of the Town Hall the Mansion House was largely used for public business." (4) But in December 1848 it was "Resolved that as a good Guild Hall has been provided, that hereafter the Mansion House shall be held as the private house of the Mayor for the time being". (5) However, this does not seem to have happened. The Treasury

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wrote to the Mayor of Doncaster, advising him that "there is an intention of authorising a County Court to be Holden in your Town under the powers of the said statute". (6) The town clerk replied in the following terms: "The Town Council are building a new Town Hall, in which ample room will be provided for the holding of the Quarter Sessions of the Borough and County, and for the Local County Court". (7) In other words, the new Guild Hall immediately became the headquarters of the law and order business of the Doncaster area and everyday Corporation business had to focus on the Mansion House. In 1881 a new court room was added to the rear of the Guild Hall, with 24 new cells beneath it. (8) With the late 19th-century local government changes, under the 1894 act, the new West Riding County Council built a large red-brick courthouse in West Street, near the railway station. (9)

After just 120 years the Guild Hall stood in the path of perceived progress and was unceremoniously pulled down. A borough official of the day is reported to have said that the building did not belong to any recognised style of architecture and was not worth saving. Greek Revival buildings were rare in the Doncaster area, and this should have made the building well worth keeping. The site was to play its part in the commercial revival of Frenchgate, becoming the location for a large extension to Marks and Spencer's store, linking up with their existing premises in Baxtergate.

## The Gaol

The town gaol was traditionally housed in St Sepulchre Bar (or West Bar). In the early 18th century it was still there, in a two-storey building, long after the usefulness of the bar for security and defence had passed. In 1778-9 the Corporation built a new gaol, for felons and debtors, in St Sepulchre Gate. It was of two storeys, with four rooms - two for felons and two for debtors. (10) This building served its purpose until 1830.

In 1829 the Corporation began building a new gaol for the borough and soke of Doncaster. This site was on the corner of Factory Lane and West Laith Gate; the land cost £700, whilst the building cost another £2,300. (11) This gaol was laid out as a panopticon, influenced by the ideas of Jeremy Bentham, which had been the guiding principle in the construction of Abingdon Gaol (Berkshire) as early as 1805. (12) The gaoler's house stood at the centre of the plan, and four wings radiated from it symmetrically. There were separate wings for male prisoners, female prisoners, and debtors, each had its own exercise yard to the side. (13)

This new gaol was built by Joseph Lockwood, and C. Hatfield (the 19th-century local historian) wrote cynically: "Mr Lockwood's tender received preference, for his influence with the Corporation was paramount and the power of his family might deft competition from whatever quarter it emanated". (14) Jo-

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seph Lockwood, a mason, was of the firm Lockwood and Son, masons in Hall Gate. (15) He became an alderman of Doncaster Corporation in 1821. (16) Such close ties between local business and local government were not unusual in those days.

In 1837 the police officers for the borough and soke of Doncaster comprised the following: the gaoler, chief constable, and head police officer (Mr Tymms); the sergeant-at-mace; street and market keepers; 21 division constables (appointed at the Court Leet), and 4 nocturnal watchmen. (17) In addition a Bow Street officer attended during race week. When Thomas Tymms retired after service of over 20 years, he was succeeded by William Etches in 1841. He had been an auctioneer & valuer and accountant in Doncaster, based in Church Street, and also (from 1820) a sheriff's officer as a junior bailiff in the county court. From 1825 he gained formidable reputation as a detective and thief-taker, in his role as constable in the lower division of the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill. (18)

## The Market Place

Part of the Norman rebirth of Doncaster as a town, the Market Place lies 220 yards to the east of the Great North Road (High Street), with direct links along Baxter Gate and Scot Lane. Markets have been held here for over 800 years and continue to the present day, for most of that period regulated by lords of the manor and then by Doncaster Corporation. The most impres-

sive building in the medieval Market Place was the Norman church of St Mary Magdalene, with its churchyard to the south. Around the Market Place were narrow burgage properties running back at right angles. Most of these plots now have 18th-century and 19th-century houses, shops and inns on them, and a few have been rebuilt since 1960. For centuries most of the trading was carried out in open air or in temporary stalls. Gradually some infilling and building in the Market Place was allowed to take place, and the area available for trading and building was increased after the dissolution of St Mary's church and churchyard in the 16th century. By 1840 the area had become a rather haphazard combination of open spaces and buildings. (19) The Shambles for selling meat and fish were in a small street which cut across the northern side of the Market Place, whilst some infilling with cottage properties and pubs had taken place, especially on the eastern side. Near the Baxter Gate entrance at the north-west corner was the Butter Cross (1756), and at the south-western corner were the Town Hall (refronted in 1784) and the theatre (1777).

In the early 1840s, on the eve of the railway age, Doncaster Corporation embarked on a major replanning of the Market Place. Their scheme involved clearing the area of existing buildings, to facilitate the erection of a modern covered Market Hall, and a covered Corn Market. Despite attempts by William Hurst (a local architect) to promote alternative plans to save some of the existing buildings and still make space for the new ones

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(20), the Corporation's plan prevailed. The major buildings demolished at this time were the Butter Cross and the Town Hall. During dismantling work on the Town Hall, the Elizabethan and medieval cores of the building were discovered. (21) The rediscovery of St Mary Magdalene's church within the fabric was a major find. Although well recorded for the time, it is a tragedy that it was not preserved in situ and incorporated within the new scheme. The 'clean slate' approach, which was to be a recurring theme in Doncaster's planning history, had won the day.

The new Market Hall, built of sandstone in a subdued classical style, was opened in 1849. Inside it had 60 country butcher's shops around its rectangular plane. (22) The open-air corn market was replaced with a covered Corn Exchange. This was a rectangular cast-iron-and-glass structure, with a brick wall along one side. (23) The corn dealers now had a roof over their heads, but the new building was still draughty, and in 1869 the Corporation began to erect a new Corn Exchange, designed by William Watkins of Lincoln. A magnificent Renaissance-style building, this offered truly enclosed accommodation in which corn selling by sample could take place in greater comfort. A public auditorium for musical concerts was also provided within the new building. (24) It had cast-iron columns supporting balconies and a wrought-iron-and-glass roof. Whilst the Corn Exchange was being built, the Corporation took the opportunity to extend the Market Hall along the southern end, still in the style and materials of the 1840s building so that

it toned in with what was already there. (25) The Corn Exchange (especially the roof) was badly damaged by fire in 1994, but has now been restored.

Also in the 1860s, the cast-iron-and-glass Wool Market was erected at the south-eastern corner of the Market Place. In economical fashion, this incorporated some of the cast-iron members from the demolished 1840s Corn Exchange. (26) Three more changes completed the Market Place as it remained for much of the 20th century. The Cattle Market was formalised in pens, at the eastern end of the enclosure, in the 1860s. (27) The Theatre was demolished in 1905, its role as the town's main theatre having been superseded by the building of the Grand Theatre in Station Road in 1899. The Fish Market was built along the western front of the Market Hall in 1919-20. (28)

Around the edge of the Market Place most of the buildings date from the Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian eras: houses, inns and shops. Quite a few ground-floor facades have been changed out of recognition by modern commercialism, but the upper levels of many facades still reveal their original character. The Halifax Building Society has excellently restored a Georgian facade for their own building.

Doncaster was the marketing centre for the surrounding agricultural region of some 50 parishes. As well as supplying the needs of the surrounding countryside, the town served as a collecting point for agricultural produce destined for the industrial

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towns. “The market held every Saturday, is supplied with immense quantities of corn, brought in sacks, and after being sold, it is mostly carried to the wharfs, where from six to ten vessels are employed in conveying it to Sheffield and other populous towns”, wrote White in 1837. (29) Baines in 1822 said Doncaster corn market ranked among the first in the north of England. (30) The stock and wool markets were also very important; the wool market was held every Saturday from early June to early August, when it culminated in a large wool fair. Cattle fairs of two days’ duration were staged in February and November and a cattle, horse and merchandise fair in April. Also held in November were the annual Statutes for hiring of agricultural servants. Large numbers of both sexes began arriving in the town in the early hours and by noon the market place and streets around it thronged. Public houses around the market place were full of “Statutes folk” throughout the day, and singing and dancing filled the evening. (31)

## Churches and Chapels

The location of Bede’s Campodunum has been disputed, but since it was sacked by Penda’s Mercians after the Battle of Hatfield in 633 Doncaster seems the likely place. The early Anglo-Saxon church was destroyed along with a royal palace of the slain King Edwin of Northumbria. Bede says the altar was

taken to the church at Elmet Wood. (32) Nothing else is known of Doncaster’s first church. It is likely to have been built in relation to the ruins of the Roman fort, perhaps using some of its materials for construction, and therefore near where St George’s church is today. St George’s crypt (NE corner) may indicate the site.

The mid-12th-century St Mary Magdalene’s church came to an end in the religious upheavals of the 1540s. In 1548 it was sold by the Crown to two London speculators, who in turn sold it on to Doncaster Corporation. It redeveloped the building and site in the 1570s. (33) St Mary’s churchyard is now overlaid by part of the Market Place and its buildings. When building work disturbed the floor of the Corn Exchange (during restoration after the fire) in December 1994 numerous skeletons were discovered.

St George’s was burned in a great fire of 1853, and comprised work of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. Only the medieval crypt survived the fire, and the present building is that which Sir George Gilbert Scott designed as a replacement in 1853-4. (34) Predominantly built in the early 14th century Decorated Style, it was very much a church of the railway age. Stone was obtained from far and wide: from distant Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire quarries, as well as from local quarries like Cusworth, Crookhill, and Brodsworth. Most of the distant stone was brought to Doncaster on the Great Northern Railway,

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the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, and other local railways. (35) The estimated cost was £55,000. (36)

When, in the years around 1900, thoughts turned to the creation of a new Anglican diocese in industrial South Yorkshire (then part of York Diocese) some favoured Doncaster. Its central position and place on the communications network would have made this a sensible choice. The proud Victorian parish church of St George would, indeed, have made a fine cathedral. In the end, a new diocese was centred on Sheffield in 1914.

The southward expansion of the town, up Hall Gate and along South Parade and Bennetthorpe, together with the building of Elmfield House by the Jarratt family, prompted the desire for a new church in this part of town. An act of Parliament was obtained in 1820 and Christ Church was built in 1827-9, at a cost of £10,000. It was paid for by John Jarratt of Elmfield House, a Doncasterian who had made his fortune out of the Low Moor Ironworks, near Bradford, and then retired back to Doncaster. (37) It was a modest but elegant stone building, in an early Gothic style, designed by William Hurst of Doncaster. (38) The growing population in this part of town dictated a gallery at the west end and over the north and south aisles.

After the 1829 Act made it possible for Roman Catholics to build churches once again, a modest church was built in Doncaster. This was superseded by a much larger red-brick struc-

ture, with a circular bell-turret, in Princes Street in 1869. (39) It was demolished after the new Roman Catholic church of St Peter-in-the-Chains was erected in Chequer Road in the 1970s. This is a striking contemporary building of light-coloured brick, with a circular plan and central altar.

Population growth and house-building led to the erection of new Anglican churches in the suburbs: St James (1857) at the western end of St Sepulchre Gate, St Andrew (1866) in Marshgate, St John the Divine (1868) in Catherine Street, St Mary (1885) in Wheatley, St Jude (1897) in Hexthorpe. (40) St John the Evangelist in Balby was built as a village church in 1847-8, then extended in 1877 and 1912-13 as the suburb grew. (41) The process has continued in the 20th century, with the building of St Peter (1941) in Warmsworth, St Aidan (1956) in Wheatley Hills, All Saints (1951-6) in Intake, and St Leonard and St Jude (1957-60) in Scawsby, St Hugh (1956) in Cantley, and St Edmund (1954) in Sprotbrough Road. (42) St Peter's at Warmsworth replaced a small early 19th-century church on a different site. St Peter's new church was designed following a period which Canon Raven, the rector, had spent in California, and his transatlantic experience had a major influence on the appearance of the rendered and white-washed brick building. At Intake and Scawsby G. G. Pace's new churches replaced church halls, which had combined Sunday services with everyday usage. (43)

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The earliest surviving Nonconformist chapel in the area is the Quaker meeting-house of 1706 in Warmsworth (44), a village on the western edge of Doncaster now engulfed by suburban development. Quakerism here was fostered by the Aldam family, substantial freeholders though not lords of the manor. (45) The meeting-house long ago ceased to be used as such, and after many years as a retired people's club it has now been converted to a dwelling house. A second Quaker meeting-house was established in Doncaster in the late 18th century, in a converted barn in West Laith Gate (now demolished for Station Court office development). (46)

The varied strands of 19th-century Nonconformity produced a wave of church-building of colossal proportions. (47) In Doncaster the following are among the surviving chapels: Priory Place Wesleyan (1832), Balby Road Primitive Methodist (1868), and Hall Gate Congregational (1874). The large and expensive Priory Place Wesleyan chapel is entirely consistent with the wealthy early 19th-century congregation. Of the chapels which have been demolished, we can single out: Spring Gardens Primitive Methodist (1854), Oxford Place Wesleyan (1870), and the mid 19th-century Wesleyan chapel on High Road in Balby. Of these six chapels, four were built in classical revival styles and two in Gothic.

## Banks

Some of the most impressive buildings along the High Street are the banks. Their grandeur, outside and within, their solidity and style were meant to impress customers and potential customers. No one was likely to put their savings into a bank whose appearance signified a cheap and temporary establishment. Four of the best of these buildings in Doncaster are the Midland, Yorkshire, National Provincial, and Westminster banks.

The Midland Bank chose a corner site (at the junction of High Street with Baxter Gate) for its new bank in 1895. The green copper dome over the corner entrance is still a distinguishing feature. Its Baroque facade leads to a grand columned banking hall with impressive plaster ceiling.

The Yorkshire Bank (formerly the Yorkshire Penny Bank) stands on the corner of High Street and Scot Lane. A sandstone building of the opulent late Victorian and Edwardian eras, it displays wealth and solidity in a restrained manner, that would have appealed to its Yorkshire directors just before and after 1900. The original late Victorian building occupies the whole of the rounded corner site, whilst the Edwardian addition, with a first floor balcony, stands adjacent down Scot Lane. A mahogany and plaster interior of restrained opulence complemented the outside appearance of the building.



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On the corner of High Street and Priory Place, the National Provincial Bank (now occupied by the TSB) was built in 1923 in a grand Classical Revival style. It had a rounded corner plan, pilasters all around its two street sides and a small dome over its corner entrance. The stone used was Portland limestone.

Perhaps the grandest banking hall is the rectangular-plan Westminster Bank in High Street (now National Westminster), built in 1925. A grand Renaissance-style town palace from outside, its mahogany fittings, classical columns, and plastered ceiling afforded a degree of grandeur and opulence on the inside. (48) A fragment of an older bank survived until the 1980s, but not on its original site. The Westminster Bank was preceded on its High Street site by Beckett's Bank, and when this was demolished in 1925 part of the facade (including pilasters) was bought for re-use. These materials were incorporated into a pair of houses (Carr Grange Villas) built in the late 1920s near Carr Grange, on the southern edge of Hyde Park overlooking carr-land. These villas were, in turn, demolished in the making of the White Rose Way dual-carriageway. (49)

## **Shops**

A drawing made c.1800 shows shops in Baxter Gate, which were of the earliest type, with shutters folded down to make a

counter at the pavement's edge. It was lean-to structure, at the front of a timber-framed inn. It was probably built during the 16th century. (50) Once such shops would have been common in Doncaster's streets, but most of them disappeared in the Georgian and Victorian rebuildings. The typical, elegant Georgian shopfront in the centre of Doncaster would have had bow windows, and Parkinson's in High Street was the best representative of this type. The shop stood empty for a long period from the early 1960s, but was eventually, restored by Legard's for the sale of shoes and leather goods, with a cafe upstairs. It re-opened in 1976, and the restored frontage with bow windows survived as a reminder of the elegant world of Georgian shopping. Longbottom's (ironmongers) shop in High Street (now an Italian restaurant) represented the next stage of shopfront, where cast iron columns were used to produce elegantly-thin window-frames and maximise window space. A number of shops in Doncaster were rebuilt in the 1930s, and notable examples included Montague Burton's in St Sepulchre Gate, and Woolworth's and Marks & Spencer in Baxtergate. The upper part of Burton's magnificent street-facade survives unaltered. May's carpet and linoleum store of the 1930s survived, on the corner of St Sepulchre Gate and West Street, in its original form until the firm closed in 1988. (51) The obvious modern change to old shop windows has been the replacement of smaller panes by large plate glass windows. Many modernised shop-

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fronts have become, since c.1960, characterised by large, visually-insistent name-boards above the windows.

Doncaster Mutual Co-operative and Industrial Society was founded in 1868, and its first two shops opened in St James Street and Spring Gardens. (52) The Co-op led the way in the development of department stores in Doncaster, and their first one (designed by Herbert Athron) was built at the junction of Cleveland Street and John Street, on the edge of Hyde Park. It opened in September 1893 and also became the Doncaster headquarters of the Society, with offices and meeting rooms. The shop windows and pavement frontages were illuminated with an array of lamps. Their second department store was more centrally situated, at the corner of West Laith Gate and the new Station Road, and opened in May 1897. (53) Larger and even more impressive, this multi-storey building in red sandstone stocked almost everything a household could need. Its architect, again Herbert Athron, designed the building in a Dutch Revival style. The Co-operative Society built shops in the suburbs as well; in Balby they erected stores in Alexandra Road (1910), Hall Flatt Lane (1913), and Warmsworth Road (1920s). Others were built at Hexthorpe (1886), Hyde Park (1888), Warmsworth (1912), and at Wheatley, Intake, and Wheatley Hills, all before 1939. Also, in the 1890s, a site was developed in Urban Road in Hexthorpe, comprising shops, its distinct horse-and-dray department, and coal yard, together

with a street of houses reflecting the name of the society (Mutual Street).

The Co-op's major 20th-century store was the huge Emporium built in St Sepulchre Gate in the late 1930s, designed by T. H. Johnson (of Doncaster) in association with Peter Crabtree (of London). Begun in 1936 and completed in 1949 (after interruption during the war) it stands as Doncaster's finest example of inter-war commercial architecture in the Modern style. (54) In the late 1920s and 1930s the Co-operative Society developed a new site on York Road, where in a spacious layout they built a Model Dairy and a Model Bakery. From these, Co-op shops and households all over the Doncaster district were supplied daily. Both buildings remain today, the dairy disused and the bakery converted into a furniture store (Furniture Factors). The story of the expansion and decline of the Co-op is told in figures of the number of branch shops. In 1914 there were 20 in the Doncaster district, and by 1928 this had grown to 40 shops. But by 1989, after the changes of the 1960s and 1970s, it had fallen to 14. (55) By the mid-1990s the branches had closed, leaving only the Emporium (renamed Danum Store and later "Living") in the centre of town. This also closed in 1999.

These well-known, high-quality shops in Doncaster, no longer part of today's commercial scene, are worthy of special comment. Parkinson's in High Street began as a grocer and tea dealer, established by Samuel Parkinson in 1817. In the early

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years this firm began making butterscotch in the High Street premises, and confectionary gradually became its mainstay. In 1905 manufacturing moved to premises in Station Road, then to a new shop in Printing Office Street, and finally the firm built a factory in Wheatley in 1912-14. The High Street shop also housed a popular cafe. Parkinson's Doncaster Butterscotch was widely famous and a plentiful supply was on sale during Race week. The two shops closed in 1960 and the firm passed into non-local hands in 1961, though the factory remained open until 1977. (56) Hodgson & Hepworth opened a food shop near the Elephant Hotel in St Sepulchre Gate in 1872; one partner was a tea blender, the other an apothecary. New larger premises were opened on the opposite side of St Sepulchre Gate in the early 1880s, which included a bakery. The firm had its own farm in East Laith Gate, producing milk and dairy products. From 1889 onwards their horse-drawn bus service carried customers to and from various parts of town, and they also had a delivery service. By 1900 Hodgson and Hepworth had also opened several suburban shops in Doncaster. Fire destroyed their central shop in 1901 and a new premises was built next door. The sale of the firm to Cussons of Hull after the Second World War led to closure of the suburban branch shops, as well as the reorganisation of the central store. (57) In the early 1970s Hodgson and Hepworth (then part of Fine Fare) moved into new premises in the Arndale Centre in St Sepulchre Gate, and this shop closed in 1979.

Next to the Mansion House in High Street is a large Georgian house (no. 44), which became a famous shop. It was here that J. H. Maw started his multi-strand business as a wine and spirit merchant, porter dealer, and linen & woollen draper. (58) The firm traded as Maw, Smith, & Barker and as Maw & Co. in the early 1820s. (59) William Maw, son of John Maw, went into partnership with Henry Binnington, a skilled cabinet maker, and the wine and spirit and porter business was abandoned. New large workshops for making furniture were built, on land behind the High Street premises, stretching back to Printing Office Street. Henry Binnington, junior, and George Sheard (furniture department manager) later became partners in this business, and in 1885 it began trading as Sheard Binnington & Co. By 1901 the firm employed over 150 people. Craft-built and custom-designed domestic-furniture was the firm's speciality, and church furniture was also produced. The manufacturing side of the business came to an end on the eve of the Second World War. In 1953 Sheard Binnington's was bought by Harrison Gibson's (of Essex), and in 1970 they were taken over by Eyre's (of Chesterfield). (60) By the mid-1980s the furniture and furnishings business had closed and the High Street store became a discount shop and that in Printing Office Street was a bookshop.

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## Factories and Workshops

Doncaster Corporation, in common with borough authorities throughout the land, tried on three occasions during the late 18th century to develop industrial activities in its house of industry, in attempts to put the poor to useful work. In 1747 a cutlery workshop was tried, by bringing a cutler from Sheffield to train and supervise the inmates. In 1758 it was a worsted manufactory, for which a manufacturer was brought from Bradford. Lastly, in 1771 a sacking & sackcloth manufactory was set-up. (61) All of these attempts, like others elsewhere, failed to establish a viable economic workshop unit, which could successfully play its part in solving the problem of the unemployed poor.

Benjamin Huntsman's contribution to the development of the steel industry in the 18th century was crucial, but like many early industrialists he started from humble beginnings. He invented the method of making finely tempered steel, by smelting at a very high temperature in sealed fireclay cubicles. He incorporated small quantities of charcoal and ground glass, which served as re-agents, and used coke for fuel. Whilst this is very much a Sheffield story, Doncaster played its part, for Huntsman was first a Doncaster watch-maker, who found difficulty in obtaining tempered steel for watch springs. He began his experiments to solve the problem whilst he lived in Doncaster. Huntsman left the town in 1740, went to live in Attercliffe near Sheffield, and had fully solved the problem by 1750. As a Quaker,

he refused all honours (including an offered Fellowship of the Royal Society), and failed to make a lot of money for himself. (62)

In 1787 the Revd. Edmund Cartwright, famous inventor of the power loom, built a cotton factory in Doncaster, between Young Street and Wood Street. He installed in it 20 looms, eight for calicoes, 10 for muslins, one for cotton checks, and one for coarse linens. At first animals provided motive power, but in 1789 a Birmingham steam-engine was installed in the factory. (63) Edward Miller wrote: "Each loom, which would do double the work of the best hand-weaver, was managed by a child; and was so constructed, that should the shuttle, which traversed at the incredible velocity of a hundred vibrations in a minute, meet with any obstruction, it instantly stopt without doing any damage to the work". (64)

Cartwright's partnership in a cotton mill in Manchester ended in failure, as the building was burned to the ground, after he had received anonymous threatening letters. (65) Also in 1787, Copley, Wrightson & Co. built a small steam-powered cotton mill using Cartwright's patent machinery, but this venture failed within a few years. (66) Doncaster's situation made competition with the cotton industry across the Pennines incredibly difficult. Neither raw materials nor fuel were to be cheaply obtained here. Cartwright then tried to establish "a factory for combing wool, spinning and weaving by machinery, and by the force of

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machinery” in Fishergate. This also failed and, after an auction sale in 1794, the factory was converted to a corn mill, and afterwards a flax mill. (67) The name Factory Lane reminds us of the time when another flax-spinning mill (and later sacking factory) stood here in the early 1800s. Established by Matthew Johnson and Son, it was in business from 1818 to 1848. (68) It is shown in the background of an engraving of the gaol, which Tomlinson included in his Doncaster history. Another branch of textiles is referred to by Defoe; he described Doncaster as “a great manufacturing town, principally for knitting”. (69) Little is known about this activity, though the production of knitted stockings was still carried out by the Clarkson family in nearby Braithwell in the early 19th century.

During 1868 West Laith Gate became enveloped in the industrial development of Doncaster. In this year a steam corn mill was built here for Messrs. Fawcett Brothers; it was designed by J. Fawcett, architect, of Leeds. Described by William Sheardown as “extremely ornamental”, it rose to a height of four storeys. (70) Also in 1868 Messrs. Marshall, Sons & Co. Ltd. of Gainsborough established their Machinery Depot in the empty National Schools in West Laith Gate. They “converted the building into business premises, by altering the front and lowering the floor of the lower room”, and thus created a showroom for their agricultural machinery. This included “stationary and portable steam engines, grinding, threshing, and sawing machines...other implement and machinery for agricultural and

general purposes”. (71) All such machinery had been made in Marshall’s Britannia Ironworks in Gainsborough, 25 miles away but joined to Doncaster by railway in 1867. West Laith Gate, was, significantly, less than 200 yards from the railway goods yard.

The Great Northern Railway Company’s Plant Works was Doncaster’s first large-scale factory. (72) It drew people in from far and wide and most of the workers lived in new houses in Hyde Park and Hexthorpe. By the end of 1853, 949 workers were employed at the Plant, a large factory by the standards of the day. (73) By April 1855 it was working to capacity and Sturrock was asking the board for extensions; new carriage shops to house 56 vehicles were deemed necessary, as repairs were being carried out in the open air. Further extensions to the carriage shops were made from the mid-1860s to the mid 1870s, and these were built on cheap low-lying land to the south of the town. In the late 1870s a new wagon works at Hexthorpe was built to relieve the carriage shops of wagons. By the early 1890s Doncaster’s railway works extended for over two miles, covering 170 acres, with accommodation for 96 engines. About 3,500 men were employed in the locomotive, carriage and wagon shops, and there were 1,100 different machines. During 1891 300 engines, 3,735 carriages, and 15,226 wagons passed through these workshops, whilst 99 engines, 181 carriages, and 1,493 wagons were built as new stock or in place of old. (74) Many famous Great Northern and later L.N.E.R locomotives

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were built here - from Patrick Stirling's "Singles" and Henry Ivatt's "Atlantics" in the late 19th century, through to Sir Nigel Gresley's "Pacifics" of the 1930s, including the record-breaking Mallard of 1938. On the eve of the Second World War, Plant engineers developed and built a prototype electric locomotive for the Sheffield-Manchester electric route through Woodhead. The war interrupted the scheme, and when the railway was built in post-war years (opened 1954), the locomotives were built at Gorton in Manchester. (75) During the 1960s a fleet of class 86 locomotives (for West Coast Main Line and later East Anglia duties) was built here. The works eventually became a maintenance and repair depot. A number of companies built goods wagons in Doncaster.

The pull of the railway also led to other factories being built in Doncaster. During the second half of the 19th century Marshgate developed as an industrial area, with intermixed factories and housing. In 1867 George Wilson built the Victoria Mustard Mills in Marshgate, on the bank of the New Cut. It employed mainly young girls, and produced table mustard, baking and egg powders, spices, custard powders, cattle food, ground rice, Epsom salts, carbonate of soda, tartaric acid, and "drysaltery of all descriptions". It was a factory of the railway age, with the railway network playing a crucial part in the distribution of the goods produced by the factory. These went as far afield as Canada, Peking, Bombay, New York, and Germany, as well as to consumers in this country. The factory was designed by

Booth of Rotherham and built by Salmon. (76) In the same year John Elwes established his steam-powered saw-mills in Marshgate, from which he built up an extensive trade in rough timber and sawn wood. The development included stalls for 19 horses, with a granary over, and workers' houses on an adjacent site. The whole development cost over £8,000, and the contractor was William Johnson. (77) Mills for grinding corn and crushing bone, ironworks and brass foundries were all established in this neighbourhood.

The industrialisation of the adjacent suburbs of Hexthorpe and Balby was reflected in the local commercial directories of the early 20th century. By 1901 there were listed in Hexthorpe several industrial firms, which were directly connected with railways: the British Wagon Co. Ltd. (wagon repairers), the Hexthorpe Railway Wagon Works (Thomas Burnett Ltd.), the Lincoln Wagon & Engine Co. Ltd. (railway wagon and engine repairers), Stevens' Wagon Works (Samuel Edward Stevens: railway wagon builder and repairer) and Woodhouse & Co. Ltd. (brassfounders). (78) These were additional to the major employer of labour, the Great Northern Railway Company (later L.N.E.R.) at its Plant locomotive engineering works. As a reflection of the old days in Hexthorpe, before the coming of the railways, there were still three market gardeners here. (79) Some businesses, like Ratcliffe's Ironworks, had come and gone in the second half of the 19th century. Samuel Ratcliffe's Ironworks was built in 1867. He had for some years been em-

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employed as a superintendent of works by Brassey & Co., the famous contractors, and had just returned from work in Italy to work on the Thorne Extension Railway. Sheardown tells us "whilst in this neighbourhood he was struck with the advantage Doncaster possessed in its central railway position". Ratcliffe bought one acre of ground in Hexthorpe for the erection of his ironworks, and his ironworks, and specialised in making "iron girder-bridges, portable and stationary boilers, fire-proof roofs, gas-holders, water-tanks, brewing-pans; the manufacture and repair of coal wagons for private firms, with every description of wrought-iron work". In 1867 this ironworks made a bridge for the Ludhill Colliery Company and two bridges for the West Cheshire Railway. In 1868 Ratcliffe supplied the iron pens and gates for the new cattle market, at a cost of £1,260-10s-0d. In 1869 a new foundry was built in the ironworks. Near the ironworks a paper-mill had been built in 1869. (80)

In Balby in 1909 we find listed Pegler Brothers (brassfounders), the Doncaster Wire Works, Arnold & Son (builders and contractors), and two brickyards (Cocking & Sons and the Doncaster Brick Company). Doncaster Wire Works and Peglers, both Edwardian firms, and Arnold's were down Carr Hill (81), on land just below the housing zone but above the wetlands. Further south, alongside the railway, the Carr Waggonworks had been built in the late 19th century. (82) In the 1930s Doncaster Wire Works was acquired by British Ropes Ltd., and the business was greatly expanded. They built the enormous new wire mill

in 1938 (83), and in the same decade erected a prestigious new office block. New mining and engineering projects both in Yorkshire and the wider world gave a vital boost to this industry. Engineering and construction work in Britain and overseas have provided a continuing market for it.

The early years of the 20th century saw the establishment of several sweet manufacturing firms in the new suburb of Wheatley on the eastern edge of Doncaster, on land which formed part of the Wheatley Hall estate. These included Parkinson's (Butterscotch), Radiance (toffee), Nuttall's (Mintoes). Sweet making had all started in a small way in shop premises in the town centre. There was also a bakery, a dairy, and a variety of other small firms. Nearby was Anderton's woollen spinning-mill built before 1912. (84). Founded by a Cleckheaton-based firm, its fortunes were clearly tied into the West Yorkshire woollen industry, and it expanded to Doncaster to attract into employment the town's reserves of female labour. It continued in production until the 1960s, and after the closure of the factory some of the women were bussed into Cleckheaton to work in the company's factory there. During the period from the 1930s to the 1970s significant numbers of women worked in Burton's clothing factory on Wheatley Hall Industrial Estate, and from the 1960s to the late 1990s in SR Gent's clothing factory in St Sepulchre Gate. During the 1930s Doncaster Corporation developed the Wheatley Park Industrial Estate on land purchased from Cooke family of Wheatley Hall. It was served by a railway

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line linked to the main line, and several important factories were attracted to the site, including British Bemberg (later British Nylon Spinners, ICI, and DuPont), International Harvesters (tractors and other agricultural machinery), Crompton Parkinson's (electrical products), Burton's (clothing), and Bingham's (electric welders). Burton's factory was demolished in the 1980s and the site is now occupied by a large retail complex. The last two decades have seen the concentration of much of Doncaster's retail trade along Wheatley Hall Road.



# Landscapes of Learning

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**Schools and Colleges**  
**Libraries and Museums**  
**Two Doncaster Historians:**  
**Miller and Tomlinson**

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## SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

After a long history dating back to its foundation in 1350, after the Black Death, Doncaster Grammar School was housed in part of the converted ruins of St Mary Magdalene's church in the Market Place, from the Elizabethan period until 1840s. The new corporation plans for the Market Place led to a new site being found for the school in St. George Gate. A small building in the Tudor style was built here in 1847, with a long garden between the building and the street. Only a small schoolroom was needed, as the school had declined in numbers. Its headmaster was then also vicar of Arksey, and he visited the school only once a week. When the Revd. Dr. Charles Vaughan (a former Harrow housemaster) became vicar of Doncaster in 1860 things began to change. He took the Grammar School, which was situated at the southern boundary of his churchyard, under his wing. Within a few years he had improved the enrolment so much that a new building was required. In 1869 the new premises on Thorne Road were built in the Gothic style to the design of G. G. Scott's office, and the little school in St George Gate was vacated. Borders were taken in and housed with housemasters in large houses nearby; for a brief moment it looked as if Doncaster Grammar School might develop along the path of becoming a Victorian public school. A number of country town grammar schools were developing in just this way in the mid-

19th century: Harrow, Uppingham, Rugby, for example. However, this was not to be, and Doncaster Grammar School retained its original role of educating local day boys, and the residential aspect declined. The headmaster's house was built on the edge of Town Field and survived until the 1930s. Additional school premises were built in the 1930s. (1)

In the early years of the 20th century Doncaster Corporation formally entered the broad educational scene under the provisions of the 1902 Education Act. As well as assuming responsibilities for a number of existing schools, the Corporation immediately addressed itself to the lack of a girls' grammar school in the town. As a result, in 1905 Doncaster High School for Girls was opened in a house in St George Gate. Meanwhile a new building was planned and erected in Waterdale and this opened in 1910. It became a centre of educational excellence and an imposing local landmark in the Edwardian Baroque style, with contrasting brick and stonework crowned with copper domes. A building of its age, the new schools incorporated not only ordinary classrooms, a hall, and a library, but a gymnasium and science laboratory as well.

From late 1960s to late 1970s everything changed. In 1969-70 new laboratories were built at the Grammar School, to take account of educational developments in science. (2) Doncaster Grammar School (boys) and Doncaster Municipal High School

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for Girls were initially amalgamated as a co-educational grammar school (1971). Then in the late 1970s. The school became Hall Cross Comprehensive School, in the early stages of the post-1974 borough's moves towards full comprehensive education. Both sites and both sets of buildings were retained, and there was much movement between Thorne Road and Waterdale by both staff and pupils.

The role of the town council was crucial in the development of technical education in the town. In the 1890s it experimented with a few technical classes held in the public library, and the success of these led to the foundation of Doncaster Technical College in 1913. (3) A new brick and stone-dressed building in the William and Mary style was built facing south along the northern edge of St George's churchyard. As well as the range of academic and craft subjects normally offered in technical colleges, Doncaster developed a big mining department in relation to the local coalfield. In 1964 the college moved to a new and much larger building in the modern style in Waterdale, designed by the borough architect L.J. Tucker and his staff. It was renamed Doncaster College of Technology. In the late 1970s it was merged with Doncaster College of Education at High Melton, and the new institution became Doncaster Institute of Higher Education. However, with the decline of teacher-training education at High Melton the institution was renamed simply Doncaster College, and its remit expanded.

During the 1920s a junior technical school was founded in the Technical College. This eventually blossomed into a separate institution, Doncaster Technical School for Boys, under the 1944 education act. This school achieved its greatest heights in the 1950s and early 1960s, during the headship of Edward Semper, B.Sc., M.Ed., a physicist and educationist from Bradford. (4) He had the foresight to see its greatest possibilities in the development of technical and scientific education in Doncaster, and possessed a combination of enthusiasm and stamina to see through many changes in the pursuit of excellence in this field. No longer were boys of ability in the town to be limited to an education based on the classics. A whole new vista of ordinary and advanced level GCE work was made available to them. Those choosing to leave school at 16-plus, after success in the GCE 'O' level were found good technical apprenticeships with local firms. Those who joined the 6th Form for advanced level studies gained places at universities, and went on to get degrees in a whole variety of subjects, including Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Chemical Engineering, Aeronautical Engineering, and Electrical Engineering. The humanities were not neglected either, and pupils experienced some outstanding teaching in the fields of Economic and Social History, English, Geography, German, and Music, and went on to universities to gain degrees in these fields or to colleges to train to be teachers. A new site on Armthorpe Road was chosen in the 1950s and buildings were designed by the borough architect

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L.J. Tucker and his staff. The new campus was opened in autumn 1958. (5) The two-storey buildings were in the light-and-airy modern style, and built on a T- plan. Classrooms occupied the main spine of the 'T', whilst the top wings contained science laboratories and art and craft rooms on the one hand and a gymnasium on the other. The spacious grounds provided ample opportunities for sports activities. The school's name was changed to Doncaster Technical Grammar School and then to Danum Technical Grammar School. In the late 1960s it became co-educational and merged with Doncaster Technical High School for Girls, and then in the mid-1970s it became Danum School, one of the town's area comprehensive schools.

The old school building in Danum Road has a varied history. It was built in the 1930s as Doncaster Central Secondary School, an intermediate secondary school for pupils judged to have ability at 11 years old, but whose parents had not agreed for them to remain at school until 16. The apex of its grand neo-Baroque entrance is topped by an Art Deco motif. This site and its buildings were later (after the 1944 act) shared with Doncaster Technical High School for Girls. Both were still housed on the site in 1952, (6) but the Central School came to an end a few years after this. After its recent history as a middle school, it now has a variety of community uses.

The Deaf School began in 1829 as the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and this was run as a charitable foundation. It was housed in a building which the Corporation had erected in the early 19th century as a race-stand. The building remained in use until the 1950s and was demolished in 1959 during the construction of Leger Way. New buildings, completed in 1941, had been erected to the north of the original one. (7)

The sectarian strands in the development of education were crucial in the building of several local schools. These were the Anglicans through the National Society, the Nonconformists through the British Society, and the Roman Catholics.

The National Schools were built in West Laith Gate in 1814, designed by William Hurst. Sheardown described them as being "at that time the only schools in the town for popular education of the poor". (8) In 1868 the new National Schools were built near St George's church, to serve the children of that parish. At this point, the old National Schools in West Laith Gate became disused and were converted to industrial use. (9) St George's National School was used until the early 1960s, when a new replacement school (1961-2) was built on the Clay Lane estate, at the eastern edge of the borough boundary. For a few years the old school building became a store for the public library in St George Gate, and was finally demolished to make room for a

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new road, Church Way. As well as the National Schools in the centre of Doncaster, such schools were built in several of the surrounding villages. These included Balby (1847), Brodsworth, Tickhill, and Wadworth (1840). Some of the villages had charity schools, like the Travis School in Hatfield (1670s), and the village grammar schools in Fishlake and Kirk Sandall (both early-17th century foundations).

The British School in Wood Street comprised two buildings, the original stone building erected down a yard in 1835 (extended in 1846 and 1872) and a large brick building on Wood Street built in 1877 at a cost of £2,853. The second school closed in 1926, and the building was demolished by the local authority in the 1970s. The later building opened as the rates office in office in 1972, later becoming an unemployed workers' education centre, and then the directorate of finance; it was demolished in 1995.

By the mid-19th century there was a small Roman Catholic school in Portland Place, off Cleveland Street. (11) St Peter's Roman Catholic was built in the 1890s in Lord Street (off French Gate). Originally an elementary school, it became a junior mixed and infants' school under the 1944 act. Its closure was followed by demolition in the late 1970s and the site now lies under Tesco's supermarket. This school moved to Roberts Road, near Balby Bridge, where it occupied premises formerly

St Peter's Secondary Modern school. The latter moved to a new site in Cantley Lane. As late as the 1950s and 1960s the nearest Roman Catholic selective boys' secondary school was in Sheffield, to which many pupils travelled from Doncaster and other centres. There was a convent school for girls on Thorne Road. (12) Catherine McAuley School was built in 1970s on Cantley Lane to cater for such pupils. St Peter's Secondary school and Catherine McAuley School were eventually amalgamated to become the lower and upper school of McAuley School. The land had been made available for the complex by Doncaster Corporation. (13)

Faced with a lack of sufficient school-places for central Doncaster, another early act of the new local education authority in 1902 was to build the Beechfield School, a large new elementary school in Chequer Road. The building was completed and opened in 1906 (14); it became an infants' and junior school under the 1944 act. Though no longer a school, this brick building with clock-tower remained a distinctive piece of urban architecture in the Edwardian style until it was demolished.

A different aspect of schooling in Doncaster has been the provision of private schools at different periods of the town's history in the last two hundred years. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries Doncaster developed a large number of private schools, catering for paying pupils from both the surrounding

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area and further afield. Most of them were situated in large Georgian houses in the town centre and its fringes. Their number and success testified to Doncaster's excellent situation, first on the Great North Road and then on the railway network. Their story has been admirably told by Anthony Harrison in his Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century. Most had ceased to exist by 1900 or were in final stages of decline. Their image did not fit too well with a developing industrial town. However, private schools did not die away completely; half a century later, the 1952 directory lists 10 such establishments, including Hill House in South Parade, Elgin House on Thorne Road, Richmond House in Windsor Road and Balby Preparatory School. (15) Today there are still several private schools in Doncaster.

The suburb of Hyde Park was provided for in quite a novel way. The Great Northern Railway Company had built schools adjacent to St James' church, in St Sepulchre Gate (opened in 1854) owing to the considerable growth of railway population in this area. They built a further school in Stirling Street, which opened in 1897. Then Doncaster Corporation built on Green Dyke Lane (next to the cemetery) a large new elementary school for boys and girls in 1895, and financed it out of the profits of the racecourse, probably Britain's only instance of such a scheme. It was known as Doncaster Corporation School. It expanded with the further growth of the suburb, and a new building was erected in 1901 (16), which then served as the girl's

school. A third building, to serve as a science block, was built shortly afterwards, and displays Edwardian Baroque motifs over the entrance. This elementary school became a secondary modern school with the implementation of the 1944 act, and served as such until Eilers High School replaced it in the late 1960s.

As the Victorian and Edwardian suburbs grew the provision of school-places was expanded, usually by the creation of new schools. Balby-with-Hexthorpe was one such area, indeed the most interesting because of its great expansion. In 1874 Miss Banks of St Catherine's Hall, Balby, had built a school for the children of the township on a site adjacent to St John's church in Greenfield Lane. (17) She provided the new church for this area at the same time. The St James' infants school was built in new Hexthorpe, with the growth of the railway suburb. Balby and Hexthorpe, in 1850 still small villages, had by the late 19th century both grown into significant suburbs, and there was a need to create many more school places. Under the 1870 Education Act the Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board was created, and by the early 1880s negotiations were under way to build a board school. By this time there were said to be 37 children in Old Hexthorpe, 434 children in New Hexthorpe, 326 children in Old Balby, and 555 children in New Balby. (18) In 1880 a draft agreement was drawn up between the School Board and Harold Arnold & Son, builders and contractors, to erect at a

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cost of £2,447 "two Schools with outbuildings, boundary walls and other usual buildings", designed by Wilson & Masters, architects of Sheffield. (19) However, this was not proceeded with immediately. In November 1883 it was proposed to build a board school in St John's Road, Balby, and a plan of the site was drawn by Brundell, Simmons, & Brundell, surveyors of Doncaster. (20) This site had probably been bought in 1878, when St John's Road was on offer as building lots. However, the people of Hexthorpe objected to a school so removed from their village. On 24 December 1883 they drew up a memorial, which expressed their view that "the sites which are selected at Balby by your Board for Schools are not of any use to us because of their distance". They ended their memorial by stating that "We therefore insist that we shall have one part of the proposed School erected in a suitable place in Hexthorpe for the children in our locality". (21) By 19 September 1884 there was an agreement between the Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board and Harold Arnold & Son of Doncaster "to build two Schools at Balby and Hexthorpe in the Parish of Doncaster". The appointed architects were Wilson & Masters of Sheffield, and the cost of building was given at £2,447. (22) This was, in effect, a re-activation of the 1880 agreement referred to above. An earlier letter (9 February 1884) from Wilson & Masters, architects, had said "that both in Balby and Hexthorpe there is a prospect of requiring Extension". The letter went on to say: "Both neighbourhoods are rapidly increasing, and if land is not secured it is

just possible that in a few years time, the price of land may greatly increase, or what would be worse the adjoining land sold for building purposes". (23) So in 1884 Board Schools were built in Balby (on High Road, at the junction with the present Sandford Road, then a lane) and Hexthorpe (in Shadyside). In 1899 an infants school built in Hexthorpe on a site adjoining the earlier boards school. (24) In 1901, under a contract of 14 January between the Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board and Thomas Salmon Gill (of Dennis Gill and Son, Doncaster), "a new Infants' School with certain outbuildings and conveniences" was erected in Victoria Road, Balby. The agreed cost was £1,231, and the building was to be built to conform with the plans and drawings prepared by Frederick William Masters, architect of Doncaster. (25) There is an inscription on a sandstone block built into the brick east wall of the school which states:-

*"THIS FOUNDATION STONE WAS LAID ON MARCH 13 1901  
BY MR. W. OSWIN, VICE CHAIRMAN  
OF THE BALBY WITH HEXTHORPE SCHOOL BOARD  
MEMBERS OF THE BOARD*

*R. CAVE, CHAIRMAN  
W. OSWIN, VICE CHAIRMAN  
J. RUXTON, TREASURER  
CLERK*

*N. SHIMELDS  
H. WALLACE  
W. ROCKETT,*

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*F.W. MASTERS, ARCHITECT.  
DENNIS GILL & SON, BUILDERS"*

It fell to the new local education authority (L.E.A.), created under the 1902 Education Act, to take over the running of these boards schools and to create new schools as the need arose. In Balby the first of the L.E.A. Schools was the elementary school in King Edward Road, opened in 1908. (26) It was built on the site adjacent to the boards infant's school of 1901 in Victoria Road. As well as separate entrances for boys and girls, the new school had one for cookery, leading to an adjoining block at the north-west corner of the site. (27) These buildings served as an elementary school until the post-war implementation of the 1944 Education Act, when Victoria Road remained as an infants' school (5-7 years) and King Edward Road became a junior school (7-11 years). This was so until the new Balby Infants' School opened on Littlemore Lane in January 1977, though a new nursery section had opened two years earlier. (28) In 1981 this became Balby First School. Balby Junior School closed in 1981 and the buildings were subsequently taken over by the Archives Service.

The Edwardian and later expansion of Balby was such that the size of King Edward Road elementary school was in danger. Of not being able to cope with the required school places for the area. To remedy this a new, larger elementary school was

planned by the council and was eventually built at the northern end of Oswin Avenue, opposite a terrace of early 20th-century houses, with green fields on the other three sides. Several fields away to the west, the first council houses had already been built before the new school opened in the early 1920s. By the end of the 1930s the school had been completely enveloped in houses. Oswin Avenue School's architecture was still in the Edwardian Baroque style, with curved gables and stone dressings to adorn the red brickwork. The school was in two parts, for girls and boys, with a spacious quadrangle between them and two separate playgrounds at the outer edges of the plan. In the 1930s a second hall was added on to the front of the school, and also two sets of two-storey wings on either side of the plan. These were craft and cookery rooms and science laboratories. (29). This elementary school became Balby Secondary Modern School under the 1944 act, and later Balby High School. In this capacity it served until 1981, when it became Balby Middle School (9-13 years). Under another reorganisation of education (involving the disappearance of middle schools), it closed in summer 1996 and was demolished early in 1997.

The new council estates of the 1920s and 1930s were accompanied by new combined infants' and junior schools (yet under separate head teachers). On both the Woodfield and Waverley estates in Balby, Woodfield and Waverley schools were



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planned around quadrangles, with ample playgrounds beyond, and greenery around in the case of Waverley. They were characterised by large glass areas in the walls and with French windows to each classroom. They were the first schools in the area to give children an outside view from the classrooms; earlier examples all had high windows from which only the sky could be seen. Both became First schools (5-9 years) in 1981, but in 1996 reverted to primary schools (5-11 years). The development of Grenville estate in the 1950s led to the building of Nightingale Primary School, on a spacious and landscaped layout with buildings in post-war style. This was followed by the building Woodfield High School (11-15 years), which opened in 1964 (30) and functioned as a secondary modern school until 1980-1, when it was converted into Balby Carr Comprehensive School (13-18 years). It has now been reorganised to take the 11-18 years age range, and new buildings have been erected to this end.

In Hexthorpe the old board school soldiered on as the infants' and junior school until 1981, when the newly-built Hexthorpe Middle School opened. At this point part of the old board school continued as the First School, and extensions were built on an adjoining part of the site. In 1995 the Middle School became Hexthorpe Primary School, and some of the old board school buildings have been demolished. (31)

Balby was the site of Doncaster's Open Air School, built in the 1930s in Church Lane, on the borough boundary. Its purpose was to cater for the special education of children incapacitated in a variety of ways. It had a quadrangular layout, with maximum light and air achieved through windows and classrooms with one side opening directly to the fresh air and sunshine. This school lasted into the 1950s and 1960s, and indeed until its replacement by Cedar Road Special School in Balby and Sandal Wood Special School off Leger Way on the edge of Intake. Both of these were 1970s initiatives, and the old building was demolished in the early 1990s.

As the century progressed, Doncaster Corporation was able to plan new schools for an expanding town, and this was especially necessary in relation to new housing estates between the two World Wars. As well as Balby and Hexthorpe, there were new schools in Intake and Wheatley. Plover School in Intake and Park School in Wheatley were built in response to this need, and were characterised by spacious layouts around quadrangles. In the 1950s the development of new a new housing estate at Cantley led to the building of St Wilfrid's, Wiby Carr, and Catherine Macaulay (R.C.) schools. Also in the 1950s, Kingfisher School was built to cater for the expansion of Wheatley, followed by Wheatley High School in the 1960s.

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## LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

A News Room was established by the Corporation in converted premises before 1798. In 1820-1 the Newsroom and Public Library building was erected in High Street. This was a newsroom and subscription library, with the Corporation as a major shareholder and money was raised in £20 shares. (32) Doncaster's modern public library began under the provisions of the Public Libraries Act of 1867, after citizens had petitioned the Corporation. (33) In 1869 it was housed in the old grammar school in St George Gate - which had been vacated in favour of the new school buildings on Thorne Road. The library remained here until 1889, when a purpose-built red brick structure was opened adjacent to the old building and fronting onto St George Gate. (34) The latter remained in use as a library annexe and eventually became the children's library. When the site was required for road-widening in the late 1960s, the Victorian public library was demolished, along with the old grammar school. The books were moved to a new building in Waterdale, erected as part of the Golden Acres (now Waterdale) shopping centre, and which was originally intended for offices. Thus the Central Library acquired a lavish modern building almost by chance. The lending library (including books, music and paintings), a fine children's section, the large reference collection, and the local history library have all been developed. A good series of local history publications have been issued and continues. Branch libraries

in surrounding suburbs and villages have been established and developed. (35) An important addition to the library service has been the archives department, housed in an Edwardian school building in Balby.

Doncaster Museum grew out of the world of private collectors and amateur naturalists of the late Victorian period. In 1896 Doncaster Corporation was asked by a delegation led by Dr. H.H. Corbett to allow space in the library to form a museum. A room was granted the following year, and the museum opened in 1900. As the collections soon outgrew the room available, the Corporation acquired Beechfield House for a Museum and Art Gallery. This had been a large private house, built by the Morley family, in its own grounds on the southern side of Waterdale. The Beechfield Museum was opened in 1909 by the Viscountess Halifax. (36) Added to this was a prehistoric gallery, at the rear of the building, opened just before the Second World War. This museum provided the town with an excellent display of local artefacts, from prehistoric to medieval times and beyond. The Roman pottery collection was already growing, having been augmented from several sides of the town. The natural history collection grew, and in the 1950s a small zoo opened in the grounds.

With further growth of the collections, thoughts had by then turned to the possibility of planning a new museum, and in the

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1950s this was activated. Work began on a new building in 1960, and it was opened by H.R.H. princess Margaret on 30 October 1964. (37) It had been designed by the Borough Architect's department, and was based on the style of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye at Poissy, which had been designed in 1927. (38) It was appropriately set in the middle of a large grass area, with a stubbed forecourt at the side of Chequer Road. This area has since been eroded by new developments. Beechfield House was demolished to make way for an extension to the new Technical College. The zoo had been dispersed, and the grotto in the grounds (always an attraction with visitors) was filled-in and built over.

The director of the Museum and Art Gallery in the 1930s and 1940s was Norman Smedley, an archaeologist, who laid a firm base for the museum's activities in archaeology. It was a pioneering period in local archaeology, and saw the exploration of several sites including Stancil Roman Villa, Hampole Priory, and the earthwork on Sutton Common. The Roman sarcophagus, which is on display, was discovered at Pollington during quarrying, and many sites in the middle of Doncaster produced large quantities of Roman pottery during commercial redevelopment. It was Smedley's foresight that led to the building of the new Prehistoric gallery in the late 1930s. E.F. Gilmour, an entomologist, developed several aspects of the Museum and Art gallery during the 1950s and 1960s in his capacity as museum di-

rector. The zoo was opened in this period. Archaeology maintained its great importance in the life of the museum. Roman pottery kilns in Cantley and at Rossington Bridge were excavated during this period. Gilmour also encouraged the production of a long series of Museum publications, which presented the results of recent research in archaeology, natural history, and local history. (39) He developed the art collection, and it was during his time that many racing paintings by J.F. Herring were obtained. He was also responsible for planning the new museum in Chequer Road. After the move to the new museum, a series of museum directors/managers and curators have continued this hard work. The museum continues to showcase the history of the town, amongst its many diverse roles in the community today.

## **Two Doncaster Historians: Miller & Tomlinson**

In 1756 there occurred an event of considerable importance for the development of local history in this area: Edward Miller, a native of Norwich and then 25 years old, was appointed organist of St George's parish church. He wrote many books on music, as well as musical compositions of his own, and in 1786 became a Cambridge Doctor of Music. (40) In 1804, three years before his death at 76, he published his History of the Antiqui-

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ties of Doncaster and its Vicinity. Like most early local history, its publication depended on subscribers of substantial means and this influences what was included between its covers. Miller himself was the first to realise just what his books defects were - writing in the conclusion that "I see and lament, that the account of many places is too short and defective". (41) He knew that he had compressed a large area into one volume and had thus been unable to give as much space as he would have liked to all the places. It must be remembered that Miller's Doncaster was written by an ageing man, who could not have been sure how much time was left for the completion of his work, and he admitted that the justification for his embarking on such a task was that others more able had not done so. (42) Apart from any interest which this book stimulated on its publication and for some time afterwards, the fact that it still contains a great deal of information of use to the local historian is surely proof that Miller's decision to write it was basically sound.

Edward Miller began with the natural history of the Doncaster area, for at the local level the two subjects were still closely allied, and then discussed the present state of farming, woods, and plantations in the region. Then followed a history of Doncaster, now somewhat outdated. After this, Miller concluded his Doncaster section with an account of its "present state" - and today this is one of the most valuable parts of the book. All this filled about half of the book; the rest dealt with history and pre-

sent state of villages within a ten-mile radius of the town, with a brief look at five places beyond these limits. Again, the information which he collected on the recent history and present state of these communities is of great interest to the local historian today, providing information which would otherwise be difficult to obtain. This will be seen from the sort of things he tells us about the following places, selected at random from his book. Finningley, he tells us: "is situated in Nottinghamshire, to which a considerable estate is annexed, the property of.....Harvey, of Bedfordshire, Esq. The land is rather fertile, producing large crops, particularly of wheat and rapes. The manor-house is at present occupied by Thomas Cooke, Esq., a son of George Cooke Yarborough, of Streethoroe, Esq. in this neighbourhood particularly, and indeed, in most parts of what are called the Levels of Hatfield Chase, vast quantities of trees are dug out of the boggy earth; they are cut into pales of a black colour and sold at Doncaster and other places, to make fences for their gardens, &c. for which purpose, from their durability, they are of excellent use". (43)

Miller's account of Rossington is worth quoting in full:-  
"The corporation of Doncaster are Lords of the Manor, and owners of the estate. Here they have built a house for the purpose of holding a court twice a year. They have also lately erected a building, which was intended for a public school, but have accommodated the rector with it, the parsonage house being

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much out of repair, and too small for his family. The corporation also lately built here twelve alms houses for aged persons of both sexes, who have generally a small piece of land for a cow, and a little garden, paying a trifling acknowledgement for the premises.

The estate at Rossington contains about 2000 acres of land, the greatest part of which is arable, and let on an average at fifteen shillings per acre. The farmers commonly give preference to the culture of turnips and barley.

Hunster wood, in this lordship is remarkable for a number of fine oaks, and for the quantity of game it contains.

Rossington, being in the constabulary of Doncaster, a person may be apprehended by a town warrant, except in the distance between a small bridge, a mile from Doncaster, and that of Rossington.

The rectory of Rossington is in the gift of the corporation, and worth upwards of £500 per annum." (44)

In the account of Tickhill we are told that:

"A weekly market is held here, chiefly for the sale of butter, eggs &c. and a neat stone building is erected in the Market-place for the accommodation of the country people. The town has long been famous for its fine walnuts. A great quantity of excellent garden stuff is also raised here, and sent to the markets at Rotherham and Sheffield. Tickhill has an annual fair on the twenty-first of August". (45)

On Streetthorpe (in Kirk Sandall parish) Miller says:

"This estate was purchased of the present Lord Sheffield, by George Cooke Yarborough, Esq. who built here, about thirty years ago, a handsome mansion, in which he at present resides. The approach to it, from its rural, unassuming appearance, has a pleasing effect from the road between Hatfield and Doncaster. Mr Yarborough has evinced great knowledge in agriculture, by converting a barren common into rich pasture and arable land; and also great taste in the arrangement of his plantations and pleasure grounds. Here he may wander with his numerous family through woods of his own raising, and be sheltered from the meridian sun by shades of his own forming.".

(46)

Miller's Doncaster was illustrated with a dozen engravings of the town and its surroundings, and in addition to any artistic qualities they possess these are still a valuable historic source. That of Market Place in Doncaster shows the Georgian town hall and theatre; both these buildings have long been demolished - the town hall in the 1840s and the theatre soon after in 1900. The engraving of Doncaster's South Parade shows a number of houses. They might be difficult to date precisely on purely stylistic grounds - though they are obviously of the late 18th or early 19th century. The engraving helps us to show that they are definitely pre-1804. The Mansion House engraving

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shows adjoining buildings, the two houses to the north and south. That to the south became a shop (Maw, then Sheard Binnington). That to the north appears to have been a 17th-century building altered in the late-18th century; perhaps it was demolished when Priory Place was cut through from High Street to Printing Office Street in the 1820s, when presumably the present building on this site was erected. These are just a few examples of the uses which present-day local historians can make of these engravings.

Of the same vintage as Miller's Doncaster, and clearly influenced by it, is Peck's Topographical History and Description of Bawtry and Thorne (1813). But, being restricted to two places, it is much more detailed than Miller could be. Though he mentioned Bawtry's function as a local centre for the marketing of agricultural produce and a place where biennial fairs for the sale of cattle, horses and sheep were held, Miller failed to notice that the town was ever connected with river trade. (47) Peck, however, tells us that: "The trade at present carried on this river (the Idle) is inconsiderable to what it formerly was: for since the Chesterfield Canal was cut by Retford...the trade and market (of Bawtry) has gradually declines". (48)

There was a great expansion of interest in local history generally in the late 19th century. At this time the Yorkshire Archaeological Society was founded, with its journal (from 1871) and its

record series (from 1885); this must have done much to foster and develop interest in the subject in this area. The work of John Tomlinson is to be seen as part of this general expansion. As well as a number of minor publications, he wrote two substantial histories: The Level of Hatfield Chase (1882) and Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time (1887). Tomlinson was a hatter and farmer and a town councillor (mayor in 1884), and this is reflected in his Doncaster, which is mainly concerned with the life of social and civic institutions and with the official classes of the town. Actually, though, it was only the first of two projected volumes: the second (never published, and perhaps never written) was to deal with the ecclesiastical history of the town. He was one of the few early local historians to come anywhere near writing the history of the town from its origins to the present. This approach gives Tomlinson's Doncaster a special interest, even though some of it is now considered inaccurate and unacceptable. He eschewed genealogy for its own sake: "to tabulate a string of family names, where there are no known phases in connexion with them worthy even of a footnote, would, to my mind, be a waste of time and space." (49)

He regarded his history with social purpose, a demonstration of: "how under given influences certain principles were developed, affording practical lessons to all succeeding communities if men will give ears to hear." (50)

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Tomlinson printed masses of extracts from original sources. Today this is not regarded as good history; there are two distinct jobs to be done - the printing of records in full, and the writing of history. In these extracts there is much useful information for the local historian of today. But because they are only extracts, they cannot be fully analysed. For example, he printed parts of a 1590 rental of lands and tenements in the borough of Doncaster; he extracted those items he found interesting, having selected them because they relate to a particular people of interest or to certain topographical features. Tomlinson nowhere made a complete analysis of this document, and neither can we from the information he provided. In fact, we can make little more use of it than he himself did. On the other hand, the list of mayors he compiled - with details of their occupations from the late 17th century onwards - is extremely useful, affording a bird's eye view of the main features of the town's economy from the late 17th to the 19th centuries. The illustrations in Tomlinson's Doncaster were not of his own day; they all dated from c.1800 and he had obtained them from members of the Sheardown family. They depict a world that had vanished long before the book was published. There was the old Angel Inn, on whose site the Guild Hall was built in 1847-8. Another depicted the junction of Baxter Gate with Market Place, and shows the old butter cross of 1756 and a row of early 17th-century shops in Baxter Gate.

# Recreation & Wellbeing

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**Theatres and Cinemas**  
**The racecourse**  
**Almshouses, Workhouses  
and Labour Exchanges**  
**Dispensary and Hospitals**  
**Public Open Spaces**



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## THEATRES AND CINEMAS

Doncaster Corporation built a theatre in the Market Place in 1775, at a cost of nearly £1,600. It was a fine brick Georgian building designed by William Lindley, architect of Doncaster. Around the base of the building were lock-up shops. A portico and reception rooms were added to the theatre in 1815. Despite major changes in the Market Place, from the 1840s to the 1870s, the Theatre survived and fulfilled the intended role of staging live productions until 1905. In that year it was demolished after its role had been eclipsed by the new Grand Theatre in Station Road, built in 1899. (1)

The Grand provided live theatre and pantomime in Doncaster for half a century, but its latter days saw many changes. In mid-1958 it became a cinema, and in the spring of 1959 just a news cinema with a programme of newsreels, cartoons, and comedies. Briefly it reverted to the role of theatre, and then closed in the spring of 1960. (2) It opened for bingo in the autumn of that year, in which capacity it served until its closure in 1995. Strenuous efforts are now being made to prevent its demolition, and to retain the building both for the arts and the townscape. The restoration of the Lyceum Theatre in Sheffield demonstrates what can be achieved.

In the post-war years Doncaster Corporation re-asserted its role in the local arts scene. In 1948 it bought the Arcadia cinema in Waterdale, and refurbished it as a theatre; it had indeed started life as a theatre in 1922. The building opened as the Arts Centre in 1949 and became the accepted venue for a long line of remarkable stage productions by local amateur dramatic societies. It has also been used for screening old films. In later years it has been renamed the Civic Theatre. (3) It is a good example of the way in which municipal initiative and money can act as a catalyst for good in the arts.

Just before the First World War Doncaster gained its first cinemas: the Central Hall (Printing Office Street) in 1909, the Bijou Picture House (Dolphin Chambers, Market Place) in 1909, the Electra (Frenchgate) in 1911, and the Picture House (High Street) in 1914. The Electra and the Picture House were the first purpose-built cinemas, as opposed to those housed in existing premises. The facade of the Picture House was in the mock-timbered style, and the building still exists, though no longer as a cinema. After the First World War more cinemas were opened in the town centre, including the South Parade Cinema in 1920, which changed its name to Majestic in 1922. The Palace (Silver Street), which opened in 1911 as a palace of varieties, changed over to screening motion pictures in 1920. The Arcadia (Waterdale) opened in 1922 as a concert pavilion and also showed films. There was one suburban cinema in the

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1920s - Balby Cinema, on High Road in Balby, opened in 1921.  
(4)

Sound-films came to Doncaster in 1929, after a world debut the year before. The Picture House was the first cinema to show "talkies". 1930 saw the other town cinemas getting wired for sound. By 1931 there were five talking cinemas in the town centre, plus one in Balby. Further out in Armthorpe the Scala sound films from 1930 onwards. Business boomed and even larger more exotic cinemas were built in the 1930s. The Majestic was demolished in 1933 and work immediately started on a new building, which opened as the Gaumont Palace in 1934. The Ritz (Hall Gate) also opened in 1934. The Don Cinema (Town End, just north of the river Don) opened in 1939. Two suburban cinemas opened in the 1930s, both large and luxurious buildings: the Windsor in Balby (1938) and the Astra in Wheatley (early 1939). (5) Films brought romance, mystery, and spectacle within the reach of ordinary people, and they were able to enjoy nearly half a century of excitement at the cinema. The 1930s were large, modern, and exotically decorated inside, and they introduced a larger-than-life element into people's lives and into the townscape. They lured queuing crowds for three generations, often for twice-weekly programme changes.

Cinemas were established in the mining villages around Doncaster, a few before the First World War and many after. Before the war there were just those at Conisbrough (1912), Adwick (1912), and Bentley (1914). After the war cinemas were built in Askern (1920), Edlington (1921), Stainforth (1922), Woodlands (1923), Carcroft (1924), Thorne (1927), Armthorpe and Rossington (both 1929), and Thorne Moorends (1931). (6) In addition, a cinema opened in the old market place of Bawtry in 1920, though it had been built in 1913 by Tom Frost, the Bawtry saddler, and was not opened then because of the outbreak of the First World War. (7)

In Britain, after the Second World War, rationing limited people's spending on food and consumer goods, and yet meant they had surplus income to spend and this found its way into cinema box offices. However, as domestic television sets became more common during the late 1950s and especially the 1960s, the magic of the cinema faded, and several Doncaster cinemas (like those elsewhere) found their audiences were getting smaller. A new development to combat this trend was the introduction of wide-screen cinemascope, first introduced in Doncaster at the Essoldo in 1954; this cinema had changed its name from the Palace in 1947. Some cinemas tried programmes of refurbishments, to make them ever-more welcoming. The Ritz (Hall Gate) was refurbished in 1955 and reopened as the Odeon. A new, lavish cinema, the A.B.C., was built on

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the edge of the Golden Acres development in Cleveland Street and opened in 1967 with the spectacular David Lean production "Dr. Zhivago". Some also promoted themselves as performance venues for the stars of the day. This applied to the 1930s Gaumont Cinema in Hallgate. It welcomed the stars as diverse as The Beatles and Hylda Baker in the 1960s. These ventures were on the whole successful, attracting large audiences. For instance, when Hylda Baker performed at the Gaumont in the 1960s, many people gathered after the performance in the snow to have an autograph signed. (8)

As cinema audiences contracted, the industry responded by subdividing their cinemas and creating multiple screens within one building. In 1973 the Gaumont was converted to a three-screen cinema, and the A.B.C. became three-screen in 1981. But as audiences fell, cinemas began to close: the Essoldo in 1962, the Don in 1965, the Picture House in 1967, the Odeon in 1973, and the A.B.C. (renamed Cannon in 1986) in the early 1990s. Now there is just one cinema open in the old town centre, the Gaumont, renamed the Odeon in 1987. All the suburban cinemas have gone as well: Balby Cinema in 1960, the Windsor in Balby in 1965, and the Astra in Wheatley also in 1964. There was widespread closure of the cinemas in the surrounding colliery villages of the district in the late 1950s and 1960s. Some closed cinemas (like the Ritz - later Odeon - in Hall Gate, the Essoldo in Silver Street, and the Windsor in Balby) were imme-

diately demolished and the land redeveloped. Others (including the Picture House in High Street, and the Don at Town End) re-opened as bingo halls initially, though some later closed. (9) the Don was demolished for a new road scheme in 1994.

Against this trend of closure, one new cinema has opened in Doncaster in recent years. The multi-screen Warner Brothers Cinema opened on a site near the Dome leisure complex on 14 February 1992. Its location out of the town centre meant it could have parking spaces for many cars in the surrounding landscape.

## The Racecourse

There had been horse-racing on Doncaster Town Moor from the days of James I onwards. Permanent buildings and more regularised race-meetings date from the 18th century. In 1776 the St Leger Stakes was instituted, named after Anthony St Leger, Esq, of Park Hill, Firbeck, whose idea the race was. The original intention had been to name the race after Earl Fitzwilliam, but he insisted that St Leger should have the honour. This race remained Doncaster's major racing event ever since, with the early September race meeting called St Leger week. Crowds flocked to the town from all over the kingdom, including landed families of the north, and sometimes members of the royal fam-

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ily have visited the race meeting. Some of the larger houses in South Parade and Bennetthorpe were let to aristocratic visitors to the races. The wealthy race visitors could take part in special hunts at this time of the year, and sports such as cock-fighting and bull-baiting interested people from a wide variety of ages and social groups. Gambling was well catered for, and for the really wealthy there was a gambling salon near the Mansion House - the quaintly-named Subscription Rooms, which provided off-course betting facilities during race-meetings. Evenings were filled with dinners and balls, music concerts, and theatre visits. All sections of Doncaster society benefitted economically from this great influx of people. (10)

In 1777-8 Doncaster Corporation built the Grand Stand to the design of John Carr of York. It cost £2,000 and accommodated 1,200 people. (11) Situated near the winning post, its function was to provide a better viewpoint and social amenities for wealthy visitors to the race meetings. Racecourse grandstands were normally quite simple structures, often built of wood. That erected at Doncaster was rare at the time in being substantial and well-constructed, designed by an architect. In 1822 Edward Baines wrote: "The raceground perhaps stand unrivalled; and the grand-stand, built at the expense of the corporation, for its elegance and accommodation is not to be excelled". (12) The Grand Stand met its purpose for nearly half a century, before it was enlarged in 1824.

The Judges' and Stewards' Stand was erected in 1805, to improve conditions and amenities for the officials. In 1823 the Corporation built the Publicans' Booths to make life more enjoyable for ordinary racegoers. These comprised 42 booths for the sale of alcohol, let to local publicans. Presumably such a large number was provided both to cope with the crowds of racegoers and to afford opportunities for participation by a large number of Doncaster's publicans. The Corporation added the Nobleman's Stand in 1826 and the Ladies' Stand in 1851. (13) In the early 1970s a large new stand was built near the winning post. It had greater capacity and more social facilities, together with exhibition space. The building of this modern stand involved the demolition of some old buildings, including John Carr's stand.

William White's description of Doncaster Races in 1837 is worth quoting at length; "The Races, which afford a source of considerable emolument to the middle and lower classes of the inhabitants, have for many years possessed a high degree of splendour and attraction, being visited by nearly all the families of rank in the north, and by many from the south of England, in addition to many thousands of tradesman and others who crowd hither from Sheffield, Leeds, and other places. The races commence on the Monday, and continue five days during the third whole week in September". (14)

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In 1814 Thomas Rowlandson painted the St Leger scene at Doncaster Racecourse, complete with crowds and pickpockets. This was the day on which there came to Doncaster a young man called John Fredrick Herring. (15) He initially worked as a coach painter in a local builder's yard, painting insignia on the coach panels. Putting his training in paints and glazes to further good use, he executed an oil painting of the Doncaster-Halifax coach. He began to drive coaches for Mr. Clark of Barnby Moor, and became known as the artist-coachman. In 1819-20 he drove the High Flyer on the York-London route. His brother Benjamin painted "Bay Mares Drawing The Lord Nelson London to York coach, with John Fredrick Herring snr. Driving". The hard life of coach-driving took its toll on Herring's health, and he developed bronchitis and asthma. In 1820 he gave up driving and concentrated on painting, and in 1822 Baines' Directory lists him as an "animal and portrait painter" in Chatham Place in Doncaster. William Sheardown, the printer and proprietor of the Doncaster Gazette, became Herring's patron and commissioned him to paint St Leger winners. He eventually painted over 30 of these, together with 22 Derby and 11 Oaks winners. Sheardown published a series of Herring's St Leger winners as acquaintants. John Fredrick Herring was also patronised by the royal family and the sporting nobility of Yorkshire. He painted a much-admired work of Lord Scarborough's horse Black Prince, with his training groom Mr. King. He painted Mr. Beardsworth's Birmingham, another St Leger winner, with his jockey Pat Con-

nolly. Birmingham won the race in a thunderstorm after a series of false starts, and Herring's painting includes a flash of lightning. This is regarded as one of his finest works. Lord Darlington's Memnon won the St Leger in 1826, ridden by William Scott, and in this painting Herring included a fine view of the grandstand. Richard Watt's Lottery, a dark brown horse, was painted at the start of the 1825 Doncaster Gold Cup, with its jockey Nelson in the saddle and several other horses and jockeys nearby. Herring's portrayal of the 1826 Doncaster Gold cup (a hard fought race) is an action scene of galloping horses near the finish, with Fleur de Lys leading two of Earl Fitzwilliam's horses. At the end of the 1830s Herring collaborated with James Pollard (a London sporting artist) to paint "The Doncaster Gold Cup, 1838" and "The Dead Heat for the Doncaster Great St Leger, 1839". Herring painted the horses, and Pollard the grandstands and spectators. The completed works are lively and authentic racecourse scenes. Herring had received some training in the studio of Abraham Cooper, RA, before he came to Doncaster, but was largely self-taught. Yet in his finest works, he proved himself the equal of George Stubbs in his ability to portray racing thoroughbreds.

Doncaster racecourse had grown up on a piece of common land, the Town Moor. In the late-17th and early 18th centuries informal and semi-formal horse races took place, and then a fixed course with its own buildings developed from the late-18th

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century onwards. Because of this, the development from common land to racecourse was bound to be seen as encroachment by some people and lead to difficulties. One such instance was in May 1880, when a group of common-right owners (led by a local solicitor) asked the Corporation, as lords of the manor, to safeguard specified commoners' rights. They wished the Corporation to pay the commoners a yearly fine "in respect of encroachments from the Common". They wanted "Admission to the Common (including encroachments) on all occasions", and for the Corporation "Neatherd to protect the herbage of the Common against trespassers". All this the commoners wished to have entered in the Corporation minutes. It was stated that: "The Commoners do not at present claim to interfere with the Lords in the management of the Races, or to participate in the profits of the Race Fund". The Corporation replied that, after consideration of these requests, it could not accede to them. (16). This was part of a debate which went right to the heart of English social history: who owns common land and who can decide what happens to it? The cards seemed stacked in favour of lords of the manor, whether individuals or corporate bodies, and against the ordinary commoners.

Doncaster Racecourse nearly had a coalmine for a close neighbour. (17). Earl Fitzwilliam had a coal-prospecting borehole dug on his Cantley estate, near Doncaster Racecourse in 1908. He also leased from Doncaster Corporation, for 60 years, min-

ing rights under the Racecourse and Sandall Beat Wood. By 1910 this borehole had reached a great fault and the site was judged unsuitable. If it had gone ahead, it is hard to see how it would not have greatly disrupted the life of the Racecourse. In 1913 Sir Arthur Markham leased the mining-rights from Earl Fitzwilliam at Armthorpe, almost a mile to the north. Markham Main's sinking began in that year, but was interrupted by the First World War (1914-18) and then by unsettled conditions in the coal industry (1919-21). Work started again in 1922 and coal was reached in 1924.

Racing captured the imagination of Doncaster Corporation in the 1950s. When the new council housing estate was built at Cantley in the early 1950s, the earliest roads were named after famous racehorses: Aintree Avenue, Ascot Avenue, Goodwood Gardens, Knavesmire Gardens, Newmarket Road, and Sandown Gardens. (18) The neighbourhood pub, opened in 1964, was named the "Becher's Brook", after part of the Grand National course at Aintree. Over the years a number of public houses in the Doncaster area have been given racing names. The Horse and Jockey is an Edwardian pub in St Sepulchre Gate in Doncaster, whilst at Balby there is the Fairway (opened in 1929) named after Lord Derby's winner of the 1928 St Leger. Bessacarr has the Flying Childers (opened in 1973), after the St Leger winner owned by the Childers family of Cantley Hall. The Winning Post at Thorne Moorends opened in 1931, and the Win-

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ning Post near the Balby-Warmsworth boundary opened in 1955. (19)

During the 20th century there was a tradition, on the L.N.E.R and the Eastern Region of British Railways, of naming some locomotives after famous racehorses, from the expresses of the 1920s and 1930s down to the 1960s. Some of them had been St Leger winners. In the 1960s the East Coast fleet of crack diesel expresses, the Deltics, included the following names: Tulyar (1952 St Leger winner, owned by the Aga Khan), Meld (1955 St Leger winner), Ballymoss (1957 St Leger winner), St Paddy (1960 St Leger winner, owned by Sir Victor Sassoon), and Alycidon (winner of the 1949 Doncaster Gold Cup, owned by Lord Derby). (20) From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the railways had made a crucial contribution in bringing the crowds to Doncaster Racecourse. On St Leger Day in 1935 Doncaster station saw 32 up-specials from the north, mostly full of miners, and 20 down-specials from the south carrying among others numerous aristocracy. These special trains were in addition to the heavily-laden ordinary services, by which many racegoers travelled. (21)

## Almshouses, Workhouses & Labour Exchanges

In the past almshouses were an essential element in the community's provision for old people, but there were simply not enough of them to go round. Whilst a close of almshouses in a village like Arksey could cater for the needs of older villagers, the few rows that existed in towns were but a drop in the ocean in providing housing for the aged poor. In Doncaster three examples will suffice; St Thomas' Hospital in St Sepulchre Gate, the Holmes Almshouses in Wheatley, and the Nuttall Almshouses in Bennetthorpe.

St Thomas' Hospital was founded by Thomas Ellis in Elizabethan times, and comprised a simple row of six houses, with a garden at the front and an ornamental gateway. They were rebuilt in the 1960s to make way for a petrol filling station, but the gateway was carefully taken down and rebuilt near the new Museum and Art Gallery in Chequer Road. (22)

At the Holmes in Wheatley two rows of two-storey brick almshouses (each with six houses) were erected in the late 19th century. One of these rows, built of hand-made bricks, carried a plaque inscribed simply "STOCKS'S ALMSHOUSES". The original Stock's almshouses had been built in Factory Lane in 1814.

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The other row, built of machine-made bricks and somewhat later, carried a plaque as follows:-

"1892 THESE ALMSHOUSES WERE ERECTED BY THE DONCASTER HUNT RACE COMMITTEE AND PRESENTED TO THE TOWN. JAMES PAWSON, MAYOR, CHAIRMAN. JOSEPH MACHIN AXE. FREDERICK BRIGHTMORE, TREASURER. JAMES GEORGE LAMBOURN. JOSPEH WILKINSON. WILLIAM BADDILEY, HONORARY SECRETARY."

Both rows had small walled gardens at the front and small yards at the rear with detached brick lavatories. These two groups of almshouses were demolished for road-widening in the mid 1960s. (23)

Nuttall's Almshouses in Bennetthorpe were built in 1930 and still carry traces of their original title: "The William Nuttall Cottage Homes for Aged Spinster 1930". Nuttall had made his fortune in sweet manufacturing. The two-storey cottage homes were built of brick on a grand scale, with large communal lawns to the front and rear of the buildings. The scheme comprised 24 houses, and was Doncaster's largest almshouses development. Built in the garden suburb mould, these almshouses still make an impressive sight along the old Great North Road on the southern approach to Doncaster.

In grappling with the problem of poverty, in 1721 the Corporation planned to use the Town Hall as a temporary workhouse. Then in 1730 it had the late Alderman Pell's house (built in the 17th century), in St Sepulchre Gate, converted into a workhouse. The building served in this capacity until the late 1830s. After establishing the Public Dispensary in 1793, the corporation erected nearby a School of Industry; founded in 1799, the building was begun in 1808. Here were lodged 40 poor girls, who were trained in appropriate subjects. In 1819 a vagrancy office and lodging house was built next to the workhouse; it had five rooms in which to receive beggars. (25)

Under the 1834 Poor Law Act the Doncaster Poor Law Union was established, and work began on the new brick workhouse in 1837. Its site was on the western edge of the town, on green fields towards Hexthorpe, just beyond St Sepulchre Gate. Finished in 1839, it cost £4,602. (26) This large institution catered for the poor of some 54 parishes around Doncaster, and was still in use until 1900 when the location was judged to be too near the centre of town and too enveloped by industrial and suburban development centred on the railway. As early as January 1867 H.B. Farnell (H.M. Poor Law Inspector) had told a meeting of the Board of Guardians that the site of the workhouse was now unsuitable. "It abuts upon the station of the Great Northern Railway, and the excessive noise and smoke continually proceeding thence must be very trying to the sick and aged



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poor, and very annoying to the officers of the house generally". (27) In 1900 a larger workhouse was built on the edge of Balby (28), a village two miles west of Doncaster, which suburban development was bringing closer to the town. The new workhouse, its chimney dominating the surrounding landscape, was to serve until 1929, when further poor law changes brought workhouses to an end. Subsequently it was used as a maternity and old people's hospital, and then demolished in the 1970s after a period of disuse.

Lloyd George's Employment Act of 1909 led to the building of labour exchanges in towns throughout the land. This novel Edwardian concept (perhaps modelled on the Victorian idea of the corn and wool exchanges) was that those without work with labour skills to offer could be brought together with those offering employment vacancies. Doncaster was one of the early ones and its Labour Exchange of 1909 still survives (now used as a furniture shop) in Trafford Way. It's facade was grandly faced with white tiles, whilst the rest of the building is brick. (29) A new and larger Labour Exchange was built in Factory Lane in the 1930s, that the first age of mass unemployment. Built of red brick, a sprinkling of 1930s motifs could be seen on this building. (30) The site originally stood in Factory Lane, but this road was absorbed into the Arndale shopping centre in the late 1960s and Trafford Way dual carriageway in the early 1970s.

The building served as a job centre and employment office, until demolition in 1998.

## Dispensary and Hospitals

The Dispensary at the northern end of French Gate was opened by the Corporation in 1793, during the mayoralty of Henry Heaton. (31) As a medical facility for a market town the dispensary was adequate within the limits of the day. However, around 50 years later, when the railway and engineering works came to Doncaster, the Dispensary was too small to cope with demand. A local doctor, Dr. Dunn, built a private hospital at the junction of St Sepulchre Gate and Cleveland Street in 1852. The local Dispensary could not cope with industrial accidents and injuries in the engineering works and on the railway. This building of the 1850s survived into the early 1960s as the Y.M.C.A., and was demolished as part of the St James' Street area redevelopment in the mid-1960s. (32)

Another new hospital was built in the centre of Doncaster in the 1860s, after a local doctor left a large legacy to the Corporation for this specific purpose in 1861. The brick neo-Elizabethian building (with stone dressings), erected in Whitaker Street with Dr. Henry Bainbridge's money and donations, was opened in 1868. It served as Doncaster's hospital until 1935, and then as

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the Education Offices for several decades. (33) Though a distinctive building of character, with a clear place in the town's heritage, it was demolished in 1994, to make way for a new government agency office block.

By the beginning of the new century, the expansion of the town had outstripped available hospital facilities. Extension of the 1860s building had been considered but this never came to fruition, the cost having been estimated at £20,000. However, after the First World War, a site on Thorne Road was purchased, and the building fund augmented by large contributions from the Miners' Unions. Building began in 1926 and the new Royal Infirmary was opened in 1935. The old infirmary had been accorded the title "Royal" in 1906 after the visit of Princess Christian of Denmark, and the title was transferred to the new building on Thorne Road. The Doncaster Royal Infirmary was a voluntary hospital - with all that meant in fund-raising effort - until the creation of the National Health Service in 1948. A large new Maternity Hospital was opened on Thorne Road in 1970 and later in the 1970s a large new hospital complex was created on adjacent land. (34)

## Public Open Spaces

Outdoor pursuits in fresh air and pleasant surroundings were identified by the late Victorians and Edwardians as something which should be available to people of all social classes. For

the working classes such facilities offered an antidote to crowded conditions and pollution in industrial towns. In Doncaster three areas, at the edges of the town, were developed as public parks by the Corporation. Sandall Beat Wood, beyond the Racecourse, was promoted from the 1890s onwards. At the end of 1893 the Corporation decided to open the wood to the public from March to October. Walkers and cyclists visited Sandall Beat in large numbers, and Edwardian photographs show them congregated around the Woodman's House, where refreshments were available. (35) Walks were laid out through the woodland and this facility gave the people of late Victorian and Edwardian Doncaster a chance to explore a piece of managed rural landscape, in which they could indulge their passions for open-air exercise and the study of plants and wild flowers.

Hexthorpe Flatts was opened up to the public as a park in 1903, and a short distance away on the river Don rowing boats were available for hire from 1904 onwards. A cast-iron bandstand was erected near the quarry top. (36) One Edwardian family referred on a postcard to Hexthorpe Flatts as "a lovely place where we go on Sundays". (37) In the late 1920s the Dell was created; (38) it was a beautiful public garden, with water channels, fountains, and a waterfall, extensive flower-beds on varied levels, with walks among them, and a bird aviary. In the bottom a new bandstand (with limestone piers and walls)

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was built. This proved very popular, and it was still in regular use on summer Sunday afternoons and evenings as late as the 1950s. There was a sporadic programme of performances after this. The Corporation built and ran the mock-timbered Dell cafe in 1928 (demolished in recent years) and a sports pavilion with grounds set aside for bowls, tennis, miniature golf and crazy golf, swings, roundabouts and a slide were installed for younger visitors, near the Dell entrance, together with a large brick open-sided shelter to cope with unexpected showers of rain. The new phase of development at Hexthorpe Flatts was marked by a new set of wrought-iron gates hung on limestone pillars; they incorporated the Corporation coat of arms and the date 1929. (39)

Two parks were created from the grounds of private mansions. At Elmfield Park the gardens surrounding the Jarratt mansion became the nucleus of a fine public park, with the addition of tennis courts, bowling green, rose garden, goldfish-pond with foundation, and playing fields. Wesfield Park (alias Fisher's Park) in Balby was developed for local recreation from the private grounds of a large house, occupied by the Fisher family until just after the First World War. Local Suffragettes were credited with starting a fire at the house, allegedly because the owner (a local magistrate) was less than sympathetic to their cause. (40) The site where the house stood can be identified

by the level platform or terrace at the north-east corner of the park. (41)

Doncaster Town Field, to the eastern side of the old town centre, is a large area of open grassland, with football and cricket pitches, tennis courts, and the town cricket ground is on the western edge. It was opened as a public park, laid out for recreation purposes, in 1927, as recorded by the bronze plaque on a gate-pier on Thorne Road. (42) It originated as one of the town's great open fields, divided into strips. Considerable evidence of these strips still survived on the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1905, with boundary stones marked. Shufflergate still wound its way across the middle of the field. (43) There had been a motion in the town council to enclose this land in 1814, but it was defeated (44), and it survived in its open field form until modern times. The Town Field was once much bigger, and the houses of the Town Moor Avenue estate were built on part of it in Edwardian times. (45) The farming past of strip-lands has left its imprint in the curving nature of four roads: Imperial Crescent, Buckingham Road, Marlborough Road, and Hampton Road. (46) The Town Field was temporarily returned to agriculture in the national food emergency of the Second World War, when it was ploughed-up to grow corn. (47) Doncaster's second open field probably lay south-west of the Great North Road and the ground is now occupied by Elmfield Park and the inter-war residential housing nearby.

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Sandall Park was developed in the 1930s from a disused brickworks clay-pit (48), near the eastern edge of Wheatley Hills. A boating-lake was created out of the flooded clay-pit, and a lake-side cafe was built. With the hire of rowing boats the place prospered. It became a major local outdoor attraction for local people at weekends and summer bank holidays.

Beyond the formal open spaces, specially laid aside for public recreation and enjoyment, are the many favourite places where people have taken their outdoor leisure: woods and meadows, riverside and canal walks, public footpaths and bridle paths.

(49) Because such venues have been as diverse as individuals it is impossible to list or classify them effectively. Many people, over the last century, enjoyed hours of allotment gardening, and produced their own garden produce and flowers. These rented plots were especially beneficial for any keen gardeners whose home plot was too small or non-existent, as with the majority of Victorian terrace-houses. In 1836 we find the Hexthorpe Labourers Friends Society petitioning Doncaster Corporation to set aside a plot of ground for their use as allotment gardens. This request was agreed to and the land was rented out to the society. (50); it was part of the rural landscape and the life of Hexthorpe before the development of the railway suburb. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries plots of allotment gardens were laid out by the Corporation around the edges of the town,

in Balby, Hexthorpe, Hyde Park, and Intake. However, many of these allotments have disappeared in recent years (those in Balby built over in the 1990s and those in Hyde Park have been cleared for redevelopment), but others have flourished since. (51)

Open spaces were essential to the development of organised sports. The growth of cricket, football, rugby and golf is a key element in the history of popular culture. The local history of these activities has been charted in recent years. (52) The landscape history of these sports involves the Rovers' football ground at Belle Vue, the Tattersfield rugby ground off Bentley Road, the cricket ground on the Town Field in Bennetthorpe, and the golf course near the Racecourse, on Armthorpe Road, and on Bawtry Road in Bessacarr. To these can be added the tennis courts and bowling greens at Elmfield Park, Hexthorpe Flatts, and other places.

# Transport

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**Train and Tram, River and Road.**

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## Turnpikes, Coaching and Inns

Doncaster had excellent road and water connections for both goods and people. Its structure was determined by its role as a centre for the marketing of agricultural produce from (and supplying the needs of) the surrounding countryside on the one hand, and by its relationship with traffic up and down the Great North Road and along the river Don on the other. Besides being situated at the point where the Great North Road crossed the river Don, Doncaster was the focal point of turnpike roads linking it with Selby, Thorne, Worksop, Tinsley (Sheffield) and Barnsley. And through such places it had links with other important towns and regions. The turnpike trusts of the late 18th century created improved roads, which made increased and faster passenger and commercial traffic possible through the area. Their decline came in the railway age, and most turnpike trusts were finally dissolved by the 1870s. (1) The most important route was that which ran north-south along the Great North Road. Coaching services radiated out from London in the early 17th century and generally reached only 30 miles out from the capital. The first service between London and York was not established until 1655. (2) A major expansion of coaching services on the Great North Road and elsewhere happened after turnpike trusts established better road surfaces from the mid-18th century onwards. Mail coaches were introduced in the

1780s. The heyday of coaching came in the early 1800s and William White's Directory of 1837 gives a picture of Doncaster's coaching services at that time. (3)

In 1837, 242 coaches left Doncaster throughout the year (256 in summer). The volume of traffic through this Great North Road town was greater than through towns further west. Of the 242 coaches, 42 went to London and 92 to Sheffield. Overall, 98 coaches per week travelled to towns more than 50 miles from Doncaster. Furthermore, 91 of the coaches ran along the Great North Road, the rest used cross-country turnpike roads. In addition to coaches, 58 carriers' carts left Doncaster every week - two of them for London, but nearly all the rest for destinations less than 50 miles from Doncaster. There were 68 hotels, inns and taverns in the town in 1837, and eight of these were coaching inns. Two inns of the coaching era survive in Doncaster, fine examples of late Georgian architecture: the Salutation in South Parade, and the Woolpack in Market Place. Some have vanished in our own century, victims to urban redevelopment in the 1960s: the Reindeer in Hall Gate, the Angel and Royal (originally New Angel) in Frenchgate, and Waverley in St George Gate. Any one of these would have added a great deal to Doncaster's townscape and stock of historic buildings today, but they were squandered in the age of plenty.

The collecting of tolls was a key part of the day-to-day life of any turnpike trust, and this involved the installation of toll collectors in purpose-built tollhouses. A few of these survived in the locality to be captured by photography, though several have since disappeared such as Balby and Scawsby. Surviving examples can be seen at Bentley (where the northern part of the settlement is called Bentley Toll Bar), at the Norton Road junction north of Askern, and on the eastern edge of Tickhill. Those at Bentley and Askern are of two and one storeys, respectively, with a bay window to keep an eye out for approaching traffic. That at Tickhill is of one storey, with a simple rectangular plan. The most noteworthy and unusual was that at Balby, where it stood at the junction of two turnpike roads, one along a ridge and the other below. The toll-house was of two storeys, one level serving each of these. In its later days, during the 1950s and 1960s, this building served as the Balby branch library until its demolition for road-widening in the late 1960s.

## River and Canal

Down to the 18th century Doncaster was the head of navigation on the river Don. During the course of the 18th century the Don was gradually improved, until by 1751 it had been made navigable as far upstream as Tinsley, near Sheffield. This improvement resulted in the Dun Navigation, partly river and partly canal. Coal, timber, grain, flour and metal goods formed the main

commodities carried. The Dun Navigation was both an important artery of trade between the Industrial west of South Yorkshire and the agricultural east, and a means of inter-regional and international trade reaching the area via the river Humber and the port of Hull. The following table shows 26 vessels per week from Doncaster to various places in 1837: (4)

Place	Distance from Doncaster by Water (miles)	Number of Vessels per week
Sheffield	18	12
Hull	50	10
Gainsborough	40	2
London	306	2

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By the 1830s steam packet boats travelled to Hull and London. After Hull and Goole developed as steamship ports, increasing quantities of foreign foodstuffs came to Doncaster market. These included apricots from Bordeaux, cherries from Holland and France, lemons from Sicily, cranberries from Scandinavia and western Russia, oranges from Sicily, Portugal, Spain, Morocco, the Azores, and Jamaica, and pineapples from the Azores. Sheardown in The Marts and Markets of Doncaster (1872) said that the impact of steam navigation was to make it possible to retail oranges in Doncaster market "at a price almost less than apples can be grown in this country". This trend was further reinforced during the railway age.

Along the waterfront in Doncaster were warehouses, storage yards for coal and timber, maltings, tanyards, corn mills, and this layout was still intact in the 1850s. (5) Today there is an early 20th-century canal warehouse (1930s) built by the Dun Navigation Company, and up to 17 years ago "Tom Puddings" with their cargo of coal could be seen tied up here. These were trains of rectangular compartment trailer barges pulled behind a powerful motor barge, a system invented by W. H. Bartholomew, engineer of the Aire and Calder Navigation Company. The warehouse is still there, now used by Smith's electrical wholesale business, but the coal wharf and the rest have gone. Nearby stood Hanley's flour mill, which began life as a multi-storey steam flour mill in the 1840s. It was expanded in the

1890s and again in the 1930s. Hanley's had a fleet of barges plying up and down the Dun Navigation and adjoining waterways in the mid-1960s. Waterways in South Yorkshire became owned and integrated with the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Company and its successors, and did not slip into disuse in the railway age. It was the motorway and the giant lorry which finally sounded their commercial death knell.

There was an ambitious scheme for reviving commercial traffic along the Dun Navigation in the 1970s. It was envisaged that sea-going barges would eventually be able to ply as far upstream as Sheffield, and improvements were put in hand to make this possible. The effects of this work can be seen in a number of rebuilt locks with traffic light signals, like the one at Sprotbrough, but the full programme of improvements was not realised. (6) Pleasure craft now use the Dun Navigation. There is a marina at Strawberry Island in Wheatley, and at Sprotbrough canalside can be seen the narrow boats and the "Wyre Lady". The latter is an old Clydeside motor vessel which now carries pleasure parties up and down the Dun Navigation. In the last few years, pleasure craft have begun to use moorings at the canalside in Greyfriars Road in Doncaster.



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## Railways

As we have seen, it was the railways, more than any other single factor, which brought about the transformation of Doncaster from country town on the Great North Road to modern industrial centre. The introduction of factory work and discipline by the Great Northern Railway in its Plant engineering works, together with the attraction of subsidiary and dependent industries to the town, meant the whole social and economic structure of Doncaster was transformed during the second half of the 19th century. The Great Northern Railway from London arrived in 1848. Passengers from York and further north were able to continue on the North Eastern Railway via Knottingley. Also during the 1840s lines were built from Doncaster to Thorne and Goole, and to Rotherham (linking the already-existing Rotherham and Sheffield Railway of 1845). The 1860s saw the building of lines from Doncaster to Wakefield (and thence Leeds), and to Gainsborough (and thence Lincoln), both opened in 1867. The line between Doncaster and Selby (giving a more direct link with York) was constructed in 1871. By this time Doncaster was at the centre of an important railway network. (7)

A further development in the local railway network began just before 1900, and gathered momentum with the exploitation of the concealed coal field around Doncaster. (8) New lines were built specifically to provide a means of transporting South York-

shire coal to markets beyond the region, especially to the Humber ports. The Hull and Barnsley Railway (fully opened in 1885), from Cudworth east of Barnsley to Hull, skirted the Doncaster area at Kirk Smeaton and Barnsdale. The South Yorkshire Junction Railway (fully opened in 1894) ran from Denaby, through Sprotbrough and Pickburn, to Wrangbrook Junction. The Hull and Barnsley built a branch (opened in 1902) from Wath-On-Deerne to Wrangbrook Junction, and this passed east of Frickley. The Dearne Valley Railway (opened in sections between 1902 and 1909) ran from Black Carr south of Doncaster to Edlington, Barnburgh, and eventually Brierley, whence its trains ran over other companies' lines to Wakefield. Its passenger service began in 1912. The railway's most impressive engineering feature was the viaduct over the river Don at Conisbrough. The South Yorkshire Joint Railway (opened in 1909) ran from Dinnington to Kirk Sandall Junction. The Great Central's "Doncaster Avoiding Line" opened in 1910. A line from Braithwell to Gowdall (on the river Aire) was built jointly by the Hull & Barnsley and the Great Central Railways, and opened in 1916. It crossed the river Don by a steel bridge (with curved girder top), which can still be seen just east of the A1 (M) road bridge across the Don.

Changes to Doncaster railway station reflect the increase in importance of Doncaster on the railway network and the growth of railway journeys. At first a small timber station was provided by

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the Great Northern. In 1850 this was replaced by a brick station with two platforms, one for an up-line and one for a down-line. Two additional lines facilitated the progress of up and down expresses through the middle of the station. This arrangement lasted until 1873. From 1873 to 1877 the station was enlarged by creating an additional line to the west of the far platform, making it an island platform, with bays at each end. (9) Many railway companies worked into Doncaster station: the Great Northern to the south, the North Eastern to the north, the Manchester, Sheffield & Lincolnshire to the east and west, the Great Eastern through to the eastern counties, the Midland through to Derby and beyond, and the Lancashire & Yorkshire. (10) This was the position at the end of the 19th century, with the addition of services operated into Doncaster by the new Great Central (which absorbed the Manchester, Sheffield, & Lincolnshire), and the London & North Western. At this time the Great Eastern had its own engine-sheds on the Carr. The Great Central had a mineral office at Hexthorpe. (11) In 1922, on the eve of grouping, the following railway companies ran passenger trains into Doncaster station: Great Northern, Great Central, Midland, Great Eastern, Great Northern & Great Eastern Joint, North Eastern, London & North Western, and South Yorkshire Joint. (12) In the grouping of the following year all railway operations on the region were controlled by the L.N.E.R. and the L.M.S. A new station building, with booking hall, offices and left luggage department, was built in the 1930s. In the latest

modern style of the L.N.E.R., it became one of the grandest station buildings on the line from London to Edinburgh. The passenger subway was constructed in the summer of 1938, replacing a footbridge over the lines. (13) A new line was laid and the present platform 1 created; it was traditionally used for south-bound stopping trains.

Some of the villages around Doncaster had stations on the railway lines nearby. Warmsworth, Conisbrough, and Mexborough all had stations on the Manchester, Sheffield & Lincolnshire line to the west, whilst on the same line to the east were Barnby Dun, Hatfield & Stainforth, and Thorne (South). Thorne (North) was on the North Eastern line to Hull. To the north was Arksey and Moss and to the south Rossington and Bawtry, on the main Great Northern line. To the north-west was Adwick-le-Street and Carcroft, a station built between two villages, on the line to Wakefield. The later coal lines brought limited passenger services to other places, and stations were built at Askern, Edlington Halt, Wadworth & Tickhill, Sprotbrough, Pickburn & Brodsworth, Kirk Smeaton, Denaby Halt, and Barnburgh. Of these coal-line stations, only Kirk Smeaton and Wadworth & Tickhill were solidly-built of brick. Sprotbrough and Pickburn & Brodsworth were timber built, and Edlington Halt, Denaby Halt and Barnburgh were simply old coaches by the side of the line (like others on the Dearne Valley Railway). (14)

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## Trams and Trolleybuses

Doncaster was one of the first crop of local authorities to develop an electric tramways system in 1902. Several routes radiated from the town centre to Balby, Hexthorpe, Hyde Park (and Oxford Street), Racecourse, Beckett Road (Wheatley), Avenue Road, and Bentley. (15) They linked the town centre with the suburbs to east, west and north, and with the racecourse to the south. The routes to Balby, Hexthorpe, Racecourse, Hyde Park, and Bentley were opened in 1902, followed by those to Avenue Road, Beckett Road and Oxford Street in 1903. The Oxford Street service lasted only until 1907; local residents had petitioned for this route, but their custom was insufficient to keep it open for long. In 1913 the Bentley route was extended to Bentley New Village, as a result of the sinking of the colliery and the building of the mineworkers' village. 1915 saw the Balby route extended to Warmsworth cross-roads, because of the opening of Edlington colliery and its new village, a mile to the south of Warmsworth. At these cross-roads (on the edge of Warmsworth village) a Co-operative shop had been built in 1912 (datestone), the Cecil Inn had been rebuilt, and the community had been augmented by several streets of houses nearby. The route to Woodlands opened in 1916, to serve the new colliery village there. The tram service to Bentley started just beyond the level-crossing on the Great Northern railway line. The traffic hold-ups at this point led to the building of the

North Bridge in 1910. A massive structure of iron and brick, this took traffic sailing over the railway, river and canal. It was so massively constructed that it remained in service without alteration until 1990. It was built by the local building and construction firm of Harold Arnold. (16)

Richard Hoggart in The Uses of Literacy called trams "the gondolas of the people". They were well patronised because fares were reasonable, and they were socially liberating in that it made it possible for ordinary people to live at a distance (up to around two miles) from their place of work for the first time in history. No longer did they have to live within sight of the factory gates to get an early start. Around the tram termini and along the tram routes, houses were built in great profusion. Balby, Hexthorpe, Hyde Park, Wheatley and Bentley were tramway suburbs in every sense of the term.

The trams used electricity from the municipal power station (opened in 1899) in Greyfriars Road. (17) A tram-shed on the opposite side of Greyfriars Road was built in 1902, with space for 25 trams. It was full by the end of the decade, so the building was extended in 1913-14, and between 1913 and 1920 a further 22 trams were added to the fleet. In 1920-1 an additional tram-shed was built across the road, next to the power station, to provide further space for the expanding tram fleet. (18) The tram-shed on the south side of Greyfriars Road sur-

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vived until the early 1980s, and then was demolished (together with Jackson's garage and several other properties) to make way for a new Hillard's supermarket, which changed hands and opened as Tesco. The inscription over the entrance in Greyfriars Road read:-

"DONCASTER CORPORATION TRAMWAYS, ELECTRIC CAR SHED. ERECTED 1902. THOMAS WINDLE, MAYOR. GEORGE SMITH, CHAIRMAN OF TRAMWAYS COMMITTEE."

On demolition this stone was saved and sent to the National Tramway museum at Crich. Before the opening of North Bridge in 1910, Bentley trams were kept in a small tram-shed at Marshgate.

Trams also have to be seen in the context of others forms of transport. The trams arrived into a world where horse-drawn transport reigned supreme. Horse omnibus services in town and between town centre and suburbs were operated by Steadman's, Stoppani's, and Hodgson & Hepworth, as well as several smaller operators. As horse-drawn vehicles gave way to motor buses in the early 1900s, private operators began to ply routes from Doncaster to neighbouring villages. The number of buses grew after the First World War. The first motor bus run by Doncaster Corporation was an out-of-town service to Skelton in 1922. By 1923 there were 52 licensed buses in the Don-

caster district, (19) and their number continued to grow throughout the 1920s. In 1925 Doncaster Corporation introduced a motor bus service on the Avenue Road route, (20) though this was experimental and trams were still used at peak periods and, indeed, ran on this route until 1926-7. The motor bus service to Avenue Road was later extended to Wheatley Hills.

Doncaster Corporation had discussed the replacement of trams by trolley-buses in 1923 but nothing happened before the late 1920s. The tram-tracks were getting worn-out and would have needed extensive costly rebuilding. New housing estates were developing, which made route extensions necessary. Trolley buses appealed on the grounds of economy, greater versatility and manoeuvrability. The first trolley-bus service was introduced on the Bentley route in August 1928. Conversion of other routes came in the following order: Hexthorpe and Beckett Road in 1929, Racecourse and Hyde Park in 1930, and Balby in 1931. Trams ran to Woodlands until 1935, when the route was converted to motor buses. The Wheatley Hills motor bus route was converted to trolley-bus operation in 1931. (21)

From the 1930s onwards there had been a mixture of trolley-buses in town and suburb with motor buses serving routes through the countryside beyond the suburbs. A large modern transport depot for both trolley and motor buses was built in 1938 on Leicester Avenue in Intake. This had been the Royal

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Flying Corps, and later R.A.F., site. The new building was characterised by tall openings to allow the entry and exit of vehicles. It was demolished in the early 1990s, to make way for the Wickes D.I.Y. superstore. One of the old wooden aeroplane hangers of the First World War continued in use as part of the bus garage until the late 1970s, when it was demolished to provide space for a modern bus garage.

From the late 1950s onwards the Corporation began to convert the in-town trolley-bus routes to motor operation. The last trolley-bus in town ran on Beckett Road service in 1963. Realisation of the pollution caused by diesel motor buses in towns has turned attention back to the merits of electric transport. An experimental modern trolley-bus was in operation along the short distance between the Racecourse and Sandall Beat Wood, for a few years from 1985. Shall we see electric transport in Doncaster again?

## **Cars, Road Houses, and Hotels**

The invention of the motor car brought major changes to life in Doncaster, as elsewhere. Agents set up garages and showrooms to sell and service a variety of makes of vehicle. E.W. Jackson & Son made the Cheswold car at their Frenchgate Works before the First World War. As elsewhere there was a great expansion of motor cars in the years between the two

world wars. Small Austin, Morris and Ford cars of less than 1000cc capacity offered a whole new dimension to leisure-time activities. Householders began to build garages on their garden plots, if they had access room at the sides of their houses, as with some inter-war detached and semi-detached houses. Some ingeniously squeezed small garages on to the rear of their plots, where these were served by rear passageways. This was especially so amongst late 19th-century and early 20th-century houses. In such areas as Balby, Wheatley Hills, and Bessacarr, one can still see examples of this type of enterprise. By the late 1950s it was possible to buy a wide variety of makes and types of motor car in Doncaster, and garages and showrooms were still in the town centre in the 1960s. Today not one showroom or garage is left in the town centre; all migrated to the suburban fringes of the town, along two main roads leading out, especially along Wheatley Hall Road to the east. Garages have come and gone, sometimes in a relatively short space of time. The Golf Links Garage in Bessacarr developed in the early 1970s from a small garage and filling station on the Great North Road, to become a major Audi dealer. After a few years it switched to selling Chrysler cars, and had closed its doors by the end of the decade. The buildings stood empty for several years, and were eventually demolished. Today the site is occupied by a residential home (Dunniwood Lodge).

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Whilst most inns have a longer history, going back to the coaching era and beyond, some new ones were ushered in by the needs of motor car and its owners. The Danum Hotel in the middle of Doncaster (at the junction of High Street and Cleveland Street) was built in 1909-10 to cater especially for motor travellers. Its plan incorporated an internal garage, reached through an entrance in Cleveland Street, where drivers could have their cars serviced during their stay at the hotel. (22) Facing onto the Great North Road, its prestigious site could not have been better chosen. Also on the Great North Road, at the southern end of the town in Bennetthorpe, were two hotels built in the motor age of the 1920s, the Earl of Doncaster Hotel and the Rockingham Hotel. They faced each other across this busy highway. Both had accommodation for cars at the rear, including some garages. Further out of town, on Carr House Road in Hyde Park was the Park Hotel, built specifically to cater for the needs of motorists in the 1920s. (23) A number of other inter-war inns and roadhouses were situated on main roads in the suburbs, so that they could both cater for local trade and take advantage of passing motorists. These included the Wheatley Hotel (on Thorne Road) in Wheatley Hills, the Fairway Hotel on the main Doncaster-Sheffield road in Balby, the Sun Inn on York Road at the Barnsley road junction (24), and Punch's Hotel by the side of the Great North Road in Bessacarr. A smaller establishment, catering for traveller's meals and refreshments, was Sarah's Cafe, in Bessacarr. A substantial two-storey timber-

framed house, set in a garden, it catered for passing motorists on the Great North Road. It is now a private house, its trade having been sapped away by the opening of the Doncaster bypass, the A1 (M). As Norman Bates told a visitor to his motel in Alfred Hitchcock's Psycho (1960): "They moved away the highway".

## **Doncaster's Edwardian Motor Car: The Cheswold** (25)

With the present geographical spread of the English motor industry, it may seem strange that motor cars were once designed and made in Doncaster. Yet in the early years of this century, the industry was spread more widely and cars were also made in places like Sheffield and Bradford. The Cheswold was made by E. W. Jackson & Son of Doncaster on the eve of the First World War, with between 75 and 150 cars leaving their factory between 1910 and 1913. (26) It took its name, as did the Cheswold Works where it was made, from the river Cheswold - then effectively an arm of the river Don, and now culverted below the streets. This firm was founded in 1904, a few years before the manufacture of cars began. In 1913 the company became one of the first distributors for Morris cars, and added to this an Austin main dealership in 1919. They sold these two makes of car, along with MG, Riley, and Wolseley, for

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many years. In the mid-1970s the firm was absorbed by Rocar, and the garage and showroom on Churchway and in Frenchgate closed in 1981. The site was acquired for redevelopment and now has a Tesco supermarket and car-park standing on it. At one time, Jackson's Hall Gate showroom - built in the early 1900s and demolished in the early 1970s - was an official checkpoint for the Monte Carlo Rally. (27)

The Chesworld was a 15.9 horsepower car, with a four-cylinder engine, and was apparently designed for Jacksons by M.C. Inman-Hunter, who had been chief designer for the Adams-Hewitt firm of Bedford. (28). The Autocar wrote in 1913: "It would be difficult to find a more thoroughly British Car". (29) Their road test engineers found the engine flexible, the steering light, the springing "uncommonly good", and the chassis and body quite good both in design and construction. Autocar found the Cheswold followed generally accepted lines for car design at the time, but it had several "special points of detail design". Also according to Autocar in 1913, the finish was "equal to coach work on modern cars". The firm's founder, Mr E.W. Jackson, said in 1946: "We did not aim to make a cheap job to sell at £200 to £300 a time". (30) The tourer sold for £450.

It has sometimes been implied only one model of this car was manufactured, but this is not true. At least five models were designed: a limousine, a convertible tourer, a drop-head coupe, a

fixed head coupe, and the ambulance. Whether the fixed-head coupe and the limousine were ever manufactured must remain an open question on present evidence, but the ambulance and the limousine appeared to be designed on the same chassis.

As no more than 150 cars were made and since the last one left the factory 83 years ago, it is hardly surprising that few seem to survive. However, a Mr Hairsine, who lived over the county boundary in Lincolnshire, took delivery of his Cheswold tourer in 1913; this proved to be his first and only car, which was still going strong in 1946 - though by then he was 89 years old and no longer drove himself. In 1946 it was reported that this car was in its original mechanical condition; after over 30 years of untroubled motoring, its main bearings and big end remained untouched. (31) In 1950-1 two more surviving Cheswolds were brought to public notice; one (again a tourer) was bought from Mrs Theaker by George Oxley of Ferrybridge (Cross Roads Garage), a veteran car enthusiast. It had been bought new in 1912 by the Theaker family of Hemsworth. This car (registration number C9331) ran in the Ferrybridge-Cleethorpes Rally - completing the journey in a credible 2 hours 50 minutes - and also in the Hull-Scarborough and Eastbourne Rallies of the same year. (32) It was this car which went on show in the Festival of Britain year in Jackson's Doncaster showroom. After this, the car returned to its resting place in a Hemsworth farm shed, as Mrs Theaker persuaded Mr Oxley to

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sell her family's car back to her for sentimental reasons. This car was up for sale at a Hemsworth farm auction in 1957, but Capt. E.A. Jackson (son of E.W. Jackson) was not interested in bidding for it. As he told a newspaper reporter: "We don't look on it as a family heirloom. We don't like keeping museum pieces. We prefer to stock something useful with more miles to the gallon". (33) It would have been more appropriate for a Cheswold to return home to the Jacksons - it could have become a real showroom magnet. In the event, it was again purchased by Mr Oxley. The car was exhibited in Doncaster Museum during the early 1990s. Also, in 1951 a two-seater Cheswold, presumably the drop-head coupe, was reported to be in existence in the London area.

The first motor ambulance in the Doncaster area was a Cheswold designed and built by Jacksons. It was made for the Askern Coal and Iron Company, and continued in use until the Second World War. A Doncaster Gazette report of 1912 said: "By means of this car, cases of injury requiring hospital treatment will be conveyed rapidly from the colliery to the hospital. Minutes thus saved often meaning lives saved". (34) The description which accompanied the 1912 report is worth quoting in some length: "The ambulance provides the most modern equipment of its kind, and comprises two collapsible stretchers, together with a complete set of splints...The ambulance is lighted inside with electricity, and there is a seat provided for the nurse

or attendant. It is interesting to note, too, that the vehicle can also be used for rescue station work if required, in so much that the fitted stretchers can be folded away underneath the shelves carrying them, and cushions fitted onto the shelves, thus making it possible in an emergency to take the members of the rescue brigade from one colliery to where they might be required. Special attention has been given throughout to the comfort of the injured, the springs on the vehicle being extra long and provided with shock absorbers...The ambulance is mounted upon a Cheswold chassis driven by a four cylinder engine of the latest design, and the whole vehicle represents the last word in this type of conveyance".

Existing photographs show that the Cheswold ambulance was also supplied to Cadeby Main Colliery Company, (35) and doubtless it was bought by other local colliery companies as well.

The last public sales appearance of the Cheswold was at the 1913 motor show in Manchester. Why did production of it cease? All contemporary reports agreed that it was a very good car, though at £450 it was rather expensive. The timing seems to have been decisive, with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. At this time Jacksons moved over to aeronautical and mechanical engineering work for the government, as did other similar firms. After the war, with production broken



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and an interest in selling Morris and Austin cars, the incentive was no longer there. As Mr E.W. Jackson said retrospectively in 1946: "It was a question of mass production or nothing, and we were not prepared to put down the plant". (36) So Doncaster's only motor manufacturer ceased production, and henceforth concentrated on selling and servicing cars and commercial vehicles manufactured by others. It was this activity which had a continuous history, on the same site, down to 1981.

## Aviation

Doncaster Corporation was one of the first local authorities in England to embrace aviation, and the first English public aviation meeting was held on Doncaster Racecourse in September 1909. (37) A variety of aeroplanes from this country and beyond took part, including Bleriot and Farman biplanes. Further Doncaster aviation meetings followed in the years before the First World War. During the First World War, the Royal Flying Corps had a unit stationed on land formerly part of Intake farm, just to the north-east of the Racecourse. Large timber-built hangars were erected on the site, and one survived until the late 1970s.

After the war Doncaster lost the impetus in arranging such meetings, as aviation polarised around places with permanent airfields. However, during the 1930s Doncaster Corporation devel-

oped plans for a municipal airport on Low Pastures just to the west of the Racecourse. Whilst facilities were minimal, KLM (the Royal Dutch Airlines) did make Doncaster a stopping point on their service from Amsterdam to Manchester and Liverpool, flying mainly Douglas DC-2s in the late 1930s. (38) One aeroplane was named Spirit of Doncaster. (39)

The municipal airport site was used for maintenance and training purposes by the R.A.F. in the Second World War. After the war commercial flights did not return, probably because a new generation of civil aircraft made longer flights possible. The site was used by the Doncaster Flying Club until its redevelopment as a leisure complex during the 1980s. Before the site's closure to flying, residents were treated to the sight of the huge Goodyear and Fuji airships visits to Doncaster in the 1970s and early 1980s respectively.

Other airfields in the Doncaster district have included the following. The famous R.A.F. Finningley was operational from the 1930s to the 1990s. R.A.F. Lindholme was operational in the 1940s and 1950s, and is now the site of a prison. R.A.F. Sandtoft was a 1939-45 wartime satellite and decoy airfield, and is now an industrial estate with a small part set aside for club flying. (40)

# Neighbours & Countryside

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**Market Towns**

**Villages**

**Country Houses**

**Life on the Edlington Hall**

**Estate: 1703 - 1707**

**A Changing Countryside**

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## Market Towns

Within the Doncaster district, covered by the Metropolitan Borough, there are three other small market towns plus one that failed to develop: Tickhill, Bawtry, Thorne, and Conisbrough. They form an essential component of the surrounding area and, indeed, of the Metropolitan Borough.

Seven miles south of Doncaster is Tickhill, an early Norman castle-town, which was planted in the fields of Anglo-Saxon Dadsley. The 31 burgesses listed in Domesday Book (1086) are under Dadsley not Tickhill (1), so that the town's origins were then so recent that it seems not to have had a separate name. After the Yorkshire rebellion of 1069-70, William the Conqueror settled three Norman barons in new castles in Yorkshire. One of these was Roger de Busli at Tickhill Castle. Originally a motte-and-bailey castle of earth and timber, it was rebuilt in stone in the 12th century. The gatehouse and curtain wall may date from 1129-30, when Henry I strengthened his newly acquired castle here. (2) The polygonal keep (known only by its foundations) was built by Henry II on top of the great earthen mound. It had projecting buttresses at every point where its 11 sides joined. (3) King John (1199-1216) spent over £300 on Tickhill Castle. (4) The little town was planted at the gates of the castle in the late 11th century, and in the early years its only

street was probably Castlegate. This was then shorter than it is today, as archaeologists discovered a boundary ditch intercepting the line of the street. (5) Gradually the settlement was extended into Northgate, Sunderland Street and Westgate (6), with a series of narrow alleyways and subsidiary streets (e.g. St Mary's Gate and Bride Church Lane) linking these thoroughfares to parallel back-lanes. Such expansion was almost certainly carried out in the prosperous growth years of the late 12th and 13th centuries. At the central junction of Castlegate, Northgate, and Sunderland Street stands the triangular market place, with its classical butter-cross. By the 15th century several substantial timber-framed houses were built along Castlegate, Northgate, Sunderland Street, and Westgate. They all indicate a thriving late medieval town built of time on the edge of the forested area, where good timber was readily available to wealthy people. The largest and most lavish of these timbered properties were situated in Sunderland Street (no. 52) and Castlegate (two on the east side). Those in Castlegate had crown-post roofs, probably dating from the late 14th century, but the original roof structure in Sunderland Street had been rebuilt in the 17th century. (7) On the corner of the market place and Northgate stood St Leonard's Hospital; the present timber-framed building was erected in 1471 (8), but it was shorn of its upper part in a restoration of 1851. The original building would have been one of the most distinctive in Tickhill with a jettied upper storey and coving.

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The parish church of St Mary in Tickhill superseded the Anglo-Saxon church of All Hallows on the Hill at Dadsley. The earliest parts of St Mary's are in the early Gothic style of the mid to late 13th century. This includes the lower half of the west tower, with its superbly detailed western doorway and tower arches. The other 13th century part of the church is the chancel, which demonstrates that the 13th century church was as long as the present building. The rest of the church (including nave, aisles, chapels, and the upper part of the tower) dates from a rebuilding campaign which began in the 14th century and went into the first 30 years of the 15th century. It was paid for partly by parishioners (including large wool merchants) and partly by the Duchy of Lancaster, (9) and its glorious scale and detail make it comparable with the best of the Cotswolds. The position of this church in relation to the settlement is interesting, for it stands on the southern edge of the medieval built-up area, at the junction of St Mary's Gate with St Mary's Lane (a back lane). In other words, it arrived late on the scene, when all the street-frontages were already built-up. Nothing survives of the 12th century church. (10)

Several stone-built houses of the 16th and 17th centuries in Tickhill (11), once doubtless more numerous, provide a bridge between the handful of surviving medieval timbered buildings and the many Georgian to early Victorian buildings of

c.1750-1850. (12) The little town's last great phase of building (until the 1960s) came in that period, when it prospered from its position at the junction of turnpike roads to Doncaster, Worksop, Bawtry and Sheffield. The subsequent railway age virtually passed it by, and its coaching inns and markets declined. It slumbered into the 20th century as a small country town of a former age, full of charm and historic buildings, but with a declining economy. With the universal progress of the motor car, it grew as a commuters' paradise from the 1960s to the 1990s, and local business greatly prospered. Fortunately, the important historic core of the place survives for everyone to enjoy. (13)

Nine miles south-south-east of Doncaster is Bawtry, whose origins lie in the 1190s, when the de Vipont family founded it as a small new town, with its focus on the Great North Road and the River Idle. (14) These two strands governed its progress throughout history. The plan of the settlement was a simple chequerboard, laid out around the spine of the north road. It was laid out to the east of the Roman road, and the north road was diverted through the middle of the new market place. From its origins until 1858, Bawtry was a chapelry within Blyth parish and the church was built on the eastern edge of the settlement. It displays work from the 13th to the 18th centuries, not least the Gothic survival west tower of 1712-13 built after its predecessor had fallen down in 1670. (15)

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Bawtry was the head of navigation on the river Idle, which flowed into the Trent at Stockwith. Between the 13th and 18th centuries a variety of commodities passed through its wharf. Lead and millstones from Derbyshire, oak timber from Sherwood Forest, corn from neighbouring areas, wool and woollen cloth from Yorkshire, cutlery and edge tools from the area around Sheffield known as Hallamshire, all went down river to the Trent and beyond, some out through the Humber and Hull and thence across the North Sea. Scandinavian fir timber, copper and tin, London groceries, and coal came up river to Bawtry Wharf. This river trade began to decline with the improvement of the Dun Navigation, which was navigable as far inland as Tinsley (near Sheffield) by 1751. It virtually came to an end in the 1770s, with the opening of the Chesterfield Canal from Chesterfield to Stockwith on the Trent. These new routes offered a better and cheaper means of transport eastwards from Sheffield and Derbyshire than the old overland route to Bawtry and the river Idle. (16) By the early 19th century only coal supplies for the new gasworks travelled up river to Bawtry. Just two brick houses remain from Bawtry's river trading heyday in the years c.1700: a Dutch-gabled house of c.1690 on the corner of Church Street and Wharf Street, and a large seven-bay house on the Market Place, the latter once the home of Aquila Dawson and his son, Samuel, merchants of Bawtry. (17)

The prosperity of Bawtry in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was bound up with traffic along the Great North Road and east-west routes leading into the main artery of communication. A junction of turnpike roads leading to London and Edinburgh to south and north, and to Gainsborough and Lincoln in the east and Rotherham and Sheffield in the west, was bound to see plenty of traffic in this period. (18) There were several late-18th century coaching inns, of which the Crown and the Angel (now a shop) in the Market Place are surviving examples. As well as the inns, Bawtry had many houses built between 1750 and 1850. (19) There are fine large examples in Wharf Street, and smaller ones in Swan Street and Church Street. A particularly fine piece of late 18th century building development is South Parade, with its tall brick houses. Bawtry Hall (at the south-western edge of the town) was built in the 1780s for Pemberton Milnes, a West Riding woollen cloth merchant. It was owned in the 19th century by the Galways of Serlby Hall and then by Lord Crewe, who in 1904 sold it by auction together with all his Bawtry property. The Peake family bought the hall and grounds, and lived there until 1940 when it was sold to the R.A.F., which remained here until the 1980s.

The coming of the railway to Bawtry brought the decline of long-distance coaching, as everywhere, and its market was too near to Doncaster to prosper in the railway age. There was half a century of decline for the town, before early motor cars began

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to ply up and down the Great North Road and its feeder routes. Then in the early 1900s people began to rediscover the usefulness of this travellers' town with its inns. The motor revival brought prosperity back to Bawtry until 1960, when traffic again deserted the little town to travel along the new Doncaster bypass. No longer did the A1 route pass through Bawtry. However, recent years have seen yet another commercial revival for the town.

Thorne lies twelve miles to the north-east of Doncaster and for much of its history was surrounded by wetlands. The 17th century drainage of Hatfield Chase by Cornelius Vermuyden and his Dutch partners and workmen brought new settlement and new land into agricultural use. (20) This stimulated agricultural marketing in the area and Thorne developed into a thriving market town. Thorne church is a large structure, with nave, chancel, aisles, and a west tower, which displays work from the 13th to 15th centuries. Originally, and down to the Reformation, Thorne was a chapelry within Hatfield parish. The two were separated by the extensive Thorne Mere, the flooding of which necessitated the construction of Seadykebank on the Hatfield side to the south. (21)

Vermuyden's construction of the Dutch River, downstream from Rawcliffe, carried out in 1633 to improve his drainage scheme, had the additional effect of improving the river Don for naviga-

tion. Thorne consequently thrived as a river port as well as a market town, and its wharf was a mile to the north of the town at Waterside. The building of houses, warehouses, inns, a chapel, a rope walk, and a shipbuilder's yard combined to make a prosperous maritime landscape. Decline came in the 19th century, but John Tomlinson remembered the hive of activity in the 1830s: "I have seen two brigs at one time unloading goods from London, besides five or six smaller vessels in the coasting trade. There was a steam-packet to and from Hull every day". (22)

The road from Doncaster to Snaith, Howden and Hull passed through Thorne, and the increasing passenger and goods traffic of the 18th and early 19th centuries brought some prosperity to the town. It was as a result of this growing road traffic that the White Hart Inn in the Market Place, an impressive three-storey building, was built in 1737. (23) It was one of the large number of inns and taverns in this place in the late 18th and 19th centuries. (24) The building in 1793 of the Stainforth and Keadby Canal, from Stainforth on the river Don to Keadby on the river Trent, to some extent compensated for Thorne's loss of trade at Waterside. The new canal was located to the south of Thorne and attracted new settlement along its banks here. New houses, new taverns, new trade: this was the impact on Thorne. Furthermore, Richard Dunstan's shipbuilding firm from Hessle established a shipyard here in 1855. A long line of ves-

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sels was built here and launched into the canal, down to the 1960s. These was no mere canal and river boats, but sea-going vessels and some were destined for distant customers across the seas. (25) In the age of railway expansion in the mid 19th century, Thorne benefitted from two railway stations, one on the line from Doncaster to Goole and Hull, and the other on the Doncaster to Grimsby and Cleethorpes line.

Conisbrough's history is very different from that of Doncaster's other neighbours, for its commercial potential was never realised. Its place name takes us back to the king's "burg" of the Dark Ages, about which so little is known, though it was in all probability a royal fortification standing in the south bank of the river Don, only a short distance east of its confluence with the river Dearne. Its origins may lie in the era when Northumbria's boundary with Mercia ran across South Yorkshire. It is 30 years since Gerald Davies' exciting and important discovery that an Anglo-Saxon church of c.800 AD survives at the core of later additions to the recent church. (26) He also pointed to the evidence for Conisbrough being one of the handful of Anglo-Saxon greater parishes, or missionary areas, which covered South Yorkshire. It shared ecclesiastical territory in the county only with Cawthorne, Ecclesfield, Laughton, and South Kirby. (27) Royal burg and church probably date from the time of King Offa of Mercia (757-96), and stand at the northernmost edge of his kingdom with its boundary along the river Don.

After the Norman Conquest lands based on Conisbrough were given to William de Warenne by William the Conqueror. (28) He built an earth-and-timber castle here, of which the earth-works still survive. Hamelin Plantagenet (half brother of King Henry II, and husband of the Warenne heiress) built the circular stone keep c.1180-90, as well as the stone curtain wall with its circular bastions. (29) His master mason employed techniques and a rare overall design, which probably can trace its origins to 12th century works in the Holy Land. Away from the major north-south route way, it seems that Conisbrough did not really occupy any strategic position for its Norman owners. It was a convenient centre for its surrounding estate, and both position and estate were really inherited from Anglo-Saxon predecessors. It was certainly away from important commercial thoroughfares, and did not prosper as a market town in the 13th century. All might have been different if the Warenne family had been based nearer Conisbrough, instead of at Lewes Castle in Sussex, where of course they did develop a town alongside the castle. Instead, Conisbrough remained a large village with an air of departed medieval glory - certainly potent enough to inspire Sir Walter Scott with ideas for his historical novel *Ivanhoe*, when he stayed in Sprotbrough's Ferry Boat Inn, gathering background material in the early 19th century.

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## Villages

Towns are not separate from the countryside which surrounds them, and their history is closely interwoven. When historians separate their stories it is for convenience, and it is therefore appropriate to spend some time here on Doncaster's surrounding countryside. The urban settlement dates from the Roman period, and its continuous urban history can with certainty be pursued only from the Middle Ages onwards. Uncertainty surrounds the extent and nature of any town here during the Anglo-Saxon period. From the Middle Ages to the Georgian period Doncaster was small and part of the surrounding countryside. Prosperous town merchants, lawyers, and industrialists (from Doncaster and other towns) often bought country estates, as did the Cooke, Wyrill, Copley, Swift, Battie, Wrightson, and Jarratt families. Country gentry families occasionally bought town houses, as with the Childers family of Cantley. When Doncaster expanded in the 19th century building development took place on fields around the town, on former parkland, and eventually into the farmland of neighbouring villages. Similarly, the 20th century housing estates were built over field and farm landscapes. Under all of them can be traced the evidence of the old agricultural patterns that preceded them.

Nearly all of the 60 or so villages in the Doncaster district can trace their origins back to an Anglo-Saxon or Viking past, as evi-

denced by their place-names: Austerfield, Cadeby, Cantley, Conisbrough, Denaby, Edlington, Sprotbrough, Wadworth, Warmsworth, and the rest. A few, like Hooton Pagnell and Hooton Roberts, have Norman suffixes added to Anglo-Saxon names, indicating powerful families who came to prominence after the Norman Conquest of 1066, in the late 11th and 12th centuries. Their continuous medieval history is testified by their medieval churches, often altered through the centuries and displaying a variety of work in the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular styles.

The large churches at Hatfield and Fishlake, in the eastern lowlands, illustrate this process and must stand as examples of many others. (30) They both have Norman fragments, part of the west front and some south aisle wall at Hatfield, and a grand south doorway and a small portion of wall on the south side at Fishlake. Both churches have north and south arcades, between naves and aisles, dating from the early 1200s when there was considerable expansion of population and settlement in the marshland countryside. Fishlake's chancel is a glorious piece of Decorated building with an east window displaying flowing tracery at the height of this style. The stained glass in this window depicted a kneeling man in a blue gown, with three greyhounds; this was Richard Mauleverer, who became Rector of Fishlake in 1351. Roger Dodsworth saw this window in the early 17th century, (31) but it afterwards fell victim to Puritan de-



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struction. Decorated work at Hatfield centred on the construction of a grand central tower; the four crossing-arches were built, but the tower remained unfinished, probably interrupted by the Black Death. It was finally built in the Perpendicular style c. 1480-1500; the incorporation of Savage coats of arms into the exterior stonework indicates where the money came from. Sir Edward Savage was keeper of the royal park at Hatfield under Henry VII. Thomas Savage was made Archbishop of York by Henry VII, and often lived in his palace at Scrooby. Other Perpendicular work at Hatfield included the huge clerestory, a new window in the west front (with other windows elsewhere), and last of all north and south chancel chapels built c. 1500-20.

(32) Fishlake's Perpendicular masterpiece is the great west tower, as grand as any village church in the area. It was built in the reign of Edward IV (1461-83), which date is confirmed by heraldic shields carved on the tower. (33) The great woodlands, marshlands, and peat fen of the north-eastern lowlands afforded endless opportunities for colonisation and wealth creation in the Middle Ages, and this process is reflected in big churches like Hatfield and Fishlake.

Settlement on the limestone belt was dense at an early date; consequently villages are close together and parishes much smaller than in the north-eastern lowlands. Already by the Norman period there were hardly any empty spaces left on the limestone. So the limestone village churches at Hooton Pagnell and

Sprotbrough illustrate different trends. (34) Hooton Pagnell church is almost entirely Norman. The west tower, the nave, and the western part of the chancel date from this time. The eastern extension to the chancel and north aisle were added in the early 13th century, in the Early English style. Sprotbrough church has only a small piece of Anglo-Saxon carved stonework and two late Norman responds left to indicate an early date. However, the two late 12th-century responds in the north arcade point to the building of a north aisle in the church at that date. The chancel is a fine example of work of the mid-13th century, with a piscina and three-seat sedilia in the south wall. The Early English east windows were replaced by a large Perpendicular one in the early 20th century. The north arcade and the south arcade date from the early 14th century, indicating expansion of the church at that time. The lower part of the west tower was built in the early 14th century, and the rest in the 1470s. Sir William Fitzwilliam bequeathed money for tower-building in 1474. He and his wife have a brass in the chancel, but her details were never completed: she married again after widowhood and left Sprotbrough. The monuments in Sprotbrough church are the most eloquent testimony to the way in which the history of the village was bound to the landowners who lived in the manor house and later the hall: Fitzwilliams in the later Middle Ages and Copleys from the mid-16th century until the 1920s. The last monument is the screen around the south chapel, designed by Sir Ninian Comper and erected as a

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memorial to her parents by Lady Selina Bewicke-Copley in 1915. A fine window by Comper was a memorial to Major Redvers Lionel Bewicke-Copley and Captain H.F. Foljambe (his brother-in-law), both of whom died in the First World War. These are the last viable links with the squirearchy in Sprotbrough, for in 1925 the Copleys sold the estate in lots to the highest bidders. The chapel and two Fitzwilliam effigies (a knight and lady c. 1320-50) visually remind us of manorial history over eight centuries. (35)

Occasionally there are surviving remnants of a medieval manor house, as at Hatfield, Hooton Pagnell, and Campsall. Hatfield Manor House has a small Norman Building at its core (36), comparable with manor houses like Boothby Pagnell in Lincolnshire, Burton Agnes in the East Riding, and Hemingford Grey in Huntingdonshire. In the Middle Ages a royal hunting lodge was built on the edge of a royal chase or hunting park. John Leland wrote "The Logge or Manor Place is but meanly builded of tymbber" in the 1520s; he was speaking of the material used and not necessarily of the size (37) This would needed to have been large enough to accommodate a royal household and it's visitors. The Norman manor house may well have become a royal estate official's house within a larger royal complex. The present manor house was much rebuilt in brick in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, with the 18th-century work concentrated in the years 1712-27. On 3 February 1712/13 the carpenter

Henry Lamb's bill totalled £31.14s.01/2d. On 9 December 1718 Thomas Moore supplied 8,000 bricks and nine loads of lime, totalling £2.9s.0d. On 10 December 1718 Joseph Jellet received £3 for 10,000 bricks. (38) The early 14th-century manor house at Hooton Pagnell has disappeared in later rebuildings, except for part of the gatehouse. This has a fine oriel window looking over the churchyard and landscape beyond to the west. It was built in the early 1300s by the famous Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (1276-1345), who commissioned the Luttrell Psalter, inherited Hooton Pagnell c.1297, (39) and whose other major property was at Irnham in south Lincolnshire. The 15th-century limestone manor house at Campsall (opposite the church) became the parsonage after the building of the 18th-century hall.

Many villages - especially those on the magnesian limestone - have examples of manor houses and farmhouses built or rebuilt during the late 16th and 17th centuries: Hooton Pagnell, Wadworth, Marr, and Braithwell among them. In the lowland brick areas they are more characteristic of the late 17th and early 18th centuries when brick finally replaced timber as the main building material. Some bricks and tiles were made in Hatfield from the early 17th century onwards, as shown by references to "Brickhill Carr" and "Tylehouse Kilne" in 1607. (40) Brickmaking and brick-building became especially common in Hatfield and neighbouring villages in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The first specific mention of making pantiles in the Don-

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caster area is at Hatfield in 1704. Abraham de la Pryme's lifetime (1672-1704) witnessed the brick revolution, as he tells us in his diary:

"The town itself, though it be but little, yet 'tis very handsome and neat: ye manner of ye building that it formerly had were all of wood, clay and plaster, but now that way of building is quite left of, for every one now, from ye richest to ye poorest, will not build except with bricks: so that now from about 80 years ago (at which time bricks was first seen, used, and made in this parish), they have been wholly used, and now there scarce is one house in ye town that dos not if not wholly, yet for ye most part, consist of that lasting and genteel sort of building; many of which also are built according to the late model with cut brick, and covered over with Holland tyle, which gives a brisk and pleasant air to ye town, and tho' many of the houses be little and despicable without, yet they are neat, well furnished, and most of them ceiled with ye whitest plaster within". (41)

When we come to the last great age of rural rebuilding c. 1750-1850, most villages have some examples of the work of this period - mansions, farmhouses, and cottages. Thus it was bequeathed to us more surviving buildings than any previous era. Some villages are almost entirely comprised of buildings of this period. The estate villages especially have much of this time. At Sprotbrough the cottages, the school, farmhouses, farmbuild-

ings, and rectory house had all been rebuilt between these two dates, many of them during the late 1830s and 1840s. (42) In Warmsworth most of the limestone farmhouses and cottages date from c. 1750-1850, with a school of 1834. (43) At Hooton Pagnell, with the growth of population in the late 18th century, the village expanded down the hillside with new cottages and farmsteads. Just below the ridge, a new school was built in 1866, deigned by J.M. Teale of Doncaster. (44)

Most of the villages and hamlets listed in Domesday Book (1086) are still inhabited today, though a few have migrated from their original sites. At Warmsworth the site of the medieval village is marked by the old churchyard on Church Lane, whilst the present village lies nearly half a mile to the south-west. (45) Loversall's medieval church is hidden in parkland, with the village at the park gates. It is not a victim of 18th- or 19th- century emparking and replanning, for church and village already occupied their respective positions on a map drawn in 1616, and one of the farmhouses on the village street was built somewhere between 1600 and 1650. (46)

Some villages have disappeared from the landscape. Frickley is marked only by its isolated Norman and Early English church, and the village community here was last mentioned in a rental of 1426. It seems likely that this arable farming village, with three open fields, succumbed to rising wool prices in the 15th

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century and sheep grazed where humans had tilled the soil and harvested crops. Hunter found that the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 reported "inconsiderable numbers in this parish".

Memories of the lost village were still current when Queen Victoria came to the throne: "Besides the hall, Frickley only contains two farm-houses and three cottages - the church standing alone, in the centre of a large grass field, where there is supposed to have been a village". (47) Scawsby was turned into a great sheep pasture in the late 17th century by Sir Godfrey Copley of Sprotbrough Hall, and the village went the same way as Frickley, leaving only an Elizabethian manor house and its farm buildings. (48) Wildthorpe (Sprotbrough parish) disappeared in the 1670s, when Sir Godfrey Copley turned it into a sheep-run. (49) By the early 19th century the reasons for depopulation had been forgotten, and Joseph Hunter told the local legend about the village:

"But not only the church has disappeared, but the very vill itself, there being no houses remaining to which the name of WIDUNTORP, or any name resembling it, is attached. Wildthorpe Cliffs, however, are well-known to sportsmen in the neighbourhood; and on that high and exposed point between Melton and Cadeby, there is a tradition that a village once stood, and that it was blown away; a violent storm sweeping down into the valley all the houses and the church". (50)

Another village to disappear was the Levitt Hagg, the old quarrying settlement on the northern edge of Warmsworth parish. The last houses and the church were pulled down in the late 1950s. Despite its location on the banks of the river Don, by then the village had no safe water supply and no other modern amenities. (51) To those one can add the shrunken villages of the area: places like Marr, once a great centre of quarrying in the Middle Ages, and Old Edlington, where the hall was pulled down in the 1840s. Kirk Sandall had declined and disappeared largely since the 1950s, though the process began in 1922 when Pilkingtons built the new village. Only the old church survives today. Long Sandall, its neighbour, has declined since the 1960s; a few deserted cottages and farms remain. Both Sandalls have fallen victim to industrial zoning and development.

## Country Houses

In the countryside immediately around the town, Doncaster was ringed with a variety of halls occupied by gentry families. Their presence and their custom underpinned some of the prosperity of Doncaster's commercial life, both before and after the coming of the railway. Some of these halls survive and some do not, but all have ceased to be the residences of the gentry. Nearest to the town was Nether Hall to the east. Its park ran up to the town boundary and its existence prevented any building

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development in that direction before the 1860s and 1870s. A symmetrical three-storey house of five bays, it was built c. 1700 for a branch of the Copley family, whose wealth came from the iron industry. Whilst the park disappeared under the streets of terrace houses in the late 19th century, the house itself survived. It became a private school in the 1870s, (52) and in the 1920s the headquarters of the new Doncaster Rural District Council. This it remained until 1974, when the reorganisation of local government merged Doncaster Rural District Council with Doncaster County Borough to form the new Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council. Nether Hall henceforth became a departmental office. From the 1860s onwards plots of Nether Hall land were sold off for building streets of terrace houses. Between the late 1860s and the early 1880s the whole park disappeared under a wave of house-building. Yet the shape of the park remained enshrined in these new building patterns.

Beyond Nether Hall, to the east lay the manor of Wheatley. Wheatley Park and its surrounding fields stretched from the River Don in the north to the Doncaster-Thorne road in the south. In the park was Wheatley Hall, a large mansion in the Restoration style probably built by Sir George Cooke c. 1680. The Cooke estate included the village of Arksey north of the River Don, and here in 1660 a courtyard of almshouses was built under the will of Sir Bryan Cooke (George's elder brother).

In 1683 Arksey school was built under Sir George Cooke's will. (53)

Because of its proximity to Doncaster, Wheatley Park became vulnerable to building development, with the eastward expansion of town. Already in the late 1860s limited building had taken place at the southern edge (one side of Avenue Road). St Mary's church was erected in 1885, its territory carved from the old St George's parish. (54) Between then and 1914 streets of houses gradually covered many of the fields to the south of the park. In 1912 the Yorkshire Agricultural Show was held in Wheatley Park. (55) It was almost the last event of any rural significance as the tide of urban growth and industrial development swept the area. In the years leading up to the First World War there was significant light industrial development on the western fringes of the Wheatley estate adjoining Doncaster. The final development of Wheatley Park came in the 1930s, with its sale to Doncaster Corporation in 1933. It was specifically acquired for development as the Wheatley Park Industrial Estate.

To the west of Doncaster, on the limestone ridge, lay a group of estates centred on Sprotbrough, Cusworth, Warmsworth, Edlington, and Wadworth. Sprotbrough Hall dated from the 1670s (56) and was built for Sir Godfrey Copley, F.R.S., M.P., amateur scientist as well as wealthy landowner. (57) By installing a

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water-powered pump, he raised water from the River Don 100 feet below to supply his house, water gardens, and outdoor swimming pool. A Kyp and Knyff engraving of c. 1700 shows in wonderful detail the hall, its gardens, and parkland, with the estate village nearby. (58) The hall was demolished in the late 1920s and 1930s. Suburban development from c. 1960 onwards has brought Sprotbrough well within the physical reality of Doncaster's suburbs.

Cusworth Hall and Park occupied the northern part of Sprotbrough parish. The Hall was built by George Platt in the 1740s for William Wrightson, and it took on its present form in the 1750s with the addition of library and chapel wings designed by James Paine. (59) Edward Miller described Cusworth Hall as: "finely situated on a hill, commanding not only a view of Doncaster and of almost every house in it, but has an extensive prospect to the east, south, and west, of a delightful country, containing many churches, gentlemen's seats, and other objects extending to Gringley-on-the-Hill in Nottinghamshire." and "In a descent from the house, as a small distance southwards, is an extensive sheet of water, and to the west, a park of about 150 acres well stored with deer." and "Upon the whole, the well arranged plantations, the gardens and other ornaments that environ the site of Cusworth Hall, render it an object worthy of the contemplation of the curious". (60)

The Wrightson wealth rested on agricultural estates in Yorkshire and on the ownership of coal-bearing properties on Tyneside. The heiress Isabella Wrightson married John Battie in 1761, thus uniting two wealthy gentry families, and later the family changed its name to Battie-Wrightson. Robert Cecil Battie-Wrightson, who died in 1952, was the last gentry occupant of Cusworth Hall, which lay empty for a decade. It was eventually purchased by Doncaster Rural District Council, and in 1969 opened as the South Yorkshire Museum of Industrial History, with John Goodchild as its first curator. Today Doncaster's suburban frontier has reached Cusworth estate village and the bounds of the park, and the hall is still a museum.

Warmsworth Hall was built in 1702-3 for John Battie II. Ralph Thoresby visited Warmsworth and commented in his diary on Battie's "new house, which is very pretty for the size, but scarcely finished". (61) The hall is a smaller version of Belton near Grantham, built to a compact H-plan, with hipped roofs, hung-sash windows, and short balustrade over the centre. Its smaller gentry origins, and the need for relative economy are reflected in the use of rubble limestone for all of the exterior walling, with cut limestone blocks reserved for quoins, window and door surrounds, and balustrade. The Batties had moved from Alverthorpe near Wakefield to Warmsworth in 1668, purchasing the new estate from Gervase Bosville. During the 18th century they built up the property, buying land from small free-

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holders as the opportunity allowed. After his marriage to Isabella Wrightson, John Battie went to live at Cusworth Hall, though the family retained Warmsworth Hall. (62) The hall was occupied until the 1950s (latterly mostly by gentleman-tenants), it then became a headquarters building for British Ropes Ltd and later a hotel.

Edlington Hall was demolished in the 1840s, having been purchased by the Battie-Wrightson family of Cusworth, together with its estate. As a house it was superfluous to their needs, old fashioned and in ruins. It lay west of the church in Old Edlington, and its general appearance is revealed in a sketch by Samuel Buck c. 1719-20, the only known illustration of this house. (63) A large Elizabethian mansion, it was built for the Stanhope family during Elizabeth I's reign. Edward Miller wrote: "The old hall stands near to the church, and is now in a ruinous condition. From the cyphers and arms upon the ceiling of one of the rooms, it was probably built by Sir Edward Stanhope, Bart., youngest son of Sir Michael Stanhope, whom Collings described as 'one of Queen Elizabeth's learned council in the northern court at York'." (64)

Samuel Buck shows Wadworth Hall as a complex building of several parts. One part, with symmetrical facade, looks late Elizabethan; it was of three storeys (including the roof chambers), rather tall and of compact plan, comprising a central por-

tion and slightly-projecting wings. The rest was of more than one period, and did not have a symmetrical plan-form. (65) The Copley family sold Wadworth to the Wordsworths (merchants) in c. 1750, and they built the present elegant hall - designed by James Paine and decorated by plastered Joseph Rose - from 1753 onwards. (66) A mile to the north of Wadworth is Loversall Hall, a small Georgian country house built by the Cooke family. A large Regency extension of c. 1811-16 was built for James Fenton, who had made his fortune as a coal-owner in the West Riding. It is an elegantly-simple rectangular building facing south, two storeys high and just one room deep. The front is seven bays long.

There was a special relationship between Rossington and Doncaster before 1838, as Doncaster Corporation owned the manor of Rossington. It had to be sold in that year, owing to the Corporation's need for money after a long period of spending. At the sale of 1838 Rossington was purchased by James Brown of Harehills, near Leeds. He and his son, also James Brown, proceeded to rebuild much of the village, including the church and cottages. A georgian country house - Shooter's Hill - served as the Brown's residence, which they renamed Rossington Hall. It was only in the 1870s and 1880s that the Brown's successors (through marriage) - the Streatfields - built the huge new brick hall, which still stands and is now used as a special school. (67)

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Cantley Hall, like Rossington, lies on the sandilands south-east of Doncaster. When Arthur Young visited the area in 1769, he noted the successful crops of turnips being grown at Cantley (some on Childers family land), and commented on the suitability of sandy soils for their cultivation. Cantley Hall was built for the Childers family in the late 18th century. (68) Keen on horses and horse-racing, their country house was within easy reach of Doncaster Racecourse less than two miles away. So keen were some members of the family on racing, that by 1851 the dowager Mrs Childers had bought Belle Vue, a large house in Bennetthorpe, just across from the racecourse. In the mid-20th century Cantley Hall was the home of the Darley family, brewers of Thorne.

Three miles north of Cantley, at Edenthorpe (formerly Streetthorpe) the Georgian house of the 1770s built by George Cooke Yarborough was demolished c. 1860 and a new hall built by Lord Auckland. It was a large yellow-brick structure, with wings projecting from each end of the central position. A fire in the 1920s destroyed much of the central part of the house, which was then demolished; the wings were made into flats, and one now remains as a school. The name Edenthorpe was given to this small rural settlement by the Eden family, owners of this sandilands estate in the late 19th century. A short distance from the hall is the brick manor house built by Sir Robert Swift

(a lawyer) in 1606, when he bought an estate at Streetthorpe. (69) Development since 1960 has swamped the site.

These 12 halls and estates in the immediate countryside around Doncaster are parts of a larger group. In the whole Doncaster Metropolitan Borough there were 27 of them set in landscaped parks. The majority of these halls and landscaped parks were on the magnesian limestone ridge, with just a few on the sandilands to the east. This does not include the smaller halls or manor houses built in villages and set in gardens among the smaller village houses.

## **Life on the Edlington Hall Estate, 1703-1707** (70)

*In the preface of this book thanks were given to the dedicated archivists and librarians, who by their diligence and great skill maintain a vast compendium of information of inestimable value to the local historian. The collections in their care, when studied, can give us insights into times long forgotten and allow us to step once more into their world and share with them in their day to day lives. The account book of John Wasteney (kept for Robert Molesworth - later Viscount) chronicles Life on the Edlington Hall Estate between 1703 and 1707.*



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Ralph Thoresby described Robert Molesworth as "an excellent statesman, as well as accomplished gentleman virtuoso". (71) Molesworth had been William III's envoy at the Court of Denmark in 1692, and wrote an account of the country as it then was. For his services to the Crown, he was later created Viscount Molesworth. By 1703, however, he was back on his South Yorkshire estate, busying himself with more down-to-earth matters which concern us here. During the spring of 1703 he was laying-out a long walk through his wood, which had been planned by the surveyor Kirk - "being near two miles long, in a direct line, and, for the most part, stately high trees on each side". (72)

A rare documentary survival is John Wasteney's account book for Lord Molesworth's estate at Edlington, between 1704 and 1707. (73) It gives us an insight into the rural economy of Edlington in the early years of the 18th century: agriculture, the craft element, inland trade, and household purchases.

The way in which Molesworth farmed the land at Edlington, which he kept in his own hands, becomes reasonably clear. Crops mentioned are wheat, oats, rye, rape, turnips, peas, and cabbage. Wheat, rye and barley seed was bought regularly by the load. Peas were obtained from Doncaster, again by the load. The growing of turnips and cabbage is interesting. In 1704 Wasteney bought seven pounds of turnip seed and 11

pounds in 1706, at an average price of around seven pence per pound. In April 1704 we find him buying "two score of cabig plants" for four pence. The book shows that wheat was harvested in August, and oats between July and September. The oats needed drying and James Taylor, the miller, was paid four shillings for drying 8 quarters of oats in July 1704 and five shillings for drying 15 quarters in September 1706. Rye was harvested in August. At this time the harvest was entirely a matter of hand labour, hence the toil implied in the following entry for 3rd August 1706: "pd Hen. Arnald & Robery Byard in part for shearing Six Acres of Rye on ye Carr....00.15.00". Carr Common, 59 acres of low-lying enclosed land, was pared and burned before growing crops on it. In 1704 Molesworth "paired and burnt" 14 acres, followed by a further seven acres in 1705. On this land he grew rapes, rye, and peas. Lime was probably used here, as the account book shows Samuel Gray being paid for "setting the lime-kiln". Lime obviously would not be needed in the rest of the parish, as most land was situated on limestone. Of the rest of the common and its farming we cannot be certain. For example, Captain Brassally had a farm in Edlington rated at £40 per annum (74) as a tenant of Molesworth, and he had just over 16 acres on Carr Common. Thatch was certainly grown on this carr land and used for roofing; Molesworth bought three load of "carr thatch" for 10 shillings from William Baxter in April 1706.

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Pasture farming also played a part in the rural economy of Edlington. The account book mentions sheep-washing in April and May, and the sale of sheepskins in July. Robert Molesworth bought 12 sheep from John Thompson, one of his tenants, in May 1706. Cows and swine also occur regularly. Oxen were used as draught animals in early 18th-century Edlington, for which purpose they had to be shod by the Braithwell blacksmith. The account book is not sufficiently detailed and consistent to enable us to be sure of the exact balance of crops and animals. Finally, Robert Molesworth kept bees and chickens - six beehives and two dozen chickens were brought in April 1704, for example. Women agricultural labourers are regularly mentioned in the account book, especially in June for weeding and hay-making. For example, an entry for 24th June 1704 reads: "pd. Sara Rollin in full of her wages for weeding and Haymaking....00.02.10". There were other jobs, though, which were usually done by men, such as ditching, hedging, and quicksetting.

The craft element in local society is clarified by Wasteney's account book. James Taylor, the local miller, has already been referred to. Mr Shaw, the shoemaker, made "a pare of shooes which my Lady had"; they cost six shillings. For carpentry the services of John Hawke of Braithwell were called upon. There does not appear to have been a blacksmith in Edlington either, as Molesworth used Francis Armetage of Braithwell. John Tom-

linson, a surveyor, of Tickhill also served the Molesworths, as for example, in 1705 when he surveyed Carr Common.

The links which the Molesworth estate had with craftsmen outside Edlington reveal, as we should expect, that early 18th-century Edlington was far from being a self sufficient community. There were many other links with the world beyond the village. Wakefield was the centre of county government and during 1707 Robert Molesworth had a town house built there. There were regular trips to Doncaster, the local market town, where wines and other goods were purchased. Here various taxes had to be paid, and here there were professional people such as lawyers, physicians and surgeons. There were also more occasional visits to the market towns of Rotherham and Bawtry; they involved a longer journey from Edlington than that to Doncaster. Coal was obtained from pits at Conisbrough, and was supplied by Joshua Snawden. Bricks were bought in Doncaster, 500 of them in June 1706. William Driver of Clifton supplied nails, and Zatrej Smith sold salt to Molesworth - but where they came from we do not know. Likewise Thomas Wainwright purchased sheepskins from Molesworth, but we do not know where he came from. Goods were sent to Sheffield and Hull with the local carriers, one of whom was William Ambler. The sort of food which the Molesworth household apparently had to buy in (at least, on some occasions) included butter (four lbs. for one shilling and five pence), coffee (two ounces for

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nine pence), fish (pike and eels), eggs, and pigeons (six for nine pence). Then there were various items of household equipment which were bought: candles (eight pounds for two shillings & six pence), wash tubs, clothes baskets, soap, coal, as well as "boxes of goods" from London at lengthier intervals. In addition, the estate needed charcoal, pitch and tar, slates, nails (at four pence per 100, plus four pence carriage), and malt and hops (for brewing).

The account book shows much of the nature of the work of John Wastenev as estate steward. It was upon him that the supervision of all transactions and labour fell. He was the key man in the day-to-day running of the Molesworth estate. He also received from his master the money to pay the labourers' wages and the taxes due: land tax, window tax, and malt tax. He was also responsible for collecting rents from the tenants. As well as all his estate duties, John Wastenev was a church warden at his local church. More than this the account book does not tell us. (75)

## **A Changing Countryside** (76)

As late as 1900 Doncaster, though an industrial town, did not stretch far into the surrounding countryside. A walk of one or two miles from the Clock Corner in the town centre would have

taken people to open countryside in any direction. They would have found agricultural villages of two kinds. In the small estate village a single landowner controlled the community, and the people worked on the estate and lived in the tied cottages. These villages were especially characteristic of the magnesian limestone belt running north-south to the west of Doncaster, whilst a few were to be found on the sandy soils to the east and south-east. The distinctive estate village can still be seen in places like Hooton Pagnell, High Melton, Loversall, Brodsworth and Pickburn on the limestone, and Rossington and Cantley on the sandilands. Then there were the freeholder villages, where no one landowner controlled and dominated the community. The ownership of land in these places was divided among several people, and sometimes between a very large number of small owner-occupiers. For example, an extreme case was late 18th-century Fishlake where some 130 people owned a piece of land. (77) Such freeholder villages were especially typical of the area to the east and north-east of Doncaster. They were larger villages than the estate villages, with more people, more houses, and less compact plans. Examples include such places as Fishlake and Sykehouse, Hatfield and Hatfield Woodhouse. These villages were likely targets for building development in the 19th and 20th centuries, since builders could easily buy small pockets of land from a variety of small landowners. As well as the obvious differences of terrain and soil, there

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were around the Doncaster countryside the two distinct social landscapes, conditioned by differences in landownership.

A third major element was introduced into this rural landscape during the first decade of the 20th century: the development of large-scale coalmining. In the concealed coalfield (under the magnesian limestone and eastern lowlands) coal discoveries led to the building of several big colliery villages. (78) The earliest coal-mines and colliery villages included Bentley (where coal was reached in 1908), Woodlands, and Edlington before the First World War, whilst Rossington (where work on sinking was suspended during war), Armthorpe, and Thorne Moorends came just after the war. The development and distribution of these villages changed parts of the countryside into semi-urbanised settlements in industrial landscapes. However, a striking feature of this coal-mining landscape is that it left huge areas of untouched countryside between mining settlements. The growth of colliery villages stimulated the economy of Doncaster as the local market and shopping centre. Land for mining had to be bought from aristocratic and gentry families like Fitzwilliam, Cooke and Thelluson, Battie-Wrightson, and Warde-Aldam. Their income from mining royalties played an important part in bolstering their way of life in a period when the possession of agricultural estates no longer guaranteed prosperity on a grand scale.

Between the wars housing development at Sprotbrough, to the west of Doncaster, and Edenthorpe, to the east, took place on land sold by local landowners, the Copleys of Sprotbrough Hall and the Aucklands of Edenthorpe Hall. Sprotbrough grew in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as builders developed plots of land purchased at the sale of the hall and the park in 1925. (79) Park Drive, Park Avenue, and Broughton Road have houses and bungalows of these years, although all have some later infilling. During the 1930s a large private development (built by Thomson and Dixon) took place at Edenthorpe near the tiny hamlet, clustered around the 17th-century manor house and 19th-century hall. The names of the new estate roads here were taken from Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*: Rowena Avenue, Ivanhoe Road, Cedric Road, and Coningsburgh Road. There were also individually-built detached and semi-detached houses and bungalows, set in large gardens, along the Doncaster Road. A regular bus service connected the place with the town centre five miles away, but some people used their bicycles to make this regular journey in spring and summer months. (80) Some of Edenthorpe's new inhabitants worked at Pilkington's glassworks, built in 1922 at nearby Kirk Sandall. But most who worked there lived in the company village which Pilkingtons provided for their workers. As early as the 1930s retired townspeople and commuters moved in small numbers into a number of local villages, not too far from Doncaster. But in the years between the 1960s and the 1990s there has been a

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flood of these migrants into the countryside. Nearly every local village can show the effects of this in varying degrees. Villages like Branton, Auckley, and Finningley have entirely changed their focus, from being farming villages to cater for new residential needs. In all of them traditional buildings are now outnumbered and overshadowed by modern ones. Massive building development in Hatfield since the early 1960s has made the considerably-enlarged settlement much more residential than agricultural, much more like a dormitory village or a suburb. In Sprotbrough during the mid-1960s a massive private building programme had begun on sites close to the old village. By the end of the decade the only village inhabitant following a traditional country occupation was the Rector of Sprotbrough, though the nature of his work inevitably changed as a result of the development of the village. The rest of the village had become a commuter's paradise and its village fabric had been shaken to the very foundations. New houses, new schools, new shops, new cars for commuting - this was the new Sprotbrough. (81)

The frontier of this urban influence can now be seen at the extremities of Doncaster's countryside. The developing villages now outnumber the traditional: witness the expansion of Owston, Campsall, Norton, Thorpe-in-Balne and Fishlake to the north and north-east, of Auckley, Blaxton and Finningley to the south east, of Wadworth and Tickhill to the south, and of Ca-

deby, Barnburgh, Hickleton, and Marr to the west. Even the closely controlled less-developed estate villages are beginning to show urban influence in building - Loversall, High Melton and Brodsworth can all show examples, though here the process has hardly begun in comparison with other places. There is plenty of open countryside with arable, pasture and woodland, but the traditional villages are being transformed out of recognition.

The developing villages were called 'dormitory villages' by planners and geographers in the 1960s, when they were still outnumbered by more traditional villages. Now it begins to look as if in some parts of the Doncaster district, and in South Yorkshire generally, we have a "rurban" landscape. This term was coined by American geographers several decades ago to characterise the existence of what they perceived, in parts of their country, as a landscape of rural-urban continuum. The rural village scenes enjoyed by our parents and grandparents are now a thing of the past, preserved only in the drawings, paintings, and old photographs. The extent to which the process has been accelerated in recent years should perhaps give cause for concern. As for the town itself, at the end of the 20th century, many buildings and locations would be unrecognisable to those born 100 years ago. It has always been so. Yet it is now widely acknowledged that modern towns need old buildings for a whole

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variety of reasons. (82) Perhaps there is still time to make the best of what we have left in Doncaster.

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## Notes & References

### Chapter One: Before the Railways

1. See collections in Doncaster Museum & Art Gallery, Chequer Road, Doncaster.
2. J. Barwick, P.C. Buckland, & M. Dolby, *The Doncaster Region in Roman Times* (Doncaster, 1975), pp.9-11; J.R. Magilton, *An Archaeological Survey of the Doncaster District* (Doncaster, 1977), pp.32-6.
3. A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part I* (Cambridge, 1961), p.29; A.L.F. Rivet & C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), pp. 162, 167, 220, 329; J. Barwick, P.C. Buckland, & M. Dolby, *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
4. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*. Translated by L. Sherley-Price & revised by R.E. Latham (Hammondsworth, 1968), p.130.
5. Bede, *ibid.*, p130. Gerald Davies argues against Doncaster and for a site in the Calder Valley, possibly Dewsbury. See G.T. Davies, "The Site of Campodunum", in W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two* (Sheffield, 1969), pp.81-85. A.H. Smith, *op.cit.*, Part VII (Cambridge, 1962), p.34n., thinks that the balance of probability and the siting on the Great North Road point to Doncaster as Campodunum.
6. Magilton, *op.cit.*, pp.32-6.
7. A. H. Smith, *ibid.*, Part I, pp.64, 77, 80-1, 125-6, 186-7, 290-1, 312-3, 318-9, and Part VII, pp.46n, 165; M. Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* (London, 1981), pp.145-7. Michael Wood thinks that the Battle of Brunanburgh was probably fought in the Don Valley frontier zone in 937. His latest thoughts are in *In Search of England* (London, 1999), ch.11.
8. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. G. N Garmonsway (new edn., London, 1972), pp.110-11. Here also, in 942, is the classic reference to King Edmund's reconquest of the five boroughs of the Danelaw: "The Boroughs Five he won, Leicester and Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, and Stamford too." This episode was explored by A. Mawer, "The Redemption of the Five Boroughs", in *English Historical Review*, vol. 38, pp.551-7.
9. Garmonsway, *ibid.*, p.146.
- 10.M.S. Parker, "Some Notes on the Pre-Norman History of Doncaster", in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 59 (1987), pp.35-6.
- 11.F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1971), p.388n.
- 12.M.L. Faull & M. Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire* (2 vols., Chichester, 1986), I, pp.307c, d (5W8).
- 13.A.H. Smith, *op.cit.*, Part I, p.30.
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- 15.A.H. Smith, *op.cit.*, Part I, p.33.
- 16.South Yorkshire Archaeology Service, *Archaeology in South Yorkshire 1994-1995* (Sheffield, 1995), p.35.
- 17.B. Barber, "1194 and All That", in *Yesterday Today*, no. 13 (April 1994), pp.3-5.
- 18.A. Twibell, "Doncaster and District in the Poll Tax Returns of 1379" in *South Yorkshire Historian*, no.3 (1976), pp.1-9; "Poll Tax Returns, 1379", in *Journal of the Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Association*, vols. V-VII (1879-81).
- 19.C.H. Theobald, *Extracts from a Doncaster Court Roll of the 16th Century* (Doncaster, 1941).
- 20.A.H. Smith, *op.cit.*, Part I p.30.
- 21.A.H. Smith, *ibid.*, Part I p.32; Magilton, *op.cit.*, pp.32, 35. Magilton's map on page 32 marks the approximate positions of the two friaries in medieval Doncaster, together with other medieval features.
- 22.A.H. Smith, *op.cit.*, Part I p.30.
- 23.L. Toulmin-Smith (ed.), *op.cit.*, vol I, p.35.

- 24.C. Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, c.1682-c.1712* (London, 1984), p.89.
- 25.Engraving in E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (Doncaster, 1804).
- 26.Engraving in J. Tomlinson, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to Present Time* (Doncaster, 1887).
- 27.D. Hey, *Doncaster People of Ten Generations Ago* (Sheffield, 1975), p.28. Philip Langford was kind enough to chase this reference for us.
- 28.D. Hey, *ibid.*, p.17.
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- 31.P.J. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1962), p. 70.
- 32.Cited in Bowden, *ibid.*, p.93
- 33.C. Morris (ed.) *op.cit.*, p.89.
- 34.D. Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales*. Everyman edition, ed. by G.D.H. Cole (2 vols., London, 1928, reprinted 1959), vol.2, p.181.
- 35.D. Defoe, *ibid.*, p.182.
- 36.D. Defoe, *ibid.*, p.182.
- 37.Ex. Inf. Eric Braim, from his researches into the architects of Doncaster in the 18th and 19th centuries.
- 38.This essentially-linear development along the great North Road still shows up on the Ordnance Survey 25" Map of 1890.
- 39.1850 Report: see reference 53 below.
- 40.Church Hill is the westward extension of Church Street, along the northern side of St. George's church. The name is carved on the gatepost of St. George's House, but is not in general use now.
- 41.The limited extent of suburban development at this time is shown on the 1839 tithe map: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York: R.XIII.631.L
- 42.Cited by J.A. Harrison, *Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century: Part One, The Elegant Country Town 1799-1848* (Doncaster, 1958), p.1, from J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire: The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster* (2 vols., London, 1828-31).
- 43.J.G. Fardell, *Sprotbrough* (Doncaster, 1850), p.13.
- 44.W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (2 vols., Sheffield, 1837), Vol.I, p.267.
- 45.T.F. Dibdin, *Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Countries of England and Scotland* (London, 1838), cited in J.A. Harrison, *op.cit.*, pp.6-7.
- 46.W. White, *op.cit.*, p.267.
- 47.J.A. Harrison, *Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century* Parts 1-6 (Doncaster, 1958-69).
- 48.1851 Census: Public Record Office, H.O., 107/2347. Crown Copyright reserved.
- 49.W. White, *op.cit.*, pp.238-94; W. White, *Gazetteer and General Directory of Sheffield and 20 Miles Round* (Sheffield, 1852), pp.436-50.
- 50.Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York: Doncaster Tithe Award, 1838-9, R.XIII.631.L.
- 51.1851 Census: P.R.O., H.O., 107/2347. Crown Copyright reserved.
- 52.Engels found shops along the main commercial streets in the centre of Manchester hid working class houses massed behind them: F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, cited in S. Marcus, "Reading the Illegible", in H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Reality* (2 vols., London, 1973), vol.2, pp.257-76. Thomas Sharp, *English Panorama* (London, 1950), p.63, also noted this phenomenon of crowded yards of cottages behind elegant main-street facades.
- 53.W. Ranger, *Report to the General Board of Health on a preliminary inquiry into the sewerage, drainage, and supply of water, and the sanitary condition of the inhabitants of the Borough of Doncaster* (London, 1850).
- 54.W. Ranger, *ibid.*, p.35.
- 55.W. Ranger, *ibid.*, p.36.
- 56.W. Ranger, *ibid.*, p.25.
- 57.W. Ranger, *ibid.*, p.22.
- 58.W. Ranger, *ibid.*, p.21.
- 59.Doncaster Town Council Minutes (Mansion House MMS, now in Archives Dept.) - hereafter T.C.M. - 7/6/1836, p.50.



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- 60.T.C.M., 9/7/1836, p.55.
- 61.T.C.M., 7/5/1839, p.298
- 62.T.C.M., 12/8/1846, p.48; T.C.M., 12/11/1847, p.131.
- 63.T.C.M., 13/5/1846, and T.C.M., 10/5/1848, p.162.
- 64.W. White (1837), op.cit., I, p.277.
- 65.W. Ranger, op.cit., p.40-1
- 66.W. White (1837), op.cit., I, pp.276 & 283-93.
- 67.W. White (1852), op.cit., pp.433 & 436-50.
- 68.K. Grady, *Georgian Public Buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), p.155; J. Barwick, *The Elegant Country Town: Pictures of Doncaster in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Doncaster, 1991), p.22 - plate 14 shows the Butter Cross and the Butchers' Shambles in 1837.
- 69.T.C.M., 11/4/1837; 11/2/1840, p.402; 13/10/1840, p.458; 30/10/1844, p.715; 18/5/1845, p.756.
- 70.D. Holland, *Changing Landscapes in South Yorkshire* (Doncaster, 1980), p.26.
- 71.Survey of the Rental and Income of the Corporation of Doncaster in 1839 (Doncaster Corporation MSS, formerly at Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery and now at Archives Dept.); cf. details of Corporation income in J. Tomlinson, op.cit., p.343, where income from the Races in 1846 is given as £2,504.
- 72.J.A. Harrison, *Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century, Part One: The Elegant Country Town 1799-1848* (Doncaster, 1958), p.6. On 29th August 1815 the corporation resolved to adopt a "system of economy" because of their financial state. (See *Calendar of Records of the Borough of Doncaster*, IV, p.281).
- 73.E. Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Yorkshire* (2 vols., Leeds, 1822), vol.I, p.168.
- 74.E. Baines, *ibid.*, p.169.
- 75.W. White (1837), op.cit., p.274.

## Chapter two: After the Railways

1. Ex. inf. Eric Braim.
2. Date on building.
3. J. Tomlinson, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time* (Doncaster, 1887), pp.346, 314n.
4. J. Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p. 344.
5. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1868* (Doncaster, 1868), p.38.
6. W. Sheardown, *ibid.*, p.38.
7. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1869* (Doncaster, 1869), pp.47-8.
8. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1867* (Doncaster, 1867), pp.35-6.
9. *Doncaster Directory, 1899* (Doncaster, 1899).
10. See figures in W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1865* (Doncaster, 1865), p.22; *Doncaster in 1867*, pp.31-2; *Doncaster in 1868*, p.39.
11. W. Sheardown (1867), *ibid.*, pp.31-2.
12. W. Sheardown (1868), *op.cit.*, p.39.
13. W. Sheardown (1867), *op.cit.*, pp.20-1.
14. Local Board of Health, *Doncaster District Bye-Laws* (Doncaster, 1860)
15. W. Sheardown (1869), *op.cit.*, pp.21-2.
16. Public Records Office, H.O./510/3D. Crown Copyright reserved.
17. Sheffield City Libraries, Archives Dept.: Baxter Papers 61195 (sale catalogue, dated 1868).
18. W. Sheardown (1869), *op.cit.*, p.48.
19. W. Sheardown (1869), *ibid.*, p.48.

20. Comparison of Ordnance Survey 25" Maps of 1890 and 1905 for Doncaster.
21. Eric and Rose McCrohan kindly showed us the deeds for this property, in the mid-1970s.
22. Comparison of Ordnance Survey 25" Maps of 1890 and 1905 for Doncaster.
23. The layout of the estate, recently begun, is shown on the Ordnance Survey 25" Map of Doncaster in 1905.
24. Much of the information on Balby comes from the authors' own fieldwork there.
25. Morraine Villas: the original blue-and-white name plaque is still on the S.E. corner of this row of villas.
26. Date and name on stone plaque on this row of villas.
27. Date stone on Co-op, high in gable.
28. The date 1912 appears in the former Co-op shop.
29. Much of this section rests in the authors' fieldwork and the gathering of memories.
30. Deeds kindly shown by Eric and Rose McCrohan in the mid-1970s.
31. W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two* (Sheffield, 1969), pp.24, 72-9.
32. The name "Sunnyfields" was probably inspired by John Laing's "Sunnyfields" Estate in Mill Hill, London, details of which were published in the *Architectural Association Journal* in December 1935. See S. Pepper, "John Laing's "Sunnyfields" Estate, Mill Hill", in B.Ford (ed), *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, volume 8: The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.295-305.
33. O. Marriott, *The Property Boom* (London, 1967), pp.287-91; *The Economist*, 4th March 1967: *Yorkshire and Humberside Supplement*.

## Chapter three: Public Buildings, Commerce & Industry

1. K. Grady, *Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), p.155.
2. K. Grady, *ibid.*, p.155.
3. J. Tomlinson, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time* (Doncaster, 1887), p.297.
4. J. Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p.297n.
5. J. Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p.298n, citing corporation resolution.
6. Quoted in Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p. 297n.
7. Quoted in Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p. 298n.
8. Doncaster Directory, 1899 (Doncaster, 1899).
9. This West Riding county courthouse ceased to be used as such after the completion of the new courthouse in Waterdale; it was then used as offices by the Doncaster MBC planning department, and demolished to build the offices in Station Court
10. W. Le Hardy (ed.), *Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Doncaster*, IV, p.250.
11. K. Grady, *op.cit.*, p.156. The Corporation had been planning to build a new gaol since 1819, when they commissioned plans from William Hurst: W. Le Hardy (ed.), *ibid.*, p.284.
12. D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland* (London, 1985), pp.159, 180.
13. K. Grady, *op.cit.*, p.20.
14. K. Grady, *op.cit.*, p.119, quoting C.W. Hatfield, *Historical Notices of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1863).
15. E. Baines, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Yorkshire* (2 vols., Leeds, 1822), vol.1, p.175.
16. Baines, *ibid.*, p. 168.
17. W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (2 vols., Sheffield, 1837), vol.1, p.276.
18. G. Owen, "Williamson Etches: A 19th Century Thief-taker", in *Yesterday Today*, 19 (April, 1966), pp.26-9; E. Baines, *op.cit.*, pp.168, 170.
19. As shown in the 1839 the award map: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, R.XIII.631.L.
20. White (1837), *op.cit.*, p.276.
21. Baines already knew in 1822 that the town hall was on the site of St Mary Magdalene's church: Baines (1822), *op.cit.*, p.169.
22. The detailed plan of the Market Hall is shown on the 1850 Ordnance Survey 60" Map of Doncaster
23. The plan is shown on the 1850 Ordnance Survey 60" Map. A sketch of the building was printed in the bill-head of "W. Carlton, Manufacturer of Sacks, Wool sheets, Tarpaulings, Ropes, Nets, Covers for Stacks, Waggon & Coaches", together with his address of Corn Market, Doncaster. One such bill-head was issued to W.B. Wrightson Esqr. in 5th May 1849 as a bill of sale for garden and hamper cording; the same document was receipts on 8th January 1850 (Leeds City Libraries, Archives Dept.: Battie-Wrightson Papers).
24. Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, pp.295-7.
25. Fieldwork observation and Ordnance Survey 25" Map of 1890.
26. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1863* (Doncaster, 1863), p.8.
27. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1868* (Doncaster, 1868), p.33.
28. *Printed Resolutions of the Town Council and Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committees of the Council as a Municipal Authority, 1919-20* (Doncaster, 1920)
29. White (1837), *op.cit.*, p.276.
30. Baines (1822), *op.cit.*, p.168.
31. There is a good description of Doncaster Hiring Fair (statutes) in Fred Kitchen, *Brother to the Ox* (London, 1940), ch.6. See also *Doncaster Gazette*, 18 November 1853.

32. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*. Translated by L. Sherley-Price and revised by R.E. Latham (rev. edn., Harmondsworth, 1968), p.130.
33. J.E. Jackson, *History of the Ruined Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1853), p.31.
34. See J.A. Britton, *Doncaster Parish Church: A History and Guide Book* (Gloucester, 1967).
35. *Doncaster, Nottingham, and Lincoln Gazette*, 4th March 1853. See also Margaret Burns, *The Building Stones of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1994)
36. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1865* (Doncaster, 1865), p.16.
37. White (1837), op.cit., p.279.
38. N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: The West Riding of Yorkshire* (Harmondsworth, 1959), p.182; White (1837), ibid., p.279.
39. Pevsner, ibid., p.183.
40. Pevsner, ibid., pp.182-3 (St. James, St. Mary), 263 (St. Jude); W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1868* (Doncaster, 1868), pp.29-30 (St. John the Divine), where the architect is given as Penrice of Clapham; W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1865* (Doncaster, 1865), p.17, says St. James was consecrated in 1858 and became a parish church in 1864, and that St. James' Vicarage (Westfield) on Balby Road was built in 1865 (architect, J.M. Teale); Kelly's *Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1901), p.912, says St. Mary's Wheatley was built in 1885 at a cost of £3,870 and became a parish church in 1898.
41. Kelly (1901), ibid., pp.52-53.
42. Pevsner, op.cit., p.183; P. Pace, *The Architecture of George Pace* (London, 1990), pp.25, 34, 39, 52, 137, 229 (St. Leonard & St. Jude, Scawsby), 26, 224-5, 229 (St. Edmund, Anchorage lane), 25, 51, 90, 93, 138, 229, 249, 260 (All Saints', Intake).
43. Field observation.
44. D. Holland, *Warmsworth in the 18th Century: Population Change, Agriculture, and Quarrying in a Rural South Yorkshire Community* (Doncaster, 1965), plate V and caption.
45. D. Holland, "Local Communities in South Yorkshire: The Framework of Society, 1750-1850", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (1980), pp.47-8.
46. This building's plan is shown on the detailed 1850 Ordnance Survey 60" Map; in 1837 William White wrote that the meeting house "has now but a small congregation" (White, 1837, op.cit., p.280).
47. Pevsner, op.cit., p.183; G.M. Morris, *Churches and Chapels of Old Doncaster* (Doncaster, n.d.); G. Morris, "Nonconformist Churches in the Doncaster District", unpublished.
48. Philip Langford pointed out to us that close examination of the two aerial photographs, taken by Aerofilms in 1925, shows that the Westminster Bank of 1925 appears on one and its predecessor (Beckett's Bank) on the other.
49. We owe this information to the kindness of Mrs Joyce Wilkinson of Carr Grange.
50. Engraving in J. Tomlinson, op.cit.
51. The building is still there, but the external and interior decor has been changed.
52. C.A. Hill, *Butcher, Baker, Cabinet Maker: An Illustrated History of the Shops and Shopkeepers of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1989), p.21. The Spring Gardens shop opened in 1877 and was the first grocery branch.
53. C.A Hill, ibid., p.23.
54. N. Pevsner, op.cit., p.23
55. C.A Hill, op.cit., pp.25, 29.
56. C.A Hill, ibid., pp.55-61.
57. C.A Hill, ibid., pp.41-7.
58. In 1822 John Maw lived at Belle Vue, at the southern end of Bennetthorpe near the racecourse: Baines (1822), op.cit., p.177.
59. Baines (1822), ibid., pp.175-7.
60. C.A. Hill, op.cit., pp.81-5.
61. J.A. Harrison, *Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century, Part One: The Elegant Country Town 1799-1848* (Doncaster, 1858), p.6n,
62. P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the 18th Century* (London, 1929), pp.303-4, 372, 377, 381.

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- 63.P. Mantoux, *ibid.*, pp.247-8.
- 64.E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (Doncaster, 1804), p.154.
- 65.P. Mantoux, *op.cit.*, p.248.
- 66.J.A. Harrison, *op.cit.* p.6n; D. Holland, *Changing Landscapes in South Yorkshire* (Doncaster, 1980), p.30.
- 67.D. Holland, *ibid.*, p.30; Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, p.335.
- 68.D. Holland, *ibid.*, p.30; Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p.335.
- 69.D. Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales*, Everyman edn., ed by G.D.H. Cole (2 vols., London, rep. 1959), vol. 2, p.181
- 70.W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1868* (Doncaster, 1868), p.36.
- 71.W. Sheardown, *ibid.*, p.35.
- 72.Most of this paragraph comes from D. Holland, *Changing Landscapes*, pp.46-7.
- 73.D. Holland, *ibid.*, p.46.
- 74.D.Holland, *ibid.*, pp.46-7, 83n(5).
- 75.S.R. Batty, *The Woodhead Route* (London, 1986), esp. Pp.22, 25; D. Maxey, *Profile of the Class 76s and 77s* (Oxford, 1981), plates 1-10, 170-4. The Doncaster prototype (L.N.E.R. 6701, renumbered B.R. 26000) was withdrawn from service only in April 1970, but was scrapped. One of these locomotives (26020) is preserved in the collection of the National Railway Museum; it is the locomotive which performed at the opening of the Woodhead New Tunnel on 3rd June 1954, and had previously been exhibited at the Festival of Britain in 1951.
- 76.W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1867* (Doncaster, 1867), p.26.
- 77.W. Sheardown, *ibid.*, pp.26-7.
- 78.Kelly, 1901, *op.cit.*, pp.52-3.
- 79.Kelly, *ibid.*, pp.52-3.
- 80.W. Sheardown, 1867, *op.cit.*, pp.27-8; W. Sheardown, 1868, *op.cit.*, p.33; W. Sheardown, 1869, *op.cit.*, p.73.
81. *Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1909* (Doncaster, 1909), pp.99-105.
- 82.D. Holland, *Changing Landscapes*, pp.46-7.
- 83.This date is displayed in the brickwork of the new wiremill in Carr Hill.
84. *Doncaster and the Royal Agricultural Show* (Doncaster, 1912), p.38.

## Chapter four: Landscapes of Learning

1. P.G. Bales, *A Short History of Doncaster Grammar School* (Doncaster, n.d.); J. Tomlinson, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time* (Doncaster, 1887), p.271; H.R. Wormald, *Modern Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1974), p.47.
2. H.R. Wormald, *ibid.*, p.47.
3. A. Thrall, *The History of Adult Education in 19th Century Doncaster* (Doncaster, n.d.), ch.11, pp.78-84, discusses the early years of technical education in Doncaster during the 1890s. The foundation stone on the old Technical College in Church View gives the date 1913. New buildings were added in 1931-2: Wormald, *ibid.*, p.45.
4. One of the authors attended this school in the 1950s.
5. County Borough of Doncaster Education Committee, *Official Opening of the Technical High School for Boys, by Sir Harry Pilkington, on Tuesday 24th February 1959* (Doncaster, 1959). The school began using the new premises in September 1958.
6. *Doncaster Directory* (London, 1952), p.88.
7. H.R. Wormald, *op.cit.*, pp.38-9.
8. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1868* (Doncaster, 1868), p.35.
9. W. Sheardoen, *ibid.*, p.35; W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1865* (Doncaster, 1865), p.21, wrote: "Mr Teale had prepared plans for the new National Schools".
10. H.R. Wormold, *op.cit.*, p.39.
11. H.R. Wormold, *ibid.*, p.41.
12. *Doncaster Directory* (1952), p.195; H.R. Wormold, *ibid.*, p.45.
13. Wormald, *ibid.*, p.46.
14. Date on building.
15. J.A. Harrison, *Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century, Parts 1-6* (Doncaster, 1958-69); *Doncaster Directory* (1952), p.19.
16. Date stones on the building.
17. Foundation stone on west wall of building.
18. Uncatalogued Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board Papers, John Goodchild Collection - henceforth B.H.S.B. Papers. We are most grateful to John Goodchild, who made these available for study over 20 years ago (at that time they were not catalogued). B.H.S.B. Papers: undated, annotated draft plan of Balby and Hexthorpe, probably in the late 1870s - numbers of children and catchment areas shown.
19. B.H.S.B. Papers: draft agreement, 1880, Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board and William Sayles Arnold, trading as Harold Arnold & Son, of Doncaster.
20. B.H.S.B. Papers: "Plan of Proposed Site for Board School to be erected at Balby-with-Hexthorpe. November 1883."
21. B.H.S.B. Papers: "Memorial of 10 Inhabitants of Hexthorpe. 24th December 1883."
22. B.H.S.B. Papers: "Agreement between Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board and William Sayles Arnold, for Harold Arnold & Son of Doncaster, 19th September 1884."
23. B.H.S.B. Papers: letter - F.W. Masters to Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board, 9th February 1884.
24. Date stone on school.
25. B.H.S.B. Papers: "Contract between Balby-with-Hexthorpe School Board and Thomas Salmon Gill of Doncaster, Builder and Contractor, trading as Dennis Gill and Son, 14th January 1901."
26. The date 1908 is over the girls' entrance. This school operated as a mixed senior school, with the old (1884) board school on Balby Road as a junior mixed school. *Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1909* (Doncaster, 1909), p.38.
27. Fieldwork observation.
28. Information from Miss Burrell, retired head teacher of the school, for which we are most grateful.

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29. Fieldwork observation.
30. Information from Bill Engledow, a former county borough councillor, for which we are most grateful.
31. In June 1996.
32. K. Grady, *Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), p.155.
33. Books from the Subscription Library and the Mechanics' Library formed the nucleus of the new library; both of these libraries were in decline by the 1860s and offered their collections to the town. J. Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, deals fully with this episode in the town's cultural history in his chapter on the Victorian Age.
34. *Doncaster Gazette Directory* (1909), *op.cit.*, p.56.
35. Thrall, *op.cit.*, p.60, notes that the first Doncaster branch library was opened in 1898 in Wellington Street, Hyde Park; Wormald, *op.cit.*, p.49, gives details of branch libraries.
36. Museum handout produced in 1964, at time of opening new museum; *Doncaster Gazette Directory* (1909), *op.cit.*, p.42, says the museum was housed in a room in the Guildhall and was soon to move to Beechfield.
37. Museum handout (1964), *ibid.*
38. For the Villa Savoye, see Tim Benton, *The Villas of Le Corbusier, 1920-30* (New Haven & London, 1987), pp.191-207.
39. The pamphlet series had started in Norman Smedley's time, but was greatly expanded under E.F. Gilmour.
40. *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Miller.
41. E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (Doncaster, 1804), p.398.
42. Miller, *ibid.*, p.xi.
43. Miller, *ibid.*, p.302.
44. Miller, *ibid.*, p.236.
45. Miller, *ibid.*, p.240.
46. Miller, *ibid.*, p.211.
47. Miller, *ibid.*, p.303.
48. W. Peck, *A Topography History and Description of Bawtry and Thorne* (London, 1813), p.10.

49. Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, p.vii.
50. Tomlinson, *ibid.*, p.vii.

## Chapter five: Recreation and Wellbeing

1. The date 1899 is at the top of the curved Baroque facade of the Grand Theatre.
2. R. Curry, *Let's go to the Pictures: an illustrated history of the picture houses of Doncaster* (Doncaster, n.d.), p.86.
3. Curry, *ibid.*, pp. 84, 86.
4. Curry, *ibid.*, pp.1-3,89.
5. Curry, *ibid.*, pp.8, 14, 26, 65, 68, 92, 98.
6. Curry, *ibid.*, pp.100-4, 106-12, 116, 124-30.
7. Curry, *ibid.*, pp.105.
8. Curry, *ibid.*, pp.17, 65, 82, 84; J. Fergusson, *She Knows You Know - The Remarkable Story of Hylda Baker* (Derby, 1997) p.122.
9. Curry, *ibid.*, pp.17, 25, 34, 68, 76-7, 84, 89, 92, 98.
10. W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (2 vols., Sheffield, 1837), vol.1, p.276.
11. Grady, *op.cit.*, pp.18, 46, 155.
12. E. Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1822)
13. Grady, *op.cit.*, pp.155-6; N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: West Riding of Yorkshire* (Harmondsworth, 1959), pp.184-5.
14. White (1837), *op.cit.*, p.276.
15. Information on Herring from Oliver Beckett, *Mr Herring in Doncaster* (Yorkshire Television, 1989); Baines (1822), *op.cit.*, p.175; M.A. Wingfield, *A Dictionary of Sporting Artists, 1659-1990* (Woodbridge, 1992), p.143.
16. Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, pp.346-7.
17. A.L. Barnett, *The Railways of the South Yorkshire Coalfield from 1880* (Railway Correspondence and Travel Society, 1984), p.105.
18. Fieldwork observation.
19. Dates of public house openings are given by P. Tuffrey, *Doncaster District Old Inns and Taverns* (Doncaster, 1986), pp.5-7, 12.
20. M.J. Collins, *Named Locomotives on B.R.* (London, 1984), pp.72, 102-103, 107, 109, 111.
21. P. Whitehouse & D. St John Thomas, *L.N.E.R. 150* (Newton Abbott, 1989), p.23.
22. J. Barwick, *The Elegant Country Town: Pictures of Doncaster in the 18th and 19th centuries* (Doncaster, 1991), p.43.
23. Fieldwork observation.
24. Fieldwork observation.
25. Grady, *op.cit.*, pp.155-6.
26. A detailed plan of the workhouse is shown on the Ordnance Survey 60" Map of 1850.
27. W. Sheardown, *Doncaster in 1867* (Doncaster, 1867), p.32, where this is cited.
28. Kelly, *Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1908), p.58; *Doncaster Gazette for 1909*, p.29. The new workhouse opened on 4th December 1900.
29. Fieldwork observation.
30. Fieldwork observation.
31. Information on date stone on building; see also Grady, *op.cit.*, pp.155-6.
32. Wormald, *op.cit.*, p.52; E. Braim, "Doncaster and the Climbing Boys", in *Yesterday Today* no.14 (August, 1994), pp.14-15.
33. Wormald, *op.cit.*, p.52;
34. Wormald, *op.cit.*, p.52-3; G. Swann, *Doncaster Royal Infirmary* (Doncaster, 1973).
35. P. Tuffrey, *Central Doncaster* (Stroud, 1995), p.121; *Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1909*, p.27. There were also swings for children and a dance band on Thursday evenings and on Bank Holidays.
36. *Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1909*, p.27.



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37. Cited in F. Pearson, *From Quarry to Park: Hexthorpe Flatts* (Doncaster, 1991), where the history of this park is well explored.
  38. The name "The Dell" has been used for a sunken park at the centre of the village in the 1890s by the Levers at Port Sunlight model village, and this probably influenced the choice of name in Doncaster. See S. Pepper, "The Garden City", in B. Ford (ed.), *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain: 8, The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years* (Cambridge, 1989), p.111.
  39. Fieldwork observation.
  40. Oral evidence.
  41. Fieldwork observation.
  42. Fieldwork observation.
  43. Ordnance Survey 25" Map of Doncaster, 1905.
  44. W. Le Hardy (ed.), *Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Doncaster*, IV, under 1814.
  45. Ordnance Survey 25" Map of Doncaster, 1905, shows the estate roads laid out and some of the houses already built.
  46. Fieldwork observation.
  47. Oral evidence.
  48. This brickworks is shown on the Ordnance Survey 1st edn. 6" Map, of 1850.
  49. Oral evidence exists for this aspect of 20th century life, but does not appear to have been systematically collected yet.
  50. Tomlinson, op.cit., p.341.
  51. Fieldwork observation.
  52. P. Scowcroft, *Cricket in Doncaster and District: An Outline History* (Doncaster, 1985); D.A. Horncastle, *The Doncaster Golf Club Centenary, 1894-1994* (Doncaster, 1994); P. Gilligan, *Rovers in Focus 1879-1994* (Doncaster, 1994); T. Bluff and B. Watson, *Donny: The Official History of Doncaster Rovers* (Harefield, 1994).

## Chapter six: Transport

1. J.F. Goodchild, *West Riding Turnpike Trusts: A List* (Wakefield, 1961) gives details of all turnpike trusts in the country, including dates of closure.
2. J. Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon, and Post: Land Carriage and Communication under the Tudors and Stuarts* (London, 1967), p.125.
3. W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (2 vols, Sheffield, 1837), vol.1, p.293.
4. W. White, *ibid*, pp.293-4.
5. As shown on the Ordnance Survey 60" Map of Doncaster, surveyed in 1850.
6. D. Holland, *Changing Landscapes in South Yorkshire* (Doncaster, 1980), p.68
7. D. Holland, *ibid.*, pp.59-60; S.R. Batty, *Rail Centres: Doncaster* (London, 1991), pp.13-30 and 32-41.
8. D. Holland, *ibid.*, pp.60-1; A.L. Barnett, *Railways of the South Yorkshire Coalfield from 1880* (Railway Correspondence & Travel Society, 1984).
9. S.R. Batty (1991), *op.cit.*, p.50.
10. *Doncaster Directory, 1899* (Doncaster, 1899).
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Bradshaw's July 1922 Railway Guide* (reprinted David & Charles, Newton Abbott, 1985), pp.322 & 377 (Great Northern); 691, 702-3 (Great Central); 657 (Midland); 286 (Great Eastern); 326 (Great Northern & Great Etern Joint); 728, 765 (Northern Eastern); 512,576 (London & North Western); 727 (South Yorkshire Joint).
13. S.R. Batty (1991), *op.cit.*, pp.108,109.
14. Of these local stations, only the following are still open: Conisbrough, Mexborough, Hatfield & Stainforth, Thorne North, Thorne South. New stations have been opened in recent years at Kirk Sandall and Adwick-Le-Street.
15. We owe the dates of opening of tramway routes in this paragraph to R. J. Buckley, *Tramway Memories of Old Doncaster* (Rossington, n.d.), p.3.
16. D. Holland (1980), *op.cit.*, pp.49 and 83n(16).
17. *The Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1909* (Doncaster, 1909), p.26. There is a photograph of this power station in H.R. Wormald, *Modern Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1974), opp. P.41.
18. R.J. Buckley, *op.cit.*, p.5.
19. Buckley, *ibid.*, p.3.
20. Buckley, *ibid.*, p.3 & photograph on p.7.
21. We owe these dates of trolley-bus route-openings to Buckley, *ibid.*, p.3. See P. Tuffrey, *Doncaster's Electric Transport, 1902-1963* (Rossington, n.d.) also.
22. *Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1912* (Doncaster, 1912), p.14.
23. Dunlop Guide, *On the Road, volume 6: London to Edinburgh* (London, c.1928), p.64.
24. T.H. Johnson of Doncaster was the architect for the Sun Inn. In the late 1970s Derrick Wilson (of Johnson-Architects) kindly showed us the original drawings (plans and elevations) kept in the firm's headquarters at Wadworth Hall.
25. An earlier version of this section originally appeared as an article: D. Holland, "Made in Doncaster: Jackson's Cheswold Motor Car", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 3 (1976), pp.39-41. Miss P.R. Northern of E.W. Jackson & Son, Doncaster, kindly gave permission to use material in the firm's possession relating to the Cheswold.
26. Reports vary as to the exact number produced.
27. The Hall Gate showroom (now demolished) bore the date 1904, but this may have related to the firm's foundation in 1904, rather than the

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date the building was erected - which was probably a few years later. The most likely date of building would be between 1910 and 1914, probably for Cheswold sales.

- 28.G.N. Georgano, *The Complete Encyclopaedia of Motorcars: 1885 to the Present* (London, 1970), p.124.
29. *The Autocar*, 4th October, 1913.
30. *Yorkshire Evening News*, 31st July, 1946.
31. *Yorkshire Evening News*, 31st July, 1946.
32. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 18th September, 1951.
33. *Yorkshire Evening News*, 23rd May, 1957.
34. *Doncaster Gazette*, 27th September, 1912.
- 35.e.g. In the Bagshaw Collection of photographs at Cusworth Hall Museum, Cusworth, Doncaster.
36. *Yorkshire Evening News*, 30th July, 1946.
- 37.The Great Northern Railway Company ran special trains to Doncaster for the event, which it advertised by poster.
- 38.See map of K.L.M. European Network in 1938 in R. Allen, *Pictorial History of K.L.M. Royal Dutch Airlines* (London, 1978), p.11. This episode is explored in P.L. Scowcroft, "Doncaster and Scheduled Air Services", in *Yesterday Today*, 19 (April 1996), pp.44-7.
- 39.A. Berry, *Images of Doncaster* (Derby, 1995), p.75.
- 40.B. Barrymore-Halpenny, *Action Stations, volume 4: Military Airfields of Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.77-87 (Finningley), 118-22 (Lindholme), 163-5 (Sandtoft).

## Chapter seven: Neighbours and Countryside

1. M. Faull & M. Stinson, *Domesday Book: Yorkshire* (2 vols., Chichester, 1986), 1, p.10W3.
2. D. Hey, *The Making of South Yorkshire* (Ashbourne, 1979), p.48.
3. R. Allen Brown, *English Castles* (2nd rev.edn., London, 1976), pp.71, 84.
4. Hey, op.cit., p.49.
5. J.R. Magilton, *An Archaeological Survey of the Doncaster District* (Doncaster, 1977), p.80.
6. A.H. Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire: Part One* (Cambridge, 1961), p.53.
7. Fieldwork observation, 1961.
8. Date 1471 carved above a blocked doorway, with the inscription "John Leftwul made this." Another of Tickhill's surviving timber-framed houses (31, Castlegate) is discussed in P.F. Ryder, *Timber-Framed Building in South Yorkshire* (Barnsley, n.d., post-1974), pp.41-7.
9. J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire: The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster* (2 vols., London, 1828-31), vol.1, p.239.
10. T.W. Beastall, *Portrait of English Parish Church: St. Mary the Virgin, Tickhill* (Tickhill, n.d., post-1986), is an excellent guide and history.
11. e.g. 26-30, Northgate (Magilton, op.cit., monument 51, pp.78-9), a large linear-plan house of c.1600-50, with much evidence of blocked mullioned windows. It was subdivided into smaller dwellings in the early 19th century.
12. As well as large and small houses in all the main streets, these include several inns e.g. The Red Lion and the Tarrare in Castlegate; the latter ceased to be used as an inn in the 19th century and the Red Lion became a licensed restaurant recently, with its yard developed as a shopping arcade.
13. The little town now has its own superb history by T.W. Beastall, *Tickhill: Portrait of an English County Town* (Doncaster, 1995).
14. M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967), pp.522-3, gives a clear statement of the origins of Bawtry.
15. D. Holland (ed.), *New Light on Old Bawtry* (Sheffield, 1978), p.1.
16. D. Holland, *Bawtry and the River Idle Trade* (2nd edn.; Doncaster, 1976) outlines the history of this small river port.
17. The letters of Aquila and Samuel Dawson (now in Sheffield City Library, Archives Dept.) were found pasted to the walls of this house, under later wallpaper. They were used in Holland, *River Trade*.
18. Holland (1976), op.cit., p.11 & frontispiece map; Holland (ed.) 1978, op.cit., pp.2, 9, 12-13.
19. Bawtry W.E.A. History Group, *Discovering Old Bawtry* (2 parts, Rotherham, 1988-9) is a compendium of the buildings of historic Bawtry.
20. Key works in coming to grips with the Dutch drainage are still: J. Korthals-Atles, *Cornelius Vermuyden* (London, 1925) and L.E. Harris, *Vermuyden and the Fens* (London, 1953). Local work includes D. Holland (ed.), *Hatfield in History* (Sheffield, 1970), J. Thirsk, "The Isle of Axholme before Vermuyden" in *Agricultural History Review*, 1953, & J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire* (London, 1957).
21. Seadykebank is first mentioned in 1546; Holland (ed.), *Hatfield*, p.13.
22. J. Tomlinson, *The Level of Hatfield Chase* (Doncaster, 1882), p.171.
23. The date 1737 appears in large numerals on the front of the *White Hart* and seems to accord with its overall appearance.
24. E. Baines, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the County of York* (2 vols., Leeds, 1822), vol.1, pp. 415-7, lists 14 inns and taverns, of which two were coaching inns (White Hart, John Bull).

25. A vessel built in Thorne by Staniland & Co. went on to achieve fame by being part of a flotilla of little ships, which left England's shores for Dunkirk in 1940. This was the "Ona II", a 36-foot, twin-engined motor launch built for English River navigation in 1931. See C. Brann, *The Little Ships of Dunkirk* (Cirencester, 1989), p.53.
26. G.T. Davis, "St. Peter's, Church, Conisbrough", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (1980), pp.19-23 & plates 1-2, a revised and expanded version of a paper first published in 1968.
27. G.T. Davis, "The Origins of Parishes in South Yorkshire", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (1980), pp.1-18.
28. His lands, based on Conisbrough, are listed in Domesday Book of 1086: see Faull & Stinson, op.cit., pp.11W-12W.
29. M.W. Thompson, *Conisbrough Castle* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1977), pp.1-2.
30. Analysis of Hatfield and Fishlake churches is based on the authors' own fieldwork. See also Holland (ed.), *Hatfield*, pp.3-5.
31. Roger Dodsworth's Church Notes were published as *Yorkshire Archeological Society, Record Series*, vol.xxxxiv: see p.75; and J.E. Morris, *The West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1911), pp.190-1.
32. Holland (ed.), *Hatfield*, pp. 3-5.
33. K. Arthur, *Historical Notes of Fishlake Church* (Fishlake, 1961), p.11.
34. Description and analysis of Hooton Pagnell and Sprotbrough churches is based on the authors' own fieldwork.
35. See E. Windle, *The Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Sprotbrough* (Sprotbrough, 1952); W.K. Mortlock, "Sprotbrough and its Landowning Families to the 16th Century", in W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part One* (Sheffield, 1968), pp.13-23; W.K. Mortlock, "Sprotbrough and its Landowning Families: The Copleys, 1516-1925", in W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History Part Two* (Sheffield, 1969), pp.19-27; W.K. Mortlock, "Heraldry in St. Mary's Church, Sprotbrough", in W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two*, pp.28-35.
36. P. Ryder & J. Birch, "Hatfield Manor House, South Yorkshire", in *Yorkshire Archeological Journal*, vol.60 (1988), pp.65-104, though we should be more cautious in making the jump from Norman manor house to medieval royal palace.
37. L. Toulmin-Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland*, vol.1 (London, 1907), p.36.
38. Holland (ed.), *Hatfield*, p.7, citing Temple Newsam MSS (Leeds City Library, Archives Dept.): TN/HC/C/11 (5).
39. A. G. Ruston & D. Witney, *Hooton Pagnell: The Agricultural Evolution of a Yorkshire Village* (London, 1934), pp.237-8,240.
40. A.H. Smith, op.cit., pp.9,11.
41. C. Jackson (ed.), *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme* (Surtees Society, 1870), p.114.
42. J.G. Fardell, *Sprotbrough* (Doncaster, 1850), pp.52,55, 58-9, 61-2.
43. For the economic and social history of Warmsworth, see D. Holland, *Warmsworth in the 18th Century: Population Change, Agriculture and Quarrying* (Doncaster, 1965).
44. Signed plan and elevation drawings of 1866, which the late Mrs. E. Warde-Norbury kindly showed us.
45. D. Holland, *Changing Landscapes in South Yorkshire* (Doncaster, 1980), p.5.
46. Holland, *ibid.*, p.42.
47. M.W. Beresford. "The Lost Villages of Yorkshire" in *Yorkshire Agricultural Journal*, part CL (1953), p.239; M.W. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954), p.334; J. Hunter, op.cit., vol.2, p.150; W. White, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (2 vols., Sheffield, 1837), vol.2, p.181.
48. Brodsworth parish register gives details of a tithe case in 1710 between Benjamin Greaves, the vicar of Brodsworth, and the Copleys of Sprotbrough, over their refusal to pay tithes on a sheep flock at Scawsby. The flock was said to number over 800 in that year and had been greater in previous years. Sir Godfrey Copley had bought Scawsby in 1690, but the problem went back to at least the 1660s and involved two previous owners. (C.E. Whiting (ed.), *The Parish Register of Brodsworth, 1538-1813* (Yorkshire Parish Register Society, Leeds, 1937), pp.113-7).
49. W. Pierson, "Wildthorpe - A Deserted Village" in W.E.A. *Sprotbrough in History: Part One* pp.24-30a, & in *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two*, appendix IV. Now High Melton parish.

50. Hunter, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.370.
51. W. Pierson, "Levitt Hagg", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 1 (1971), pp.1-23; Holland, *Warmsworth* pp.19-27, 30.
52. J.A. Harrison, *Private Schools in Doncaster in the 19th Century, Part 3: Heyday and Decay, 1848-1900* (Doncaster, 1961), p.69 and plates between pp.82-3.
53. G. Rice & M. Davidson, "The Almshouses and School at Arksey", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 3 (1976), pp.10-17.
54. *Doncaster Gazette Directory for 1909* (Doncaster, 1909), p.49.
55. *Doncaster and the Royal Agricultural Show* (Doncaster, 1912).
56. Fardell, *op.cit.*, p.45, gives the date 1671. See also G. Smith, *Sprotbrough Hall* (Doncaster, 1966).
57. W.H.G. Armytage, "Sir Godfrey Copley, F.R.S., 1653-1709", in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, vol.11, no.1 (January, 1954), pp.54-74.
58. W. Pierson "A Bird's Eye View of Sprotbrough", in W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two*, pp.41-3.
59. See G. Smith, *Cusworth Hall* (2nd edn., Doncaster, 1968); A. Morrish, *Caring for Cusworth: servants recall a bygone era* (2nd edn., Doncaster, 1984).
60. E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (Doncaster, 1804), pp.226-7.
61. J. Hunter (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S. (1677-1724)*, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol.1, p.413.
62. Holland, *Warmsworth*, p.6-7, 11, 13.
63. Warburton Drawings, British Museum: Samuel Buck's Yorkshire sketch-book.
64. Miller, *op.cit.*, p.251.
65. Warburton Drawings, *op.cit.*
66. M. Girouard, "Wadworth Hall, Yorkshire", in *Country Life*, vol. CXL, no.3626 (1 Sept. 1966), pp.494-8.
67. Holland, *Changing Landscapes*, pp.39-40,44.
68. A. Young, *Northern Tour* (2nd edn., London, 1771), vol.1, p.108; Miller, *op.cit.*, p.212.
69. Holland, *Changing Landscapes*, p.39; Miller, *op.cit.*, p.211.
70. An earlier version of this section was published as D. Holland "An Edlington Account Book of the Early 18th Century" in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 2 (1973), pp.50-2.
71. Hunter, *Ralph Thoresby*, vol.1, p.421.
72. Hunter, *ibid.*, pp.413-4.
73. Nottingham University Library, Manuscripts Dept.: Galway MSS, 12,362.
74. Evidence of a church lay (or rate) inserted loose in the account book, dated 5th January 1705.
75. Any January-March dates given in the foregoing have been corrected to the Georgian calendar.
76. This section is largely based on the authors' fieldwork.
77. D. Holland, "Local Communities in South Yorkshire: The Framework of Society, 1750-1850", in *South Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (1980), pp.49-50.
78. D & E.M. Holland, "Doncaster's Industrial Villages", unpublished.
79. W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two*, pp.73-4.
80. Oral history of local inhabitants, gathered in 1960s.
81. W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part One*, p.40; W.E.A., *Sprotbrough in History: Part Two*, p74.
82. J. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Harmondsworth, 1964), ch.10, pp.200-12.