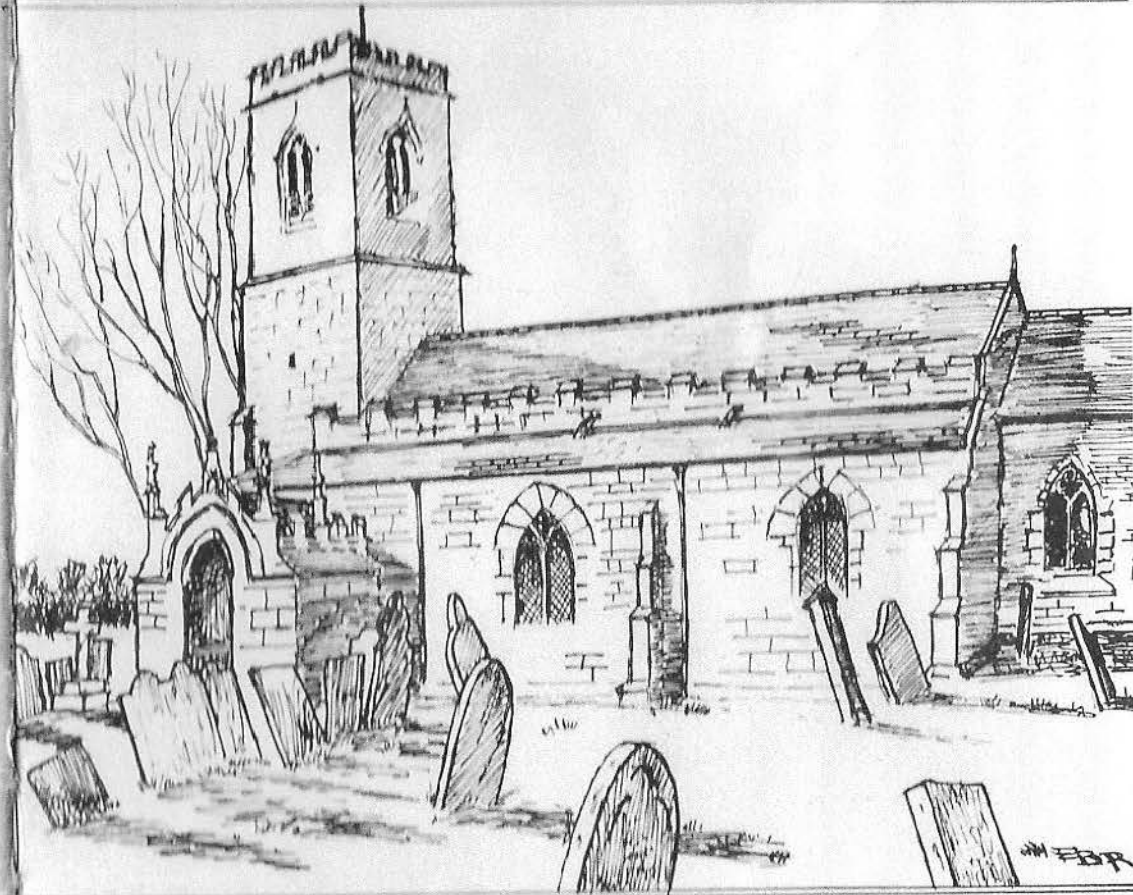


HAYTON

1762 - 1914



*A portrait of a north Nottinghamshire country Parish
from Enclosure to the Great War*

Rosemary Anderson

FOREWORD

The idea of writing this fund-raising booklet came to me early in 1985 when it was first realised that a great deal of money was needed to repair and restore the ancient Parish Church of St. Peter's, Hayton.

This booklet is the result of a year spent researching the history of the Parish. Most of the books, documents and maps consulted are located at Retford Library Local Studies Department, or are held by private individuals in the area.

Had I been able to travel more widely and extended the time spent in research, a fuller picture of village life would have emerged, so this study does not claim to be complete.

I have gained a great deal of enjoyment from delving into past records, and glimpsing life in a former age, and I hope that the people who read this booklet will find the information contained of interest to them.

My thanks go to the following people :

Rev. John Tompkins, Priest in charge of Hayton Parish.

The staff of Retford Library and Nottinghamshire County Record Office.

Eric Richardson for illustrations.

Janet Hill, and my husband Adrian, for reading and correction of the text.

Gill Price for typing the manuscript.

... and to many others who have also given me information, lent photographs, or helped in any way.

Rosemary E. Anderson, B.A.



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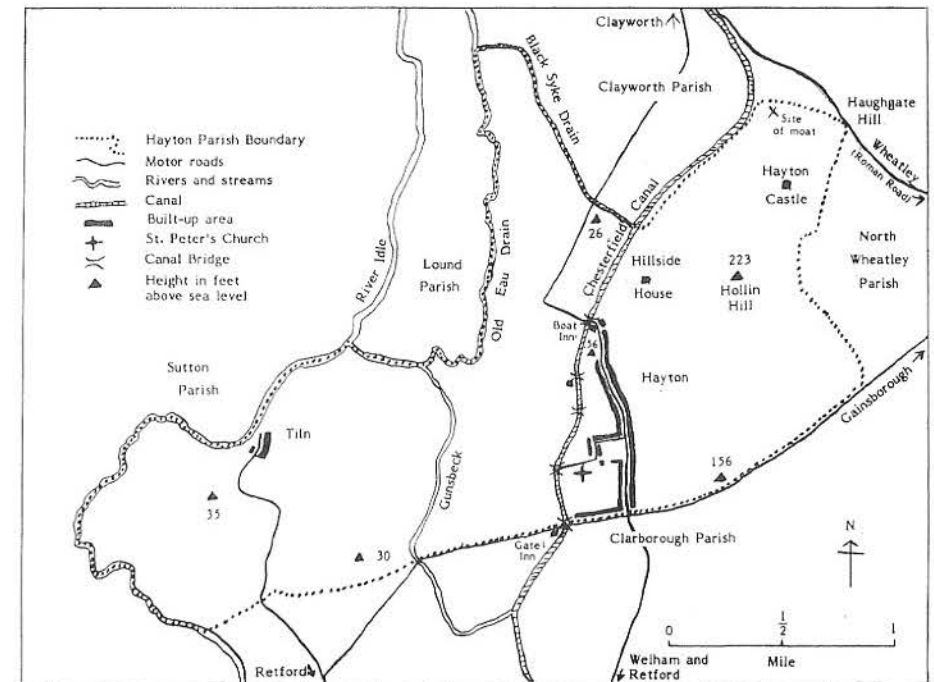
INTRODUCTION - THE VILLAGE SETTING

The agricultural Parish of Hayton is situated a few miles north of the market town of Retford, Nottinghamshire, and lies within the lowland clay region of the north-east Midlands. The meandering embanked River Idle forms the Parish boundary to the west, as it flows sluggishly across a wide flood plain, crossed by numerous drainage channels.

The hamlet of Tilm, which lies within the Parish, is situated on the bank of the Idle amidst low lying fields, which are only about 30 feet above sea level. The land begins to rise very gradually eastwards once Gunsbeck and the Old Eau Drain are crossed until the main village of Hayton is reached at 50 to 75 feet.

The old buildings are almost all situated along the road from Retford to Clayworth, giving the village a straggling appearance. It extends about one mile north to south from the Boat Inn to the parish boundary with Clarborough. As most new building has been in accordance with the linear pattern, the village shape has altered very little since the mid-eighteenth century when the earliest available maps were drawn.

Immediately east of the main village street, the land rises steeply for over 100 feet in an escarpment, on which the only two outlying farms are situated. There are fine views westwards towards Sheffield, and from Hollin Hill, which at 223 feet is the highest point, the Trent plain and parts of Lincolnshire are sometimes visible eastwards. The land then begins to slope down very gradually until the eastern parish boundary with North Wheatley is reached, between 100 and 175 feet above sea level.



Sketch Map of the physical features of Hayton Parish

THE ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF HAYTON

No one can say exactly when man first settled in north Nottinghamshire and began to clear the original deciduous woodland for agricultural purposes. Prehistoric man may have known the area, and certainly the Romans colonised these parts. They had an important settlement at Littleborough on the Trent, about six miles away, where the route from Lincoln to York crossed the river. Today the road from Sturton-le-Steeple to Clayworth still follows its line, just touching the northern boundary of the Parish of Hayton at Haughgate Hill. There have been various local Roman finds, including one at Tilm, but none around the site of Hayton village, which was probably still uninhabited wasteland.

The place-names of Hayton and Tilm both suggest an Anglo-Saxon origin for the settlements. Tilm is mentioned in the Domesday Book of 1086, but Hayton, strangely, is not. Although most existing villages in this area are described in King William's great account of his wealth, it was never intended as a complete gazetteer of places. Perhaps Tilm was the more important and earlier of the two settlements, as river sites were often chosen by the Early English for the ease of transport they afforded. As the population rose, a shortage of land for agriculture may have meant that Hayton represents a secondary clearing of woodland, as its name means "the hay farm". Perhaps as time went by frequent flooding and the marshy land near the River Idle caused most of the inhabitants to move up to the drier ground for their main settlement, leaving Tilm as a subsidiary hamlet.

Certainly Hayton existed in 1175 when the first of many medieval references was made to the village in manorial records. We know too from documentary sources and from an architectural study of the Church that a stone built structure was in existence by the mid-twelfth century, and that it had attained its present outline by 1400. (See Appendix 1.) The presence of such a substantial church is likely to have meant that there was a village in the vicinity, but Hayton is unusual in that its Parish Church is set in the fields well away from the Main Street and old houses. Perhaps in medieval times the dwellings were grouped much closer to the Church, though as far as I know, the only evidence for this is a brick well near the canal in the field immediately to the north. W.G. Hoskins, a great expert on Local History, suggested in his book "The Making of the English Landscape" that often no trace remains of dwellings because before the mid-seventeenth century labourers' cottages were built of reinforced mud on a timber framework with only a rubble foundation, and would last no more than 100 to 150 years.

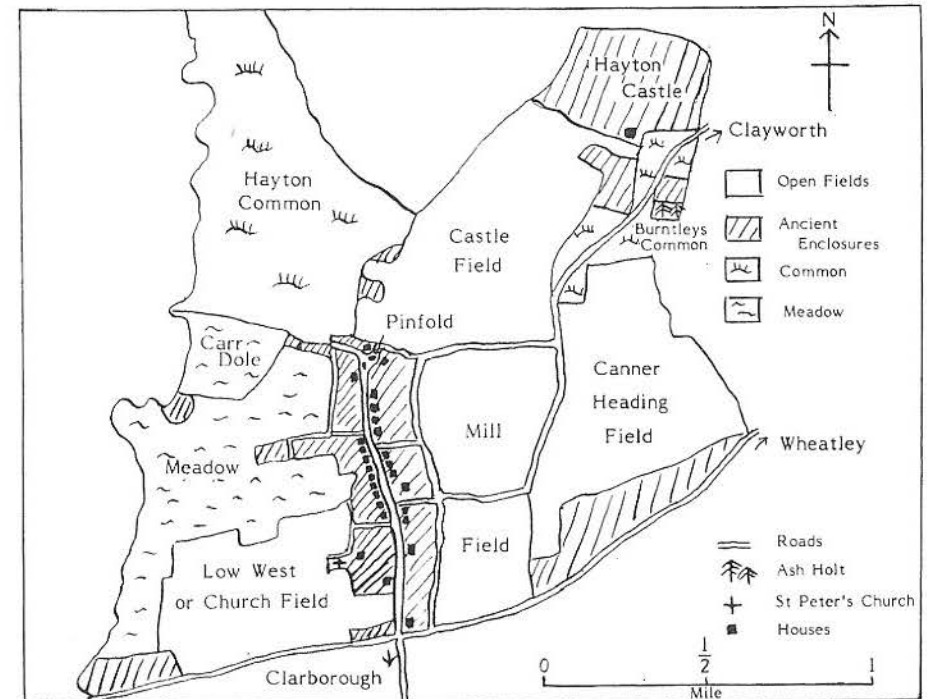
Sometimes a church is found close to an old manor house, evidence of which is more likely to survive. White's Directory of Nottinghamshire of 1832 suggested that the mansion of the de Haytons, a thirteenth century family with much property in the area, was close to the church, but no trace of such a building remains. It is more likely that the site of this "mansion" was at Hayton Castle, two miles further north, and in fact by 1853 White's Directory had amended its description of Hayton to suggest this. Evidence was found in 1822 by the owners of Hayton Castle of a moated farmstead in a field close to the Chesterfield Canal. The main site covered an area of one and a half acres and close by another moat was found. Altogether enough quantities of local limestone were retrieved to build some outhouses at the present farm further up the hill, and some unusual carved stones were incorporated into a Victorian extension to the house. These sites possibly explain the farm's rather curious name, though the "castle" was unlikely to have ever been more than a fortified manor house, like many in the area, only strong enough to afford security against rabble raids in those primitive times.

I do not intend in this study to describe the medieval history of the Parish in any further detail, as much more research would be necessary to do this properly. We can assume that Hayton, once established, developed a self-sufficient existence as an agricultural community of no more than a few hundred people in a similar pattern to villages all over the Midland region. As woodland was gradually cleared towards the parish boundary the Open Field system of farming developed, and with it a whole way of life based on the communal activities of the peasants, who were ruled over by the Manor and the Church.

From Elizabethan times the Church Vestry Meeting, which had originally been established in the fourteenth century for the management of ecclesiastical affairs, took on many new roles and became the focal point in the village for authority and decision making. Many aspects of "local government" were controlled at parish level until the mid-nineteenth century, and the work involved was carried out by four elected but unpaid officials, who were usually well known and esteemed members of the local community. The most important job was

that of the Overseer of the Poor. He had many administrative duties concerning valuation of property and collection of local rates, levied to provide funds for the Church, highway maintenance and relief of the poor. He was also responsible for the distribution of poor relief to deserving people in the Parish. The Constable was in charge of law and order which included raising and equipping a militia when necessary. The Highway Surveyor's responsibility was to maintain and repair the roads, waterways and drains, and he could recruit labour to carry out the necessary tasks. The fourth job was that of Churchwarden, whose office was an ancient one concerned with caring for the church fabric, and who after 1538 also acted as the local Registrar.

Over the years a stable pattern of life developed in village communities which remained largely unaltered until the eighteenth century when a series of changes, most notably the Parliamentary Enclosures of fields and commons, meant a time of great upheaval and subsequent readjustment in the lives of the people.



Sketch Map of Hayton Lordship 1762.

THE VILLAGE LANDSCAPE IN 1762.

A detailed map exists, entitled "Hayton Lordship 1762", which shows land use at the eve of the Parliamentary Enclosure of 1764. The map refers only to the portion of the Parish east of Gunsbeck where the Open Field pattern had probably remained unchanged in its main elements for hundreds of years. The 775 acres further west towards Tilm had been "anciently enclosed" into rectangular fields at a date I have not been able to discover. It may have been during Tudor times when many landlords who owned large areas fenced in their holdings for pastoral farming. A careful study of the hedges around Tilm might provide a clue, as research has shown that the number of plant species identified in a thirty yard length of hedge increases by approximately one for every hundred years of its age. Therefore, a hedge planted in Tudor times, about 400 years ago, ought to contain four species, whereas one planted after the Parliamentary Enclosure of the late eighteenth century would be likely to contain only two species.

Most of the rest of the Parish, a total area of 1,835 acres, was organised according to the Open Field system of agriculture which can still be seen in operation at Laxton, further south in Nottinghamshire. Arable land was held in strips in each of several enormous fields which were worked co-operatively in a simple three year rotation. This usually consisted of winter wheat (for bread); oats or barley (for fodder, bread and beer); and lastly fallow (to allow the soil to recover fertility naturally). The crops were grown, probably at a very low level of efficiency, mainly for human and animal consumption within the village. Weeds and vermin must have been a constant problem, and we know from Hayton parish records of the mid-eighteenth century that children were paid for catching various pests, for example sparrows 1d a dozen, weasels and foxes 1d each. Each strip was usually about an acre in area, which represented one days work on the land, and these were arranged in blocks called furlongs within the field. The standard shape of each strip was approximately 220 yards by 22 yards, which over the years had been found to be most convenient for the type of plough used. The strips belonging to each individual farmer were dispersed throughout the field in various furlongs. This situation may have originated in an attempt to share land out fairly according to its fertility, or may have arisen because woodland was felled in parcels, gradually extending the field, and at each clearing strips would be allocated to all the farmers in the village. The whole system only worked because there was a great deal of co-operation, which was regulated by a fieldmaster and his subordinates such as the pinder, hayward and common-keeper,

Of the four Open Fields in Hayton, three were situated on the higher better drained land east of the village. Castle Field, nearest to Clayworth, was 201 acres in extent, and was presumably named after the adjacent farmstead. The Upper or Mill Field at 111 acres occupied the slope of the hillside behind the village. Its name suggests that there was once a mill in the vicinity, though none remains today. However, the first edition of the one inch Ordnance Survey Map of the area, published in the 1820's, marks a mill at the top of Clarborough Hill, just inside that Parish, but only across the road from Hayton's Mill Field. The third arable field, and the largest, was Canner Heading Field, which at 245 acres occupied the high land nearest to North Wheatley. Its name is most unusual, and as far as I know the only clue as to its meaning has been provided by a local farmer who believes that in Cromwell's day the area was used for cannon firing practice. The fourth Open Field of 132 acres was called the Low West or Church Field, and was situated beyond the Church extending down almost to Gunsbeck. It is rather surprising to find an open arable field on the low ground which must have been very wet at times of heavy rainfall, but perhaps some attempts were made to drain the land. Certainly we know that in the seventeenth century the Dutch engineer Vermuyden was responsible for drainage schemes in the area north of Hayton. In some places evidence of arable strips remains on permanent pasture land in the form of ridge and furrow, but at Hayton the land has been too intensively ploughed and cultivated in recent years for these regular undulations to remain as an obvious feature in the landscape.

Although the majority of the land in Hayton Lordship was worked as Open Fields, the map of 1762 also shows 200 acres "anciently enclosed" into rectangular plots around Hayton Castle Farm, which was marked as a substantial building. This early enclosure may have been possible because the whole area of land was owned by one person, at this time Anthony Hartshorne. There were also small areas on the edges of the Open Fields called "Closes" where enterprising farmers, probably realising the inefficiency of working scattered strips, had gradually consolidated their holdings by arrangement with their neighbours. The largest of these areas were six fields totalling about 40 acres on the southern edge of Canner Heading Field, marked on the map as belonging to William Simpson. There were also small enclosed areas owned by other people in various parts of the Parish, and along both sides of the main village street the land was divided into plots ranging in size from under half an acre to around three acres. Many of these enclosures are marked on the map with their owners' names, and were the villagers' gardens and crofts behind their homes and farm buildings, where since medieval times they had grown fruit and vegetables and had kept animals. Small areas of pasture extended eastwards up to the back lane known then as "Crofts Road" and now as "Lovers Walk", and westwards to a footpath and stream approximately where the Chesterfield Canal is now. Although some of these plots were square in shape, many were elongated with only a narrow street frontage, which perhaps explains why a number of old properties still standing were built end on to the road. The Lordship map shows that most of the houses were situated along both sides of Main Street from the Village Green, near the present Boat Inn, down to Church Lane, and that further south towards Clarborough there were only three farmsteads. The Vicar had fields reserved for his own use, known

as Glebe land. These plots were close to the Vicarage which stood surrounded by garden on its present site just off Church Lane. Church records of the late eighteenth century suggest that it was a much more humble dwelling then, consisting of several low rooms and various outbuildings which included barns and a brewhouse !

As part of the Open Field system of agriculture, animals were allowed to graze freely in the fallow fields, and after the crops had been cut, but this would not provide enough grass for their total yearly needs. Hence most of the remaining Parish land was used for grazing or providing fodder. 205 acres of low lying land west of the village extending to Gunsbeck and Old Eau Drain was managed as natural water meadow, from which a hay crop would be taken each year prior to grazing by animals who probably wandered as they pleased. There were a few enclosed plots within this open area, and one is marked on the map as the "Poor Folk's Close". This was a field of about one acre which the 1832 White's Directory of Nottinghamshire states was purchased by the Overseer in 1682, and was let for an annual rental of £2.12s. This charity money was distributed to the poor at Easter, along with £2 left by an unknown donor from the Hayton Castle estate. This fund, known as the "Hayton Dole", is still in existence. Beyond the north-eastern part of the Meadow was an area of 30 acres marked as "The Carrdole - stinted pasture". A recent study of Carlton-in-Lindrick, near Worksop, suggests that such pasture was regulated according to land holding. It was probably divided into strips called "doles" by means of stone marks set along their edges, and would be reallocated each year. The "carr" element of the name no doubt referred to the marshy nature of the land which drops in places to only 25 feet above sea level. Most villages contained a pinfold prior to Enclosure. This was a small rectangular plot surrounded by a stone wall, where stray animals were impounded until their owners obtained their release on payment of a fine to the pinder. The 1762 map shows that Hayton's pinfold was at the north end of the village near the Green, but unlike some in this area, no trace of it remains.

Only the wealthier villagers occupied land in the Open Fields. Some, called cottagers, depended on their gardens and small crofts, and others who were completely landless probably squatted in hovels on the village outskirts. Everyone, however, had the right to use the Common as they pleased either for grazing animals or cutting fuel. Hayton Common was a rough area of 264 acres of low lying land north of the village which extended to the parish boundary with Clayworth. Until properly drained earlier this century this land may have been almost fen-like, frequently flooded by the River Idle and smaller streams. Close to the Hayton Castle estate on the higher land was a further rough area of 36 acres known as Burnt Leys Common. On its edge was Ash Holt, the only woodland marked on eighteenth century maps of the parish. This two and a half acre area close to the parish boundary has survived until today, and contains a wealth of plant species which indicates that it has been in existence since Medieval times. As there is some evidence of ridge and furrow, it is possible that it was cleared and ploughed during the thirteenth century, when the pressure of increasing population caused a land hunger all over England. The Black Death outbreak of 1348 reduced the numbers of people drastically, and meant that much land distant from settlements was allowed to revert to woodland. The name Burnt Leys which means a "woodland cleared by firing" suggests that the whole area may have remained tree covered until a crisis when extra land was needed urgently for crops. By this time most parishes had only small areas of woodland left uncleared, and normally timber had too many uses, for fuel and construction purposes, to be wasted by burning. In fact, the management of woodland by coppicing became a vital element in the medieval village system, and Ash Holt probably represents the last remaining area used in this way by the people of Hayton. In addition to the botanical clues, evidence that this woodland has rarely been disturbed is provided by the presence of a boundary bank on its southern edge. Such banks probably existed around the entire perimeter of parishes in early medieval times, but have disappeared in areas continuously cultivated.

The Parish road and footpath system, which had probably been established for hundreds of years, completes the landscape of Hayton revealed in the map of 1762. The Main Street and some of the back lanes and footpaths have remained in the same position, and the several steep hollowed out tracks which lead up the hillside are a visual reminder of the Open Field system. These were the routes from the farmsteads to the arable fields, worn down over the years by the constant passage of men, animals and farm carts. In the days of limited transport much more use was made of footpaths, and people often walked distances unheard of today. The map shows a network of paths connecting various parts of the village, and leading to nearby settlements. The main Retford to Gainsborough road, and Smeath Lane

(known then as Hayton Lane) were both in existence in 1762, but as yet in an unimproved state. Prior to being properly paved they were probably no better than rutted tracks, terribly dusty in summer and a quagmire of mud in winter. The only motor-road not yet in existence was that which connects the north end of Hayton village with Clayworth. This was marked only as a footpath across Hayton Common, and the main route was along Burnt Leys Road and over the hill, using an ancient highway system past Hayton Castle Farm, to connect up with the Roman road at Haughgate Hill.

This landscape setting provides the background against which the Parliamentary Enclosure of 1764 can be viewed. We know there were 34 landowners in Hayton at this time, but it is difficult to estimate the total population of the Parish before the first national Census of 1801 which recorded 236 persons. The only clues we have regarding the number of people in the village are provided by various Church records. In 1676 there were 103 persons aged 16 years and over "fit for Communion" and by 1743 there were 47 families, according to the Curate Edmund Mower, when he made his Returns to Archbishop Herring of York. It would therefore seem probable that the Enclosure of the Fields and Commons in 1764 was to affect the lives of around 200 people in Hayton.

THE ENCLOSURE OF THE COMMONS IN 1764, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a time of revolution in agriculture which began with the enterprising ideas of people like Jethro Tull and Lord Townshend, and gradually spread throughout the farming world as husbandry began to be studied scientifically and experimentally. Soil enriching plants, such as clover, and fodder crops, such as turnips, were introduced into extended rotations which led to increased yields and a general improvement in productivity. The Open Field system was a great force for stability as it discouraged individual initiative and experiment, and therefore progress in agriculture was hindered. For example, all farmers had to complete their harvest by a certain date so the land could be used for grazing, and ploughing could not then commence until the animals were removed. Landowners and farmers everywhere became increasingly convinced of the benefits of enclosing their land, and after about 1750 the usual method of proceeding was to obtain a private Act of Parliament. The Act for Hayton was passed in 1760, and subsequently five commissioners were appointed, all gentlemen of north Nottinghamshire, except one from Thorne, Yorkshire. It was their job to apportion the land as fairly as possible to those entitled to a share, and to help them in their task surveys were carried out, and two maps drawn. The first of the unenclosed landscape, has been extensively referred to in the previous section, and the second, drawn by William Brailsford in 1764, shows all the new plots with their acreages and owners names and the road network. The written "Parish Award" which accompanies the map describes the allocations in detail, and remains an important legal document.

All the "ancient enclosures" already carried out in Hayton were left intact, and a total of thirty-two men and two women shared in the allocation of the rest of the land. The acreage was carefully worked out to be commensurate with what they already owned, and the award was then made from each individual field, meadow and common. Eight people were allocated over 50 acres, and of these the four principal landowners were Anthony Hartshorne of Hayton Castle who received 80 acres in addition to all his anciently enclosed fields around the farm; Lord Charles Cavendish who soon sold off the 162 acres awarded him in lieu of the Great Tithes due to him as impropiator (see Appendix 1); William Simpson who received 200 acres; and John Whitaker who received 120 acres. Twelve people received a total area of under 10 acres, and the remaining fourteen, including the Vicar, received between 10 and 50 acres. The allocation made to Edmund Beeley, who was a churchwarden in 1767, will be described in detail as an example. He received about 23 acres in addition to the 7 acres he already owned around his home, Hall Farm, and a 3 acre anciently enclosed plot near the Poor Folk's Close on Hayton Meadow. The Award map shows he was allocated a field of 4 acres on the former Castle Field, 4 acres on Mill Field, 4 acres on Canner Heading Field, 2 acres on Church Field, 2 acres on Carrdole pasture, 1 acre on the Meadow, and 5 acres on Hayton Common. The dramatic effect of the Enclosure process is hard to imagine even today when we are used to the rapid change of the twentieth century. Within one generation the landscape was transformed from an essentially medieval scene into one which would be recognisable today. Fields had to be fenced or hedged, usually within twelve months, drains cut, and in certain cases roads and footbridges constructed. All the legal and other expenses of Enclosure had to be met by the proprietors, and this meant a time of financial stress for those of humbler means.

The 1764 map of Hayton shows a patchwork quilt of fields of widely varying shapes and sizes. Some of those allocated to the principal landowners were 20 to 30 acres in size, and may have been subsequently subdivided, but the vast majority were under 10 acres, with many as small as 1 or 2 acres. The fields were reached by a system of tracks, some of which were already in existence, but extra ones were specified across the former Open Fields and Commons. The only new road constructed as a through-route was that to Clayworth over the former Common, which the Award stated was to be 30 feet wide with a horse bridge over the Black Dike on the parish boundary. This road is very straight, which is a characteristic feature of those constructed after Enclosure, by comparison with older routes which tend to meander across the landscape. Road widths specified in the Award range from 15 to 40 feet from ditch to ditch, much wider than we would expect today for by-roads. Before the days of tarmacadam, roads had to be wide enough to allow detours around ruts and flooded hollows in bad weather, especially on heavy clay land, and this explains why country lanes today are often bounded by broad grass verges. Most of the field roads made at the time of Enclosure still exist, if only as tracks, and many of the original hedges have survived despite the recent trend towards field amalgamation. Thus the decisions made by the Commissioners in 1764 set the overall landscape pattern seen in Hayton today.

It is widely believed that Enclosure always meant that the rich became richer and the poor poorer, but it is difficult to discover exactly what happened in an individual parish. Certainly the Award for Hayton showed that the vast majority of the land was now concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy men, to whom the costs of Enclosure would pose few problems. They were then able to benefit financially from the increased efficiency of working enclosed fields at a time when the population of England and Wales was beginning to grow, so that there was a high demand for agricultural produce and generally rising prices. Those farmers whose holdings were only of a modest size must have found the costs incurred in Enclosure a strain, and now that the Commons and Meadow could not be used for grazing, land would have to be earmarked for pasture or fodder which might otherwise have raised crops. But at least for the enterprising there was now scope for initiative, so perhaps this helped to offset the disadvantages of Enclosure and maintain prosperity. The cottagers fared much worse than the small farmers, as they now had to rely on their gardens and crofts alone for agricultural purposes. The loss of the common land for grazing stock and cutting fuel made it difficult for them to remain self-sufficient in food, and so certain supplies now had to be purchased. However, the indeterminate number of completely landless people fared even worse, and it is probable that they were the chief sufferers of the upheaval caused by Enclosure. They usually worked as agricultural labourers, but previously had been able to supplement their meagre income by the use of the Common land. Now they were entirely reliant on their wages, usually paid on a casual or piecework basis at a subsistence level. Although it is possible that the increase in land under cultivation after Enclosure and improved productivity meant that there was more work available, their life was certainly made more precarious by the loss of the Commons, and it is possible that some left the area to "seek their fortune" in the new industrial towns which were beginning to expand.

There seems to have been a general increase in rural destitution during the late eighteenth century, and surviving records of the Hayton Overseer suggest that after 1764 relief of the poor became an increasing burden for the Parish ratepayers. The Elizabethan Poor Laws, which were still in operation, were designed to give relief within the Parish to those of all ages who were unable to work, and to use funds to provide employment for the able-bodied. The Hayton records reveal a miscellany of items of payment approved by the Overseer. He was committed to spend the minimum possible amount because of his accountability to the local ratepayers, but the various men appointed during the late eighteenth century seem to have acted with as much compassion as they were able to, given the funds available. Amongst the various items recorded are clothes and shoes purchased for children; pauper funerals arranged; and weekly allowances of one shilling given to men who were chronically ill. One series of payments tells a sad story which continued over a period of two years. It began with a bill for £5.17s. for Dr. Brown for attending William Jubb in August 1786. Presumably he had some sort of dire accident, perhaps in the harvest field, as he was afterwards unable to work and was given regular parish relief. In August 1788 various entries show that he had a leg amputated by Mr C. Bellomy, whose fees were £10.10s. and that John Pettinger, the village joiner, was paid 5/- for making him a wooden leg! Other interesting items relate to Ellin Blagg who would seem to have been an invalid for several years in the 1780's. In October 1789, one shilling was paid for a horse and cart to take her to the Well House on Bone Mill Lane, Claborough, for treatment at the bath there. The waters

were reputed to be beneficial for rheumatic complaints, and many local footpaths led to the spot. We do not know if Ellin Blagg's condition was relieved by her treatment, but the Parish Register entry for her burial at Hayton on November 30th, 1790 proves that she lived for just over another year! It is possible that William Jubb and Ellin Blagg lived in the "poor houses" near the village Green. These were three cottages with mud floors and walls and thatched roofs, for which the Overseer was responsible. They survived until 1899 when they were bought in a delapidated state by John Hill of the adjacent Blythe House, who later demolished them.

Pauper children fared badly at this time, as the laws stated that they were to be apprenticed. Sometimes this would be to farmers in their home Parish, but often they were forced to leave the local area. A system was devised by which the Overseer paid a premium to an industrial employer, and then delivered the newly-clad child to his factory as an apprentice, after which all further Parish responsibility was abdicated. The records show that some Hayton pauper children were sent to Norton Worsted Mill at Cuckney, south of Worksop, between 1786 and 1805. We do not know how satisfactory or otherwise their conditions of employment were, but runaways began to be reported, and on September 11th, 1788, the Hayton Overseer paid Mary Lister 2/6d for "keeping Hemstalks children and Ann Swinborn when they ran away from the Worsted Mill".

Overall, the Overseers' records of the late eighteenth century suggest a way of life surrounded by poverty on a scale now unknown in England. At times of bad harvest and high prices, the wages of agricultural labourers were so inadequate that their families would have starved if their income had not been supplemented by poor relief. This subsidisation known as the "Speenhamland System" was widely adopted after 1795, and led to a rapid increase in the poor rates, particularly as some unscrupulous employers realised that they could lower wages even further, secure in the knowledge that the Parish would make up the level of income to a subsistence living. Increasingly during the early nineteenth century reform of this expensive system was called for, resulting in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. From then on the unit of administration was no longer the Parish, but a Union of many, governed by a Board of Guardians. Relief within the Parish was abolished, and the hated Workhouse system was established. Living conditions there were designed to be "less eligible" than those outside to discourage the poor from seeking relief, and so hopefully to reduce the overall cost to the ratepayers. Hayton became one of twenty-six Parishes in the Retford Union which erected a Workhouse on Spital Hill in 1838 at a total cost of £4,500. After this time, the Overseer's function, previously so vital in village life, began to diminish in importance, although some administrative functions remained, and the post was not finally abolished until 1925.

It is easy to suggest a picture of total gloom and despondency amongst the villagers of Hayton after Enclosure, by concentrating on the Overseer's Accounts, which are one of the few detailed records available. Life for the majority of the people may not have been adversely affected once the initial upheaval of 1764 was over. In 1794 Robert Lowe wrote a famous essay on the agriculture of Nottinghamshire in which he described the area called "the North Clays", which included Hayton. He stated that the value of land had been raised everywhere after Enclosure, and that farmers of all ranks were experimenting with new rotations and other improvements, such as introducing new breeds of cattle and sheep. Manure was used to improve the fertility of the land, including that from doves which was said to make a good top dressing for wheat. He remarked that there were probably more pigeons kept, mainly for their eggs and meat, in the Clays than anywhere else in England, and that farms often included a dovecote amongst their buildings. Several of these still stand in Hayton, including one at Church Farm, and one at Blythe House, and both are of the distinctive local design. Robert Lowe described the farm houses and buildings as usually not very spacious, but with a good fold yard, and always built of brick and tile. He mentioned that some farmers were erecting barns and cowsheds in new improved designs, an expense only likely to be incurred if times were fairly prosperous. In certain areas, new farmsteads were built amongst the fields after Enclosure, but this did not happen in Hayton. All the farms are still located along the main village street, except for Hayton Castle, whose site long preceded Parliamentary Enclosure, and Hillside House, on the ridge just north of the village, which did not exist until the nineteenth century.

Although for all villages, the aftermath of Enclosure meant a time of casting off old ways and assimilating new ones, it was a necessary change if agriculture was to progress. Various transport developments, also of the late eighteenth century, meant that horizons were widened everywhere, and that the previous almost medieval lifestyle was lost for ever in country parishes.

TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The most important transport development to affect the village of Hayton in the late eighteenth century was the cutting of the Chesterfield Canal through the Parish between 1773 and 1775. The land was surveyed by the famous engineer James Brindley, and the Canal followed a winding route just below the 50 foot contour line. Itinerant gangs of navvies dug up the fields, so recently divided and hedged, just west of the village, but there is no evidence available that the owners raised any objections as they were entitled to. Perhaps the compensation they received for the small loss of land was an attraction, and they must have recognised the benefits to the village of having a navigable waterway so close to hand.

The Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century led to the growth in importance of the coal, iron and lead industries, and it was the need for bulk transport of these heavy goods which provided the stimulus for the development of a countrywide network of canals. The Chesterfield Canal was an early example, and was the first to be constructed in Nottinghamshire. It was largely promoted by the London Lead Company who needed a more convenient shipping place than Bawtry, on the Idle, for their lead smelted at Ashover, Derbyshire. The River Idle had once been an important trading artery, but its use had declined, and after the construction of the Chesterfield Canal it soon lost all its trade. By 1779 the entire forty-six mile length of the Canal from Chesterfield to West Stockwith on the River Trent had been opened at a total construction cost of £150,000. There must have been great excitement in Hayton when the first loaded barges were hauled along the Canal by horses. The construction of the Canal also involved building two tunnels, many locks and hundreds of bridges. Several of these red brick, hump-backed, narrow bridges were built in Hayton Parish, and although some only carry lanes across the Canal, the one on Smeath Lane and the one by the Boat Inn now convey much road traffic. In several places notches in the walls of the bridges adjacent to the towpath can be seen, where horse ropes have worn grooves over the years. The Canal became a vital trading link and was much used by wooden narrow boats. To facilitate the delivery and collection of goods wharves were also constructed for each village. Hayton's Wharf was just across the road from the Boat Inn, and Clarborough's was near the Gate Inn on Smeath Lane. The presence of the Canal had an immediate effect on the price of many heavy goods, which became cheaper as they were more readily available. Throsby, a contemporary Nottinghamshire historian, stated that coal dropped in price from 15/6 to 10/6 a ton, and soon became the universal fuel. Robert Lowe wrote in 1794 that the bakers had even learnt to heat their ovens with coal rather than continue using the traditional fuels of the Common. Coal in fact became the main trade downstream on the Canal, along with iron, lead, stone and metal goods. Grain, bricks and tiles, foodstuffs, malt, hops and foreign goods, including timber, were sent back upstream to the heavy industrial area which was developing in north Derbyshire and south Yorkshire. On a local scale, the Canal became a useful way of getting produce to Retford market, and within living memory a boat called "The Packet" took people from Hayton to the Inn of that name on Grove Street.

In addition to the obvious trade advantages of the Canal, various other uses were found for its water, both for agricultural and domestic purposes. Sometimes, after filtering and boiling the water was used for drinking. Some Hayton residents felt it was preferable to the local hard water, and certainly canal water, pumped up the hill to storage tanks near the house, was used as the main supply at Hayton Castle until 1945. Wells quite often ran dry in the village, so at times of drought canal water became vital. But the presence of a canal close to the village also had its tragic moments, as an article in Retford Times of 1903 described. A two and a half year old boy was drowned one afternoon after following his mother to the Canal when she fetched a bucket of water. The body was discovered by his father, an agricultural labourer, and an inquest was held at the Boat Inn. Touchingly, the newspaper records that the coroner and jurors all handed their fees to the parents after the verdict of accidental drowning.

The canal system became the most important part of England's transport network until the railway age of the mid-nineteenth century caused its inevitable decline. From then on the Chesterfield Canal carried fewer and fewer goods, and after 1888 it ran at a loss. The link between Chesterfield and the River Trent was severed in 1908 by the collapse of the Norwood Tunnel at Kiveton Park, whose maintenance had caused problems for many years. The Canal remained open for shorter distance commercial trade until 1955, still solely used by horse drawn barges. For that reason the towpath survived in good condition, and is now much used through Hayton Parish as a footpath. Today the Canal has also taken on a new role for recreational purposes, and once again traditional narrow boats and more modern craft are frequently seen on the water.

PART I. 1801 - 1841.

The second major transport development of this period was the general improvement in the country's road network through the formation of Turnpike Trusts. Usually, existing main roads, little more than rough tracks, were upgraded using new methods of paving. The finance necessary to maintain them in good condition was provided by tolls levied at various points along the routes. In 1766, the turnpiked Great North Road was diverted eastwards by several miles to pass through Retford. According to the nineteenth century local historian, Piercy, a new era of prosperity commenced in the history of the town. Retford was Hayton's main market centre, and so it is likely that the villagers shared in the increased trade and wealth which the North Road brought to the area. The main road between Retford and Gainsborough, which forms the parish boundary with Claborough, was turnpiked in 1787, and was widely used by local and longer distance traffic. Piercy wrote that it was regarded as the "open door" for trading purposes, via the Trent and port of Hull, to the rest of the world. White's Directory of Nottinghamshire published in 1832 mentions a "car" from Retford to Gainsborough every morning at six o'clock to meet the "Hull steam packets and Lincolnshire coaches". The arrival of the railways in the mid-nineteenth century led to a decline in the importance of this busy route, which has only been reversed by the widespread use of motor vehicles in recent times.

The transport developments of this period led to increased trade and travel opportunities which were to affect the villagers of Hayton just as much as the Enclosure process. Horizons were widened for some, but the many available detailed records of the nineteenth century suggest that life was still focused mainly on the Parish.



The Canal Bridge on Church Lane, Hayton.

The population of England and Wales increased rapidly throughout the nineteenth century from almost nine million people in 1801 to thirty two and a half million people in 1901. This rise, however, was not experienced evenly in all areas, but was highly concentrated within the new industrial towns. They grew not only by natural increase, but also because of huge waves of in-migration from rural parts, which stagnated or even declined in size. In 1801 only about 20% of the total population lived in towns of over 10,000 persons, but this proportion rose steadily throughout the century, so that by 1901 the position was completely reversed with 80% in towns and only 20% rural. Because of this, the whole outlook of the nation changed from one where traditional rural interests predominated, to one mainly concerned with urban and industrial life. The story of Hayton in the nineteenth century must therefore be viewed against this background of decline, although until 1841 the population did increase to some extent. The detailed census figures for the Parish are given in Appendix 2, along with those for Nottinghamshire, and England and Wales which provide interesting comparisons.

Between 1801 and 1841 the Parish population increased by 20% from 236 to 281 persons, the highest number until the modern residential development of the mid-twentieth century began. Over the same period, the population of England and Wales almost doubled, so it would seem likely that people were already beginning to move out of the village to urban centres, lured by the prospect of better employment opportunities. Those most likely to leave were young adults who were not landowners, and whose families had probably never recovered from the effects of Enclosure in 1764. The fortunes of agriculture varied during this period, and the financial lot of the agricultural labourer was always precarious at the best of times, so people possibly felt their lives would be more secure if they found jobs in the factories and workshops of the rapidly expanding towns and cities. By leaving, however, these young people deprived the villages of their next generation of children, and it was usual to find an increasing proportion of older people in the total population of the countryside as the nineteenth century progressed.

For the majority who remained in Hayton, life went on much as before, with agriculture the predominant interest, although a surprising number of other trades were also present in the village. Despite the Canal and turnpike roads travel was still more limited than today, and so most everyday needs were met in the village or at the nearest market town. Hayton was never large enough to support a full range of trades and probably co-operated with Claborough in many ways. Hayton people have always had to use the Post Office in Claborough, and indeed, according to a Retford Times article, the village had to wait until 1893 to be allocated its own Post Box.

Apart from lists of landowners and the Parish Registers, one of the earliest detailed records of the people of Hayton is provided by White's Directory of Nottinghamshire published in 1832. Although its list of 37 persons may not be complete, and could contain inaccuracies, it gives a good idea of the principal inhabitants and tradesmen living in the Parish at that date. 21 farmers including 4 at Tilt are listed, and 6 other people not accorded a trade are included, who were probably of independent financial means. The remaining people were tradesmen and craftsmen, and perhaps surprisingly, the list includes three shoemakers. Until the American Civil War of the 1860's, when mechanisation of the industry began, all boots were hand made to customers' individual requirements, and so most villages numbered a shoemaker amongst their inhabitants. Other vital local craftsmen were the Wheelwright, Thomas Moore, also described as a blacksmith and machine-maker, and the joiner, John Pettinger. The villagers were provided with refreshment by two publicans, George Smith and Luke Smith, who may have owed a considerable proportion of their trade to passing travellers on the Canal. The influence of this waterway can also be seen in the remaining two trades listed, those of boatowner, and brickmaker. Brickyards were frequently developed close to Canals in Clay areas, to provide an easily transported supply of building materials, and sometimes wharves were specially constructed for them. We know that a brickyard existed at this time by the Canal on the Hayton Castle estate, and that another was situated beyond the Gate Inn on Smeath Lane, just into Claborough Parish. A detailed map of "twenty miles around Mansfield" drawn by Sanderson in 1835, which includes Hayton on the edge of its area, marks a brick kiln there. A sale advert, which appeared in the Retford Times in 1877, shows that this brickyard ceased production at that date when the clay was worked out. The stock in trade to be auctioned included "60,000 bricks, sundry chimney pots, planks, boards and slide windows", and so it would seem that the brickyards functioned as the supply point for all the needs of the house construction industry.

The first national Census was taken in 1801, but until 1841 it consisted of a head count only, and so no detailed information is available. During the 1830's the creation of Poor Law Unions and other local government developments meant that a hierarchy of officials was now available to co-ordinate the Census. An ambitious survey was carried out in 1841 which set the style for all subsequent ones, although there have been many modifications and additions since. The forms were filled in by the householder, who was required to give the age and sex of each person resident, their occupation and place of birth. Local enumerators collected the forms, and helped with writing if the householder was illiterate. The details were then transferred into "Enumerator's Books" which are preserved at Somerset House, and may be studied on microfilm in local libraries.

Some parts of the Census records of 1841 for Hayton are very faded, and almost impossible to read. However, the sections which are legible tie up frequently with the details given in the 1832 White's Directory. Many names are found in both records, although the nine-year time interval inevitably means some changes had taken place in the village. The two publicans are recorded as Ann Smith of the Boat Inn, and Luke Pettinger of the Anchor Inn. The latter was situated on Main Street near Scotter Lane, and was the older of the two Inns. It predated the cutting of the Canal, but before this event was known by a different name. A grocer, John Waite, and two tailors, Robert Dawson and Henry Warburton, are recorded in addition to the tradespeople listed in 1832. Thomas Moore, the wheelwright, had died at the early age of 48 years in 1840, according to the Parish Register. The 1841 Census records his wife Ann as the head of the household with five growing children to support. The eldest son, Thomas, probably helped to run the business, as seven male apprentices aged between 15 and 20 years were employed and lived with the family. We know from the Tithe Records of 1841 (which will be extensively referred to in the next section) that the Moore family owned property at the north end of the village where "The Lodge" now stands. The house stood in grounds of 5 acres which contained outbuildings, workshops, sheds and a timber yard, as well as an area of grass and orchard. It would therefore seem that Thomas Moore the elder had established a substantial business which was able to continue after his death. It is believed that this area became known locally as "Bedlam Square" because of the noise created by machinery!

Whereas the Trade Directories only list principal inhabitants and professions, the Census includes all persons in the Parish, and many farm labourers and servants, both male and female, are listed for Hayton. Most of those designated "male servants" were boys aged between 14 and 20 years resident in farming households, and were probably more correctly "farm apprentices" rather than indoor servants. It was a common system in the nineteenth century for sons to go to neighbouring farms where they received board and lodging and were hired on a yearly basis to help with general farm work. Many of the female servants were also employed in farming households, and although they were more likely to be engaged in domestic duties they may too have helped with various agricultural tasks.

Although in many areas the Church and its clergy still had a great influence in the Parish, this may not have been so in Hayton during the early nineteenth century. From 1807 to 1833 the two Vicars, William Hodges and William Tiffin, also held the living of Mattersey and probably resided there, as church records suggest that Hayton Vicarage was let to tenants at this time. However, in June 1833, the Rev. John Mason, aged 59, became Vicar, and we know from the 1841 census that he resided at the Vicarage with his wife Hannah, and their family and servants. According to a Church Terrier of 1843, which listed all its property and glebe land, the house had a southern aspect at this time, with a lean-to roof on the north side and whitewashed walls. Various outbuildings had been erected by tenants which had gone to ruin, and the house too was in a generally decaying condition, so life there was probably not very comfortable for the Vicar and his family. In 1839 John Mason became the first Chaplain of Retford Union Workhouse on Spital Hill, and so the people of Hayton may, via this contact, have been able to keep in touch with the poor of the Parish who had been recently removed there. However, his appointment was shortlived as he died, aged 70, in December 1844, and was buried at Hayton. The village had seen several Vicars come and go during the first part of the nineteenth century, but continuity has been maintained by one of several long-serving churchwardens. The Parish Burial Register entry for William Barratt on September 28th 1836 records him as aged 91 years and "upwards fifty years Clerk of this Parish".

The Church of England was not the only denomination represented in Hayton as this time. From its earliest beginnings there was a strong local interest in the Methodist movement, which was founded by John Wesley of Epworth in the mid-eighteenth century. Dr. Barry Biggs of Eaton Hall researched the story of the founding of Hayton Chapel when he wrote a brochure to celebrate its 150th Anniversary in 1974, and the following information is

taken from that booklet. John Wesley preached in Clayworth on five occasions between 1751 and 1761, and it is likely that his open air congregation included people from Hayton. Villagers may also have taken an interest in the small Methodist Societies which were established in North Wheatley, Clayworth and Retford in the 1760's and 1770's. Initially it was usual for groups to meet for classes and prayer meetings in private homes, and for public worship to continue to be centred on the Anglican Church, until increasing numbers or a definite rift provided the motivation for building a chapel. In 1801 the Hayton Methodists applied to the Archbishop of York for the necessary licence to meet in the house of John Selby. At the end of its first year, the Society had eleven members, and was led by Joseph Wilson, a Retford barber and local preacher. By 1803 they had expanded to 20 members and had become part of the newly formed Retford Circuit. The society had also applied for a new licence to meet at the home of George Cobb, just beyond Church Lane. For many years after this they were led by John Swinburn, and although the numbers of full members fluctuated between 12 and 22, it must be remembered that rules for membership were strict, and that the actual congregations were probably much larger. In 1823 there were 22 members, and it was at this time that the money was raised to build a Chapel on a site 10 by 8 yards near Church Lane, which was purchased for £2 from a labourer called Thomas Pickering. The first eleven trustees were mainly farmers of North Nottinghamshire, and included John Swinburn, a farmer, Robert Dawson, a tailor, and Thomas Lidster, a cordwainer, all from Hayton. The ordinary membership tended to be drawn from the humbler strata of village society, mainly smallholders, craftsmen and farm labourers. However, notable amongst their numbers was John Hutchinson, a "gentleman of Claborough" who was also a trustee and came from a well known local landed family. Very few of the gentry were ever associated with Methodism in North Nottinghamshire, and it must have taken a great deal of courage for him to stand apart from his social circle at a time of acute class consciousness.

The Wesleyan Chapel cost £140 to build and was officially opened on 26th August 1823, after which date services which had previously been fortnightly at 6 p.m. became weekly. From then on the Chapel became an important part of village life, and by 1851 an Ecclesiastical Census revealed that on average more people attended its services than those at the Parish Church.

THE PARISH LANDSCAPE IN 1841.

From 1764 to 1841 when we next have a detailed record of land use in Hayton, farmers must have gradually adjusted to more individual methods of agriculture necessitated by Enclosure. The fortunes of farming in England in general varied throughout this period, but the growing population meant there was still incentive for increased efficiency and new methods long after the "revolution" of the eighteenth century. In 1845, R.W. Corringham of Bolham Hall, near Retford wrote a prize essay on the agriculture of Nottinghamshire for the Royal Agricultural Society. He suggested that excellent farming was carried out in the north clay district, with the general prosperity of the area shown by the superior condition of the houses and out-buildings. A diversity of cropping systems was used on arable land, but the most popular was a six course system of fallow; barley or wheat; grass including red clover; wheat; beans; and wheat or oats. The land had been found to be too strong for growing turnips and was "rather stiff" everywhere. In some places it was heavy enough to require four horses in a line to a single plough, accompanied by a driver as well as a ploughman. The land was potentially highly fertile for cereal production, especially when drained, and it is possible that new methods using clay pipes devised during the 1840's were tried out in the Hayton area by large landowners, who according to Corringham were wealthy and enlightened!

We are fortunate that a copy of the 1841 Tithe Map and Apportionment of Rent Charge has survived for the Parish of Hayton, as according to W.B. Stephens in his book "Sources for English Local History" they rank as the most complete record of the agrarian landscape at any period. The system of paying tithes in kind to the church was essentially a medieval concept which was becoming increasingly difficult to operate from the late eighteenth century onwards. There was a general demand for commutation of tithes to a rent charge, and in 1836 an Act of Parliament was passed which laid down the necessary procedures. In 1839 a Parish Meeting was held of the landowners of Hayton, and an agreement reached which was published in 1841. Much of the Parish land is described in great detail in this map and accompanying document, but unfortunately the 1,260 acres of former open fields and commons are not included, as their tithes were extinguished by the Enclosure Award of 1764. This means that the land use record of the former Hayton Lordship is incomplete except for the "ancient enclosures" along the village street and near Hayton Castle Farm. The 775 acres of land around Tilt, which were anciently enclosed, were still subject to tithe, and so the map details can be used to build up a complete picture of land use there in 1841.

A chequerboard pattern of rectangular fields is revealed in Tilt. Their sizes vary from 5 to 15 acres, with the majority around 10 acres. The land close to the River Idle on the outer perimeter of the Parish, and the north eastern area bordered by Gunsbeck and Old Eau Drain, was virtually all pasture or meadow, with field names frequently including the element "carr". Much of the rest of the land, both east and west of the hamlet, a total area of about 460 acres, and almost 60% of the total area was described as arable, but unfortunately the actual crops grown were not recorded. The word "hopyard" is mentioned several times in field names, and this refers to an unusual crop which was established around Retford, Tuxford and Southwell during the eighteenth century to supply the local brewing industry. The total acreage of hops in Nottinghamshire varied from year to year, but by 1800 was probably at least 1,100 acres. Robert Lowe, writing in 1794, mentioned Tilt and Welham in his list of principal hop plantations, and the crop became sufficiently important locally for an annual hop fair to be established in Retford each October. Yields were never high, but the variety grown was stronger than the Kentish Hops, and so went further, although it was generally felt to have an inferior rank flavour. When the local brewing industry declined in importance after 1800, cultivation began to decline rapidly, and the crop had disappeared by 1880. The 1841 tithe records give no clue as to whether fields bearing the name "hopyard close", but described simply as arable, were still in production, but a detailed map drawn by Sanderson in 1835 marks only one field of hops near Smeath Lane, and none near Tilt itself. The name of the Public House "The Hop Pole" on the edge of Retford, near Welham, survives as the only reminder of this former local crop.

In addition to pasture and arable land, the Honourable John Simpson of Babworth owned 17 acres in Tilt which he maintained as five small areas of plantation for his own use. The largest plot was 9 acres which survives today as Tilt Holt, east of the hamlet. Two of the smaller areas were nearby, and the remaining two were at the extreme south-western edge of the Parish near the River Idle. Fox hunting had become a popular pastime amongst the gentry, and it is probable that these areas were originally planted as coverts, as was common all over the Midland shires at this time. John Simpson, in fact, owned about 75% of all the land in Tilt, but it was occupied, and presumably rented, to three farmers. John Peck and James Ramsker, who both lived in the hamlet, farmed 320 acres and 165 acres respectively in several blocks of arable and pasture land. "George Peck of Hayton" occupied the remainder around Broomhouse, an outlying farm on the extreme south-western edge of the Parish by the River Idle. However, according to the 1841 census, an agricultural labourer, William Wilkinson lived there, so it is possible that he was employed by George Peck who also farmed much land around Hayton and lived at the present Canner Heading Farm. The tithe map reveals that Tilt also contained one further mixed farm of 160 acres which was owner occupied by Thomas Walker, who lived in the hamlet. These four substantial farms accounted for virtually all the land in Tilt, and the 1841 census completes the picture of this small wholly agricultural community of 30 persons by recording only three other humbler households.

The situation in Tilt, where land ownership and occupation was concentrated in a few hands, was in marked contrast to the rest of Hayton, where 49 occupiers, many of them also the owners, shared in the total titheable area of 1,184 acres. The population of the Hayton portion of the Parish was 251 persons in 1841, and most, as in 1764, lived along Main Street where the land was still subject to tithe. The anciently enclosed holdings are described in detail, and consisted of homesteads and gardens, sometimes orchards, and occasionally dovecotes. Many people also owned crofts of grass extending to the back lane or canal,

and some probably owned or occupied further land in the Parish not subject to tithe, and therefore not recorded in these documents. It is therefore impossible to build up a complete picture for Hayton, but the numbers of occupiers involved would make such an analysis far too complicated in any case for a study of this kind. The 1841 Census reveals that most of the owners or occupiers recorded in the tithe records were farmers or cottagers. The example of Hall Farm on Main Street was given to illustrate the Enclosure Award of 1764, and will be used again to show the details available for 1841. The seven acres of grass land around the farm was still owned by the Beeley family, but was now occupied by Thomas Pagdin, a farmer of 60 years. There was a pond in front of the house then as now, with an area of garden, and an orchard where the present council houses of that name stand.

Further interesting details relate to John Bucklow, a farmer of 36 years, who had four young children, and employed three servants. In addition to a considerable area of tithe-free land, and 3 acres of grass anciently enclosed at the corner of Smeath Lane and Main Street, he occupied 4 acres near Scotter Lane extending back from Main Street to the Canal. This area of land included a house, garden, croft of grass, and a malt kiln by the Canal. I have not been able to discover if this was still in use at the time, and it has since disappeared. Some people recorded as occupiers of land in the tithe records probably only worked a small acreage to supplement income brought in by a trade. For instance, Robert Dawson, aged 60, was described as a tailor in the 1841 Census, and owned a house and garden opposite Hall Farm, but he also worked a one acre croft, which extended down to the canal behind his home, and a two acre meadow west of the Church. The two publicans both occupied a few acres of pasture, and this system of combining farming with a trade seems to have been very common according to census records.

The only part of Hayton where land use can be described in detail is around Hayton Castle Farm, where 112 acres now owned by "Robert Hartshorne Barber of Edinburgh" was still subject to tithe. The farm was occupied by James Creighton, a native of Scotland, who lived there with his family and several servants. The land closest to the house was described as garden, paddock and orchard, and a two acre plantation on the Parish boundary now existed in addition to the Ash Holt mentioned in 1762. The fields extending from the house down to the Canal were all recorded as pasture or meadow, whereas those on the higher ground were arable.

The former Canner Heading Closes near Clarborough parish boundary are also described in detail, and were divided roughly equally between arable and pasture land in 1841, a pattern likely to have been repeated all over the Parish, if details were available. On both sides of Main Street a continuous band of grassland extended from the Boat Inn to the parish boundary with Clarborough, and from the Canal to the back lane now known as "Lovers Walk". The straggling village consisted of mainly brick-built houses, some with thatched roofs, which were interspersed with farm buildings, gardens, orchards and small crofts of grass. This landscape setting provides the backdrop for the story of the Parish during the later part of the nineteenth century.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF HAYTON DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY.



Main Street, Hayton, looking north. Church Lane is on the left beyond which the school and Methodist Chapel can be seen.



Main Street, Hayton, looking north. The Anchor Inn, now demolished, is on the left.



Main Street, Hayton, looking north from Hall Farm orchard. "Tate's shop", the present "Dolphin's Barn", is on the right.



The Anchor Inn, Hayton.



Main Street, Hayton, looking north towards Blythe House and the Boat Inn.



"Tate's shop", Main Street, Hayton. The blacksmith's workshop can be seen behind the group of boys.



The Boat Inn, Hayton.



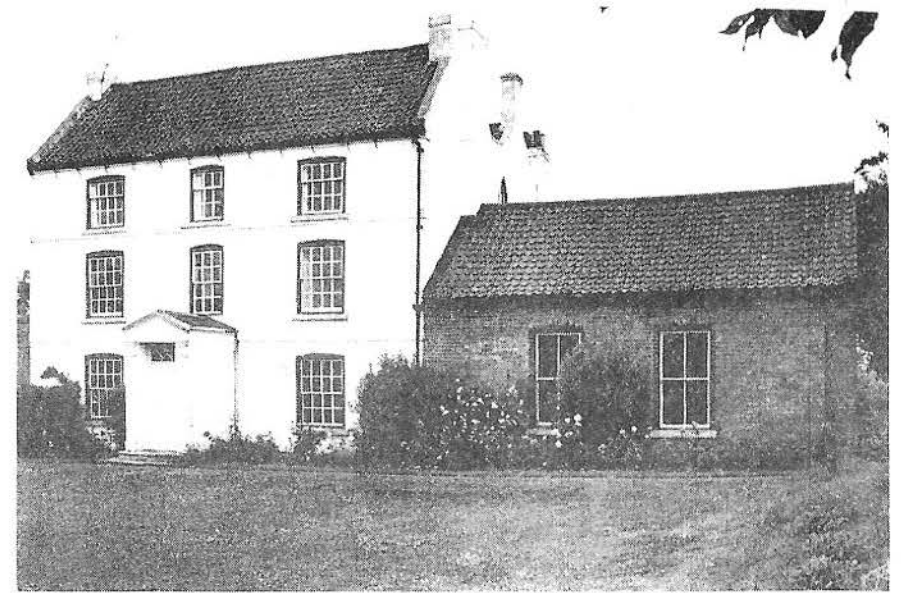
Barlow Brothers cauliflowers en route from Hayton to Welham railway sidings.



Women and children picking peas for Barlow Brothers in Hayton.



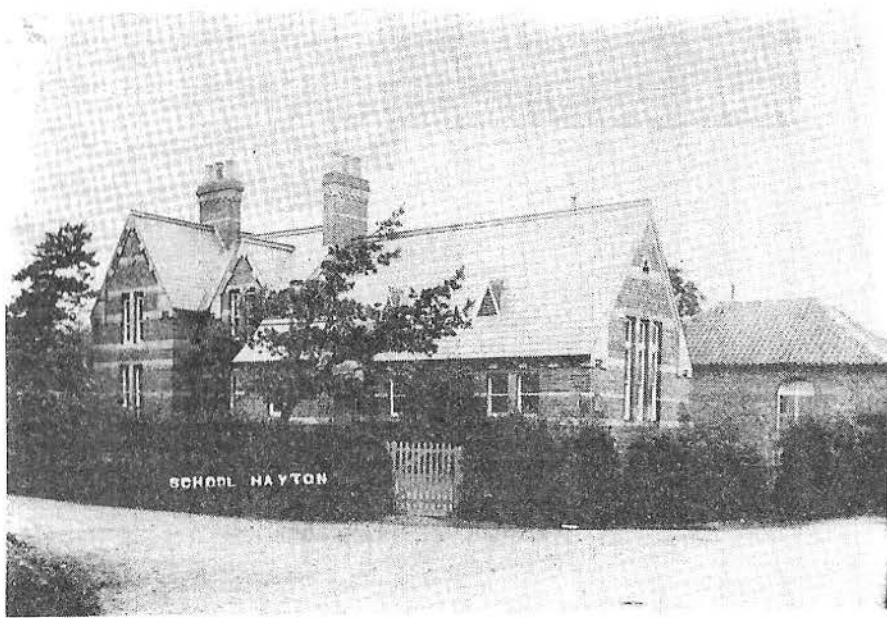
Barlow Brothers employees working in a field of celery in Hayton.



Hayton Castle farmhouse. The Victorian ballroom extension is on the right.



Church Farm, Main Street, Hayton. Traditional farm buildings and dovecote can be seen.



Hayton Church School and Teacher's Residence.



St. Peter's Church, Hayton from Church Lane.



Hayton Church School pupils.



Hayton Vicarage, west front.

HAYTON IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PART 2. 1851 ONWARDS.

From 1851 to 1891 the population of the Parish remained virtually unchanged at just over 250 persons (see Appendix 2). Over the same period, the population of England and Wales continued to rise, increasing from 18 million to 29 million. Hayton's size remained unchanged probably because greater numbers of people decided to leave the village than had been the case in the earlier nineteenth century. In fact, if the figures for the Tiln part of the Parish, which are available from 1841 to 1881, are separated, they show that Hayton village declined from 251 to 207 persons because Tiln slightly increased in size, while still remaining a wholly agricultural hamlet. It would be incorrect, however, to suggest that the movement from Hayton was all outwards, as villages always maintained a dynamic existence, with people moving around locally for various reasons. At each date, the Census Enumerator's Books record some families whose surnames are of long standing, but others of unfamiliar names, who had presumably recently moved into the village. Birthplace details which are available from 1851 onwards show that 42% of the people resident were born in Hayton, and another 14% were born in the neighbouring parishes of Claborough, Wheatley or Clayworth. 26% were born elsewhere in north Nottinghamshire, and many of these were wives of Hayton born husbands. Perhaps surprisingly another 12% came from Lincolnshire, but mostly from parishes close to the county boundary. The remaining few not accounted for were born in Yorkshire, Derbyshire or Scotland.

The constant round of births, marriages and deaths, which of course affected the Parish population, are revealed in the Parish Registers. Between 1850 and 1900 a total of 214 baptisms, 76 marriages and 222 burials were recorded. The age at death, included from 1813 onwards, provides interesting results when analysed, and it is unfortunate that the cause of death was not also recorded. Medical care was still rudimentary, and for the poorer people diet was often inadequate, so life was still precarious, particularly for the young, and this is graphically demonstrated by the burial records for Hayton. Until 1880 about 25% of all burials were of children under 5 years old, with many newborn infants included in that number. After 1880 the proportion dropped, which may have been due to improved health, but was possibly because fewer children were born in the village as so many young people had moved away. The burial statistics suggest that if children survived past the age of 5 years they then had a good chance of reaching adulthood and living to a ripe old age.

Throughout the nineteenth century over 30% of burials were of people over 70, with many in their 80's and a few over 90 years! From 1880 to 1900 46% of the burials were of people over 70, but this probably reflects the age structure of the Parish at that time, rather than showing that the people were unusually long lived! If Census age details are analysed the trends suggested by the Parish Registers are confirmed. Although many people lived long lives, it was common for one partner in a marriage to die prematurely, as many widows and widowers are recorded as heads of households.

One interesting and sad example is provided by the 1851 Census, where an agricultural labourer widower, aged 35, is listed. He had two young sons aged 3 years and 7 months, so it is likely that his wife died in childbirth or soon afterwards. He employed a young widow as resident housekeeper, presumably to care for his children, and the household also included a lodger, an older agricultural labourer. Perhaps this arrangement was made to help pay the housekeeper's wages, as life must have been a great struggle for him at a time when Nottinghamshire labourers only earned about ten shillings per week.

In times past family bereavement was a much more commonly occurring event than is the case today, and probably there was plenty of support in small, rural, close-knit communities. The phenomenon of a declining population size, with many young people leaving the area, was a new problem in the later nineteenth century with which villages all over England had to come to terms. By comparison with the overall nationwide pattern, an analysis of the age structure of the community in Hayton in 1851 and 1871 shows that the population was increasingly concentrated in the older age range. In 1851 there was a distinct deficit of young men in their twenties, the group most likely to leave for jobs in industrial areas, and conversely larger than expected numbers of young unmarried women still living at home. By 1871, these trends were all becoming more marked as the village continued to decline in size.

It cannot be coincidental that Hayton changed from a population which was rising slowly to one which was declining at exactly the time that the railway came to Retford. The nation's network of lines was largely built in the mid-nineteenth century, and those around

Retford were begun in 1849, and completed in a few years. Claborough tunnel was opened at this time, and men from Hayton probably found temporary employment there during its construction. The arrival of this new means of transport for people and goods had an impact on the area which was just as important as the re-routing of the Great North Road and the construction of the Chesterfield Canal during the previous century.

A whole new "railway town" grew up at Thrumpton, on the edge of Retford, and many new jobs were created either directly or indirectly because of the impetus given to industrial development. Many people who left Hayton may have moved only as far as Retford to find employment, as the town grew quite rapidly at this time. Others may have travelled to the iron and steel area which was developing around Sheffield as it was now easily accessible using the direct rail link. Some may have decided to move further north or south as Retford was now on a main line between London and Scotland, although census statistics of the nineteenth century show that people tended to move to the industrial area closest to their birthplace.

This study however is not concerned with those who left Hayton, but with those who remained in the village, and the Census records of the later nineteenth century contain a wealth of detail about the inhabitants. The 1841 Census was deemed a great success, and paved the way for even more ambitious surveys from 1851 onwards. Unfortunately the Enumerator's books do not usually record the exact address of each householder in rural areas, as they do in towns, but even so they provide a fascinating record of nineteenth century communities. A hundred year rule of secrecy applies on these documents, so the last date at present for which the Enumerator's Books are available is 1881. These however are very faded for parts of Hayton, and so a complete picture of the Parish can only be built up from 1851 to 1871. Various trade directories continued to be published throughout the nineteenth century, and these along with Retford Times articles from 1869 onwards can sometimes add extra detail.

The Census reveals agriculture as continuing to be the predominant interest in Hayton. From 1850 to the 1870's British agriculture enjoyed a golden age of unparalleled prosperity. There was very little foreign competition for cereal growers at this time, and farmers were able to benefit from the steadily growing total population, increasingly concentrated in industrial areas. Once the railway network was established rural areas were often able to take advantage of new markets at a distance previously unheard of, and this was certainly true around Retford. The local area became an important supplier of all kinds of farm produce for the Sheffield area.

Although Hayton was not fortunate enough to actually be situated on a line with a station of its own, as were many local villages, it nevertheless was close enough to Retford to benefit from the widening of markets. The Census records reveal a continuation of familiar surnames amongst farmers over the years, as ownership of land led to stability. Holdings were small by today's standards, and in 1851, of the total of 24 farmers in the Parish, only 6 in Hayton and 3 in Tiln worked over 100 acres of land. 10 had holdings of between 10 and 100 acres, and 5 farmed less than 10 acres and should perhaps have been more correctly termed "cottagers", although some of them combined farming with a trade. As agriculture was still almost entirely unmechanised and highly labour intensive, it was only feasible to work a small acreage unless the farmer was wealthy enough to employ several agricultural labourers and farm servants. Of the nine farmers working over 100 acres most had large households which included male and female servants in addition to their families, although two were middle-aged bachelors.

Farmers who worked smaller acreages often relied on grown up sons and daughters to help with agricultural tasks, but those with most land usually employed additional labourers. In the days before "old age pensions" wages earned by agricultural labourers were at far too low a level to enable them to save for retirement. The only alternative for those not of "independent means", of which there were very few in Hayton, was the hated workhouse, and so people continued in their occupations as long as their health allowed them to. In Hayton several agricultural labourers were recorded in their 60's and 70's at each Census date, despite the hard physical effort required of the job.

Most of the occupations listed were related to agriculture in some way, especially when it is remembered that many of the male and female servants were employed in farming households. From 1851 to 1871 the numbers employed in agriculture stayed fairly constant. At each date there were between 20 and 25 farmers, about 20 agricultural labourers, 15 male farm servants, and 15 female servants in the Parish, along with a few associated specialised jobs such as shepherdess, butcher and farmer, cattle dealer, seed merchant, fruit grower and market gardener. The last two occupations were recorded more often as the

nineteenth century progressed reflecting the developing importance of the area in this field. In 1871 and 1881, a coachman, George Whaley is listed, who also appears in trade directories of the time as a carrier operating from the Vine Inn, Retford on market days. Such men became a vital link between outlying agricultural villages and the railways, carrying goods and people and often undertaking commissions for clients in town while they were waiting to make their return journey.

Most of the remaining occupations listed from 1851 to 1871 were trades or professions. Smith Hill, the village blacksmith in 1851 and 1861, lived at the present Blacksmith's Cottage. He died at the early age of 47 years in 1868 and is buried at Hayton. His wife Ann was left to bring up their large young family, several of whom lived in Hayton for most of their lives. The youngest son Smith, who was Parish Clerk and sexton, died in 1942 aged 77, still living in the house where he was born. By 1871 a new blacksmith, Charles Burrell, had arrived in the village with his family, but by 1881 Smith Hill's eldest son John had returned from working in Sheffield to take up the profession, before setting up as a market gardener. The master shoemaker, Thomas Whitlam, first recorded in 1841, continued in his job for many years, and was joined by Job Porter after 1861. The tailor, Henry Warburton, was still listed in 1851, but not in 1861. Several young women were then recorded by the Census as dressmakers, so perhaps they took over some of his trade. However, a calling card discovered at Hayton Castle during recent renovations shows that a Mr Merryweather, a travelling mens outfitter, visited the area regularly at this time.

John Pettinger who was the village joiner in 1841 died aged 86 in 1843. Luke Pettinger, his son, who was licensee of the Anchor Inn, is also recorded in 1851 as a carpenter, aged 48, who employed three men. He lived at the Inn with his wife Ann and two daughters, who by 1861 are recorded as barmaids. By 1871 they had left home, and in 1879 his wife died. In the 1881 Census, Luke is described as a deaf widower, working as a publican and cowkeeper, still living at the Anchor Inn, but now with his daughter Jane and son-in-law Samuel Bartram. The same Parish Registers which had recorded Luke's baptism on August 22nd 1802, list his burial, aged 81 years, on January 7th 1884, and his gravestone can be seen near the Church porch. The family influence remained after his death at the Anchor Inn, where Samuel Bartram was publican for many years. The other village Inn, The Boat, was still run by Ann Smith, a widow in 1851, but by 1861 it had been taken over by Arthur Batty, then aged 30, and was to remain in that family's hands until the early twentieth century. After Samuel Bartram's death, the Anchor Inn was bought by the owners of the Boat Inn and closed to avoid competition. It then became a private house before being demolished some time ago.

The village engineering firm created by Thomas Moore continued to flourish in 1851 under the guidance of his son. Thomas, then aged 29, was described as an engine machine maker employing 17 men. His mother Ann, a farmer of 9 acres, was still recorded as head of their large household, which included all the younger brothers who were apprentices, a dress-maker daughter, a journeyman machine-maker and his wife, three unrelated apprentices, and an errand boy of 14 years.

Several other men in the village had related occupations such as iron moulder and machine maker's labourer, and they presumably worked for the firm, although some may have travelled in from neighbouring parishes to complete the total workforce. It is possible that this source of employment in the village, as an alternative to agriculture, helped to delay the decline in population numbers. Changes were soon to take place, however, as the 1861 Census does not record Thomas Moore or his workmen, and we can only guess that perhaps he moved his firm to a town where the railway would provide easier transport for materials and goods. Surely if he had died, one of his brothers would have taken over what seems to have been a thriving business, but in 1861 only his mother and a younger unmarried brother, George, aged 36 and described as a master-machinist, remained in Hayton.

Trade directories of 1869 and 1879 list George Moore as a threshing-machine owner. Threshing was one of the first agricultural processes to be mechanised, and as the machines were far too expensive for individual farmers to buy, they were usually owned by contractors who travelled from farm to farm. By 1871 George Moore had married and left his mother's home according to the Census. His household included his wife and family, and a female servant who is one of the few recorded in Hayton in a non-farming household, which suggests he enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity.

In the mid-nineteenth century Hayton appears to have only had one shop, run by John Waite who was also recorded in the Census as a farmer. He was a member of the Methodist Society and lived just beyond the Chapel. In 1861 his household included a 20 year old

servant, John Bovill, whose birthplace of Norfolk attracts interest as it is one of the few non-local places recorded. A descendant has related the story that John left his home village while still a teenager to seek his fortune, and travelled eventually to Hayton where he found employment with John Waite. John Bovill must have been an enterprising young man, as by 1871 he had become head of his own household with a local wife Rebecca and four young children, and was described as a "grocer and gardener". He was even prosperous enough to employ a female servant himself, and by 1881 his family had grown further, and he was now listed as a "grocer and potato dealer". He later became a successful fruit grower, and moved to Rose Mount, Claborough. His wife died in 1907, but he later remarried and died in 1927 aged 87 years, and is buried at Hayton. His obituary in Retford Times recorded that he became a staunch member of the Claborough Primitive Methodists, holding several offices at the Chapel, and it is interesting to wonder if his early days in Hayton with John Waite influenced his life in that direction.

The Census details and trade directories for Hayton suggest that it was a mainly working class agricultural community with few people who could be described as gentry other than the Vicar, and the Hartshorne Barbers of Hayton Castle. That family had owned the estate for hundreds of years and were resident for much of the time. From the 1830's, however, the farm was run by James Creighton, and the Barbers were not recorded in the Census of 1841 or 1851. By 1861 William Wilkinson had taken over as farm bailiff, and the birthplace details of his children suggest that the family moved from North Leverton to Hayton Castle at the end of the 1850's. At the main house members of the Hartshorne Barber family had once again taken up residence, and they were soon to add the present Georgian style west front and ballroom wing which incorporates curious carved stones referred to in an earlier section.

The Census of 1861 records Robert Hartshorne Barber, the head of the household, as a native of Nottingham, but according to the title records of 1841, he was a resident of Edinburgh at that date, and his wife Sarah, and all his children were born in Scotland. In 1861 Robert, aged 77 years, and his sister, a widow aged 85 years, are both described as landed proprietors, and the household also included Robert's family, along with a cook and housemaid. He died in 1870 aged 86 years, and his wife joined him in 1873 aged 76 years. They were both buried at Hayton near the Church tower, where their gravestones can be seen. Their son, Samuel Wordsworth Barber, was a bachelor in 1861, and was listed in the Census as a "barrister". He died aged 47 in 1869, and his gravestone at Hayton adds the detail that he worked at the Inner Temple in London.

Robert and Sarah Barber's three daughters, whose names are engraved on a window pane at Hayton Castle, lived for many years longer than their brother. A Retford Times obituary of 1897 describes the funeral of Sarah, aged 67 years, when the Church was crowded with a "large congregation who had known and loved the deceased through a prolonged period". The school children attended the service and sang two songs before forming a procession to carry the crosses and wreaths, after the coffin had been carried to its grave near the church tower. The chief mourners were Sarah's sister, Rosamund Ann, who continued to live at Hayton Castle, and died aged 92 in 1919, and a married sister, Mrs Collinson, whose son, the Rev. Christopher Barber Collinson, conducted the funeral service. He was later to become Vicar of Laxton, and lived in the 1920's at "Wheatley Field".

A newspaper cutting of 1928 records a garden fete in Hayton in aid of the Church School where Christopher's wife performed the opening ceremony. The Vicar, in his speech, pointed out how much the village was indebted to the Hayton Castle family "for many and great kindnesses over the years". He also recalled how the late "much revered" Miss Barber had more than once saved Hayton Church from imminent disaster "when the Churchwardens found themselves absolutely without funds to pay for services necessary to carry on public worship in the church".

The Hartshorne Barber family appear to have acted in a philanthropic manner common amongst rural gentry in the nineteenth century. A similar attitude was often adopted by the parish priest, and this would certainly seem to have been so in Hayton from 1845 onwards after the arrival of Rev. William Chapman Mee, whose work will now be described.

THE CHURCH AND SCHOOL UNDER THE REV. W.C. MEE.

1845 - 1898.

When the Rev. John Mason died in 1844 his place was taken by the Rev. William Chapman Mee. He was Vicar of Hayton for 53 years, and as such became a central figure in village life. In 1849 he also became Curate of West Burton, a post which he held until 1884 when the living was added to North and South Wheatley, and the church subsequently demolished.

William Mee was a local man, the son of John Mee, a founder and senior partner of the firm of solicitors still to be found on Churchgate, Retford. Born in 1819, he obtained a degree from Cambridge University before entering the Church in 1843. In 1845 he married Emily Jane Riley of Burslem, Staffordshire, and Church records show that when the young couple arrived in Hayton the Vicarage was in a delapidated condition and needed extensive renovation to make it habitable. As well as repairs, considerable additions including the present west front were made at a total cost of £500, partly financed by the Rev. Mee himself. Available details of the numbers of rooms suggest that the property was now transformed into a spacious Victorian residence to accommodate the growing Mee family.

William and Emily's first child, Mary Emily, was born in 1846, and a son, John Riley, followed in 1848. Francis Elizabeth arrived in 1849, and then there was a gap of several years before the youngest daughter, Constance Ethel, was born in 1857. The Parish Register records the baptism at Hayton of each of these children, and the details are confirmed by the Census records which show that the household also included several servants, who were usually female, although in 1861 a groom was also employed.

In 1871 William was described as a landowner as well as Vicar, and it would appear that he was a wealthy man, which was fortunate as the Hayton living was considered a poor one in financial terms. The 1871 Census also shows that all the children were still unmarried and living at home, although John Riley, then aged 22, was described as an Undergraduate at Cambridge. A Retford Times article informs us that he entered the Church and became a rector in Norfolk, having married a Miss Potchett from Denton, near Grantham, in 1881.

William Mee's two younger daughters both married, Francis to William Moxon of Staffordshire in 1891, and Constance to George Shrewsbury Smith of Tilm in 1903. The latter couple moved to Claines, near Worcester, but retained a close interest in Hayton Parish, manifested by their presentation to the Church of a St. George's Day Flag in 1911. Prior to her rather late marriage, Constance had taken an active part in parochial work, and according to her obituary in 1928 was particularly interested in the Sunday School and choir, of which she was organist for many years.

The eldest daughter, Mary Emily, remained a spinster, and lived at Hayton Vicarage until 1898 when she died, aged 51 years, after a "short and painful illness". She is buried in the churchyard along with other members of the family whose graves can be seen by the path behind the east end of the Church. Her obituary in Retford Times stated that "in every good way in her father's parish, the deceased lady took a prominent part The poor of the village have lost a bountiful benefactress, for many were the acts of kindness she did in visiting the sick, distributing delicacies, clothing or food."

William Mee's wife Emily died in 1888 aged 64 years. He outlived her by ten years and died in 1898 aged 79. In 1895 Retford Times had celebrated his Golden Jubilee as Vicar of Hayton by publishing a biographical article. It was stated that at that time he was the longest serving and oldest officiating Parish priest in Nottinghamshire.

Remarkably, one of the Churchwardens for most of his incumbency, John Smith, retained his post for 62 years, and had become the oldest Churchwarden in England when he died in 1890 aged 84 years. It must have been hard for the late nineteenth century villagers to imagine Hayton without the familiar figures of William Mee and John Smith, especially as the Vicar continued to take an active part in Church duties until the last few months of his life. According to the Jubilee article, the Vicar still possessed a fine commanding voice, despite his advancing years, and gave plain homely sermons during the services which had "improved" during his time at Hayton. His obituary similarly stated that "he was an elocutionist of no mean order, and a preacher of great power, his sermons being marked by deep thought and force". During his last few months his increasing infirmity and consequent lack of activity was a source of great sorrow to him.

The death of his eldest daughter in September 1898 was a further heavy blow and he only survived her by two months. The Church was packed to capacity for his funeral on 29th November 1898 with many people unable to gain admittance. His obituary summed up his life by stating that "he and his family were in season and out of season ever seeking opportunities to help the poor by practical sympathy, and the Parish today is poorer by his death".

When the Rev. Mee arrived in Hayton in 1845 the church, according to Retford Times, was "not in a satisfactory condition". In 1857 the Retford historian, Piercy, suggested in an article that the above description was rather an understatement! He wrote that much architectural repair was required and that the east wall of the Chancel was in such a dangerous condition that it needed to be pulled down and rebuilt. The interior of the Church was in a most shameful condition, and he wrote "There is not a lumber room in the meanest cottage in the Parish in such a state Talk of a house of God we blush to write it it is a disgrace to a Christian Country". The Rev. Mee soon took steps to remedy this sorry state of affairs, and an extensive programme of restoration was carried out.



The interior of St. Peter's Church, Hayton.

The Church was officially reopened by the Bishop of Lincoln on May 5th 1859, when he took the opportunity to christen the Mee's youngest daughter, Constance. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace documents detailing the exact alterations and repairs carried out, but we know that the total cost was £625, some of which was born by the Vicar himself. This was a considerable sum of money to spend in those days, when an agricultural labourer only earned about £30 per annum. However thorough these repairs were, by 1876 Retford Times had cause to note in an article about the Church that "with a little pecuniary help from the many well to do parishioners, the Vicar and Churchwardens would be able to make the Church as effective in interior arrangement as it is beautiful in architecture". Presumably the Church fittings were still found to be unsatisfactory, but perhaps the Vicar helped again to rectify this situation as during his long years at Hayton he donated a reading lectern, prayer desk, choir stalls, and "assisted the parishioners" in the renovation of the church bells.

It has recently been discovered that these three bells are unique in the diocese as they were all cast by the same man, Henry Dand, who was a foreman founder at the Nottingham bell foundry of the Oldfields between 1558 and 1598. In the early twentieth century, a pamphlet was published describing the church architecture which mentions recent repairs completed, and others found to be urgently necessary. A "Church Improvement Fund" was established, and so it would seem that the problem of renovation and restoration has been a recurrent one in Hayton.

During the period of the Rev. Mee's incumbency, the church occupied a central role in village life. In 1851, the only national census of Religious Worship ever commissioned in England was undertaken, and its results give us an accurate idea of active involvement in the Church at that date. On the Census Sunday of 30th March, 47 people were present at the Parish Church, although the average was recorded as 60 persons. By comparison, 50 people attended the Methodist Chapel, but a severe storm had broken out just before the service commenced lowering the congregation from the usual average of 75 persons. The average attendance at both places of worship was therefore 135 persons or 52% of the Parish population, which demonstrates the influence of these establishments at that time.

In addition to their obvious concern for the spiritual and moral welfare of their parishioners, the Mee family were also keenly interested in the educational provision within the Parish. Several Retford Times articles mention the family's role in the establishment of a "reading and recreation room" for the "long winter evenings". This building was probably situated opposite Blacksmith's Cottage between Main Street and the Canal near "Lecture Room Bridge", but I have not been able to discover its exact location from contemporary sources. By comparison much evidence remains for the main educational project with which the Mee's were involved, namely the establishment of the church school in 1876. It is generally thought that prior to this date there was only a Sunday school in Hayton, which may have undertaken some secular teaching duties.

During my research, however, I have come across several references which suggest that a "dame-school" existed, possibly similar to one in Claborough. Such schools usually consisted of a few children who were taught the basic rudiments of education by older, often untrained, persons. Before the days of compulsory schooling this was often the only type of education available to children of working class families, and despite its shortcomings, it was probably better than nothing! It is thought by a former owner that a room containing a fireplace, which used to adjoin Church Farm house, was used as a schoolroom at some date, and certainly the 1851 Census records Ann Richards, a widow of 71 years, as a school mistress in the village. By 1861 she was simply described as an "agricultural labourer's widow" so perhaps by then she had become too old to teach!

No other person was listed as a teacher at that date, but by 1869 Morris' Directory included "Thomas Squires - Day School" amongst the trades and professions in Hayton. The 1871 Census records John Squires, aged 65, as a school master, and he was probably the same person, as mistakes were sometimes made in the directories. The proposal that some sort of school existed in Hayton prior to 1876 is further confirmed by Retford Times' Jubilee Article on the Rev. Mee, which stated that before the Church school was built "there had only been a small building used as a dame's school in the village".

The existing educational provision, however, was clearly felt to be inadequate as fund raising was commenced in 1870 with the declared aim of building a Church school. During the earlier nineteenth century schools had been established over the whole country by various religious denominational groups, but elementary education was still by no means universal.

In 1870, an important Education Act was passed by Parliament which was designed to supplement the existing provision through the establishment of non-denominational School Boards. This Act may have provided the stimulus for local ladies, led by the Vicar's wife, to hold a "Grand Bazaar" at Retford Town Hall in April 1870. According to a contemporary newspaper article, many beautiful goods were offered for sale over two days, and a long list of local gentry patronised the event. Over £140 was raised, and due to the Vicar's generous personal subscription and gift of land formerly used as a tithe-yard on the corner of Church Lane, the schoolroom and an adjoining teacher's residence were built. The Church School, designed to accommodate up to sixty children, opened its doors on March 20th 1876.

The first mistress was Miss Ellen Hudson who had served her apprenticeship at St. Saviour's School in Retford. In the early days the teacher's salary would be derived from School Pence, Church collections, voluntary gifts, and government grants, which for some years were dependent on the pupils' attainment as examined by visiting inspectors. This system must have created much stress for teachers and children until a proper salaried service was established in 1902.

The School Log Book has only survived from 1903, and although the Admissions Register begins somewhat earlier, there is no way of knowing how many pupils enrolled in March 1876, or what curriculum they followed. It is likely that in common with most Victorian schools, the syllabus concentrated on the "3Rs", with an emphasis on strict discipline.

The Vicar and his eldest daughter were actively involved, and it is likely that they were entrusted with the task of teaching Religious Studies. According to her obituary in 1898 Mary Emily Mee "by her constant attendance" made herself a great favourite with the children both at the Day school and Sunday school. The list of teachers reveals a rapid turnover with most Heads only staying between one and five years.

At this time women could not teach after marriage, and this perhaps explains why there had already been nine teachers by 1903. I have been able to discover very little about them apart from the following details. The 1881 Census records Mary Lloyd aged 28 years. A native of London, she was the third Head and taught in Hayton from 1880 until 1885. Miss Jane Elliff, the ninth teacher, arrived in 1898 and according to Kelly's Directory of 1900 she had an average attendance of 34 children. In 1902 she left to take up a similar position in Wiltshire according to a Retford Times article which described the many gifts she received as leaving presents.

It is difficult to judge the effect of the Church School in its early days on the general education of the village children. Although in theory elementary schooling was compulsory after 1870, attendance was often irregular as children were frequently needed at home to help with domestic or farm work. An analysis of the Parish Marriage Register for Hayton gives some idea of the general literacy level after 1753 as from that date bride and groom were required to sign their name or make their mark in the Register.

Until 1860, between 50% and 60% of persons were able to sign their names, and between 1860 and 1879 the proportion rose to around 70%. Between 1880 and 1900 when the influence of the school would begin to be apparent, virtually 100% signed their names, with only one bride making her mark instead. Although the ability to write one's name does not necessarily imply total literacy, the improvement at the end of the nineteenth century suggests that educational standards were rising in the village.

HAYTON IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The population of Hayton declined substantially at the beginning of the twentieth century from its previously stable position of around 250 persons. In 1901 there were 233 persons in the Parish, and by 1911 this had dropped to 205. As before this trend was contrary to the continued increase experienced by England and Wales. Agriculture was becoming less labour intensive as more and more machinery was introduced onto the farms, and so although many rural workers had left the country areas there was never a shortage of labour.

The last years of the nineteenth century were a time of great depression in British agriculture, due mainly to the surge of cheap foreign imports which swamped the home market. Improved transport using railways and steamships, and new refrigeration and canning techniques meant that areas such as the American Prairies and South American states, which were able to enjoy the benefits of large scale production, could produce goods for the British market more cheaply than the home farmers. Prices everywhere fell dramatically, and correspondingly land values in Nottinghamshire were halved between the 1870's and 1901. In the general atmosphere of decline land was taken out of tillage, improvements deferred, and casual labour not employed. By 1910, British farmers had come to terms with the new situation and made the necessary adjustments so that the fortunes of agriculture began to improve again.

During the First World War when imports ceased enormous demand for home produce was again created. By 1921 the Parish population had increased to 225 persons, which may reflect an increase in rural employment, although this is only conjecture as there are no detailed Census records available for analysis after 1881. Overall it is difficult to judge the effects of the agricultural depression on the community structure in Hayton as the only sources of information are provided by Kelly's Directories of 1900 and 1908. They record the main crops grown in the area as wheat, barley, peas and beans, and list about 20 farmers in Hayton and Tiln at each date. The local area was still an important producer of market gardening crops, a fact which may have cushioned it to some extent from the worst effects of the depression felt by cereal and beef farmers.

Welham railway sidings were opened at this time to facilitate speedy transportation of the highly perishable fruit and vegetables grown locally. The three market gardeners listed were John Hill, William Bovill, and Barlow Brothers. The last mentioned firm came to be important land owners and employers of labour in Hayton. They grew vegetables, mainly potatoes, brussel sprouts, cauliflowers and celery, and at peak times women field workers known locally as "Barlow's angels" were brought in by horse and cart from Retford. Much of their produce went via Welham sidings to Sheffield and Leeds markets where the firm became known as the "Celery Kings".

In many respects, Kelly's Directories suggest that Hayton remained a very similar village to that of the later nineteenth century. Miss Barber continued to reside at Hayton Castle, the two village Inns were still in existence, there was still a blacksmith, William Emson, and a Grocer's shop run now by Thomas Stamp. In 1900 a shoemaker, Charles Ward, was listed, but by 1908 neither he nor a replacement was mentioned, although a carpenter and bricklayer had reappeared in the village.

A fascinating map drawn in 1908 by the late Walter Storrs, aged 10, while attending Hayton school, confirms much of the detail in Kelly's Directory. Walter was the son of William and Mary Storrs, and his baptism is recorded in the Parish Register on November 27th, 1898. He lived his whole life in Hayton, and became a renowned expert on local history and Parish affairs. His boyhood map of the village shows its main features including many houses with their owners names.

In addition to "Stamp's shop" on Main Street near the Anchor Inn, he marks "Tate's shop" at the present "Dolphin's Barn", and "Storr's shop" opposite the Methodist Chapel. Rural transport on the unarmaced and often dusty roads was still restricted to horses and carts, or bicycles, and therefore travel remained much more limited than today. The village shops, none of which have survived, were therefore a vital means of obtaining day to day supplies.

In contrast with the long period of stability at the Church during the incumbency of the Rev. Mee, the early twentieth century saw a succession of clergy arrive and depart. John Wilberforce Cassels, a former chaplain to Her Majesty's Indian Government, became Vicar in 1899. Life in Hayton must have been very different from that in his previous London Parish, and at the end of 1902 he decided to return there.

For a short time the living was vacant and in the care of the Vicar of North and South Wheatley. According to Retford Times the parishioners found this situation unsatisfactory as there were now very few morning services. The article also mentioned that it would be difficult to find a replacement for the Rev. Cassels, as the living was not a rich one, but in 1903 the Rev. Edward Collett arrived from Shrewsbury. He must have been familiar with the area as earlier in his career he had been a curate of East Retford, but he too only stayed a short time before leaving for London in 1906.

In 1907 the Rev. Alfred James Showell moved the short distance from Clarborough to become Vicar of Hayton. Unfortunately he died suddenly of peritonitis in 1909, aged 54 years, and his death came as a "surprise and shock" to his parishioners who according to Retford Times lost a vicar "who was always of a most pleasant and affable disposition". His place was taken by the Rev. Richard Jones, a bachelor who had previously always worked in London. He remained in Hayton for twenty years before he resigned and retired, and contemporary sources suggest that he took an active part in many Parish affairs.

After he left in 1929, a scheme was devised by the Church to unite the benefice with Clarborough, but the issue proved contentious locally, and complicated financially, and it was several years before the situation was resolved. The living remained vacant until 1935 when the two parishes were finally united under the care of the Rev. Thomas Wardle who lived at Hayton Vicarage after it had been modernised and reconstructed once again.

Although many aspects of local government had been centralised during the nineteenth century, some functions were still retained at Parish level, as revealed by the first Minute Book of the annual Parish Meeting which begins in 1897 and continues until 1931. In 1895, a crowded meeting of electors in the schoolroom had voted against the formation of a Parish Council. According to the Retford Times article which reported the "racy meeting" some people felt that such a body would benefit the village, and enable parishioners to retain more control over their affairs, but after much heated debate, the vote to retain the status quo brought enthusiastic cheers from the floor. Someone had remarked earlier during the meeting that Parish Councils, which were at that time a new and unknown phenomenon, were only beneficial to lawyers and printers! In the event the people of Hayton had to wait until fairly recent times for the formation of a Parish Council.

The early years of the Parish Meeting Minute Book record a world very different from that with which we are familiar today. Parish Overseers and Byway Surveyors were still appointed each year, canal boatloads of stone were ordered to keep the lanes in repair, and parish land was let for grazing. Periodically ideas for improvements in Hayton were proposed. These were always considered, but usually rejected eventually as too contentious in their effects upon individual landowners, or too great a burden on the ratepayers.

An interesting example occurred in 1911, when the Meeting discussed the proposal by Nottinghamshire County Council to erect a new secondary school for girls in Retford, a scheme which would prove costly to ratepayers. The Village Meeting decided that the Parish should protest strongly about being included in the chargeable area as "in a purely agricultural district such as Hayton a secondary school is not required". Presumably the elementary education provided by the Church School was felt to be quite adequate, especially where girls were concerned!

From 1903 the daily life of the Church School is revealed in fascinating detail by the Log Book, which is held at County Record Office in Nottingham. The first teacher to record events in the book was Agnes Kemp, who was soon to leave Hayton. In her final report she wrote that when she arrived in 1902 the standards were poor, but under her direction the situation had improved considerably. She had introduced new subjects such as needlework, geography, history and drawing, and attendances had improved substantially. At this date the school was considered suitable for up to 45 children, and her usual attendance was between 20 and 25, about 75% to 80% of those on roll. Frequent mention was made of irregular attendance for many reasons such as strawberry picking, minding the baby or visiting Retford Fair! Illness, too, was responsible for much absenteeism, and diseases such as diphtheria and consumption are mentioned in the Log Book.

In 1903 Charles Lugg became Head Teacher at a salary of £60 per annum. He wrote that the children were "generally speaking intelligent and attentive, and well under control". Their ages ranged from four to six years at school entry up to thirteen or fourteen years when they left. It is difficult to imagine how they could all be taught effectively in one room by Mr. Lugg and his young assistant who helped with the Infants. The Admissions Register suggests that there was no set starting or leaving age at this time, and it probably varied according to particular family circumstances. One entry which stands out during this period was that for Walter Storrs who entered on January 11th 1904, aged five, and left "for work" on March 14th 1913, aged fourteen, having reached Standard Seven.

Charles Lugg wrote full records in the Log Book and occasionally included items of general interest. On November 6th 1903, he wrote "The weather has been exceptionally severe, frost having set in. The farmers have made frantic efforts to gather in the remnants of their damaged crops". Most of his entries do, of course, refer to the school, and special days were often recorded. On May 24th 1905 Empire Day was "loyally observed", and the children given a half holiday with sports and prizes.

Unsatisfactory classroom heating appears to have been a major concern, and in January 1905, a stove was installed at the far end of the room to supplement the original coal fire near the door. However, on February 13th Charles Lugg wrote that "the schoolroom at 8.50 this morning was full of smoke from the new stove" because the flue was choked with soot. Problems continued, and early in 1908 the stove was removed by Mr. Emson, the village blacksmith, "to avoid the room filling with smoke every time there is a northerly wind".

Outbreaks of illness were recorded from time to time, and in 1904 a Whooping Cough epidemic of such severity occurred that attendance was reduced to single figures, and the school was ordered to be closed from April 15th until May 9th. In 1907 measles and influenza caused the school to close once again. Absenteeism continued to be a problem, and when in February 1908, the attendance was 100% for a whole week, a half-day holiday was declared to celebrate this unusual event!

Charles Lugg suffered several years of ill-health, and was forced to retire in 1909. He was followed by two women teachers, each of whom only stayed for about a year, but in 1911 Eliza Jelley arrived and remained Head Teacher until the school was closed temporarily in 1916 as a war-time economy measure. The twenty-one pupils on roll were transferred to Clarborough, and when the Vicar arrived at Hayton to tell them the news, he announced that he would personally accompany them to and from school until they had become used to crossing the dangerous main road! Hayton school reopened in 1920 under Mrs. Fretwell who remained Head for thirty years. In 1926 it was feared that the school would have to close permanently unless funds could be raised to bring the building up to new standards

demanding by the Education Authority. The village rallied, the money was raised, and the necessary alterations completed in 1927. The school remained open until 26th October 1962, although numbers on roll had gradually dwindled over the years.

Despite the declining numbers of people living in Hayton during the early twentieth century, there appears to have still been a strong sense of community, and plenty of talent available for amateur village entertainment. Concerts took place from time to time in the schoolroom, and in January 1902 Retford Times reported that a packed audience heard various local people perform musical and other items to help raise funds for the purchase of a school piano. At this event the Vicar sang "Impecuniosity" with "comic get up" and gave "I loved a lady fair" as an encore which caused much laughter. At the end of 1902 cookery classes organised by the County Council and a lantern exhibition, given by the Vicar on behalf of parochial funds were reported.

In October 1910 the Parish Church was packed for the Harvest Thanksgiving service at which the choir sang and solos were given by Eric Pitchfork, treble, and Mr. Burkitt, bass, who although over 70 still had a "powerful voice". One hundred people sat down in the Vicarage dining room on the Monday evening for the Parochial tea, according to a newspaper report, and afterwards they enjoyed a social evening of games, songs and music from "Mr. Rowley's mammoth gramophone". Sunday school events such as teas, sports and outings were "red letter days", and a former resident mentioned Gringley Beacon as a favourite excursion destination. She also recounted the value accorded to Sunday School prizes, usually books, at a time when ordinary families could afford few such luxuries.

During the early twentieth century country people still lived a simple hard working life and many had scarcely ever ventured far from their home parish. An account of life in Laxton at this time based on the memories of Edith Hickson, and recently published by Nottingham University, provides fascinating detail about a community essentially similar to Hayton. Residents enjoyed none of the modern conveniences such as mains water, drainage and electricity which we find so vital today. A former resident recalls her childhood days in Hayton when night time was "inky black" and the "earthy smell" of pigs pervaded the village! She remembers the labour of fetching water from wells or the Canal, but also the delight of enjoying the profusion of wild flowers in the fields and hedgerows.

The villagers probably saw no reason why the traditional pattern of life should ever change, but on 4th August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany, and the far reaching consequences of that event are all too familiar. Retford Times reported that the Vicar invited all the parishioners to attend services to show their patriotism by "interceding to God on behalf of our soldiers and sailors who are fighting our battles for us", and that the response in terms of congregation size was gratifying.

The Roll of Honour at the rear of Hayton Church shows that by the time peace was formally signed on 28th June 1919, 27 young men had left the Parish on active service. Most returned discharged or wounded, but Robert Emson, Cyril Whitworth and Charles Tomlinson were killed in France. In 1921 they were honoured by the parish when a War Memorial was unveiled in the Churchyard after a "simple but impressive service".

The First World War and its aftermath heralded changes which laid the foundations of the modern world. With the advent of the motor vehicle, country villages began to take on an entirely new role as commuter residential settlements. Although a strong farming community remained, such changes began to affect Hayton after 1914, and so it is at that date, a time felt by many to be the watershed between the old and new ways of life, that this study concludes.

POSTSCRIPT

As the twentieth century has progressed the population of the Parish of Hayton has once again increased. Tilm has remained virtually unchanged as a quiet agricultural backwater, but Hayton has developed into a largely residential settlement.

In 1951 the population had already risen to 275, and by 1981 the Census recorded 370 persons, probably the highest number ever to live in the Parish. Much new building has taken place and the village now extends along Main Street right to the Parish boundary with Clarborough, and down Smeath Lane and Church Lane.

Hayton is no longer the self-contained village described in this study, and the lifestyle of its residents has changed enormously, but recent fund raising events have proved that community spirit still exists, as people work together to transform the schoolroom into a Village Hall, and to ensure the restoration of St. Peter's Church for future generations.

APPENDIX 1. ST. PETER'S CHURCH, HAYTON.

For a small village church, St. Peter's has many interesting features which have been described by several experts in ecclesiastical architecture over the years. (See Appendix 3 - List of Sources). The description below is a distillation of their knowledge, as I make no claim to expertise in the subject, but felt that it was a relevant addition to this study.

The Church would appear to have originally consisted of a Norman stone-built nave and chancel, dating from around 1120. A portion of this structure is still to be found within the north wall of the nave. At the end of the twelfth century, the south aisle was constructed, and the arcade, consisting of three round arches was built. The fine south doorway is also of this late Norman period, but the splendid porch which shelters it was not built until around 1400. According to Arthur Mee, it is a rare possession for a village church in the quality of its workmanship, as it has a stone-ribbed roof, and is externally enriched with pinnacles, at the foot of which are tiny sculptured heads of human folk and animals.

During the fourteenth century the chancel was pulled down and rebuilt to include a three-light window, and at the same time the windows in the north wall of the nave were added, and the south aisle rebuilt. The tower was constructed around 1400 and is embattled, as are the nave and the south aisle. Since the fifteenth century when windows were inserted in the south aisle, the church has not altered in external appearance, although it has been extensively restored from time to time.

The interior of the church also contains several ancient features worthy of note. The octagonal font is of the fourteenth century, and there are two stone bowls, known as piscinas, which originally held Holy water. One is within the southern wall of the chancel, and the other is at the east end of the south aisle, where a chantry chapel probably existed. Also in this part of the church are three eroded stone effigies of unknown persons which are possibly fourteenth century in origin. These were removed from the Church at some date, and were discovered earlier this century in the churchyard in a poor moss-covered condition.

Most of the interior fittings of the Church are of more recent date, apart from a wooden "Peter's Pence" chest which is probably over five hundred years old, and a Jacobean altar table. There are a number of memorial tablets, all of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, and a Roll of Honour from the 1914-18 War. For a small village church, Hayton is rich in nineteenth century memorial stained glass. In the nave there are windows in memory of the Cartwright, Smith and Mee families. The chancel east window by Kemp was commissioned at a cost of £150 in 1876 by the Hartshorne Barbers of Hayton Castle. In 1929 George Shrewsbury Smith, the husband of Constance, the youngest daughter of Rev. W.C. Mee, gave the oak reredos as a memorial to his wife's life.

We cannot be sure when the Church was first established, but we know that the rectorship was "appropriated" by St. Sepulchre's Chapel, near York Minster, at its foundation in 1177-1181. This monastic house was then able to collect the main church revenues, which were "the great tithes" due on corn, hay and wood. They appointed a vicar after 1258 to conduct services and perform various parish functions, and as was usual, he was given the "alterage and lands of the church", and was entitled to "the small tithes" due on everything except corn, hay and wood.

When the monasteries were dissolved by King Henry VIIIth in the 1530's and 1540's, such appropriations were transferred to laymen, usually local landowners who were known as lay rectors or impropiators. In common law the parishioners have a duty to maintain their church nave in good repair, but the chancel liability has always rested with the rector, whether clerical or lay, and this is the reason why local landowners at present are responsible for its urgent repair.

We know from various medieval documents that at some unknown date a daughter chapel of St. James was established at North Tilm. An article on the history of Hayton published in 1947 by the Nottinghamshire Guardian tells the story that in 1311 the parishioners of Tilm complained that "because of snow and frequent inundations, they could not repair as in duty bound to their church in Hayton". They stressed the danger of attempting to carry infants for baptism across the two-mile footpath between the settlements. This had to be maintained to a certain minimum width to accommodate carts carrying coffins to funerals at Hayton.

Because of the various inconveniences the people of Tilm were accorded a font and other privileges for their Chapel, but the superior rights of the Mother Church were guarded. The date this Chapel ceased to function and its exact site are unknown, as no trace of it remains today. It is thought by a former resident to have been in a field close to the present hamlet, but as it is not marked on the earliest detailed map of the area, drawn in the 1820's and 1830's, we cannot be sure of its whereabouts.

A complete list of the Vicars of Hayton is included in Keith Train's book "A list of the Clergy of North Nottinghamshire". Forty-eight Vicars are recorded between 1276 and 1961, and detailed below are the clergy who held the living during the period of this study.

1753-1775 Charles Cartwright
 1775-1807 Stephen More
 1807-1815 William Hodges
 1815-1833 William Tiffin
 1833-1844 John Mason
 1845-1898 William Chapman Mee
 1899-1902 John Wilberforce Cassels
 1903-1906 Edward Collett
 1907-1909 Alfred James Showell
 1909-1929 Richard Jones



APPENDIX 2. CENSUS POPULATION TOTALS

Year	Number of Persons		
	Parish of Hayton	County of Nottinghamshire	England and Wales (to nearest thousand)
1801	236	140,350	8,893,000
1811	233	161,600	10,165,000
1821	244	186,873	12,000,000
1831	256	225,394	13,897,000
1841	281	249,910	15,914,000
1851	260	270,427	17,928,000
1861	258	293,867	20,066,000
1871	252	319,758	22,712,000
1881	255	391,784	25,974,000
1891	252	445,792	29,003,000
1901	233	514,107	32,528,000
1911	205	603,761	36,070,000
1921	225	640,749	37,887,000
1931	223	712,330	39,952,000
1941	No Census taken due to War		
1951	275	840,174	43,758,000
1961	292	900,989	46,105,000
1971	329	974,573	48,750,000
1981	370	985,283	49,154,000

APPENDIX 3. LIST OF SOURCES

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