

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



BREADSALL PRIORY, DERBYSHIRE.

Ravenhill Sculp

The Local History Bulletin
of the
Derbyshire Archaeological Society

Volume 8

Spring 1977

Part 1

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Vol. VIII. Part 1.

Spring 1977.

CONTENTS.

	Page
The Cataloguing and Indexing of the Wolley Manuscripts by Miriam Wood.	1 - 3
Peakway (Via de Pecco) by Arthur E. Dodd and Evelyn M. Dodd	4 - 6
The Early Derbyshire Quakers and their Emigration to America. by Adrian Henstock.	7 - 9
23-25 Market Place, Chesterfield. by Philip Riden	10 - 17
Buxton's Waters. by I. E. Burton.	18 - 26
The Ruin of Jesse's Cottage. by M. G. Bellhouse	27 - 28
Ockbrook. by Joan Sinar.	29 - 38

Copyright in each contribution to *DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY* is
reserved by the author.

EDITOR

Miss J. Sinar,
Derbyshire Record Office,
County Offices,
Matlock.
DE4 3AG.

Editorial Assistant:	D.V. Fowkes
Production Assistant:	V. S. Smith
Distribution Secretary:	Miss J. Allen
Treasurer:	Mr. T. Larimore

All enquiries regarding new membership and distribution should be addressed to the Treasurer.

EDITORS NOTES.

This number is the first to be produced by offset litho from a paper plate. The change was first thought of about five years ago but then cost much more than Miscellany's budget could afford. The Society has however recently bought a second-hand vari-typer and volunteers are setting up much of its own printing. Miscellany is too big a job to ask a volunteer to take on, so it will still be professionally typed. We hope our readers will find the change pleasant and useful. We hope too to reach a wider public and introduce our new Miscellany into Derbyshire bookshops.

Joan Sinar has been producing for some years now for local government planning purposes a series of studies of the development of villages throughout the county. They are interim studies based on printed sources and manuscripts quickly available in the Derbyshire Record Office and Derby County Library. Various people have used them for their own purposes and commented that they should be more widely distributed. So we are going to include them from now on in Miscellany. Joan would be grateful for arguments and observations because one day she wants to use them as the basis of a history of the development of Derbyshire.

THE CATALOGUING AND INDEXING OF THE
WOLLEY MANUSCRIPTS

by

MIRIAM WOOD

(County Library, County Offices, Matlock)

Adam Wolley of Matlock (1758-1827) came of the Allenhill branch of the Wolleys of Riber. By profession he was an attorney, but by inclination an antiquary and historian, like his distant relative, William Wolley, who had written a short history of Derbyshire in about 1712. Adam Wolley also intended to write a history of the county and to that end collected and copied historical documents, to which he added some of his correspondence with other antiquaries and papers from his practice as an attorney. The history was never written and the documents he had collected, paginated (if inconsistently) and bound into 53 volumes, were bequeathed to the British Museum.

The Museum received them in 1828 and numbered the volumes 6666 to 6718 in the Additional Manuscripts series, and at some time the folios were numbered in pencil. In 1849, the Trustees of the British Museum published Sir. F. Madden's "Index to the Additional Manuscripts with those of the Egerton Collection preserved in the British Museum and acquired in the years 1783-1835". The Wolley Mss., as part of the Additional Mss. acquired during that period, were indexed in this volume. The Index is in one alphabetical sequence with rather more detail than is always included in an index - some entries not only give the references but also very brief descriptions of the material concerned. A disadvantage with relation to the Wolley Mss. is that Madden's references are sometimes to Wolley's pagination and sometimes to the Museum's foliation. More seriously, the Index covers too much material and is unable to treat it in adequate detail. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable achievement and still very useful to anyone wishing to use the Wolley Mss., for no other Index yet covers the whole of them. Only one hundred copies of the Index were printed, but it was reprinted in 1967.

Early in this century, the Reverend J. C. Cox produced an "Analysis" of the Wolley Manuscripts in volumes XXXIII - XXXV of the Journals of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society (1911-1913). This takes the form of a partial catalogue of the contents of the Manuscripts. That for volumes 6666 - 6675 is fairly full, but the group of volumes, 6676 - 6686, relating to the Derbyshire leadmining industry are dismissed as of little interest or value. The "Analysis" of volumes 6687 - 6718 is similar to that for volumes 6666 - 6675, but less full. Cox consistently used the British Museum

foliation. Although his tendency to ignore what he felt to be important reduces the value of his work, the "Analysis" is still valuable as an introduction to the contents of the Wolley Manuscripts. A general account of the Manuscripts relating to leadmining, contained in volumes 6676 - 6686, will be found in Miscellany for Autumn 1975.

Some years ago the County Library purchased a microfilm copy of the Manuscripts for the Local Studies Department in Matlock, and Derby Central Library acquired a microfilm copy of the eleven volumes relating to leadmining. Although the Wolley Manuscripts were now available locally, the lack of a complete catalogue or detailed index, made it still difficult to exploit them. It was decided therefore to employ an archivist part-time to undertake their cataloguing and indexing, and the work began three years ago.

To date (January 1977), the catalogue of the contents of the volumes 6666 - 6689 and the index to the catalogue of volumes 6666 - 6667 and 6676 - 6686 (the documents relating to leadmining) are finished. The volumes vary greatly in size, the earlier ones on the whole being the larger, so that, though it may appear that less than half the cataloguing has been completed, in fact about three fifths has been done. At the moment, work is being concentrated on the index in order to catch up with the cataloguing.

The catalogue is a descriptive list, describing each item or group of items in the Manuscripts in as much detail as is necessary to show the type of document(s) concerned, their dates, the principal persons involved, and the places and subjects principally mentioned in them. The British Museum's own numbering and foliation have been adopted, and the catalogue cards are kept in volume order and, within the volumes, in folio order. The three-part index is intended to enable any reference to a person, place or subject mentioned in the catalogue to be found, both in the catalogue and in the Manuscripts themselves. The index is also on cards but stored in alphabetical order within each of the three parts.

All these manuscript cards are kept in the Local Studies Department of the County Library, in the County Offices, Matlock, together with the twenty-two reels of microfilm from which they have been compiled. The Local Studies Department also houses the 1967 reprint of the Madden "Index", the Journals of the Archaeological Society containing Cox's "Analysis" and the Miscellany volume in which the leadmining Manuscripts are described. Madden, the Journals and Miscellany are available elsewhere, but the manuscript catalogue and index cards may, of course, only be consulted in Matlock. It is intended, however, that eventually the catalogue and index will be typed and copies distributed to the British Museum, Derbyshire Record Office, Derby Central

Library and other interested bodies. Already, the catalogue and index to the Manuscripts relating to leadmining have been typed and only await duplication and distribution. Later in the year they should be available for reference in the major local studies departments in the County - at Matlock, Derby Central Library, Buxton, Chesterfield, Glossop and Ilkeston, and also at the Derbyshire Record Office.

Finally, if anyone wishes to consult the microfilm of the Wolley Manuscripts at Matlock, it is essential to make an appointment, as there is only one microfilm reader and that is in constant use.

PEAKWAY (VIA DE PECO)

by

Arthur E. Dodd and Evelyn M. Dodd

In January 1975, Nellie Kirkham, well-known for her historical researches in Derbyshire, sent us a file of notes labeled Via de Peco. These notes made it clear that she believed that this ancient way might be identified with the present Weaddow Lane (Middleton-by-Youlgrave) and its continuation as a bridle-way over to Long Dale; we very gladly acknowledge Nellie Kirkham's pioneer work on this medieval way.

In the British Museum there is a charter (1) dating from 1200-1225 relating to a grant of land by William de Ferrers to Thomas son of Fulcher de Edenshovvers (Edensor). The grant included 40 acres already held by Thomas of the manor of Hartington, and pasture for 300 sheep yearly, together with land defined as follows: 'a Kingstrete per Stanifridenmuth ascendo per vallem usque ad viam de Peco et per viam de Peco ad viam de Midelton que venit de Hertendon.' This may be translated: 'From King Street by way of Stony Friden Mouth, ascending by the valley to Peakway and along Peakway to the way to Middleton that comes from Hartington;' (we use the word 'way' for the Latin via as the word 'road' was not used in its present sense until 1596).

It was common practice in the Middle Ages to use well-defined trackways or Roman Roads as boundaries; here we have a grant of land defined by three ancient ways and a short linking section of valley. Two of the three ways can be easily identified. 'The way to Middleton that comes from Hartington' is clearly the present road up Hartington Dale and Hand Dale, keeping straight ahead at Grid Ref. SK152614 to become Green Lane which leads across to Rake Lane and Middleton; this old way, almost a straight line, passed close to the landmark Middleton Thorn, the memory of which is preserved in the name Thorntree Farm (SK182631). Identification of King Street is also not difficult; this must have been the early name for the Roman Road from Derby to Buxton that later became known simply as The Street.

The Street crosses the old way from Hartington to Middleton at SK165623 and, continuing as a straight line south-east and serving as a parish boundary, runs into Friden Dale at the point where this Dale is crossed by the Newhaven-Grindleford turnpike on an embankment thrown up in

1830. Friden Dale appears in the charter as 'Stony Friden Mouth'; in a Perambulation of Hartington (2) recorded in 1532-3, there is a reference to Friden Dale Mouth as lying on the Hartington parish boundary; this is repeated in a subsequent Perambulation in 1654. In this area, both Perambulations proceeded from north to south, and from Friden Dale Mouth the Hartington boundary continued along Friden Dale Bottom and so by Long Dale to Mouldridge Grange Wall. Friden Dale Mouth can therefore be identified as the northern end of Friden Dale; the 13th century name Stony Friden Mouth is justified by the nature of the terrain. From the region where King Street enters Friden Dale Mouth, the boundary set out in the charter is described as 'ascending by the valley to Peakway'; the charter also implies that Peakway led to Middleton. A bridle-way follows the bottom of Friden Dale; from the region where Friden Dale joins Long Dale, this bridle-way climbs out of the valley to meet another bridle-way which leads north to Middleton. There is good evidence on the ground, in the form of lengths of hollow-way worn down over the centuries, that this bridle-way leading to Middleton is ancient; this is also confirmed by the proximity of a monastic farm (Smerrill Grange) - many granges were thus sited to facilitate communications. From a point just below Smerrill Grange the bridle-way develops into a metalled road, now known as Weaddow Lane; the rich variety of trees in the hedgerow along this lane is a further indication of its long history. From all the evidence, we can see no reason to doubt that the bridle-way from Long Dale and its continuation as Weaddow Lane follow the line of the medieval Peakway - Via de Peco.

An interesting detail is that the charter states that the boundary of the land conveyed followed Peakway 'to the way to Middleton that comes from Hartington'. Peakway would cross the Middleton-Hartington way just short of Middleton village, because in former days the Hartington way came down the fields south of Middleton Hall to form a cross-roads at SK196629, continuing along the present 'No Through Road' to the east on its way to Elton. At the cross-roads stood a medieval cross, the remains of which were moved by Bateman to nearby Lomberdale Hall some 150 years ago; we have been informed that this cross disappeared from the Hall grounds during the Second World War and its present whereabouts do not seem to be known. As the boundary of the land granted by William de Ferrers to Thomas Fulcher ran along the original line of the way to Hartington, it would have excluded Middleton village; the manor of Middleton was held by Ralph Fitzhubert in the 11th century and passed to the Harthills in the 13th century.

There remain two problems. The first is the route taken by Peakway towards the Peak; any solution must await the turning up of some documentary reference to Peakway north of Middleton. The second problem is to link the identified two miles of Peakway with Peakway Farm (SK173549) which lies west of Parwich. The name of this farm dates back at least as far as 1789, when it appears in the Parwich Enclosure Award, and it must be assumed that the name relates to the

same way to the Peak as that passing through Middleton.

It is tempting to relate the name Pikehall (SK192591) with Peakway, but Professor K. Cameron has assured us that, etymologically, the two names can have no connection. However, this does not rule out a route through Pikehall, which has been a focus of roads and trackways for centuries. From the area where Peakway emerges above Long Dale, a good track, used by tractors and possibly modern, slopes diagonally into Long Dale and a slight track continues up the other flank of the dale on a fairly direct line to Pikehall; this track out of Long Dale is marked on the 1840 Ordnance Survey. From Pikehall the obvious way south would be along Parwich Lane, but this route would have passed $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Peakway Farm. An alternative route would have been up Green Lane, certainly an ancient way, and over Hawks Low (SK170567) to Peakway Farm. We have failed to find evidence on the ground for any way from the southern end of Green Lane in the direction of Peakway Farm. South of this farm, once across the valley between Parwich and Tissington, an old way can be traced from the disused railway (SK171537) leading into Tissington village; significantly, this old way serves as a parish boundary.

It will be seen that, while a modest length of Peakway has, with reasonable certainty, been identified in the neighbourhood of Middleton-by-Youlgreave, nothing is known of its line further north and a possible line south towards Ashbourne is, as yet, largely conjectural. Perhaps this note will encourage anyone examining old documents relating to these parts of Derbyshire, to watch for any hint of Peakway during their researches.

References.

1. British Museum, Additional Ms.No.24201;
see also Jeayes Descriptive Catalogue of
Derbyshire Charters. (1906) Charter No.1346.
2. Nellie Kirkham, Unpublished notes relating to
Perambulations of Hartington in 1532-3 and
1654.

THE EARLY DERBYSHIRE QUAKERS AND THEIR EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

by

ADRIAN HENSTOCK

(Nottinghamshire Record Office, County House, High
Pavement, Nottingham).

It is perhaps appropriate so near to America's bi-centenary year to look back at some of Derbyshire's historical connections with America, such as the notable Quaker emigration movement to Pennsylvania in the 1680's. Following the example of the Mayflower "pilgrims", many members of persecuted religious minorities sought refuge across the Atlantic during the 17th century, among them adherents of a newly-established sect popularly known as "Friends" or "Quakers". The sect was founded during the Civil War chiefly through the energies of a Leicestershire man, George Fox, and had spread to Derbyshire by 1647. Indeed, the county has a special place in the history of Quakerism, as it was here that the sect reputedly gained its name. Fox's outspoken disregard for the tenets of the Anglican and other religions led him into frequent conflict with authority, and whilst preaching in Derby in October 1650 he was imprisoned for blasphemy by order of the magistrate, Gervase Bennet of Snelston, a rich and influential Derby merchant. It was Fox's admonition to those attending the court to tremble in the sight of the Lord which led to Bennet's deprecating description of Fox's followers as "quakers". (1) They soon after took to calling themselves "the people of God, in scorn called Quakers".

Despite official opposition, however, Fox achieved a considerable following in the county during the Commonwealth and Restoration period, particularly in east Derbyshire in the area from Chesterfield down to Ripley, and also in the leadmining communities of the central Peak District. In this latter area Fox's work was followed up vigorously by a dedicated local man, John Gratton (c.1642-1712). A native of Bonsall who settled at Monyash he achieved many converts both in his own district and in neighbouring areas. In a poignant preface to the first minute book of the Monyash monthly meeting begun in December 1672 Gratton wrote of the fortitude of "God's little remnant" who regularly met to worship there in difficult conditions, even "tho we are a poore unworthy and dispised people scattered amongst the rocky mountains and dern valleys of the Hy Peak Country...." (2) ("Dern" is an archaic word for dark or secret).

The strength of the Quakers in the Bakewell and Matlock areas may perhaps be accounted for by the enthusiasm of John Gratton, by the remoteness of the terrain, and by the espousal of the cause by fairly substantial yeoman farmers such as the Buntings of Peasunhurst, a lonely farm on the moors above Ashover, and the Bowmans of One Ash Grange, a farmhouse perched on the edge of Lathkill Dale.

Quaker refusal to pay tithes, church rates and other ecclesiastical dues led the sect into outright confrontation with the law, and its members were actively persecuted in the 1660's and '70's by the local clergy, magistrates and many of the ordinary people. They meticulously recorded in writing their "sufferings" in the hands of representatives of the establishment, and these records, although biased, provide some indication of the indignities and privations suffered by a self-righteous and stubborn minority from an often bigotted and intolerant populace. As an example, the 'Book of Sufferings of Friends in Derbyshire', (now deposited with the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quaker records in the Nottinghamshire Record Office) records in vivid detail an incident which took place at Ashbourne one Sunday in June, 1663:

"There was a meeting appointed at Ashbourn att Widdow Hunt's house, and ye people of the town did rise with weapons to keepe friends out of town, and some friends haveing left there horses at Robert Jenkinson's house att Clifton did come from thence afoot, but when they came to ye town's end ye gaurd did stop them and asked them whither they was going. James Harrison answered them, to Widdow Hunt's house, but they said they must not goe thither, soe they hailed him, and some that were with him to the House of Correction, and some to the stocks, and some to ye town's hall, and some they drove out of ye town, and some that had horses went to Robert Jenkinson's house to there horses, and ye rude multitude with one of ye constables followed them(it beinge both out there Constablers and Hundred) with clubs and stones, and did demand the horses, but Robert would not open ye stable door without a warrant. Then some one or two returning to ye Justices did desire a warrant, which was granted by Edward Manlove and Edward Pegg, it being ye first day of ye weeke, at there eveninge worshipp, but ye warrant was falsely dated ye day before, then they came with violence and broke ye stable and tooke there horses, and broke Robert's house, and took him and halled before ye aforesaid Justices requiring suretyes or he must be committed to ye Goale, but when that would not prevaile they tooke his word to be forthcoming, but they detained there horses certain weeks and kept many friends prisoner certain dayes, and sent James Harrison with four more to ye County Goale". (3)

The Quakers' arrest probably occurred as they attempted to enter Ashbourne township over the Henmore bridge from Compton street, the west side of which was in Clifton township. As a result of this affray, at least ten of those belonging to the Ashbourne meeting and four more from Doveridge were taken before the Bishop's court held at Wirksworth on the 4th of July and all excommunicated.

Faced with such opposition to their attempts at communal worship, it is not surprising that many Quakers looked towards America as a promised land of toleration, and a number of Derbyshire men left their native county and undertook the long and hazardous voyage across the Atlantic. Indeed an East Midland colony was founded in the Quaker state of Pennsylvania, supported largely by families from Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. The area which they settled became appropriately known as Upper Darby, where records survive which list the names of "the first adventurers from Old England" who settled there between 1682 and 1691. The first list, of 1682, includes John and Michael Blunston from Little Hallam, George Wood from Bonsall, Joshua Fearn from Derby, Henry Gibbins from Parwich and Samuel Sellers from Belper. In the next year arrived Richard Bonsall from Mouldridge Grange near Elton, Edmund Cartlidge from Riddings, Thomas Hood from Brassington, John Bartram from Ashbourne and Richard Nailer from Monyash. Others followed in later years.(4)

A number of these emigrants or their descendants achieved eminence in their adopted land. John Blunston is believed to have become the speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly.(5) John Bartram, who, together with his mother had been excommunicated as a result of the Ashbourne affray in 1663, and gaoled in 1675 for non-payment of tithes to the vicar of Ashbourne, took his wife and four children to America, where a grandson, another John Bartram (1699-1777), achieved fame throughout the world as a botanist and scientific horticulturalist. (6) A friend of Benjamin Franklin, he just lived to witness the signing of the historic Declaration of Independence of 1776 which finally severed all formal links between the American settlers and their mother country.

References.

1. George Fox: Journal (Everyman ed., 1924)
2. N(ottinghamshire) R(ecord) O(ffice), Q.86
3. NRO, Q62a
4. NRO, Q346
5. NRO, Q340/1
6. Dictionary of American Biography, 1928-1958;
A. Raistrick: Quakers in Science and Industry,
1950.

23-25 MARKET PLACE, CHESTERFIELD.

by

PHILIP RIDEN
(University of Cardiff)

The demolition in April 1976 of 25, Market Place, Chesterfield, a Grade II listed building, provided an opportunity for a detailed examination of the structure, the results of which are briefly described here. (1) The house lay on the E. side of the Market Place, on the W. edge of a block of small buildings known as the Shambles. It is bounded on the W. by the Market Place, on the S. by an un-named passageway running E.-W. through the Shambles, on the E. by a vacant site fronting another Shambles passage, and on the N. by 23 Market Place. Since it was clear that for much of their history Nos 23-25 had formed a single property both are considered here, although only No.25 was surveyed in detail. The site of the two buildings was presumably laid out when the town's new market (i.e. the present market place) was built in the second half of the twelfth century. (2) It was roughly square (about 13m. by 12m.) and, like all sites in the Shambles, lacked the long burgage plot to the rear characteristic of medieval sites elsewhere in the town.

No.23 appears from external inspection to date entirely from 1899 (3) and consists of a brick and stone structure of three storeys, with slate roofs. On the Market Place front the upper floors are carried over the pavement on an arcade.

No.25 was a three-storey structure with cellars, built of small, narrow red brick with stone dressings (Figure 1). The upper floors were similarly carried over the pavement on an arcade, consisting before demolition of four masonry pillars, linked by single-centred brick arches with key-stones on which rested a string course a little beneath the first-floor windows. At the S.W. corner the line of the pillar was continued upwards by quoins, balanced by a pilaster strip above the pillar at the other end of the elevation. Two other string courses ran immediately above the tops of the first and second-floor windows and the elevation was then carried up above eaves level to a low parapet. The main front had two 19th century large-pane sash windows on each of the upper floors; the windows towards the rear of the S. elevation had stone mullions.

The main entrance to No.25 lay at the N. end of the front elevation. The internal layout of the ground and first floors was totally altered when the building became a pub at the beginning of the present century, but from the arrangement of the second floor (Figure 2), which was largely untouched by these changes, the house evidently had two main rooms on each floor, served by a through passage on the N. side, with a central chimney stack built

in the same brick as the outside walls. The original staircase was probably located in the passage between the fireplace and the N. outside wall.

The roof was made up of three main elements (Figure 2). At the rear a double ridge roof ran parallel with the front of the building, ending in gables in each side wall. It contained two side purlins on each slope and a ridge purlin, resting on a single truss located slightly N. of centre, which consisted of a tie-beam, principal rafters (into which the purlins were halved and over which all four were scarfed), a collar, two lower angle struts and windbraces to the upper purlins. Most of the timber appeared to be re-used; the principals contained empty halvings for single purlins instead of double, the collar had once been attached to queen struts, and several pieces contained miscellaneous empty mortises and peg-holes. The main members were of heavy section but unremarkable carpentry.

Projecting from this roof at right-angles at the centre was a large gable, with a ridge at the same height as that of the main roof, which extended W. to end 1m. behind the front parapet but almost the same distance in front of the main building line at the back of the pavement. It had been cut through near its junction with the main roof by the chimney stack, which clearly post-dated this part of the roof, so that most of the timbering had been rebuilt when the chimney was inserted and the ridge lowered. The small portion with a ridge at its original height was similar in form to the main roof and the rest appeared to be made of cut-down timber from the older roof.

The back slope of the main roof ran down to wallplate level but at the front the main roof and the gable both ended somewhat above this to allow for flat walkways, covered in lead, around the roof. Access to the roof was provided by stairs from the second floor, over which was built a small box-like structure in timber, sitting on top of the joists but not framed in, and covered with Westmorland slate, pinned to the laths with copper nails. The same material covered the front slope of the main roof north of its junction with the gable, whereas the back slope and gable itself were covered with local sandstone flags attached to the laths with wooden pegs. Westmorland slate had also been used to cover a small lean-to roof of roughly the same dimensions as the main gable built against the N. wall of the building. The roof timbering here was not of high quality, nor was that of the rebuilt lower section of the gable. The various tips and valleys created by this rather complicated layout were covered in lead.

It was the roof that provided most of the evidence for the early history of the building. The parts covered with stone flags appeared to pre-date both the chimney stack and

the outside walls and presumably survived from the previous building on the site. Since only parts of the roof survived the exact form of this earlier building must remain speculative but the evidence suggests that it was a double-fronted house occupying the entire site of Nos. 23-25. If the front slope of the main roof is projected beyond the line shown existing in Figure 2 to wallplate level, and the two slopes of the gable likewise, the stone flagged section of the roof reduces itself to a simple T-shape, with a transverse range to the rear and a large gable projecting to the street. It is possible that No.25 alone might have been a single-bay building with a roof of this kind but since the proposed reconstruction leaves no room for a chimney stack (it would hardly have been on the site by cutting the ridge of the gable), a possible solution is to see No.23 as having had an identical T-shaped roof, with a chimney stack near the centre of a building occupying the site of both 23 and 25, removed when the property was divided. A second feature of the roof was the way in which the gable ended some way in front of the back of the pavement. After rebuilding this was easily accommodated by the arcade but the most likely explanation for such an oversail in the earlier building is to assume that it was jettied, which in turn makes it likely to have been timber-framed. Unfortunately, no evidence for wall framing came to light during demolition so that the case rests solely on the position of the roof.

A building of this sort would presumably date from the time of the Great Rebuilding, which in Chesterfield no doubt means the first half of the 17th century. It would have been an impressive house, with four main rooms on each floor. The only surviving building like this in the town is 13 Central Pavement (Boden's Cafe, historically the Falcon Inn), again an imposing house on a corner site with a double jetty, bay windows and pilared arcade over the windows. The roof there has a back range parallel with the pavement and two big gables at right angles. The building has not been examined in detail but superficially appears similar, although 23-25 Market Place has a longer street frontage.

The major rebuilding of No.25 in brick clearly belongs to the 18th century. The arcade is first shown by Potter in 1803, while according to the local antiquary Samuel Pegge (1704-96), brick was first used in Chesterfield about 1690 and by his day had become pretty general. (4) Perhaps a date before rather than after 1750 is suggested by the mullioned windows in the side elevation. The motive for rebuilding, which presumably extended to the northern half of the site as well, appears to have been to divide a large house into two smaller dwellings of almost equal size, a common feature of the history of many town houses. Whoever was responsible for the work sought to retain the unity of the main elevation by building a single colonnade across the entire front,

since the rhythm of the southern half of the arcade indicated that it had once consisted of six pillars extending across both 23 and 25. The arcade was similar but not identical to two others, presumably of about the same date, which once faced each other across the Market Place. The King and Miller on High Street was demolished in 1968 but 41, Low Pavement (Sharpe's, historically the Castle Inn) survives. Little is known of any of the three and although it has been suggested that together they were part of an attempt to beautify the Market Place on consciously Italianate lines, no evidence for this has ever been adduced. (5)

The general standard of workmanship in the rebuilding was not high and contributed a good deal to the poor condition of the building before demolition. The pillars of the arcade were not properly founded and the gable roof was left supported only on a crude arrangement of inserted beams and pillars on the second floor, of heavy section but unjointed and not framed into the rest of the structure. These two faults particularly weakened the S.W. corner of the house.

As rebuilt No.25 was a three-storey house of the layout already described. It seems reasonable to suppose that No.23 had a similar layout in reverse. The plan is a familiar one in post-medieval town houses, sharing something of the character of the widespread lobby-entrance house of the same period in the countryside, adapted to fit a narrow urban side. Probably about 1800 the front elevation and part of the side of No.25 were stuccoed in accordance with changing taste; at some stage also sash windows were inserted above the arcade. The original windows possibly had wooden mullions and transomes similar to those surviving in 41, Low Pavement, while the original sashes may have been small paned, such as Ford illustrates in the King and Miller in 1839. A photograph of c.1901 shows the first floor of 25 Market Place still with mullions and transomes but on the top floor the plate glass sashes surviving at demolition had already been inserted. (6)

The whole property remained two private houses until the end of the 19th century, when No.23 was completely rebuilt and has since been used as a shop, and No.25, although not wholly rebuilt, was extensively altered and became a pub. (7) The building was extended eastwards by the addition of a range parallel to the back range of the original house, containing two stories and cellars, in brick with a Welsh slate roof. The staircase was moved back into the new range, except on the top floor, and on the ground floor the chimney stack and original back wall were taken out, although left intact above. The ground floor was refurbished with partitions to provide various bars and service rooms, while a similar reorganisation on the first floor produced another bar and some private rooms. On the top floor little was done, apart from the insertion of a small chimney against the N.wall to allow one of the bedrooms to be heated, apparently for the first time. Panelling that remained on this floor until demolition may have dated from the 18th century rebuilding and reflect the original

division of the rooms. (8) This, together with the best of the bar fittings, were salvaged by the owners for use elsewhere.

The W. and S. outside walls were completely removed on the ground floor and a screen wall substituted, consisting of cast iron pillars and heavy pine beams supporting the remaining walls above. At the front the position of the entrance was retained and large windows inserted in the rest of the elevation. At the side, the screen was extended beyond the earlier back wall into the new range, with new entrances and almost continuous glazing. The pine beams were masked by a long fascia board. These alterations, like those of the 18th century, tended to weaken the structure, especially to the S. and W. The rebuilding probably took place between 1900 and 1908, when the pub first appears in directories. It was a brewery owned house from the start and always known as Cathedral Vaults. The origin of the name or the local pseudonym 'Pretty Windows' has not been traced. In recent years the cumulative effect of two major reconstructions, coupled with neglect on the upper floors after the pub ceased to be tenanted, finally forced its closure and led to its demolition as unsafe. (9)

References.

1. I am very grateful to a number of individuals and organisations who helped with this work. They include the owners of the property (Bass North Ltd), their agents, solicitors, architects and contractors; Mr. Anthony Rossi, then of the Derbyshire Planning Department, who made valuable comments on an earlier draft of this note as well as making available his own report on the building; Mr. Michael Kennedy, the Chesterfield District Planning Officer; Mr. David Botham, then of Liverpool University, who surveyed the building a few years ago; and the staff of Chesterfield Reference Library and the Derbyshire Record Office. The drawings reproduced here are based on those made by Rossi and Botham before demolition, supplemented by evidence recorded during demolition. Fuller records of the work, including photographs, are preserved in the Derbyshire Record Office; there are also some photographs in the National Monuments Record.
2. Philip Riden, 'The origin of the new market of Chesterfield', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, forthcoming.
3. There is a date on the N. face of the N. pillar of the arcade of No. 23.

4. Peter Potter, Survey of the estates of the Cavendish family in Chesterfield (1803) (Chesterfield Reference Library); College of Arms, Pegge Collections, Derbyshire, ii.13.
5. This was suggested by Prof. Allen, then of Newcastle University, at planning enquiries in Chesterfield on various occasions but without any evidence.
6. The history of Chesterfield; with particulars of the hamlets contiguous to the town... (London and Chesterfield 1839), pl. XII; Chesterfield, Scenes from yesterday (Borough of Chesterfield 1974), 34.
7. The deeds for the two properties have not been examined but the tithe apportionment award of 1849 (Chesterfield Reference Library) indicates that both houses were still private dwellings, as does the second edition of the Ordnance Survey (1876).
8. Details of this woodwork were drawn by Mr. Rossi before removal.
9. Derbyshire Times, 13 February, 5 March, 16 April, and 23 April, 1976.

Figure 1. 25 Market Place, Chesterfield. Plan of ground floor and main elevation.

No 23

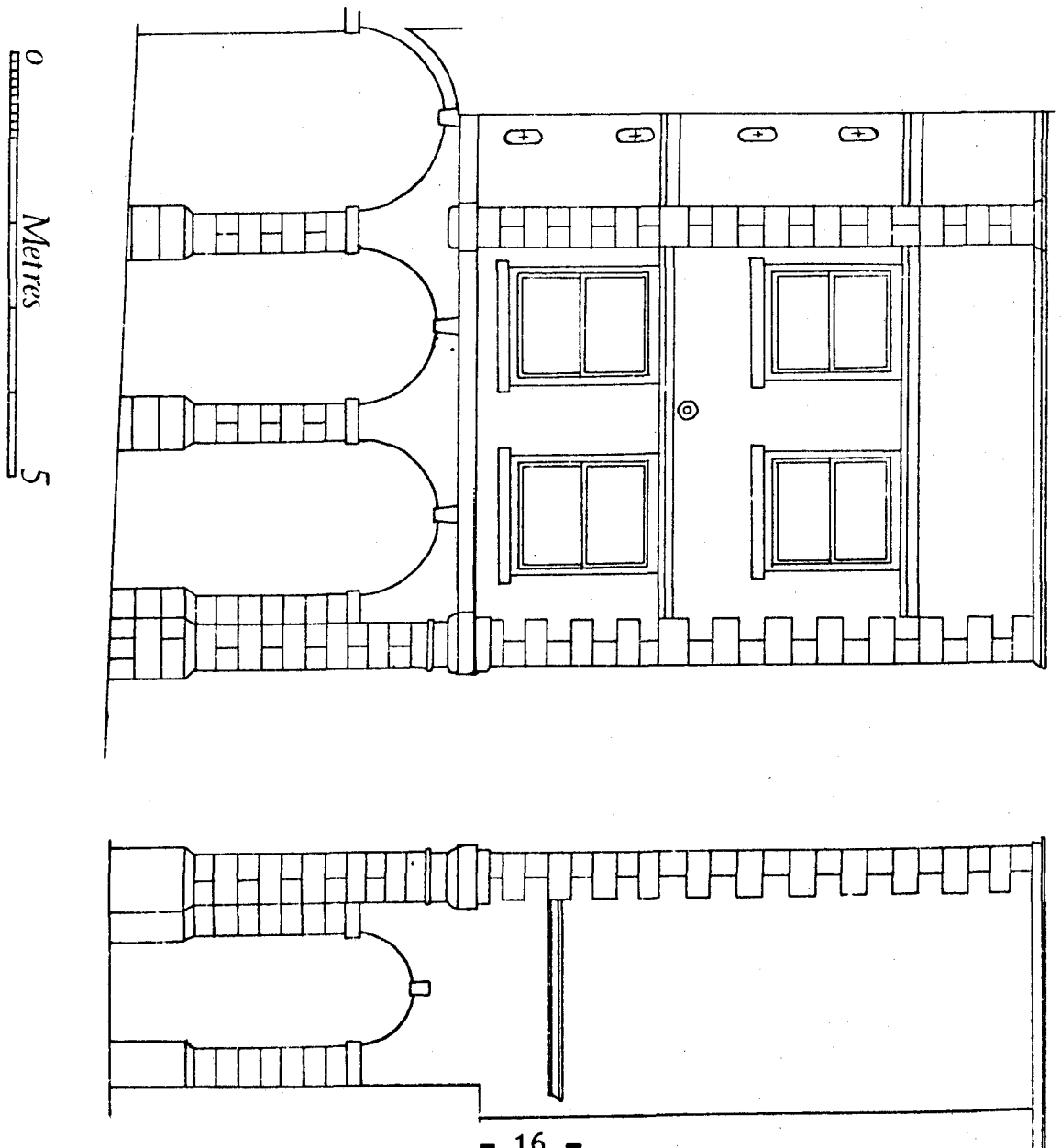
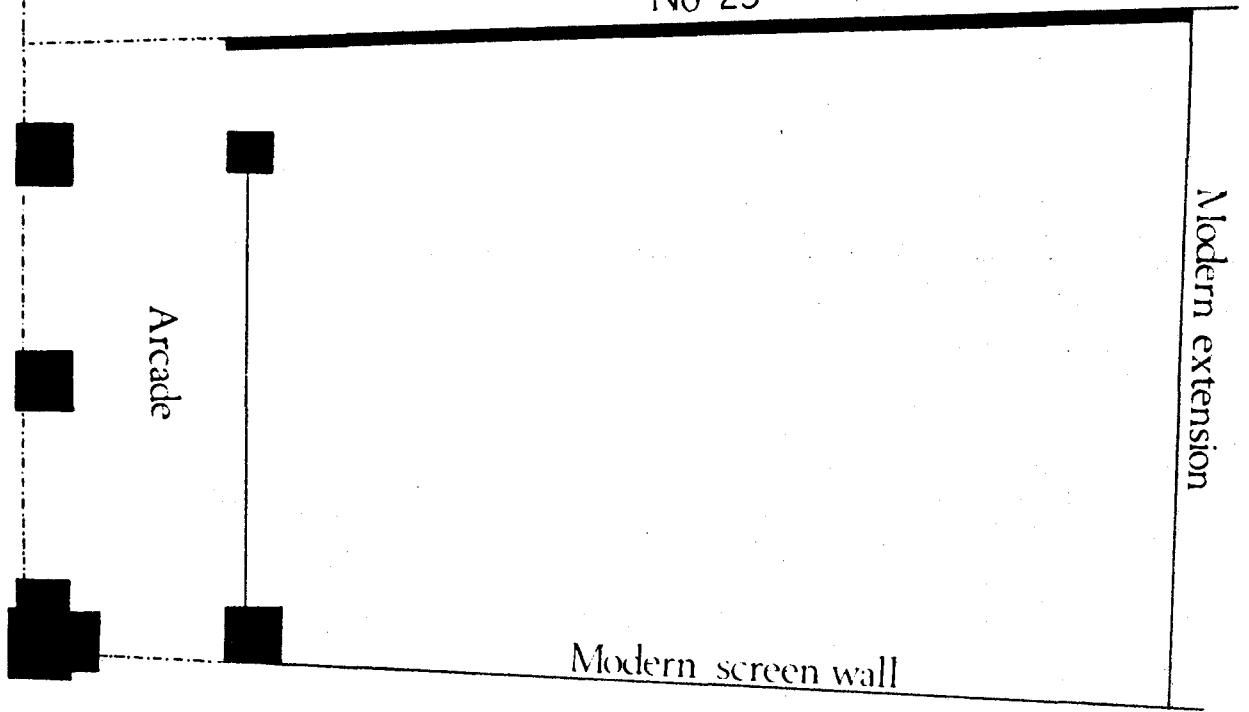
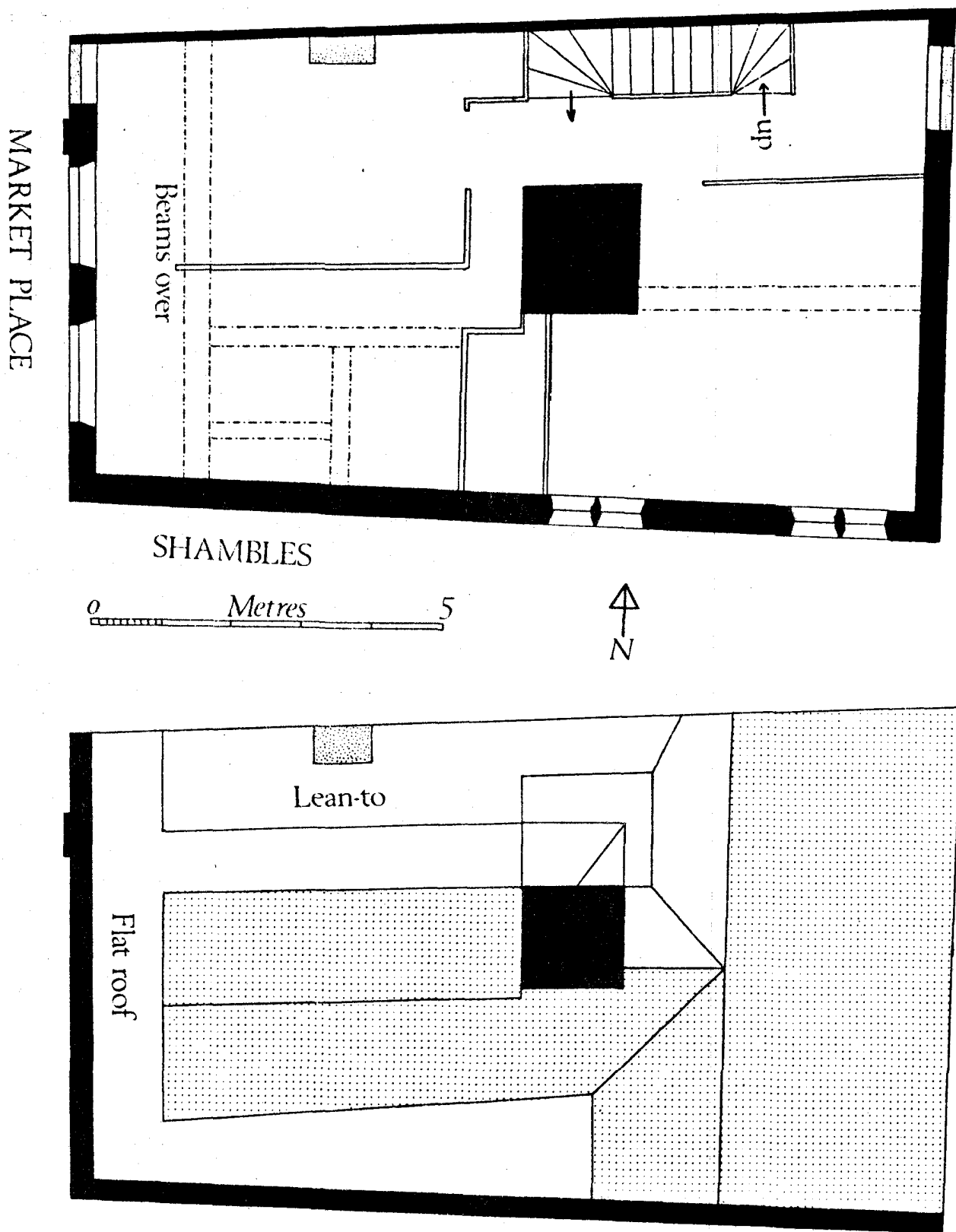


Figure 2. 25 Market Place, Chesterfield. Plan of second floor and sketch-plan of roof layout. Later building stippled; stone flagged portion of roof stippled; original work shown solid.



BUXTON'S WATERS

by

I.E.BURTON

(Area Library, The Crescent, Buxton)

In the year 1562 Dr. William Turner, whom a contemporary describes as 'the father of English physicke', published A Booke of the natures and properties as well of the bathes in England as of other bathes in Germany and Italy very necessary for all seik persons that can not be healed without the helpe of natural bathes; but the language which he uses in this treatise suggests that the medicinal use of such baths had not yet been much developed in this country. Dr. Turner deals with ten continental bathing-places, but in England Bath alone attracts his attention.

To ignore Buxton was probably a mistake even in 1562, though the fact that Dr Turner overlooks it may be taken as evidence that the merits of the Buxton waters were not as yet well-known. Only ten years later, however, the concourse of poor people at Buxton, as well as Bath, had created a problem in connection with poor relief which called for the attention of the Elizabethan legislature. The Poor Law of 1572 contains a special clause which provides that 'Whereas a greate number of pore and dyseased people do resorte to the Cytte of Bathe and the Towne of Buckston for some Ease and Releife of their Diseases at the Bathes there, and by means thereof the Inhabitauntes of the same Cytte of Bathe and Towne of Buckstone are greatly overchardged', hereafter 'no dyseased or ympotent poore person living on Almes' shall be permitted to visit either place unless he has received a licence from two Justices of the Peace and is provided for by the place from which he comes. The fact seems to be that Buxton sprang into fame because here a rich benefactor was forthcoming in the Earl of Shrewsbury. Of the buildings which he put up for the convenience of bathers we have an account in a tract dedicated to him by Dr Jones which was published in 1572.

'Joyning to the cheefe springe betwene the river, and the Bathe, is a very goodly house, four square, foure stories hye, so well compacte, with houses of office, beneath & above, and round about, with a great chambre, and other goodly lodgings to the number of 30: that it is and wilbee a bewty to behold: & very notable for the honorable and worshipfull, that shal neede to repaire thither: as also for other. Yea, the porest shal have lodgings, & beds hard by, for their uses only. The baths also so bravely beutified with seats round about: defended from the ambyent ayre: and chimneys for fyre, to ayre your garmines in the Bathes syde, and other necessities most decent.'

I cannot ascertain the exact date at which Lord Shrewsbury made these improvements, but Dr Jones's tract has the tone of an advertisement for a new establishment, and it is not

always possible to be sure when he is speaking of achievements and when he is only telling us about a project. We gather that there was to be a resident physician 'with a competent stypend', but that he had not yet been appointed. There was to be a register kept of all those who came to the baths: and Dr. Jones gives us a scale of charges varying according to rank, from £5 for an Archbishop and £3.10s for a Duke down to twelve pence for a yeoman. Half of the monies raised by these means was to go 'to the use of the poore that only for help, do come thither', the other half 'to the Phisician, for his residence.

We may fairly doubt whether any Archbishop had actually paid his £5 when 'Buckstones Bathes Benefyte' was announced to the world. But the misfortunes of a Queen were soon to give Buxton the invaluable advertisement of royal patronage. The Earl of Shrewsbury was Mary Queen of Scots' gaoler, and she spent many weary months of captivity in the neighbourhood of the Peak - sometimes at the Earl's castle at Sheffield or the adjacent Manor House, sometimes at his manor of Wingfield in Derbyshire, and sometimes at Chatsworth, which belonged to the Countess of Shrewsbury, the celebrated 'Bess of Hardwick'. In the spring of 1571 Mary had expressed a desire to go 'to Bwkstons Well for a few days', and she seems to have made another attempt to get the necessary permission in the summer of the following year, when Elizabeth made it an excuse for refusal that 'the house is not finished' - a statement which perhaps gives us a clue to the date of Shrewsbury's improvements. At length, in the summer of 1573, the unhappy prisoner was allowed to go: she left Chatsworth on August 21st or 22nd and was back there on September 27th. We note that in a letter to the French Ambassador, in which she instructs him to thank Elizabeth for this concession, Mary speaks of the 'new building' at Buxton, and says, 'I have not been at all disappointed, thank God, having found some relief'. She made several subsequent visits to Buxton, the last being in 1584, when she is said to have inscribed on a window-pane the farewell lines:

Buxtona, quae calidae celebraris nomine
Lymphae Forte mihi post hac non adeunda, Vale.

Nor was the Queen of Scots the only great person to visit the Derbyshire health resort at this time. Burghley was there in August, 1575, apparently not for the first time, but Elizabeth seems to have suspected that he went for political reasons rather than for reasons of health. In a letter to Shrewsbury he says 'at my being at Buxton, her Majesty did directly conceive that my being there was, by means of your Lordship and my Lady, to enter into intelligence with the Queen of Scots; and hereof at my return to her Majesty's presence, I had very sharp reproofs for my going to Buxton, with plain charging of me for favouring the Queen of Scots'. However, Burghley went there again in 1577, being 'thoroughly licensed by her Majesty to come thither'. He wrote to Shrewsbury before-hand asking him to obtain lodging for himself, his son Thomas Cecil, and Mr. Roger Manners, and

sent a servant 'to receive your Lordship's commission to such as have the custody of your house'. Burghley evidently thought the new hydropathic establishment might be crowded, and that it might not be easy to get rooms there at short notice. In his letter of July 19 he says, 'I doubt your Lordship is, and shall be, pressed with many other like suits for your favour to have the use of some lodgings there'; and in a subsequent letter he tells Lord Shrewsbury, 'I have given my servant in charge not to suffer any to be displaced for me, except they were far inferior'. There can be no doubt Burghley went to Buxton for a cure: in the letter of July 19 he speaks of his 'old crazed body' and on July 31 sends the Earl of Sussex a detailed account of his treatment - how he had started to drink the water, and intended to drink for ten days before bathing.

Just as Elizabeth had suspected Burghley's motives in 1575, so the Queen of Scots suspected that the real object of Leicester when he came to Buxton in 1577 (just before Burghley) was to discover the feelings of the nobility in regard to his projected marriage with Elizabeth - a fact which, incidentally, seems to suggest that Buxton was already on the way to become a rendezvous of fashion. But at least we know that, a year before, Leicester's physicians had ordered that he must 'drink and use Buxton water twenty days together', and there was talk of the Court being moved to Lord Huntingdon's seat in Leicestershire 'to the end the water of Buxton might have been daily brought thither for my Lord of Leicester, or any other, to have used'. We learn these facts from a letter written from the Court by Gilbert Talbot to his father, Lord Shrewsbury, and this letter contains the additional information that 'My Lady Essex and my Lady Susan will be shortly at Buxton, and my Lady Norris shortly after'. This was in 1576; and in 1577 there is reason to believe that the Earl of Sussex, as well as Leicester and Burghley, paid a visit to Buxton, for Burghley writes to him 'From Buxton in your chamber', as if he was occupying a room which had recently been occupied by Sussex. Sussex was certainly taking the waters at Buxton in August, 1582.

It is worth noting that all these exalted visitors seem to have come in the summer, which was evidently the Buxton season. It was in the summer of 1576 that the Queen of Scots and those who were with her were excited by a rumour that Elizabeth herself was thinking of coming to the Buxton baths 'there to relax herself in disguise, and without the knowledge of her Court, to come and see our Queen at Chatsworth'. But the long-cherished hope of an interview once more cheated the captive; and we may suspect that the baths alone would never have drawn the Queen of England to Derbyshire. Probably Elizabeth regarded all this bathing as a craze; in 1573 she certainly expressed a fear that Mary would be disappointed by the Buxton waters. The careful dieting which the physicians recommended as the accompaniment of a course of baths was to her a subject for uproarious mirth. At least the idea of Leicester being dieted was infinitely funny - as good, perhaps, as Falstaff in love. There is preserved in the Public Record Office the draft of a letter from the Queen to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, thanking them for their kindness to

Leicester at Buxton. In it Elizabeth says :

'We think it meet for the saving of our credit to prescribe unto you a proportion of diet which we mean in no case you shall exceed, and that is to allow him by the day for his meat two ounces of flesh, referring the quality to yourselves, so as you exceed not the quantity; and for his drink one twentieth part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St. Anne's sacred water as he lusteth to drink'.

She adds:

'On festival days, as is fit for a man of his quality, we can be content you shall enlarge his diet by allowing unto him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren, and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary ounces. The like proportion we mean you shall allow unto our brother of Warwick, saving that we think it meet, in respect that his body is more replete than his brother's, that the wren's leg allowed at supper on festival days be abated; for that light suppers agreeth best with the rules of physic'.

But second thoughts came to the rescue of royal dignity, and before this lively epistle was dispatched another of a more decorous nature was substituted for it.

Whether the treatises of Dr. Turner and Dr. Jones and the examples of the great folk who visited Buxton had much influence, or whether these things are but the symptoms of changing opinion, there can be no doubt that the cult of natural baths made great advances during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The tendency for the miracle-working holy wells of medieval England to become the medicinal springs of an age whose faith was in doctors rather than in saints is evident in the case of several places mentioned in William Harrison's Description of England 1577. The names of St. Vincent's, St. Winifred's, and Holywell tell their own tale; and at Buxton the name of St. Anne's well seems to indicate a similar origin. Yet Harrison himself, elsewhere, speaks of holy wells with unhesitating scorn, and says, 'their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women unto them, either for gaine unto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other game'. Quite apart from any relief in miracles, it is clear that to use the baths in a spirit of religious faith was by no means contrary to the temper either of the Elizabethan age or of the seventeenth century. Dr. Jones concludes his little book on the baths of Buxton with a lengthy prayer 'usually to be sayd before Bathing', and he gives a similar prayer for those who went to Bath in another tract called The Bathes of Bathes Ayde which was published in the same year.

Of the waters mentioned by Harrison in the last quarter of the sixteenth century only Bath, I think, really maintained its reputation in spite of the attractions presented by all the new-found springs. King's Newnham, which in 1587 had been thought worthy of a short monograph by one of the Queen's physicians, seems to have received little attention in the seventeenth century. Even Buxton failed to keep the position it had won in the time of Mary Queen of Scots. Indeed, so early as 1582 Burghley had doubts about its future. Though Drayton, referring to the Derbyshire resort, speaks of

'that most delicious Fount
Which men the second Bath of England doe account'

and though Ben Johnson mentions 'Saint Anne of Buxton's boiling well', a slight suggestion of contempt may perhaps be detected in the remark of the Lieutenant of the Military Company of Norwich to the effect that he and his companions, while passing through Derbyshire in 1634, had no thirst 'to drinke at Buxton, at St. Anne's holy well'. And, what is more significant, I have noticed no medical tract or pamphlet of the seventeenth century which has Buxton for its subject, and very little mention of the place at all before 1662, when the sons of Sir Thomas Browne found the accommodation there 'very rough'.

Bath, on the other hand, during the Stuart period, was clearly increasing its lead over all the other watering-places in England. Though the waters of Bath had already been celebrated in Elizabeth's reign both by Dr. Turner and by Dr. Jones, we find them in 1620 made the subject of a section of Dr. Thomas Venner's Via recta ad Vitam longam, and this section was in 1628 expanded into a separate pamphlet entitled the Baths of Bath. Like Buxton in the days of Mary Stuart's captivity, so Bath and Tunbridge now received the boon of queenly patronage. James I's Queen visited Bath in 1613, and Henrietta Maria visited the Tunbridge Springs in 1629, and, according to Burr, spent six weeks there in 1630 'for the re-establishment of her health, after the birth of Prince Charles'.

The list of recognized English spas increased rapidly in the half century which followed the Restoration. Scarcely a year passed without seeing the discovery of some new spring proclaimed, or the merits of some old holy well reaffirmed with the authority of contemporary science. If an Oxford physician discovers the spring at Astrop, a Cambridge don replies a few years later with the discovery of medicinal waters at Kingscliff, between Stamford and Oundle. In the first volume of the Philosophical Transactions-that for the year 1666 - the attention of Fellows of the Royal Society is called to the curative properties of the holy wells at Malvern, which had already, in 1654, aroused the interest of Evelyn. From Dorset to Durham, and from Devonshire to Essex, the beneficial presence of numerous healing waters was announced during the reign of Charles II; and if the news of the more distant springs meant little to the people of London, they had little to complain of, for to the list of neighbouring waters - Epsom, Dulwich, Barnet, and Streatham - several more were added in the last quarter of the century. Sadler's

Well at Islington, said to have been regarded as a holy well 'in the time of popery', was rediscovered in 1683; the water at Richmond in Surrey is stated to have been 'discovered about 1686'; and in 1687 Dr. Byfield devoted a pamphlet to the Late-Found Balsamich Wells at Hoxton. Two spas of more lasting fame can trace their origin to the reign of William III. At Matlock the bath was first built about 1698, though Dr. Medley, writing in 1730, says he was 'inform'd by ancient people of the neighbourhood' that the Matlock water had been 'time out of mind' noted for its curative powers.

In spite of the discovery of all the new spas and of the efforts made to trumpet their merits, the old-established watering-places still had the greatest attractions both for invalids and for lovers of pleasure; and some people would visit a chosen spa regularly for several years.

In the north of England Buxton, Harrogate, and Scarborough were still the leading watering-places, as well as the oldest, but Buxton seems to have been still under a cloud, an example of precocious but stunted development. The accommodation which had seemed splendid in the days of Elizabeth hardly satisfied the higher standards of the Restoration period. Shrewsbury's edifice had been jerry-built, as we learn from Charles Cotton's *Wonders of the Peake*, published in 1681:

'But, either through the fault of th'Architect,
The Workman's ignorance, knavery, or neglect;
Or through the searching nature of the Air
Which almost always breaths in Tempests there;
This Structure, which in expectation shou'd
Ages as many, as't has years have stood;
Chinckt, and decay'd so dangerously fast,
And near a Ruin; till it came at last,
To be thought worth the Noble Owners care,
New to rebuildd, what Art could not repair,
As he has done, and like himself, of late
Much more commodious, and of greater state'.

The noble owner was William, Earl of Devonshire; but even after his rebuilding there is still a note of complaint in the accounts of visitors. Buxton always attracted attention - its springs were one of the Seven Wonders of the Peak and the others were near at hand, and the waters were reputed good - yet the town, or rather village, did not yet rise to its opportunities. What Richard Blome says of Buxton in 1673 - that it was 'much frequented, especially by the Northern Nobility and Gentry, and would be much more, were there better conveniences of lodging and entertainment' - remained true, it would seem, for the next half-century. Celia Fiennes had probably a more extensive knowledge of spas than any of her contemporaries, and she is distinctly 'sniffy' about Buxton.

'The house that Call'd Buxton Hall, which belongs to ye Duke of Devonshire, its where the warme bath is and well, its the Largest house in the place tho' not very good; they are all Entertaining houses and its by way of an ordinary - so much a piece for yr dinners and suppers and so much for our Servants besides; all ye ale and wine is to be paid - besides the beer they allow at the meales is so bad yt very Little Can be dranke. You pay not for yr bed roome and truely the other is so unreasonable a price and ye Lodgings so bad, 2 beds in a Roome, some 3 beds, and 4 in one roome, so that, if you have not Company Enough of your own to fill a Room, they will be ready to put others into the same Chamber, and sometymes they are so Crowded that three must Lye in a bed. Few people stay above two or three nights, its so Inconvenient.'

When Joseph Taylor visited Buxton in 1705 on his journey to Edinburgh he certainly enjoyed himself, but that was due to the charms of the 'fair Gloriana', whom he met there, and he describes Buxton as 'a poor little Stony Town'. An attempt to improve matters was apparently made at this time. Mr. Ashton in his Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne quotes the following notice, which he tells us belongs to the year 1705 :

'Whereas the Bath House at Buxton, in Derbyshire, so famous in the North for divers Cures, hath of late Years been mismanaged, by disobliging Persons of Quality and others usually resorting to the said Bath; this is therefore to give Notice to all Persons of Quality and Gentry of Both Sexes, That Care has now been taken, by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, to remedy the like Treatment, for the future, by sending down from London a fitting and obliging Person sufficiently qualified: So that now all Persons resorting to the said Bath will meet with Civil Usage, and have the best of every thing for Man and Beast at reasonable rates.'

Yet the defects of Buxton continued beyond the end of Anne's reign, as is shown by Defoe's account. He acknowledges that in the Bath House itself there was 'convenient Lodging, and very good Provisions, and an Ordinary well served for One Shilling per Head', but elsewhere in the town accommodation was scanty and poor, and in general Defoe thought the most wonderful thing about Buxton was the fact that natural opportunities superior to those of Bath could be so much neglected.

The bathing arrangements were very crude in the year 1735, for one writer describes the baths as having only a stone bench for dressing and undressing, with a few steps down into the bath. This had a temperature of 'a quart of boiled water mixed with a gallon of cold'. In 1802, the cost of a single bedroom was 10/6d per week, double bedroom 14/-, breakfast 1/6d, dinner 2/6d, tea 1/- and supper 1/6d. Lord Denman, writing of 1820, recorded, 'As soon as I left the water, a little boy came in with a dirty towel, offering to wipe my back'.

In 1854, Dr. William Henry Robertson, wrote

'But, however great and praiseworthy the efforts which had been made, to render the town and district more and more worthy of the resort of the invalided, much had still been left undone. A larger and larger amount of house-accommodation had indeed been afforded from time to time, but still much below the wants of the public; additional baths had been made at distant intervals, but even this essential requirement was not adequately provided for; public walks and pleasure-grounds had been laid out and planted, with a princely liberality, for the use of the inhabitants and visitors; but the march of taste and science, in regard to embellishment and drainage, had to be kept pace with. Such extensions, additions, and improvements have now been made; and with a success that is universally admitted to have been entire. The state of Buxton now, with its noble and extensive ranges of baths, supplied with all the accessories which art and ingenuity and science can furnish - with its many and various pleasure grounds, and promenades, and plantation-walks, and ornamental shrubberies, some of them being immediately contiguous to the principal buildings, all within easy access, and all thrown open freely and gratuitously to the public, - with its park of more than a hundred acres, laid out and planted for ornamental and building ground, from plans by Sir Joseph Paxton, - with its surrounding hills, clothed with plantations of thriving trees, wherever plantations are desirable, either for the purpose of shelter, or of beauty - with its dry soil, and tempered mountain air, and mountain climate - this, the Buxton of the year 1854, ought to be thus compared with the place as it was, even thirty or forty years ago, with the place as it was in the year 1838, when I first published an account of Buxton and its waters, and even with Buxton as it was only three years ago'.

The Regency Pump Room at Buxton was later demolished to be replaced by the present Pump Room built in 1894. Designed by Henry Currey, who was also the architect of the Palace Hotel, it stands in the Crescent and its exterior cannot be said to be particularly interesting. The north side was at one time arcaded, but this was later enclosed in a subsequent reconstruction. At the time of its construction the new Pump Room was in infringement of the original Enclosure Act which had declared that access to St. Ann's Well - which the Pump Room claimed to contain - must be free. As visitors to the Pump Room were required to pay for the privilege the Act had obviously been disregarded and, to honour the letter of it, a free pump was later placed a little to the west of the building. Just over thirty years ago this was replaced by the present pump. Spa drinking water is no longer freely available - nor hydropathic cures, which can now only be obtained privately at the Devonshire Royal Hospital. But

this is not to say that Buxton's waters are still not taken, though admittedly only by accident. The town's new swimming pool uses the famous blue mineral water and there must be many a local swimmer who has gulped down the 'cure' involuntarily. At least, it must be presumed, it keeps the local children from becoming early arthritics.

Sources.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| DEFOE, Daniel | 'Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Biitain'. 1727. |
| FLOYER, Sir John | 'An Enquiry into the Right Use and Abuses of the Hot, Cold and Temperate Baths in England'. 1697. |
| FULLER, Thomas | 'The History of the Worthies of England'. 1662. |
| HARRISON, William | 'Description of England'. 1577. |
| JONES, John | 'The Benefit of the auncient Bathes of Buckstones, which cureth most greevous Sicknesses, never before published'. 1572. |
| LEADER, J.D. | 'Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity' 1880. |
| LEIGH, Charles | 'Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak in Derbyshire'. 1700. |
| MEDLEY, John | 'Tentamen Hydrologicum, or An Essay upon Matlock Bath'. 1730. |
| MORRIS, Christopher | ed. 'The Journeys of Celia Fiennes'. 1789. |
| PILKINGTON, James | 'A view of the Present State of Derbyshire'. 1789. |
| ROBERTSON, Dr.
William Henry | 'A Handbook to the Peak of Derbyshire and to the Use of the Buxton Mineral Waters. 1854. |
| SHORT, Thomas | 'History of the Mineral Waters of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, Particularly those of Scarborough'. 1734. |
| TAYLOR, Joseph | 'A Journey to Edenborough' edited by William Cowan, 1903. |

THE RUIN OF JESSE'S COTTAGE.

by

M.G. BELLHOUSE.

This is a simple story about Jesse, who was of no historical importance, but one who caused a stir and much amusement in the Village of Combs, and has now become a "legend".

The little cottage in which he lived, was up Dyke Lane, on White Hills land, opposite the drive to Pyegreave, once owned by Florence Nightingale. It had a bedroom reached by a ladder from the one room below, and there was a small adjoining stable. The view from the front of the cottage, was Castle Naze and Coombs Moss, rising steeply, while to the west, was a lovely view down the valley to Ladder Hill and the Fairy Mountain.

The garden was enclosed by a wall on the field side, and a hedge alongside the road. The approach was from this road, over a stone bridge. Spring water ran from off Castle Naze ground, and filled a well in the garden, where there was a rope and bucket for use of. The garden was not level, but nevertheless, vegetables and fruit were grown for the family pot.

In the 1841 Census, the dwelling was known as "Dyke Cam Head", and also from this census we learn that Jesse was 16 years old and his father, Robert Heyes, 50. The 1851 Census, gives the occupation of father and son as Lace Makers. Robert 54 - Jesse 22. This gives an approximate date as to when the Coombs Corn Mill, was used for lace making. The 1861 Census return states that they were coal carriers, Robert 60 - Jesse 30. It is not until the 1871 Census, that we learn that they came from Nottingham, although there is a local record of a Thomas Heyes who worked for Richard Arkwright, also at a Public House in Manchester for a Mrs. Jackson in 1785. This could have been a relative. In 1871 Jesse was still unmarried, but the Marriage Banns at Chapel-en-le-Frith Parish Church record "on October 20th 1878, Jesse Heyes to Mary Edwards (Widow)". Dates and ages seem to be quite inaccurate in the three census returns, for in the Church Records, Robert was buried on November 30th 1866, aged 86(?). It is said that Jesse killed his father by rolling a stone on his head. How true this is we shall never know. Jesse died in the Chapel Workhouse on April 6th 1893, aged 68, and Mary, on April 27th, 1896, aged 72.

Jesse and Mary Heyes kept two donkeys and in winter stabled them in the living room at night, so that their body heat rose to the bedroom above. Once, they kicked the ladder away and Mary asked Jesse how he would get down. "The Lord will provide", he said, and after a bit of head scratching, he tied the bed sheets together, fastening one end to the bed in which his wife still lay, and made his descent rather more quickly than expected, for his weight pulled the bed across the floor. "Like an express train", said Mary. This episode was told to me, with much chuckling, by an old resident, Jim Lomas of Bag House, who thought it a huge joke.

Among the many jobs of work this pair did, was rag collecting and the late Mabel Jackson from Brook House told me that this resourceful woman made a shopping bag from a pair of laced corsets. Other jobs were, coal and lime carrying, using panniers on the donkey's backs - 1 cwt each. Coal from Whaley Bridge and lime from Dove Holes. Both roads were steep and rough. They both spread muck for the farmers - a healthy job, but hard work for a woman who was not so young. Mr. William Bradbury Jackson, who lived in Coombs, once sent Jesse a pair of rabbits. He must have been dim-witted, for he tried to pluck the fur off. Finding this impossible, he boiled them in their jackets.

In his latter years, Jesse told Mr. Jackson that his eyes were troubling him and he could not see to read, so the kind friend obtained a pair of glasses for him. Some time later, on enquiring how they suited him, Mr. Jackson was told, "They aren't much good, but I can see quite well now I have taken the glasses out"!

The living room had an iron cooking stove and in the winter, when the cottage was cold indeed, Jesse hauled the stove into the bedroom at night. This was told to me by Mr. George Lomas of Coombs, who is 85, and must just have been old enough to remember him.

My Mother, Gertrude Gittus, came to live in Coombs at the age of 12 in 1899, and saw the cottage intact. Lying about inside was a mattress, clothes and other personal effects. Now, it is a complete ruin, and the stone (Eccles Pike Sandstone) has been robbed. I have a ridging stone from hereon my stable roof. The old stove still lies in a rusted heap amongst the ruins, but that is all that is left.

It is all so long ago, and perhaps I am the only one who cares about it.

OCKBROOK

by

Joan Sinar

(Derbyshire Record Office, County Offices,
Matlock).

Ockbrook is first recorded in Domesday in 1086 in the form Ochebroc, or Occa's brook, presumably the brook flowing south east of the old village. The Anglo-Saxon invaders who came up the Trent about the mid 6th century to found the new kingdom of Mercia were well equipped with axes and heavy ploughs to clear the forest lands lying north of the Trent gravels. The brook offering both a steady supply of water and meadowland along its banks was probably a major factor in the choice of site for the new settlement which could well date from the late 6th or early 7th century. One of the field names Wy Acre may well have as its first element Old English - wig, an idol or temple indicating a lost heathen site. The evidence is as yet inconclusive. If it is a heathen site it would reinforce the evidence of the general settlement pattern immediately north of the Trent gravels to confirm an early foundation of the village. The Mercian court and people were rapidly Christianised in the mid 7th century.

Although the name, site and background history make it clear that this was an early Mercian settlement hacked out of forest there is no record of this settlement prior to Domesday. It was then the manor of Ochebroc held from the Crown by Geoffrey Alselin. Before the Norman Conquest of 1066 Tochi, a late Old English landowner, had 4 carucates of land there for geld, a fossilized Old English tax based in this area on the notional carucate or amount of arable yearly cultivable by a plough team of 8 oxen, and there was at the Conquest actually enough land for 4 ploughs. By 1086 10 villeins (unfree peasants) and 2 bordars (free peasants) shared 3 plough teams there, and there were also 4 farmers rendering 14s. These four farmers and their money rent are a most unusual feature of late 11th century society. A farmer in Domesday terms is a man who farms or leases lands and rights for a stipulated yearly money payment. Almost all men, free or unfree, held their lands by labour services, fixed or unfixed, or by payments in kind. Even the lords held by knight service or the provision of a mounted knight in armour to serve the Crown at times of need. These 4 farmers with their heavy money rent must have been practising agriculture. There were 5 acres of arable and a good range of pasturable woodland. Before the Conquest the manor was worth £4 yearly but had sunk in value by 1086 to 40s.

The manor descended in Alselin's family to his great nephew, Ralph Alselin or Halselin who held 25 knights fees in 1166. His daughter, Rosa, took it in marriage together with the barony of Shelford to Thomas Bardolf of Wormegay. The Bardolfs are said to have sold it to Sir Godfrey Foljambe in 1358, but official returns show them holding Ockbrook until 1427. The Foljambe sale must therefore have been

in or after 1427. A Foljambe heiress took it in marriage to Robert Plumpton whose son Sir William Plumpton died seised of it in 1480. The manor later passed to Sir Thomas Seymour who sold it to Sir Andrews Windsor presumably before November 1529 when Sir Andrews was elevated to the peerage. In the late 16th century his great grandson, Frederick, Lord Windsor, in turn sold the manor to the principal freeholders, 10 in number. The remaining manorial lands were divided between the purchasers but the manor itself continued in undivided shares. By 1817 2 shares remained in the hands of descendants of two of the freeholders, Thomas Pares of Hopwell had acquired 3, and 1 each were held by the Earl of Harrington, William Drury Lowe, William Dalbry, Mark Porter and Edwin Hunt. The manor remained divided so far as can be traced well into the 19th century, and probably is so still.

Geoffrey Alselin was a tenant in chief not only of Ockbrook but of Etwall, Egginton, and Ockbrook's neighbouring manor of Elvaston, Alvaston, Ambaston and Thurlston. To help meet his feudal military commitments he had subinfeudated Egginton and Etwall to a knight named Azelin, and part of Alvaston, Ambaston and Thurlston to "a certain knight", who was almost certainly Azelin. The rest of Alvaston and all Ockbrook were still in his own hands at Domesday. These villages were all set deep in woods and wastes, which in the case of Ockbrook stretched north to include Deepdale. The four farmers probably leased clearings, either man-made or natural, in these woods separate from the main village. The woods themselves were subject to Forest Law at least well into the 12th century and probably much later. This means that hunting rights were strictly reserved for the Crown and that agricultural processes took second place.

Azelin's other connections are unknown but the lands he held from Geoffrey Alselin two generations later were held by Ralph, son of Geremund who may well have been Azelin's son. Ralph or one of his predecessors must have received or purchased in addition to his other lands half the vill or township of Ockbrook to hold as undertenant of the Alselin family, because he gave this half vill of Ockbrook with his daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Serlo de Grendon, knight, in the mid 12th century. Both Grendon, the subtenant and owner of half the vill of Ockbrook, and Bardolf, the tenant in chief, lord of the manor of Ockbrook and owner of the other half of the vill, had parks in the manor. These parks were primarily hunting grounds within which their owners had royal licences to hunt, but they were also used for pasture. Grendon's park lay to the north near Boyah and Depedale. Bardolf's park must have lain comparatively close to Ockbrook village. The woods outside the parks were probably still subject to Forest Law.

There was early provision for the spiritual needs of Geoffrey Alselin's group of manors of which Ockbrook was part. As early as Domesday there was a church and priest at Elvaston, presumably serving the whole estate. At some time a chapel of ease was set up at Ockbrook. The date of foundation is not known but it could well be about 1100 or soon after because the Alselin family was devout and would provide for the spiritual health of a manor retained in their own hands and visited by them for hunting. The tower is dated stylistically to the reign of Henry II (1154-1189) and the spire is probably late 13th century. Cox argued from the Norman font present in Ockbrook church in the 19th century that the chapel was both early and had parochial rights of baptism. Fonts are however mobile. The church of Elvaston with all its glebe and tithes including the tithes of Ockbrook was given by Ralph Haunselyn or Alselin to the priory of Shelford in Nottinghamshire which he founded in the reign of Henry II (1154-1189). Shelford appropriated the greater part of Elvaston's endowments, setting aside a small share to endow the vicarage of Elvaston. The chaplain of Ockbrook certainly by the late middle ages was appointed by the vicar of Elvaston. The chapel's chancel was maintained by the priory of Shelford, and the parishioners were responsible for the upkeep of the nave. They also had to contribute both labour and money for the repair of Elvaston, their parish church. They were responsible for the carriage of timber for that repair from Dale wood, and 4 times yearly they had to join with the inhabitants of Elvaston in providing church ales at which attendance was compulsory, each cottager paying 1d and each more well-to-do husband and wife 2d.

The Alselin undertenants, Ralph Fitz Geremund and his children, together with the Grendon family to which Ralph's daughter took half the land of Ockbrook in marriage were equally devout. All made gifts to monasteries and one after another attempted to found a religious house near the old hermit's cave in Deepdale. Serlo and Margaret Grendon founded the first house in the mid 1150's but the monks were ejected by Henry II for persistently offending against Forest Law. Two further attempts to found a house by Serlo's son, William, failed because of the loose way of life of the second house and the poverty of the third. In the late 1190's another foundation was made jointly by William Fitz Ralph, his children, and his nephew William Grendon, and in 1200 Augustinian canons arrived to set up Dale Abbey in Stanley Park. This house was given all the possessions of the earlier Depedale foundations including all William Grendon's land in the vill of Ockbrook, Boyah Grange and the Depedale priory site in the manor of Ockbrook, and other lands in Ockbrook belonging to William Fitz Ralph's son-in-law. Dale Abbey therefore had substantial holdings in Ockbrook, at least half the vill, and other lands in the manor, rather more than was held by the lord of the manor himself.

Immediately before the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530's the three largest property owners in Ockbrook itself were Dale Abbey with over half the land, Windsor the lord of the manor with less than half, and Shelford priory with the profits of Elvaston rectory and Ockbrook chapel, the tithes of a grange in Ockbrook (lying outside the main village) and a mill in Ockbrook (probably also outside the main village). After the confiscation of monastic property by the Crown Ministers accounts for 1536/7 show the Rectory of Elvaston as worth £15 and the Rectory of Ockbrook worth £9 yearly. This supports Cox's claim that Ockbrook was probably considered a separate living soon after the Dissolution, though the earliest record of its separate existence is the institution of a perpetual curate in 1620. The new parish of Ockbrook included the hamlet of Borrowash. The tithes and patronage of the perpetual curacy were sold by the Crown and by the early 19th century if not before were in the hands of the Pares family. The Pares family took their position as impropiators seriously. In 1803 they rebuilt the chancel, and in 1810 installed a fine chancel screen and made a new east window with 16th century glass bought with the screen from Wigston's Hospital, Leicester. In 1835 the parish enlarged and repaired the nave at the cost of £700, and repaired the tower and spire in 1890 at the cost of £180.

Monastic property confiscated at the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530's was sold off gradually by the Crown over the next generation or so. Many of the original purchasers sold again quickly, often within a few days. It has not been possible to check the records of the Court of Augmentations for the Ockbrook sale or sales but the later pattern of ownership in the village suggests that the land was quickly split between several owners. The late sixteenth century purchase of the manor and its remaining land was made jointly by 10 of the principal freeholders, suggesting that there were other smaller men who owned land outright. This is supported by the earliest surviving land tax assessment of 1780 which shows 79 persons, counting the Moravian settlement as one, owning parcels of land large enough to be assessed to the land tax, or roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ acre or more in extent. 49 men and women occupied land in the village, mostly as owners occupiers but sometimes as renters of other land. The Moravians to some extent occupied their community land separately, but 57 other men or women occupied other people's property. Few people owned or occupied much land.

Ockbrook was originally a nucleated village, with the homesteads clustered together in the main village street surrounded by its openfield arable with common pastures and woods beyond. As the woods were felled the openfield was pushed further out as was the common pasture. To judge from the enclosure award and plan of 1773 the enclosure of the openfield arable was early and

piecemeal. The enclosure dealt largely with the remaining common pasture, and the opportunity was taken to extinguish tithe by allocating land to the perpetual curate. No fewer than 15 owners had such small plots that the value of their rights of common was insufficient to extinguish the value of the tithe on their arable and they had to make small monetary payments in addition.

The enclosure plan of 1773 is interesting because it shows both the very conservative growth of the nucleated village near the church with infilling in the main street, the new extension of labourers cottages on Green Lane north west of the old village, and the Moravian settlement south of Green Lane. The labourers cottages lie for the most part east of Green Lane with tiny crofts cutting back north east diagonally, faced by tiny allotments 1 - 19 west of the lane, obviously in lieu of common. By 1788 Ockbrook was calculated to have 81 houses, with a further 33 in the hamlet of Borrowash.

The Moravian settlement was set up in 1750 on old enclosure, the principal buildings placed in a regular line. The Moravian Society followed the teachings of Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzerdorf, a German nobleman who died in 1760. They claimed descent from the 15th century Hussites, the early Bohemian and Moravian reforming sect. In the mid 18th and early 19th century they lived partly in community with a church, two community houses, each under the supervision of a warden, one for single men and one for single women. Married couples and their small children lived in individual houses. Much store was set on education with separate boarding schools for the young ladies and young gentlemen. In the mid 19th century the Ockbrook community ran not only the two community schools but also a third private establishment for the education of young ladies which was separate from the boarding school. Originally the brethren were chiefly employed in framewerk knitting in the manufacture of stockings, and the sisters in tambour, needlework and embroidery. As late as the mid 19th century the single women earned their living mainly by fine work in muslin. The two community houses should show some awareness of the need for good light. The community increasingly attracted middleclass and moderately prosperous members which was reflected in the number of houses and other visible changes. Some even seem to have overspilled into the village proper.

In 1760 the Moravian Settlement lay south of Bare Lane at the corner where it turns north into Green Lane, approached simply by those two village lanes. By the mid 1820's a drive had been driven through from Green Lane to a lane south of the settlement and gates fixed at each end. An outlying group of buildings had appeared by the south gate, well south of the old settlement and separated from it apparently by a green crossed diagonally by a foot path.

o

The changes in the settlement between 1760 and the 1820's were not the only ones in Ockbrook. There was considerable infilling in the centre of the village proper, with many new houses and cottages. This increase in housing reflected the increase in the number of landowners from 79 persons plus the Moravian settlement owning parcels of land large enough to be assessed to the land tax to 100 owners in 1826 and 1828. Several of the larger landowners were non-resident, leasing their land to farmers and others, and a number of the others owned comparatively small parcels. Of the resident landowners in 1829 only 18 owned sufficiently large parcels to qualify for a vote in parliamentary elections. Almost all these were farmers or the more substantial village craftsmen. This increasing number of both substantial houses and cottages with little or no land attached intensified in the mid 19th century, reflecting Ockbrook's changing role. The independent growth of Borrowash from a dependent hamlet to a separate substantial settlement based firmly on textile manufacturing and the Midland Counties Railway opened in the mid 1830's must have had much to do with the Ockbrook changes.

In 1829 Glover's directory shows Ockbrook as still primarily an agricultural village with 15 farmers including a gentleman farmer and a licensed victualler, 2 other licensed victuallers, 1 malster, 2 cornmillers, 1 farmer, 1 blacksmith, 2 butchers, 2 shoemakers, a joiner, and a tailor. There were however 4 gentlemen and 4 ladies, a ladies boarding school, a gentlemen's boarding school, the Rector, 2 Moravian clerics, a brickmaker, and 2 shopkeepers, pointing to a much larger proportion of private residents than normal at this date in country villages. The cottagers worked in agriculture and in the 18th and early 19th century in framework knitting. In 1843 there were 124 frames in the village and 3 benefit societies existed in 1846 and 1857.

A National School for boys was erected in brick and thatch in Bear Lane in 1818 by voluntary subscription. In 1834/4 about 60 boys attended on weekdays, and 80 to 90 on Sundays. A school for girls was run separately attended by 40 or 50 in the week, and 60 to 70 on Sundays. Both taught reading and writing and a few pupils learned accounts. They were run as endowed schools with some subscription pupils. In 1826 the girls school was held above a stable and coach house. This was replaced by Thomas Pares when he built a new girls school in 1828. In 1823/4 in addition to the 2 Anglican village schools, there were 2 Methodist schools, possibly Sunday schools only, and the 2 Moravian boarding schools. There were 2

dissenting churches, one Moravian built in 1750, one Methodist, a neat brick building built in 1808 to seat 400 persons. A brick Primitive Methodist chapel was added in 1824 which was enlarged in 1842. In 1843 a neat infant school was erected by the village by voluntary subscription.

By 1846 the schools were flourishing with 80 boys and 25 girls at the National Schools, 60 at the Infants, and 160 children attending Sunday School. The Moravian boarding schools housed 50 boys and 20 girls but the Methodist schools were not mentioned. To house their visitors the Moravians provided a commodious inn.

The village itself was flourishing. The station at Borrowash had brought Ockbrook within commuting distance of Derby, and the lavish provision of schools and religious worship had further attracted the pious. As early as 1823/4 the Anglican parson had provided mid-week lectures in addition to Sunday services, and the Moravians regularly provided enthusiastic services with much music. By 1846 there were 15 private residents worthy of note including the Town Clerk of Derby. There was the Vicar, a Moravian bishop, 3 Moravian clergy, an organist serving the Anglican and Moravian churches, a surgeon, a veterinary surgeon, a grocer/draper/druggist, 3 licensed victuallers, 2 beerhouses, 2 butchers, 2 bakers, 2 shopkeepers, 2 tailors, a licensed hawker, 5 shoemakers, 5 hosiery manufacturers, 2 brickmakers, a joiner, a blacksmith, a cornmill, a bread and flour dealer, 16 farmers, and a carrier to Derby twice weekly.

Eleven years later in 1856 a new private boarding school had appeared and the National School had been enlarged some years early in 1848. The number of framework knitters had dropped leaving only 70 frames active as opposed to 124 in 1846. There were 16 private residents including the Town Clerk of Derby and 9 ladies; 1 vicar, 4 Moravian clergy, a surgeon, 3 inns, a beerhouse keeper/silk glove manufacturer, 3 tailors, a straw bonnet maker, 4 silk glove makers, 3 hosiery manufacturers, 4 shoemakers, 2 grocers, 1 grocer/draper, 2 bakers, 2 butchers, a joiner/builder/wheelwright, 2 painters, a blacksmith, a cow leech, 17 farmers, and a farmer/carrier.

By 1881 there were 27 private residents worthy of note at least half of whom were single women. There were 2 Anglican, 2 Moravian and 2 other clergy; 2 builders John Anthony and William Ashton; a surgeon, a cab proprietor, a farmer/carrier, 14 farmers, 2 butchers, a miller, a baker/flour dealer, a baker/provision dealer, a grocer, a grocer/draper, 2 inns, 3 beerhouses, a hosier/glover, 3 shoemakers, and a tailor. In 1891 the picture was much the same except that the vicar had gone, the beerhouses had dropped to 2, the painters to 1, the farmers to 13, the shoemakers to 2, and the miller had disappeared. Two clerks and a market garden had taken their place.

By 1895 the curate and 2 Moravian clergy had been joined by the North Midlands District Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, ministering together to 36 private heads of households, a Moravian boarding house, 2 inns, 2 beerhouses, 13 farmers, a farmer/carrier, the cab proprietor, a painter/carver/gilder, a baker, a butcher, a milk seller, a tailor, a grocer/draper, a shoemaker, 6 shopkeepers, a grocer/Post Office, and a clerk. By 1908 the private residents had increased to 51 households, and the clergy decreased to the curate and 2 Moravians. There were still 2 Moravian boarding schools as well as the National School, and a cab proprietor pointing to a substantial middle class. There was a builder, James Loftus; a painter, 2 beerhouses, one of which ran a carrier service to Derby, 2 public houses, a butcher, a baker, 3 shopkeepers, 3 grocers including a branch of Derby Co-operative Stores, a tailor, a blacksmith, a market garden, a cowkeeper and 7 farmers. This would suggest that as the middle class residents grew in number the area of farming land decreased but it is not borne out by later developments. The loss of industry is probably due to the shift from cottage to factory causing the small manufacturers to disappear from the village. The cottage workers would either do likewise or commute to Borrowash.

By 1922 the Moravian boys school had closed and the private residents worthy of mention had dwindled to 35. There were still 3 clergy, the Moravian girls school, a nurse, a dressmaker, a music teacher (suggesting surplus women trying to make a polite living), a carter, 2 pubs, 2 beerhouses, 2 painters, a tailor, a saddler, a wheelwright, 2 painters, a bootmaker, a boot repairer, 4 grocers including the Co-op, 2 shopkeepers, a fishmonger, a butcher, James Loftus the builder, a market gardener/carrier, a poultry farmer and 8 farmers. The cab proprietor had disappeared suggesting that the spread of the private motor car amongst the better-off had not left enough trade.

By 1932 the Moravian community was supporting only one clergyman and a girls day and boarding school. There was the Anglican vicar, a newsagent, a carrier, a carter, 2 public houses, 2 beer retailers, 2 grocers, 1 butcher, 3 shopkeepers, 1 dairyman, 1 smallholder, 1 market gardener, and 17 farmers. There were 5 telephones in the village. By 1941 the village was well on its way to shedding its middle class suburban character with well-to-do residents and wide range of services for them and was assuming again something of the character of an agricultural service centre. Only 26 private residents were worthy of note but there were 13 farmers, an agricultural machine owner,

a farm carrier, and a carter. These with the Moravian girls school, a doctor, and the less distinguished villagers were served by a bootmaker and a boot repairer, 2 butchers, 2 grocers, 5 shopkeepers, 3 public houses, a newsagent, 2 painters and decorators and a carpenter.

Ockbrook was originally a nucleated farming village set in open fields surrounded by woods. First the woods were felled and the farm land extended, then cottage industry crept in and was particularly strong in framework knitting by the 18th and early 19th century. The cottage industries diversified in the 19th century, a process paralleled by the rise of an unusually large middle class. This was probably in part drawn by the educational and other amenities offered by the Moravian settlement in the 19th century, and the easy access to Derby by public transport. For a time in the mid and late 19th century Ockbrook must have seemed likely to develop into a substantial middle class dormitory. It was probably saved from this by the independent rise of Borrowash, and the growth of private transport in the early 20th century. It will probably become more fashionable now that motoring is more expensive. The apparent decline and revival of farming with the marked increase in the number of farmers in the 1920's is probably explained by the financial difficulties of late 19th and early 20th century farmers, and the swing to smallholding after the First World War. The rise and fall of the population cannot be precisely determined because the census unit of Ockbrook includes Borrowash.

Sources.

(a) Primary

K. Cameron, Place Names of Derbyshire 1959

Ll. Jewitt, ed., Domesday Book of Derbyshire 1871

M.R. Austin, ed., The Church in Derbyshire in 1823-4,
1974

Ockbrook enclosure award and map 1763, Derbyshire
Record Office.

Land tax assessments 1780, Derbyshire Record Office.

Survey of Ockbrook with reference book, 1826,
Derby Library.

Survey of Ockbrook with reference book, 1828, Derbyshire
Record Office.

O.S. maps various

Charity Commissioners Report, 1827.

W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum ed. J. Caly, H. Ellis
and B. Bandinel.

The Cartulary of Dale Abbey, ed. A. Saltman 1967.

(b) Directories of Derbyshire.

S. Glover, 1829; S. Bagshaw 1846; F. White 1857;
Bulmer 1895; Kelly 1881, 1891, 1895, 1908, 1922,
1932 and 1941.

(c) Secondary.

G. E. C. The Complete Peerage

Derbyshire Archaeological Journal

Vol. VII, 1885, C.J. Cox "A Religious Census of
Derbyshire, 1676".

Vol. XLVII, 1923, S.P.H. Statham "Notes on the
Domesday Tenants and Undertenants in Derbyshire"

Thomas Brown, General View of the Agriculture of
the County of Derby, 1794.

D.P. Davies, View of Derbyshire, 1811.

D. Lysons and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia V Derbyshire,
1817.

J. C. Cox, Churches of Derbyshire, 1879

The Gentlemans Magazine Library, English
Topography, Pt. III, 1893.