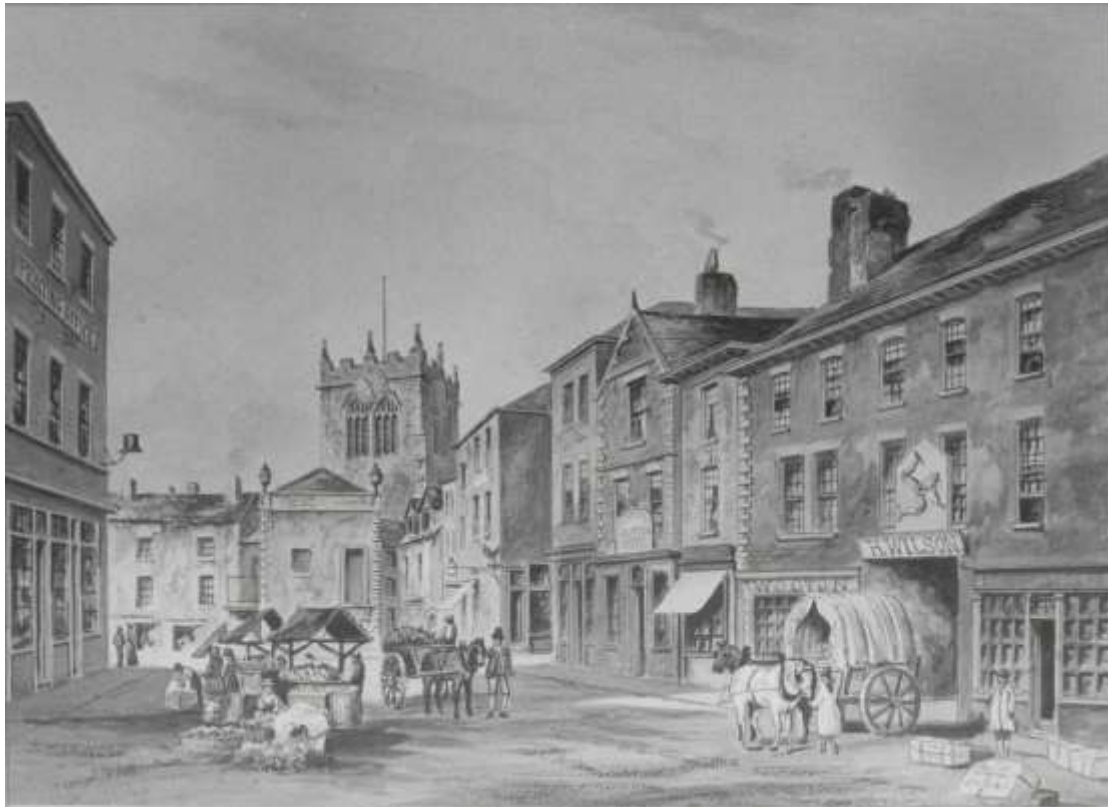


## **Market Place, Wigan in 1824: a closer look at the drawing by John Harwood and its subsequent reproductions**

The object of our discussion is the drawing made by John Harwood in 1824 of Wigan's Market Place and the three reproductions of that drawing made by later hands, viz:-

1. The drawing by John Harwood, executed in 1824 (it is dated in the lower left corner beneath Harwood's signature);<sup>1</sup>
2. The engraving made by Henry Winkles after Harwood's drawing and published in *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings* (London; H. & R. Fisher and P. Jackson; 1831; new ed., 1832);
3. The watercolour by Thomas Whitehouse,<sup>2</sup> executed in October 1831, based on the 1831 engraving by Winkles; and
4. The watercolour by Harry Walder (1909-1992), also based on the 1831 engraving by Winkles and executed possibly in the 1950s.

These are each reproduced below, followed by a photographic image of approximately the same view, taken on the 14th June 2015. In the discussion following the four artistic images will be referred to respectively by the abbreviations Harwood (1824), Winkles (1831), Whitehouse (1831), and Walder (1950).



**John Harwood's 1824 drawing of Market Place**



The 1831 engraving by Henry Winkles after James Harwood's drawing of Market Place



The watercolour reproduction made in October 1831 by Thomas Whitehouse after Winkles's engraving of Harwood's drawing



**The watercolour reproduction made perhaps in the 1950s by Harry Walder after Winkles's engraving of Harwood's drawing**



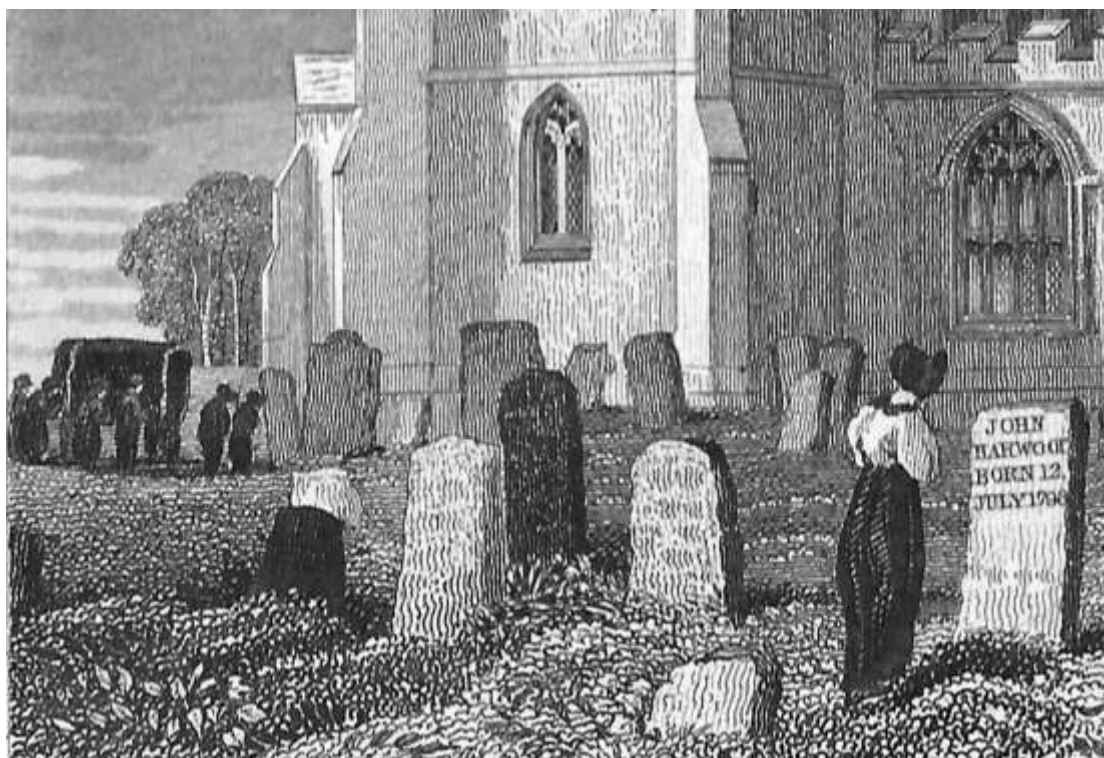
**Photograph taken 14th June 2015**

Almost all we are able to discover concerning John Harwood personally seems to be what may be gleaned from the engraved images that were published of pictures he created. However, in the Heal Collection of ephemera in the British Museum there has been preserved a trade card advertising ‘J. Harwood, stationer, bookseller & printer... account book manufactory, engraving, book binding’ with an address at 26 Fenchurch Street, London (Heal, 111.71). This address is also printed on illustrated books and many single engravings of English landscape locations, as well as some portraits of personalities, published by John and Frederick Harwood (who were possibly brothers<sup>3</sup>) in the 1840s.<sup>4</sup> What particularly concerns us here, however, is the London publication by H. & R. Fisher and P. Jackson issued in 1831 (new edition, 1832) entitled *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings*, which contained a collection of some 51 of John Harwood’s drawings and paintings, reproduced by various engravers, for it is in this work that we encounter the engraved version of John Harwood’s drawing of Wigan Market Place.

For a possible additional hint regarding the life of John Harwood we are drawn to one picture in this volume that was made by Harwood and engraved by W. Taylor, illustrating the Church of St. Helen in Sefton, Liverpool. The text accompanying this image describes it in the following manner:

There is a considerable degree of touching interest in this View of Sephton Church. “The heaven-directed spire”—the mourners consigning the remains of a deceased friend to their [*sic*] place of rest—and the numerous emblems of mortality, which appear in the foreground of the picture, distinctly characterize a spot, where—  
“Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,  
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.”

These lines from Thomas Gray’s ‘Elegy written in a country churchyard’ are cited to epitomize what is, in effect, a visual *memento mori* executed by the painter John Harwood, who in a self-mocking manner introduced his own name and apparent date of birth (not yet death) on the gravestone in the foreground of the picture, before which a bonneted woman is paying her respects (see detail from the picture below). The detail of the date of birth—‘12 July 1798’—at first appears to lend the would-be biographer of Harwood an important lead, until we discover that the church registers of St. Helen (of baptisms, but also of marriages and burials) contain no reference to any person by the name of Harwood and, indeed, no mention of anybody at all having been baptized there in 1798. We seem then to have been led up a blind alley and we cannot even be confident that the date of birth on the stone does in fact relate to the artist John Harwood.



What we do know in a practical way of John Harwood is that he spent a good deal of time travelling around Lancashire as he prepared the drawings and paintings of scenes in Aston-under-Lyne, Bolton, Irlam, Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport (only marginally in Lancashire), Todmorden, Ulverston, Warrington, and Wigan that were duly engraved by some 22 different craftsmen for inclusion in *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings*. Among these is the picture of Market Place, Wigan, which in the published volume is set on the same leaf above another done by Harwood of nearby Haigh Hall, both engraved by Henry Winkles (1801–1860),<sup>5</sup> the architectural illustrator, engraver, and printer, who, together with Karl Ludwig Frommel (1789-1863), founded the first studio for steel engraving in Karlsruhe, Germany.



In examining more closely the picture of Market Place, Wigan created in 1824, the first matter of interest is the viewpoint where Harwood must have sat, or stood when he produced his image. The map of 1847, shown above, assists in demonstrating that Harwood must have taken up his position roughly at the site where the fish stones once stood, at the corner of Millgate with Market Place, and looked out in a roughly south-westerly direction. An attempt to define his panorama is made through the pencil lines drawn on the map, with the centre line indicating approximately his picture's vanishing point, a line being taken from the flagpole on the church tower through the northernmost corner of the old Town Hall (which was in those days the new Town Hall, having assumed the former functions of the Moot Hall which, as the map indicates, was located further down at the entrance into Wallgate).<sup>6</sup> The new Town Hall in Market Place was built in classical Georgian style in 1720, the ground floor (the Shambles as indicated on the map) being occupied by butchers' shops, with the Council Chamber situated above. The balcony visible in Harwood's drawing was erected at a later stage and was used for delivering electioneering speeches. This 'new Town Hall' had become 'old' by 1882, when it was in turn demolished.<sup>7</sup>



The above depiction of the area in which Harwood must have positioned himself (taken from *The Illustrated London News* of the 5th November 1853<sup>8</sup>) looks some 45° turned away toward the south-east from the direction in which Harwood looked when he made his drawing of 1824. It was executed almost thirty years later, but is probably still representative of the main features in the view that would have met Harwood's sight had he stood a little further back in Standishgate, near to Wigan Bank, and turned to his left. The artist would have placed himself on the west side of Standishgate (note the placard left of the main entrance to the Royal Hotel, demolished in 1925 and where the W.H. Smith store stands today, bearing the word 'STANDISH'). The scene he depicted directed the viewer's sight directly into Millgate, with the Royal Hotel, which incorporated the ancient Eagle and Child Inn (note the painted sign<sup>9</sup>), on the left and on the right the entrance to Market Place. We see the entrance to Eagle Yard on the extreme left of his picture. This artist's impression says a good deal more about the busyness of Wigan's market than did Harwood, whose depiction of stalls and people seems merely representative, since in the 1853 image the market stalls and baskets of vegetables have clearly spilled over into Standishgate. On the right we can just see the Ring of Bells public house at the entrance to Market Place, where the Yorkshire Bank branch stands today. It is directly in front of this building that the fish stones would have been found in the first half of the nineteenth century and yet they were omitted by the artist, or they were just out of his visual range to the right. Harwood (1824) may or may not have intended to include the fish stones in his drawing, since the foremost stall, without cover, at the lower left of his picture might possibly have been intended to depict the fish stones. It should be noted that Harwood seems to have taken some liberty with the perspective on the left side of his picture, since the building depicted there with the placard 'PRINTING OFFICE' gives the appearance of its far corner's being approximately on a level with the north-east facade of the Town Hall. The map clearly shows this to have been an impossibility, as many more buildings and several street entrances lay between the fish stones and the Town Hall. In the picture these are lost to view,

blanked out by the wall of the imposing Printing Office building, which would properly have been much closer to the fish stones in the north-east corner of Market Place. Might he also have taken some liberty in positioning the fish stones further back in Market Place in order to include this notable piece of street furniture in his picture? The close proximity of a barrel, with another, apparently in the process of being unloaded from the tailgate of a wagon, introduced in Winkles (1831), may suggest a conveyance for fish, but the large, round basket suggests vegetables and the slatted front to the stall in Winkles (1831) suggests that Henry Winkles, the engraver, took this to be a wooden stall and not a stone construction. However, Thomas Whitehouse, who was no doubt personally familiar with the Market Place furniture, might have attempted in his watercolour copy of the engraving a correction to Winkles's interpretation, as the stall now has a rectangular shape and is certainly oriented in the direction of the fish stones as shown in the map of 1847. He also took the liberty of introducing a third barrel to the nearby assemblage, perhaps reinforcing the fishmongery intent. It is to Thomas Whitehouse that we are indebted for possibly the only visual record of the fish stones, as one end of them, with fish clearly visible on the slabs, may be seen in this artist's impression of what he referred to as 'the Old Dog public house' (but on the conundrum of the Old and New Dog taverns see below), located on the east side of Market Place, that he included among the other illustrations in his manuscript book. The fish stones thus depicted do seem to confirm the interpretation given by Thomas Whitehouse to the obscure uncovered stalls in Harwood's image, demonstrating their slab sides as well as upper surface, somewhat like raised stone grave covers of the age.<sup>10</sup> Harry Walder reoriented the stall again and developed its vegetable stall character as he perceived it in the 1831 engraving.



Fish stones were, in fact, a common feature of Lancashire market towns,<sup>11</sup> usually being positioned separately from the other stalls in the produce market. They were commonly circular, or semi-circular in form of layout, consisting of series of curving slate or limestone slabs set on stone pedestals but, as our map illustrates, Wigan's fish



stones were unusual in that they were placed in a straight line.<sup>12</sup> For local government purposes, the north-east corner of the fish stones in Wigan was used in 1837 as a point of reference to define the boundary mark in Wigan of All Saints Ward at its most easterly point, where it met St. George's Ward.<sup>13</sup> We do not know exactly what happened to Wigan market's fish stones, but there had already been a proposal for their removal made in a poster printed by John Brown of 2 Standishgate, whose business premises looked out on the fish stones, in 1824, the year in which Harwood made his drawing of Market Place.<sup>14</sup> Nothing, however, seems immediately to have come of this discussion, but it is evident that a feeling was abroad by this date that the fish stones could be described, at least by some people, as incommodious and inconvenient. It is commonly believed that the fish stones were finally removed on the 31st December 1866, the origin of this assertion being an entry in the manuscript notebook of John James Charnock, Town Clerk of Wigan from 1895 to 1900,<sup>15</sup> but this statement does not accord with the register of a burial at All Saints church on the 27th November 1870 of an unknown child said to have been 'found on the fish stones'.<sup>16</sup> It might in fact have been this tragic event that induced the authorities finally to remove the fish stones, which had been defiled by their abuse as what in the public imagination must have seemed tantamount to an altar for child sacrifice.

We may consider now some further details in Harwood (1824), referring from time to time to the elements of interpretation that may be evident in the later copies: Winkles (1831), Whitehouse (1831), and Walder (1950). First, it is worth considering the tower of All Saints Church (also known as Wigan Parish Church), as this forms the object of central focus in the picture. The keen observer will note that the church tower in the four pictures presently under discussion differs in some aspects from today's tower, most noticeably in the latter's smaller clock faces, the increased number of pinnacles (12 instead of 8) but fewer merlons in the crenelated parapet, and the addition of more ornamental masonry. The reason for this is found in records of later rebuilding and restoration work. Just twenty years after Harwood had completed his drawing, the church building was found to be in a 'ruinous condition' by two architects called in by the church wardens to survey the building. It was consequently dismantled and rebuilt during the years 1845-1850, following closely the design of the former building. However, 'the Tower, the Walmesley Chapel and the two turrets between the Chancel and the Nave were left unaltered' at that time. In 1861, however, the tower was raised in height, when the present clock chamber and final crocketed pinnacles were added. The present clock dials, smaller and neater than those in the old views of Market Place, date from 1900. By this date too the clock was illuminated by gas lighting, while the church itself had been lit by gas since 1833.<sup>17</sup> The following engraving, taken from the *'Church bells' album of notable Lancashire churches* (London, c. 1888) shows an intermediary version of the clock faces, in which the Roman numerals appear to have been painted black and the hour and minute fingers are thinner and perhaps harder to see than the more recent black fingers with the bold circle on the minutes finger, as shown in the recent photograph attached below, but now the gilded numerals are not so readily visible against the white background as were the old black numerals. However, it has been the trend in more recent years for analog watch and clock faces to pay less regard to the twelve hour numerals, even discarding them in part or in whole, and to focus more on the design of the indicator fingers. The present dials therefore are perhaps more in keeping with the spirit of the times.





As has previously been noted, the activity in the Market Place seems strangely minimal in Harwood (1824), with just three (possibly four) stalls, two conveyances with their attendants, five or six stall-holders, and perhaps only a couple of ladies there to make their purchases and two more persons at the edge of the printing office on the left, this despite the fact that the population of Wigan at this time must have been approaching a total of 20,000 souls.<sup>18</sup> To account for the relative vacancy of the scene we might ask, could the time of day have been very early on a summer's morning, or late on a summer's evening, after the majority of shoppers and stall-holders had dispersed? We attempt to compare the time shown on the clock depicted on the church tower and the position and length of shadows in the scene in order to assess the time of day and we reach rather conflicting conclusions, but nevertheless this clock gives the lie to any suggestion of a very early or a very late hour in the day.

In Harwood (1824) it seems to indicate the time of 11:25, although this looks more like 6:00 in Winkles (1831), apparently repeated in Whitehouse (1831), but altered to 3:00 in Walder (1950). Is there a clue to the time of day in the shadows? Direct evidence has been sought for verification. The contemporary photograph of the same scene included above, which was taken at almost the same time of day as is indicated on the church tower clock by Harwood (1824), suggests that shadows at this time of day, at least about midsummer during British daylight saving time (one hour in advance of GMT),<sup>19</sup> would point almost directly towards the observer of the scene (note the shadows cast by the three persons walking away from the camera position). Shadows are noticeable on the ground of Harwood's drawing and by their relative shortness seem to indicate a time in the early afternoon, which hardly accords with the time he has drawn on the church clock. Of course, the simple explanation for this might be that he drew the church clock and the shadows at different times of the day and somewhat carelessly forgot to synchronize them, or indeed the church clock might have been 'stuck'! We do not know. The shadows are much more developed in Winkles (1831), especially on the wall near the centre of the image, and they seem to suggest a time earlier in the morning, which again does not synchronize with the time indicated on the church clock. Whitehouse surprisingly moves the shadows backwards, perhaps believing that the time on the clock shown in Winkles's engraving was 6:00 in the afternoon. Walder's shadows suggest sometime during the morning, but the time he has depicted on the church clock is altogether out of accord with this. Even so, he populates Market Place with more figures to indicate greater bustle, perhaps aware that the original he was working from seemed oddly vacant for a time of day when market business ought to have been in full cry. He also affirms the existence of a third covered stall between the two foremost stalls and the Town Hall. Thus, what began in Harwood (1831) as an uncertain solid object, apparently leaning at an angle of 45° against one of the pillars supporting the balcony of the Town Hall, assumed a ghostly triangular shape in Winkles (1831), as if Winkles did not know what to do with the object. Whitehouse (1831) also seems to have been at a loss what to make of it, but Walder (1950) makes up his mind and turns it into another pitched roof over a definite market stall. Since the time of day in Harwood (1824) cannot easily explain the sparseness of activity in the market, we may perhaps deduce again that the artist took some liberty in recording his scene, reducing the representative stalls and people in Market Place to a minimum, since the activity was not his main object in capturing the image, but rather the buildings forming and eye-catching townscape.

Harwood's treatment of chimney smoke is also underdeveloped: three mere wisps of smoke suggesting a slight westerly wind, which is of course the prevailing direction of the wind in this part of Lancashire. By contrast the smoke is more emphasized in the three later versions and is made to drift in the opposite, unusual direction, reinforced in Whitehouse (1831) by the small flag on the staff surmounting the church tower. The relative lack of smoke from the chimney-pots in Harwood (1824) (three smoking pots out of seven that are visible) in a town where coal was readily available possibly suggests some day during the summer months. Benefiting from the gas by-product of the extensive coal-mining industry for which Wigan became famous in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a parliamentary *Act for lighting with gas the town and borough of Wigan* was published in 1822 and the first gas lighting was installed in the following year, which made Wigan one of the first towns in Britain, after London, to experiment with this new technology. One bracket-

mounted street lamp is visible near the centre of Harwood (1824), but this might have been one of the old lamps using whale oil for its combustible source of light. The map of 1847 indicates two lamp-posts (L.P.) in Market Place, one beside the fish stones and the other beside the Town Hall. Neither of these is shown in Harwood (1824), but the one beside the Town Hall was painted in another of Thomas Whitehouse's watercolours, executed in 1826, which also gives a good impression of the east side of the new Town Hall and the Shambles, as well as the old Town Hall (the Moot Hall) on the left of the picture.<sup>20</sup>



Since the buildings seem to have been John Harwood's principal interest, on which he bestowed some degree of detailed depiction, we may now turn to a discussion of those business premises that may be identified in his drawing. Our best assistant in this is E. Baines's *Directory of Wigan*, published in 1825, just one year after the drawing was executed. On the left (east) side of Market Place we see a tall building with a placard high on the wall announcing 'PRINTING OFFICE'.<sup>21</sup> Unaccountably the wording was reduced merely to the first word—'PRINTING'—in Winkles (1831) and Whitehouse (1831), while Walder (1950) painted in the placard but left it blank, possibly sensing some anomaly in a board bearing this single word. Baines lists Dorothy Critchley as the only printer with business premises in Market Place in 1825. The printer, publisher, and bookseller Dorothy Critchley was probably the successor to William Lyon, who had been active in this trade in Wigan since 1793 and had himself probably been the successor to William Bancks, who had begun the printing and bookselling business in Wigan in 1766. Dorothy Critchley was born Dorothy Marsden c. 1766 and on the 31st March 1783 she married William Lyon, thus becoming Dorothy Lyon, a name which appears in the imprints of several books published in Wigan during the period 1806 to 1818. The couple had five sons and two daughters: Mary, born 28th February 1788, and Abigail, born 29th May 1793, each of whom held the office of post-mistress for Wigan for a time, until being

succeeded in that office by John Brown, another important printer and bookseller of Wigan, whose premises were situated at 2 Standishgate, just out of the picture on the right edge of Harwood's drawing. Dorothy Lyon probably became a widow by the end of the eighteenth century, but on the 29th May 1819 she married again, this time to James Critchley, a widower of the parish of St. Peter, Bolton-le-Moors, she herself being denoted as a widow in the marriages register of St. Peter, Bolton-le-Moors, 1819-1821. She had already set up in business in Wigan on her own account by the time of her second marriage, since *Pigot's commercial directory of Wigan, 1816* lists Dorothy Lyon as a printer with premises in Market Place and, perhaps reflecting the expansion of her business, *Pigot's commercial directory, for 1818-19-20* (published Manchester, 1818) lists her as a printer, bookseller, and stationer situated in Market Place. Folkard<sup>22</sup> lists 'D. Critchley' as a printer active in Wigan during the years 1824-1833.<sup>23</sup> Dorothy Critchley was a member of St. Paul Independent Church in Wigan<sup>24</sup> and died on the 9th January 1840, aged 73.<sup>25</sup> Her seven children by William Lyon are all entered in the baptism registers of St. Paul Independent Church, where she herself is variously referred to as 'Dorothy' or 'Dolly' Lyon. Harwood's depiction of Dorothy Critchley's Printing Office in Market Place provokes one more question: what is the meaning of that supersize hat displayed on a bracket at the corner of the building? This is, in fact, one of possibly three or four trade signs included in the picture and it clearly denotes the premises of a hatter, possibly occupying the ground floor, with the printing office situated above. Baines does mention that a hat dealer and hosier by the name of Charles Savage had premises in Market Place, but he mentions also the hat manufacturer and pawnbroker John Marsden, a surname which was, of course, the same as Dorothy Critchley's name at birth. We may wonder therefore, might John Marsden have been the father of Dorothy and might he have enabled Dorothy and her first husband, William Lyon, to acquire these premises for their printing business in Wigan's Market Place?

We now cross to the right (west) side of Market Place as depicted in Harwood (1824) and on the edge of the drawing we notice the premises of a trader by the name of Newsham. Baines listed in his 1825 *Directory* two persons named Newsham trading in Market Place, viz: Richard Newsham, a linen draper, and James Newsham, an ironmonger, who also acted as an agent for Royal Exchange fire and life assurance. It seems impossible at present to say with absolute certainty which of these persons occupied the shop depicted by Harwood, although the more likely candidate is probably the ironmonger James Newsham, who is recorded in the 1811 Census returns as occupying premises near to those of Samuel Harris. The bales or boxes shown outside the shop might perhaps have been recently deliveries of goods delivered to the Newsham ironmongery. These bales are of interest not just because they were treated differently by the subsequent copiers—reduced in quantity by Winkles (1831), omitted altogether by Whitehouse (1831), multiplied again by Walder (1950), who oddly also introduced an additional carter shown standing on one of the bales, again perhaps to augment the sense of bustle and activity in the picture—but also on account of the lettering visible on them, which is however omitted in the three derivatives by Winkles, Whitehouse, and Walder. Only the lettering of the bale in the foreground is decipherable, the address 'WIGAN' being most evident and above it what looks like the symbol of a dot in the centre of an equilateral triangle and the capital letter 'N', perhaps an abbreviation for Newsham. The triangle and dot symbol is hard to interpret, but one cannot help wondering if it is, in fact, an addition by Harwood himself and a hidden gesture towards his own allegiance to Freemasonry,

since the symbol does suggest the pyramid and all-seeing-eye symbol favoured by Masons (among others).<sup>26</sup> This suggestion is perhaps substantiated by comparison with another drawing by Harwood, one made of the Prince's Dock, Liverpool, included also in *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings*, in the lower right-hand corner of which we similarly see a number of bales, on one of which there is a symbol which looks remarkably like the Masons' principal symbol, the square and compasses.



To the left of Newsham's shop is the entrance to the Legs of Man Yard and the Legs of Man inn, under the proprietorship, as the board proclaims, of Henry Wilson,<sup>27</sup> although Margaret Wilson, possibly his widow, had become the owner by 1825.<sup>28</sup> Over the yard entrance the Legs of Man emblem (with details simplified in the three derivative pictures<sup>29</sup>) was part of the coat of arms of members of the Stanley family who, as well as holding the office of Lords Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, were Earls of Derby and Lords of Mann from 1405 until 1594. To resolve dispute William Stanley, the 6th Earl, purchased from his nieces their claims to the Isle of Man and his son James, the 7th Earl, moved in 1643 to the Isle of Man and established the island as a Royalist stronghold during the English Civil War. The Legs of Man emblem is said to have been granted to the family of the landlord of the 'Old Dog Inn' (its former name) as a reward for his efforts in giving refuge to and tending the wounds of the Earl of Derby following his defeat in the Civil War Battle of Wigan Lane in 1651,<sup>30</sup> although within two months the earl was defeated at Worcester, captured by Parliament forces, tried at Chester Castle, and beheaded at Bolton. The Legs of Man was henceforth the name by which The Dog public house was known. It was thus, in popular parlance 'The Old Dog', while the new Dog tavern was positioned facing it on the opposite side of Market Place (see Whitehouse's depiction of it above, albeit referred to by him confusingly as 'The Old Dog').<sup>31</sup> For some unknown reason, Winkles (1831) enlivened the entrance-way by depicting on its inner wall a poster announcing some 'LOST' article. This might, in fact, reflect a known local custom of affixing public notices near the much frequented entrances to public houses, another example of which may be seen in the 1853

drawing of the Royal Hotel included above. In Winkles (1831) another sign is visible, but illegible, on the same wall just above the wagon's cover.

Before leaving the Legs of Man, we should consider what lay at its rear, hinted at by the long Legs of Man Yard shown in the map of 1847. It was in fact in this area centring on Market Place that the leading citizens of the town, the burgesses, were located in the early nineteenth century and the burgage plots on which their properties were constructed evidence their medieval origins, when the burgesses would pay an annual rent of 12 pence to the Rector of Wigan, who was also the powerful Lord of the Manor, in exchange for plots of land containing 5 roods (1¼ acres). These were long, strips of land with narrow ends facing the street. To the rear, over time the backlands became infilled with rows of tightly packed 2-3-roomed cottages and cramped courts of houses, although some remained as small market gardens or orchards. The structure of this early planning and subsequent building development is clearly shown in the map of 1847 and it accounts, for example, for several references to the later Victorian Legs of Man public house, which replaced the older house, being claimed to have been the longest pub in the world, stretching all the way back, from 'top legs' to 'bottom legs' at Woodcock Street, i.e. a length of some 90 meters traversed by a corridor stretching the full length of the arcade shops and linking doors at top and bottom.

To the left of the Legs of Man is the shop of a tradesman by the name of Wootton. Harwood (1824) actually misspelled the name 'WOOTON' and the only person to correct the spelling among the subsequent copiers was Whitehouse (1831), which again may be taken as an example of the personal familiarity that this artist enjoyed in surveying and reproducing the scene in Market Place. The premises belonged to William Wootton, a grocer and tea dealer, who, as the 1841 Census reported, was still occupying premises in Market Place at this date, when he was 76 years old.<sup>32</sup> The stone window-frames and the mid-late Georgian-style sliding sash windows with glazing bars on the first and second floors of this building depicted by Harwood (1824) were simplified by Winkles (1831) and Whitehouse (1831), while Walder (1950) managed imaginatively to restore the detail to the sliding sashes. Above the windows, Harwood (1824), followed by Winkles (1831) and Whitehouse (1831), but not Walder (1950), clearly depicted the modillion-style cornice typical of the period, a small stretch of which may have survived until today above the painted render finish of the black and white building to the left of the National Westminster Bank at 2 Standishgate.<sup>33</sup>

Our eye passes further down the west side of Market Place and lights on the building with the arch-topped placard, seen over the doorway, bearing the name 'DUTTON'. The name is misspelled 'DUTON' by Winkles (1831), illegible in Whitehouse (1831), but seemingly restored to 'DUTTON' by Walder (1950). Over the placard we see what looks like a trade sign of some sort, but it is not easily recognizable and it is not, for instance, the customary mortar and pestle signifying the druggist's trade.<sup>34</sup> In Harwood (1824) it has the appearance of a stag's head, but Winkles (1831), followed by Walder (1950), seem to represent it as a spread eagle. Whitehouse (1831) omitted it altogether, perhaps too puzzled by what he saw in Winkles's engraving. The sign marked the business premises of Francis Dutton, one of three persons engaged in the druggist trade in Market Place in 1825.<sup>35</sup> We learn a little about Francis Dutton and the previous proprietors of this druggist's business



from letters that have survived, written by Samuel Harris, the proprietor of this shop from 1805 to 1820. Harris wrote from the USA, where he had emigrated in 1821, to his old friend and church associate John Brown, who ran the printing and bookselling business located at 2 Standishgate.<sup>36</sup> The druggist's premises consisted of a shop, dwelling place, and warehouse in the yard.<sup>37</sup> Writing from Aurora, Indiana to John Brown in April 1830 and seeking the latter's help in recovering an old debt from the estate of the recently deceased Recorder of Wigan, Richard Clayton, 1st baronet of Adlington (1745-1828), Harris commented, 'I left my books [i.e. his business ledgers] with Mr. Sowerby and possibly they may still be in the shop with Mr. Dutton.' The baptismal register of All Saints Church, Wigan for the 7th February 1823 reported the birth of a son, John, to John and Mary Sowerby, with the father John's occupation recorded as a druggist with a business in Market Place, indicating that the business had passed from Harris to Sowerby by this date at the latest. But Sowerby did not remain long as the druggist occupying this building. In November 1822 Harris wrote to Brown, 'We hear from Bath that Mrs. [Mary] Sowerby is not well satisfied with Wigan since her illness. It seems that Mr. Cuff's nurse<sup>38</sup> washed away the virus from the children's arms, when they were vaccinated, and that left them open to the small-pox.' Probably the business had passed from Sowerby to Dutton by 1824, when Harwood drew his picture of Market Place, and it is possible that Harris's remarks quoted above suggest one possible reason for Sowerby's selling the business to Francis Dutton and leaving Wigan. Francis Dutton must have been recognized as a citizen of consequence, as his name appears among the very restricted list of electors of Wigan in the 1832 Poll Books. He also served as alderman of Wigan for Swinley ward from the 1st December 1835.<sup>39</sup>

Samuel Harris's letters may also help us to identify the business premises on either side of the druggist's shop, occupied by Francis Dutton in 1824 when Harwood drew his picture of Market Place. So pleased was Harris with the prospects before him on arriving in the New World, that he wrote to John Brown from Philadelphia in July 1821, 'On the whole, we have not met with a single circumstance since we left Liverpool to create a wish that I had remained between Tennant & Worthington.' It seems likely that Harris was referring here to two neighbouring tradesmen in Market Place: Tennant and Worthington. The Tennant family of Wigan is met with elsewhere in Harris's letters and James Tennant, who was admitted and sworn a burgess of Wigan on the 26th December 1806,<sup>40</sup> had a grocer's business in Market Place.<sup>41</sup> This business had passed to Richard Tennant (probably a son) by 1825.<sup>42</sup> In fact, members of the Tennant family were prominent in business all around Market Place. In 1816 the Commercial Hall was built just to the west of Market Place by one of the Tennant family, possibly James Tennant,<sup>43</sup> the third floor of which was devoted to a new Cloth Hall. Christian institutions of different denominations were also the object of Tennant benefactions. Thus, we learn that 'Mr. Tennant, proprietor of the Commercial Hall' greatly assisted the Sunday School of Wigan's second Baptist Church in King Street.<sup>44</sup> After the decease of Richard Tennant, on the 28th January 1842 the extensive property in Wigan of George and Richard Tennant (who were probably the sons of James Tennant, d. 1819) was placed in a bankruptcy auction at the Royal Hotel in Wigan.<sup>45</sup> Much of this property was situated in or near to Market Place and included among the sale items was not only the Cloth Hall but also 'all that chief or ground-rent of £9.7s.6d. reserved and made payable from and out of Hope [Independent] Chapel and premises, situate in Hope-street, in Wigan... for the residue of a term of 999 years', notwithstanding the inclusion also of a double seat or pew in

the parish church of Wigan. The property depicted to the left of Dutton's druggist establishment might therefore have been another belonging to one of the Tennant family, while on the other side might have been one under the proprietorship of a person by the name of Worthington. In fact, Baines lists three persons surnamed Worthington with businesses in Market Place: Edward and George Worthington, butchers (is that a butcher's awning shading the window seen in Harwood's drawing?<sup>46</sup>), and Nicholas Worthington, a maker of clogs and pattens. The letters 'TON' are discernible with some difficulty above the awning in Harwood (1824), represented clearly by Winkles (1831), followed by Walder (1950), but omitted by Whitehouse (1831). The question is, how to interpret this? In an attempt to answer this question, the first thing to note is that Harwood (1824), followed by Winkles (1831) and Walder (1950), depicted the 'TON' establishment with merely a window but without a door. If this was an accurate depiction, then we would be led toward interpreting this relatively narrow establishment as an annex either to the premises of Dutton on the left, or of Wootton on the right, the first syllable of one of these names, perhaps on a fallen board, having disappeared at the time of Harwood's drawing. But, we ask, why should such a board have been necessary when the names were already up in full on one side or the other? Once more Whitehouse (1831) comes to the rescue, with his own personal knowledge of the building, in reference to which he does depict this building with its own doorway, albeit he leaves out the letters 'TON' over the awning, perhaps because the three letters alone made no sense to him, or indeed perhaps because a successor to Worthington had erased the fragmentary name by 1831. It would therefore seem fairly reasonable to suppose that 'TON' was, in fact, the last syllable of the butchers' name 'E. & G. Worthington', the board bearing all before the last syllable of the name having somehow fallen away (or deliberately been removed to allow easement of light to the first-floor window?) before Harwood drew his picture.

Beyond these buildings and the entrance to Commercial Yard we see above the bracketed street lamp what looks like another trade sign but, once again, it is hard to decipher. Is it a cock (the shape is perhaps suggested by Harwood (1824) and Walder (1950)), sometimes used as a sign of a seller of lace or of a draper?<sup>47</sup> But Winkles (1831) and Whitehouse (1831) seem to be representing something else, possibly a piece of furniture, representative of the cabinet-maker's trade? There were certainly linen and woollen drapers in Market Place in addition to Richard Newsham already mentioned and there was also a saddler, John Whittle, but apparently not a cabinet-maker, so in this case we must await further light before attempting a definite interpretation.

In conclusion, it is evident that there is today hardly anything in the picture drawn by John Harwood in 1824 that remains as it was to the present day, not even the church tower. Nevertheless, Wigan has been fortunate in that the rebuilding processes that have taken place over almost two subsequent centuries, throughout the long Industrial Age, have still managed to preserve the general outline of Market Place and the town's main streets without the kind of wholesale re-landscaping that has blighted so many other of Britain's towns and cities. The open space in Market Place has undergone successive 'make-overs' and what was for a time in its history a busy central focus point and tram terminus has now resumed the less bustling atmosphere of a pleasant court place similar to that which characterized it long ago. The present buildings that line Market Place have not risen so high as to cramp this

pleasant court place appearance of the location and indeed even the roofline of today has retained echoes of that which greeted the people who visited this place two centuries ago. It has retained a sense of humanity. People still come here to eat and drink socially and it is what it was two centuries ago: a place where Wiganers went about their regular shopping and community activities, seeking the common necessities of living from butchers, grocers, chemists, clothiers, and a variety of other merchants, just as they continue to do today.

---

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Harwood might also have produced a watercolour of the same scene. Henry Tennyson Folkard, the first librarian of the Wigan Free Public Library, published in 1916 a catalogue of Wigan-related materials, mostly printed items, but also maps, pictures, and photographs of various Wigan streets, buildings, and public persons in his *Wigan and district: a local record*, on p. 72 of which, among images of Market Place, he mentioned: 'Market Place. Harwood, framed' and next, 'Water colour by J. Harwood. 1824, framed'. However, Wigan's Community History Manager, Lynda Jackson, informed the present writer that a search of the store and database made in June 2015 had not resulted in their discovery. We must therefore presume that they are now lost, unless they should be rediscovered at a later date. The image used in the present study was kindly supplied in January 2014 by Wigan Archives Manager Alex Miller, who however had no information regarding how it had been acquired. It seems certain to have been taken from one of the images listed by Folkard.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Whitehouse (*fl.* 1781-1842), a wine merchant and amateur historian, produced a bound manuscript illustrated with original watercolour sketches entitled *A history of the town and borough of Wigan in the county of Lancaster, and its vicinity, with anecdotes collected and recollected* (Wigan, dated 1829, but actually containing later material) [preserved in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall]. The volume was described by Folkard (*Wigan and district*, p. 40) as follows: 'A manuscript of one hundred and eighty-eight leaves, with forty-six water-colour drawings of buildings and views of Wigan and district, all signed by the compiler and dated from 1781 to 1842. The sheets which were originally of octavo size, have been enlarged to small quarto and mounted and bound in whole brown crushed and tooled morocco, by John Fazakerley, of Liverpool.' Personal information regarding Whitehouse is lacking, almost with the exception of what may be gleaned from the captions to three of his watercolours in this volume, the subjects being: (1) Thomas Whitehouse's premises, Market Place, 1826, and accompting house, 1785; (2) the Pied Bull, Hallgate, with premises erected by Thomas Whitehouse; and (3) the house built by Alexr. Radcliffe in Millgate, and leased by Thomas Whitehouse, 1785-1790. 'Thomas Whitehouse, victualler' is recorded in the 1811 Census returns from Hallgate, Wigan. Since Whitehouse is not listed in Baines's *Directory of Wigan* (1825), it is possible that he had retired from business by the time he produced his illustrated history, so that the first of the above watercolours ought perhaps more accurately to have been captioned 'Thomas Whitehouse's former premises...' At all events, it seems clear that Whitehouse had a close personal knowledge of the subjects he painted, as will become evident in our discussion of his pictorial representation of Market Place.

<sup>3</sup> Both were bound apprentices of the Stationers' Company: John in 1813 and Frederick in 1822 (British book trades index, referring to M. Turner's London book trades data 1801-1830, based on his work on the Company archive).

<sup>4</sup> These included: *Harwood's views of the Lakes* (apparently published in the 1840s since the views are severally dated between 1842 and 1846); *Harwood's scenery of Great Britain* (c. 1841); *Harwood's landscape annual* (1841); Thomas Roscoe's *Summer tour to the Isle of Wight* (1843); two volumes of caricatures or comic illustrations by the pseudonymous Alfred Crowquill, i.e. Alfred Henry Forrester: *A guide to the watering places* (c. 1840) and *The tutor's assistant; or, comic figures of arithmetic* (1843); *Harwood's views of Windsor* (1845 – 'J. Harwood' stands alone in the imprint); and *Harwood's views of Derbyshire* (1849?). P.A.H. Brown (*London publishers and printers, c. 1800-1870* [London, 1982]) stated that J. & F. Harwood traded in London from 1830 to 1844.

<sup>5</sup> Along with pictures engraved by Henry Winkles, examples of the engraving work of other members of the Winkles family—Benjamin (1805-1856) and Richard Winkles—are also included in *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings*.

<sup>6</sup> The Moot Hall (commemorated on the old Wigan town seal, seen today e.g. on the wall of Wigan Museum of Life, formerly Wigan Free Library), built in the sixteenth century, was enlarged early in the

---

following century, but it had all but fallen down a century later, so that in 1720 the new Town Hall was erected to take its place. Although the Moot Hall was rebuilt, it finally had to be demolished in 1869, when stones from the building are said to have been used in erecting an arbour in the gardens of Ince Old Hall. The Moot Hall thus overlapped in its existence with the new Town Hall, as is shown in the map of 1847.

<sup>7</sup> Demolition rubble, including carved stonework, is said to have been used in constructing foundations for the rockery and landscaping around the lake in Mesnes Park.

<sup>8</sup> The journalists' attention had been drawn to Wigan on account of the striking miners' riots in November 1853 in demonstration against the introduction of strike-breaking Welsh miners into the pits and the subsequent angry workers' attempts to let the mine-owners and managers, who were thought to be hiding in the Royal Hotel, know the strength of their outraged feelings.

<sup>9</sup> The Eagle and Child sign is taken from the crest of the House of Stanley, the Earls of Derby. For the legend originating the symbol, see J. Roby, *Popular traditions of Lancashire*, 3rd edn., vol. I (London, 1843) pp. 167-195: 'The Eagle and Child'.

<sup>10</sup> The building seen in Whitehouse's painting of 'the Old Dog', positioned to the left of the public house, is possibly the printing office of William and Dorothy Lyon, on whom see below.

<sup>11</sup> Examples, some preserved to the present day, are known to have been in use in Blackburn, Bury, Cartmel, Caton, Garstang, Kirkham, Lancaster, Liverpool, Lytham, Manchester, Ormskirk, Poulton-le-Fylde, and Ulverston.

<sup>12</sup> The fish stones at Poulton-le-Fylde represent another example of the oblong format.

<sup>13</sup> Parliamentary papers, House of Commons and Command, vol. XXVIII: *Reports from commissioners... [vol.] 8: Municipal corporations and boundaries (England and Wales)... pt. iii, Session 31 Jan.-17 July 1837*.

<sup>14</sup> A copy of this poster is preserved in Wigan Archives, headed: *Borough of Wigan, in the County of Lancaster* and beginning: *Notice is hereby given that a common hall, or meeting of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the said Borough, will be held at the New Town Hall... on Monday the twenty-seventh day of September... for the purpose of considering and determining whether the tolls payable within the said Borough... shall or not be let by ticket, or otherwise, for a term of years... And also for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of removing the fish market and fish stones to some place... more commodious and convenient.* [Dated 20th September 1824 and signed:] *Mayor.* (J. Brown, printer, Wigan) [with MS annotation and signature 'Thomas Darwell' above *Mayor*].

<sup>15</sup> See W. Farrer & J. Brownbill, *A history of the County of Lancaster*, vol. IV (London, 1911).

<sup>16</sup> Burials register 1867-1872, p. 111, entry 883.

<sup>17</sup> See further *The parish church of All Saints, Wigan: a short history and guide*, pp. 2-5, 14, 16; W.J. True, *A ramble round the Wigan parish church* [Wigan, 1901] pp. 27, 55 f.

<sup>18</sup> The total number of inhabitants recorded in the 1831 census amounted to 20,774, leaving out the surrounding townships of Standish, Aspull, Hindley, Pemberton, Upholland, and Ashton-in-Makerfield.

<sup>19</sup> Overlooking, of course, any variation there might have been in Wigan's version of local solar time before the introduction of standard time, which arrived with the railways and telegraph services.

<sup>20</sup> The abbreviation 'L.', for lamp, appears at several points on the 1847 map, e.g. in Coopers Row, but the lamp depicted in Harwood's drawing, at the corner of Market Place and Commercial Yard, is not marked on the map, perhaps indicating that it had been taken down before 1847.

<sup>21</sup> A placard bearing the same wording—'PRINTING OFFICE'—is similarly depicted over business premises in John Harwood's drawing of South John Street, Liverpool, engraved by Benjamin Winkles and included in *Lancashire illustrated from original drawings*.

<sup>22</sup> *Wigan and District*, p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> Dorothy Lyon's second husband, James Critchley, appears to have tried his hand at several enterprises. On the 7th July 1811, Gabriel Shaw, James Critchley, and John Lyon mutually agreed to dissolve their cotton-dealer business in Wigan (*London gazette*, issue no. 16539 [9-12 November 1811] p. 2173). Critchley then seems to have moved to Liverpool, where he entered into business with James Redmayne and John Wildon Bell as spirit dealers (Redmayne dropped out of the partnership in 1820; see *London gazette*, issue no. 17632 [2 September 1820] p. 1725). There is further mention, in the *London gazette* (issue no. 17991 [10 January 1824] p. 55), of the bankruptcy in 1824 of the 'liquor-merchants, dealers, [and] chapmen' Messrs. James Critchley and Thomas Walker, both of Bolton-le-Moors, where protection is accorded to the property of James Critchley's 'present wife, Dorothy Critchley, late Dorothy Lyon' according to a settlement made prior to the couple's marriage.

<sup>24</sup> St. Paul Congregational Church, Wigan: Church meeting minutes, 1833-1840, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall, call no. D/NB5/3/1.

- <sup>25</sup> Her death was announced in the *Blackburn standard*, 15th January 1840.
- <sup>26</sup> The image is very similar, for example to one depicted in the decorated plaster-of-Paris ceiling of the Billiard Room, later Library, of Haigh Hall, shown in one of the plates following p. 124 of D. Harrison, *The transformation of Freemasonry* (Bury St Edmunds, 2011). Members of the Lindsay family, who resided at Haigh Hall, had a deep fascination with Freemasonry.
- <sup>27</sup> Baines, *Directory* (1825).
- <sup>28</sup> Confirmed by *Pigot's commercial directory, for 1818-19-20* (Manchester, 1818).
- <sup>29</sup> Working from a monochrome engraving, Whitehouse (1831) and Walder (1850), the latter seeming not to have known Whitehouse's watercolour, each attempted to supply a coloured ground to the Legs of Man emblem: blue in the case of Whitehouse and yellow in the case of Walder. In fact, in the coat of arms of the Earls of Derby, the field on which the legs were depicted was coloured red, which the light shading in Harwood (1824) and Winkles (1831) gives no clue to. Possibly indeed the original was colourless. Whitehouse seems to have used his blue paint merely to highlight certain salient features throughout the picture.
- <sup>30</sup> M. Swindlehurst, *John Wesley and Wigan* (Wigan, 1991) p.8; J. Hannavy, *Wigan: history & guide*, repr. (Stroud, 2008) p. 52.
- <sup>31</sup> Care should be taken not to cloud the issue further by confusing the Legs of Man, Wigan with either the Legs of Man Hotel or the Old Dog Inn, both situated in Upholland, which came to be associated with the alleged criminal plotting and subsequent execution of the famous 'highwayman' (or rather thief and receiver of stolen goods) George Lyon. See A. Miller, *George Lyon: Up Holland highwayman?* (Zaltbommel, 2001) pp. 6, 33. Could this be why David Harrison referred to 'the infamous Dog Inn at Wigan Market Place'? (*The Liverpool Masonic rebellion and the Wigan Grand Lodge: the last Masonic rebellion* [Bury St Edmunds, 2012] p. 72.)
- <sup>32</sup> Baines, *Directory* (1825). The 1811 Census indicates that 'William Wootton, grocer' had previously occupied premises in Hallgate. His surname is, in fact, spelled 'Wooton' in the 1841 Census. Also occupying the premises in 1841 was Jane Wooton, aged 70 and Ellen Wooton, aged 30, as well as a 60-year-old servant, Dorothy Wood.
- <sup>33</sup> So it is reported in Philip Powell's excellent architectural study of Wigan: *Wigan town centre trail* (Wigan Metro. Bor. Council, 1986), p. 19.
- <sup>34</sup> See e.g. C.A. Meadows, *Trade signs and their origin* (London, 1957) pp. 19-23.
- <sup>35</sup> Baines, *Directory* (1825).
- <sup>36</sup> An edition of these letters was posted in 2014 at <https://www.wigan.gov.uk/Docs/PDF/Resident/Leisure/Museums-and-archives/archives/Harris-BrownLettersWLCTWALS.pdf> and a new, revised and augmented edition is presently being prepared.
- <sup>37</sup> So they are described in an advertisement published in the *Manchester mercury*, 6th April 1813, when it would seem Samuel Harris had been in a mind to sell his business.
- <sup>38</sup> J.H. Cuff was a chemist and druggist with a business at 15 Milsom Street in Bath. (See *The historic and local new Bath guide* [1802] p. 172; *Gye's Bath directory, corrected to January 1819*, p. 55; and the advertisement for pharmaceuticals sold by J.H. Cuff in the *Bath chronicle and weekly gazette*, 15th July 1841.) He was the father-in-law of Mrs. Sowerby, since *The Lancaster gazette* of the 25th November 1820 reported the marriage in Bath, Somerset of 'John Sowerby, chemist, of Wigan, to Mary, second daughter of Mr. Cuff, Milsom-street'.
- <sup>39</sup> Borough of Wigan Town Council: Minute Book, 1835-1841 (Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall, call no. CB/Wi/A1/1).
- <sup>40</sup> Burgess certificates, in Wigan Archives, Leigh Town Hall, call no. AB/MR13.
- <sup>41</sup> *Pigot's commercial directory, for 1818-19-20* (Manchester, 1818) p. 468. The 1811 Census returns recorded 'James Tennant, grocer' in premises seemingly next door but one to Samuel Harris, with 'Thomas Bailey, shopkeeper' wedged between them.
- <sup>42</sup> Baines, *Directory* (1825).
- <sup>43</sup> So it was asserted by T. Whitehouse in his *History of the town and borough of Wigan*.
- <sup>44</sup> W. Brown, *The first thirty years of the King Street (2nd Baptist) Sunday School, Wigan* (Wigan, 1857) p. 5.
- <sup>45</sup> *London gazette*, issue no. 20056 (31st December 1841) p. 3384.
- <sup>46</sup> The authenticity of this detail is perhaps underlined by the direction of the shadows, suggesting light striking the window from the left (east) and the second awning depicted over a shop front further down on the right beyond the entrance to Commercial Yard.
- <sup>47</sup> Meadows, *Trade signs*, p. 59.

David Brady

