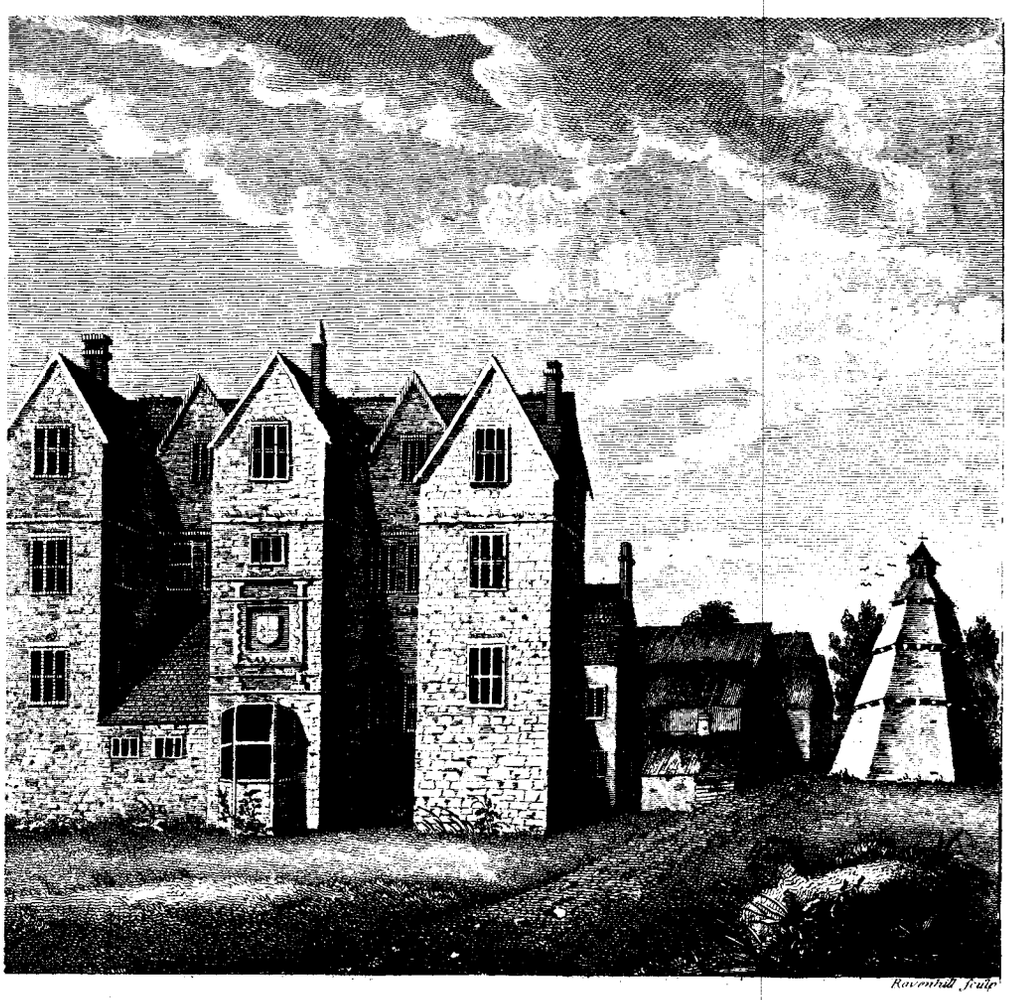
DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



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CONTENTS

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MARTHA TAYLOR - THE FASTING MAID OF OVER HADDON

1651 - ?1687

THE LATE JANET WADSWORTH
(Formerly of Over Haddon and Manchester)

Three hundred years ago, Over Haddon, a village in Derbyshire, had its brief moment of notoriety. Between 1667 and 1669 Martha Taylor, a young girl of 17 or 18 was reported to be living without food or drink. Visitors from all over England flocked to see her, divines, doctors, antiquarians, a curious tailor-poet from Ashover, servants, gentlewomen, and the Earl of Devonshire himself, all visited her. Pamphlets were published and letters written to the Royal Society, which had been formed some six years earlier.

The Civil War was over. the Commonwealth had ended, Cromwell was dead, and seven years earlier Charles II had been restored to the throne. The country was settling down, but the seething religious ferment of the Commonwealth was by no means dead. Three of the four pamphlets about Martha are religious pamphlets, reflecting the intense interest of the day in manifestations of religious zeal and miracles, forces which led to the great divide between non-conformists and the Church of England. As well as being a time of religious ferment this was also a time of intellectual activity. To quote G.N. Clark in his book on the Late Stuarts: *It was then that the special activity which we call scientific began to be a leading element in European thought.* [1]

It is interesting to see how the surviving sources of Martha's story reflect her age. On one side we have the religious pamphlets, one by H.A.[2] and two by Thomas Robins, *Ballad-maker of Darby, a wellwisher to the Gospel of Jesus Christ*, who had already published *The Sinners warning-piece or Heavens Messenger. Instructing poor Sinners in the way of Repentance.*[3] He entitled his first pamphlet on Martha *Newes from Darby-shire or the Wonder of all Wonders. That ever yet was Printed, being a perfect and true Relation of the handy work of Almighty God shown upon the body of one Martha Taylor.* [4] In contrast are the two letters written by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes [5] and Dr. Johnston[6] (probably the Yorkshire antiquarian) to the Royal Society; and a pamphlet by John Reynolds [7] *Humbly offered to the Royall Society* in 1669, which considers the case medically. Most of the story that follows is drawn from these sources. All are discussed at the end of this article.

Martha was baptised in Bakewell Church on 2nd February, 1651/2. [8] She was the daughter of William Taylor, a miner living in Over Haddon. [9] The village consisted of some thirty houses with a population of about 135 people. Many of the houses were probably thatched and most were two storeys high. The Hearth Tax return for 1664 [10] shows only four families with two or more hearths and twenty-two with one hearth; four older or poorer members of the community were exempt from payment. This gives us some idea of the comparatively narrow social limits in the village.

Most of the numerous wills and inventories for Over Haddon that survive in the series of wills for the peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield in the Lichfield Joint Record Office, belong to yeomen and husbandmen, but almost all families appear to have kept a cow on the common and grown their own supplies of oats, peas, beans, wheat and hay in their back crofts, or on their strips in the common fields and meadow which still existed round the village. Mares, colts, cows, *heifers, swine, sheep in large numbers, bees and* oxen are all mentioned. Most houses had their supply of flax, hemp and wool for spinning and making their own clothes. Sheets, coverlets and bolsters, together with feather or chaff mattresses were important items in every house.

In January 1668/9 Thomas Wheldon, [11] a husbandman, died in Over Haddon leaving every thing to his wife. Thomas left no will but John Brunt and William Taylor certified his last wishes and after he died completed the inventory of his goods. This William Taylor may have been Martha's father. Thomas and his wife Martha Wheldon had a kitchen with a table, three chairs, a wooden sideboard, treen woodenware, a 'Landiron', racks for fuel, brass and pewter-ware. The kitchen opened into the parlour where there was a feather bed 'with hangings' and with sheets,blankets, bolsters and pillow. Upstairs was a chamber with two more beds, two cupboards, one trunk, three chests and two small boxes. Thomas owned an old horse and saddle, three cows, one stirk and eighty-one sheep, together with a harrow, wheat, meal and a good supply of hay to carry his stock through the winter.

The furnishings of this house are common to most at that period. Though Martha Taylor's father was a miner they had their own garden and, judging by the inventory of a miner John Taylor, [12] who

died in Sheldon in 1639/40, they probably kept their own cow and pig for butter, milk, cheese and bacon. Fuel would have been wood gathered in the dale and peat cut on the moor between Over Haddon and Monyash.

The staple diet of the villagers was oatmeal, peas and beans in addition to dairy produce, and meat when beasts were killed. Fruit, apples, figs, raisins and prunes are all mentioned in connection with Martha and honey and sugar were available for sweetening. Although no references have survived the villagers must also have grown herbs, and vegetables like cabbage, leeks and shallots.

H.A., describing Martha's parents, said of William Taylor that he was *one who is Originally, and as to his present state or degree, a plain Country-man, whose employment lyes in the Lead Mines: He hath no more easie way to advance a livelihood, then that which was of Divine determination, by the sweat of his Brow: A man of no larger Politicks, then how to get an homely, honest maintenance for him and his; he has so much of Religion in him as to keep free from Lying, Loosness, or the Debauchery of the Age, and to have a good esteem for holy things. The Man is of good Credit amongst the better sort of Neighbors. His Wife was of somthing an higher Rank then himself, both as to Birth and Education; A person in her common carriage very careful, and cautious about her words and actions; I am ready to suppose, in the judgement of charity, upon some trial of her, that she hath a taste of those good things which refer to another world. This couple hath lived many years together, had several Children, and among the rest this Martha,*[13] H.A. went on to add *The House they dwell in is but anordinary cottage,*[14] and Robins describes it as *hard by the mill.*[15] Presumably this was one of the cottages by the track leading steeply down into Lathkill Dale. This corn mill was probably run by Humphrey Swindell,[16] who may well have been the man to whom everyone attributed Martha's illness.

Sometime in 1661 or 1662 when she was eleven years old Martha was hit on the small of the back by the miller, whether in jest or earnest is not certain, though it is thought to have been in jest: *however the occasion was no offence given on her side.*[17] For a fortnight after this blow she suffered from lameness and bouts of fever. She then recovered and returned to school for ten days before being stricken again. From this time onwards she seems to have suffered recurring attacks of fever, delirium, hiccups and sickness. By about May 1662 she was permanently bedfast. During the times when she was free from the torments of hiccups, sickness and fever *she occupied herself with the reading of holy scripture or sacred books, day and night.*[18] She was in this invalid state for about five and a half years until in the winter of 1667 she became acutely ill *under the most Exquisite Pains, Burnings, Cramps, Vomitings, and the most strange Bleedings and Hiccoughs, that ever I read or heard of.*[19] By mid-December she had revived a little, but found she had *an utter loathing of, and an inability to receive necessary food for the support of Life*[20] *The very approach of Meat or Drink was a great trouble to her, the very sight or smell of either, though at a remove, would beget her sorrow; yea, the very thoughts of either would make her sick before hand.* So she virtually stopped eating or drinking, though from time to time during the next 18 months she had small morsels of food and drink which are all carefully chronicled.

In June 1669 the last eyewitness account of her was written by a Dr. Johnston:[21] *On St. Thomas' Day,* (December 21st.) *1667, she swallowed three small pieces of apple cooked with meat pie, and from this time she took no solid food. And to the 2nd of the next February, she scarcely wet her lips and towards next Easter she moistened her throat with syrup made from spring water and sugar with a very little rose honey, her throat at the time being suppurated with ulcers; and for six weeks in the Summer she took not a single drop of liquid, but she lived the life of an angel, revived by the smell of flowers. About All Saints' Day,* (November 1st.) *1668, she again wet her throat or rather her tongue with syrup of water and sugar. About Christmas 1668 she sucked the juice of one Damascus plum (throwing out the pulp and skin) or of a raisin; and at the beginning of February she swallowed once a day a thick syrup made with sugar from Sao Thome*[22] *from the point of a knife, for up to this time from the beginning of her fast she had felt nothing enter her gullet. On the 14th of April she took in the whole week about two ounces of claret wine, mixed with sugar, but she felt all its moistness taken from her throat, because on each occasion she scarcely tasted six drops with the outside of her lips. Throughout all this time she passed neither urine nor any excreta, nor (as she said) did she sweat. Neither finger nor toenails grew at this point of time, but her hair grew a little longer.*

Several of her visitors give descriptions of her, Dr. Johnston: *observed how lively her face*

was, how bright her eyes, how moist her lips, as were her cheeks too; she cried once, and twice or thrice during the conversation, she pressed her nostrils and mouth with a small piece of linen. Often her tongue, striking her palate, made a sound like that of a baby feeding.

Our talk was interrupted two or three times by sudden hiccups and unusual sounds, which seemed to me to be simulated and sometimes stopped by difficult breathing, but as she said, her spirits did not droop. [23] *She sat up in her bed and covered her face with a hood. For two hours (except when hiccups or difficult breathing interrupted two or three times), she spoke to me and the bystanders freely and vivaciously , and I examined her hand first of all, which sweated a little in the palm, and was marked by scabs at the joints of the fingers, but otherwise was soft and firm. Her pulse was very like all the counts of healthy people.*

Both Johnston and other witnesses describe how her abdomen was wasted away, so that her back-bone could be felt through her belly.

Another description confirms that she had a: *rudey or lively colour, and adds that Her Armes also all along this tract of time have been well covered over.... Her Eyes, though often very weak, were sometimes quick and durable in their beholding or dwelling upon objects, so that she would know that she looked upon at the first glance, and continue reading for an hour or more together.* [24]

The one physical fact about her which fascinated all the writers is that she had some kind of a prolapse. Dr. Johnston gives us a vivid description of his attempt to examine it: *She told me that her intestines had fallen and that her bladder was misplaced. Then I told her that she was deceived by the onlookers, because her bladder could not fall without an ulcer of the womb. So I asked her, what was the size of the tumour round her anus. She replied about the size of a walnut. Then I said that her intestines had not fallen through her anus; but she said they were coming out in another place, i.e. through the cleft of her private parts. I asked her therefore to let me be an eyewitness and explore with my hand what sort of tumour it was. After I had observed her then preparing the place for a long time under the blankets, she surrounded her groin with her hands, and invited me to inspect it. But so dim was the light, and so narrow the aperture that I could not make out the colour nor the shape, nor could I handle it, because although I touched it very gently, she complained of very sharp pain and I only felt the raised-up lips of the vulva , as far as I could judge.*

I asked therefore to be allowed free view, with the blanket removed, but she replied "You see clearly enough". And so again with a firm but gentle hand I tried to move her hands away. She indeed more vehemently complained of the pain. So I put my hand on her abdomen (with the blanket between) and I discovered she was sweating although she had previously denied that any sweat arose from any part of her body. From this I guessed that she was in pain or afraid. Then I asked how she kept the tumour clean and free from going septic? She replied by fomenting it with water, milk or its cream, or whey or beer, and from this she felt revived, and as her mother afterwards told me, she was nourished from it.

In this way, wrestling in vain with the determination or astuteness of the girl, I asked if I might look into her mouth: then her mother (who up to now had been in the little garden, leaving her younger daughter in the bedroom) with a yelp shouted out saying that her daughter was certainly not a hypocrite, since she had abundantly satisfied all the countryside, nay even all England, and she often felt that her afflicted daughter was wasting her strength in talking too much, declaring her miracle to the glory of God. I did not want therefore to worry her further. Her daughter however, gladly agreed that I should inspect her, and I observed nothing except what is customary in healthy people, except that her tongue was rather too dry. No wax was evident inside her ears, but I saw that her kneck was brawny, with occasional scabs, and her hair was thick. Then I took her mother out of the small cottage, and after giving her money, I asked her to persuade her daughter to show me that prolapse of the uterus. "Oh" (said the cunning woman) "I do not yet know what sort of tumour it is. For my daughter knows well how wretchedly I am afflicted by her distress. For this reason she has not shown it to me nor do I desire to see it. And Dr. Willughby of Derby was so sorry for her that when he saw the unusual tumour he almost fell into a swoon." It seems to me therefore that that most learned man when he had an opportunity of examining her, did so most perfunctorily. Then, no wiser for this proceeding, I betook myself again to the girl, and said I didn't want to disturb her any more; but when I had considered everything carefully I hoped I would be able to help her, at least to preserve that protrusion, whatever it was, from

putrefaction and to minister nourishment by injections, until the obstruction of her stomach was unblocked. I said this, to test if she wanted a cure and as at other times she agreed to my wishes. When I left her, I heard that a certain woman, living a thousand paces away had often fomented the place. I therefore rode to her and she said that she had as often as three times a month[25] *fomented it with water, milk, etc. and when she first inspected it it was like raw flesh but still had skin and the tumour sometimes was the size of a goose's egg, sometimes bigger, and protruded from the cavity of the uterus.*

The Dr. Willughby [26] of Derby mentioned by Martha's mother as having examined her daughter was Percivall Willughby, a writer on obstetrics who practised in Derby and had a high reputation throughout the country for his skill in obstetric operations. He is reported to have been a man of high culture, powerful intellect and great modesty. His father was Sir Percivall Willughby, knight, of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire. When Dr. Willughby visited Martha he was an old man of 72, who had recently lost his wife. [27] She was the second cousin of John Coke of Melbourne. Coke owned at least half the land in Over Haddon, so it is not surprising that Dr. Willughby visited Martha.

Dr. Johnston wrote his detailed account of this visit to Over Haddon as a letter, in latin, to the Royal Society, in an effort to get them to instigate a full enquiry into the authenticity of the case. There is no evidence that they did anything about it.

Other people were sceptical like Johnston and did make an effort to find out the truth. among them was the Earl of Devonshire [28] who visited Martha sometime in 1668. As Hobbes, writing from Chatsworth, tells us Martha: *hath been visited by divers persons of this House. My Lord himself hunting the Hare one day, at the Town's-end, with other gentlemen and some of his servants, went to see her on purpose;* [29]

The result of this visit was that the Earl arranged to have a watch set over Martha. In so doing he followed the example of other local sceptics. Robins, the pious pamphleteer from Derby, tells us that: *some of the head of the Gentry which lives near the Damsel, caused twenty Maids to be chosen out of several Towns thereabouts, to wake and watch with her, for to see how she lived, that they might be the better satisfied in the truth; and these twenty Maids did watch and wake with her, every one her turn: and when they had done, they all agreed that she received no food, but as they wet her lips with Spring Water in a Spoon: which is a great satisfaction to many, yet some as I told you before, very hard of belief; but since that time for a further tryal, the most worthy and honourable Earl of Devonshire, for a further and more full satisfaction, he hath sent fourteen Maids to wake and watch with her, that he might be the more satisfied in the truth; these Maids wake with her by two at a time, for four and twenty hours, and so every two did so, till they had waked seven nights and seven days, and when they had so done, they certified that she did receive no mortal Food, but onely the wetting of her lips with Spring water in a spoon: and as it is very credably reported, this hath given him very good satisfaction, and he doth believe it to be true.* [30]

Elsewhere Robins lists the names of twenty-six maidens who took part in the first watch. [31] Thirteen came from Over Haddon; eleven from *Gallon-grave*, (presumably Youlgrave), and two from *Grutton*. These girls included *Parson Wilson's maid* and *Mr. Burton's Maid* from Youlgrave. Among the Over Haddon girls was Dorothy Webster, whose father was a yeoman, who, when he died in 1679, left two houses and goods worth £95. [32] Another was Mary Jones who was probably Hugh Jones's daughter. He was an artisan, probably a carpenter who died in 1693 leaving £32. [33] George Broadhurst's name is put at the end of this list of maids. He was the senior yeoman in the village; he could write his own name and lived in a six roomed house, with sons and daughters who had married. [34] It must have taken all Martha's contemporaries to find thirteen girls out of a population of about 130.

The fact that two watches were held gives some indication of the jealousy and even resentment that Over Haddon's fame caused in surrounding villages.

Apart from the lurid details of her fast the other remarkable aspect of Martha's story is her religious gifts. A picture of the religious side of life in Derbyshire has survived in the highly personal Journals of John Gratton, [35] who was brought up six miles from Monyash where he moved in 1668. [36] He later became a well-known Quaker but at this time he was searching for a faith.

Among the incidents he relates in his Journal is how, in 1666, he met a young man who told him *that God had spoken audibly to one John Reeve of London, or thereabouts, and had told*

him his mind, and bid him go to one Lodowicke Muggleton, and had given them commission above all men, and power to bless them that believed them, and to curse them that spoke against them; and whom they blessed, they said were blessed; and whom they cursed, were cursed to all eternity: [37] Gratton, for a time, believed all this. He went to Chesterfield and spent eight shillings on the books Reeve had written about his revelation. But Gratton was a man of true Christian insight and he very soon saw that Muggleton's teachings were the opposite of Holy Scripture.

This incident in Gratton's search illustrates how easy it was for false prophets to arise in the religious climate of that period. It is possible that the miraculous Martha could have become the centre of a similar cult. Dr. Johnston certainly thought this a danger because his reason for writing to the Royal Society was to urge that a full investigation be made while she was alive because, as he said, *in this case, where not only the common people, but even wise men vacillate, and others who have dedicated themselves to religion are strengthened in their opinions by the appearance of the miracle.* [38]

In his Journal Gratton gives us a clear picture of this happening. In 1669, having esca escaped from Muggleton he:
was as one alone, like a speckled bird, none like me, (for as yet I had not been at a Quaker's meeting,) but thought to live as holy and righteous as I could among men, and join with none in worship, for fear of being deceived, by joining in false or will-worship, or idolatory. But sometimes I went two miles to see a woman at Over-Haddon, who pretended to live without meat; where I met with professors (I think I may say) of all sorts. And one day a man of London came, called an Independant, and there was a meeting: and he having heard of me, desired me to pray before he began to preach: but I felt a zeal to rise in me against putting men upon that service, which only belonged to God to require and move men to; so I refused, and he went on, who could do what he had a mind to do, as far as I saw, in his own will. Then he prayed and preached; but before he had done preaching, I was so pressed in my spirit to pray, that it was a great exercise to forbear till he had done: and then I prayed; but with such a power, that the people were amazed, and truly, so was I too; for I had never prayed so before, for I had both wisdom, faith and utterance given me. Afterwards I went home, and kept from all people, and joined with none, having tried almost all persuasions among Protestants, and much sorrow I had in secret, ... [39]

It seems clear that Gratton did not regard Martha as a prophet, but rather that he thought her an imposter. For him her bedside seems to have been a meeting place for divines from all over England.

However, many of her visitors did discuss religion with her. Leonard Wheatcroft, the tailor poet from Ashover. records in his autobiography: *About Jan. 6, 1668(9), I and my man tooke in hand to go a jorney to Over-Haddon to see a woman that by Relation had receued noe food for the space of 40 weeks. With this maid I had much discourse of God, & Jesus Christ, of herselfe, & of her distemper. But no food she tooke meate or drinke for the space of many years after, as may be I shall hint of hereafter concerning her condition.* [40]

Thomas Hobbes, writing from Chatsworth to Mr. Brookes on October 20, 1668 tells us, *Some of the neighbouring ministers visit her often;* and *Her talk (as the gentlewoman, that went from this house, told me) is most heavenly.* But as Hobbes comments *Nor do I much wonder, that a young woman of clear memory, hourly expecting death, should bee more devout then at other times: it was my own case: that, which I wonder at most, is, how her piety without instruction should be so eloquent, as it is reported.* [41]

This is one of the interesting things about Martha. Johnston mentions she was going to elementary school (*scholae abecedariae*, literally an ABC school) when she was eleven, but does not say where. The anonymous pamphleteer, "H.A.", also marvelled at how she had taught herself to read and he gives a lengthy picture of her piety, how she turned her afflictions into the subject of prayer.[42] He tells us:
Her Discourse; which, if you consider the Style of it, and compare it with the common Dialect of that Country, you will find it did for the most part very much excel. The Peak Country has a very coarse Language, very thick and home-spun; but hers was of a finer, unaffected make; usually pretty fluent and oratorical, but never dull and sordid. I confess her ignorance of other Tongues then what she was born to, did sometime in the beginning Months of her afflictions produce some mistakes of Words and Terms, which afterwards were polished to a more acute and regular way of speaking.

Of her discourse, Robins who visited her said,
most of her discourse is of the Scripture; concerning the duty which a Christian oweth to God: she doth not advance her self in any way,

but doth confess her self a sinner: trusting in the Lord for mercy, and the Lord grant every one of us so for to do. She is very ready in the Scripture, is able to discourse with any of the Clergy, she is so very ready in disputing of Scripture, and yet very small Learning, when it pleased the Lord to strike her into this condition; and yet now as ready as if she had gone seven years to the School: [45]

"H.A." quotes one of her *Judicious Visitors* as saying:
That he never heard her speak any thing untheological; and that, though she pretended to nothing of Inspiration, nor any thing extraordinary, but what was the Effect of her Reading and Diligence; yet whatsoever Discourse did occur, he never found her lost in it, but she was clearly with good Language, and to purpose able to talk of it. The ordinary Subjects of her Discourse were upon the Blacks and Whites, the Storms and Sun-shine of the Christians Life. [46]

Even making allowances for the preacher's enthusiasm it must be accepted that Martha was an intelligent girl who had taught herself to read and been ready and quick to learn a great deal from her many visitors. She appears to have inherited some of her mother's breeding, but with a sweeter nature. Yet she was obstinate enough, or was it modest enough, to resist Dr. Johnston's examination?

She is described as sitting up in bed in the small downstairs room, by the fire, [47] her hood over her head, books by her side, [48] entertaining her visitors, *bowing herself to all with a smiling grateful Countenance,* and *handsome without humour, and courteous without being conceited.* [49]

So, we are told, she lived for 18 months on a few sips of water, lumps of sugar and the smell of flowers. Yet we know this is impossible.

A Consultant Physician, Dr. Rhys Williams, of Manchester, who has examined the evidence of the case comments:
Even at complete rest in bed the average human being loses between one and two pints of fluid in twenty-four hours by routes other than the kidneys. This insensible loss occurs partly in expired air and partly by sweating; even when there is no visible sweat, appreciable volumes of fluid are lost in this way. Prolonged deprivation of fluid does not lead to any diminution in the insensible loss and can only lead to increasingly severe dehydration and death. The insensible loss is increased by any physical activity and is considerably increased in febrile states.

It is thus manifestly impossible that this girl could have survived for the many months she supposedly lived without significant fluid intake.

There are many features of her condition which suggest the diagnosis of anorexia nervosa. This is a psychogenic aversion to food and was first described by Morton in 1689 and later by Sir William Gill in 1874.

(Though John Reynolds' *Discourse upon Pr Prodigious Abstinence* 1669, [50] in which he describes Martha's story, is considered by Hunter and Macalpine to be the first separate account of this disease.)

Dr. Williams continues:
The disease is virtually confined to females in the late teens. Anorexia is the cardinal symptom *a and emaciation may be extreme. Vomiting is likely to occur if food is forced and if undue pressure to eat is exerted, the patient may resort to devices of unbelieveable ingenuity to avoid eating or may dispose of meals by cunning subterfuge. Some patients induce vomiting after every meal so that food intake is effectively nil.*

Amenorrhoea (absence of menstruation) is a characteristic feature.

The recurrent attacks of paralysis which preceded the prolonged fast remain unexplained but they may well have been hysterical manifestations.

Martha does not therefore seem to have been a deliberate impostor, but does take her place in medical history. At the beginning of the fast she was very ill indeed, and if she stopped taking any solid food for an appreciable length of time it is not surprising the word got around that she was living without. Undoubtedly she must have had far more 'sips of water' than any one admits to, and much of this water probably contained sugar or had had raisins soaked in it. Once the story grew and the vistors started arriving, the picture changes. Johnston admits giving her mother money, and Hobbes tells us:
others, that see her for curiosity, give her money, sixpence or a shilling, which she refuseth, and hermmother taketh. But it does not appear they gain by it so much, as to breed a suspicion of a cheat. The woman is manifestly sick, and it is thought she cannot last much longer.
We know she lived at least eight months after he wrote this.

Other descriptions of her mother, notably her evasive reply and aggressive assertions about her daughter to Johnston, and 'H.A.'s' reference to her as *very careful, and cautious about her words and actions,*[52] all give the impression of a calculating woman. It seems likely that it is she who exaggerated the completeness of the fast. It is also possible that the prolapse, which excited such curiosity, was the result of Martha's emaciated condition.

The one great unanswered question is, when did Martha die? Anorexia nervosa can easily result in death, and if Martha did not learn to eat again, she may very well have died late in 1669 or early in 1670. The last surviving record of her is Johnston's letter dated 29 June 1669. So much has survived that it seems strange that if she did continue fasting for much longer, or if she was exposed as an impostor, nothing has remained to tell us so. On the other hand she may have recovered and quietly continued living in the village.

One possible explanation is that she married. The Bakewell Parish register records that on *16 August 1669 William Hodskinson of Upper Haddon and Martha his wife were marryed.* And later, that on *25 Jan. 1681 William Hodskinson of Over Haddon buryed* and on *25 June 1687 Martha Hodskinson of Over Haddon buryed.* There is nothing to prove that this was Martha Taylor, though, if she was married six or seven weeks after Dr. Johnston's inquisitive visit it could explain the lack of further information about her. People who suffer from Anorexia nervosa very seldom marry as the aversion to food is closely linked with an aversion to any sexual relationship. On the other hand there is nothing to tell us what kind of marriage this was. No children were baptised for this couple during the eleven years of their married life. The Hodskinson were an old Over Haddon family. In the sixteenth century they had been husbandmen, but by the 1660s they had come down in the world and in the 1664 Hearth Tax return William Hodskinson was exempt from payment,[54] though by 1672 he paid for one hearth.[55]

The Lysons brothers, in Magna Britannia,[56] refer to the fact the Martha may have died in 1684, but this statement is based on an entry in the Bakewell Parish Register; *12 June 1684 Martha daughter of John Taylor, buried.* Martha's father's name is given as William in 'H.A.'s' pamphlet and this agrees with Martha's baptismal entry in the Bakewell Parish Register of 1651/2. Also the 1684 entry makes no reference to Over Haddon, and by this date people from surrounding villages are usually distinguished. Extensive searches in Bakewell, Youlgrave and Monyash Parish Registers have failed to reveal any other burial.

Other possible explanations are that the parson got her father's name wrong and that the 1684 entry is for her. The family may have left the district, though the continued presence of several William Taylors in Over Haddon in the 1670s makes this unlikely. She could have become a Non-conformist particularly as there is evidence she was acquainted with Non-conformists. In this case she may have been buried in a non-conformist burial ground. It may simply be that her burial, like many others, was omitted from the Parish Registers.

Whatever the end of her story, Martha Taylor of Over Haddon, takes her place in medical history and illustrates a small section of the social, religious and scientific history of Derbyshire in the seventeenth century.

Notes on original sources;

1. HOBBES, THOMAS — Letter to the Royal Society, dated Chatsworth October 20, 1668. The original letter is at the Royal Society (H1 105)

At a meeting of the Society on 10 December 1668 *Mr. Colwall produced a paper sent him by Mr. Brooks, concerning a young woman at Overhaddon in Derbyshire that had lived without all meat and drink since March last. It was read and ordered to be filed up.* (Journal Book of the Royal Society Vol. IV 1668-1672 p.12) A copy is filed in the Letter Book 2. 286. The Letter is reprinted by Thomas Birch; The History of the Royal Society of London ... London Printer for A Millar in the Strand MDCCLVI Vol. 2 p333-4

Mr. Colwall was the Treasurer of the Royal Society and Mr. Brooks is probably John Brookes son of James Brookes or Brook of Ellingthorpe Co York. He was admitted to Gray's Inn 1650, and created a Baronet 1676. He was an original fellow of the Royal Society, proposed 4 December 1661, and was expelled on 22 July 1685. He died in 1691 and was buried at St. Martins, Coney Street, York.

Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, was staying at Chatsworth as tutor and secretary to the second Earl of Devonshire and his son. His *Leviathan* had been published in 1651. The first latin edition of his *De Mirabilibus Pecci* was published in 1636, reprinted in 1666 and first translated in 1678.

2. ROBINS, THOMAS — *I Newes from Darbyshire, or the Wonder of all Wonders. That ever yet was Printed, being a perfect and true Relation of the handy work of Almighty God shown upon the body of one Martha Taylor now living about a mile or something more from Backwell in Darbyshire, hard by a Pasture commonly called Hadin Pasture, this Maid as it hath pleased the Lord, she hath fasted forty weeks and more, which may very well be called a wonder of all Wonders, though most people which hear this may censure this to be some Fable, yet if they please but to take pains to read over the book, I hope that they will be better satisfied and have some faith to believe.*

This Maid is still alive and hath a watch set over her by order of the Earl of Devonshire.

Fear not O Land be glad and rejoyce for the Lord will do great things Jo.2. v21. And I will shew Wonders in the Heavens, and in the Earth v30.

Written by me T. Robins. B. of D. a well wisher to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Oct. 13 1668 London. Printed for T.P. at the three Bibles on *London-bridge.* 14pp.

British Museum 697.b.40

II The Wonder of the World; being A perfect Relation of a young Maid, about eighteen years of age, which hath not tasted of any Food this two and fifty weeks, from this present day of my Writing, December, 22. Which may well be called a Wonder of Wonders.

Wherein is Related the whole truth, and no more: as it was taken from the mouth of the Damsel and her Mother; Being a true Account of her Condition.

Written by *Thomas Robins* B. of D. a Wellwisher to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

As also the Relation of a Gentleman in Chesterfield, her frequent Visitant.

Here you may see and read the Glory of God, as the Word says, in the 11. of John and the 40 Verse. Jesus saith unto her, said I not unto thee, if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldest see the Glory of

God:

London, Printed for
Tho. Passinger, at the three
Bibles on the middle of
London-Bridge. 1669 20pp.

British Museum 1453.a.16

Four other pamphlets are listed under Robins in the British Museum catalogue. They bear such titles as 'Man's chief guide to Salvation: where in is laid down many good instructions and motives to stir up every poor soul etc.' London Bridge 1667.

John Reynolds (No. 4) p.34 notes that Robins was a *Ballad-maker of Darby, whoes Ballad (they say) doth much excell his Book'.* But D. Lysons and S. Lysons in *Magna Britannia* London 1817 vol 5 p.27, translate Bof D as *Bellmann of Derby.*

Between writing pamphlet I (dated 13 Oct. 1668) and pamphlet II (dated 22 December 1668) Robins visited Martha and talked to her and to her Mother. On p.7 he tells us *For on December the 6 day, being the Lords day, I was with the Maid.*

Robins intersperses the story of the fast with numerous pious observations. He is too modest to mention the prolapse but he does gives full details about the watches that were kept over Martha, and the names of the maidens who took part.

As his second pamphlet bears the date 1669 it must have been published after 25 March 1669 as the Old Style was in general use at this period.

3. LEONARD WHEATCROFT Autobiography. Quoted in Journal of Derbyshire Archaeological Society Vol 21 1899. p.29.

Leonard Wheatcroft was born 1 May 1627 in Ashover. After a varied life when he travelled round working as a tailor, gardener, builder and poet, he finally died in 1706 aged 79 years 8 months. When he visited Over Haddon about 6 Jan 1668/69 he was a spendthrift, in and out of debt all the time and moving round from place to place.

4. REYNOLDS, JOHN *A Discourse upon prodigious Abstinence; occasioned By the Twelve Moneths Fasting of Martha Taylor, the Famed Derbyshire Damosell; Proving That without any Miracle, the Texture of Humane Bodies may be so altered, that Life may be long Continued without the supplies of Meat & Drink. With an Account of the Heart, and how far it is interessed in the Business of Fermentation.* By John Reynolds. Humbly offered to the Royall Society. London, Printed, by R.W. for Nevill Simmons, at the Sign of the three Crowns near Holborn-Conduit; and for Dorman Newman, at the Chyrurgeons Arms in Little Brittain. 1669 pp37

British Museum 1169.g.2.3. and Harleian Mis. Vol.IV 185.a.8

This pamphlet is mentioned in *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry 1535-1860,* by Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine London OUP 1963 p.232 where the title page is reproduced, as *the first separate account of a case of what two hundred years later became known as anorexia nervosa.*

Reynolds' account of Martha takes up just under two pages of a 37 page pamphlet. The rest is medical speculation on the heart and upon Martha's case. He does not appear to have visited her but says (p.34) he has his account from Robins' pamphlet and that it was *for the main confirmed to me by a Sophy, the renown of whose wisdom hath often made England to ring, who assured me, that he had an exact account of her.*

The end of the pamphlet is signed; *Kings-Norton, Feb 25 1668 Jo Reynolds.* Reynolds, writing in Kings-Norton, Worcestershire, was using Old Style dating. By our reckoning the date is 25 February 1669.

5. H.A. *Mirabile Pecci; or, the Non-such Wonder of the Peak in Darbyshire. Discovered in a full, though succinct and sober, Narrative of the more than ordinary Parts, Piety, and Preservation of Martha Taylor, one who hath been supported in time above a year in a way beyond the ordinary course of Nature, without the use of Meat or Drink.* By H.A. London, Printed for *T. Parkhurst* at the *Bible* on *London-Bridge,* and *G. Calvert* at the *Golden Ball* in *Duck Lane.* 1669 65pp

The Epistle Dedicatory is addressed *For the ever Noble, truly Worthy, and much Honoured, M.L.R.L.P.*

and reads; *Madam, these Lines esteem it a great part of their Happiness, that they may but prostrate themselves to your service; I know your experience can over-act an hear-say testimonial to the Truth of Martha Taylor's amazing Story. This poor attempt of mine may contribute something to your Remembrance, though very little to your Information; for you have seen and searcht into this wonderful Abstinent; you are well skill'd in Nature, and in the puxling Architecture of the Humane Body, as your judicious, prosperous, and charitable Applications do sufficiently and frequently demonstrate; and then, which is your greatest glory, you are well acquainted with the urgent Business, and profound Concerns of another World. Your more than ordinary Candor, free Entertainment, and numerous Courtesies conferr'd upon (immeritorious) Me, when I did twice or thrice visit your Country to take a view of this wonderful, aerial, foodless Creature, hath begot this Presentment, or, may I call it, mean and barren, Remuneration, from him who is, and will be*

March 30. *Your Admirer and Humble*
1669 *Servant, H.A.*

Stationers Register May 5 1669 vjd
British Museum 702.b.28

This is the longest and most detailed pamphlet. H.A. visited Martha and talked to many of her other visitors. He gives information about her family and a very full description of the course and symptoms of her illness, together with much information about her religious attainments, illustrated by quotations from her pious sayings.

6. JOHN GRATTON *A Journal of the Life of that Ancient Servant of Christ, John Gratton:*
London: Printed and Sold by the Assigns of J. Sowle, at the Bible in George-Yard in Lombard Street 1720

Gratton was born six miles from Monyash, Derbyshire, in 1641 or 1642. He moved to Monyash in 1668, it was while living there that he visited Martha. The date of his visit is a little obscure. The Journal shoulder-heading gives it as 1670, but these were probably added after his death when his papers were edited for publication. He probably saw her in 1669. He became a Quaker in 1671 or 1672. After this he travelled extensively throughout the United Kingdom. At one time he was imprisoned in Derby. He died in 1712.

His Journal gives a vivid picture of the clashes between the Church and non-conformists in Derbyshire.

7. DR. JOHNSTON Letter to the Royal Society, dated 29 June 1669. The original letter is at the Royal Society (H4 I. 162)

At a meeting of the Society on 8 July 1669 *Dr. Timothy Clarke brought in a letter of June 29 1669 written to him by Dr. Johnston concerning the Observation made of the young fasting woman in Derbyshire, called Martha Taylor, together with his apprehension of some imposture in the affaire; which made him desire, that by the authority of his Majesty she might be searched by some intelligent physician, assisted by a justice of the peace. The letter being read, Dr. Clarke was thanked for his communication and desired to permit a copy of the letter to be taken for the society's letter-book, which he readily allowed.*
(Journal Book of the Royal Society Vol.IV 1668-1672 July 10 1669 p.73) A copy is filed in letter Book 3,113.

It is reprinted by Thomas Birch: *The History of the Royal Society of London* ... London Printed for A. Millar in the Strand MDCCLVI Vol. II p.389-392.

The original and the reprint are in Latin. The translation used here is by Miss Monica Richardson.

Dr. Timothy Clarke, MD of Bailliol College Oxford 20 July 1652, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians 20 Oct. 1664, on the death of Dr. Quartermaine (1667), was appointed one of the physicians in ordinary to King Charles II. He was one of the original members of the Royal Society and in the Charter is named as one of the Council. He died in 1672. (D.N.B.)

Dr. Johnston is probably Nathaniel Johnston, a physician from Yorkshire, who in his old age devoted more time to the study of antiquities in Yorkshire than to medicine. He was born in 1627 and died in 1705. At the time of his visit to Over Haddon he would have been 42 and appears to have been practising in Pontefract. (D.N.B.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Rhys Williams for diagnosing the case and clearing away the miraculous superstitions of the seventeenth century, and Miss Monica Richardson for translating Dr. Johnston's letter from the modest obscurity of Latin.

My thanks are also extended to the Librarians of the Derbyshire County Library and Lichfield Joint Record Office and to the vicar and verger of Bakewell Church, and to the vicars of Youlgrave and Monyash, a of whom patiently answered my questions and allowed me to search their records.

REFERENCES

(1) G.N. Clarke, The Late Stuarts 1660-1714, Oxford 1934 p.27

(2) See Notes on original sources No.5

(3) Robins (Thomas) The Sinners warning-piece or Heavens Messenger.
Instructing poor Sinners in the way of Repentance London (1650?) 12o B M Catalogue 4474 a 47

(4) See Notes on original sources No.2

(5) See Notes on original sources No.1

(6) See Notes on original sources No.7

(7) See Notes on original sources No.4

(8) Bakewell Parish Register Vol.1

(9) 'H.A.' p.5

(10) Hearth Tax Return 1664 PRO E 179/94/403 Membrane 12. The number of Houses is based on the hearth tax list. Thatch is mentioned in a rental at Melbourne and the inventories list two storeys.

(11) Wills Peculiar, Lichfield Joint Record Office. June 30 1669 Memorandum and Inventory of 'Thomas Wheeldon', of Over Haddon.

(12) Wills Peculiar, Lichfield Joint Record Office, Feb. 26 1639/40. John Taylor of Sheldon.

(13) 'H.A.' p.5.

(14) 'H.A.' p.6

(15) Robins 1668 p.2

(16) Thomas Swindel is listed in the rentals for Lady Day 1648 at Melbourne as owing £3:5s:0d for the half year. His death is recorded in the Bakewell Parish Register on April 14 1659. Humphrey Swindell was paying rent for the mill in 1675 at the rate of £8 per annum.

(17) 'H.A.' p.7

(18) Dr. Johnston, Letter

(19) 'H.A.' p.10

(20) 'H.A.' p.11

(21) Dr. Johnston, Letter. See Notes on original sources No.7

(22) Sugar was imported from the island of Sao Thome in the Gulf of Guinea. The loaves of Sao Thome had the reputation of being the worst on the market and of falling to pieces. 'History of Sugar', by Noel Deerr, Vol.I, chap.ix, published Chapman and Hall Ltd. 1949)

(23) Could be translated 'her breathing did not grow weak'.

(24) 'H.A.' p.19

(25) Could possibly be translated 'at three monthly intervals'.

(26) Dr. Percivall Willughby, Dictionary of National Biography.

(27) In St. Peter's Church, Derby is an inscription: 'Hic jacet corpus Percivalli Willoughby, M.D. filij Percivalli Willoughby de Woollerton in commitatu Nottingham militis obijt 2 die Octob. anno salutis 1685 aetatis suae 89.' And 'Hic jacet Elizabetha uxor Perciva: Willughby gen: filia Francisci Coke de Trusley milit: ipsa obijt 15 Feb 1666, aetatis suae 67.' Stephen Glover, 'The History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby...' Derby 1833 Vol.II p.494.

(28) William Cavendish, 3rd Earl of Devonshire.

(29) Thomas Hobbes, Letter. See Notes on original sources No.1

(30) Robins 1669 p.9-10

(31) Robins 1669 p.2

(32) Wills Peculiar, Lichfield May 2 1679 George Webster, Over Haddon

(33) Wills Peculiar, Lichfield September 24 1694, Hugh Jones, Haddon

(34) Wills Peculiar, Lichfield May 20 1674 George Broadhurst, Over Haddon

(35) John Gratton, see Notes on original Sources No.6

(36) John Gratton, Journal p.24

(37) John Gratton, Journal p.21

(38) Dr. Johnston, Letter

(39) John Gratton, Journal p.29

(40) Leonard Wheatcroft, see Notes on original sources No.3

(41) Thomas Hobbes, Letter

(42) Dr. Johnston, Letter

(43) 'H.A.' p.25

(44) 'H.A.' pp.26, 27

(45) Robins 1669, p.8

(46) 'H.A.' pp. 27, 28

(47) Reynolds p. 34

(48) Dr. Johnston, Letter

(49) 'H.A.' p.24

(50) See Notes on original sources No.4

(51) Hobbes, Letter

(52) 'H.A.' p.5

(53) These three entries are all in the second volume of the Bakewell Parish Register

(54) Hearth Tax Return 1664 PRO E 179/94/403 Membrane 12

(55) Hearth Tax Return 1672 PRO E 179/245/9 pt 2 Membrane 13r

(56) D & S Lysons, Magna Britannia; London 1817 Vol.V, Derbyshire p.28

(57) Wills Peculiar, Lichfield 28 April 1694. William Taylor of Haddon. (This is not Martha's father but a later generation. This William Taylor was a very rich butcher. This inventory was valued at £1098, which was made up of beasts, corn, wool, hay and peas and beans etc. It has not been possible to prove a connection with Martha's family, but it is interesting to speculate if the foundation for this fortune was built on the 'sixpences and shillings' contributed by Martha's visitors.)

DERBY CHINA

L.S. HARRISON

Of native products which have a world-wide connotation, and of which we can be justifiably proud, Derby China must assuredly rank within the top flight.

The word porcelain is derived from the Italian word porcellana, little pig, after a cowrie-like shell which it resembles in colour and texture. This substance, first invented in China in the eighth or ninth century A.D., was made of two kinds of felspar; 'China stone' and china clay, which fused when fired at a high temperature. The resultant glassy-like product is slightly translucent and rings when struck. Since it is hard, brilliantly white, and can be thrown on a wheel or moulded, it is known as 'Hard paste', and can be under-glazed with decoration or enamelled on the surface of the glaze, and then fired. This secret was rediscovered between 1710 and 1715 by the alchemist J.F. Bottger and E.W. Tschirnhausen, adviser to the Elector of Saxony, leading to the establishment of the famous Meissen factory.

'Soft paste' was a French idea, consisting of ground glass, white clay, lime, soapstone potash and bone-ash, with a glaze of lead or tin oxide. When broken, it showed a sugary fracture instead of a glassy one. This 'Pate tendre' was first made at Rouen in 1673, then at Vincennes, before that factory was moved to Sevres, where it received the boosting patronage of Mme. de Pompadour. Subsequently both kinds of paste were made there.

In England, the first challenge to Oriental, German and French porcelain occurred soon after 1740, at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, and came from Huguenot immigrants, Briand, Sprimont and Gouyn. Their products showed an English individuality and lasting charm, which is important to the connoisseur, since Chelsea handed on its legacy to Derby when the two 'Manufacturies' were amalgamated.

About 1745, Andre Planche was making small animal figures in Derby, modelling groups of boars and bulls from bronze or marble originals in Italy. In 1756, a deed of partnership was drawn up for an earthenware pottery at Cockpit Hill, by Planche, china-maker, William Duesbury, a Longton enameller, John Heath, a Derby banker, and Thomas Rivett, a local M.P. This was where the early 'Dry edge Derby figars' were made, before the factory moved to Nottingham Road. At this time, Derby china was becoming more widely known among the elite of London society, for it was advertised for sale in Assembly Rooms and elsewhere in the West End, being 'Reckoned to excel in, if not to exceed any Thing of the kind in England'. This 'Derby or second Meissen' was competing with the famous Red Anchor china of Chelsea.

Characteristics of the Derby products included the dark patches on the bases, discoloured from lack of glaze, resulting from their having stood on stilts or pads in the kilns. Many were Meissen-inspired, but show a highly individual treatment, suggesting a single modeller. The figures have a doll-like air, rounded heads, sharp noses, and bright red spots on the cheeks. Colours include a distinctive turquoise-green and delicate, pale flower tints.

Duesbury and Heath took over the Chelsea manufactury in 1770, controlling both factories until 1784. It is thought that most of the potting was done at Derby and the decorating at Chelsea. Under the wave of neo-classical influence, Duesbury ware now shows more affinity to Sevres, than to the rococo Meissen, and this was the prelude to some of the finest work in English porcelain. Body was fine, using the Chelsea formula, the glaze soft and delicate, though inclined to 'Craze', and the decoration of festoons, swags and sprigs of flowers excellent. Landscapes by Z. Boreman and flowers by Edward Withers were particularly fine.

In 1784 the Chelsea factory was closed, for Heath had gone bankrupt, and Wedgwood was competing with Etrurian cream-ware enamelled at Chelsea. The mark of Derby china was now a crown over crossed batons, with 'D' below. Duesbury died in 1786, and was succeeded by his son, William, who successfully continued his father's policy. Table ware was increased, and was so fine that it was obviously intended more for cabinet display than for frequent use. The younger Duesbury assembled a strong team of artists to decorate his china. Withers continued his Meissen-like flowers. Billinsley is famous for his bouquets of blowsy roses, passion flowers, iris and hollyhocks. 'Quaker' Pegg painted large

individual blooms, with natural details, like insect eaten leaves. Richard Askew's own children were probably the models for his life-like Cupids. The Brewers' specialities were shipping and camping scenes, while Boreman and 'Jockey' Hill are renowned for their landscapes, and Complin for his fruit and birds.

But for detailed modelling par excellence one must go to Derby's unglazed 'Bi scuit figures', inspired by the bisque ware of Sevres. In this field, Spangler, Stephan and Coffee were outstanding, the latter getting his anatomy absolutely correct by modelling the nude figure and then clothing it.

Michael Keane took over at Duesbury's death in 1796, but in 1811 the business was sold to Robert Bloor. In an endeavour to use the vast stock of undecorated ware, an uneveness of quality crept in, for some of his new painters were of lesser calibre. Exceptions were such fine artists as Lead, Steele and his sons, for fruit; Moses Webster for flowers; Robertson, Mountford and Corden for landscapes; and Dodson and Watson for birds.

In 1845 Bloor died, the business was sold, and Locker and Sampson Hancock set up in King Street. The present factory in Osmaston Road began in 1876 when Philips came from Worcester, later incorporating the King Street factory. The ultimate honour came in 1890, with the title 'Royal Crown Derby'. The business, now under the aegis of the Royal Doulton Group still operates most successfully from Osmaston Road.

THE HISTORY OF HIGHER OWLGREAVE

M.A. BELLHOUSE

There are a number of forgotten homesteads in the valley of Combs, two of which I have already recorded in previous issues of Miscellany.

Across the fields from where I live, in a northerly direction, is another ruin now identified as Higher Owlgreave. I used to think that Higher Owlgreave was the old house now converted to a barn in the yard of Lower Owlgreave on the west side of the railway from Stockton to Buxton opened in 1863. After a conversation with Mr. Brocklehurst, a local farmer, I now know this barn was the old house to the Lower farm.

It has been suggested that the ruin above the railway was the barn mentioned in the order of 1811 reported in the local paper, diverting a footpath in Combs Edge in the parish of Chapel, lying between Lower Barn, belonging to Samuel Frith Esq., of Bank Hall, and a stile leading into Josiah Bradbury's field. This ruin, which I call Upper Owlgreave, lies at the turn of an ancient trackway on Birch Brows which formerly belonged to Bank Hall situated two fields higher up the bank. Josiah Bradbury's land is one field away to the south with an obvious trackway leading towards it. Today there is a footpath through this field on high ground.

Higher Owlgreave was more than a barn, it was a farmstead. According to the Land Ley List of 1804, a township rate compiled by Adam Fox,this building was owned by Samuel Frith Esq., known locally as Squire Frith, and occupied by William Shirt together with over 34 acres of land. Fox listed:

	A	R	P
Homestead and Croft	0	1	30
Birch Brows	7	3	32
Brocklehurst Croft	5	2	10
Cornfield next house	3	0	33
Great Blue Field	4	3	06
3 Cornered Meadow	5	1	00

A map of 1830 shows the building. In 1845 the demesne of Higher Owlgreave was 57 acres, 1 rood, 16 perches, over 22 acres more than listed in the 1804 rate.

Mr. Brocklehurst told me that nis grandmother was a Miss Wilcockson from Higher Owlgreave which was above the railway line. She married an Ollerenshaw of Pyegreave. The first mention of Wilcockson is an appointment of Thomas Wilcockson at a Vestry meeting as Headborough for Combs Edge on 5th October, 1836. The following year on 18th October, 1837 Thomas was appointed assessor of land for Combs Edge. The census enumerator's return for Higher Owlgreave in 1841 lists Thomas Wilcockson, farmer, aged 30 years; Ellen his wife aged 30 years; and three daughters, Mary aged 8 years, Hannah aged 2 years , and Ellen Ollerenshaw aged 1 month.

By 1851 the Wilcocksons had moved to Bank Hall Farm. Thomas Wilcockson, farmer of 60 acres was aged 41; his wife Ellen 42; their daughters Sarah 15, Hannah 11, Ellen 9; and their son Thomas 3. Sarah must have been away from home in 1841. By 1861 Thomas had died. Ellen Wilcockson, farmer of 70 acres, aged 52 years, was head of the household; her son in law and farm servant Joseph Ollerenshaw aged 27 years came next, then his wife Sarah, the house servant, aged 26, followed by Ellen's daughter Alice Jane Wilcockson a scholar (or schoolchild) aged 9, and Ellen's granddaughter Mary Ellen Ollerenshaw aged 3.

A tombstone in Chapel Church Yard records that Thomas Wilcockson of Bank Farm died on 22nd May, 1853, aged 43: Ellen his wife, on 3rd September, 1885, aged 77: and Thomas Joseph Ollerenshaw Wilcockson, their son on 9th June, aged 37. The year of Thomas' death is not given but it must have been about 1885. Records show that there was a Sarah Ollerenshaw of Pyegreave in 1895.

In 1861 Isaac Lomas, aged 51 years, farmed 60 acres at Higher Owlgreave. The census returns show also his wife, Mary, aged 48; two sons Nicholas aged 20, and John, 15, a daughter Mary aged 13; and 3 lodgers, labourers on the railway then being built, Benjamin Salt, aged 58 years, William Clark 36 years and Thomas Bently 14 years.

At one time Higher Owlgreave was on a public thoroughfare which descended by the Iron Age sunken trackway and pack horse track from Castle Naze above, through Birch Brows and Headland Field, passing north of the Lower Farm to join the oldroad from Combs near to the present golf course. When the railway was constructed a level crossing was made but the track was seldom used and the

farmer applied for the crossing to be made up. Now the old track has become just a footpath, joining the one from the station to Combs.

At some date the track on Birch Brows was levelled considerably, probably to allow easy access from Bank Hall Quarry to lower ground.

At the bend in the track is a levelled piece of ground which must once have been a yard. Under the grass it is covered with loose limestone and gritstone, and there is a trough with an excellent water supply. West of the yard are the ruins of an old building, just showing above the ground. There seems to have been an entrance on the north side, as two large stones suggest steps, and a broken stone post lies close by. The ground below the building has been divided by banks to allow water to drain away, and a wall once divided the marshy ground below the bank which may have been a small pond.

The approximate area of the building is 23 yards by 8 yards. The house seems to have had two rooms on the ground floor. In one corner of the building I found a large piece of a pancheon, and more pottery and an old soda water bottle with a pointed end in a bank near the trough.

Adjoining the two rooms on the ground floor is a smaller room which could have been a stable, leading on to an area which was probably the barn and cart shed. In October 1977 I took my metal detector over the ground at Higher Owlgreave and at the stable it went mad. I excavated the soil and at 12 inches down it was bone dry and full of metal filings. At 18 inches down was one small marble. I wondered if this had been a packhorse smithy because Robert Holdgate who was living there in 1739 is described as a blacksmith in the Chapel-en-le-Frith baptismal register. Perhaps the marble was cleaned out of a pony's hoof.

Still on the south west side of the building, steps lead up the hillside to what appears to have been a terraced garden. Above this is a flat enclosure which may have had a small central building. In a rabbit hole I found part of a plant pot. There is a raised terrace round the house, and below it an ash tip where I have found brown pottery, coal and burned ashes.

Today the land below the building is covered with rushes and is very boggy, but at some time someone went to a great deal of trouble building a high bank on the south west side to turn the water from the clough above into a ditch which emptied into the Wyre. The Wyre is a small brook dividing the Gun Hole on Brookhouse land from the Turner Meadow on Owlgreave land.

Turner Meadow takes its name from Mr. Turner of the Roebuck at Chapel who less than a hundred years ago was the second husband of a Mrs. Barlow. Her descendants still live round Chapel. Turner Meadow was made from the parts of three fields divided by the railway, and went with Higher Owlgreave. Mr. Brocklehurst said that he remembered his grandmother speaking of making hay there.

In a wall at the corner of this field is a stone which seems to bear initials, S.B. or S.F., and a date 1731. S.F. could be the initials of Samuel Frith. In the railway wall are stone setts similar to those used in stables.

Owlgreave, Down Lee and Bank farms, all belonged to Samuel Frith. They were inherited by Samuel Frith Webster who sold them to H.C. Renshaw Esq. On Mr. Renshaw's death the farms were sold separately in 1895.

INDUSTRIALISTS AND EDUCATION IN DERBYSHIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

JOHN E. HEATH

At the turn of the century (1800) there was conflict over what was required of a child. The expanding industrialised society demanded child labour and parents required the extra money their children could add to the family income. This use of child labour was in conflict with those members of the society who wished to see the children receive some basic education to improve the morals of the lower classes and to impose some control over this potentially rebellious mass. It was believed that improved educational opportunity would result in a decrease in the number of criminals. The only form of education available to these children was in the Sunday Schools which concentrated on reading from the Holy Bible and little else. The hours that children worked in factories or at home made it impossible for them to go to school on any day other than Sunday. Five labour acts passed between 1802 and 1833 failed to regulate the hours of work in mills and factories, and totally ignored the many thousands of children working in the domestic handloom and framework knitting industries, in the mines, the nail-making centres, the edge-tool areas, the potteries or in canal-boat haulage.

A few mill-owners in Lancashire did provide Sunday Schools in their mills before 1800. In the north-west of the county Samuel Oldnow in 1801 appointed a teacher at his Mellor Mill to instruct 52 boys on 15 Sundays at 4s.4d. (0.22p) per Sunday.[1] Many millowners like Samuel Oldnow employed pauper apprentices and the concern for the welfare of these children led to Peel's Act of 1802 for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others employed in Cotton and Wool Mills. Supervision of the enforcement of the act was in the hands of the Justices of the Peace. In 1807, Joshua [illegible]enman, a county magistrate, visited the infamous mills at Litton where some eighty apprentices were employed. He reported, *.... it is by no means certain to what hours they are confined. They are not instructed during the working hours .....* In 1811, M.M. Middleton, J.P., reported, *.... that they are instructed in writing and reading on Sunday .....*[2]

However returns made in connection with the 1802 Act show that a number of Derbyshire mill owners had already given up employment of apprentices. Alderman Howitt of the Pleasley Mills reported, *.... We find it so much trouble having them in the House .....*[3] Millowners like Arkwright at Cromford, Evans at Darley Abbey and W.E. Nightingale at Pleasley and Lea set up schools in the village community near the mills, whilst the Strutts at Belper set up a school inside the North Mill. These millowners expected their employees to be literate. In his comments to the Report of the 1816 Committee, Arkwright said: *..... It is a rule at Cromford never to admit children under ten years of age, not till they can read ....* Parents however, wished to exploit their children's wage-earning potential as soon as possible. Arkwright continued that parents, *.... are so anxious to get their children to work that the man appointed to hear them (read) will sometimes examine them very little, and probably they can scarcely read .....* Arkwright also reported to the Committee that 225 children attended Sunday Schools, one being financed by himself. In 1818 Cromford had *.... A day school in Cromford chapelry for 55 children; three kept by women containing 62; an evening school consisting of 25 or 30 children; and a Sunday School in which 80 boys and 35 girls were taught.*

Strutt, like Arkwright, required all children before entering his mills at Belper and Milford, to have attended an elementary school. Jedediah Strutt reported to the Committee in 1816, *.... 64 children attend a day school at the expense of the proprietors and a further 650 are educated at their expense at Sunday Schools .....* The reference to the day school is probably the one established in the top floor of the North Mill at Belper in 1807. In 1818 this was transferred to the school built at the bottom of Long Row. Reference is made to this building in the Report of the 1816 Committee: *.... The proprietors of the works are now erecting Lancastrian schools for 500 which are nearly completed; after the establishment of which, it is their intention not to employ children that are unable to read....* The children paid a penny a week (schoolpence) to attend the school, *.... the remainder of the expenses being liquidated by the founders ....*It is worth noting that the boys had to attend school on Saturday afternoons to keep them out of mischief and improve them, whilst the girls were not expected to attend but to go home and *.... help mother with the chores ....* At Darley Abbey, Glover notes, Thomas Evans built in 1826, *.... a handsome schoolroom with a house at each end, one for the master and one for the misters....*

In 1833 an Act of Parliament was passed which

stipulated that children under eleven years of age, employed in cotton, wool and flax mills, were to receive schooling for two hours per day for six days a week and a voucher of attendance was to be presented at the mill before they could work the following week. The act was extended in 1836 to cover children under fourteen years of age. Thus the responsibility for the education of factory children was removed from the proprietors of the factories, nor was the factory owner obliged to provide schooling. Even so the Strutts felt obliged to provide other schools at Belper and Milford largely for their convenience. It can be assumed that the children attended the schools on a relay system as described by Miss Phoebe Gregory, who taught at the Belper Schools in the 1840's: .... *the mill school provided two hours instruction a day for all factory children between the ages of 9 and 13 .... The school day began at 6 a.m. with class A, B and C, altogether 60 girls and 27 boys. When they had been working for one hour they were joined by class D .... and all worked until 8 a.m. Breakfast was from 8 to 8.30 when Class D returned at 9 o'clock. These were joined by classes E and F (21 girls and 7 boys) .... work started again at 1 p.m. and the afternoon followed the same pattern as the morning work until 6.30 p.m. ....*[7]

At Cromford Peter Arkwright had already provided a school for boys in North Street in 1832 and he added a girls and infants school in 1840.[8] At Cressbrook, Messrs. McConnel and Company of Manchester who purchased the cotton mills in 1835 and where Henry McConnel was to reside, established a school on the factory premises on the same system as at Belper. Henry McConnel - and after his death his widow - supervised and controlled the school. In discussion in 1858 with the Factory Inspector for the North West, Alexander Redgrave, successor to Leonard Horner, McConnel said that he refused to take children into his employment half time, until they could produce a certificate from the schoolmaster stating that .... *they know, in arithmetic, simple addition; can read fairly in Second Irish Book; and write fairly upon the slate from the Second Book ....* At Redgrave's request, McConnel prepared a statement setting forth his reasons for adopting this rule of employment. He said: .... *many parents neglected the opportunity which was presented to them of sending their children to a good school. They had various insufficient excuses for this neglect but the general pretence was that there would be time enough for education during the period the children worked as half-timers when the law made compulsory provision for their schooling; as all the cottages are mine and the families all work for me, I had the power of compelling school attendance, but I preferred the less arbitrary mode of declining to receive into my employment children who did not bring the schoolmaster's certificate of the required progress.* [9]

After 1870 the factory-village-school at Cressbrook became a public elementary school under the management of the lessees of the mill, which by this date had passed out of the hands of the McConnel family.

Following the suggestions of the 1840 Select Committee on the operation of the Factory Act, half-time education became the normal pattern for children working in factories or mills. The children of the Wilne Mill are reported in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for 1847 as attending the school at Wilne supported by the mill-owners, ... *almost the only books used in the school are the miracles and parables, of our Lord, and a few torn and tattered Bibles....* The 30 children employed at Towle's Mill at Borrowash attended the National School in the village erected in 1840 largely at the expense of the vicar of Ockbrook and Borrowash, the Rev. Samuel Hey. The children paid 2d a week and Towle's paid ½d; the vicar finding the remaining expenses. The idea of half-time schooling appears to have been the brain-child of Dr. Robert Baker, who was the Superintendent of Factories in the Leeds area.

In 1842 the Commission appointed to Inquire into the Employment and Condition of Children in Mines and Manufactories, reported on those employed in the mines. J.M. Fellows reported on the coal and iron district of East Derbyshire .... *I lament these poor children have no other means of instruction than the Sunday Schools, there being no Lancastrian, but two or three national schools..* Whilst it is clear that the conditions in the mines were appalling and the children were exploited, it is important to realise that some of the proprietors of coal mines and iron works in the county provided elementary day schools. Companies which provided schools were the Butterley Company, Clay Cross Company and the Stavely Company in the industrial communities of Ironville (1841), [10] Clay Cross (1843) [11] and Barrow Hill (1856) [12] respectively. In the Commissioners report of 1842 it was stated ....*not many attended who worked in Staveley Iron Works ..., where there was neither school nor reading, indeed Mr. Barrow lets all his work possible by the job and does not consider himself answerable for anything ....* At Clay Cross a new building was provided in 1855 at a cost of £4,000, to house a public library, a boys, girls, infants classrooms, as well as a recreation ground. A social survey carried out by the Butterley Company in 1856 shows poor attendance at the school and a poor level of literacy. Other coal and iron firms provided elementary schools in East Derbyshire as, for example, the Wingerworth Coal

and Iron Company, who built a school at North Wingfield in 1854 which cost £800,[14] and to which every employee of the company paid one penny per week. Thomas Firth and Sons, the owners of Whittington Iron Works near Chesterfield, provided a school for girls and infants in New Whittington in 1861,[15] but neither North Wingfield nor Whittington were company villages, each appearing in Domesday.

It was the initiative of individuals like Francis Wright at Butterley, Charles Binns at Clay Cross and Richard Barrow at Staveley which ensured that elementary day schools were established in the colliery villages. Francis Wright, for example, subscribed towards the provision of day schools at Ripley, Codnor, Swanwick, Westwood and Riddings according to a report in The Advertiser, 28 February, 1873. In all these cases it is important to remember that the workers paid handsomely towards the running costs of the schools, but the control of the schools was held very firmly by the management of the works. At Clay Cross the workers' children received a brass disc to present at school instead of pennies like the other children. Every married man paid one shilling a fortnight, every single man eightpence, every boy fivepence for educational and other purposes.

The factory, mill and mine owners provided education opportunities for their child employees and often for the other children living in a village and in many ways they complemented the provision made by the Established and Non-Conformist Churches, but it was not until the Education Act of 1870 was passed that the elementary education became available for all through the Board Schools. Even so, those children employed in domestic industries and agriculture were not necessarily compelled to attend school on a full-time basis. As late as 1922, some 70,000 children in England and Wales were still attending school on a part-time basis.

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15 Sheffield and Twenty Miles Around Sheffield 1862.

A LETTER TO MADAM TURNOR FROM EDMD. EVANS

MIRIAM WOOD
(County Library, County Offices, Matlock)

The letter copied below is to be found in the Wolley Manuscripts, as folios 91 and 92 of volume 6692, sandwiched between a paper relating to a dispute between the proprietors of Little Pasture and Miners Engine lead mines (ff 89-90) and a document relating to a 16th century quarrel over Mayfield constabulary (f93). The full reference for the letter is British Museum Additional Manuscripts 6692 ff 91-2, as the Wolley Manuscripts are volumes 6666-6718 of the Additional Manuscripts. This copy was made from a microfilm of the Wolley Mss. held at the County Library, County Offices, Matlock.

Bonsall 10th July 1736

Madam [1]

I was honour'd with the receipt of Mrs. Langton's [2] letter of the 30th of the last month in due time, and have according to her directions sent the Bell herewith to Chesterfield to go by York Carrier his next journey;[3] the boxes of writings at Snitterton [4](all but one with the Quietusis [5] which is at our House) are removed up stairs according to your Ladyship's orders given me at York, the repairs at Billy Kitchen's [6] house are not quite finished, the Slate [7] both upon the House and Barne prov'd so rotten and bad that when all the other which came of(f) from the other old House was used we was Three Cart Loads too short which we have get (sic) Isaac Evans to fetch us from the Slate pitts to Snitterton in his Cart & have carried from thence to Bonsall on Horse back, but the Slaters have not yet finished their worke, therefore are not able as yet to give your Ladyship an exact accompt of the expence.

We are now taken off a while upon accot. of our Hay harvest, else have lately been very busy in making a coach or wagon Road from Bonsall to Crumford, from which place there is one already made to Matlock Bath, (which was done at Mr. Pennell's [8] expence who built the Bath) and another from Crumford to Swanwick made mostly at Mr. Turnors expence for the encouragm't of his Cole Trade [9], so when ours is compleated it will make a thorough passage from Matlock Bath to Buxton [10], and likewise from our Neighbourhood to the cole pitts, To Nottingham or Derby, or where else they have occasion that way.

This rough piece of worke is not done by any Levey, but chiefly by the Miners, who have no wage, but all come in to assist, some at the Instance of one friend and some another who goes along with them and assists the overseers on their respective dayes; The Gunpowder they blow away and the ale &c allow'd 'em is paid out of a Collection some of us have made amongst our selves, only Mrs. Hallam (who keeps the Bath) hath sent a Guinnea & Mr. Moore of Winster Ten Shill's.

I have not yet heard any of 'em mention any expectation they had of anything from your Ladyship, neither do I think they will your Ladyship's late bounties (I hope) not so soon forget (sic). Yet (tho' I am under the greatest obligations to be silent) (humbly) beg leave to tell your Ladyship that I think you could never better bestow a Guinnea of 'em than now, [11]which would be enough, and (if please to order it) would please 'em more than a greater thing another way or from any other hand, I humbly beg pardon for this presumponin (sic) (?presumption) Madam.

Yor. Ladyships most obliged & obedient Servt.
Edmd. Evans [12]

My Wife and Son hbly beg leave to present their Hble Service to Yr. Ladyship, Mrs. Langton & the Young Ladies. Mr. Bradley [13]of Mathfield [14]hath just been here & hath agreed wth. Edmd. to go to Lichfield to make a resignation of the living on Monday fortnight. Soon after which Edmd.[15] designs to wait on your Ladyship with a presentation & should be glad to know if you have any commands from Derbyshire.

Addressed to;
Madam Turnor at her House in Old Worke in the City of York[16]
by Doncaster Post from Chesterfield.

NOTES

1. See 'The people mentioned' below
2. See 'The people mentioned' below
3. The writer uses what appears to be a semi-colon on several occasions when a full-stop would be more normal
4. Probably Snitterton Hall
5. Reading uncertain: quietus - quittance
6. Reading uncertain: could perhaps be Killhen's
7. Probably split stone
8. See 'The people mentioned' below
9. See 'The people mentioned' below
10. Presumably referring to a route from Matlock Bath via Cromford, Bonsall, ?Winster and finally the Ashbourne-Buxton road.

11.- 13. See ' The people mentioned' below

14. Mayfield
15. See 'The people mentioned' below
16. The Aldwark in the N.E. part of York

THE PEOPLE MENTIONED IN THE LETTER

Madam Turnor is Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of Henry Ferne of Snitterton esq., Receiver General of the Customs, and the wife of Edmund Turnor of Stoke Rochford in Lincolnshire esq. [1] Henry Ferne owned much property in Bonsall [1] and in 1695 purchased Snitterton Hall, to which Elizabeth succeeded on his death in 1723 [2]. She seems to have been generous to Bonsall, judging by the last paragraph of the letter and by her gift of land to the school there in 1737 [1]. The Mrs. Layton mentioned in the first sentence of Evan's letter, and in the post-script is probably her daughter Diana, who had recently married Mr. B. Langton of Langton in Lincolnshire esq. [3]

The references in the second paragraph to Mr. Pennell and Mr. Turnor are of some interest. The former, with a Mr. Smith, had purchased a lease of the bath at Matlock in 1727, when it was still presumably in much the same state as described by Defoe in 'A Tour Thro. the whole Island of Great Britain' (originally published 1724-6). 'This Bath would be much more frequented than it is' he wrote 'if two Things did not hinder; namely, a base, stony mountainous Road to it, and no good Accomodation when you are there'. Pennell and Smith built an assembly room and private rooms for visitors and not only made the road from Cromford to Matlock Bath, but also improved the track from Matlock Bath to Matlock Bridge. In so doing they both made it possible for carriages to reach their Bath (the old Bath) and, incidentally, laid the line of the present A6 from Cromford to Matlock Bridge.

Mr. Turnor is not, as one might expect, Madam Turnor's husband, but a member of the Swanwick family of that name (usually however, spelt Turner). As long ago as James I's reign, George Turner of Alfreton mercer had bought mines and delphs of coal in Alfreton, Swanwick, Somercotes and Greenhill [4] and his descendants were still living in the area in the area in the 18th century [5]. The Turner family were coalmasters, founders of the Swanwick Colliery Company, lay rectors of Alfreton and the builders of Swanwick Hall. To market their coal they built roads into the surrounding district, including this one to Cromford, where they had a depot for the sale of coal [6]

The Edmund Evans of Upper Bonsall gent. (died 1746) mentioned in Glover [1] is no doubt the writer of the letter. As to the Mr. Bradley and Edmd. of the postscript, presumably Mr. Bradley is the incumbent of Mayfield and perhaps Edmd. is the letter writer's son, Edmund [7].

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3. Wolley Mss. 6668 f236, pedigree
4. Wolley Mss. 6668 ff 464-6, 6670 f199
5. Wolley Mss. 6670 f177, pedigree
6. see 'A History of Alfreton' by Reginald Johnson, pp 52-5
7. Wolley Mss. 6668 ff324-5, pedigree

ELMTON

J.C. SINAR
Derbyshire Record Office

Elmton is an Anglo-Saxon border settlement. It lies very near the boundary between the Mercian and Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, 3 miles from the Mercian border fort at Barlborough. For good measure it lies just west of the ridge road from Skegby to Rotherham which enters Derbyshire at Newbound Mill and runs almost due north to Clowne, a pre-historic route along the edge of the magnesian limestone. These ancient ridgeways offered easy routes to raiders, and the older settlements lie, as Elmton does, a little way off the road in an attempt to avoid notice. Although Elmton's origins are probably Anglo-Saxon it lies in an area of early settlement dating from the end of the last Ice Age. Creswell Crags are one of the oldest known homes of man in the British Isles. Paleolithic hunters based on the crags must have hunted the surrounding territory including the forest-free limestone country. Markland Grips provides evidence of much later post glacial re-settlement. It has not been dug to date it with any precision but it belongs to the class of promontory fortifications which are considered to be the earliest fortifications in England. It probably sheltered tribesmen and their cattle when need arose for many generations and must have continued in occasional use well into the Iron Age when the area was border territory between the Brigantes of middle Britain and the Coritani of eastern Britain.

The easily worked limestone must have encouraged early arable farming but no evidence of British fields systems survives. Elmton itself as late as 1793 shows every sign of beginning its existence as an Anglo-Saxon nucleated village, with the homesteads clustered on a single street in the middle of large open arable fields held severally in strips, and commons and waste lands lying beyond.

At 1086 Elmton was one of 6 Derbyshire manors held by Walter de Aincurt in chief, 5 of these including Elmton had previously been held by Swain Cilt. Before the Conquest of 1066 Swain Cilt was assessed for geld for Elmton at 1 carucate, but there was actually enough arable land for 3 ploughs. Geld was a fossilised Anglo-Saxon tax and a carucate was the amount of arable land which could be cultivated by a plough team of 8 oxen in a year. This suggests that the settlement had prospered in the late Old English period and taken in more arable land from the surrounding pastures. The process must have quick ened considerably in the 20 years after the Conquest because by Domesday Walter de Aincurt had 1 plough in his demesne (land reserved for the personal use of the lord of the manor) and 36 villeins (unfree peasant householders) and 2 bordars (peasant householders) with 9 ploughs between them, 10 ploughs in all. There was a priest and church to serve this thriving community, and underwood one mile in length by half a mile in breadth. The value of the manor had risen from 40s. before the Conquest to £7, in other words had more than trebled. Elmton and Holtun (Stoney Houghton) which increased in value 6 fold in the same period must have been the most favoured of Walter's manors. Three other manors, 2 much larger and 1 smaller, simply held their own in value, and one halved its value.

The manor continued on Deincourt hands until the death of the last Lord Deincourt in 1422. It then passed to his elder sister who took it with her in marriage to Ralph Lord Cromwell, the Lord High Treasurer of England who built the great house at South Wingfield. Ralph died childless in 1454 and his former Deincourt property passed to his dead wife's younger sister who took it with her in marriage to Sir William Lovell. Their grandson and heir, Francis Lord Lovell was a keen Yorkist and fought for the Yorkist cause against the invading Henry Tudor. Tudor won the day, and took the throne as Henry VII. Lovell was attainted and his lands confiscated. His remaining Deincourt Derbyshire manors, Elmton and Holmesfield, were granted by Henry VIII to Sir William Tyler and Nicholas Carew. The manor of Elmton with appurtenances in Cresswell passed to Sir John Savage before 1575, and in 1586 he sold it by royal license to Francis Rodes, justice of the court of common pleas , for £1400. According to a settlement of 1589 the manor included 20 messuages, a water corn mill and rents. Large though this was by the 16th century the manor no longer comprised the whole extent of Elmton. In addition to the lands of the few freeholders there were the lands originally set aside for the endowment of the church.

The church in fact had owned a good deal of property in Elmton. Walter de Aincurt or his Old English predecessors, Swain and his line, had been generous and pious enough to build a church and provide a priest for their people in each of Swain's 3 larger manors including Elmton. These manors were singularly favoured because at Domesday there were only 48 churches and priests in the whole county, 3 of them on this one small estate. Walter held other manors in the East Midlands mainly in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire where his main seat Blankney lay. His son, Ralph, founded a priory of Austin Canons at Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, on another manor about 1130. At its foundation he gave the priory his churches of Elmton, inherited from his father, and Langwith, which came from his wife. For over a century the priory seems to have been content simply to leave the

church alone, simply presenting a priest to the living or perhaps serving the church themselves with one of their number, for in Nicholas IV's taxation in 1291 Elmton church was valued separately at £8. At some later date Thurgarton appropriated the living to its own use, taking the larger share of the revenues. The priory set aside part of the endowment to endow a vicarage as a living for a secular priest to do the work. This vicarage consisted of a third part of the glebe, a third of the great tithes of corn and hay, a third of the tithes of lambs and wool, and the small tithes together with the congregation's offerings, according to Henry VIII's Valor Ecclesiastious of 1536 in which it was valued at £5.0.8d yearly. By 1650 at the time of the Parliamentary Commissioners survey it had dropped in value to £5, a sharp drop when one considers the rate of inflation in the mid 16th century. It was in marked contrast to the impropriated rectory which was valued in the same 1650survey at £60. An entry of 1635 in the parish register makes it clear that by an old composition Thurgarton paid the vicar £4 in lieu of the one third of the tithes of corn and hay, and 26s.7d. in lieu of the one third of the tithe of lamb and wool, probably a fair composition when it was made well before the dissolution of the monasteries, but most unfair by the 17th century when the tithes paid in kind grossly outweighed in value the earlier composition in money.

The impropriated rectory, consisting of two thirds of the glebe, and in law two thirds of the great tithes of corn and hay and of the tithes of lamb and wool but in fact the whole subject to a small annual payment to the vicar, together with Thurgarton's other property in Elmton, was sold by Edward VIin 1552 to John Swyfte and John Clopton. They were probably acting as agents for Sir William West to whom they conveyed it three days later. West's son sold it to Thomas Averie, a Londoner, in 1572, and four years later Averie in turn sold to John Fanshawe of Fanshawgate in Holmsfield and Robert, his son. The Fanshawes bought other smaller properties in Elmton in the 1570's building up a mixed estate of arable, with pasture rights in Markland. In 1592 Robert Fanshawe was able to settle on his sons the rectory, church and advowson of Elmton with 16 beast gates and 120 sheepgates in Markland and other property belonging to the rectory, together with two other properties in Elmton, one of 9 acres with 2½ beastgates and 40 sheepgates, and a second of 60 acres arable, 2 acres meadow, 5 acres wood, 12 beastgates and 100 sheepgates in Markland. The grazing on the common, particularly the sheep grazing in Markland, was obviously a major factor in the economy of the village.

In 1601 John Fanshawe sold John Rodes the rectory together with other lands making Rodes the owner of almost all Elmton and much of that part of Creswell lying in the parish of Elmton. Over the next century the Rodes family continued a policy of steady purchase so that by the late 17th century in spite of set backs in the 1650's they must have owned practically the whole of the land in Elmton and most of that in the associated part of Creswell.

By the late 17th century probably the only other landowner in Elmton village was the vicar. The glebe terrier of 1685 makes it clear that the total glebe amounted to about 100 acres, scattered in strips and small closes through the fields of Elmton village, together with 15 beastgates. One third belonged to the vicar including the vicarage of 4 bays of building and the adjoining croft. The tithes were not mentioned but simply taken for granted. The bulk were still in Rodes' hands and together with the manor of Elmton were the subject of a Rodes' family settlement of 1698. In 1705 a second glebe terrier returned the vicarage house consisting of 3 bays of thatched building, a one bay barn and cowhouse and a little thatched stable with the croft adjoining, an undivided third part of the glebe lands of 99 acres together with one third the tithes of corn, hay, lambs and wool as specified in the register and all the Easter dues and small tithes. The next three glebe terriers, 1719-1732,simply quote the note entered in 1635 in the parish register of an old composition between Thurgarton priory and the vicar allotting the vicar one third of the glebe, payments of £4 and 26s.7d. in lieu of the tithes of corn and hay, lamb and wool, and the small tithes and the Easter offerings. A new vicar Mic. Hartshorne made the return in 1732 and probably had not then been vicar long for he made further returns until at least 1776. To judge from the change of hands in the parish register he came in 1731. He held the living in plurality with Upper Langwith, where I suspect he lived, until at least 1773.

The Revd. Mr. Hartshorne's appearance coincided for practical purposes with a much more important change in the neighboring parish of Scarcliffe and Palterton, its enclosure in 1730 under an act of 1726. Piecemeal enclosure of the open fields such as is evident on a limited scale in the 1685 Elmton terrier began in the middle ages with men buying or marrying to gain strips adjoining their own, and fencing spots of meadow to make little closes. Momentum quickened in the Tudor period and by the 17th century the economic advantages of enclosure permitting choice of crops and selective breeding of stock were recognised by the leading agriculturalists. Large scale enclosure of both open field and common pasture by private agreement between lords and tenants was not unusual in the 17th century. Some enclosing groups took the precaution of having their agreement confirmed in the Courts of Chancery or Exchequer and some would be enclosers tried to force the co-operation of dissident minorities

by a suit in Chancery. After the Restoration in 1660 with the decline of Chancery and the rise of the Houses of Parliament would-be enclosers turned to a new instrument, the private act. These acts were expensive and, prior to 1760, comparatively rare.

The first Derbyshire enclosure act was that of 1726 for Scarcliffe and Palterton, and the consequent award dividing the land and allotting new boundaries was made in 1730. This seems to have awakened the neighbouring landowners, the Rodes family, and their tenants to the possibility of enclosure in Elmton. Acts of parliament were very expensive, but Rodes was in a strong position. He owned practically all the land in Elmton village and most of that in the associated part of Creswell, almost 90 per cent of the whole, with massive grazing rights; he owned all tithes except the small tithes subject to the payment of a small and by 1730 inadequate payment to the vicar; he owned the advowson or the right to present a clergyman to the vicarage.

The 1735 glebe terrier, the 1780 Land Tax assessment and the 1796 estate map and book of reference make Rodes' solution clear. He persuaded the vicar to surrender to him his rent from the great tithes and tithes of lamb and wool, together with all the glebe except the vicarage house and adjoining croft. In return the vicar was to have £20 yearly to be paid in 4 quarterly instalments. It was to be collected from the parishioners by the four chief farmers and paid without any trouble or charge to the vicar, who was also discharged from all manner of taxes and parish assessments. The vicar was much better off by this arrangement. His cash income was trebled and he was spared the trouble of farming or letting his share of the glebe. He retained the small tithes and customary offerings. These with his £20 charge on the parish are what he returns in the 1735 glebe terrier.

Given this arrangement with the vicar it was possible for Rodes as sole owner of Elmton village to enclose Markland commons of which as lord of the manor he already owned the soil, and to begin the re-division and enclosure of the old open fields to produce compact farms. Elmton Park, originally a grange belonging to Thurgarton Priory, Whaley Hall and Frithwood farm, all large scale intakes from the waste, the two latter with their tiny hamlets representing a late scale of colonisation largely independent of the nuclear village, were already wholly or largely compact farms providing examples of what was possible. Whaley Hall and Frithwood Farm provided a further example of a farmstead surrounded by its fields. These examples in the parish, and the visible results of large scale enclosure in the neighbouring parish of Scarcliffe and Palterton probably made easier Rodes' dealing with his tenants, and with his fellow owners in Creswell.

It would have been well worth Rodes' while to group his other tenants' holdings to produce either compact arable farms or holdings approximating to them, with enclosed strips of pasture on Markland Grips in lieu of their former pasture rights there. Over half the Grips he enclosed in three great fields which could be let separately. He seems to have taken the opportunity to commute the tithes unofficially for the rentcharge of £20 paid to the vicar and for higher rents for his farms for himself. The handful of owners of lands in Creswell whose tenants owed tithes to Elmton probably commuted their liability in part by their share of the £20 payment to the vicar and in part by surrendering pasture rights to facilitate Rodes' enclosure of Markland Grips and possibly of part of Elmton Common which shows signs of early enclosure near the Whitwell boundary. All tithes of corn, hay, lamb and wool certainly disappeared from the parish and Rodes would have exacted a proper price for his loss.

This enclosure and general re-arrangement took place between 1732 and 1735. Compact, tithe free farms were valuable properties and high rents were charged for them. Tenants knew their liabilities which were fixed and therefore easier to meet. The impropriator on the other hand was spared the burden of collecting variable tithes in kind, and could raise his rents as prices and crops permitted. In 1760 when the steeple and west end of Elmton church collapsed the parishioners petitioned the court of Quarter Sessions for a church brief, or a form of begging license to help raise funds. They described the collapse and said that the rest of the church was so ruinous that the only course open was to pull it down and rebuild a much simpler one at an estimated cost of £1,200. They could not meet this charge because they were mainly tenants at will on rack-rents (rents pitched at the landlord's discretion i.e. as high as the market would bear) burdened with numerous poor. No mention was made of the impropriated tithes which rendered their owner liable for the rebuilding of the chancel. Possibly the tenants-at-will thought it indiscreet to hint at their landlord's liability, possibly they had forgotten or thought that the unofficial commutation of the great tithes had wiped out this liability. The vicar, Mr. Hartshorne, obviously shared their views as did Quarter Sessions. The parishioners got their brief. The church was pulled down in 1760 and a simple one built in its place, completed in 1771. Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire parishes contributed to the cost.

The tithes remained forgotten for several generations. The small tithes on pigs, geese, eggs, foals, cattle and bees together with Easter dues were still being paid as late as 1805. The real value of the £20 rent charge had dropped considerably over this

period and some time between 1805 and 1822 the vicarage endowment was augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1822 the Revd. Francis Foxlow rector of Ordsall, Notts. was presented to the living. He was non-resident in both livings, making his home at Staveley Hall. He misunderstood the situation in Elmton and reported in 1823 that there were no rectorial tithes, and that the living was worth £35 a year, £20 from the parish, £5 from the rent of the parsonage house, and £10 yearly interest on capital from Queen Anne's Bounty and a Parliamentary grant. The parsonage he described as 'a small thatched cottage in decent repair, the habitation of a labourer and perfectly unfit for a clergyman'. It seems likely that during Foxlow's non residence the small tithes were not claimed and disappeared. He was not a bad parson by the standards of the day, serving the living personally with sermon and morning prayer each Sunday, Good Friday and Christmas Day, catechising occasionally, and giving communion 4 times a year. He retired or died in 1841 and was succeeded by another non-residential parson. When he died he left money to build a new vicarage but this was not done because his successor preferred non-residence. During his (Foxlow's) vicariate the churchyard was kept tidy by grazing sheep in it.

The earliest surviving land tax assessment, that for 1780, shows Rodes owning almost 90 per cent of the parish, almost certainly what he owned in 1732. The completeness of his control of Elmton as opposed to simply large land holdings in Creswell is clearly shown in the Rodes estate map of 1793. Both originated as nucleated villages, the farmsteads clustered together in the village street with the open arable fields lying round the street, held and cultivated in long narrow strips, with the common pasture and wastes beyond. In Creswell even in 1793, with its several ownerships denying the opportunity to reblock the separate holdings, the strips predominated and shaped the whole field pattern, as indeed they still did in 1892 when the fields consisted simply of blocks of strips thrown together.

In Elmton on the other hand the strip shapes had almost disappeared by 1793 except in a section south of the village, east of Ox pasture lane, where they determined the main field shape as late as 1892. A handful survived west of Oxpasture land in 1793 but disappeared in the course of the next century. To judge from their names in the 1793 book of reference these strip shapes are probably the very early tiny enclosures of one or two adjoining strips, which survived the reblocking because they were already hedged or walled. They belong in the main to the smaller holdings in 1793, and only in these fossilised strips are the tenancies at all mixed. The other fields in Elmton by 1793 showed little trace of the original strip pattern and were already concentrated in blocks in single tenancies with small blocks in single tenancies with small blocks of separate grazing in the Marklands allocated to the larger tenants based on the nucleated village. Two Markland enclosures were grazed independently of an Elmton village holding and two great Markland enclosures were apparently in Rodes' own hand, again independent of any village holding. Whaley Hall, Frithwood farm, and a small holding on the Whitwell border, all outlying portions of the Elmton estate, were also independent of any holding in the village but from their siting and field pattern they are obviously later colonisations of the waste and not part of the original nucleated settlement. These apart together with one other small Elmton holding which had no building at all all the Elmton farms whether blocked near the village or well out had buildings in the village centre. One of the present Elmton farms had acquired a new farmhouse set amongst its fields but still retained a barn in the village centre in its original farmyard.

Altogether, in addition to Rodes' personal holding of 150 acres of Markland pastures, there were 25 tenancies on the Rodes' Elmton estate of 1694 acres. They varied in size. Eleven ranged from well under an acre to 8 acres; seven between 13 and 39 acres; one was 61 acres. There were six large farms; three between 136 and 169 acres, one of 214 acres, Whaley Hall with 277 acres, and Frithwood Farm with 316 acres. 20 tenants had their home in the village centre, and part of Elmton farm's buildings were there. Whether there were labourers cottages attached to the farms is not clear. Pilkington's house census of 1788 omits a figure for Elmton but gives 52 houses in the associated hamlet of Creswell. It is possible that the bulk of the married labourers lived in Creswell. There must have been a reasonably large labour force near at hand because pre-internal combustion engine mixed farming on enclosed farms was man hungry.

The bulk of the Elmton fields by 1793 bore little resemblance to the original strip pattern. By 1830-4 the process of enlarging and redefining their boundaries had gone even further towards producing their present shape. The landscape was well on the way to becoming a typical post-enclosure scene, but it was taking time because there was only one owner to foot the bill for building farms and new field boundaries. Two more farmhouses with their buildings, Elmton Park and Elmton Lodge, had been built on their farm land, and buildings had begun to disappear from the village centre. Roads were being realigned. The easterly of the two roads to Clowne and Markland Grips had been straightened and the tracks crossing Elmton Common considerably simplified. Additional new tracks across the Common are shown on the first O.S. 1 inch. These largely disappeare when Elmton common was finally enclosed in 1850 under an act of 1847, and a simplified pattern of roads laid down based on the 1793 pattern.

Glover in his 1829 directory listed the more important villagers as the non-resident parson, Francis Foxlow of Staveley Hall, a schoolmaster, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, a wheelwright who also kept the Plough and Dove Inn, and 7 farmers. He included Whaley Hall and probably also Frithwood Farm under Creswell. Bagshaw in 1846 listed the schoolmaster, a blacksmith who kept the Elm Tree Inn, 2 wheelwrights, 2 shop keepers, a gamekeeper, a farm bailiff and 9 farmers including the holder of Whaley Hall but not Frithwood Farm. The double mention of the schoolmaster is interesting for there was no endowed school, yet Jedediah Buxton born in 1707 was said to be the son of the parish schoolmaster. There would therefore seem to have been a long tradition of a small village school. The acreage in 1846 was given as 1416 acres with the soil principally on limestone with a portion of strong clay. The township had 37 houses and 211 inhabitants of whom 112 were males and 99 females. The vicar had changed but was still non-resident living at Shireoaks. Possibly the most interesting change noted in the directories is that of the inn-name.

Elmton Common was enclosed in 1850. The bulk of the common was allotted to Rodes as sole owner of Elmton and lord of the manor and principal owner of Creswell. Possibly the cost of the enclosure strained Rodes' finances because in 1854 he sold both the manors of Elmton and Creswell, all his freehold land there, together with the impropriate rectory and advowson of Elmton to the Duke of Portland who had formerly owned a little freehold property in Creswell. The first thing that the Duke did was to increase the vicar's stipend. In 1846 the vicar was paid £20 from the church rate in lieu of tithes. In 1857 he received in lieu of tithes a rent charge of about £75. He planned a parochial day school to replace the small Elmton day school and to serve the surrounding neighbourhood. The directory talks of the miserable state of education in Elmton and its neighbourhood so the small day school must have been both tiny and inefficient. The other major change was the felling by the new incumbent of the celebrated elm trees in the churchyard and grounds. The directory claimed that some of the finest elms ever to exist had been grown in the village. Elmton Park built by the late Heathcote Rodes was being altered by the occupier after greatly improving the farm which was considered about the best in the district. The occupier was described as a land agent and it seems likely that he was Portland's local agent. The trades had increased in number. There were a spade and shovel maker, a wheelwright, 2 blacksmiths, a tailor, 2 shopkeepers, The Elmtree, 2 gamekeepers, a farm bailiff, 7 farmers and a cowkeeper. The increase in the number of gamekeepers points to one reason for Portland's purchase, not simply to extend his estates but also to augment his shooting. I was told by an Elmton inhabitant in 1971 that the courtyard south of the church was built by Portland to house his gamekeepers. The bulk of the buildings composing it were there during the O.S. survey 1874-1884, and it had been enlarged by 1897.

The O.S. maps show that by 1884 the dispersal of the farm buildings from the nucleated village into the surrounding farm land was almost complete. A site had been cleared north of the church and the Manor House, now Grange Farm, erected. The old farm buildings destroyed were probably replaced by the new farmstead built on Ringa Lane, now also known as Grange Farm. Markland, another new farmstead was built just off Markland lane on the cross road to Elmton Common, and further north Markland Farm was built beyond the Grips, probably both replacements for village farmsteads. On the newly enclosed Elmton Common two additional farms had appeared, Hazelmere and The Oaks. Only Green farm remained to be built and only Elmtree farm of the old central farmsteads survived through to the present day. Some of the former farmhouses in the village centre appear to have survived as cottages but most had been cleared away. The old cross road linking Oxcroft Lane with the lane to Bolsover was closed and a fence line substituted. The pinfold at the west end of Elmton Green survived though in completely enclosed farmland it must have been falling out of use. Three wells were marked in the old village centre, wells which had quite possibly determined the site of the first village. The field pattern had changed little, and most change had consisted of throwing two adjoining fields together.

The village and the surrounding estate were obviously receiving a good deal of attention from the new owner, continuing the development of the enclosed arable landscape introduced by the Rodes family in the mid 18th century, but with a stronger attention to the preservation of game. The concern with the provision of pastoral care shown by the increase in the vicar's stipend by the re-allocation of vicarial tithes in the form of a tithe rent charge in the mid 1850's was followed by the presentation of a new vicar prepared to live in the village, and the building of a vicarage east of the church apparently between 1881 and 1884. This was built either wholly or in part from Foxlow's legacy, and a little land was added to the glebe to make a parcel of 4 acres. The population of Elmton betweem 1841 and 1881 was almost static increasing from 211 to 218, but that of Creswell in the same period increased from 222 to 300. The Duke therefore built his day school for the parish in the larger village, Creswell, and a Sunday school only was built at Elmton between the church and vicarage some time between 1884 and 1897. In 1894 the Duke reseated the church, and the parishioners added a vestry and organ chamber. In the same period the new manor house ceased to be used as a private residence and was converted to a farmhouse, a second Grange Farm. By 1914 the village looked much the same. One small building

had disappeared south of the church to be replaced by a slightly larger one in the opposite corner of the same plot. A few more fields had been thrown together by the removal of the fence formerly separating them. The odd spinney had been planted or enlarged.

The directories tell a similar story. By 1881 the only trades people left in Elmton were the licensee of the Elmtree, a shopkeeper, a blacksmith, and a wood man, with 10 farmers, one being a miller. The farmers for the most part were already living outside the village centre. The position was much the same in 1891 and 1895 except that the vicar was now resident and 2 or 3 more farmers were listed. In 1895 however the Bolsover Colliery Co. was sinking the shaft at Creswell which in conjunction with the railway was to lead to its rapid industrial development and sharp increase in population.

The results were apparent by 1908. The vicar had moved to Creswell leaving a curate in charge of Elmton, which now had only a pub, a blacksmith, and 11 farmers. Even the cornmill had closed. By 1922 the village had lost its curate and had a pub, a wheelwright, a blacksmith and 10 farmers, all other services and trades had shifted to the new centre at Creswell. The slump in farming was reflected in the directory for 1932 with a pub, a blacksmith, 11 farmers, 4 smallholders and a milk seller. Three of the farmers held over 150 acres. To judge from the earlier farms these men probably held well over 150 acres. By 1941 with agriculture picking up and the internal combustion engine now dominating the scene the blacksmith and the smallholders had either disappeared or were no longer thought worthy of mention. There was one private resident, 1 pub, 1 milk seller and 11 farmers, 4 of whom farmed over 150 acres. Obviously farms were again being thrown together as in the 18th century. Since the war with the spread of car ownership there is a small group of commuters using some of the cottages and some of the lanes survive only as bridle paths or unmetalled lanes. Elmton however lies in Derbyshire's best arable country and still grows a comparatively high proportion of grain crops. I would expect there to be a residual cottage population of agricultural workers supporting the farms. Although its enclosure was private and not statutory Elmton is typical of the original nucleated village denuded of its farmsteads by their dispersal to the newly enclosed farm land blocked in modern farms. The village is in fact with its neighbour, Scarcliffe, both the oldest area of enclosure in the county, and the best surviving example of an 18th century enclosure arable landscape. Almost everywhere else grain crops are minimal but here one can still see grain sweeping to the horizon in its rotations.

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