

SCHOLES FAMILY HISTORY

Author unknown

(Weblink YA The Scholes Family History)

Acknowledgement

Many years ago a researcher from England posted me a copy of a booklet titled, "The **SCHOLES Family History**". I have been unable to locate the author of this booklet and as there was no copyright on the booklet I decided to transcribe the contents as it records valuable information about the early **SCHOLES ancestors**. The booklet is well referenced so I have included the references in endnotes.

I would like to acknowledge and thank the Male **SCHOLES** author for all his research in compiling this booklet. Through your generosity we are all able to learn about the **SCHOLES families**. Where known I have noted in brackets the chart numbers that relates to the different ancestor.

The Name and its Origins

SCHOLES is a place name in Lancashire and W Yorkshire, and it is possible that the surname is derived from one or more of those places, or was a topographic name of someone who lived in a rough hut or shed¹. Alternatively, it has been suggested² that the place name is itself derived from the Scandinavian personal name **SCULE or SCULA**. This was apparently, a common name after the battle of Corbridge, Regenwald gave the property of St Cuthbert between Eden and Billingham to one of his generals named SCULA (hence School Aycliffe) a nephew of king Harold bore the name and it has been suggested that SCULCOATES in Yorkshire was his property. Early examples include **William de SCOLES or SCHALES** of Penwortham (1332), **Richard de SCOLES** (1275), **Adam de SCHOLES** (1285) and **John Del SCHOLES** (1379). In the 16th century **SCHOLES** became a fairly common name in certain places in Salford Hundred (the SE part of Lancashire) such as Chadderton, Prestwich and Eccles. By the mid-17th century families bearing the name had become numerous mostly around Oldham and Prestwich³. Although the surname is common in Yorkshire Redmonds only mentions it in passing as a name present in both the poll tax lists of 1379 (presumably **John del SCHOLES** above) and in the rental of 1424 fro Barwick-in-Elmet, which is only a short distance from SCOLES, now a suburb of Leeds⁴.

NOTE:- Miscellaneous information transcribed from the publication "A History of Lancashire" reads:-

A number of families come into prominence from time to time in the records. One of the early ones took a surname from Wigan itself, another from Scholes.

Scholes had four wards; St George and St Patrick the innermost, divided by the street called Scholes; and Lindsay and St Catherine outside, divided by Whelley.

In 1291 and 1292 Richard son of Adam de Scholes claimed various tenements in Wigan; his legitimacy was denied, but he appears to have recovered possession.

NOTE:- Miscellaneous information transcribed from the publication "Salford Hundred – Prestwich with Oldham" reads:-

About that time (17th century) the Scholes family came into notice they held land in Okeden or Ogden of the lords of the manor.

For goods James Scholes contributed to the subside of 1526; Shaw Oldham 16, William Scholes contributed to that of 1541; misc. (Rec, Soc, Lancs. And Ches.) I, 145. Various members of the family holding under the Standish part of the manor paid to the fifteenth in 1577, John Scholes contributing as a meane tenant; Shaw, 29. John Scholes died in 1589, holding a mesuage and 23 acres called Okeden of the lords of the manor in socage by a rent of 6d., leaving a son and heir John, aged over thirty-eight in 1619; Lancs. Inq. P.m. (Rec. Soc. Lancs. And Ches.), ii 147. This John Scholes died in 1630, holding the same lands, and leaving as heir his son William, over twenty-three years of age; Towneley MS. C. 8, 13 (Chet. Lib), p1081-2. Robert Scholes contributed to the subsidy in 1622; Misc. (ut sup.), I, 157. Richard and William Scholes were two of the four presenting the names of those liable to be asscesed in Chadderton in 1641; Shaw's Assessment, 14; see also Shaw, Oldham, 153, 155, 171. 'The last Mr S Scholes's estate, near Earnshaw Lane, which separates Moston and Chadderton, is mentioned in Butterworth's Oldham (1817), 165. James Scholes, 1671 issued a half-penny token; Lanc. And Ches. Antiq. Sec. V, 75.

Affetside

To date the earliest events in the family history that can be identified with any certainty are three burials during the last three months of 1722. The burials of **Isabell**, wife of **Peter SCOLES** yeoman of Bradshaw and of their two daughters **Anne** (e) and **Esther**. The deaths of three members of one family within such a brief time span suggests an epidemic and indeed the second worst smallpox epidemic on record swept the north of England during the winter of 1772-1773 claiming the lives of about one in every three cases. There were 89 deaths recorded on Bolton⁵. [Chart 288-289]

Peter SCOLES leased land on the Bradshaw estate lands at Affetside a hamlet sprawling along both sides of Watling Street the Roman road ran from Manchester to Ribchester and still used as an important packhorse route in the 18th century. The road marked the parish boundary with Bolton-le-moors to the west and Bury to the east. As administrative areas became more important the west side of the road became known as Bradshaw and the east as Tottington Lower End. A good deal is known about Affetside thanks to the work of a local historian Jim FRANCIS of Old Ned's Farm at the Southern end of the hamlet.[Chart 288-289]

Watling Street here runs along a hogsback ridge rising gently to just under 900 at the point where the Pack Horse Inn and the ancient Pilgrim's Cross stand. From the ridge the land falls away gently towards Bradshaw Brook in the west and the Two Brooks Valley in the east. Thin soil covers boulder clay, which in turn covers Coal Measures – mainly shales with the Mountain Mine coal seam outcropping. To the northeast the high ground running from **SCHOLES** Heights and Black Moss above Edgeworth to Holcombe Moor with the Peel Monument dominate the skyline. For the most part couples would go to St Peter's in Bolton or ST Mary's in Bury to be married but to the chapels of ease at Turton Bradshaw Holcombe and Tottington to have their children christened or their dead buried. Superficially little had changed since the eighteenth century stone-built hovels with beaten earth floors have been modernised with varying degrees of taste Croich Hay had become "Tom's Cattery" and what was **SCHOLES Farm** now overlooks a golf course. But the area had not been obliterated by modern estates nor littered with caravan parks. It is important to realise that most members of the family lived within a radius of no more than a mile from the Pack Horse Inn one can easily walk to all known places where they were born worked and died within a morning.

Peter SCHOLES land was known as **SCHOLES Tenements** or **SCHOLES Farm** and consisted of 12 acres, 2 roods, 39 perches for which he paid a half-annual rent of two shillings and sixpence in 1730 with an annual tithe of 5s.10d, 2s 8d boon and four shillings Land Tax. The fields included Little Field, Meadow, Lowermost Field and Last Field. An indenture of 1798 by which his grandson (also **Peter**) was leased land from Henry Bradshawe Isherwood illustrates the slender rights a tenant had over their land, which was and is very poor farming land. By this time the annual rent had increased to four shillings. [Chart 288-289]

The lease restricts the portion of the land, which could be used for raising crops the greater part had to remain pasture. However arable crops in the past were limited to hardy oats and potatoes. The tenant would be hard put to feed a growing family throughout the year from it and most farmers although they still proudly called themselves yeoman turned to weaving, first in their own homes and later in mills to make a living. In many cases in the **SCHOLES family** they became painters and whitelimers. When floors were of beaten earth it was necessary to lime wash the house inside and out at least twice a year to keep down the insect population! An outbreak of malignant fever in the cotton mills at Radcliffe Bridge in 1784 and a recurrence around Bury in 1789 led the Rector of Bury **Sir William Henry CLERKE** to advise Overseers of the Poor of the twice-yearly whitewashing of the houses of the poor at the approximate cost of 2d a house each time⁶.

It is not clear how long the family held **SCHOLES Farm**. Certainly **Peter SCHOLES** [Chart 288-289] was there at the time of the 1730 rent roll, as was **James** in 1737 – the year he took over the farm after his father's death. But the 1798 lease of land to **Peter SCOLES** (James's son) estates to an unmanned cottage "on the westerly side of the Public Highway on Affyside" and also to: that Tenement called Bradshaws" including the fields called "the higher field and the lower field.. late in the occupation of **John HOLT**". There is no mention of **SCHOLES Farm**. In 1802 **SCHOLES Tenement** was leased to **Thomas BROOKS** and he was still there in 1831. The 1841 Census has entries for both **SCOLES** and **BUTCHERS**, with **Peter SCOLES** and his wife (**Mary RAMSDEN**) and Children (**Thomas, William, Squire and Wright**) together with **Edward TURNER** coal miner aged 25 at **SCHOLES**. **James GREENHALGH** 23 Browman was at Butchers with his wife **Elizabeth** and their daughter **Ann**. It seems that the farm had already changed its name and that **Peter SCHOLES** and family were in **SCHOLES Cottages**. In 1919 when as Butcher Farm it was auctioned it had been in the occupation of the late **Joseph BUCKLEY** as yearly tenant. It was described thus; The Farm House contains kitchen, scullery, 2 pantries and 3 bedrooms. The Farm buildings comprise shippon for 5 cows with loft over, barn, piggery and other erections. It sold for £300. At some point the two cottages known as **SCOLES Cottages** were built facing on the Watling Street. They were still in existence in 1851 when **James HAMER** and his family were living in one they were progressively demolished and no evidence was left by 1890.

"It seems possible that the first **Peter SCHOLES** settled in Affetside after moving from Prestwich. Although it is not yet certain that they refer to the same **Peter SCHOLES**, there is a marriage to **Isabell HAMPSON** recorded at Prestwich in 1702 and the christenings of two daughters, **Esther** and **Ann(e)** in 1703 and 1706 respectively. These fit very well with the recorded burials in 1722 but, until a definite connection can be established (such as a Settlement Certificate) it is impossible to be certain. His will (of 1732) survives, but it adds little to our knowledge of him, beyond the fact that he refers to himself as "being aged and infirm of body", and that he cut off one of his daughters – **Mary** who married **John TURNER** – with the proverbial shilling!

The people of Tottington around the end of the seventeenth century were not well thought of by the then Rector of Bury **Thomas GIPPS** "Never believe the Tottingtonians They'll not stand to their word" he wrote "if the Tottingtonians will be fair, which I question, you should endeavour some maintenance for a Minster among them for they are mere Brutes"⁷. This may however say more about **Thomas CRIPPS** than about Tottingtonians!

Of his son **James** we now virtually nothing apart from his marriage to **Anne GREENHAULGH** at St Peter's Bolton 14 August 1733. They had at least three daughters **Alice, Isabel and Ann** and four sons, **Peter** (who seems to have inherited the farm), **James John and Richard**. **Richard** married **Martha LOMAX** at St Mary's Bury 07 February 1769. Lomax is very much a local name said to have originated from a long disappeared hamlet of that name near Heap Bridge to the east of Bury. Some members of the family had settled on part of Radcliffe's former estate at Holhouse (**Robert RADCLIFFE** of Radcliffe Tower had twenty acres in Tottington in the thirteenth century)⁸.

It was very common in the area and one of Richards's aunts, one sister, and two of his sons also married **LOMAXES** although whether or not they were related is not yet known. **Martha** was born 13 December 1744 the daughter of **John LOMAX** he may have been the **John LOMAX Yeoman of Brookbottom** mentioned in an indenture relating to the Pack Horse Inn dated 01 May 1754, although his daughter may well have been out of **Richards's** league! Two difficulties complicate the establishing of family relationships the enormous popularity of Christian names such as **John, James Richard, Peter, Mary Ann** and so on the other that families seem to have moved from one holding to another for no reason that we know.

Richard and Martha started a custom which whilst very useful in tracing the family tree may have been a sore burden to the individuals concerned. They christened one son **Scholes SCHOLES** and another **Lomax SCHOLES**. The **Scholes SCHOLES** tradition was continued through at least five generations, and so far – no fewer than eight people so named have tuned up. The **Lomax SCHOLES** tradition seems similarly to have been long lived although no attempt had been made to trace this line

In the Tottington Lower End Survey of 1794, **Richard SCHOLES** was listed as living in "one cottage at the Three Gates". There were four such cottages and they formed a part of Croich Hey owned by **Ralph BRIDGE** who lived in the Croft. Tenants in the other three were **John LOMAX, Margaret BARLOW** and **Thomas BUXBURY**. It seems likely that this was one of a row of four cottages known as Black Lane standing besides the old pack horse road of that name, where two of **Richard's** sons (**Scholes and Lomax**) were known later to have lived. The four have now been converted into three and stand facing the Turton Road. The Survey lists two other **SCHOLES, James SCHOLES** at **Asmah's** (Asmah is another local name a variant of **ASPINALL** which was common in the 16th and 17th centuries⁹) a short distance from Black Lane in the direction of Tottington and **Alice SCHOLES** at "Mum's at Affetside". They must both belong to the family but so far I have not been able to identify them. "Mums" or "Mumharry's" probable existed from the time of the 1662 enclosure possibly through the **LOMAX of Brookbottom**. The 1780 Land Tax Assessments and the 1794 Survey both have Mum's occupied and owned by **John LOMAX**. A decorative date stone over the doorway of the old barn gives the date 1792 surmounted by L over J & B. The L is for **LOMAX**, J for James and B for his wife. So **Alice SCHOLES** may have been there because of the family links.

The Charitable Donation of the Revd. Thomas Bridge

The next mention we have of Richard other than the christenings of his children, which were spread over the years 1769 –89, is an Indenture of Apprenticeship dated 16 August 1806. Apparently **Ann**, a daughter born to **Richard and Martha** in 1781m gave birth to an

illegitimate son on 10 August 1798 when she was 17. He was christened **Richard** perhaps in an attempt to placate her father who apprenticed the boy to himself on 16 August 1806 just after his eighth birthday. The apprenticeship was to learn the art and trade of fustian weaving and to last until the boy reached the age of 21. The apprenticeship was financed by “the charitable donation of the late Reverend **Thomas BRIDGE** of Malpas in Cheshire deceased”. By his will of 1682 provision was made to pay to the churchwardens and overseers of Holcombe £10 to apprentice two poor boys. The Bridges were an extensive local family and Thomas was presumably a member.

An example of the humour which amused the people of this time is this “New Bury Loom” from a Penny Broadsheet¹⁰ of around 1793 sold on street corners in the towns and villages.

NOTE: In between these paragraphs was a copy of the poem but as there may be a copyright on the poem I have not included it in this document.

Richard SCHOLES described himself as a fustian weaver. Fustian was a coarse twilled cotton cloth with a very short velvety pile. It was mainly used for working clothes and was the easiest type of cotton weaving to learn. Both of these facts were unfortunately to acquire significance when a downturn in trade came. 1806 was certainly not a good time to enter into an apprenticeship in that trade. During the latter part of the 18th century the fine cotton trade boomed and the workers in it enjoyed unprecedented standards of living.

“But at the same time the trade of coarse weaving was steadily becoming worse to some extent in all probability because the popularity of the fine goods lessened the demand of coarse goods, to some extent because those who failed at the more delicate work fell back on the heavier as a last resource, and to some extent because coarse weaving was an accomplishment requiring no special skill which could be easily and rapidly learned. The distress of the coarse weavers, apparent even before the nineteenth century began, proved to be but the beginning of a depression which was ultimately to drive the trade of handloom weaving out of existence¹¹.”

Wages fell to 5s or 6s a week – at most 10s. Prices paid for one kind of cloth at Bolton fell as follows:

1797...29/-
1807...18/-
1817...9/-
1827...6/6
1834...5/6

Food prices had risen dramatically just before that period: there was a time of prolonged distress from 1793-96, when bad harvests and the resulting high prices threatened starvation throughout the country. During the nine years from 1787-96 the price of the quartern loaf (just over four pounds in weight) had risen from 7½d to 1s 1½d, sugar from 10d to 1s 2d a pound, butter from 9s to 1s 2d a pound, and meat had reached the high price of 8d a pound.

The Peterloo Massacre

As conditions worsened unrest grew, culminating in the ‘Peterloo Massacre’ of 16 August 1819 – the very year young Richard would have completed his apprenticeship. A peaceful protest was planned in St Peter’s Field in Manchester. Some 60,000 people streamed in from miles around, dressed in their Sunday best, the women with ribbons in their hair and carting young children. They had come to hear Henry Hunt a Chartist reformer, speak. But the burghers of Manchester were nervous: the Riot Act was read, but from a window which

could not easily be seen by the crowd and few realised it. When they failed to disperse, both the militia (the Manchester Yeomanry) and the 15th Hussars were set upon the crowd. Fourteen were killed and several others died later, and many were injured, including at least four men from Tottington: **John BRIDGE**, aged 37, a weaver with 2 children; **John HAMER**, age 53, a weaver with 5 children; **Samuel KAY**, aged 32, a weaver with 2 children, and **William HOWARTH**, aged 20, a weaver¹². The first three received £2.10s each and **William HOWARTH** £1.5s. There were protests that only half of the money raised by public subscription was ever disbursed. Moreover, that special constables of Manchester who were wounded received sums ranging from £10 to £100, in contrast to the tiny sums instances above¹³. **John BRIDGE**, born in 1785, inherited Boardman's Farm. He married, first, **Nellie LEACH** and after her death, **Ann GREENHALGH**. He opened the 'Peel's Arms' at Boardmans, but died Intestate and in debt in 1855, and was buried at Halcombe. His sister, Betty, married a **William SCHOLES** in 1806; both he and **John HAMER** were almost certainly related by marriage to the **SCHOLES family** (a niece of **Richard's** married a **Daniel HAMER**) and in all probability some members of the family were amongst those at the scene.

During June and July of 1819, before the Sunday of the protest in St Peter's field, men were being drilled at several places, so that they would march and behave in an orderly and peaceable manner. One such place was Cockey Moor, just south of Affetside, on the road between Bolton and Bury. Another was in Rochdale Road, above Heap Bridge on the other side of Bury. This gave rise to a good deal of nervousness in Bury, and a 'respectable meeting' was held at the Eagle and Child Inn. It was presided over by the Rector of Bury, the Rev **Geoffrey HORNSBY**, and his name heads the list of signatures which includes that of a **John SCHOLES**. Later, at a meeting held in the Grammar School on 13 August, 308 Bury inhabitants were sworn in as special constables. **John SCJOLES** is recorded as one of them; the names from Tottington Lower End include **James KAY**, **James HAMER**, **Thomas KAY**, **Richard KAY** and **John LOMAX**¹⁴. Families were undoubtedly sharply divided on the issues of Chartism and – equally undoubtedly – their views will have been largely determined by their prosperity or lack of it.

The Apprentice Slave Trader

Another Indenture of Apprenticeship relates to a nephew of **Richard SCHOLES**. The nephew was also called **Richard**, and was the son of **James** the eldest son of **James SCHOLES** and **Ann GREENHAULGH**. He is described as a "fustian weaver of Haffyside". He died, and his orphaned son **Richard** was apprenticed by an Indenture of 30 January 1767 to "**Jonathan BLUNDELL & Cp**, Merchants of Liverpool, Owners of the ship 'Nancy'", for a term of five years, to be trained as a sailor. The document does not give young **Richard's** age at the time of his apprenticeship but it is likely that he was about eight years old. His father, **James**, was christened at St Peter's, Bolton, 27 August 1738 and a marriage to **Betty MARSH** at Bolton 17 September 1759 may be his. A **Peter MARSH** and his family were tenants at Greenhalgh Fold (now Hough Fold) in 1801, at the time of the Enclosure of Harwood Common¹⁵, and a date stone ("T M 1837") at Nab Fold Farm indicates their presence there¹⁶, so presumably there would have been **Marsh families** in the area for some years before.

Although the most common age for apprenticeship was 14, poor apprentices were usually at a much younger age and there was no statutory minimum: 8 was not uncommon, and 6 or 7 not unknown. From 25 March 1704, the Act of 1703 (2+3 Anne c 6), ship owners, fishermen, gunners, and shipwrights were able to take on apprentices of at least 7 years of age, for a period of ten years or less. Masters of vessels over 30 tons had to take on apprentices. Master or Mistress of pauper apprentices were allowed to 'turn over' an apprentice to serve

at sea for the remainder of their apprenticeship until the age of 18. The following year the Act was amended so that no child under 13 could be sent to sea. Thus **Richard** could not legally be sent throughout the whole of the term of his Indenture. Not, however, that Liverpool merchants worried overmuch about the law in any department! Smuggling, piracy, customs fraud and general evasion of anything emanating from Government seems to have been the rule, rather than the exception.

We have a description of the Liverpool to which young **Richard** would have been brought:

“..on reference to Eyes’s map of Liverpool, 1765, there were thirty-six principal streets which, for the most part, were very narrow, crooked, and badly paved; as for lighting of them, the old oil lamp was the instrument which performed this function, and you can easily imagine how a gust of wind would soon put them out, and once out it was seldom they were re-lighted the same night; they rather seemed to pretend to give light, but more forcibly to show how great was the darkness. The old Liverpoolians seldom went aboard without a lantern or linkman to guide them. The houses were small, the ceilings low, the rooms ill-arranged, and they must have been uncomfortable dwelling abodes. As a rule, the merchant’s office and house were on the same premises, yet, with these drawbacks, they sufficed for the rich merchant and his family, as well as the adventurous trader and the rough slave commander”¹⁷.

The ‘Nancy’ was a vessel of 200 tons, technically described as a ‘ship’. With three masts all square rigged, built in 1767 to replace the earlier vessel of the same name built in 1752. She is shown as operating between Liverpool and Africa “&” – probable, like her predecessor, to Bonny, in Nigeria, and America. Her first master **James WADDINGTON** (master of the earlier vessel) was later replaced by Edward Barkleys. In 1769 she was copper sheathed, as protection against teredo worms¹⁸. She would have been engaged in what was known as ‘triangular trade’, carrying Lancashire cotton goods to Africa, to be barded for gold dust, ivory and ‘black ivory’ (slaves). She then proceeded to the American colonies, where these would be sold, then to return to Liverpool with a cargo of cotton, tobacco, etc.

The **BLUNDELLS** were, and are a Catholic family who played a prominent part in the Civil War. They had been seafarers and merchants for a number of generations. **Robert BLUNDELL** was master of the ‘Hope’ (33 tons) in 1564; **Richard BLUNDELL** owned two vessels, the name of only one of which – the ‘Patrick’ (8 tons) – operating out of Framby Creek in 1626; and **John** (presumably his brother) owned the ‘Trinitie’ (20 tons) in Altcar Creek, also in 1626. A **Bryan BLUNDELL** owned the ‘Phoenix’ in 1633; **William BLUNDELL** invested £40 in ‘an adventure to the Barbadoes in the good ship Antelope of Liverpool’ in 1666, and another **Bryan BLUNDELL**, born in 1675, a son of William and probable **Jonathan’s** father, was master of the ‘Mulberry’ in 1699, of the ‘Lever’ (130 tons) in 1699, and was at sea until 1713. In 1745-8 the ‘Sea Flower’ (70 tons) was being built for him at Liverpool¹⁹.

Jonathan BLUNDELL was christened at St Nicholas’ church in Liverpool 02 May 1717, and married **Alice TOWNSEND** 23 April 1751. He and his brothers were owners, or part-owners, of several privateers during the 18th century and their ledgers give details of transactions in gold dust, ivory and slaves. **BLUNDELL** was one of 101 Liverpool merchants granted the right to trade with Africa by an Act of Parliament dated 24 June 1752. In a list of Liverpool Guineas Men for that month the ‘Sammy and Biddy’, owned by **Jonathan BLUNDELL & Co** and commanded by **Robert GRAYSON**, is described as bound for the Windward Coast with 120 slaves²⁰.

There is no mention of **Richard**'s apprenticeship having been financed by the 'charitable donation of the Reverend **Thomas BRIDGE** of Malpas in Cheshire deceased' but, curiously, there is a note scribbled on the reverse: "To Cash, 1767, To sundries for **Thos BRIDGE** £1.11.3; 1768, March, To ditto £1.4.4." This cannot, obviously, have been the **Thomas BRIDGE** who died in 1683 but may indicate some connection with a member of the family.

An anonymous writer claims that "The reason the port of Liverpool could undersell the merchants of London and Bristol, was the restriction in their outfits and method of factorage ...their portage was still more economical, their method was to take poor boys apprentice for long terms, who were annually increased, became good seamen, were then second mates, then first mates, then captains, and afterwards factor on the islands²¹". In 1767, the year of **Richard**'s apprenticeship, 83 apprenticeships, 83 vessels totalling 8345 tons, sailed out of Liverpool. Of these, probably 80 were slavers²². Under the terms of the Indenture, **Richard** was to be paid 40 shillings a year for the first two years, 50 shillings a year for the next two, and £3 for the last. If he ever did serve on a slaver, his fate was grim:

"So detestable was the African voyage to seaman in general, they had, as a rule, to be smuggles on board the ship, while in state of drunkenness; they were badly paid and cruelly treated from the beginning to the end. The slave trade was one unmitigated scene of tyranny, wretchedness, and demoralisation; any sparks of virtue that might have flickered for a better growth, was (sic) soon quenched, plucked up by root, and forgotten"²³.

Hanged for Passing Forged Notes

Ann, the third daughter of **James SCHOLES** and **Ann GREENHAULGH**, and sister of **Richard** the Fustian weaver, married **John BRIDGE** at St Mary's Bury, 24 August 1761, and lived at Within's Farm off Hawkshaw Lane. They were the parents of **James** and **Joseph** who were of uttering and disposing of a forged bank note at Rochdale market, which **James** claimed to have received some days earlier in payment for some cloth he had sold. On the day of their arrest (21 May 1804) **James** and **Joseph**'s actions would have been laughable, had the consequences not been so tragic. They appear to have embarked on a pub-crawl around Rochdale, in company with **Thomas BOADLE**, who was also hanged, passing off forged notes as they went. The timetable was:

- 1.00 pm: Packhorse Inn, a pint of ale each
- 2.00-3.00: James Whittaker's (butcher) where James Bridge brought 3½lb mutton
Edmund Redfean's (butcher) Boadle bought 1½lb mutton chops
- 3.00 Richard Whittaker's (butcher) James Bridge bought 1½lb steaks Cross Kays,
where all three drank cherry brandy for ¾ hour
- 3.00-4.00 White Lyon where all three had ale and steaks
- 5.00 White Lyon again raspberry brandies all round
- 8.00-9.00 Beaver, beef and mutton steaks, washed down with more ale
- 9.30 White Bear for raspberry brandies
- 10.00 Blue Ball – a pint of wine
- 10.30 Wool Pack for rums and water
- 11.00 arrested!²⁴

They were tried at Lancaster Assizes in February 1805, and **James** was hanged in Lancaster, whilst his brother **Joseph** was transported to Australia, arriving 12 July 1806. In 1814 **Joseph** was described as "5'8½" in height, fair complexion, dark brown hair, hazel eyes and a cotton weaver by trade". A woman described as his wife, **Elizabeth BUFFEY**, (although whether he actually married her is not known) arrived later in 1806, sentenced to

seven year fro stealing clothing. They had seven sons, and apparently were responsible for populating much of New South Wales!

Their father was spared James' and Joseph's disgrace: he died in 1802; their mother, however, died in February 1805 – the month of their trial. They are both buried at Holcombe.

Amongst the other children of **Ann SCHOLEs** and **John BRIDGE** was **Alice**, who married **Samuel PILLING**, and together started Methodism in Hawkshaw: a plaque in the Sunday School commemorates them.

'Scholes and Lomax': the Start of the Tradition

As has been said, **Richard** and **Martha SCHOLEs** named two sons **Scholes SCHOLEs** and **Lomax SCHOLEs**. In the 1809 Tottington Rate Assessments the Black Lane cottages are shown as belonging to **Lomax SCHOLEs**, with **Scholes SCHOLEs** living in one of them. By the 1826 Assessments, **Scholes SCHOLEs** had died and Black Lane was owned by P (presumably **Peter**) **SCHOLEs** who lived in one, with Daniel HAMER (presumably the husband of **Alice SCHOLEs**, Peter's sister) in another.

Scholes SCHOLEs (I) [chart 36-37] married twice: his first wife, Betty (nee **LOMAX**), whom he married 19 November 1797 at St Mary's, died at Black Lane aged only 39, and was buried at St Anne's, Tottington, 30 December 1815, leaving him with a son, **Scholes SCHOLEs** (II) who was only two years old. He was married again to **Ann BROMERLEY**, less than five months after his first wife was buried: this was the normal practice when there were small children to be cared for. He himself died – aged 43 – only five years after this second marriage, and is described as "formerly of Black Lane". This left **Scholes SCHOLEs** (II) doubly orphaned. **Scholes SCHOLEs** (I) described himself as a weaver and whitelimer. On 06 December 1819, there was the burial at St Anne's, Tottington, of "**Sarah**, daughter of **Scholes SCHOLEs** of Harwood, aged 13 years": the only record of a christening which seems to correspond is 11 January 1807, at St Anne's of "**Sally**, born 21 December 1806, daughter of **Scholes** and **Betty SCHOLEs**", but the reference to "of Harwood" (south of Affetside) cannot yet be explained. However, the Allotment Apportionment of 29 June 1802, relating to the enclosure of Harwood Commons, shows that a **John SCHOLEs** was tenant at Heaton's, not far from the southern end of Watling Street²⁵. There is no obvious candidate on the present family tree for this **John SCHOLEs**: **Scholes SCHOLEs** (I) had an elder brother John, born in 1773, who married **Mary LOMAX** in 1801 (when he was described as a weaver). In the 1841 census he was a shopkeeper at Four Lane Ends but, as he and his wife seem to have no children, we have no idea where he lived before, and so he may have been the tenant at Heaton's.

Lomax SCHOLEs also married twice: his first wife **Ann ROTHWELL**, whom he married at Haslingden 04 April 1808, died in 1808 aged only 38, leaving 3 children under eight years old. He married again and had 9 children by his second wife, making 16 in all! He was at Stormerhill Closes in the 1841 and 1851 census returned. It is possible that he moved in later life to Middleton-in-Oldham, where at least three of his children, **David** (aged 50, a painter), **Lomax** (aged 45, a master painter), and **James** (aged 42, a house painter) were living with their families in the 1881 Census. A death certificate which was issued after an inquest shows that a five week old baby named **Lomax SCHOLEs**, son of **David SCHOLEs**, painter, died suddenly of natural causes at the Ring O'Bells Inn in Church Street, Middleton, 07 May 1860, indicating that at least one of the families had moved there by then.

The Virgin's Inn

Richard's brother **Peter** (who leased **Scholes** Tenements in 1798) married **Ann(e) HASLAM** 06 November 1772 at St Peter's, Bolton. She was the daughter of Joshua HASLAM, who was the proprietor of the Virgin's Inn in 1764. The building had long disappeared, but originally stood at the north end of Affetside, near the entrance to Farnworth's, a substantial form occupied in 1773 by **James BUTLER**, Innkeeper (this may indicate that he was at the time proprietor of Virgin's Inn). The inn was first referred to as 'Bottom of Aveside' as an alehouse in alehouse records of 1755, under **Alice BUTLER**. It was first recorded as Virgin's Inn in 1764 under **Joshua HASLAM**, who had taken it over in 1759. **Ralph BROMILEY** was the licensee in 1775 and. In the 1794 Survey, the inn was noted as owned by Holcombe Chapel and occupied by **William REYNOLDS**.

Peter and Ann(e) had a son **Peter**, who married **Mary RAMSDEN** 22 February 1814 at St Peter's, Bolton. When their first child (Thomas) was christened at St Anne's, Tottington in 1821, he described himself as 'of Virgin's Inn. publican'. When the second child, William, was christened in 1822 he was 'of Affeside, plasterer', and when **Wright SCHOLES** was christened in 1828 he described himself as 'painter'. Presumably he was the **Peter SCHOLES** who was in 1828 given the contract for plastering and painting the Methodist Church in Tottington 5, and also a member of the Committee or Board responsible for the new Day School opened in the Chapel 07 June 1879.

Rate Assessments, Tottington:-

| | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1832 | Upper Closes | Peter Scholes |
| 1826 | Upper Closes | P Scholes, cottage |
| 1830 | Upper Closes | P Scholes, land |

On 10 May 1835, **John ISHERWOOD** of Maple Hall, owner of the Bradshaw Estate leased to **Peter SCHOLES** of Bradshaw, Plasterer, a plot of land being part of 'Highmost Field' for 999 year period at £1.10.4 per annum net of taxes, on condition that **Peter SCHOLES** erected one or more substantial dwelling houses or buildings of a value of £3.10.1.a year. The building was erected by 1840, which was a beer-house to which the name 'Virgin's Inn' appears to have been transferred. It later became the 'Peel Arms'. In the 1881 Census, and in directories of 1891 and 1892 **William SCHOLES** was beer-seller there, together with his wife Alice.

NOTE: Written was a short paragraph about 'Virgin's Inn' from "Hawkshaw Lane", a poem by John Fawcett Skelton – there are a total of 37 pages in the full poem.

Less than a year before his marriage to **Mary RAMSDEN** (17 April 1813), **Peter** fathered an illegitimate child by **Martha JACKSON**. A Basterdy Order was served on him (14 July 1813), requiring him to pay two guineas towards the "Charges and Expenses incident to the Birth of the said Bastard Child, and the Maintenance of the said Bastard Child, from the Time of his birth, to the Time of making of this our Order, "eleven shillings costs, plus three shillings a week for the upkeep of the child. **Wright SCHOLES** apparently followed in his father's footsteps: on 22 August 1852, when he was to all intents and purposes happily living with his wife Ann and three children, a child called '**Henry SCHOLES** or **GREENHALGH**' was christened at St Mary's, Bolton, the parents being **Wright SCHOLES** and **Elizabeth GREENHALGH**. Around 1910, Wright converted a house at the top end of Chapel Row into a shop for his sister Ann. This shop continued until WWII.

Three stones in Affetside Chapel cemetery commemorate him and later members of the family:.

In loving memory

WRIGHT SCHOLES
Who died Novr. 18th 1878
In his 57th year
Also **ANN** his beloved wife
Who died January 31st 1812
In her 38th year
Also **EDWARD** son of the above
Who died Sept 25th 1878
In his 24th year
At rest

In loving memory of
ELLEN
Wife of **WRIGHT SCHOLES**
Died May 18th 1904, aged 30 years
Also **RUSSELL HULME** their son
Died Novr. 28th 1898, aged 15 months
Also **JANE** his wife
Died Novr. 18th 1919, aged 36 years
Also the above
WRIGHT SCHOLES
Who died Sept 2nd 1925
Aged 60 years

In memory of
Wright Scholes
Who died Sept 2nd 1925
Aged 60 years
This memorial was erected
As a token of respect
By the employees of
Wm Holt & Sons Ltd Walshaw

William Holt & Sons Ltd, of Walshaw, were world famous for their PK bedspreads, which had been supplied to the world's biggest hotel, the Pennsylvania, in America.

By the time of the 1881 Census, three SCHOLES families were living in Pennington Row, Walshaw, of which seven members were cotton operatives. They will have worked either at William Holt & Sons, or at the other mill, owned by James Haworth & Sons.

There is also the following inscription on a stone in that graveyard:

In loving memory of
James Scholes
Who departed this life Apr 17 1935
Aged 70 years
Also **Alice Scholes**
Who departed this life June 6th 1936
Aged 72 years

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(Acknowledgement printed in the booklet)

NOTE: Much information was supplied by Mr Jim Francis of Old Ned's Farm, and introduced from his book 'Affetside, an Historical Survey' (Turton Local History Soc, 1984). Thanks are also due to Mr Eddie Longworth of Hawkshaw, who shared the results of his own researches, and to Mr Geoff Halliwell of Bolton, a professional researcher.

2. Manchester

Having lost both mother and father by the age of eight **Scholes SCHOLES** (II) left Affetside. Probably sometime in the late 1820s, whilst in his teens, he went to Manchester which, doubtless, offered the prospect of work in the extensive building works going on at that time. It is unlikely that he had much to carry, and may well have walked, or hitched a lift with one of the carriers passing along Watling Street, or operating from Bury. He may not have gone alone: as we shall see, one of his half-brothers went to Eccles at about the same time, and became a miner.

The contrast between Affetside and Manchester could hardly have been more stark. Alexis de Tocqueville, a French visitor to Manchester in July of 1835 described it thus:

TO BE TRANSCRIBED 3 PAGES²⁶

There are plenty of other accounts, amongst them official reports, which show that de Tocqueville by no means exaggerated. In 1845, nearly 30, 000 people lived in cellars like those described by him; by 1861 it had only fallen to 12,400 and, indeed, it rose briefly thereafter during the Cotton Famine²⁷.

Scholes SCHOLES (II) married **Ellen Ainsworth** 1 January 1832 at what was to become, fifteen years later, Manchester Cathedral, when he was only 19. She was three years older, and had been born in Manchester. Neither could sign their name. The diocese of Manchester was not created until 1847, when the Collegiate Church of St Mary the Virgin, St George and St Denys (or, more briefly and popularly 'T'Owd Church') became the Cathedral. We have an amusing description of what their wedding must have been like, dating from 1835, only three years later than their marriage.

TO BE TRANSCRIBED²⁸

The first address we have for **Scholes** and **Ellen SCHOLES** is in June 1838, when the birth of their second son, **Edward**, was registered (registration of births only began in July 1837). They were then living at 1 Copestick Street, between the River Medlocak and the Ashton & Stockport Canal, on the north-eastern fringe of the Ancoats district of Manchester. This street was probably newly built when they moved in, as the 'New Plan of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities' of 1848 still does not show it. Thus, it is possible that the quality of the housing was somewhat better than the rest of Ancoats, as some attempts were by then being made to regulate building standards. A photograph of Copestivk Street, taken before it was demolished, still shows it to be made up of tiny (two up and two down) dwellings of dismal appearance. The 1841 Census shows them still there, with their sons **James** (age 7) and **Edward** (age 3). They shared the house with an older couple **William** and **Alice MILLER**, aged 58 and 61.

Writing in 1844, Fredrich ENGELS described Ancoats in terms not far removed from those of de Tocqueville nearly a decade earlier:-

TO BE TRANSCRIBED²⁹

By 1851, they had moved east to 6 Ashton (Old) Road: by now a daughter **Ann** (aged 5) and another son **Scholes** (III) (aged 3) had been born. On his marriage, **Scholes** (II) gave his occupation as 'painter': on **Edward's** birth certificate his wife **Ellen** described him as 'plasterer', and on the 1841 Census he is again 'painter'; in 1851 'plasterer and painter'. Presumably, he was able to take advantage of the building boom, which was throwing up working class housing in the eastern suburbs of Manchester, and this enabled him to escape with his family from the poorer conditions in Ancoats. In 1861 they were at 10 Aston (Old) Road, with their son **Scholes** (III), who worked as a labourer in a paper mill, and a daughter **Ann** a winder in a cotton mill. They had a lodger; **Ann HARTLEY** aged 50, for whom no occupation was given. **Scholes SCHOLES** (II) died, aged 54, 20 July 1868 from 'intestinal

obstruction'; his widow, **Ellen**, was still alive in 1881, aged 63 with no occupation given, living, with her son **Scholes SCHOLES** (III) and his family at 21 Railway Terrace, Ardwick.

Scholes SCHOLES' (II) half brother Peter also made the move to the Manchester area: on 16 September 1839, at St Mary's, Eccles, he married **Mary HORSFIELD**. They are both described as living in Pendleton, but with no address given: he a collier, she the daughter of **George HORSFIELD**, dyer. This raises the possibility that there may be other members of the family who also moved to the Manchester area at about the same time. On 5 June 1893, when **Sarah Ann SCHOLES** registered the birth of her and **Alfred's** daughter **Margaret**, gave her address as '18 Henney Street, Pendleton' – this is obviously a transcription error by the present Deputy Superintendent Registrar, possibly for Henry Street. A **John EGAN** (58, coal miner) was living at 18 Henry Street in the 1891 Census, with his wife and family, and a **James T EGAN** (28, cotton dye-worker) – presumably John's son – next door at No 16, with his family. **John EGAN** and his wife were born in Oreland, but **James'** wife (**Susannah P**) may have been related.

James, the eldest son of **Scholes** (II) and **Ellen**, married **Ann(e) DUXBURY** at St Mary's, Bury, 21 September 1863. A son, **David**, was christened at St Andrew's, Ancoats, 16 May 1865. But **James** was dead by 1874, when young **David** was committed for a period of eight years to the Manchester Certified Industrial School in Midway Street, Ardwick Green (next to Belle Vue Prison), for stealing 'three coal bags' – presumably complete with coal. His mother was then living at 14 Napier Street, off Palmerstone Street, and was described as a 'factory operative'. She was not there in the 1871 Census: she may well have moved to lower-rent-housing when her husband died. Napier Street was the next turning to Vivian Street off Palmerstone Street, where **Edward SCHOLES** died in 1879.

The '**Scholes SCHOLES** Tradition', which had been so helpful in establishing the whereabouts of the family in the Affetside area, and in the move to Manchester, later becomes confusing as they proliferated. At the time of the 1891 Census there were no fewer than four individuals with that name in one small street (Dawson Street)!

Scholes (II) and **Ellen's** son **Edward** married **Emma LOGAN**, of 21 Ashton Old Road, daughter of **John LOGAN**, Spindle and Fly Maker, 25 April 1859 at Manchester Cathedral. They were both then aged 20. She had been born in Stockport, Cheshire. He was able to sign his name, but she could not. On the 1861 Census they were living at 8 Ashton (Old) Road with their son **Scholes** (IV) (aged 1). His occupation was given as 'plasterer and painter'; Emma's place of birth was given as 'Stockport Cheshire'. **Edward** died, aged only 40, 13 April 1879, at 5 Vivian Street off Palmerston Street. An inquest found the cause of death to be 'natural disease (consultation?) aggravated by neglect of medical aid'. His widow, **Emma**, became a charwoman and in the 1891 Census returns she is shown, aged 59, living with her youngest son **Edward**, a paper maker aged 19, in Ross Street, Gorton.

Scholes' (II) and **Ellen's** third son, **Scholes** (III) was born 31 July 1842, by which time the family was living in Brougham Street, near the newly constructed church of St Andrews, Ancoats. He married **Sarah GREER**, 20 May 1866, and by the time of the 1881 Census, when they were living at 21 Railway Terrace, Ardwick, they had four children: **Scholes** (V), born 27 June 1867; **Mary Ellen**, born 1871, **John** born 1877; and **Sarah**, born in 1880.

Edward's and **Emma's** eldest son, **Scholes** (IV), was born 27 February 1860. On 22 January 1881, at the Albert Memorial Church in Colleyhurst, he married **Alice LEE**, the illegitimate daughter of **Elizabeth LEE**, born 18 May 1860 at Commercial Road, Macclesfield. **Elizabeth LEE** later married **Thomas LONGDEN**, also from Macclesfield. At the time of their marriage, they both gave as their address 114 Husband Street, in Miles

Platting. After their marriage, Scholes (IV), and Alice lived with her stepfather and mother at 19 Gardner Street, Gorton. In the 1891 Census they were at 23 Dawson Street, with their children **Martha A, Emma and Amy**. **Alice's** half sister **Mary Jane** was a boarder. **Scholes (IV)** and his wife moved to London in 1893 with **Alfred**, his younger brother, but there is a mystery as to what happened to their three daughters.

Edward's and **Emma's** second son, **Alfred**, was born 23 November 1863 at 16 Marsden Square, Ancoats. In the 1881 Census he was living with his mother **Emma** (who was then a charwomen) and his younger brother **Edward** at 3 Park Street, West Gorton. **Alfred's** occupation is given as 'Labourer, Dye Works', whilst **Edwards** is listed as 'Scholar'. They had two lodgers: **Thomas BOARDMAN**, 48, Labourer, Dye Works, and **Hannah BOARDMAN**, 41, Charwomen, both from Manchester.

Life in Gorton was far from healthy: as late as 1873 the Gorton Medical Officer of Health wrote:

"In some cases there is no provision of drinking water. Some people depend on the goodwill of the proprietors of pumps. One clump of cottages drew their supply for all hot cooking purposes from a foul puddle, whose only feeder was a filthy ditch, the outlet of a filthier duck pond, the receptacle of drainage from a midden. Chemical knowledge was superfluous in deciding the purity of such water, the analysis by the senses being absolutely conclusive"

Outbreaks of typhoid, cholera and smallpox were common, and infant mortality high. Privies were built in pairs at the rear of the houses, with one ashpit to each pair. In 1889 the number of ashpits in Gorton was 5145, the number of privies 9192. The ashpit was a depository for domestic refuse such as ashes and potato peelings and for excreta from the privy. The duty of emptying the ashpits lay with the owners of the property but, as this was not satisfactorily carried out, the duty was taken over by the Local Board who contracted it out. This was equally unsatisfactory, with residents complaining of walking to work through "mud" up to their knees! West Gorton finally amalgamated with Manchester in 1890, and conditions began – slowly – to improve.

The annual holidays consisted of Wakes Week – commencing on the first Sunday in September – when all factories closed. It was the most popular time for weddings. There were two fairs during Gorton Wakes; a small one near the Plough Inn and a larger one on the Town Croft, to the north of Ashton Old Road. There were also rush-bearing ceremonies accompanied by morris-dancing. Whit-week, with its processions, and C Christmas were also times for holidays and celebrations.

For amusements, there was the Abbey Hey Gardens at the eastern end of Gorton: the Denton Original Brass Band played for dancing every Saturday and Monday, with accommodation for 2000. The price of admission was 4d. There was a bowling green, and a trotting track with a perimeter of half a mile. There were quoits, curling, wrestling, football, May Day horse shows and rabbit chasing (with dogs). Above all, there was the Bell Vue Zoological Gardens with its wide range of entertainments. After the family moved to Battersea, contact with Manchester was regularly maintained. Ensor CLIFT remembers visiting the Zoo and Circus when a child.

Alfred married **Sarah Ann FOX** at the parish church of All Saints, Gorton, 18 May 1883 (destroyed by fire in 1964). He was then living at 3 Broughham Street with his mother. She was aged 19 and a domestic servant at 3 Berwick Street. He could sign his name, she could not. She had been born 03 April 1866 in Sussex Street, Gorton. Both her parents had died by the time of her marriage: her father, **Ezra FOX**, a journeyman stonemason died at the age

of 53 at 9 Park Street, Gorton West on 29 July 1878, from heart disease. Her mother, **Elizabeth SILWOOD** died at the age of 55 in Stuart Street, Gorton West, from bronchitis. They had been married at Manchester Cathedral 09 November 1845. His father was **Timothy FOX**, a carpenter, of Silver Street in Hulme; hers was **Thomas SILWOOD**, a drysalter, of Crown Street also in Hulme. He could sign his name, she could not. An **Eli FOX** was one witness.

Alfred's and **Sarah Ann's** first son, **Arthur**, was born 13 July 1886 at 6 Alfred Street. When their second son, **Scholes** (VI) was born, 22 March 1891, they had moved to 7 Dawson Street (where they are listed in the 1891 Census), and when their first daughter, **Margaret**, was born they were at 14 Lilford Street – all in West Gorton.
[Chart 36-37=6-2-2-1]

On the birth certificates of his children (and possibly, on his marriage certificate, although the entry is illegible), **Alfred SCHOLEs'** occupation is given constantly as 'Paper stainer': the 1891 Census returns show both **Alfred SCHOLEs**, and his brother **Scholes SCHOLEs** (VI) as Labourers: it may have been the loss (for whatever reason) of their employment in their trade as paper stainers that prompted the move to London. The 1893 Manchester directory gives the name of S Taylor & Son as paper stainers and paper hanging manufacturers in Savoy Street, off Hyde Road, West Gorton: theirs would be the closest works of that nature to where Alfred and Scholes lived. No employee records survive for the firm. The period was one of turmoil in the wallpaper business, with rapid growth of some firms and take-over of others.

We are left with three puzzles about the families and their move to London. Firstly, there is a strong family tradition of there having been "four brothers, all born in Manchester (i.e. children of **Alfred** and **Sarah Ann**), of whom two emigrated to Canada and became biscuit manufacturers". The 1891 Census clearly shows only two sons, **Arthur** and **Scholes** (VI). Secondly, there is the family tradition of 'someone' (**Sarah Ann SCHOLEs**, **Alfred's** sister?) having married a **Kenneth WOLSTENHOLME**, of Salford Road, Bolton. They are said to have had a son **Jack**, who was a miner and lived in Bolton and who, in turn had a son **Kenneth**. Lastly, Alfred's wife, **Sarah Ann FOX**, is said to have given her next of kin as Clara and **Walter FOX**, brother and sister, of whom no trace had yet been found. Certainly, **Ezra** and **Elizabeth FOX** must have had other children: there is a very long gap between the eldest known (**George Frederick**, born 1843, and **Sarah Ann**, born 03 April 1866). These puzzles remain to be solved.

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4. Fredrich Engels: 'The Conditions of the Working Class in England', p 95-6, Penguin Edition, 1987

3 Battersea and Beyond

Alfred SCHOLES and his brother **Scholes SCHOLES (IV)** went to London in 1893. It is likely that they made the journey during the interval between **Alfred's** daughter **Margaret** being born (19 April), and her birth being registered (5 June). The former event took place at 14 Lilford Street, West Gorton, but when she registered the birth **Sarah Ann SCHOLES** gave her address as 18 Henry Street, Pendleton. That must, in some way, link with the family of **Peter SCHOLES**, and half-brother of **Scholes SCHOLES (II)**.

TO BE CONTINUED WHEN I LOCATE THE COMPLETE DOCUMENT:

Endnotes = References renumbered for the transcribed document

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²⁸ Sir George Head: 'A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts in the summer of 1835', reproduced in 'Manchester As it is' of 1839, with the final comment added.

²⁹ Fredrich Engels: 'The Conditions of the Working Class in England', p 95-6, Penguin Edition, 1987
