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SHEFFIELD MARKETS
Sheffield City Council

A history of Sheffield Castle and Markets

SHEFFIELD MARKETS
Sheffield City Council

compiled by krys zasada.

John Donnelly- Castlefolds Market, circa 1902- Local Studies

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Plan of future markets

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introduction

In 1296 a charter to hold markets and fairs in Sheffield was granted by Edward I to Thomas de Furnival, Lord of the Manor of Sheffield.

There then followed a period of over 600 years when the markets were owned, operated and developed by the lords of the manor. For over half that period the lordship of the manor was based at Sheffield Castle until its demolition following the English Civil War.

Sheffield Corporation purchased the markets and rights in 1899 from the then lord, Henry, 15th Duke of Norfolk, for the not inconsiderable sum of £526,000. Since that time the markets have remained the property of Sheffield City Council.

1996 marks the 700th anniversary of the granting of the charter and it is a timely coincidence that the City Council chose this year to announce plans for the major redevelopment of Castlegate Markets in the City Centre.

This booklet has been produced as part of the anniversary celebrations. It describes the relationship between the lords of the manor, the castle and the history of the markets as well as the important role that markets have played and continue to play in the development of the City.

A number of sources have been used in order to compile this booklet, principally the records of the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield Estate, now held at Sheffield Archives, from where more detailed information (including references and authorities) is available.

WALTHEOF

In 1066 when William, Duke of Normandy, invaded England, the manor of Hallam was owned by Waltheof, the Anglo-Saxon Earl of Northumberland. His father was Siward, who, as Earl of Northumberland before him, had defeated Macbeth at the battle of Dunsinane in 1054.

It appears that the neighbouring manors of Sheffield and Attercliffe were held by another Anglo-Saxon lord, Suuen (more commonly spelled Swein), around this time.

The relationship between the three manors is unclear. The Domesday Book (1086) refers to Attercliffe and Sheffield as follows:

> *"This land is said to have been inland in Hallun";*

implying a tradition that the manors had previously formed part of the manor of Hallam. It is possible that Waltheof came to acquire all three manors.

The Domesday Book also makes reference to Waltheof having a hall (an Aula) in Hallam. A number of possible sites around Sheffield have been suggested, but its exact location is still unknown.

In 1075 Waltheof, Ralph de Waer and other nobles plotted to drive William from the kingdom. The plan failed and, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Waltheof escaped overseas but later chose to return. He was captured and beheaded at Winchester in 1076. He was the only Englishman William ever executed. His body was buried in the Abbey of Crowland, Lincolnshire.

At his death, the possession of the Manor of Hallam was allowed to pass to his widow, Countess Judith, niece to William the Conqueror, with Roger de Busli as the principal tenant.

Waltheof Coat of Arms: Local Studies

DE BUSLI

There had been widespread resistance to the Normans in the North of England resulting in the savage suppression of the region. By the end of William's reign, in 1087, most of the estates in Yorkshire had been transferred from Anglo-Saxon to Norman lordship.

Roger de Busli became Sheffield's first Norman lord of the manor and, according to the Domesday Book, had been granted many estates in Yorkshire including Sheffield, Hallam and Attercliffe.

DE LOVETOT

The lordship of de Busli was brief and passed to William de Lovetot, another Norman knight. He moved to Sheffield from his previous home in Huntingdonshire.

It is most likely that around 1100 de Lovetot constructed the first earth and timber castle on the site of the later stone structure.

The castle probably took the form of a "motte and bailey", the motte being a large mound and the bailey an outer wall. The inner ward probably utilised the natural sandstone outcrop.

Some historians have associated de Lovetot with the development of Sheffield as an urban centre. His name has been linked with the construction of a bridge over the River Don, close to the castle; the first parish church on the site of the present Anglican Cathedral; a town mill; a hospital dedicated to St Leonard on Spital Hill; and the establishment of a market. Unfortunately, little evidence exists to substantiate such claims.

The earliest known written reference to Sheffield Castle, *"castellum de Sedfeld"*, dates from 1184 and concerned the construction of a fence around the stronghold, by the second William de Lovetot.

The fence, however, offered no protection against fire, which broke out in 1185. Urgent repairs to the castle were required at a cost of 66s - 8d.

"TERRA WILLEMI DE LOVETOT...Et in reficiendo castello de sadfeld quod perierat per incendum lxvi s. et viii d."

The de Lovetots remained lords of the manor for only three generations, the direct line of succession passing through an only daughter, Maud, who in 1187 was made a ward of Henry II.

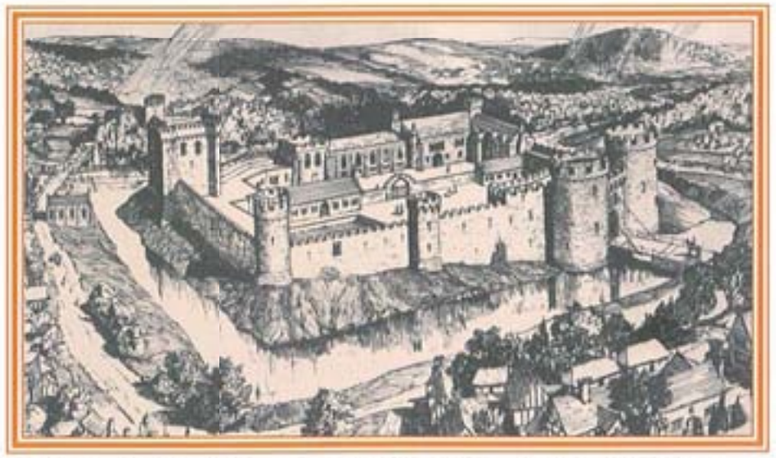
part I sheffield castle

DE FURNIVAL

In 1199 Richard the Lionheart granted permission for Maud's marriage to Gerard de Furnival. Richard died later that same year, and de Furnival appears to have been a keen supporter of the new King, John. Tradition says that he entertained the King in Sheffield about 1215.

Gerard died in Jerusalem around 1219, fighting in the Crusades. His son, the first Thomas Lord Furnival, also died in battle in Palestine. The lordship then passed to his son, also named Thomas.

In 1266 the wooden castle and much of the town was destroyed by John de Eyvill's forces - supporters of the Simon de Montfort rebellion against Henry III - in retaliation for Thomas' support for the king. According to A L Armstrong's report of his survey of the castle remains during 1927-1930, archaeological evidence of this event was found "*in the form of a layer, from 4 to 8 inches in thickness, composed of charcoal and wood ash combined in places with calcined rubble*".



Artists Impression of Sheffield Castle: From a drawing by Martin Davenport. Reproduced by Courtesy of Sheffield Newspapers

In 1270 Thomas was granted permission by Henry III to rebuild the castle in stone.

This stone castle formed the nucleus of the structure which survived until the 17th century.

Thomas died shortly after completion of the castle and was buried in the chapel. It is said that when the castle was demolished, after the civil war, a large flat stone was found, inscribed with the following:

"I Lord Furnival
I built this castle Hall
And under this wall
Within this tomb was
my burial"

He was succeeded by his son, the third Thomas Lord Furnival, to whom much of the development of Sheffield can be credited.

In 1296 he obtained a charter from Edward I, under the Great Seal of England, for a market to be held on the Tuesday of each week and a fair to be held once each year.

The following year (1297) he himself granted a charter giving the people of Sheffield a degree of self-government.

This charter granted the free tenants the freehold property they occupied, in return for a payment of £3-8s-9¼d of silver a year. It also gave the tenants certain privileges, such as an exemption from all "*exaction and demand of toll*" and the right to be "*fined by their peers*" "*for any trespass in my said court*". This charter effectively created the Burgery of Sheffield, the forerunner of the Town Trustees. It should be noted, however, that the wording of the charter implies that these free tenants or burgers were already in existence and that Thomas was simply formally recognising their status.

A note from the Town Trustees minute book for 1827 shows how important that charter remained. "*Resolved that Mr Wheat be directed to have a clause inserted in the proposed new Market Act exempting the Free-holders of the town from payment of toll to the Lord of the Manor, as in the case of the last Market Act, and from which they are exempt from Lord Furnival's grant. Signed by Brownwell, Fenton, Ward, Battie, Fisher, Pearson*".

On Thomas' death in 1332 the extent of lands, including the manor and castle, was recorded as being worth £343-13s-9¾d, but the castle was, strangely, referred to as "*frail and is worth naught yearly*".

The last Thomas de Furnival (the fifth of that name) died childless and was succeeded by his brother William, at whose death in 1383 the male line of the de Furnivals ended.

Thomas De Furnival's Charter of 1297: Sheffield Archives

William's only daughter, Joan, married Sir Thomas de Nevill. Their only daughter, Maud, married John Talbot and on her father's death, they inherited the whole of the de Furnival estates. In this way the castle and property in Sheffield passed to the Earls of Shrewsbury.

TALBOT
(earls of shrewsbury)

Thirty years after his marriage to Maud, John Talbot was created the first Earl of Shrewsbury, having distinguished himself in the wars of Henry VI.

In 1453 he died in battle at Chatilleon in France. It is said that his tenants fought so valiantly around their dying Lord that there was not a house in Hallamshire that did not lose a man.

His son John died only seven years later in the Wars of the Roses. Despite such dramatic events occurring elsewhere, domestic life continued as normal in Sheffield. Account rolls of Sheffield Manor for the 15th century record repairs undertaken within the castle to the stables, chapel, kitchen, the great hall and the *"great gate"*; new plumbing and leadwork to the roof of the great tower and to the tower next to the bakehouse. Many of these service buildings are thought to have been in the area known later as Castle Folds.

Extracts from records dated 1479-80 indicate payments:

> **"To William Swift for food when carting 20 loads of lime kiln from Roche Wood to the castle for constructing a causeway to the castle walls, for food and for other necessities - 6s."**

Another payment, to John Cawode, was for *"plumbing on the aqueduct"*, which suggests that this was the method used to bring water to the castle.

The son and heir of the third John Talbot was George, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury. He was responsible for the construction of Sheffield Manor House, begun in 1516 on the site of an earlier hunting lodge, approximately one mile south east of the castle. This soon became the family home in preference to the castle.

In 1530 Cardinal Wolsey was brought to the Manor House as a guest of the fourth Earl. He was on his way to London to stand trial for high treason before Henry VIII. Wolsey stayed at the Manor for 18 days *"And once everie daye my Lorde of Shrewsbury would repaire unto him and commune with him, sittinge upon a bench in a great windowe in the gallerey"*. By now frail and ill, Wolsey died two weeks later at Leicester Abbey without reaching London.

George, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, is probably the best remembered of the Earls of Shrewsbury as the unwilling gaoler of Mary Queen of Scots. His second wife is better known as Bess of Hardwick.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, was second cousin to Queen Elizabeth I. Unlike Elizabeth, she was a Catholic and the religious rivalry of the times was such that she and her followers had ambitions that, aided by the Catholic countries of Spain and France, she would become Queen of England.

She married Francis, the Dauphin of France (heir to the French throne) at an early age. As King and Queen of France they continued to maintain her claim to the English throne. In 1560, however, her husband died suddenly, leaving her a widow at the age of 18.

She returned to Scotland where, in 1565, she married Lord Darnley, himself related to Elizabeth and a potential claimant to the English throne. He was murdered and Mary, along with Lord Bothwell (whom she later married), was suspected of the crime. The powerful Protestant faction drove her from the throne, and her only son took her place as James VI of Scotland.

Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots (artist unknown) 1578. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh

In 1568 Mary escaped to England and sought the support of the Catholic nobility and her cousin Elizabeth to restore her to the Scottish throne. Although sympathetic to Mary, Elizabeth was advised of the threat that Mary posed to her own crown, and the decision was taken to restrict her freedom.

She was handed over to the custody of George, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, on 4th February 1569. She was not closely guarded, however, and was able, with the help of the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the Catholic nobility, to plot against Elizabeth. Several times Mary had to be moved to places of greater safety and stricter control.

On 28th November 1570 the Earl of Shrewsbury brought her to Sheffield Castle, where, apart from a few breaks at Chatsworth and Buxton, and more regular visits to the Manor House, she remained for 14 years.

Despite Mary's actions, Elizabeth still seemed to support her cousin's claim to the Scottish throne, and Mary wrote regularly to her supporters in Scotland asking them to be faithful and to await the help she believed Elizabeth would provide. Two letters containing her writing are preserved in Sheffield Archives.

The Duke of Norfolk, not long released from the Tower of London, was caught in collusion with the papal agent, Ridolphi, plotting to bring about a Catholic uprising in England. Parliament demanded the execution of both Mary Stuart and Norfolk. At this stage no action was taken against Mary but the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded in 1572.

In 1582, while Mary was still being held at Sheffield, an inventory of all the household goods and furniture belonging to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, was made. The inventory describes the castle and contents and gives an idea of the type of rooms in the castle at this date. These included a chapel, a porch going into the great hall from the great chamber (which was probably the large dining room), a wardrobe, the Lord's chamber and outer chamber, the Lady's chamber, a bakehouse, brewhouse, pantry, washhouse and low washhouse, a round tower, a square tower and a turret, round towers on either side of the gatehouse and walls running along the waterside, a porter's lodge, a dungeon, a square room, little kitchen, old kitchen, a kennel and a range of stables.

Also included in the inventory is the "*stuff*" of the "*Queen of Scotts and her people*". Mary had with her a large entourage, which varied over time, made up of Scots, French and English friends and Servants. The list of rooms for "*her people*" include those of the Master of the "*quenes howsholde*", a Mr Burgon as her doctor and a Mr Jarvys as her "*surgion*".

The 1582 survey also lists the furnishings "*in the hawle at the Poandes*", now known as the Old Queen's Head inn, Pond Hill.

In August 1584 Queen Elizabeth finally agreed to Earl George's petition to release him from the duty of taking care of Mary, a task which had broken his marriage, his health and his chances of further political advancement. After leaving Sheffield, Mary was taken to Wingfield in Derbyshire by her new gaoler, Sir Ralph Sadler, and then to Tutbury. From there she went to Chartley in Staffordshire, where she became involved in the "Babington plot".

Anthony Babington had first joined Mary as her page at Sheffield Castle, and like many others became devoted to her. Later he acted as a messenger between Mary and her friends on the continent. In 1586 he helped plan a Catholic insurrection in England, supported by Spanish arms, to release Mary and to murder Queen Elizabeth and her ministers. Mary's letter agreeing to this fell into the hands of the Queen, and all the conspirators were arrested, tried and hanged. Mary, Queen of Scots, the "*daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow*" was tried and executed at Fotheringay, Northamptonshire, on 8th February 1587.

Letter signed by Mary Queen of Scots: Sheffield Archives

TALBOT (continued)

A further inventory, this time of all the armour held at Sheffield Castle, was taken on 16th November 1586. Evidence that the armoury was still being maintained up to 1630 is found in bills for arms, armour and equipment. In 1629 "*A notte of Bandlears; for muskets vi setts after 2s - 6d a sett*" cost 15 shillings, and in 1630 "*lether and nolles and oyle*" cost 10 shillings.

Equally, repairs to the castle continued. In November 1598 payments were made to, among others, "*Henery Richardson*" "*For mending a chymnye 8d*".

Gilbert, the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, lived mainly at the castle and was the last one to be associated with Sheffield. He died on 8th May 1616 and his property passed to his daughter Alethea Talbot. Ten years earlier, she had married Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and so the Sheffield estates were absorbed, by marriage, into the property of the House of Howard.

The seventh Earl of Shrewsbury's will gives an idea of the amount of gold and silver at Sheffield Castle at the time. Among the legacies were two gold cups for the King and Queen worth £200 each and fourteen gold cups worth £100 each for his children, grandchildren, executors etc.

HOWARD (dukes of norfolk)

Thomas Howard was the grandson of the Duke of Norfolk who had been beheaded for plotting against Queen Elizabeth. The family titles were later restored and Thomas was vested with the title of fourth Duke of Norfolk. Since this time the manor and rights of Sheffield have followed the title of the Dukes of Norfolk, who still hold the estates today.

Although no ground plan of the castle has survived, one of the most precise descriptions of the castle was made by John Harrison in 1637. He was employed by the Earl of Arundel and his wife Alethea, to conduct systematic surveys of their estates at Sheffield, Worksop and elsewhere.

He recorded that the stone castle was bounded by the Rivers Don and Sheaf and surrounded by a "*Great Ditch*". The castle consisted of an inner court containing offices and lodgings and, to the south, the outer court or fold included barns, stables, lodgings, an armoury and a granary, all of which covered about 4 acres in area. Across the River Sheaf were orchards, a nursery, hopyard, cockpit and parks, to which better access was gained that same year by the construction of the Sheaf bridge.

When the estates passed to the Howards, the Lords of the Manor ceased to live in Sheffield. Much of the time the Earl and his wife were abroad.

Sheffield Manor.

Demesnes

Imprimis

Harrison's Survey 1637. Sheffield Archives

THE CIVIL WAR

The English Civil War broke out in 1642 and was fought between supporters of Parliament - the "roundheads" - and those of Charles I - the "cavaliers".

Prior to the outbreak of the war, the King had ordered that any arms that could be spared were to be sent to Doncaster. Accordingly, in June or July, Lord Maltravers, the son and heir of the Earl of Arundel, ordered *"four wheel pieces"* (moveable brass cannons) to be sent from Sheffield Castle to Doncaster.

As the cannons had been the castle's main protection, when war broke out on 22nd August, Parliamentary troops, supported by Sir John Gell, the commander of a force in Derbyshire, succeeded in securing military possession of the castle and town.

The Earl of Newcastle, commanding the King's forces in the North, entered Yorkshire in the autumn of 1642 with about 8000 men. They marched from Wakefield to attack Rotherham and Sheffield in April 1643. Although Rotherham offered some resistance, the town was entered by storm and taken. A few days later, the troops marched on Sheffield. The Parliamentary forces, outnumbered and panicked by the Royalist success in Rotherham, fled *"without any blows"* into Derbyshire. Sheffield surrendered and a garrison was placed in the castle. Sir William Saville, grandson of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, was appointed Governor on 9th May 1643. He was soon required elsewhere and in June 1643 Thomas Beaumont Esq. was appointed Deputy Governor under Saville, who left his wife at the castle under Beaumont's protection.

The county remained under Royalist control for more than a year, during which time they requisitioned the local ironworks to make ammunition.

On 2nd July 1644 the largest battle of the Civil War took place, about 6 miles west of York, on Marston Moor. The Royalist control of the north was shattered and attention turned to garrisons and resistance further south.

In August 1644 Sheffield Castle was besieged for 10 days by the Parliamentary forces of the Earl of Manchester, under the command of Major General Crawford. The army set up camp on the edge of Sheffield Park and "*rasied two batteries*". It is clear that the Castle was well maintained and strongly fortified, with a moat 18 feet deep and walls two yards thick. As a consequence the Parliamentary artillery was not very effective and the castle was able to withstand the siege for several days. Colonel John Bright arrived on the 9th August

with two larger cannons (*"the Queen's pocket-pistoll"* and a *"whole culverin"*). The first shots from the heavier siege artillery caused a large breach in the castle walls. The Royalists retaliated, resulting in another bombardment of six more shots. Major General Crawford was preparing to storm the castle, but all resistance collapsed and articles of surrender were signed on 11th August 1644. The garrison marched out *"with their drums and colours"* and were allowed to leave. A special provision was made for the protection of Lady Saville, who was by this time heavily pregnant. She was taken to Wentworth Woodhouse but gave birth in the coach en route, the night the castle was given up.

Colonel Bright was appointed Governor.

A petition from Thomas Rawson, Master of the Free School, to Lord Fairfax, dated 20th November 1644, highlights other difficulties associated with the war. The petitioner had been forced to flee from the Earl of Newcastle's army on 5th May 1643 and was only able to return on 3rd August 1644 when the castle was under siege. Due to his absence he had not been paid any wages and was unable to support his family. Lord Fairfax agreed payment of the petition.

The Sheffield Constables accounts 1615 - 1677 contain numerous entries relating to the Civil War, including:

expenses for the troops of Sir Charles Lucas	£10 - 0s - 0d
General Gorings army	£ 4 - 12s - 10d
Colonels Eyre and Milwards army	£ 2 - 2s - 10d
Major General Crawfords Army	£23 - 9s - 3d

Burial entries in the Sheffield parish register provide evidence of the casualties of the fighting:

10th August 1644	Erasmus Sands	Gen(eral) soldier
11th August 1644	soldier	
15th August 1644	two soldiers	

Sheffield Archives

DEMOLITION

With the defeat of Charles I, the Parliamentarians were determined that strongholds which had been garrisoned by Royalist troops would not be used in the same way again. On 30th April 1646 a resolution was passed by the House of Commons that Sheffield Castle should be made untenable. A further resolution was passed on 13th July 1647 for the Castle to be *"sleighted and demolished"*. The order was carried out in 1648, with the stone and various effects being sold to local people for building material.

In 1764 the Rev. Edward Goodwin of Attercliffe stated in an article for "Gentleman's Magazine" that no visible traces of the castle existed, apart from street names including Castle Hill, Castle Folds, Castle Green and Castle Lathes.

A plan of Castle Hill in 1785 and other surviving surveys show the adjacent tenements and the main site mainly occupied by a bowling green, public houses, old shops, cottages, slaughter houses and iron furnaces. **"The Sheffield Local Register"** quotes that earlier in the century:

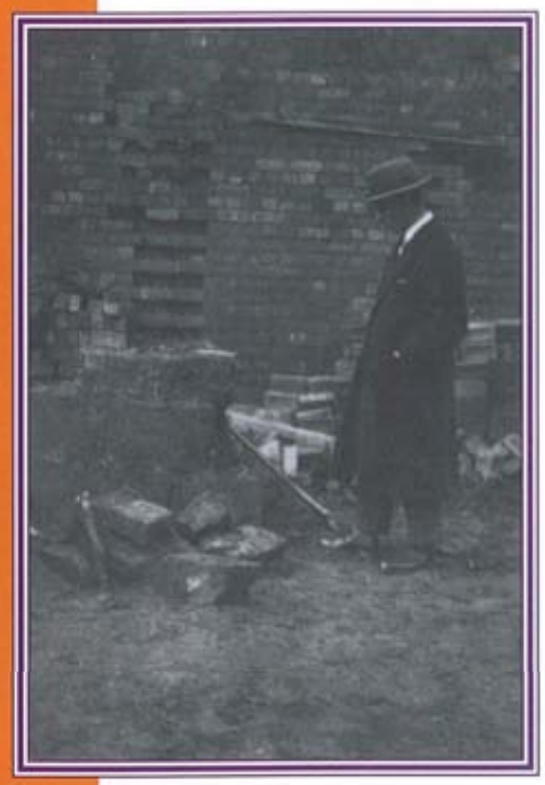
"the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood were less distinguished by the elegance and refinement of social life, than by their feelings of independence and rigid honesty, by hospitality and crude and boisterous conviviality. There are no assemblies, no theatre, and the principal amusements of the place were the sports at the castle bowling-green, and social meetings at the taverns."

W. Fairbanks' Plan of Castle Hill 1785. Sheffield Archives

Existing Ruins showing sandstone outcrop base: Sheffield Markets

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF SHEFFIELD CASTLE

In 1915 a large portion of the site previously occupied by Sheffield Castle was purchased from the City Council by the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society, for the construction of a new store. Work began on site in 1927. A L Armstrong, acting for the Society of Antiquaries and the Hunter Archaeological Society was given the task or recording any findings.



A.L. Armstrong onsite: *Sheffield Museums*

In 1928 work was also started by the City Council on the construction of Castle Hill Market, at the rear of the proposed Co-operative store, on a site covering another area of the old castle.

The survey, carried out between 1927 and 1930, revealed parts of the gatehouse associated with the inner court. The gatehouse with two flanking towers was located on the south-east side. Beyond this was a moat, the bottom of which lay some 33 feet below the level of Exchange Street. The lower part of the ditch was cut into the rock. On the north side of the castle, part of a vaulted roof and the base of a circular pillar were discovered, as well as evidence of what Armstrong took to be remains of the de Lovetot castle, destroyed by fire in 1266. Under that layer he also found what was claimed to be a large timber Saxon structure. He speculated that this may have been Waltheof's Aula (hall).

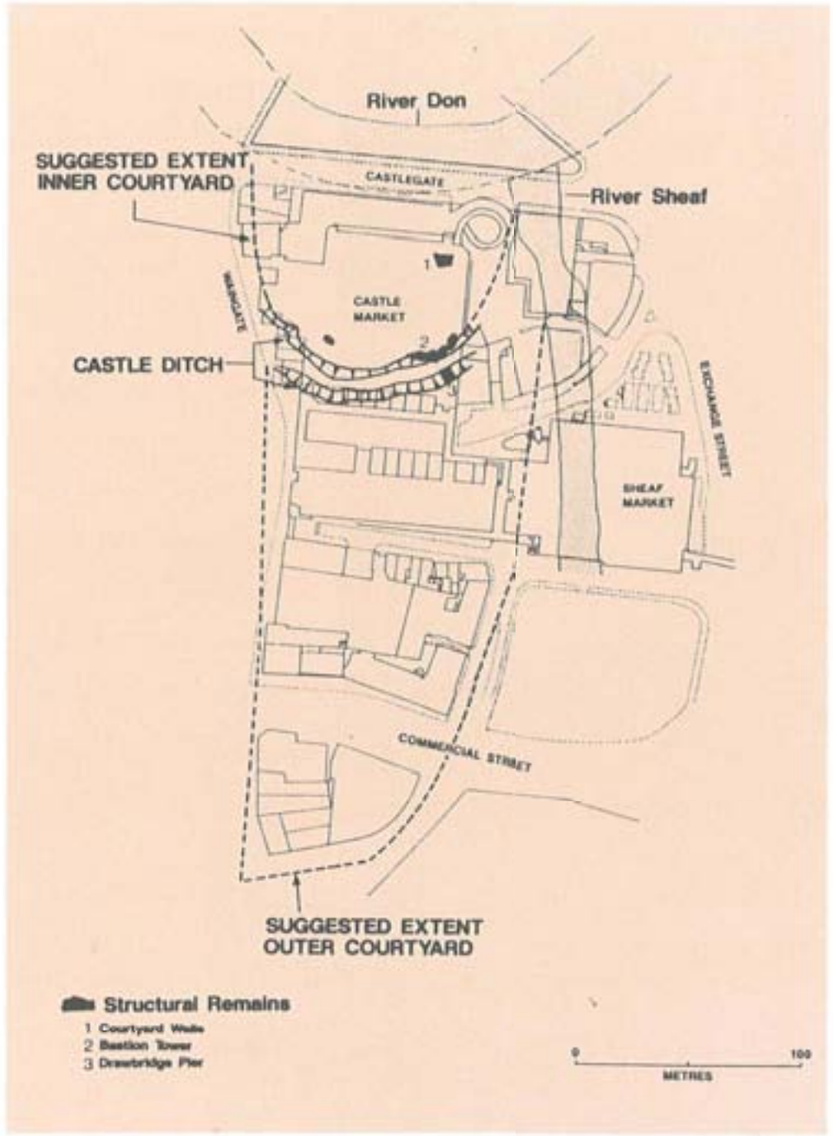
A number of artefacts were found on the site, principally from the moat. These included pottery, shoes, a key, clay pipes, pins, coins, cannonballs and knives. Many of these are on display at the City Museum in Weston Park.

Between 1958 and 1972 L H Butcher also observed and recorded the results of building work in the area of the castle.

None of this early work was carried out using modern archaeological techniques. Nonetheless it is a valuable source of information about the castle.

Early in 1994 the South Yorkshire Archaeology Service and the South Yorkshire Archaeology Field Research Unit were commissioned by the Markets Department of Sheffield City Council to undertake a structural survey of the surviving parts of the castle now located in a chamber close to the Meat and Fish Market. Following remedial works to the surrounding structure, this area has now been made accessible to the public.

Sheffield Castle in relation to the modern street plan: South Yorkshire Archaeology Field Research Unit.



introduction

It is clear that markets have played a crucial role in the process of urbanisation in this country. Firstly because the creation of the market itself stimulates agricultural production by providing an outlet for surplus produce; this in turn leads to an increase in trade and commerce. Secondly, the development of markets has, from the earliest times, been controlled and confined to cities and towns.

Contained within the laws of William the Conqueror was the following:

> *"...let no market or fair be, or permitted to arise, except in the cities of our kingdom, and in boroughs enclosed and walled, and in castles and in very secure places where the customes of our kingdom and our common law and the dignities of our Crown ... cannot perish, or be defrauded or violated..."*

Not only was the location of markets controlled, but also the actual right to hold them. The right or franchise to hold markets is a privilege granted by the Crown (and later by authority of Parliament), giving the holder sole and exclusive right to hold markets within a certain area.

Initially many market charters were granted to lords of the manor and they produced a valuable source of income through the application of tolls and stallage fees.

Where lords of the market possessed a "view of frankpledge" or "court leet" they also had criminal jurisdiction over market offences such as the sale of unwholesome meat, or the use of false weights and measures. They were also generally responsible for the "assize of bread and ale", which fixed the price of bread in relation to that of wheat and the price of beer or ale in relation to that of wheat, barley and oats.

Over time, many markets and rights were acquired by local councils and from the 19th century onwards legislation was enacted permitting local councils to establish markets. The result is that today most franchise markets are under public control.

part 2

sheffield markets

12th CENTURY to 17th CENTURY

The first known charter for markets in Sheffield dates from 1296. It was granted by Edward I, under the Great Seal of England, to the third Thomas de Furnival (son of the builder of the stone castle). A market was held on the Tuesday of each week and a fair was held every year during the three days of the feast of the Holy Trinity.

In 1332 the tolls of the fair and market were recorded as being worth six shillings and eight pence a year.

Poll tax returns for 1379 show that Sheffield was the third largest urban centre in the West Riding. This may help to explain why, by 1383, the tolls had increased to forty shillings a year (as detailed in documents produced upon the death of William de Furnival).

In 1385 Thomas Neville, the husband of Joan de Furnival, obtained a confirmation by Richard II of the original 1296 charter to hold a market and fair in Sheffield. It is not clear why this was necessary.

By the 17th century Sheffield's market was no longer able to cope with the demands placed upon it. The parish registers reveal a constant surplus of baptisms over burials during the years 1561-1630 and in 1608 the town was said to consist of "*handicraftes men, in great numbers, who have no means to make their provision but only in the markett, and that the cuntrie there aboutes affordeth not sufficient stoare of whitemeates, chiefly butter, and cheese, to serve that towne*". One solution was to allow Elizabeth Heywood, a local widow, to buy butter and cheese from Ashbourne and other markets for re-sale at Sheffield.

The de Furnival charter of 1297 referred to previously (page 5) had granted to the free tenants of the town their own court known as the Court of 'Sembly Quest. It appears to have been a form of court leet, common at the time, and was held on the 'Sembley (Assembly) Green on what is now The Wicker. This court allowed anyone who had committed a minor offence to be tried by his fellow citizens.

At the 'Sembley Quest on 18 April 1609 two officers, William Allin and John Creswick, were appointed "*to see whitmeate as butter and egges be broughte into the markett and none be sould in the feildes*"; and "*Francis Stanyforth, George Cleytonne, to see and search that corne be brought into the markett and none to be soulde until the market bell ynge*". Heugh Roberts was fined 3s - 4d for buying whitemeat in the fields and two others, William Spooner and John Harrison were fined 4d each for buying butter before it reached the market.

According to Harrison's survey in 1637 "*There are two markets weekly in Sheffield, whereof the chiefest is upon Tuesday and the other upon Thursday, there are also two faires every yeare, ye one is kept upon Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, and ye other is on ye 17th of November*". The "*ffaires and Marketts are now making £7 - 13s - 4d of the total of £656 - 0s - 1d*" according to "*A Rentall of ye profitts of Hallamshire*".

In 1644 there is a record of 3s paid to "*Hollinnbrigg for paveinge in the Markett place*" and 12s "*Paid for 3 days leadinge stones for paveinge in the Markett place and about ye Barkers poole*".

Confirmation of Sheffield Markets & Fairs Charter 1555. Sheffield Archives

Sheffield Markets & Fairs Charter 1296. Sheffield Archives

market crosses

Illustration of the Market Cross

Two crosses have long been associated with the markets in Sheffield.

The Market Cross stood on a slab of stone resting on four pillars. A number of references to its repair are found in the Town Trustees accounts. In 1568, 10 shillings was paid to "*William Atkynson and his sonnes for leyinge the stone of the cross in the market stede and poyntynge it with lyme and sende*". In 1589, 6s - 3d was paid to "*Nicholas Gee for mending and poynting the Markett Crosse and the Irysh Crosse and for Lyme*".

After the English Civil War, all over the country Royalist vicars were replaced by Puritan or lay preachers, and it is said that in 1650 Justices of the Peace were appointed in Sheffield to perform baptisms and marriages publicly at the market cross. There is, however, no evidence of this in the Parish records.

A 1736 plan of the town by R. Gosling shows the Market Cross located at the bottom of High Street. It was taken down about 1786. A monument to Ebenezer Elliott, a poet associated with Sheffield, was erected in its place in 1854. This was later removed (in 1875) to Weston Park.

Quite why the Irish Cross is so called is unknown. It is referred to in a deed dated 1499, relating to the tenure of properties said to be "*beneath the Irish Cross*". In 1568 the "*yreshe cross*" underwent "*mendynge*". From this and other accounts it appears the cross must have been of considerable size, with a weathercock at its summit. Charges for its repair in 1715 include a payment of 2s for mending the weathercock and in 1749, £6 worth of lead, £1 of wood and £1 worth of brickwork are used in its repair.

On Gosling's map of 1736 the Irish Cross is shown at the top of Snig Hill. It is thought to have been removed about 1792, possibly to make room for Bank Street.

There has long been an inference that the Irish Cross indicated that area of the market where foreigners were allowed to sell their goods.

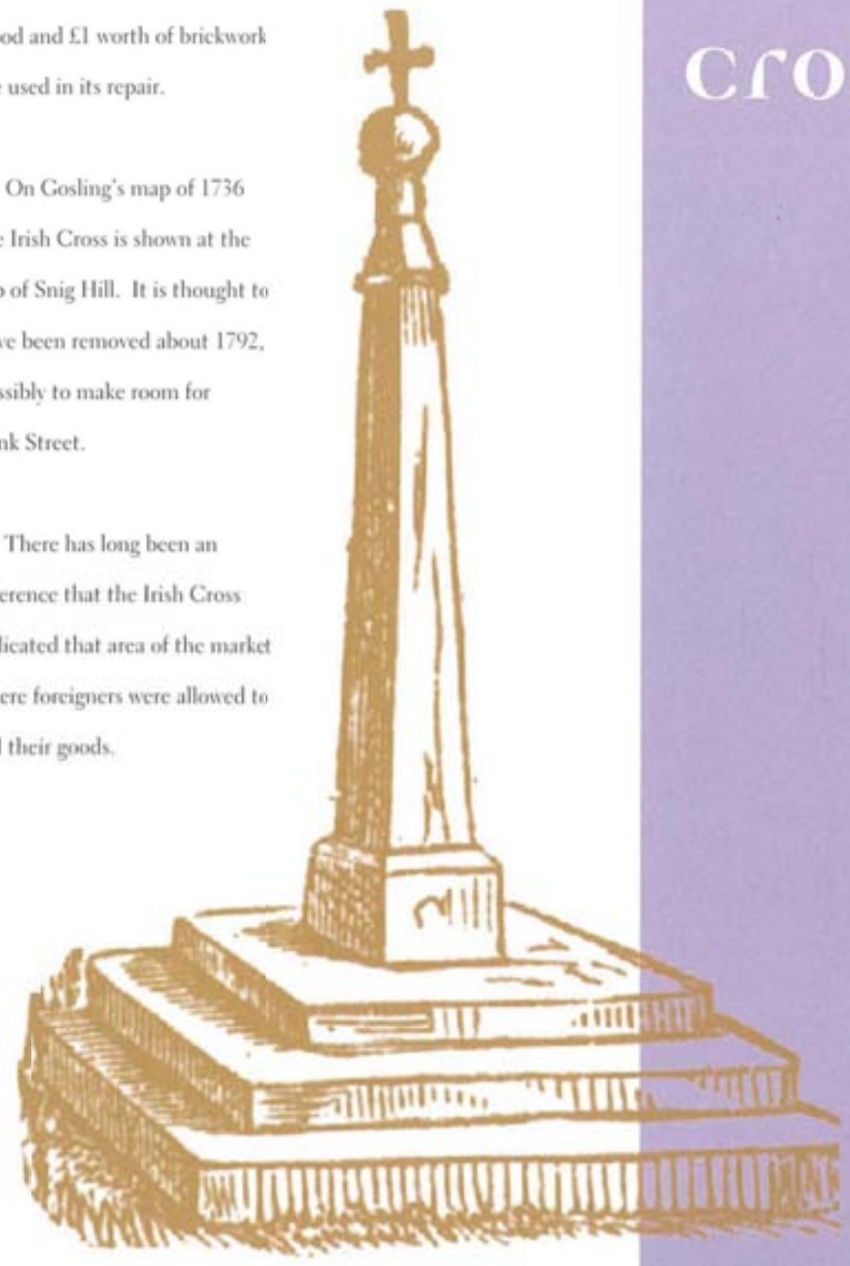


Illustration of the Irish Cross

18th CENTURY to 19th CENTURY

Brass Weighing Scales, Sheaf Market: Local Studies

As was already being witnessed in the 17th century, the increased urbanisation of the country, linked with a reduction in the availability of land within towns for food production, created a vast increase in the number of people dependent on others to produce that food and transport it to the towns.

Janet Blackman, in her article "The Food Supply of an Industrial Town" noted *"The development of town markets like that of Sheffield resulted from changes in demand from producers and from consumers for different methods and centres of distribution"*.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Market Place in Sheffield consisted of an irregular sprawl of shops and stalls, surrounded by High Street, Swine Market, Bullstake (later renamed Haymarket) and King Street (also known as Pudding Lane). Stalls may also have spread beyond the Market Place stretching up High Street to Church Gates. Tradition has it that farmers' wives would come to the market with baskets of butter and eggs which they would sell standing around the Market Cross.

Towards the end of the 18th century the butchers were among the first to be affected by the pressure for change. The problems and nuisance caused by more and more animals being driven into the town centre prompted local inhabitants to petition the owner of the markets, Charles Howard the Earl of Surrey (later the 11th Duke of Norfolk) to provide them with a large market place with better access for animals, carts and pedestrians.

The result, in 1784, was an Act of Parliament *"For enlarging the Market Place, and regulating the Markets, within the Town of Sheffield"*.

A new market hall - the Fitzalan Market - was built on the site of the old market and opened on 31st August 1786. The live cattle market was moved from the Bullstake to The Wicker, and new slaughter-houses were erected by the River Don near Lady's Bridge.

Plans and designs for the new hall were provided by Joseph Hodgkinson at a cost of £10-10s-0d. To fund the scheme, the Duke of Norfolk was enabled, by the Act, to sell *"Chief Rents"* and *"Fridleys"*. Between 1784 and 1801 a total of £4,136-17s-11d was raised from these sales. Further money was raised by mortgaging tolls and other market revenues.

Extracts from the *"Rules and Regulations respecting the Shambles at Sheffield 1787"* reveal, perhaps, a flavour of the standards of the time:

"... Nor shall any Butcher or other person whet or sharpen his her or their knives upon the Stone Pillars or other stones part of the New Market under the Penalty of One Shilling to be paid for each time of offending against this Rule.

... Sixthly that no Butcher shall at any pretence whatsoever either by himself Apprentice or Servant encourage or suffer any Dog or Dogs to frequent said Market or the said Slaughterhouses...

... Seventhly that for Decency sake and cleanliness of the said Market no person having any Holding in the said Market shall at anytime piss against the walls of the said Market..."

Shambles Regulations 1787: Sheffield Archives

The Duke of Norfolk continued to be paid a toll by all market traders, in recognition of

Painting of Fitzalan Market Hall 1853 by Godfrey Sykes: Sheffield Museums

his market rights, for the privilege of selling their goods. The traders also paid rents for stalls and shops, which were collected twice yearly at Michaelmas (29th September) and Lady Day (25th March).

In 1815 the 11th Duke died and the title passed to a distant cousin Bernard Edward Howard, eldest son of Henry Howard of Glossop. In 1818 he established a new market - the Green Market - on the site of the old gaol between King Street and Castle Street. It was used as a fish, poultry and vegetable market.

The fortunes of other cities which had established extensive canals, such as Birmingham and Manchester, made it clear that Sheffield, too, needed this sort of access to the outside world. Fighting against vested interests (which had included the Duke of Norfolk) a Sheffield Canal Company was formed by Act of Parliament in 1815, whose purpose was to construct *"... a Navigable Communication between the River Dun and Sheffield ... which is one of the most populous Towns in the Kingdom, a Place of Great Commercial Importance, and remarkable for its extensive manufacture of Hardware..."*

22nd February 1819, Sheffield's direct waterway to the sea was opened. A general holiday was called, and *"an immense assemblage of spectators"* gathered at the new canal basin to see the boats from Tinsley sail into the City.

Bernard, 12th Duke of Norfolk, died in 1824 and the title passed to Henry Charles Howard, his only son, previously styled Earl of Surrey.

In 1827, by Act of Parliament, the Duke was empowered to create a new livestock market at Smithfield, adjacent to the River Don, construct a bridge over the river (Blonk Street) providing easy access to and from the Wicker and build a Corn Exchange and Haymarket adjacent to the Canal Basin and backing onto the River Sheaf. (Park Square roundabout now stands close to this site.)

Michael Ellison, agent to the Duke, had drawn up a report on the scheme in 1826, justifying the expense as follows: "*A very material advantage ... is the improved value of that part of Sheffield Park, adjoining the sites of the proposed Markets: it being quite certain that the Establishment of these Markets will necessarily draw the Town after them. Until very lately, little has been done to induce persons to lay out their capital upon this part of the Duke of Norfolks' Estate...*".

1827 Plan of the New Markets: Sheffield Archives

Building appears to have been completed by 1830, and Mr. Ellison's view justified, as a petition was soon sent to the Duke by traders in Fitzalan Market Hall bemoaning their loss of trade. A second petition, in 1839, complained of the impact of private slaughterhouses and shops on the meat market, and requested that the petitioners be allowed to trade from the Corn Exchange and Haymarket on Fridays, when the buildings were not used.

The development of railways, and particularly their impact on the commercial life of Sheffield, was now starting to make itself felt. In 1830 the Town Trustees supported the plan for a railway from Manchester to Whaley Bridge, since in the future it may be "*of importance to the Town of Sheffield by opening communication with the mineral district of Derbyshire to the port of Liverpool...*". Earl Fitzwilliam of Wentworth Woodhouse, who had many coal rights in the area, was one of the most prominent supporters.

A Bill proposing to link Sheffield to the North Midland line, via Rotherham and Holmes, was put forward in 1835, but there was strong local opposition. This included the Duke of Norfolk, who held a virtual monopoly of coal supply to Sheffield, and the Vicar of Rotherham, who with 120 supporters, claimed: "*Furthermore it would bring about an incursion of the idle, drunken and dissolute portion of the Sheffield people as a consequence of increased facilities of transit between the two towns.*"

The Bill was defeated, but, in 1836 an Act was passed leading to the start of the great railway age of Sheffield.

The Markets continued to develop in the Town Centre and, in 1847, another Act of Parliament authorised construction of a new market hall between Castle Folds and Dixon Lane, for the sale of general produce. Land around the new hall, between Exchange Street and Broad Street, would also be cleared for stalls and fairs; while the Green Market, by now almost solely used for the sale of fish, would be discontinued once the new hall was opened.

Part of the site chosen for the new hall was occupied by the Tontine Inn, whose prosperity was largely dependent on the coaching trade. In 1838 coaches were still leaving, daily, to York, Leeds and Birmingham, but the coming of the railways led to a decline in coach services and reduction in profits. The Inn

Norfolk Market Hall: Local Studies

Painting of Norfolk Market Hall 1851
By Godfrey Sykes: Sheffield Museums

was demolished in 1850, and the Norfolk Market Hall opened on Christmas Eve 1851. It was built at a cost of £38,000.

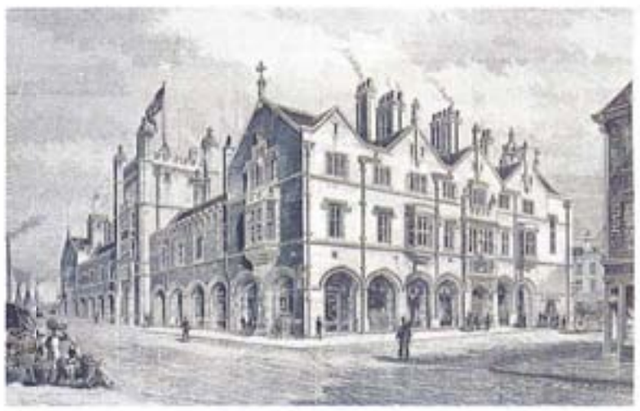
The 1847 Act also led to the creation of Castlefolds Market, on land between the Corn Exchange and the Norfolk Market Hall. It provided a covered letting space for the wholesale trade in fruit and vegetables. The Sheaf Open Market was also established on the adjacent site. This came to be known as "the Rag and Tag market".

A further Act of Parliament in 1872 led to the construction of a new wholesale fish market, opened in 1879, close to the Sheffield Gas Works building and Sheaf Market. This market was built to exploit the rail-borne wholesale fish trade which the new port facilities, particularly Grimsby, made possible; using Sheffield as a centre for re-distribution to the vast markets of the West Riding & Lancashire.

The 15th Duke of Norfolk also commissioned a new Corn Exchange, which opened in 1881, on the site originally occupied by the Shrewsbury Hospital. Built at a cost of £55,000, it was described by a local newspaper as *"one of the greatest architectural beauties of the Town"*.

Castlefolds Market: Sheffield Markets

The old and insanitary killing shambles remained, however, and clearly provided a source of embarrassment to the Town. When the Prince and Princess of Wales visited Sheffield in August 1875, M E Hadfield & Son designed a huge triumphal arch, constructed of wood and canvas, at Lady's Bridge. The work, commissioned by the Duke, also involved a scheme for disguising the adjacent shambles, which stood at the bottom of Waingate and whose unsightly walls extended for over 100 yards along the river bank. They were hidden by a 30 foot high wall of painted canvas representing an *"old baronial castle"*.



Painting of The New Corn Exchange: Local Studies

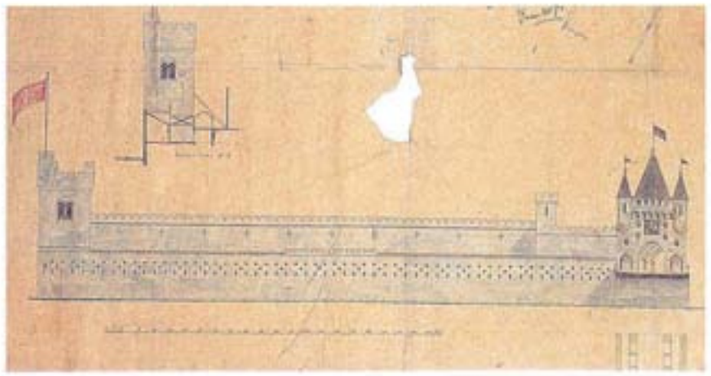
The Public Health Act 1875 empowered local authorities *"with the consent of two thirds of their members, to purchase by agreement any existing market rights and to take stallages rents and tolls in respect of the use by any person of such Markets, and for the purpose of enabling Town Councils to establish and regulate Markets and Fairs, certain provisions of the Markets and Fairs Act 1847 are incorporated in the new Act"*.

Approaches were made to the Duke of Norfolk with a view to purchasing the markets on behalf of the citizens of Sheffield. It is clear from Council records of the period that members felt the markets were inadequate for a town of Sheffield's size. Agreement proved impossible and more than 20 years elapsed before negotiations were re-opened.

The 1890s saw Sheffield Corporation making determined efforts to improve facilities for the people of Sheffield. Schemes for tramways, electric lighting and improved water supply were instigated. The markets were seen as a vital part of the City's development.

In 1898 the Lord Mayor, Alderman George Franklin, wrote to the Duke: *"for many years I have been impressed with the view that the Markets and market rights of the City should belong to the Local Authority, and believe that this view is shared by a large number of my colleagues in the City Council...*

... there is no sufficient reason why Sheffield ... should be dependent upon private means to supply such an obvious public necessity ...".



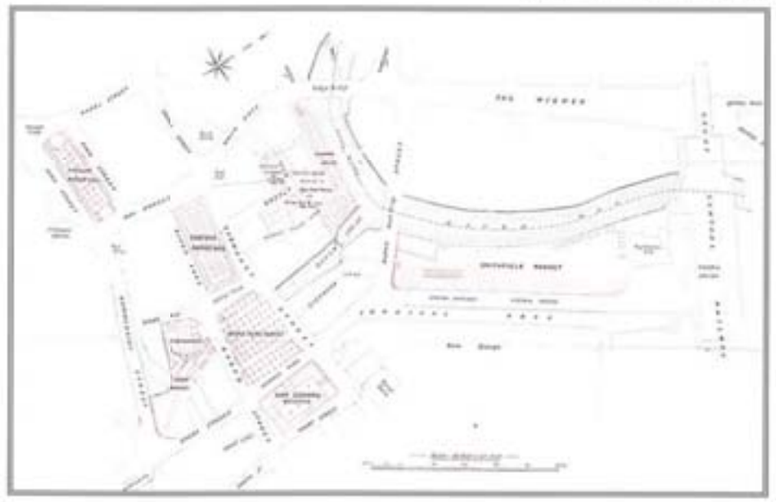
Screen for Slaughterhouse 1873: Sheffield Archives

In letters written by the Duke to the Lord Mayor at the beginning of 1898, it is clear that he would have preferred to keep the markets in his own hands. Finally, however, an agreement was reached in 1899 whereby:

" ...the Duke will sell and the Corporation will purchase for the sum of £526,000 first the fee simple of all the market halls and places for holding markets and fairs slaughter-houses messuages buildings lands and hereditaments specified ... secondly all such rights of using and enjoying certain arches under the approach to the station in Sheffield of the Great Central Railway Company ... thirdly all the rents tolls duties pickages stallages and sums of money which under or by virtue of the Sheffield Markets Acts 1847 and 1872 the Duke or other person or persons entitled for the time being to the rents and profits of the Castle and Manor or Lordship of Sheffield is and are empowered to demand and take ... fourthly all other (if any) the markets and fairs and market places and places for holding markets fairs and slaughterhouses sitvate used exercised or enjoyed within the Town of Sheffield ..."

Caricature of The Duke of Norfolk Sheffield Weekly News 18th February 1899. Local Studies

Plan of Markets 1899. Sheffield Markets



20th CENTURY

The Sheffield Corporation Act 1901 empowered the City Council to undertake a variety of schemes to upgrade the City Centre, including constructing a new market hall to replace Fitzalan Market, the erection of a new abattoir and the extension of Sheaf Market.

In addition to the Act, a Markets Committee was appointed by Council resolution on 10th November 1902 under the chairmanship of Alderman George Franklin, *"to take charge of and manage the whole of the business connected with the Markets properties now in possession of the Corporation."*

One of the first decisions of the Committee was to redesign the West front of Norfolk Market Hall, facing Haymarket. A competition for design was launched and won by A F Watson of the Sheffield firm Holmes & Watson.

An outing of Sheffield Sheaf Market Association. Local Studies

In 1923 a new market was established at the Smithfield/ fairground site, mainly to clear congested streets of stalls. Not all the traders were happy; some refused to turn up at the new site and continued trading from their old positions.

Despite the early optimism, the Markets' new owners were slow to redevelop them. In July 1924 the Sheffield Telegraph claimed: "*... the Markets ... are a grotesque waste of valuable sites ... it is very likely, most probable indeed, that we shall go on drifting year after year, and that our great-grandchildren will be shopping in the Shambles and the Rag market just as our predecessors did.*"

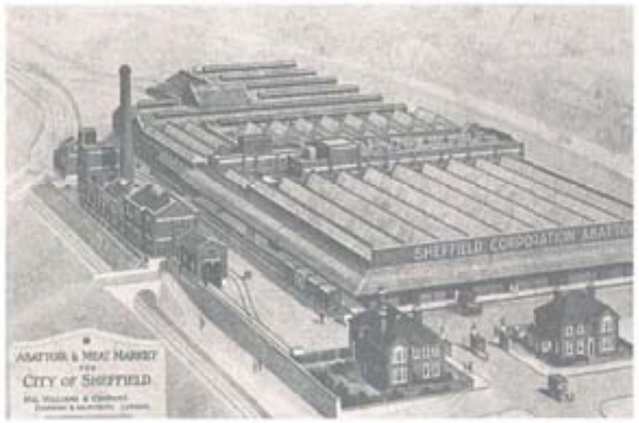
In 1927 a further portion of the Castle site was purchased by the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society. It was during building excavations that the ruins of the Castle were discovered. The following year, Sheffield Corporation began work on the adjoining site, constructing Castle Hill Market.

Painting of Smithfield Market, T. Sulman: Sheffield Museum

Mr Humberstone, in a Council debate on the problem, in January 1924, stated: "*Unless something is done, I am afraid these people will defy the law and sell on the street*". In the same debate, Councillor Smith described Smithfield as a white elephant: "*No-one goes there unless it is to catch a train or to commit suicide*".

The Old Killing Shambles Circa 1920: Local Studies

New Abattoir: Sheffield Markets



Two years later, a new abattoir was opened at Cricket Inn Road, allowing closure of the old Castlegate slaughterhouses. The abattoir continued in operation until 1982 when, because of stringent new hygiene requirements it was forced to close.

A handbook, produced by the Markets Department in 1929, describes Sheaf Market as follows: "*The Sheaf Market is rather unique in its character, being a very large open market, and is chiefly used on Tuesdays and Saturdays by traders who bring their goods to market and expose them for sale on the stalls. It is a very popular market and if land was available could be considerably developed. Traders dealing in all classes of commodities attend, and the section used by the local fruit and vegetable growers, which is an early morning market, is let to Crockery sellers on the two market days. In the spring-time the market is crowded with plants and flowers, which find a ready sale amongst the suburban residents and allotment gardeners.*

Formally the Live Poultry Market was held in the cellars under the Castlefolds Market, but this was found to be a very unsatisfactory situation, and it was transferred to a more suitable building in the Sheaf Market which had been used as a flour mill. Quite recently the interior has been fitted with up-to-date wire cages which entirely comply with the requirement of the RSPCA. A very large business in live poultry is carried on here, also persons requiring defenders for their homes in the shape of canine friends are able to find their requirements in the market."

Fitzalan Market Hall closed on 24th April 1930, and business transferred to Castle Hill Market which opened the following day.

Sheaf Market (Rag 'n' Tag): Sheffield Markets

Aerial View of Castle Hill Market mid 1930s: Sheffield Markets

The market was officially opened by the Minister of Health, The Right Honourable Arthur Greenwood MP, on Friday 9th May 1930. The same year Smithfield Market closed and in 1940 the site ceased to be used as a fairground.

Co-op building after the Blitz: Local Studies

December 1940 also saw the Sheffield blitz. The Co-op building received a direct hit and was destroyed. Bailey bridges (mobile temporary structures) were used to enable Castle Hill Market to continue trading.

In 1947 the Corn Exchange was badly damaged by fire which completely gutted the interior of the building; only the shops on one frontage remained open. The building was finally demolished in 1964.

A handbook produced by the Markets Department to celebrate the golden jubilee of the City Council acquiring the markets described the facilities in Castle Hill Market as follows: *"The butchers' shops were fitted with sycamore display slabs, stainless steel rails and mechanically operated refrigerators, and equipped with chopping blocks and utility tables. Each shop had water laid on, also electric lighting and power cables.*

The fishmongers stalls were built wholly of marble terrazzo and fitted with galvanised steel hanging rails, also chopping blocks, cash tables and duck boards."

The Corn Exchange during demolition: Local Studies

Castle Market was opened in 1959. The project had been primarily designed to rehouse traders from the Norfolk Market Hall, which had already celebrated its centenary, but in addition extensive office and shop accommodation was provided. Following the transfer of traders, the old hall was demolished. An extension to the new market was completed in 1964.

Architects Drawing of Castle Market: Sheffield Markets

Redevelopment continued through the 1960's and 70's with the demolition of Castlefolds Market, following the opening of Parkway Wholesale Market in 1961; and the opening in 1973 of Sheaf Market Hall. This replaced the adjoining Rag and Tag Market - the last surviving relic of the original 19th century undertakings purchased from the Duke of Norfolk in 1899.

The Rag and Tag Market was a great source of anecdotes concerning market life in Sheffield. John Coates, a former trader, recalled *"the trader who sold miniature candlesticks made from gold, reportedly given him by an Afghan chief whose life he had saved in the Khyber Pass area"*. It appears to have been untrue. He also recalled the activities of the medicine men or *"crocus workers"* selling fake potions and cures to a sometimes gullible public.

The Setts open market was opened in 1974 adjacent to the Sheaf Market Hall. With local government re-organisation the same year, which extended the city boundary to include Stocksbridge, the local open air market became part of Sheffield Markets.

An open market was established at Moorfoot in 1976 and, with the pedestrianisation of The Moor, the market was transferred to its present location in front of Atkinsons and further extended in 1986.

In 1988 the Market Place was opened in the Crystal Peaks shopping centre, at Waterthorpe.

The City Council announced early in 1996, the 700th anniversary year, a multi-million pound scheme to transform Castlegate Markets. A new market hall is to be built on the site of Sheaf Market, in line with the latest European Union food hygiene requirements. Castle Market will transfer to the new hall and that site will then be redeveloped to include shops, leisure facilities, riverside housing and the opening up of Castle ruins. A multi-storey car park will also be built between Commercial Street and Broad Street with a roof top market square linking Commercial Street and the new market hall.

Sheffield City Council Leader, Mike Bower has stated:

"Sheffield Markets are the economic heart of the Castlegate area. The redevelopment of the markets provides an exciting opportunity to create a ... landmark attraction that will reinvigorate the social and economic welfare of ... the city centre."

Key Dates in the early history of the castle/markets

Date	Lord of the Manor	Key Event
1066	The Saxon Earl Waltheof	Norman Invasion of England under William the Conqueror
1076	Waltheof/Countess Judith	Waltheof beheaded. Manor passes to his wife Judith, niece of William the Conqueror
1086	Roger de Busli, first Norman Lord of the Manor	Domesday Book
Early 12th Century	William de Lovetot	First earth and timber castle constructed
1199	Gerard de Furnival	Acquires lordship of manor by marriage to Maud de Lovetot
1266	Thomas de Furnival *(2nd of that name)*	Castle destroyed in Simon de Montfort rebellion
1270	Thomas de Furnival *(2nd of that name)*	Permission by Henry III to rebuild castle in stone
1296	Thomas de Furnival *(3rd of that name)*	Charter granted by Edward I to hold markets and fairs in Sheffield
1383	William de Furnival	On his death, estates pass to Sir Thomas de Nevill through marriage to William de Furnival's daughter, Joan
1421	Thomas de Nevill	On his death, estates pass to John Talbot through marriage to Thomas de Nevill's daughter, Maud
1453	John Talbot (Earl of Shrewsbury)	Killed in battle at Chatillcon
1530	George Talbot 4th Earl of Shrewsbury	Manor visited by Cardinal Wolsey
1570	George Talbot 6th Earl of Shrewsbury	Custodian of Mary Queen of Scots at Sheffield Castle, 1570-1584
1616	Gilbert Talbot 7th Earl of Shrewsbury	On his death, estates pass to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel & Surrey, through marriage to Gilbert Talbot's daughter Alethea, in 1606

The title "Duke of Norfolk" was later restored to the Howard family. The estates in Sheffield remain in their family to this day.

Glossary

Aula	has several meanings including hall, castle and palace.
Bandlear (more commonly bandolear)	a shoulder belt, especially for ammunition. As plural - small leather cases for gunpowder, attached to the belt
Chief-rent	the annual payment by free-holders to the lord of the manor.
Common	an unenclosed area of land.
Court-leet	a court, usually held once a year, within a manor or hundred; being granted by Charter to the lords of the manors or hundreds. Held originally to view the frank-pledges, it developed to hear, by jury, crimes which fell within its jurisdiction, and to punish all trivial misdemeanours.
Frank-pledge	a mutual pledge, made by freemen to the sovereign, for each others' good behaviour.
Fridleys	certain rents formerly paid to the Lord of the Manor of Sheffield by the inhabitants of the Frith of Hawksworth, for liberty of common.
Frith	has several meanings including a small field taken out of a common.
Hundred	a division or part of a country in England, supposed to have originally contained one hundred families or freemen.
Manor	an estate granted by the sovereign to a subject, usually in return for certain services provided by the lord of the manor and/or his followers.
Musket	a smooth-bored barrel fire-arm, the predecessor of the rifle.
Stallage	rent paid for a stall or the erecting of a stall.
White-meat	food made from, or including, eggs, milk, butter and cheese.