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EDITOR'S NOTE

The subscription to Miscellany has been held steady through many years of inflation, through the hard work of our production team headed by Victor Smith. Over this period the standard of reproduction rose appreciably, culminating in the change to offset lithography in the last issue.

The combined rising cost of paper, printing and postage now make it necessary to raise the subscription to £1.50 yearly for members of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society and £1.75 yearly for others.

There is not enough material in hand for the next issue. Articles and notes on any aspect of Derbyshire's past life would be very welcome.

EARLY SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF CHESTERFIELD'

PHILIP RIDEN
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The last few years have seen a remarkable revival of interest in the history of Chesterfield, largely stimulated by the appearance in 1974 of the first volume of a new history of the town, describing its development from the earliest times to the end of the middle ages. 2 John Bestall's book, sadly published posthumously, brought together many years' work and provides an admirable basis for further research and discovery. Already a programme of excavation and fieldwork has produced new evidence of Chesterfield's Roman origin, finally dispelling much earlier speculation, and has revealed also something of the town's medieval history. 3 At the same time, fresh work has been done on a wide range of documentary sources. 4 This research is still very much in progress and it would be premature to offer a completely new synthesis. In any case, much of what Bestall wrote remains unchallenged and need not be repeated. All that is proposed here is a reconsideration of the early topography of the town.

The Roman occupation of what is now Derbyshire began about the middle of the first century with the establishment of a fort at Strutt's Park, Derby, superseded later in the century by a larger and more permanent fort on the opposite bank of the Derwent known as Derventio (today Little Chester, a northern suburb of Derby). A road, known since the 14th Century as Ryknild Street, was built to link Derventio with another fort at Templeborough, near Rotherham, about forty miles to the north. At roughly equal distances between Derby and Templeborough lie the small camp at Pentrich, where fragmentary excavation has indicated occupation during the latter part of the first century, and the modern town of Chesterfield, whose name has long been taken to refer to the site of a Roman fort.

The main achievement of the recent excavations in Chesterfield has been to identify for the first time a Roman fort beneath the town centre. So Although there have been a number of stray finds of coins and pottery in the area since at least the 18th century, structural evidence for Roman settlement was discovered only in 1973. It is now clear that the fort built to guard this section of Ryknild Street was placed at the extreme eastern end of a spur of high ground commanding the Rother valley to both north and south. In addition the ridge was situated at a

point where the Rother was joined by tributaries from both east and west (the River Hipper and Spital Brook), which gave access from the fort in all four directions. The spur on which the fort was built is one of the series of sandstone ridges which stand up above the shales and clays of the coal measures characteristic of the Rother valley and would have offered settlers a better drained site, probably with less dense natural vegetation, than the heavier land of the river valley.

On the evidence of pottery, the fort was first laid out during the reign of Nero (AD 54-68) on the very edge of the steeply sloping hillside above the west bank of the Rother, close to the 300ft contour. To the south the land fell away more gently to the Hipper while to the west the fort was actually overlooked by higher ground climbing towards the gritstone moorlands east of the Derwent. Excavation has shown that the fort was occupied for only about fifty years but during that time was rebuilt at least once on a slightly different alignment. A date of abandonment early in the second century conforms well with the general reduction in garrison strengths in the north of England observable at the other forts about the same time.

Little is known of Chesterfield between the end of the Roman occupation and the eleventh century. From a general knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history of the region we may assume that an English settlement probably grew up on the site of the fort towards the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. The coal measures of eastern Derbyshire were not an area of primary settlement but were passed by for the more open country of the limestone plateau west of the Derwent. In any case, the settlement of north-east Derbyshire should possibly be associated with that of the adjacent part of south Yorkshire, rather than the other parts of Derbyshire settled from the Trent valley, as English colonists progressed up the valleys of the Don and Rother. 6 Chesterfield does not feature in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, nor, except occasionally, does north-east Derby shire, and none of the references contributes much to the history of the region. 7 The only pre-Conquest land charter to refer to Chesterfield is one of the difficult group of tenth-century Burton Abbey charters, of which a new discussion has recently appeared but a full edition is still awaited. The document, a royal grant of 955 to Uhtred 'Cild' of 'Chesterfield' (which could conceivably refer to the small Staffordshire village of the same name), survives only as an abbreviated cartulary abstract with the bounds omitted. Chesterfield was not a Burton estate and the provenance of the charter cannot definitely be

established. It helps little in a discussion of the history of the town.

There is a similar lack of architectural evidence. The present parish church, standing in the heart of the medieval built-up area within the boundaries of the Roman fort, dates mostly from the 14th century, with a much defaced Norman font as the oldest identifiable feature. 9 The earliest reference to the church is in a writ of 1093 in which William Rufus notifies the Archbishop of York and others of his gift to Lincoln Cathedral of two churches in Nottinghamshire together with the churches of Ashbourne and Chesterfield in Derbyshire. 1.0 The christianisation of Mercia began about AD 650 and since Chesterfield has all the characteristics of a minster church for the region of Derbyshire of which it is the natural centre, it was probably, if not the oldest, among the older churches in the north-east of the county. 11 It remained the mother church for an extensive parish until the 19th century, was situated on royal demesne in 1086 (and probably 1066 also), and was built on the site of a Roman settlement. This evidence is purely circumstantial but there is no other obvious candidate for a minster church in north east Derbyshire.

It is only with Domesday Book that we can begin to discuss medieval Chesterfield in any detail. The picture that emerges from Domesday is that settlement in the Chesterfield region was already much as it was to remain until the Industrial Revolution.1.2 The pattern of tenure in Scarsdale wapentake (a large area including the Derbyshire portion of the Rother valley together with a further area to the south) was complex, reflecting the mixed Anglo-Danish character of the population. Essentially however the dominant holding in the wapentake was an extensive manor, with satellite berewicks, held by the crown in demesne, centred on Chesterfield but administered from a place called Newbold, which may not have been much older than the Conquest. 13 Outside the manor itself lay a large area of sokeland, over which the crown had some degree of jurisdiction, although in some of the vills in the soke tenants were also said to hold manors. What is unmistakeable, however, is that by the end of the 11th century Chesterfield had already assumed the position of local administrative and economic centre which it has since retained. This in turn reinforces the idea that the church was originally one of the minster churches of Mercia during the conversion of the kingdom.

The general history of the town from Domesday Book to the end of the fifteenth century has been well summarised by Bestall and need not be repeated here. The second part of this paper focuses attention on the topography of early medieval Chesterfield in the light of recent archaeological discoveries and reinterpretation of other evidence.

Any topographical reconstruction must begin with what is clearly the oldest fixed point in the town, the parish church, built in the north-east corner of the Roman Fort. North of the church was a market place, acting as a focus for routes from all four points of the compass. To the south a road from Derby and the Midlands was joined by another from Mansfield and Nottingham, crossed the Hipper and ran up the hill towards the church along Lordsmill Street and St. Mary's Gate. To the north a road followed the Rother valley from Rotherham to enter Chesterfield along Tapton Lane. A second route from the north, linking the town with Sheffield, was joined near Chesterfield by others from the north-west and ran into the market along Holywell Street. Several early roads and tracks converged on Chesterfield from the west from the main crossing points of the Derwent between Curbar and Cromford, entering the town along either Saltergate or West Bars. The course of this last route has been obscured by the building of the new market but even as late as 1837 Chapman's map marks (in pecked lines) a road of some kind running across the market place, through the main east-west axis of the Shambles to Church Lane and thus St Mary's Gate. 14 The original road from the west presumably followed roughly this course before the building of the new market.

The road from Chesterfield to the east, passing through Calow, Duckmanton and Bolsover in the general direction of Lincoln, ran down the steep east bank of the Rother and crossed the river at Spital Bridge. Its original course from the river to St Mary's Gate is not absolutely clear; today the journey is normally accomplished by way of Hollis Lane, but there is another road up the hillside, Spa Lane, which may be the older of the two. Spa Lane runs into St Mary's Gate directly opposite the end of Church Lane, so the the two together form an east-west axis, reducing the original street plan to a simple cruciform, whereas Hollis Lane joins St Mary's Gate midway between the end of Beetwell Street and Vicar Lane, neither of them a major medieval highway. Both Hollis Lane and Spa Lane are marked on Senior's map of 1633-7, the two joining near the more westerly course of the Rother (now completely

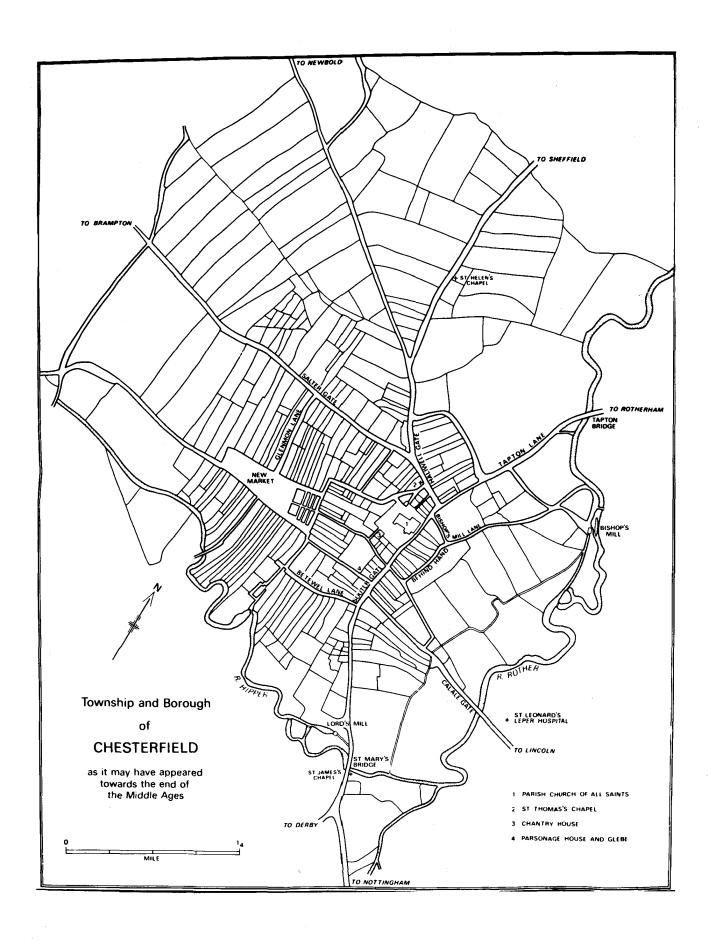


Fig. 1 Township and Borough of Chesterfield as it may have appeared towards the end of the Middle Ages.

lost, although the road junction survives) and proceeding as a single road towards Spital Bridge. 5 Hollis Lane, however, was not given an outlet into St Mary's Gate but ended at an unbroken row of building along the main road, as though it was little more than an alley behind a tenement. Even in 1849 the section of Hollis Lanenearest St Mary's Gate remained very narrow, suggesting it had only comparatively recently been opened up into a proper road. 16 Although today (as in 1637) Spa Lane ends abruptly at a right-angle turn into Hollis Lane, property boundaries clearly visible on the tithe map indicate that the road once continued on a virtually straight course towards Spital Bridge. The name Hollis Lane, presumably derived from a personal name, has not been traced before the 17th century, while Spa Lane is named after a nearby chalybeate well and can hardly be older than the 18th century. It may, however, be the medieval Kalehalegate, the road to Calow. 17

It is interesting also that in the middle ages a wayside cross stood at the junction of St. Mary's Gate and Spa Lane, known as St. Mary's Cross. 18 Although such crosses were not rare in medieval towns (there was no doubt another at the junction of Holywell Cross for that corner), its position may perhaps be further evidence that this was once the main cross roads of the town.

Since there is little reason to suppose that this pattern of early routes changed much between the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and the turnpike era we may safely base a reconstruction on Burdett's map of 1767, supplemented by Senior's survey of a century earlier. 19

Thus far this discussion hardly advances matter beyond what was established by Bestall.20 Indeed, he also drew attention to the fact that once one removed the changes of first the early 19th century (Burlington Street and Cavendish Street) and then those resulting from the addition of the new market (all building west of a line through Packers Row) from, say, the tithe map, two points stand out concerning the remaining built-up area (Figure 1). The first is that, a few hundred yards south of the church, Beetwell Street, in no sense a major through route, leaves St Mary's Gate at right angles for no obvious reason, runs west for about two hundred yards and then turns sharply northwards to become South Street, another change of direction with no apparent cause. South Street is continued, with little or no hiatus, by Packers Row, making a total length of about a furlong. There is then a second sharp change of direction, into Knifesmithgate, which runs parallel to Beetwell

Street until it reaches the church-yard and market place, when it curves to the north and eventually enters Holywell Street. Secondly, it is striking that within this rectangle of streets the tenements shown on the tithe map in what is presumably an attenuated but recognisable version of their medieval form, run east-west along the contours of a south-facing slope, whereas elsewhere in the town, except east of St Mary's Gate, they run northsouth across the contours. Bestall suggested that this apparently motiveless quadrangle of streets might represent the boundaries of some very early settlement, belonging to any period from the Roman to the late Anglo-Saxon, and although speculative, the hypothesis may be worth developing more fully.

To begin with, we should perhaps remove Vicar Lane from amongst the ranks of the oldest streets in Chesterfield. Although, together with Church Lane, it may be seen as dividing the towncentre rectangle into equal thirds, it seems to serve no useful purpose either as a main route or as a boundary of the rectangle. If it is seen as an extension of Low Pavement into St Mary's Gate (despite the definite 'kink' in such a route at the South Street - Packers Row junction), it can hardly be older than Low Pavement. Moreover, property boundaries on the tithe map suggest that Vicar Lane cuts through older north-south boundaries of church land near the present bus station. Thus it has been eliminated (as a road, it may of course have existed as a path) from the rest of the discussion.

Secondly, there is the problem of the eastern boundary of the 'enclosure', which Bestall saw as being formed by St Mary's Gate. This, however, has the serious objection that what appears to be the original north-south route through the town must, if Bestall's arguments are to be accepted, once have been part of a ditch and bank (or whatever), with traffic following another, now vanished, course. Such a view has now been made less tenable by the discovery, late in 1975, of a large U-section ditch running north-south close to Station Road (the medieval Behindhand). 21 Although as yet only a small part of the ditch has been excavated, it seems possible that here is a medieval earthwork which probably extends under Station Road and may even continue on its eastern side. It is interesting that in the early 17th century a wide strip of land, parallel with the road and extending as far south as Spa Lane, did not form part of the fields running down the hillside to the Rother but was called 'fra land', presumably common, probably waste.²² Why was a substantial piece of land, fronting a street close to the heart of the medieval town, left vacant until at least the 17th century? In view of its position well above the river it can hardly be because the land was

liable to floods, which was no doubt why land closer to the river was also 'free' on Senior plan. It is at least possible that this strip of land had once formed part of the early medieval defences of the town and that even in the 1630s it was still either an open ditch or for some other reason unattractive to the developers of the day.

Combining topographical with archaeological evidence it is possible to conjecture a reconstruction of these 'defences'. If the excavated section were projected south across Spa Lane until it met a projection of Beetwell Street, that would close the south-east quadrant, although for this section there is no evidence of any kind. On the northern side of the enclosure the picture has been complicated by the inclusion of the church and market place. If, however, the main east-west stretch of Knifesmithgate from Packers Row almost to the church were accepted as the north-east corner of the area, we would be left only with the problem of joining these two points. It might be suggested that Knifesmithgate throughout its length represents an early boundary and that the enclosure then returned east along Holywell Street to join a projection of the line from Station Road at some point between Tapton Lane and Bishop's Mill Lane. This, however, has the objection, as with St Mary's Gate, of regarding Holywell Street, one of the main roads out of the town and presumably of very early origin, as having once been the boundary of a enclosure. It is probably better to see Holywell Street as having always been the main road from Chesterfield to the north-west, even when the settlement consisted only of a small enclosure, and not the successor of part of that enclosure.

Let us assume that we can deduce the boundaries of the market place to the north of the church. It appears to have been bounded north by Holywell Street, south by the church, east by St Mary's Gate and west by a line projected north from the later western boundary of the church-yard to the junction of Holywell Street and Knifesmithgate, so that the latter road enters the open space at the end, its reverse curve section, and the last straight length simply becomes the edge of the market. This reconstruction seems to do least violence to property boundaries, which in a town normally change very little over a long period, partly through inertia but more fundamentally because of the existence of private rights over real property from a very early date. Bestall suggested that the market was triangular, with a base at the end of St Mary's Gate and an apex at Holywell Cross (the junction of Holywell Street and Saltergate). This idea seems improbable, since it would involve substantial changes in both Knifesmithgate and Holywell Street and the tenements to the south of the latter, which seem unlikely, given the general stability of such features. It is much simpler to

see the original market as occupying a small site to the immediate north of the church.

Adopting this reconstruction we may perhaps suggest that at some stage the northern boundary of the putative 'enclosure' ran in a straight line from the point at which Knifesmithgate entered the market place to the point at which it would meet a projection of the excavated section on Station Road. This leaves us with a basic rectangle bisected on each axis by a major through route, extended at one corner to accommodate a church and, perhaps, a small market. A slight variant on this is to project a line from the end of the curved section of Knifesmithgate across to Station Back Lane (historically part of Bishop's Mill Lane) and along there to its junction with Station Road, although this produces a less regular enclosure.

It is tempting to take the story back a stage further, to a period when there was a settlement at Chesterfield but no church or market. This particular suggestion is speculative in the extreme but if the straight east-west section of Knifesmithgate were projected through the church and church-yard, across St Mary's Gate and the tenements east of the road, it would intersect Station Road at the point at which this road makes a slight but pronounced change of course. This line might conceivably represent something of the oldest discernable northern boundary of an enclosure around a very early settlement. Such an enclosure would be sub-rectangular in plan, lying more or less on an east-west axis on the highest point of a flat, slightly south facing hilltop commanding good views up and down the Rother valley with reasonably good communications to the east and west. It would be bisected on each axis by early routes to all four points of the compass, meeting at a cross roads. That the main roads do not divide the enclosure into four equal parts is hardly surprising in view of the topography; the land is far flatter to the south and west of the main axes than to the north and east, where almost at once it slopes steeply down to the Rother. Indeed, the proposed northern and eastern boundaries of the enclosure lie very close to the edge of the hilltop, making full use of available flat ground.

It is quite impossible to suggest anything in the way of absolute dates for such a speculative suggestion, although presumably the site was settled sometime before the building of a church there, or at least a church of such size as would involve a modification of the enclosure on the lines hypothesised. At some later date a market place was opened out north of the church but again its origins are quite obscure. It can hardly be later than 1100 and might be much earlier.

There is no documentary evidence for a market in Chesterfield until 1165 but, since there are virtually no documents before this date which might in theory mention a market, this is hardly an objection to suggesting an earlier origin. The town's obvious importance in the pattern of local trade in later centuries is strong circumstantial evidence for an early market in the town. So also is the supersession of the original market north of the church by a much larger open space west of the existing settlement before the end of the twelfth century; it seems unreasonable to allow a life of less than a hundred years for the earlier market. 24

The building of both church and market place appear to have caused the modification, if not abandonment, of the putative enclosure around the early settlement. Indeed, unless we are prepared to think in terms of a further extension of the enclosure to embrace the market, effectively hypothesising a new line including Holwell Street, which seems unacceptable, the creation of the market must have led to its abandonment. Perhaps this was as late as the 11th century, by which time there was no need of enclosed settlements in this part of the country. There are after all no medieval references to town walls in Chesterfield and only Camden's cryptic comment at the end of the 16th century, which probably refers to the Staffordshire village of Chesterfield, about remains of walls still being visible. 25

The abandonment of the 'fortification' evidently varied from one part of the settlement to another. North of the church it was levelled and an open area extended from the church to Holywell Street. Elsewhere west of St Mary's Gate the boundary became a series of minor streets along which tenements grew up on the outside, aligned north-south in marked contrast to those lying east-west within the rectangle. The date at which the names of these streets, particularly Beetwell Street and Knifesmithgate, first appear helps little in determining when they were laid out. 26 Knifesmithgate has not been recorded before 1385, while Beetwell Street is a 15th century name for a road also called Newmarketstead Lane, which in turn can be no older than the new market, whereas its creation should probably be associated with the much earlier building of the original market.

In the south-east quadrant the enclosure apparently ceased to serve any useful purpose and has effectively disappeared from the map. North of Spa Lane and east of St Mary's Gate the boundary appears to be represented today by Station Road, which first appears as rectromanum (i.e. Behindhand) in 1306. It seems possible that here a ditch survived later than to the west of St Mary's Gate. Whereas the latter part of the town could easily be extended west across

fairly flat ground and indeed was with the construction of the new market, there was little scope for expansion to the north beyond Holywell Street or east beyond the line of the ditch. In neither case did medieval tenements ever extend far down the hillside; indeed on the east the back boundary of the tenements on St Mary's Gate was formed by Behindhand and nothing was built to the east of the lane until well into the 19th century. Thus, apart from providing rear access to the tenements east of St Mary's Gate there was little cause to backfill the ditch and use it as a road. An isolated stretch may have survived here after it had disappeared elsewhere, including south of Spa Lane, where the tenements extended somewhat further east towards the river down a less steep slope than they did further north. This may explain the survival of 'free land' on the opposite side of Station Road. The date of the first reference to a lane called Behindhand should, however, be seen as partly dependent on the survival of early deeds for property in that area and is of limited help in establishing a date for the abandonment of the ditch.

It is hardly possible to draw much in the way of general conclusions from a paper such as this, which examines one small medieval town in perhaps excessive detail. The main conclusion, that beneath the later medieval street plan of Chesterfield lies not merely a first-century Roman fort but also an early medieval ditch-and-bank enclosure now partly represented by minor roads and tenement boundaries, is largely speculative. A priori it is not improbable that such an enclosure might have existed but as yet the suggestion is supported only by one small excavated section. In any case, a purely topographical reconstruction of the early layout of Chesterfield does not add greatly to our general knowledge of the town or its region during the Anglo-Saxon period, which must always be very slight. As for comparative work, there is no similar study of another small town in Derbyshire (or, for that matter, of Derby itself) and in general the smaller medieval towns have been studied much less than the major cities, ports, and county towns. 27

Perhaps this paper should best be regarded as a one-off shot in the dark intended to stimulate interest in Chesterfield's early history and perhaps suggest directions in which archaeological research in the town might progress. In practice the twin constraints of lack of money and available sites are likely to restrict further exploration of the outer limits of the early settlement at least in the immediate future, so that the ideas put forward here will remain hypothetical, unconfirmed by definite archaeological evidence.

REFERENCES

- This paper is intended as a highly speculative discussion of the topography of early Chesterfield; it should be read in conjunction with the relevant parts of John Bestall's book cited below n.2 and with the publications cited in n.3. The paper is obviously subject to revision should new archaeological evidence be published.
- John Morton Bestall, Early and medieval
 Chesterfield (Bestall) (History of Chesterfield,
 Volume I, 1974). The book was published
 posthumously; see the Preface for the circumstances of final production. See also the
 memoir of Bestall by Joan Sinar in Derbyshire
 Archaeological Journal, xciii (1973), 1-8.
 The book is cited hereafter as Bestall.
- The Chesterfield Archaeological Research Committee was established in 1973 with support from the Department of the Environment and local authorities; in 1976 it was remodelled with a wider area of responsibility as the North Derbyshire Archaeological Committee. Its address remains Brayshaw's Building, Marsden Street, Chesterfield. No full reports of its fieldwork have yet appeared; the committee has, however, published two general pamphlets (V.S. Doe, D.V. Fowkes and Philip Riden, Discovering early Chesterfield: the archaeological implications of redevelopment in central Chesterfield (1973), and Terry W. Courtney and Patricia Bourne, Chesterfield. The recent archaeological discoveries (1975), and a series of Newsletters starting in 1974 (CARC nos 1-3; NDAC nos 1-2). The Derwent Archaeological Society (co Tawney House, Matlock) carried out a small excavation in Chesterfield in 1973, as yet unpublished, which is described in a pamphlet published by the society; Roman Chesterfield. An account of the 1973 excavation carried out at Church Lane by the Derwent Archaeological Society (1974): another excavation by the same group in Chesterfield in 1974 remains entirely unpublished.
- In addition to the work of completing Bestall's history of Chesterfield, other recent work has been done on the town's history. An edition of the Borough records from the earliest times to 1835, edited by Philip Riden and John Blair, is largely complete. Stephen Penny has been working on the Hardwick Charters at Chatsworth, the Foljambe family muniments at Nottinghamshire Record Office and other medieval sources for the town; Rosemary Milward

- has been doing similar work on post-medieval material. Before his death Bestall had, in conjunction with his Chesterfield extra-mural class, prepared the complete corpus of Chesterfield wills and inventories preserved in the diocesan archives at Lichfield for publication; Chesterfield wills and inventories 1521-1603 (ed. J.M. Bestall and D.V. Fowkes; Derbyshire Record Society, I, 1977) represents the first part of this work.
- The progress of this work may be traced through the committee's 1975 pamphlet and Newsletters (above n.3); for a summary of the previous state of knowledge see the 1973 pamphlet.
- 6 Kenneth Cameron, The Place-names of Derbyshire (English Place-Name Society, 1959) xxiii-xxvii.
- 7 Bestall, 18-19.
- 8 Cyril R. Hart, The early charters of northern England and the north Midlands (Leicester, 1975). The Chesterfield charter is calendared on p. 106 (CS 911).
- 9 There is no reasonable church guide. See Bestall, ch.6 for a general account of the church in the medieval town.
- 10 Bestall, 32, citing Registrum antiquissimum, i.17 (Lincoln Record Society, 1931).
- 11 Bestall, 16-17; a general study of the conversion in Derbyshire would be very useful in this context.
- 12 Discussed Bestall, 20-24.
- 13 Bestall, 23, makes the interesting suggestion that the carucation of the manor of Newbold (49 bovates) may be the result of adding an odd bovate for Newbold itself to an older sixcarucate unit common in the northern Danelaw.
- 14 Jonas Chapman, Map of the town and ancient borough of Chesterfield including parts of the townships of Hasland, Tapton and Newbold (1837).
- 15 William Senior's Survey of Chesterfield (1633-7), Senior is preserved among the muniments of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck but is conveniently reproduced on the front cover of the archaeological committee's 1973 pamphlet.
- 16 The original tithe award for Chesterfield is in the Public Record Office (IR. 30/8/54/1-E); the diocesan copy, which is better preserved, is in Derby Reference Library; Chesterfield Reference Library has the parish copy of the apportionment and a photograph of the original plan, the parish copy being lost.

- 17 Cameron, Place-names, 232.
- 18 College of Arms, Pegge Collections for Derbyshire, ii.
- 19 Peter P. Burdett, Survey of Derbyshire (1791 ed. reproduced in facsimile, Derbyshire Archaeological Society, 1975).
- 20 What follows should be read in conjunction with Bestall, ch.7.
- 21 NDAC Newsletter, 1 (January 1976); Cameron, Place-names, 231.
- 22 Senior.
- 23 Bestall, 127 and plan on 124.
- 24 For the new market see Philip Riden, 'The origin of the new market of Chesterfield',

 Derbyshire Archaeological Jour., xcvii
 (1977) (forthcoming). The new market had definitely been built by 1199 and possibly by 1165.
- 25 Ouoted Bestall, 7.
- 26 Cameron, Place-names, 231-4.
- 27 R.A. Hall, The pre-conquest burgh of Derby', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, xcv (1975), 16-23, is of limited value since it omits even the simplest map of the town.

GATHOKEWELL

R.W.P. COCKERTON (Burre House, Bakewell)

In the Society's Record Series Volume 3 for 1967 The Duchy of Lancaster's Estates in Derbyshire 1485-1540 (published in 1971) on page 59 there is a reference, in respect of land in the Parish of Over Haddon, as follows;

"..... with an acre of land pertaining to the same furlong which lies between Newfallow and the road leading from ALPORT to GATHOKEWELL".

The identity of the latter place was puzzling until it was realised that the letter G is either a scribal error, or a misreading for the letter B.

When we read BATHOKEWELL, and find that in Part 1, page 30, of Cameron's Place Names of Derbyshire, that is another variant of the name applied to the place, which we now call BAKEWELL, we are able to fix the identity of the road referred to.

It was once known as the PORT WAY, and is so referred to in a perambulation of the boundaries of the Manor of Bakewell made on the 13th November, 1562 in the words "..... and so followed the crest of Ditch Cliffe to the South End of Burton flath and so following the Portway to Nether Haddon field gate". (See Derbyshire Countryside Vol. II, No.6, page 25).

This length of the Port Way is still in use for traffic, but at the place known as Two Trees (where only one ancient tree now survives), the route southward to Alport is only now a green track across the fields.

THE TICKNALL PARISH DOCUMENTS

J. HYDE (21 Commerce Street, Melbourne)

A detailed study of almost any old parish records can be stimulating, interesting and rewarding. From small and apparently unconnected notations in various ledgers and books, a deeper insight into village life of centuries ago can be gained. Systematically and conscientiously kept over the ages, these records reveal a great deal. Such a set of documents are those belonging to the Parish of Ticknall.

Among the many books, papers and certificates are some of the more 'standard' ones to be found in most parishes. These consist of the Constables Accounts, Poor Relief Accounts, Bastardy Bonds, Indentures, Removal Certificates and Examination Papers and the Surveyor of Highways accounts. Each reveals interesting facts about life in Ticknall from the early 1700's when, long before the National Health Service and Social Security, villages had their own ways of helping their sick, needy and unemployed.

Now mainly housed in five large cardboard boxes at the Records Office, Matlock, the documents were presented there for safe keeping in Spring 1974, by the vicar of Ticknall, the Rev. Mr. Bagnall. Worried by their gradual deterioration in the damp church, he wanted these 280 year old records protected by a properly controlled atmosphere. Dating from the late 1600's, they tell much about the small, tightly-knit self-sufficiency of the 18th-19th century village community.

The Overseer of the Poor Accounts for the years 1720-1742, combined with those of the Church charge and Field Charge, are still in private hands, however. Saved from being put on a bonfire many years ago by Harold Soar, of Ivy Leigh, Ticknall, they are now also kept at a suitably controlled temperature and humidity level. Harold, himself a keen amateur local historian, has collected numerous old items concerning the village over the years.

Two Overseers of the Poor, each serving for a six month period from April-Sept. and October-March, held office annually. Chosen from and by, their fellow church-wardens, several assumed the post on numerous occasions. A certain Gilbert Hutchinson served as Overseer for a half year term in 1730, 1742, 1750 and 1756 for instance. His case was by no means rare.

In those days, the Church wielded a great influence and its wardens were men of moral and

material substance. It was from them, and other local farmers, land owners and shopkeepers, that the annual budget was raised. This was done in the form of a levee (levy) and, in the 1720's a levee was usually £4. Hence, two double levees and a single raised a sum of £20, the average half-yearly outgoing of the Overseers' Accounts. (A century later, the amount ran into hundreds of pounds.)

Any money overspent' was initially paid by the Overseer himself and he was then re-imbursed when the accounts were audited. A small budget surplus' was likewise carried over.

The auditing, usually carried out in June and September each year, was again done by the Churchwardens. Up to a dozen signatures often follow the semi-annual balance. Since this comparatively small group of men heldoffice regularly in turn, they naturally took a keen interest in its correct administration.

One of the earliest decipherable entries is on March 19th, 1712 and reads for going a Justiceing with Seth Gilberts man 1s. 0d.' followed by Causing of him to be whipt though ye town 1s. 4d.' These two cryptic lines are a foretaste of many similar ones over the years. On March 8th, 1730, a midwife was paid 1s. 0d. to attend a woman at Willmores, 2s. 6d. spent on the woman and then Payd for carrying ye woman a way 6d.'

The accounts for the first half of the 1700's generally show a regular pattern of weekly or fortnightly payments to widows, usually 2s. per week, provision of shoes and other apparel to orphans, horseloads of coal (1s. 3d.) and 'strikers' of wheat or blendcorn to poor families. Though there is no record of any refusals to help, the fact that the names of certain villagers appear regularly over the years shows that the real hard core of needy were invariably aided. The following entries, regarding a certain Mary Bayley in 1746, are a good example and are taken exactly as written.

Feb 1st.	Pade for a blanket for	^	Λ	103.
	mary Baley	υ.	υ.	10 d.
Feb 17th	Pade for 2 horseload			
	for mary Bayley	0.	2.	4d.
Mar 1st.	Pade for a hundred of			
	Coals for mary Baly	0.	0s.	6d.
«	Pade Francis Ashmore			
	for lodging mary Bayley	0.	ls.	2d.
6.6	Pade widow pemberton			
	for lodging mary Baly	٥.	ls.	3d.
"	For mary Baleys board			
	and lodging	0.	3s.	0d.
"	Pade Ann Bamford for			
	lodging mary Bayley	0.	ls.	0 d.

During 1759 and 1760 she again regularly received cash, corn and coals 'on the parish'.

Amongst other items mentioned in the Overseers Accounts are the signing of his own levy, amounts paid for indentures and other legal documents, rents paid on behalf of the poor and of villagers who had nursed sick neighbours being suitably paid. (May 30th 1847 'Nurse to Sam Grundy's children when thay had small pox 2s. 0d.).

Since by the late 1700s the population of Ticknall rose towards the 1000 mark, living in some 175 dwellings, it is amazing that such a remarkably minute number of people needed financial or other assistance.

Since the Overseers were busy men, or in 1748 and 1760 when Catherine Illsley and Mary Henson held office, busy women, there is an occasional 'overlapping' with the Church and Field Charges. However, considering these unpaid officials were hardly qualified bookkeepers, the figures and details are usually clear and concise.

The Church Charge is, once again, self explanatory and entries also fall into a regular pattern. These consist mainly of '2 bottles of wine for the Sacrament 2s. 0d.', 'fetching it from Derby 1s. 0d.', 'and for bread 0s. 4d.', 'for washing ye Surplice 1s. 0d.', and many others directly connected with Church business. Added to these comes a payment of 5 shillings for winding the clock annually, oil and repairs to same, and payments to the ringers at Christmas and New Year. Ringers were also paid when ringing any special Couver Feu (Curfew) or at times of great military victory. On Dec. 3rd. 1759 for instance, they were given 5s. 0d. for a special peal 'when Admiral Hawks beat the French.'

Amongst some of the more interesting entries in the Overseers, Church and Field Charge Accounts are several during the years 1745-7:
Pade Will Chamberlin for scouring up Brumhill drain 5s. 0d.; to T. Minion for a gunlock and mending town Gun 4s. 6d.; paid for casting ye Tennor Bell and addition of New Mettle £11.0s.0d; pade Thos. Smith for going to meet the Rebels 1s. 0d.; watching Town sheep when worried 1s.0d; to Thos. Smith for catching dogs i'th field 2s. 6d.; spent when we made a list of ye Distempered Cattel 1s, 6d.; spent at Willmores when we made a paper about the poors Bief and Bread and agreeing with the Girl born in Boulds Barn 4s. 0d. The list is both endless and fascinating.

The Field Charges, so called because the church had its own fields, consist of numerous diverse amounts, often totalling just over £1

usually and rarely more than £3. The year 1733 shows that Nat Standley was paid 11s. 0d. 'for shewtin' and his 'shot and pouder' cost 4s. 9d. Men were paid for 'driving' the church fields of pests each year and in 1725, repairs were carried out on Hangmonstoon Gate, smarts lain gate, Oarten's gaites, two hooks and thimbles on the 'but gait' and spike and nails for the 'dudlian gate'. The latter is also mentioned in 1731 as the Dude-lyon-gate but the derivation is unknown. It is, however, thought to have been in the area off Ingleby Lane.

Also, since sparrows, moles and hedgehogs were considered destructive vermin, cash payments were made to villagers bringing in these dead creatures. The going rate for sparrows was 2d. a dozen and 2d. each for hedgehogs. In 1733, some 40 dozen sparrows were killed and paid for. Occasionally, as in March 1728 when a Robert Archer and Robert Heatherly each bought in a dead fox, they were given one shilling. No doubt young men of the village found the trapping of birds and animals a useful supplement to their meagre wages.

The format of the Constables Disbursement Accounts for the years 1709-1758 is very similar to the foregoing. Again raised by levees, the annual amount spent on his various responsibilities averaged around £10.

There were numerous regular or standing charges of which the first was usually spent when I was chose 1s. 0d.'. This is followed by a similar amount spent on 'going to take the oath' apparently at nearby Repton. There he was legally sworn to office and another regular trip to the 'Clerke of the Market' at Swarkestone, again costing one shilling and presumably for his ale and refreshments.

In July he would set a 'watch and ward' on the Wakes, have the Watch Bills cleaned, again a shilling, and then an entry which reads 'Ale and Colours at the Wake, 3s. 6d.'. The Wakes, where labourers usually hired themselves out on annual basis, as was the custom, were held in the old Market Place. This, though disused for many years is a small triangular piece of grass land adjacent to the stone tramway arch which spans the main road. (The old Market Cross itself now stands in the churchyard).

A Constable, since vagrancy was a crime, could order a hue and cry after suspected persons and on Dec. 23rd, 1730, an entry reads 'Spent when searched ye Ale House for suspicious persons 6d.'. He was responsible for the training of a few militiamen, paid for repairs to the town gun and to the stocks. Items set against the latter appear frequently and it seems the

stocks were often being broken, probably by friends of the hapless victims bent on releasing him. Repairs to the village Pinfold also came under his jurisdiction.

These, then, are some of the main entries in the Constable's Accounts. However, it is quite a different way that most of his budget was disbursed - spent, not on the village, but on people 'passing through'.

Dozens of amounts each year were given to 'maimed soulgers, turkye slaves, poore men, wommon and 4 children, disbanded solger' and other entries read 'great los by fier', 'loss of cattel', 'man with tonge cut out' and other similar brief details of the transactions. Some entries, typified by one on Nov. 4th, 1742, which reads 'gave a company of Spanish Prisoners 9d.' occur at intervals. However, the real point of these payments is simple. Parishes were entirely responsible for their own poor. Anyone entering the village was a possible liability if taken suddenly ill or forced to delay their journey. Bona fide travellers, such as genuinely discharged soldiers or sailors, had a pass signed by the justices. This they presented to the Constables of the village through which they passed and the Constable was obliged to offer assistance.

An extraction of figures taken from the years 1721 - 1740 shows some remarkable facts. Some 488 people claiming to be Turkye Slaves obtained a total of £2. 14s. 0d. from the parish. Another 141 maimed, discharged or disbanded soldiers passed through the village, as did 135 seamen or sailors. Ninety nine people claimed to have been ship wrecked or suffered loss at sea. There were 40 cases of loss by fire, 17 had a loss of cattle, 12 of sea breaking in (floods) and 4 by loss from lightning.

Since one entry on June 6th 1724, specifically states 'given to a seaman that had his goods taken by ye pirates and had paper signed by ye justices 1s. 0d.' there were obviously many genuine cases. Nevertheless, the above are in addition to the many mentioned as having an official pass.

It would appear there could well have been bands of professional scroungers preying on the smaller villages which had a name for being a 'soft touch'! Regularly going the rounds, they knew that the Constables, anxious to move them on, would readily pay some small amount to ensure their rapid departure.

The Constables attitude was also perhaps a little cynical. In March, 1740, he records 'gave a big bellied woman to get her out of town 6d.' Anxious that the village should incur no expenses

from a pregnant woman giving unexpected birth, he readily gave her a few pennies to keep moving.

With one recorded case of attempted fraud in 1728 by John Bowler, High Constable for Caulk (Calke), it would be easy to speculate on the honesty of the village officials. Given some money by the Constable of Ticknall to pass on to the High Constable of the Hundred, John Bowler, according to the indictment, did 'put the third part of which Caulk was to pay into his own pocket, thinking thereby to defraud Ticknall. When the same was found out he said John Bowler repayd to John Bould the sum of One pound two Shillings and one pence which he would have defrauded Ticknall of.'

It would naturally have been very easy to invent 'needy cases', pay out 2d. 4d. or 6d. and pocket the amount. However, the officers were no doubt honourable men, the elite of the village, charged with keeping order. They administered funds to the travelling needy, kept the town safe from undesirables and upheld the existing laws.

Bastardy Bonds, as they were commonly called, were originated in Queen Elizabeth I's reign. The reason again is quite simple. Any unmarried pregnant village girl, without proper support and unable to work, was a further case for parish relief. The idea of the Bond was to establish the father's name, bring him to court and make him agree to paying a lump sum for the lying-in, then, following that, with regular weekly payments.

Bonds were generally to an agreed sum of £80 should the father default on any payments. Drawn up between the putative father and a suitable 'guarantor', the Overseers to the Poor of the parish were then covered for a period lasting as long as the child was chargeable to the parish.

The earliest of the bonds still in existence is dated 1685 but one drawn up in 1785 is a typical example.

Some 540 words long, the Bond is between George Wetton of Doveridge and a William Burton of Linton (his guarantor) and William Bryan and William Sheavyn, Overseers of Ticknall. It states, briefly, that a Sarah Ault had been delivered of a boy child, that George Wetton had been charged with, and adjudged to be, the father. consequently, he had been ordered to pay twenty shillings towards the lying-in and midwife's payment, and two shillings a week as long as the illegitimate child was chargeable. Any failure to pay and the £80 'bond' would be legally enforced.

Various receipt books show that these many

payments, by George Wetton and others, were regularly collected.

Initial expenses before and after the birth of Eleanor Blore's child in 1757 are contained in the Overseer's Accounts and are also a typical example.

Dec 18th 1756 Going to Justice Barnes 1s 6d
with Elnor Blore for her
examination 1s 0d
The charge for going to
look ye man by whom she
was pregnant £1.16s0d

She was given money and coals during January and February and March 10th records 'to Elenor Blore for necessaries at lying inn and the midwifes attendance 2/6d total 8s. 6d.'

Susan Gilber d's case had a less happy ending. In April 1827, the Overseers accounts show a cost of £1. 9s. for a journey to Stourbridge to 'seize Higman', recognizance charges at Worcester Sessions cost £2. 14s. 6d., and Susan's weekly pay and lying in amounted to£2. 5s. 6d. On November 5th, a rather pathetic entry reads simply 'charge of burying Higmans child 2s. 0d.'.

Bastardy Bonds lead, almost naturally in a way, to the Indentures. Although illegitimate children were supposedly supported by the fathers, they were often still an additional drain on the Poor Relief. Again, numerous entries mention shoes and stockings being given, or shirts being made, for the illegitimate and orphans of the parish. Consequently, it was advantageous to have these poor children apprenticed out at the earliest possible opportunity - usually around 11 years of age. They were then bonded to their master for the next ten years, often with the parish offering up to £20 as an inducement to have them taken on.

Indentures dating from 1724 show that Ticknall boys went as far afield as Darlaston (mines), Sutton Bonnington (brickmaker), Fradley (blacksmith) several to Tewkesbury and a large number to Ashby as calico weavers. They were occasionally supplied with two suits by the Parish, as were the young girls often supplied with clothing on being put into service.

Although other cases could have occurred only one certificate denotes the legal annulment of an indenture paper. This was in 1794 when a George Sheffield is recorded as having had his apprenticeship dissolved because of a violent beating by his master, Thomas Marriott, on Ian. 15th.

Again, the Overseers Accounts show appropriate entries such as the one on Jan. 6th

1746 'pade to Mr. Cheatem for simses lads indenter 3s. 6d.' On December 27th, prior to that, 'simses lad' had been given 2s. 0d. when 'he was bun' (burnt). Perhaps he, too, had become a liability the parish could no longer afford.

During the 1700-1800's, life was especially hard on the unemployed, the widows and orphans, and the permanently sick. Parish relief, though readily on hand, gave only a minimum level of existence. Caused by the Settlement and Removal acts of 1698, it is in the Examination Papers and Removal Certificates that the harsher aspects of life then are best illustrated.

As already mentioned, due to Poor Law Acts originating in 1598, to obtain relief one needed to have been born in the parish from which relief was being claimed. In the course of their working lives, labourers who hired themselves out annually could have moved home on numerous occasions. If only temporary relief was requested, it could be given by a reciprocal agreement with that parish of birth. The two sides of such agreements are first illustrated by the cases of Anne Ault. She was an accepted resident of Calke village and on Dec. 8th, 1828, when she was pregnant and living in Ticknall, Calke indemnified the Ticknall Overseer against any expenses she incurred.

Conversely, in Dec. 1802 and on Feb. 2nd, 1803, the Overseers of Whitchurch, Shropshire, sent lengthy correspondence to their counterparts in Ticknall. They had paid some temporary relief to a supposed Ticknall 'resident' and were asking why the long overdue reimbursements from Ticknall had not been forthcoming. Should the problem prove to be a lengthy or permanent one, whole families were often moved lock, stock and barrel to the parish of the husband's birth.

The first move in these lengthy legal battles was an Examination by a local magistrate. Here the victim was thoroughly cross-questioned on every aspect of his life to date. Where had he been born? In which parish had his father officially resided? Had he moved home as a child? To whom apprenticed? These sessions, eliciting numerous personal details covering long periods, must have proved a real trial for many an uneducated labourer.

Once responsibility was established, the parish to which the unfortunates were being despatched was officially contacted. The certificate used actually included the words 'that they have lately intruded upon the parish of' in the standard form of the day.

If the recipient parish raised no objections, they

sent back a certificate formally accepting responsibility.

There were, however, numerous cases of appeals on technical grounds and costly legal arguments ensued. In 1844 Ticknall removed a Widow Summerfield to Worthington but they appealed against the order. They claimed her late husband's father had never legally settled in Worthington and therefore she had no entitlement based on her own husband's qualifications of settlement. Similarly, in 1836, Tipton, Staffs, wanted to remove a Mrs. Adcock and her five children to Ticknall. The tenuous connection they claimed was that her husband had been born near Ticknall Potworks and the rent of his parent's home had once been paid by the Overseers of Ticknall. Tipton's desire to be rid of six hungry mouths was understandable but also shows the legal lengths to which arguments ran. Litigation costs often proved extremely high.

Perhaps one of the saddest cases recorded in the Overseers Accounts concerns a man referred to as Rile, Riles, Rilo and Old Royley. In September 1748, because of a removal order, Ticknall paid £9. 8s. to bring him and his wife from Norwich. He then received a total of 5s. 6d., both lodged locally several weeks at 2s. per week and then, in October, he had 2s. per week granted to him. The following year he received sheets, blankets, a 'bedcord' and a load of coals, totalling some 10s. 6d. In 1752, the parish paid 17s. 4d. for his wife's funeral and in April 1754, he himself was buried and his coffin (1s.) paid for out of funds.

Consequently, over some 5½ years, he had initially received 2s. and later 4/6d. weekly, had other help in cash and kind and lived on the parish all of that time. Removal laws were strict but generally fair, though his case shows why parishes vied with each other in accepting, or objecting to, removals into their own particular sphere.

And so, throughout the 1700's, life in Ticknall continued apace. With a population reaching 1125 in 1801, the majority were able to work and did so. A mainly agricultural based economy, a thriving limeworks, brickyard and three potworks provided ample employment for the many. Numerous people passing through the village continued to be helped on their way.

It was in February, 1822, that a major change occured in the general running of the village. This came with the formation of the Select Vestry, a group of local ratepayers and churchwardens who, in fact, were bent on 'overseeing' the Overseer. With Sir George Crewe in the chair, some dozen men signed the minutes of the inaugural gathering. Meeting fortnightly, alternating between three ale

houses, their powers and decisions were farreaching. Bastardy payments in that February were over £27 in arrears. A short month later, both they and all other outstanding bills had been settled. Also, in March that year, they elected a Mr. Hutchinson as Surgeon to the Parish. He was expected to 'attend one day per week for the convenience of the poor. His charges are to be by bill and the poor to be given 'tickets'. Also medicines are to be kept in the proper house for the poor.'

The Select Vestry could also send people to the Rosliston Workhouse, with which Ticknall shared upkeep costs, and in February 1823, they ordered a James Illesley of Ingleby to the Nottingham Asylum.

An illustration of their fortnightly deliberations is contained in the minutes of a meeting held on May 3rd., 1834

It was resolved that John Warren's family be allowed 4/- per week during his stay in the Infirmary.

that William Land's boy be allowed a smock frock.

that James Spence be allowed 2 flannel shirts. that Thos. Neville's wife's application for shoes for her daughter be disallowed.

that Mary Dexter's application for her daughter to come out of the Poor House be disallowed.

Generally speaking their refusal to help various cases which occured are more than balanced by those which they allowed.

In particular, they seem to have bent over backwards to assist a William Brealey. The following entries tell their own story.

Oct. 25th 1826. Res. that the Officers go over to see William Brealeys wife and to enquire the state of her health.

Nov. 8th 1826 Res. that William Brealey be employed at Stone breaking at the discretion of the Officer.

Nov. 22nd 1826 Res. that William Brealey's request for twelve Shilling to set him up with a Basket of Pots be allowed.

Jan. 3rd 1827 Res. that William Brealey's wife's request for ten shilling as temporary relief be allowed.

Mar. 27th 1827 Res. that William Brealey's wife's application for relief cannot be allowed.

May 23rd 1827 Res. that William Brearly be taken before the Magistrates for leaving his family chargeable to the Parish

On May 30th and June 23rd 1827, he was paid 3 shillings and 7/6d. when ill and between Feb. 3rd and April 28th 1830, he was receiving 4/- per week relief, later stepped up to 12/-.

William Brealey's case shows that, occasionally, the Select Vestry were more than prepared to persevere with a man who was obviously something of a thorn in their side.

In July 1823, they gave notice of withdrawal from the Rosliston House of Industry. Because of its rapidly rising costs, they briefly re-established Ticknall's own workhouse in 1828 but in Feb. 1831, applied to join the Appleby and Measham workhouse. Exactly three years later they agreed the old Ticknall workhouse should be pulled down and the stone used to build two cottages and a Vestry Room.

In 1827 they entered a 7 year agreement with a Valentine Peace of Castle Gresley to act as Molecatcher at £6. per annum - payment to be at their discretion, based on results.

They were also empowered to assess and collect rates. One case records how William Atkins, the local clockmaker, successfully appealed to them in May 1828 and had his rates cut from $\pounds 4/10/0$ to $\pounds 3$. A namesake, John Hyde, appears on the list of ratepayers for 1846 as a master potter.

Since the Select Vestry also audited the Churchwarden's and Overseer's Accounts annually, they voted themselves an overall fee of £8 per annum. However, they were equally hard on fellow officers who failed in their given task. On June 14th, 1836, they resolved 'that unless Mr. Rose close his accounts at the next Vestry he shall forfeit his salary.' Mr. Rose's name does not appear again.

From June, 1828, the Vestry met regularly in their own room, reverted back to the Royal Oak, Chequers and Wheel Inn in October 1831 and from February, 1834, agreed all meetings should be in the School Room. During the early 1820's their gatherings were occasionally called for 7 a.m. but generally at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Often insufficient members turned up to make positive resolutions.

Some of the more interesting quotations from their minutes are worth recording. In both September 1823 and May 1830, they ordered the Overseer to have certain cottages whitewashed because of typhus. They replaced Mr. Hutchinson with George Sheffield as Doctor to the Poor in 1825 at £14 per annum. At the time, Ticknall also paid £2/2/0 per annum to Derby Royal Infirmary as an association fee and the village had a thriving Sick Club.

On April 6th, 1825, they resolved 'to apply to the Magistrates for warrants to take Hannah Wilkinson and Jane Wardle to the Sessions as disorderley and lude women.' Showing the other side of their deliberations, they resolved, on Jan. 21st., 1829, 'that Josh. Clark's application for his son being ill be allowed a pair of sheets and a bottle of red port.' At their meeting of July 28th, 1835, they agreed that 'Henry Hill's wife be given 6/- per week while he remains in goal.'

From 1835, local ratepayers were allowed to attend, and probably influence, their debates. Ratepayers also elected the Select Vestry and attended the public auditing of accounts. The year 1850 saw meetings dwindling to one a month, the 1860's only meeting as and when required and by 1896, just one, annually. Their far reaching powers finally removed, their reign of control over village affairs was now limited to election of Church Officers and Church business.

With the onset of Industrial Revolution, the need for good roads was paramount. As early as 1770, Ticknall had its own Surveyor of Highways. Again elected annually by fellow churchwardens or 'guardians', he was charged with improving the rutted lanes and streets around Ticknall.

From an original outlay of £20 per annum, partly raised by levy and partly by income from toll gates such as the one in Scaddows Lane, he mainly found work for the local unemployed. Men were paid, usually a few pennies, for breaking stone and filling in the potholes. Occasionally, as the accounts show, they were provided with ale, too.

The records also show details of 'team work', apparently by a given number of villagers, including women, who were paid for labouring a specified period each year.

On Oct. 8th 1812, Sam Hill was paid for nine loads of 'Potshead Bits' at 8d. per load and on Oct. 13th, 1812, Joseph Hide also supplied three loads at 6d. per load. This, no doubt, was additional 'filler' material at a cheap price. It also illustrates that Ticknall's various Potworks at the time were all going concerns.

Limestone itself was, in many ways, even cheaper. The select Vestry had accepted the gift of a stone pit from Sir George Crewe in May 1830. Specifically for the unemployed, they were given work breaking stone at 4d. a ton. Again, one assumes, relief was refused if they failed to take up the offer.

On May 2nd, 1827, the Select Vestry voted a special £10 fee to Nat Bryan who had served

as Surveyor from Michaelmas 1825 to the same time in 1826. During that time 'the great improvement was in Town Street by turning a Culvert, forming and coating the whole with proper stone.....'

The culvert was, in fact, 437 yards long and covered a small stream-cum-sewer running through the town. That year's Highways bill was £285 and a further £150 and £290 was spent in 1827 and 1828 respectively.

Considering this sort of annual expenditure, the Surveyor's normal fee of £5 from 1828 onwards was not unreasonable. Also, since the accounts show regular weekly payments at that time to a John Joynes and others, Ticknall had obviously established its own small gang of full time roadmen. For his six days work, Joynes received 10/- per week and casual labourers 1/- to 1/6d. per day.

This then, is a list of the main documents, books and accounts that comprise the Ticknall Parish Records. Similar books and more can be found in other parishes. They are all public property and most vicars will gladly help the genuinely interested enquirer - either with requests to trace ancestry or with a prolonged study of these ancient documents.

Likewise, the Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock, now gathering more and more old material, is always ready to offer advice and assistance. Its staff, trying to master the task of indexing the constant stream of new items, can be most helpful.

Has anyone written the history of your parish? If not, why not attempt it now? So much documentary evidence is fast deteriorating, getting burnt or thrown away. As each year passes, the job will become more difficult.

Though some of the writing and phonetic spelling of the 1600-1700's is difficult to decipher, this, in later years, often gives way to copper-plate handwriting that is a joy to read.

Research, checking and cross referring can prove a lengthy task but the end result is well worthwhile.

Although the vast majority of villagers rate no mention in the various documents, the Ticknall records teem with characters. Thomas Minion, the 18th century jack-of-all-trades, Will Chamberlain, anxious to perform any menial task for a small remuneration, the Joynes Boy, Simses lad, Mary Bayley, Eleanor Blore and numerous others. Briefly, they flit across the many pages, adding a flesh-and-blood feeling to these otherwise cold and impartial details.

Perhaps you, too, will derive some enjoyment from unlocking some of the human interest contained in the many records waiting to be re-discovered.

DERBYSHIRE HISTORIC BUILDINGS TRUST AN APPEAL

D.J. LATHAM
(Newton, Wood and Latham, Grosvenor Road,
Rioley)

The Derbyshire Historic Buildings Trust was set up in November, 1974 to help preserve the smaller vernacular buildings which are one of the main elements in the character of our towns and villages. It buys buildings in danger of demolition, restores, sells and moves on to the next.

So far it has restored and sold two condemned buildings: the early Victorian toll house on Kedleston Road, Derby, and Stud Farm, Chesterfield, a 17th century farm house, now divided into two comfortable centrally heated homes.

About twenty other houses have been saved by the Trust's intervention, persuading the owners either to restore them or put them on the market for private purchase.

The Trust is now tackling the Stone Row at Golden Valley, a stone terrace of twenty cottages built by the Butterly Company about 1800. From these Andrew Soubire of Bakewell, the architect for the scheme, (winner of a European Architectur al Award) plans to create eleven modern houses, whilst preserving the exterior character of the terrace. Another sixteen brick cottages nearer the road will be restored to sound shells and sold as such with suggestions for the interior, to purchasers who want to experiment a little. We are tackling at the same time a 19th century school house at Twyford.

In addition the Trust runs guided walks in conservation areas, parties in country houses not normally open to the public, and is experimenting with other events for members.

We want both more money and more members to back our work, and help to create interest in Derbyshire. The subscription in still held at £1 yearly to enable anyone, however limited their resources, to join. This about covers postage and we ask members who can to subscribe a little more. Interested persons should write to Mrs. M. Wood, at above address, for brochures and application forms.

THE DARLEYS OF WISTOW AND BUTTERCRAMBE

ERNEST PAULSON
(11 Darley Avenue, Darley Dale)

The Darley family is one which can trace its ancestry back to the days before the Norman Conquest. During the last 900 years it has spread to many parts of the British Isles. Australia, the United States and Canada, and almost certainly has acknowledged relatives in all the former British Dominions. The tracing of the family history has not been easy, for the Darleys have taken no major part in the newsworthy happenings of the day, and when they have been engaged in matters of importance, they have left no written material on this involvement. At only a few places in this country are they well known - at Darley Dale where the 14th century church tower built by a member of the family stands as his memorial and guards his effigy; at Buttercrambe, York, where the Darley Arabian was brought in 1704; at Thorne, Doncaster, where the family still brews good beer as it has done for the last 200 years; at Itchenor, Hampshire, where Capt. John Darley landed Louise, Duchess of Portsmouth, in 1661; at Ipswich where they are reputed to have built the Mayflower in 1620, and in Dublin where the Darleys are closely associated with the Guinnesses.

According to Miss Erma Darley of California, Sir Edmond d'Erle was the founder of the family, being born in Normandy in 1033 and, as a follower of Neville, created Earl of Westmorland, came to England in 1066. After the Northern Rebellion of about 1087 he was seised of a knight's fee at Wistow, near Selby, Yorkshire. The family pedigree in the Darley family papers deposited in the North Yorkshire Record Office, begins with Sir John Darley, probably grandson of Sir Edmond, resident at Wistow in 1099. 1 He married Armetrude Brailsforth and had a family of two sons and five daughters. From then on the pedigree remains unbroken in the direct line of descent until 1720, but there are many younger sons missing from it which is unfortunate as some of the more notable members of the family were descended from the younger sons and their place in the pedigree is not clear. It is therefore impossible to say which of the English Darleys was the founder of the Irish family or which of the Cornish branch was the first American Darley.

From the beginning the Darleys were connected with Derbyshire families. Thomas (1117) married the daughter of Edmond Linacre; John (1139) married Maud Sacheverell; Edmond married Jane Fitzherbert. Other well-known Derbyshire

families such as Bradbourne, Radbourne, Babington of Dethick, Cockayne of Ashbourne, Columbell of Derby and Lowe of Alderwasley are all represented in the pedigree, the opening section of which is reproduced in Fig. 1.

The note in the pedigree about Edmond Darley (1191) is clearly incorrect.2 This reads: 'This Edmond Darley was the first founder of a house of religion called Darley Abbey and gave 53 oxgangs of lande, 12 carotts and 24 messuages near Derby where this house of religion was built. There is a further note on the subject in the Darley papers by Simon Dragg (1677): 'They were canons of St. Augustine. It was founded tempore H 2. It was of yearly value of £258 14s5d tempore H 8. This is the end of the parson's counsellor written by Simon Dragg.' The note on Edmond contradicts the cartulary of Darley Abbey which states that the founder was Hugh, Dean of Derby, in around 1160. He was not a member of this family and probably took his name from his lands at Little Darley (Darley Abbey), part of which he granted to the canons to build the abbey, replacing the earlier oratory of St. Helens, Derby. The first Hugh de Darley mentioned in the pedigree was a grandson of William de Darley (1230). He was not a priest, he married Julia Buckmaster and the abbey was founded long before he was born.

The family remained at Wistow until about 1600, but younger sons were constantly leaving home to find their own fortunes. In spite of their long residence however, the Darleys have left no memorials, unless the tomb in the north aisle at Wistow church to 'Dame Margery' and her children, which dates from about 1300, is that of a Darley.

Andrew de Darley, son of William, was appointed a Lord of the Kings Peak under de Ferrars in 1249. 3 He was Lord of the Manor of both Darley and Bakewell, and his head-quarters were at Peak Castle. His hall was a wooden Manor House standing half a mile north of St. Helen's church, Darley Dale. There is a memorial stone to one of his foresters in the church porch. He died in 1272 and was succeeded by his son Hugh. His brother James acquired land at Eckington by marrying the daughter of Randall of Leegh, a relative of the Babingtons of Dethick.

The next member of the family on whom there is any real information is Sir John de Darley, great-grandson of Andrew who Dakeyne, the 19th century antiquarian who lived in Darley Dale, tells us rebuilt Darley Old Hall in 1321. Sir John may have been a Templar. There is a boss of medieval glass in the window of the north

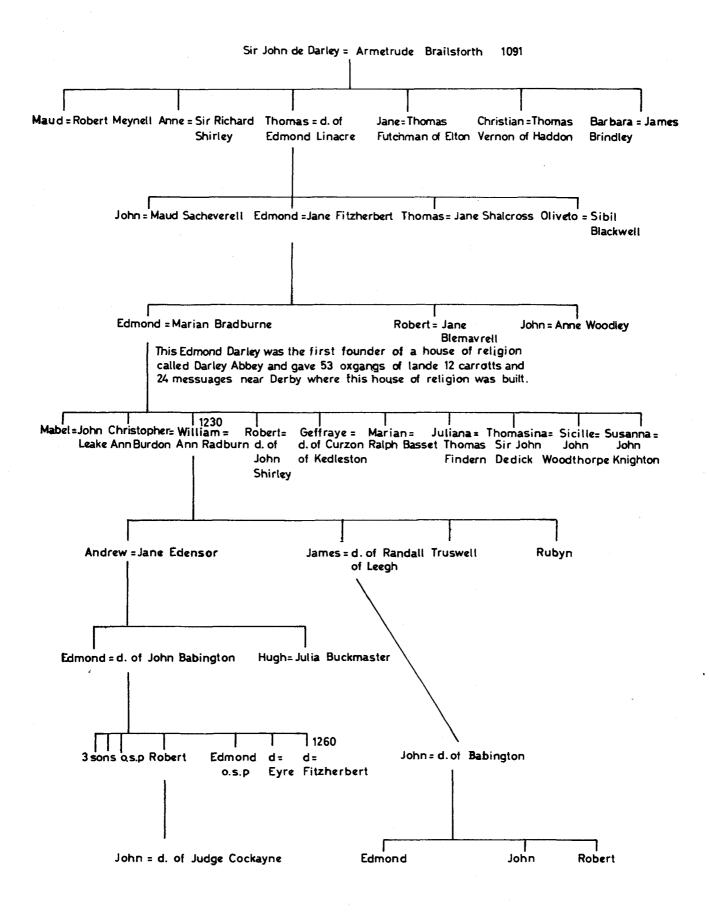


FIG. 1 THE OPENING SECTION OF THE DARLEY FAMILY PEDIGREE

transept of Darley Dale Church which shows the Lamb and Flag, the emblem of the Order, and it has been suggested many times that he was a Crusader, even though the Crusades were over by his time. Whatever his past, he spent more time in his manor than his predecessors and in 1321 he hired William de Kelstede, a master mason, to rebuild the wooden hall in stone, the original contract for which still survives. He also rebuilt the church, leaving only the Saxon Sacristy untouched and gave the church its fine tower which is still much as he built it, though it had to be strengthened on the north side in 1854. There was only one serious fault in the work - the pillars on the south side of the nave had to be replaced about 1380, which accounts for their octagonal shape. Those in the north aisle are round.

Sir John died in about 1350, the time of the Black Death, 'his heart coming out of his mouth whilst hunting on the Sabbath day'. Sir John's effigy survives although his tomb has long since disappeared. At least from the 17th century, the figure occupied a niche under the window of the south transept, but now it lies on a plinth in the south aisle. Sir John left an heir, Edmond, Lord of Darley and Alderwasley, who died soon after him, and another son Ralph who died in 1370. Ralph held half of the manor of Darley from the king at an annual rent of 13s. 4d. The other half of the manor, mortgaged and forfeited, was disputed by the Plumptons and Foljambes, each of whom claimed it. The Foljambes won.

Ralph's heir was his daughter Agnes, who married Thomas Columbell of Sandiacre. She inherited the Nether Hall manor and a lawsuit. In 1393 Columbell was seised of the manor after the court at Derby had decided in his favour and against Norman Charnolls who had married Agnes Foljambe. By the Columbell marriage the Derbyshire Darleys ceased to exist in name, but the family ties were unbroken. In later years Thomas Columbell of Darley married Ann Darley of Wistow (d. 1540), and John Lowe of Alderwasley married her sister Margaret.

In 1557 William Darley moved from Wistow to Buttercrambe where the lands belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, York, had been purchased from the Countess of Westmorland, who had received them at the dissolution of the Abbey. She probably made a handsome profit out of the sale. The wooden manor house was by the side of the Derwent above Stamford Bridge near the place where King Harold defeated Harold Hardrada of Norway and Earl Tostig in 1066. The mound on which Harold planted his standard is in the

grounds of Aldby Park. According to Bede, this same mound, as a fort, was the site of the attempted assassination of Edwin of Northumbria which preceded his conversion to Christianity in 626. It was at the Council that followed that an old nobleman made the celebrated speech comparing our life to the brief flight of a bird through the hall out of the darkness and into it again.

At Buttercrambe the Darleys farmed and traded. Their monuments in the church are to solid landed gentry and as their wealth increased they obtained in 1584 confirmation of their family crest, a horse's head, mailed. The grant is preserved in the family papers at the North Yorkshire County Record Office. The arms of Richard Darley of Wistow, the brother of the last-mentioned William, were six silver lilies arranged 3 - 2 - 1 on a blood-red shield. Why these arms were given to the Darleys is not known, but they are strongly reminiscent of the lilies of France.

William Darley of Buttercrambe had at least two sons. One, John Darley of Kilnhurst, near Rotherham, an ironmaster, purchased the manor of Kilnhurst and his memorial is in Rawmarsh church. 5 John's four sons predeceased him and he left the manor to Lancelot Mountfort, his wife's brother, on his death in 1616. William's other son, name unknown, moved to Ipswich in Suffolk, where his grandson John married the daughter of a shipbuilder and took over the shippard about 1605. Family tradition has it that the Pilgrim Fathers' Mayflower was built in 1606 by this John Darley, but, as the Director of the National Maritime Museum points out, there were many ships so named. Certainly a Mayflower and her sister ship the Seaflower were colliers based on Ipswich in 1632 and 1644. The Seaflower later carried a party of English Settlers to Santa Clara, an island in the Caribbean Sea about 300 miles from Panama. The colony lasted for about ten years (c. 1650-1660) and three forts were built one of which was Fort Darley. In a recent letter L.J. Darley of Tennessee who visited the island a year or two ago, added 'one can walk along the cliffs near the site of the Fort and observe rusting cannon in the water below.' The island later became the Caribbean headquarters of Henry Morgan, but after three attempts the Spaniards captured it and removed the inhabitants to Louisiana.

In 1600 the Rev. John Darley, son of Nathan Darley of Beccles and great-grandson of William Darley of Buttercrambe, married the daughter of the Rev. John Featley of Bodmin Moor. By 1650 these Darleys had a shipyard on Plymouth Sound

from which ships traded with America. They ran things in their own way and were occasionally at variance with the Commonwealth government. Many of the Darleys had this independent streak and some became Dissenters.

For instance, during the period of reform forced upon the Church of England by Charles I and Archbishop Laud, Sir Richard Darley of Buttercrambe and his family gave shelter to a Nonconforming minister, Thomas Shepard, who was hurriedly shipped from Ipswich to the Humber. Shepard describes in his autobiography how he avoided imprisonment by escaping from Essex. The Darleys had offered him £20 a year and accommodation and after an adventurous journey by sea which he describes with venom, and the feeling that he was under special protection of the almighty, he came to Buttercrambe, and was not impressed:

'Now as soon as I was come into the house I found diverse of them at dice and tables ... I do remember that I was never so low sunke in my spirits as about this time for I was now far from all freends I was I saw in a prophane house not any sincerely good I was in a vile wicked town and country I was unknown and exposed to all wrongs I was unsufficient to do any worke and my sins were upon me, and here upon I was very low and sunke deep yet the Lord did not leave me comfortless for tho the lady was churlish yet Sir Richard was ingenious and I found in the house three servants viz Tho. Fugill, Miss Margaret Touteville, the knight's kinswoman that later was my wife and Ruth Bushell very careful of me which somewhat refreshed me.'

After some months Shepard left Buttercrambe for Hull, Rotterdam and Boston.

Sir Richard's son and heir, Henry, was M.P. for Malton for both the Short and Long Parliaments of 1640. When the Civil War began, Henry Darley, Thomas Raikes, Mayor of Hull, Sir Matthew Boynton and Sir William St. Quentin seized Hull for Parliament. Subsequently, Darley was a commissioner of Parliament to the Scots, and he was involved in the negotiations for the King's person following his surrender to the Scots at Newark.

Despite the Parliamentary sympathies of at least part of the family, the Darleys gained by the Restoration. Capt. John Darley, probably an Ipswich man, commanded one of five barges in the Royal fleet in 1661. This was the barge 'Fubs', named by the King after his mistress Louise de la Kerouaille, on the grounds that it looked as broad in the beam. The future Duchess of Portsmouth had been abandoned at Dieppe in

the rush to get back to England, and Darley was sent to fetch her in 'Fubs' and landed her at Chichester. For these services Darley was rewarded with an estate and royal hunting lodge, held at a peppercorn rent until the beginning of this century.

Even the Yorkshire Darleys found their path smoother than they expected. More land at Buttercrambe passed into their sole ownership and there were further acquisitions at North Duffield, Aldby, Easingwold and Little Claxton. This prosperity led to thoughts of improvements and Richard Darley, son of Henry the M.P., was one of a consortium which obtained an Act of Parliament in 1702 to canalise the Derwent as far as Malton. Another branch of the Yorkshire Darleys owned a prosperous shipping business in Hull. Their first recorded ship was the 'Rose' in 1584, whose captain was another Richard Darley, and the business lasted until about 1750.

After the canalisation venture, Richard Darley moved into an entirely different field. He decided to improve his horses by importing an Arab stallion. His son Thomas was a 'Turkey Trader' - a merchant trading in the Eastern Mediterranean, a member of the Levant Company and British Consul at Aleppo, and he supplied the horse in 1703. A letter from Thomas to his brother Henry describing the horse and the method by which it was to be transported to England has survived among the family papers. The Arabian arrived safely but Thomas Darley was less lucky - he died on his way home to his wedding, allegedly of poison. The letter is dated 21 December 1703:

Dear Brother,

Your obleeging favour of the 7 Aprill came to my hands the 16 October per our convoy & by whom I design These wch hope will have a better success in arriving safe than the many others wrote to you find has done besides I have never been favoured with any llers from you but that I immediately answered per letters first conveyance that succeeded after receipt thereof being very desirous of maintaining a punctual correspondence, for nothing is more grateful to me than to hear the welfare of my relations and friends and more particularly your good self. I take notice what discourse you have had with my father and it is very true he has ordered my returning which I would gladly obey would my affairs permit, therefore I hope he will be pleased to excuse my delay until a more proper season, for I assuer you I am not in love with this

place to stay an hour longer than is absolutely necessary.

Since my father expects I should send him a stallion I esteem myself happy in a colt I bought about a year and a half ago with a design indeed to send him at the first good opportunity. He comes four at the latter end of March or the beginning of Aprill next. His colour is bay and his near foot before with both his hind feet have white upon them. He has a blaze down his face something of the largest. He is about 15 hands high, of the most esteemed race among the Arabs both by sire & dam and the name of the said race is called Mannicka. The only fear I have about him at present is that I shall not be able to get him aboard this wartime, though I have the promise of a very good and intimate friend the Honble & Revd Henry Bridges, son of Lord Chandos, who embarks in the Ipswich, Captain Wm Waklin, who presume will not refuse taking in a horse for him since his brother is one of the Lords of the Admiralty; besides I intend to go to Scanda to assist in getting him off, which, if I can accomplish, and he arrives safe I believe he will not be disliked for he is esteemed here where I could have sold him at a considerable price if I had not designed him for England. I have desired Bridges to deliver him to my brother John or Cousin Charles whoever he can find first and they are to follow my father's orders in sending him into the country. For the freight and all charges to his landing I will order payment of though am not certain what it may amount to. Am told by a friend who sent home a horse last year it cost him inclusive a £100 stg.

When you see cousin Peirson pray tender him my humble salutes and since his daughter is ready I shall endeavour with all speed to prepare myself. I have given my friend Mr. Bridges 2 chequens to drink with you (in case you are in Town) and brother John and Coz Charles which I wd call to mind is a present worth your notice.

I heartily wish you health & prosperity (and as the season invites) a Merry Xmas with many succeeding.

I respectfully remain dear brother Your most affec. brother Thomas Darley

On arrival in England the Arabian was taken to Aldby, where from 1704 he stood for a fee, which seems to have been standardised at £5 7s 6d. There is very little on the stallion in the notebooks of Henry Darley, who succeeded his father in 1707, beyond the names of people, such as Mr. Childers, who sent mares and the

dates of covering. Whistlejacket, one of the first foals sired by the Arabian to run, won at York in 1712 and was bought by Childers for £120. Childers then sent his best mare, Betty Leedes, to Aldby. The second mating in 1714 produced Flying Childers, later bought by the Duke of Devonshire, on 28 September 1719 according to the entry in the Chatsworth records. The Arabian was painted by a local artist in 1709, the picture 9'4" by 7'0" still dominating the hall at Aldby Park, and showing the stallion exactly as Thomas Darley had described him. Late in his life the stallion went on loan to the Duke of Leeds in exchange for a pedigree bull, but returned to Aldby.

When Henry Darley died in 1720 the estate passed to his daughter Jane as all her four bachelor brothers were dead: two died in the Middle East, two died at Aldby. Jane Darley married Henry Brewster from Hertfordshire, who soon after the marriage changed his name to Henry Brewster-Darley. He was an astute businessman and by purchase, lending and foreclosure created the park at Aldby. He lent £200 to the Mayor and Burgess of York on the security of the Mayor's house and was promptly repaid with at least 10% interest. He was Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, a J.P. and an 18th century gentleman, and the Darleys of Aldby Park trace their descent from him. He built a new Georgian house on a river-side site in 1725, replacing an earlier timber-framed Tudor house, and this is still the home of the Yorkshire Darleys.

There is evidence of other Darleys in Yorkshire apart from the Aldby and Hull Darleys but no link is yet known. These were Darleys at Darley near Harrogate in the 17th and 18th centuries and Darley is an honoured name in the Bradford wollen industry.

Another unrelated Darley, John Darley, possibly of Plymouth, benefitted from the interest shown in the navy by Charles II as had the Yorkshire and Ipswich Darleys. He had been trained as a shipwright at Portsmouth dockyard and in 1744 he launched out as a shipbuilder at Gosport. In the next two years he built the 'Tavistock' and the 'Kingfisher' for the navy, both of them 24 gun sloops. He then moved to Buckler's Hard as a master builder and secured the contract for the 'Woolwich' of 44 guns. In so doing he took a tremendous risk for he was not rich. In fact, the risk was too great for in 1746 he went bankrupt and the Woolwich was completed by another local builder, Moody Janverin, at the request of the Admiralty. He was physically as well as financially accident prone, breaking his leg 'whilst casting a piece of keelson' during the building of the 'Tavistock', so

that the ship had to be completed by his brother Samuel. Darley stayed at Buckler's Hard until the 'Woolwich' was launched in 1749, then, snowed under by bills, he faded into obscurity.

Captain John Darley, who had brought the barge 'Fubs' into Chichester, where she had been deserted by her crew who had not been paid for two years, settled at Itchenor and the family ran a line of coastal coal boats until the middle of the 19th century. The loaded ships were run up on to the foreshore, unloaded into farmcarts and wagons for distribution, and refloated on the next tide. After this business failed due to competition from the railways, they turned to farming when the head of the family married a wealthy farming heiress, but the farming slump of the 1930's caused them to turn back to sea. At first they were yacht repairers and maintainers, but now they run a yacht chandlery.

The Darleys of Hull had a prosperous shipping business until the mid 18th century when unwise speculation in land and the effect of Louis XIV's wars on Low Countries shipping caused a crash. By 1771 the only property remaining in their possession was at Thorne where they had farms and a brewery. In the enclosure award of 1823 for Thorne, Hatfield and Fishlake, Robert and William Darley are named as landowners and in Baines Directory of 1822 William is entered as a shipowner and bone merchant of Thorne. The brewery passed to his son Charles in 1825 and in 1827 won a prize 'for brewing very good beer'. The brewery is still operated by his descendants - W.M. Darley Ltd., Thorne.

There is a strong tradition that the Irish Darley family is closely related to the Yorkshire Darleys, but so far the first known member of the family, Henry Darley of Newtownards cannot be traced in the pedigree. Henry was in William III's forces at the Battle of the Boyne in 1688 and it has been suggested that he came from the Glasgow area. In Newtownards his family were stone merchants, but later they moved to Dublin where they became brewers, architects and solicitors. Notable members of the family were Alderman Frederick Darley, Lord Mayor and Chief Magistrate of Dublin in the 1820's, George Darley (1795-1846), a bachelor poet, Henry Darley who had a brewery at Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, and John Richard Darley (1799-1844) who became Bishop of Armagh. The family silver bears both the English crest of a mailed horse's head and the Irish one of a plain horse's head.

The Irish family is represented in Australia and New Zealand by the descendants of Alderman Frederick Darley. One of these, Frederick Darley, left England in 1862 after qualifying as a barrister and was so successful in the New South Wales Legislature that he took silk in 1878, was knighted in 1877 and became Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales in 1891. His brother, Cecil West Darley, who emigrated with him, became Chief Engineer of New South Wales and supervised the construction of Sydney Harbour Docks. He was also an authority on artesian wells. His son, Cdr. F.C. Darley R.N., was killed in a gunboat incident up the Yangtse Kiang in 1926 - the Wanshein incident.

The American Darleys whom I have contacted trace their descent back to William Darley, one of the Cornish Darleys, and Thomas Darley whose origin is obscure. William sailed with his 'cousin', Cornet (later Lt. Gen. Sir) Banastre (Bloody) Tarleton to New York at the outbreak of the American War of Independance. After the War he settled in America and one of his descendants was F.O.C. Darley (1822-1888)who provided some of the most successful illustrations for the early American editions of Dickens. Thomas Darley was captain in 1780 of 'an outbound sea going vessel loaded with rice and indigo apprehended at the mouth of Fort Royal Sound'. The captain and crew were held as prisoners of war until verification of their credentials was received from England. Darley was then released on parole as a Dragoon Officer replacement in the British Legion and was pressed into active service under Tarleton following heavy officer losses against Sumter at the battle of Blackstock in November 1780. We know this from a record of 'provincials' who fought for the king in the War of Independence kept in the Public Record Office. Darley was captured at the battle of Cowpens on 17 January 1781 after about 38 days of active service and passed the rest of the war as a prisoner. After his release he settled in South Carolina and in about 1810 purchased a property at Vidalia, Georgia. His descendants live in South Carolina and Tennessee.

There are several curious points about the above. All the members of Tarleton's Black Legion were said to be 'provincials' or native Americans loyal to the Crown. J.H. Bass in the full biography of Banastre Tarleton The Green Dragoon (pub. Redman 1958) states this explicitly. Furthermore, Thomas Darley was master of a ship loaded with tropical products. Was he English or was he a descendant of the colonists of Santa Clara who were transported to Louisiana by the Spaniards in the 17th century?

This may be called an interim summary of the history of the Darley family - the search continues and new material is constantly coming to light. One thing has become very clear, however, the success and consistency of the family. It has been able to parallel old achievements with new ones: the 13th century Lord of the Kings Peak and the Parliamentary Commissioner of 1643 with the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire: the Norman soldier who founded the family has been followed by many officers in the Army and Navy, whilst the brewery at Thorne finds counterparts at Grimsby, Cleethorpes, Stillorgan, Savannah and possibly elsewhere. Wherever the Darleys have gone, they have been successful and remarkably true to their family traditions.

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A FRENCHMAN'S VISIT TO DERBYSHIRE IN 1785

MARIAN BELL (24 Kingston Square, Norwich)

In January 1784, the Duc de Liancourt, Grand Master of the Wardrobe to Louis XVI of France sent his eldest son, the Comte Francois de la Rochefoucauld (1765-1848) and his youngest son, Comte Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld to England to learn the language, observe the English way of life, and make a special study of agriculture. Francois, then eighteen years old, and Alexandre, then sixteen, were accompanied by Maximilien de Lazowski, the Duc's trusted secretary (aged about forty), who acted as their escort and adviser.

The party settled at Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, and soon made friends with Arthur Young, the eminent agriculturalist, who lived near by at Bradfield Combust. Young became their adviser on farming matters, introduced them to people of local and national importance, and during 1784 arranged tours in East Anglia for them.

On 16th February, 1785, Francois, Alexandre and Lazowski, with two French servants, left Bury St. Edmunds to make a Grand Tour of England planned by Young. They travelled in two gigs, and led an extra saddle-horse which they took turns to ride.

It may seem strange that they should have decided to tour England at a time of year when bad weather could be expected. The explanation seems to be that Francois and Alexandre, who were part of the way through their military training, were due to rejoin their regiment in May; and that they had calculated that the tour would take three months, as indeed it did.

Francois, Alexandre and Lazowski all kept journals of the tour for submission to the Duc de Liancourt. The first part of Lazowski's has been lost, and Alexandre's has been mislaid. Francois' journal is in the Library of the National Assembly in Paris; and it is from a transcription of his manuscript, made by Monsieur Jean Marchand the former Librarian, that we learn of the travellers' visit to Derbyshire in 1785.

They spent the night of 23rd February in Loughborough, having travelled from Bury St. Edmunds by way of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton and Leicester. On the morning of 24th February they breakfasted at Dishley with Arthur Young's friend, Robert Bakewell, a famous breeder of livestock, and inspected his farm.

CAVENDISH BRIDGE

Snow which had fallen during their journey through Leicester still covered the ground, but a thaw had begun when Francois and his fellow travellers set out for Derby.

Nine or ten miles from Dishley they reached the River Trent spanned by a toll bridge. This was not the present Cavendish Bridge, but one built about 1771. Although Francois admitted that it was a good stone structure, he could not suppress remarks that he made at intervals throughout his tour of England. "I cannot help repeating my complaints about turnpike charges, which are really excessive," he wrote. "To cross Cavendish Bridge we had to pay a shilling for each gig. A post-chaise has to pay two-and-sixpence."

An old table of tolls stands near the present Cavendish Bridge. It is not certain whether it is the one Francois saw, but the charges listed tally with what he reported.

DERBY

Despite the bad weather, Francois' first impressions of Derby were favourable. He describes the town as well-populated, and agreeably situated on a gentle, southerly slope. He admired the main square surrounded by well-constructed buildings, especially the large "Assembly Hall", its facade ornamented with columns. The rest of the town he found less impressive, except for a suburban street "called High Row Green" where he saw many attractive houses.

The streets of Derby were well-lit, and there were pavements for pedestrians. The many factories were spread out along the river that skirted the town.

The travellers spent two nights in Derby. Francois does not name the inn they chose, but it would have been the one that offered the most comfortable accommodation for travellers, and the best stabling for horses, Francois was very critical of English inns. If they were bad (and he found them so in many large towns) he complained bitterly. If they were very good (and often those he found in villages or small towns were), he praised them unreservedly. If they were just tolerable, he said nothing. He does not describe the inn he stayed at in Derby.

DERBY INDUSTRIES

One of their main reasons for visiting Derby was to see something of the town's industries. Robert Bakewell had given them a letter of introduction to a manufacturer, but they were told at their inn that they could look round any of the factories without special permission.

Their first visit was to the porcelain factory which, Francois said, was conveniently situated on the river at one end of a bridge from which there was a good view of the town. Apparently they made no attempt to find anyone to give them an instructive tour of this factory, so Francois' brief account of what he realized was an important local industry was based, he said, more on what he saw than on what he was told. He did, however elicit the information that about three hundred workers were employed, and that the clay used was found in the neighbourhood. He noted that the manufacturing processes were similar to those he had seen elsewhere, but he particularly observed that the china was baked three times first, using coal, for twelve hours; then, after decorating, using charcoal; and lastly, after glazing, using coal. Most of the porcelain was sent to London where it was in great demand. It is not clear whether it went to an agent or to the factory owner's sale room. Francois bought "a very pretty cup" for eight shillings, which he considered good value.

Their next visit was to a silk mill owned by Mr. Swift, "A very wealthy merchant". Dissatisfied, perhaps, with their visit to the porcelain factory, they were accompanied this time by a servant from their inn. He found the manager who took them through all the workshops which Francois describes in great detail.

Francois then asked if he and his friends could be shown round the adjoining cotton mill, which also belonged to Mr. Swift; but they were told that this was not possible without the owner's permission. Fortunately, just at this moment Mr. Swift appeared. Now Lazowski was a man of very great charm who could establish immediate rapport and converse with anyone of any rank and in any walk of life. He approached Mr. Swift who soon agreed to admit them, saying that as they were foreign visitors he would be delighted to satisfy their curiosity, which he would not do for any Englishmen who might be rival manufacturers.

The two mills were separated by an iron wall to prevent any fire that might break out in one mill from spreading to the other. An iron door, fastened by two bolts, in this wall was opened, and Francois and his party entered the cotton mill.

Again they were given an informative tour, and again Francois gives a long detailed description of the workers, machinery and processes.

The letter of introduction provided by Robert Bakewell was to another mill-owner, whom, unfortunately, Francois does not name.

This "very talented man" had invented a machine for spinning wool by an entirely new process. The inventor was extremely secretive about his machine and his methods, and was very reluctant to admit visitors to his mill which was not quite finished; but on the strength of Bakewell's letter, Francois and his companions were allowed, as a very special favour, to enter, and they were given a carefully and probably somewhat restricted conducted tour by the owner.

A translation by Mrs. Betty Hughes of Francois de la Rochefoucauld's account of the visit to the three Derby textile mills is appended.

KEDLESTON HALL

On 25th February, while they were staying at Derby, Francois and his friends took the opportunity to make an excursion to neighbouring Kedleston Hall. To give their own horses a days rest, which they did whenever possible, they went by post-chaise.

"The English weather", Francois wrote, "is extraordinarily varied and changeable. Last evening it was cold, and the ground was white with snow. Today it is warm, and the snow has completely disappeared. This is the finest day we have had since we left Bury."

When they reached Kedleston, the sun, said Francois, was shining in all its glory; so his impressions of this stately home were immediately favourable, and his descriptions lyrical. He was entranced as he drove across the park and saw Lord Scarsdale's superb mansion against a background of hills and groves of trees, in a setting of lovely lawns sloping to the most beautiful "artificial river" he had ever seen.

Francois and his friends made a tour of the house "completed five or six years ago under the direction of Mr. Adam the famous architect", from the magnificent, marble-pillared entrance hall through a long succession of fine apartments "furnished with taste and elegance" from "the room in which the mistress of the house receives her guests" (the state drawing-room), Francois had a delightful view of a long gentle slope on which grazed innumerable sheep and deer. At its foot flowed the beautiful river, spanned by a

magnificent stone bridge, and enhanced by two islands decked with trees.

The travellers tried to keep their journals up-to-date by recording the day's experiences each evening. The diligent and conscientious Lazowski tells how he often wrote until the early hours of the following morning - too much, he said, after a long day's travelling and sight-seeing. Sometimes if they found a very comfortable inn, or if they were prevented by bad weather from travelling, they took the opportunity to attend to arrears in their journals, or make additions to their reports.

It is not certain whether Francois recorded his visit to Kedleston at the end of a very busy day spent there and in Derby; but though he began his account of the Hall with unbounded enthusiasm and admiration, weariness overcame him after he had fully described several of the main apartments.

"I shall not give further details of the rest of the house," he wrote "This would interest only a few people, and no description can express the pleasure which one feels oneself in seeing so much magnificence combined with the most elegant taste. Nor do I believe that it would be possible to write in a sufficiently striking way of the beauty of the garden. The grouping of the trees, the slope of the hills, the course of the river, form beauties which are delightful to see, but which it would be tedious to describe."

DERBY TO MATLOCK: Local Agriculture

Next morning, 26th February, they left Derby for Matlock. Francois had felt sure that the fine weather would not last, and he was right. There had been a frost overnight, and throughout the day snow fell from time to time.

It was their usual custom to make an early start, and to stop about 90'clock at a convenient inn for breakfast. Six miles from Derby they came to a village that Francois does not name, and hoping to get some information about local farming they entered the inn and ordered breakfast.

They usually found country innkeepers, doubtless encouraged by the persuasive Lazowski, very willing to answer their questions. Francois' notes on the agriculture of this part of Derbyshire are based on what he was told and on what he was able to observe himself despite the unfavourable weather conditions.

The soil was rich and deep and well cultivated, and bore crops nearly one-third larger than those in neighbouring counties. The rotation practised seems to have been:-clover and rye-grass as long as the yield

remained good, sometimes for three or four years; wheat, sometimes two crops; barley or oats and some turnips; pasture again.

On this great area of pasturage large numbers of beef and dairy cattle were raised and sent to southern counties; many fine horses were bred; and there were flocks of large sheep with long fleeces.

Most of the farms were small, with fields enclosed by good hedges. The rent of an acre was two guineas.

MATLOCK

They spent the night at Matlock. Francois had already heard of the town, well known for its medicinal springs which, he had been told, were a remedy for various nervous complaints. He saw the baths, and sampled the waters which he found clear, tepid and tasteless.

Francois was thrilled by the wild wintry aspect of Matlock, picturesquely situated in a narrow valley by a torrent flowing between steep wooded mountains. He thought that if the weather had not been so cold he would have enjoyed following one of the paths cut through the woods, and climbing to one of the barren peaks. He felt it must be a delightful place to visit in summer when people came to take the cure; and he was sure that if Matlock had been nearer London it would have rivalled Bath in popularity as a health resort.

TO AND AT CHESTERFIELD

Next morning (27th February) they had breakfast at Matlock, and spent some time chatting with people at the inn; so it was rather late when they set out, intending to go to Sheffield. This day was one of the coldest they had so far experienced on their tour. There was a bitter, piercing wind, and Francois could not keep warm. The icy roads were so slippery and difficult for the horses, that he was in constant fear that they would fall. Some of the hills they had to climb were very steep, and little attempt had been made to level the roads on the hillcrests. But even on these ill-constructed and negelected roads there were several turnpikes -"and very expensive ones," said Francois, though he did not state what the charges were. "I consider it is outrageous that the profits of the turnpikes should exceed the cost of keeping the roads in good repair, as is undoubtedly the case here. It is legalized robbery of travellers."

On their way they noticed several coalmines about which they later made some enquiries.

They were told that coal cost only eight shillings a ton at the pit-head. Accidents in the mines, caused by landslips or fire, were frequent and often fatal.

As it was getting late, and the wind was still so cold when they reached Chesterfield, they decided to spend the night there. It was Sunday, so they went to evening service in the parish church. Francois frankly admits that they went because they had nothing else to do, and because they thought they might see some of the ladies of Chesterfield there. They did, several quite pretty ones, Francois said. They occupied his attention so much that he does not seem to have noticed the twisted spire of the church.

Francois describes Chesterfield as wellbuilt, with a square market-place. They were told that most of the townsfolk were employed in the neighbouring coal and lead mines.

Next morning they found the market-place crowded with men and animals. A fair, which was to last three days, was beginning. They were told that more than three hundred horses and a thousand cattle would be on sale. Many dealers from London would be there to buy horses for export to France and Germany.

On their way to Sheffield they met over two thousand people hurrying to the fair, most of them on horseback. As on many previous occasions, Francois was struck by the evident prosperity of English farmers and other country folk. They were well-clothed and shod, and their fine horses were well harnessed. Francois said that he knew many gentlemen in France who were not so well dressed or mounted.

SHEFFIELD TO CASTLETON

They had made an early start from Chester-field, and soon crossed the Derbyshire-Yorkshire border, reaching Sheffield in time for breakfast. There they spent two busy days inspecting factories and visiting other buildings of interest to them.

When they rose on 2nd March they found snow on the ground and the town shrouded in fog. Nevertheless they decided to leave, and turning west soon re-entered Derbyshire.

At first they could see no further than their horses' heads; but some six miles from Sheffield they descended a very rough mountain road for about two miles. Then, being on a much lower level, they could see clearly and enjoyed a view of a wild, lonely valley. Little grew there but grass, fit only for a small breed of sheep. The

owners of the land, Francois discovered later, let it for grazing at five shillings an acre. Farther on they found better pastures, enclosed by dry stone walls, and these were leased at one to two guineas an acre. Where the slope was not too great the land was cultivated.

Francoise was told that in time a wide stretch of land would be under cultivation, but the cost of improvement (averaging about £10 an acre) made progress slow.

CASTLETON

The valley stretched as far as Castleton which Francois describes as a "pleasant, populous place". Here they stopped as they wanted to see the famous caves "commonly known as the Devil's Hole". Francois says that this visit gave him immense pleasure, and he wrote a detailed account of all he saw, giving an impressive list of measurements.

Above the entrance to the Devil's Hole he noted a rock ("261 feet high") on the top of which stood a castle "of unknown antiquity". The first cave ("42 feet high, 120 feet wide and 270 feet long") was used as a factory where ropes of excellent quality were made, and in which two small houses had been built.

Because of the increasing darkness as they went further underground, their guide gave each of the travellers a lighted candle with instructions to carry it with great care. The exit from the second cavern was by a channel of water only a foot deep, but as the roof was so low, they had to be taken, one by one, lying in a shallow boat which the guide, wading, pushed along. Lazowski was the first passenger. The small boat, the eeriness of the place and the dim flickering light, made Francois think of Charon ferrying souls across the Styx. But the sight of Lazowski, lying holding his candle carefully, and looking extremely apprehensive about where he was being taken as he disappeared under the low roof, filled him with disrespectful amusement.

The next cavern was immense ("120 feet high, 210 feet wide and 270 feet long") and the exit from it also was by water; but here the roof was higher, and the guide carried the travellers along the channel on his shoulders.

Then they came to the "Rain House", so called because of the incessant noisy dripping of water. Further on they were told to turn round and look up, and there they saw another high cavern under which they had passed. It was lit up for them (how, Francois does not say) and he thought the effect was charming. They were

invited to climb up into this cavern, but declined.

Francois describes other features of their subterranean journey; the "Devil's Cave" where many people had scratched their names; the "Arches" perfectly formed in the rock, where they could hear the roar of waterfalls in some impenetrable cavern; and a small cave called the "Bell of Lincoln" because of its shape.

A little further on, roof and water met, and the travellers had to retrace their steps.

CONCLUSION

The visit to Castleton made an exciting climax to Francois' tour in Derbyshire; for though when he and his companions emerged from the caves they still had some miles of rough travelling before them that day, by nightfall they had left the county and had reached Disley in Cheshire.

It might be expected from Francois' bitter complaints about extortionate tolls, badly maintained roads and exhausting vagaries of weather, that he would have formed an unfavourable impression of Derbyshire. But no!

"The county is a fascinating area to survey," he wrote. "There is a great variety of landscape. In the mountainous parts there are caverns and medicinal waters, and large quantities of copper, tin, iron, coal, marble and slate. On the plains and in the valleys the extremely fertile soil produces heavy crops; and the rich pastures support sheep with long fleeces, fine large horses, and great herds of beef and dairy cattle."

"Derbyshire," he concluded, "must surely be the most interesting county in England."

FROM THE JOURNAL OF FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO MR. SWIFT'S MILL, DERBY, 1785

Translation by E.M. BETTY HUGHES (92 Main Road, Smalley) Notes by MARIAN BELL

A translation of an extract from Marian Bell's copy of Monsieur Jean Marchand's unpublished transcription of Francois de la Rochefoucauld's Account of a Tour of England in 1785.

At Derby, February (probably 25th) 1785. On leaving the porcelain factory, we went to a cotton and silk mill which belongs to a Mr. Swift, a very wealthy merchant.

We went in without asking permission of anyone. We were taken there by the man-servant of our inn. We found the clerk, and without the slightest demur he took us into the factory.

The first we saw was the silk mill. You know that silk comes from China, Italy or France so extremely fine and gummy that it has to be boiled and spun, twisted and doubled, sometimes trebled, to make it workable. This mill is made after the style of those I have seen in France, except that it is on a slightly larger scale. However, as I did not observe any particular mechanical process there, I shall not give a very detailed description.

This whole mill is worked by a single water-wheel which may be 30' in diameter. 3 It turns with great speed. The movement is transmitted from this wheel to all the floors and machinery of an immense establishment by gear wheels and lantern wheels, all made with a precision and lightness which surprised me; but it is this precision in proportions which cuts down friction and makes a light machine last longer than a more massive one which warps.

This waterwheel works nearly 300 different things, either throwing-machines or bobbins. The movement is regular and a little slow, which certainly loses a little time but saves a great many threads which would break if the mill went more quickly.

The workrooms are large and the bobbins are set up in such a way as to lose no power. I saw, for instance, in one room of six of those big throwing machines which are used to double and twist the silk. In the next workshop, I saw, I tell you, twelve of these throwing machines. They could be twenty feet high and at least 8 in diameter. There are over forty-eight rows or tiers of

bobbins and eighty in each row. A single workman looks: after two. There are about two hundred employees in this factory. The majority are women and little children. They earn from one to six shillings a week, and work ten hours (a day).

After the silk mill I asked to go into the cotton mill which I had seen next door, but we were refused under the pretext that Mr. Swift was the only man who could allow us to go in there. Happily for us, he arrived as we were about to go away. M. de Lazowsky asked him for his permission. He replied that, seeing that Mr. Lazowsky was a foreigner he was asking for no more than might satisfy our curiosity, and that he certainly would not grant permission to any Englishman; and we entered through an iron door fastened with two bolts.

I am not recounting at any length the honest dealing and hospitable behaviour of this manufacturer, the opposite of what I shall probably be obliged to write about the jealousy of most manufacturers, who refuse all entry to foreigners. At any rate I have been assured that I should find plenty of examples of it in the course of my journey. I think that while it is fitting for them to allow their processes to be seen by foreigners who cannot do their business any harm, or at least only inconsiderable harm, and after a lapse of some time, through establishing it in their own country, it is natural that they refuse all entry to their compatriots, who copying the idea from those already in practice, would be able to do them a real, prompt and considerable injury.

The door which was opened for us and all the wall separating the two mills, are of iron to prevent, if fire broke out in one, the total ruin of the building.

I have heard it said a number of times in France that the English had invented the way to card cotton with a machine. I have seen one of these near Rouen which Mr. Oulkerque has established at Oissel 4 but that machine bears little resemblance to the one I have seen here: it is more complicated but no more difficult to operate. Furthermore, I had been assured that it was impossible to spin cotton by machine, yet that is precisely the object of this mill here.

The cotton is first washed, then beaten with switches, then picked over by women to remove any coarse pieces from it, then it is taken to a carding machine. This machine is simple. Think of a roller one-and-a-half feet wide and two feet long, bristling with several bands of cards. The roller is positioned horizontally: its axis rests on two points of support. The kind of bent pins called, I think, the teeth of the carder, are in

bands about four inches wide along the length of the roller (from one end to the other). There is another little roller with finer cards, also set horizontally and at the side of the larger one is such a way that the teeth engage with those of the other roller. Consequently it turns the opposite way by means of a leather strap crossed over the two pivots of the rollers.

The little roller has attached to it a small iron rod fixed on one side to a spring, and on the other to a little handle in such a way that it presses with a regular movement on the carder and pulls the cotton down in little tongue shapes into a basket made to receive it. You will note that it is a small child of seven or eight who puts the cotton on the roller: the only attention needed is to distribute it fairly equally across it.

After this carding, the cotton is weighed to estimate how much to card at a time and how much to give by weight for spinning. Two children weigh it, then roll it up between two pieces of cloth the same width as the second roller which it is shortly going to pass over.

One of the children takes the cotton rolled up between the two pieces of cloth and attaches it behind the big roller of a second carding machine in such a way that the cloth unrolls by itself and the cotton is loaded by the movement of the roller without the help of any lever. It must be specially noted that the carding-bands of this second machine are not now placed lengthwise on the roller: they are still three inches wide, but around it like the hoops of a barrel. The small roller is made the same and turns the opposite way. The rod which pulls down the cotton is now fastened to a spring; it is fixed here in such a way that the carder loaded with cotton coming into contact with the rod, unloads itself, and forms as many skeins as there are bands of carding teeth. The bands of cotton drawn out are like ribbons.

These two carding machines are of the same size. The larger roller of each could be three feet in diameter and the same in length; the cogwheels which work all these small parts by means of the power from the waterwheel are all of iron, a few of copper to reduce friction.

I don't know whether I am making myself understood. The movement of the two carding machines is the same. The two rollers of each one are set horizontally and their movement is opposite. The only function of the first machine is to divide and clean the cotton: the carding teeth are set in bands three inches wide lengthwise on the roller and each band has an interval of one and a half inches between it and the next.

The small roller is the same: the machinery is arranged in such a way that the rod fixed to the spring presses down on to the roller just as one of the places without carding teeth passes it, so that by making contact when there are teeth and then when there are none it pulls off the cotton in little tongue shapes.

The teeth of the second carder are finer and are arranged the other way. The roller is the same size. The small roller is the same as the small one of the other, but arranged like the last one I described, so that by means of the rod a continuous band of cotton comes out, a ribbon I have called it.

This loose ribbon of cotton passes into another quite different machine, that is, between two small tempered steel rollers. They are fluted and fitted together with accuracy, by means of which the ribbon takes on a little more consistency. These rollers are no more than half an inch in diameter and three in length. When the cotton comes out from these rollers, it passes through two others of the same dimensions but made of wood covered with hide; a third, fitted with bristles is placed on a level with them, so that before passing through the two wooden rollers the cotton may be brushed and thus cleaned of the coarser bits which it always holds.

This last little machine made up of three rollers is underneath two steel rollers so that the ribbon is passing through it continuously without anyone's help; then it winds itself on to large wooden bobbins. All the movements of all these many parts are made in iron with an astonishing accuracy. Two of these machines need nothing but the attention of a small girl who has not much to do; she only removes the full bobbins and replaces them with others.

The last operation is to place the bobbins on a frame. The ribbon of cotton passes once again through two fluted rollers the same size as the first ones then goes into a round tin box which may be four inches in diameter and a foot high. It is fixed on a little wooden tray carried on a pivot. The ribbon goes inside, passing through two quite small smooth iron rollers the size of the shank of a key. They are fixed to the box and turn in opposite ways and thus direct the ribbon inside and lengthen it.

These two small rollers have, then, a rotary movement on their axes and in opposite ways, but as they are fixed to the tin, they participate in its movement too. This last also turns on its own axis by means of a leather strap passing round its pivot. The intricacy of these two movements of the last little rollers which twist the ribbon of cotton, compressing and lengthening

it, forms the thread. This motion reproduces exactly that of the fingers of the woman who pulls the cotton out into an untwisted thread, or that of the wheel of the spinning-wheel which twists it and winds it round the bobbin.

After going through this process, the cotton thread is thick and remains in the tin box; to be finished, it passes twice more through other boxes where the rollers are finer, and which turn more quickly.

You must have some idea of the intricacy of such machinery, the quantity of small wheel work, the variety of movements, and the accuracy with which they have to be made. I have observed this several times with great admiration: the majority of the movements which have to be most accurate are made of copper.

The large movements are of wood. All this cotton mill is worked by one single water-wheel and the whole is so well made that each individual part can be stopped as required. This establishment contains a great number of machines of this kind all working at once; each kind is separate.

A large quantity of cotton has to be spun each day. I asked what it could be for. The workmen were unable to give me an answer. There are not more than a hundred people employed there; and out of the hundred, eighty six are children and little girls of twelve. Of what benefit is such machinery!

The letter Mr. Bakewell ⁵ had given us for Derby was for a man of great talent whom we were going to see after dinner. He has invented a new machine of which one can get no clear idea except at his premises. It is a machine for spinning wool, as the mill I have just described is used for spinning cotton. He has assured us that no one else has yet used this method and his mill is still not completely finished.

He is extremely jealous of his process. That is why, though his walls are not of iron, they are impenetrable to the eyes of the curious, and it is the greatest favour, he has told us himself, that he could do for us, on the strength of Mr. Bakewell's letter, to allow us to go inside.

We saw little of the workshops. The wool is not carded there as is the cotton at the other mill; it is brought ready carded. It passes through several little rollers and into tin boxes, like the cotton of which I spoke. All the rollers and little wheels are of tempered steel. In construction they are much the same as those

in the cotton mills; oil runs everywhere to keep the wool moist and prevent it from overheating.

We went down below to see the water wheel which operates all the machinery: it is of a prodigious size and of a width nicely adjusted to be economical on water of which there is not a great amount. The cogwheels, lanterns, in a word all the parts made for communicating the movement to the different parts of the mill, are of cast iron, for the power must be superior to that for a cotton mill.

They spin the wool very fine; most of it is used for camelots, baracants (light cloth) and even material for clothes. Part of their yarn is fine enough to be used to make crêpe.

The River at Derby ⁶ is beautiful and swift; it works a great number of silk and cotton mills which are built all round the town, for the river does not run within it.

The population of this town must be very considerable as well as its trade, but as we found nobody who could give us precise information, I am only recounting what I have been able to learn from people at the inns.

A great quantity of vases in a thousand different antique forms are sold there, made with the marble which is found in all parts of the province. It is very pleasing in appearance through the variety and vividness of its colours; the inside in certain places even appears to be crystalline.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are due to M. Jean Marchand (correspondant de l'Institut de France et Bibliothécaire honoraire a la Bibliothèque de l'Assemlée Nationale) for permission for extracts from his transcription to be quoted in print, and to Mrs. Marian Bell for her considerable work on the journals and for drawing attention to this extract on the Derby visit and providing the transcription from the journal.

REFERENCES

- 1 Lamech Swift, Silk Throwster, Bailey's British Directory 1781-84
- 2 It was at Derby that the first English silk manufactory was installed by Lombe in 1718.
- 3 The wheels of these silk mills are powered by the flow of the Derwent.
- 4 Seine-Inferieure, district of Rouen.
- 5 Robert Bakewell of Leicestershire, breeder of improved sheep and cattle.
- 6 The Derwent.

TWO LOST FOOTPATHS IN COMBS EDGE

MARGUERITE A. BELLHOUSE (Old Brook House, Combs, Chapel-en-le-Frith)

The foot path system of Peak parishes has been built up over centuries, but not all foot paths have survived. Some have vanished through disuse. Others have been closed or diverted by court orders. Sometimes the line of these lost paths can still be traced by a combination of field work and searching old records. Newspaper reports too can be most helpful.

Here are notes on two lost footpaths, one closed, one diverted, in Combs Edge.

Lower Barn to Josiah Bradbury's Field
1811 Order for the diverting of a Footpath lying
between Lower Barn belonging to Samuel Frith
Esq. of Bank Hall, and a stile leading into Josiah
Bradbury's field, in the Township of Combs Edge.

It is not known definitely where the Lower Barn was situated, but on ground belonging to Owlgreave, once owned by 'Squire' Sam Frith, of hunting fame, is the foundation of a long building, which might have been this barn.

This is on 'Birch Brows', close to a broad track from Bank Hall, which was once a thoroughfare from Bridgefield via Owlgreave to the Bull Hills, and is based on a very much older trackway, possibly Iron Age in date.

There is still a footpath from Bank Hall fields, over a stile to Whitehills land on higher ground, belonging at one time to Josiah Bradbury, ancestor of the Bradbury Robinsons of Chester field.

Down Lee to Owlgreave
1899 Notes from The Buxton Advertiser 'An
Ancient Footpath in Combs':
Application was made to the justices at New Mills
on behalf of the London and North Western Railway Co. for an order to divert a footpath
commencing at Downlee and ending just beyond
Owlgreave, where it crosses the Railway Bridge,
and for two justices to certify if the new road
alongside the Railway was completed to their
satisfaction.

A notice of such application was given to Mr. Joseph Lomas, the surveyor of Highways for Combs Edge.

Mr. G.H. Fox of Manchester was instructed by Mr. Lomas and also by landowners and tenants

of Combs to oppose the application.

Mr. Hinton, on behalf of the Railway Co., stated his case and said that in pursuance of the 43 Section of the London and North Western Railway Co. Act 1888, he was entitled to the order that he asked for, as by the 31st Section of such act, the Railway Co. were empowered to make a foot way alongside the line which ran parallel with the foot way in question, and to have the old foot way closed and the justices to certify that the new foot way had been completed to their satisfaction.

Mr. Fox contended that the justices had no power to entertain the application which involved the diverting and closing of the entire length of the old foot way, because persons desiring to use the foot way commencing at Downlee, could not enter upon the new footpath in place of the old one without trespassing on Mr. Renshaw's road.

The Magistrate's Clerk said, Mr. Renshaw's road was an ancient foot way for foot passengers, whereupon Mr. Fox alleged that if the Magistrates were prepared to assume the fact that Mr. Renshaw's road was an ancient foot way for foot passengers, then he had no more to say upon the part of the case, as the Public would not be deprived of their rights but only inconvenienced by having to go 83 yards further etc.

The Magistrates said they had no jurisdiction as the only question before them was whether they could comply with the notice which had been served by the Railway Co. to view the footway, and it was not for them to decide or make an order to divert the old foot way between Downlee and Owlgreave as the Railway Co. seemed to be authorised by Act of Parliament to do that, etc.....

Mr. Fox pointed out that the Railway Co. had no power to stop up the old foot way, except so far as it was rendered unnecessary by reason of the existence of a new road, and he referred to Section 10 of the same Act of Parliament to show that the public rights had been protected by that section and that whatever new way was made by the Railway Co., they could only close the old road so far as the new road rendered the old road unneccessary.

He then explained to the Bench that a part of the old road would still be necessary when a new way was made, otherwise persons coming from Combs through Dean Hay, across the Combs Turnpike Road and proceeding to the Owlgreave farm with a view to come to the Station could go no further than Owlgreave etc.

Mr. Fox stated he was prepared with both landowners and tenants to give evidence to prove

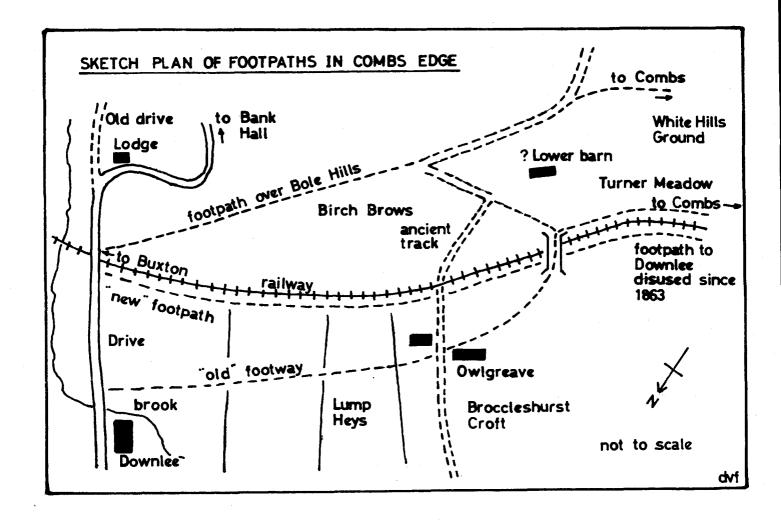


Fig. 1 Sketch plan of footpaths in Combs Edge.

his statements. This was to be heard again at the Quarter Sessions.

Further notes from The Buxton Advertiser, 30 March, 1899, reporting a village meeting: The Footpath from Downlee to Combs had been closed. The Railway Co. obtained an Act to enable them to close this path to the bridge and construct a new one etc.

The Company asked Mr. Renshaw if they could open up a new path through his land, to which he agreed, if the old one was closed.

Mr. W.A. Bellot Jackson asked if the Railway Co. would repair the 60 yards of land from Owlgreave to Downlee Farm. The Chairman said nothing could be done at that meeting.

Action must be taken by the Ratepayers at some future meeting.

Notes on the line of the path:
The "Old" footpath from Bank Hall Drive started above the Brook Bridge, which has the date I F entwined by carved leaves. The stile is still there on the field side, as are the ones on the walls through the next two fields.

Before the Railway was constructed in 1863, the footpath from Downlee via Owlgreave and beyond, to Combs and Dean Hey followed a course more or less on the site of the present Railway, crossing the Combs Road and the next field (Combs Meadow) to Dean Hey, extending to Spire Hollins.

The "New" foot way runs parallel to the Railway on the west side, crossing the bridge near Owlgreave before descending through Turner Meadow to the Combs Road. Known locally as "The Cinder Path".

There is an ancient track running through Owlgreave, as mentioned previously, now closed.

Mr. Renshaw re-built Bank Hall around 1873, creating a new drive to the west of the lodge, the Architect for the new lodge probably being Raymond Unwin who lived at Bank Hall for a time.

The Bank Hall property, which included Owlgreave and Downlee was sold in 1895, after the death of Colonel Renshaw in 1894.

THE ITINERANT LECTURERS

JOHN HEATH
(Trent Polytechnic)

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a period of cultural enlightenment characterised in the provinces by the visits of itinerant lecturers, men who helped to lay the foundations of the developing scientific interests of the period. Derby, although less important in the eyes of these lecturers than Sheffield or Nottingham, was visited by men like John Warltire, who in 1771, 1781 and 1798 gave lectures on the Principles of Bodies, Properties of Air, Uses of Air, Properties of fixable Air and Water, Effects of heat and means of managing it, Mechanical Powers, Construction and uses of Optical Instruments and Discoveries in Electricity and Astronomy. 1 On the third visit he lectured on the Application of Various Substances to Farming. 2 Warltire had worked with Joseph Priestly in experiments on water in 1774 and 1777, and with Erasmus Darwin in 1776 on air pump experiments. The latter thought sufficiently highly of him to send his son, Robert, to attend lectures given by Warltire in Etruria in 1779 under the auspices of Josiah Wedgwood.

John Banks visited Derby in 1780 and 1795 during a lecture tour in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. On his first visit he described himself as a 'lecturer of London and Cambridge,'. ³ Between then and the later visit he was a lecturer at the College of Arts and Sciences in Manchester. In 1795 he announced 'the lecturer may take the liberty to say, upon the Authority of those who have attended that the Machine and Apparatus is much larger and the Experiments more perfect than any that has before been exhibited in Public' this referred to his lecture on Water Wheels. In connection with this he offered for sale copies of his 'Treatise on Water Wheels' at six shillings (30p). ⁵

Mr. Pitt who lectured in Derby in the years 1773, 1778 and 1785 also commented on the variety of his apparatus which included an orrery, a planetarium, a cometarium, globes, air pumps, condensers, telescopes, microscopes, an electrical machine, barometer, thermometer, hydrometer, hygrometer, pyrometer, amongst others. The 1785 course, in which he was assisted by his son, was described as ... an epitome of the Universe, and sets before the inquisitive mind the most useful productions of human art and enquiry. 7

John Booth who had inherited and enlarged his father's Sheffield iron and steel works and who was the author of two books on Mathematics, described the course of thirteen lectures which he gave at Derby and Ashbourne in 1783 as 'rationally pleasing and instructive'. 8 When he lectured in Derby and Chesterfield in 1789 he claimed that 'during his seven years' absence, he has not been inattentive either to the improvement of his mind or apparatus'. 9

In the main these lectures aimed to entertain and enlighten the middle class members of the town because Mr. Burton in 1790 proposed to repeat the course of twelve lectures for twelve shillings for the 'benefit of tradesmen and mechanics.' ¹⁰This had been brought about by a 'melancholy accident' in his wife's family requiring him to stay in Derby.

Two lecturers confined their courses to astronomy. Mr. Long in 1785 lectured for three evenings on the Astrotheatron, or transparent orrery, 11 whilst Mr. Lloyd's course in 1790 and 1794 included two lectures on the horizontal orrery and two on the transparent orrery. 12 These lectures were given in the Theatre or Old Assembly Room presumably because larger audiences were expected. Most visiting lecturers resorted to private rooms at inns.

The balance between enlightenment and entertainment is shown by Gustavus Katherfelte who visited the town in 1795. He claimed to have philosophical apparatus and a museum of curiosities which included fossils, but his demonstration appears to have been a collection of conjuring tricks.

At the same time as these public lectures were being given, the Derby Philosophical Society, which had been founded in 1783, was meeting under the guiding hand of Erasmus Darwin. But neither the Philosophical Society nor the itinerant lecturers can have met the demands of the more intellectual members of the community because, in the Mercury of 28 October, 1786, there is a letter to the editor suggesting that an Academic Association be established in Derby like the one at Chesterfield. Nothing appears to have come from this suggestion and the town had to wait until 1825 for the next cultural advance in the form of the Mechanics' Institute. 13

REFERENCES

- 1 Derby Mercury 21 June, 1771
- 2 Derby Mercury 15 February, 1798
- 3 Derby Mercury 17 July, 1780
- 4 Sheffield Iris 5 June, 1795
- 5 Derby Mercury 3 December, 1795 and handbill in Sheffield Public Library MP 415S
- 6 Derby Mercury 25 December, 1778
- 7 Derby Mercury 13 January, 1785
- 8 Derby Mercury 13 and 24 July, 1783
- 9 Derby Mercury 9 July, 1789
- 10 Derby Mercury 18 November 1790
- 11 Derby Mercury 15 September, 1785
- 12 Derby Mercury 2 September, 1790
- 13 See The Derby Mechanics' Institute 1825-1880 by A.F. Chadwick in the Vocational Aspect of Education (Autumn 1975) Volume XXVII, No. 68

ICE HOUSE AT MIDDLETON HALL MIDDLETON-BY-YOULGREAVE

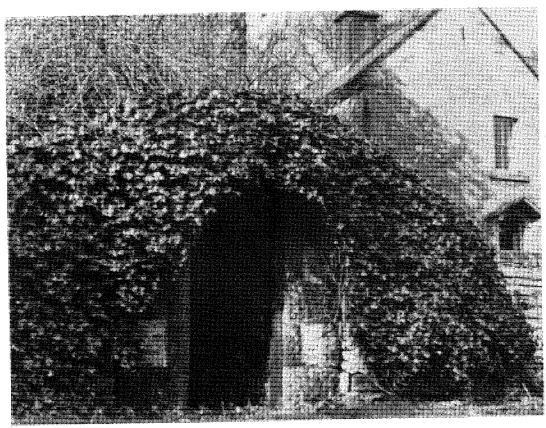
J.F. MARSH (C/o Garden House, Middleton-by-Youlgreave)

This ice house is now in the grounds of the Garden House Map Reference SK 193 631, which was separated from Middleton Hall in 1975.

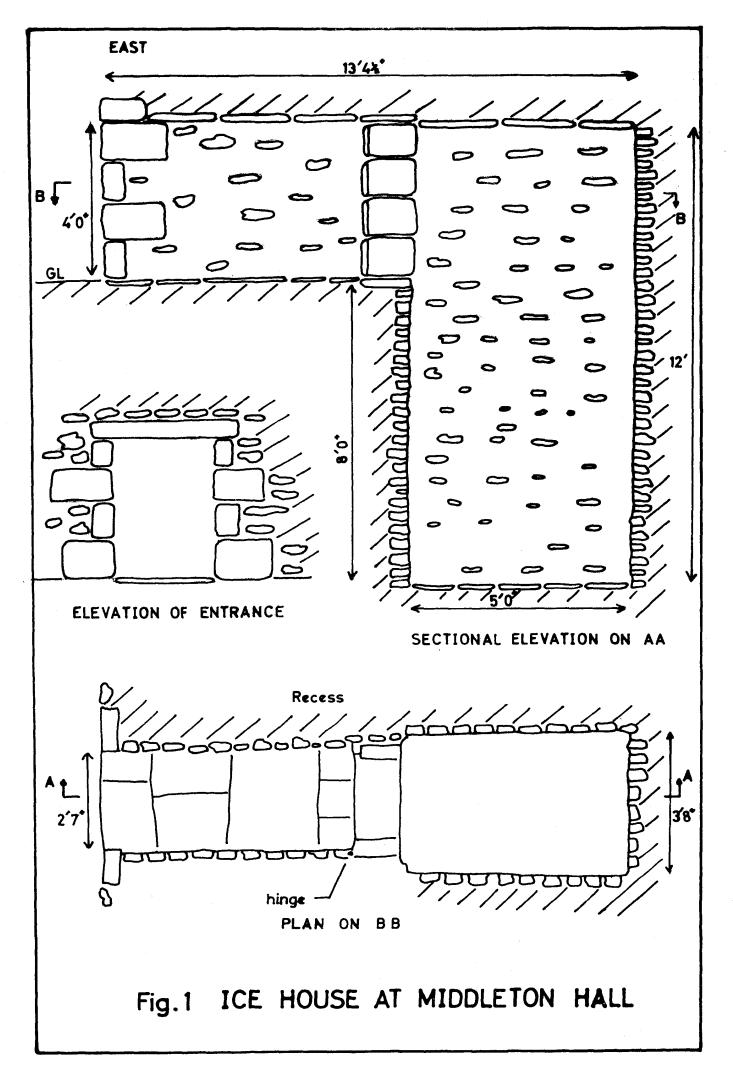
It is situated 30 ft. SE of the front door of the Garden House in a sunken walled garden. The entrance faces due East and the ice house is shaded by mature trees to the South and West of it. The nearest source of ice would have been a mill pond on the R. Middleton (½mile).

The walls are constructed from rough limestone with mortar joints. Dressed gritstones are used for the entrance to the tunnel and also the entrance to the pit at the end of the tunnel. The roof is made from large slabs of limestone. The floor of the tunnel and pit are lined with rectangular stone slabs. The ice house and tunnel is covered by a mound of earth approximately 18" deep over the roof.

There is no indication of any drainage at the base of the pit so presumably water soaked away through the base limestone in which it is constructed.



External view of the Ice House at Middleton Hall.



THE ASTON-ON-TRENT TRAMWAY

JOHN HEATH (Trent Polytechnic)

Tramways were built in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as extensions to the canal system. In the building of the Trent and Mersey canal, the company allowed for the building of such tramways in the Derbyshire section to link with the Breedon limeworks. In the event this was not built. The only tramway to link up with the Trent and Mersey in Derbyshire was that built from the alabaster (gypsum) quarries at Aston-on-Trent.

The alabaster was being quarried in the last decade of the eighteenth century by Richard Brown ² and Son, who announced in the Derby Mercury in 1796 the opening of an alabaster quarry near Shardlow, about a quarter mile from the turnpike road. It was reported that there was a quantity of flooring plaster at Mr. Soresby's wharf at Cavendish Bridge and at the canalside in Derby. These plaster pits were recorded on a map of the area around Aston-on-Trent drawn in 1795 by Euclid Whyman. Farey records that a Samuel Storey was working the pits.

The first reference to the plaster pits in the Holden Estate Rentals 3 was in 1809 when Humphrey Moore is recorded as paying a rent on the pits. The output appears to increase because in a short time the rents doubled. Humphrey Moore was a merchant living in Shardlow where he had the Malt Warehouse, he also owned land in Astonon-Trent, but it appears that the plaster pits were on land tenanted by John Moorley. Presumably the output of alabaster was sufficient to warrant an improved form of transport because in the rentals for November 1810, Mr. Moore is allowed 'on Acct. of the Railway to be made to the Plaster Pits by the desire of Mr. Holden' - £100. In May 1811 it is recorded that the 'railway (is) now making' and the agent visited it on two occasions. In all, Mr. Holden contributed £600 to the cost of the building of the railway whether this was the total sum or not is not certain, but the line was the property of the Holdens. From the foregoing one can assume that the tramway was opened in 1812 (not 1813 as in Bertram Baxter's 'Stone Blocks and Iron Rails').

In the Derby Mercury of the 1st January, 1818, 'The very valuable Alabaster and plaster pits at Aston-on-Trent(with A Capital Iron Railway (in excellent condition) from the mine to the Grand Trunk Canal' were advertised to be let for one, five or seven years at the Shakespeare Inn at Shardlow.

This lease was taken up on the 15th May, 1818 by John Brookhouse of Derby (plaisterer) and Joseph Johnson (coal dealer) with the right to use the railway from the said mine or quarry to the Grand Trunk Canal (near Hickins Bridge) for three years. Brookhouse and Johnson (household names in nineteenth and twentieth century Derby) had to maintain the railway, and had the authority to erect a kiln to burn plaster either at the quarry or at the wharf.

During the remainder of the century there is little reference to the tramway. In George H. Green's 'Historical Account of the Ancient Kings Mills' (1960), there is a first-hand account by G.F. Parker. He reported, 'along this rail line three horses were employed in pulling three narrow trucks loaded with large lumps of the plaster stone. Near to the Shardlow Road is a small cottage called 'The Weigh House' where the trucks and their loads were weighed. On arrival at the canal the material was piled up.' The description goes on to describe the transfer of the gypsum along the canal and the river to the Plaster Mill at Kings Mills.

From time to time the line of the rail was extended from the original pit to other pits nearer to Aston (see O.S. maps) but the tramway appears to have gone out of use some time before the First World War.

I am indebted to Mrs. Miriam Wood for the references in the Holden Papers.

REFERENCES

- John Farey General View of the Agriculture of Derbyshire, Vol. III, p. 316
- 2 Richard Brown and Son had a monumental works in St. Michael's Lane, Derby.
- 3 Derbyshire Record Office, D779

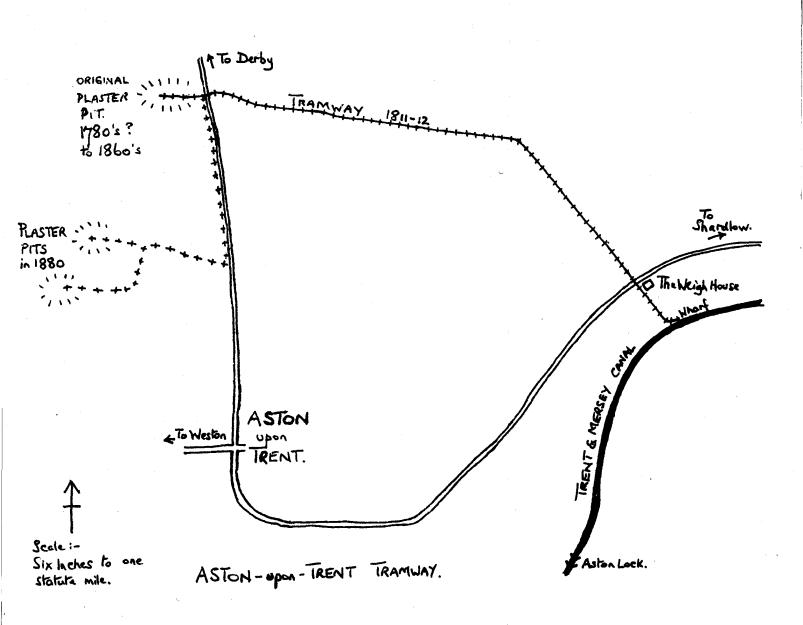


Fig. 1 Sketch plan of the Aston-on-Trent Tramway.

BOOK NOTES

By D.V. FOWKES

New Mills - A Short History edited by J.H.Smith and J.V. Symonds, published by Manchester University Extra-Mural Department, price £1-50. Few Derbyshire local histories could be more welcome than this history of New Mills, based on the work of the New Mills and Hayfield branch of the WEA between 1971 and 1974. That its history should have been previously neglected will come as no surprise to anyone who has tried to piece together information on it from scattered references to the four ancient townships which came to make up the modern town, and the WEA group can be proud of their efforts. As well as a full analysis of the 1851 census, the book contains chapters on the early history of the area, the cotton industry, buildings, education, communications, and the often forgotten coal industry of this part of Derbyshire. The New Mills gorge, the Torrs, without doubt one of the most remarkable industrial locations in the country, deservedly receives a good deal of attention. An extraordinary system of communications was needed to serve the three early mills built in the constricted gorge site, 75ft. below street level. At a time of constantly rising printing costs Manchester University are to be congratulated in making available the work of the class in such an attractive and comprehensive form at a reasonable price.

Chesterfield Wills and Inventories 1521-1603 edited by J.M. Bestall and D.V. Fowkes. Available from the Hon. Treasurer, Derbyshire Record Society, 18 Mill Lane, Wingerworth, price £12.00. This first publication of the recently formed Derbyshire Record Society provides the first opportunity to buy an edition of Derbyshire wills and probate inventories, long recognised as a fundamental source for economic and social history, and, of course, genealogical investigations. They are also invaluable in giving an insight into everyday life, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries. This volume contains a full transcript of all the Chesterfield inventories in this period and abstracts of all the wills, with an introduction by David Hey, a glossary by Rosemary Milward and an index by Barbara Bestall. Any enquiries regarding the Society should be directed to the above address.

England's Last Revolution - Pentrich 1817 by John Stevens, published by Moorland Publishing Co., price £5.40. A new book on Derbyshire history of very wide appeal is John Stevens' carefully researched account of

the Pentrich Revolution of 1817. This is the fullest account of this abortive uprising to date, making extensive use of Home Office papers in particular that have not previously been exploited. The rising itself and the subsequent trial of the insurgents are chronicled in full but this book does not leave the story there as it continues with a very welcome and original investigation of the fate of those participants in the uprising transported to Australia. This demonstrates how some of these men and their descendants were able to begin new, and in some cases successful, lives 'down under'. Full use is made of Australian archive material for this section. The book is attractively produced and well-illustrated, where possible with contemporary material both English and Australian. The only minor quibble is that the general reader in particular will find a lack of sufficient background material on the grievances giving rise to the uprising and the social and economic context of the period in general.

The origin of Heanor Street Names, Heanor and District Local History Society. Obtainable from the Secretary, Mrs. B. Allsopp, Heanor House, 29 Church Street, Heanor.

Belper in Bygone Years, R.J. Millward. price 20p. Available from local bookshops.

A Glossary of household and farming terms from sixteenth century probate inventories, Derbyshire Record Society, price £1.00, obtainable from the Secretary, 18 Mill Lane, Wingerworth, Chesterfield.

The Matlocks and their past, Derbyshire County Library, price £1.00. Available from major branches of the County Library.