

# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



N. W. view of DUFFIELD CHURCH.

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## CIVIL WAR AND CIVIL STRIFE IN SOUTH WEST DERBYSHIRE

1250 - 1499

(by Professor S.A. Barker, Department of Chemistry, University of Birmingham)

The area of south west Derbyshire is bounded by the River Dove (34 miles) as it runs south and then east to join the River Trent just north of Burton-on-Trent. The Roman roads (1) in this area were three. The main one crossed the Dove near the Monks Bridge on the road to Little Chester. Directly west from here along the line of Long Lane another road ran to Rocester near where it again crossed the Dove. Longford marked the crossing of a minor street en route. The third route was Hereward Street that ran from near Wirksworth along a ridge north of Ashbourne following a south westerly line to Rocester this time crossing the Dove at a point near Hanging Bridge in the Mayfield/Clifton area. To these by 1250 had been added two major routes south from Derby, one crossing the Trent at Swarkestone Bridge, the other at Wilne Ferry, and a network of lanes between the villages.

The bridges of strategic importance to the area were: Burton Bridge; Monks Bridge on the Dove on the Burton-Derby road near Egginton; Swarkestone Bridge on the Trent on the Derby-Melbourne road; Tutbury Bridge on the Dove with the great castle commanding not only Tutbury Bridge but also controlling the lines of march crossing both Burton Bridge and Monks Bridge and more remotely the Hanging Bridge on the Dove at Mayfield. Bordering the area were bridges over the Derwent at Belper, and Little Chester, with castles at Duffield, Horsley and Codnor. There were other castles at Mackworth and Bretby built like those at Codnor and Horsley for primarily private purposes and not with the very strategic importance of Tutbury and Melbourne.

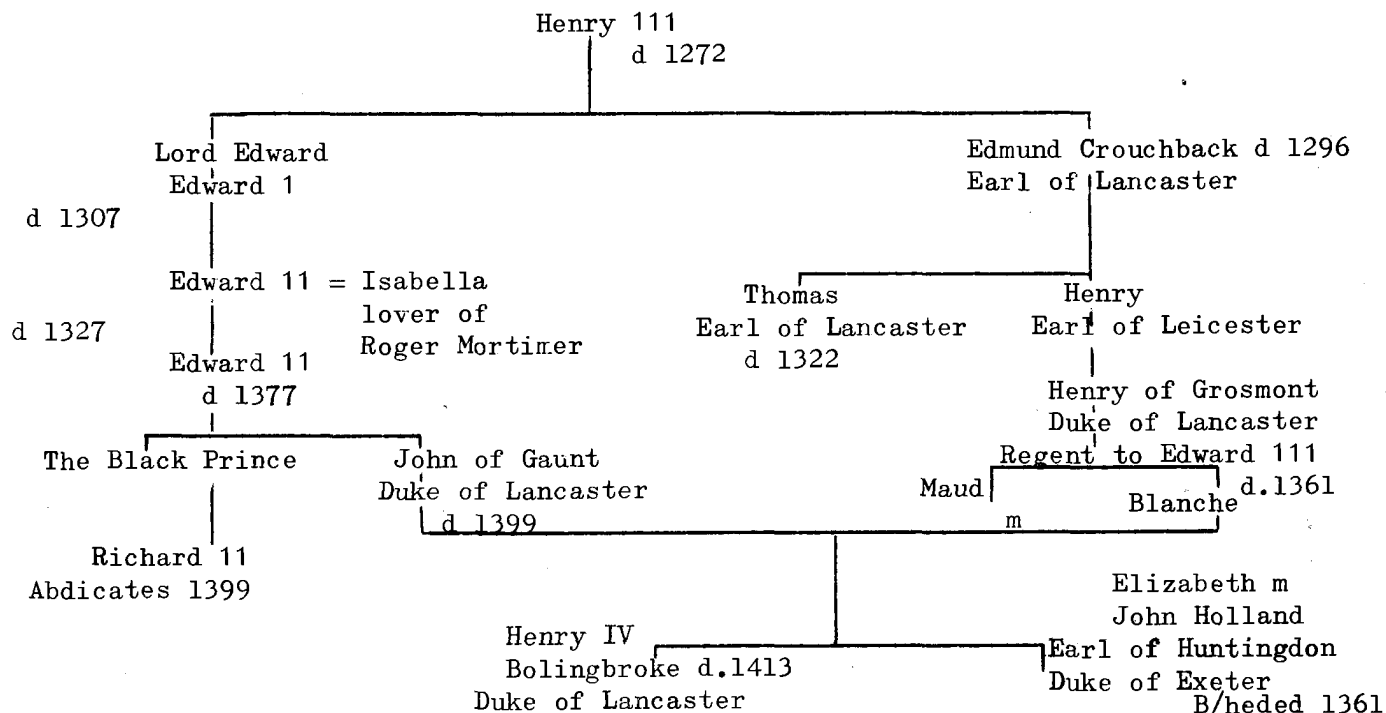
The area was largely controlled by the church from the Bishopric at Lichfield and by the State from the castle at Tutbury lying on the River Dove. Here too was a Priory with many possessions and privileges in this area. Most of the Knights in the area owed allegiance to the Earl of Derby and belonged to the Honour of Tutbury.

As the period opened Henry III visited Tutbury Castle in 1251, where William de Ferrers held sway as Earl of Derby. In 1257 his Queen Eleanor met Richard de Clare here. However in 1254 William de Ferrers had been succeeded by his son Robert who was not then of age. On coming of age in 1260 in a troubled period he became the focus of civil strife in the area taking under his wing Mathew de Kniveton of Bradley in 1261 as civil war threatened. (2) The outbreak of the baronial war saw Robert de Ferrers on the side of Earl Simon de Montfort. Mathew de Kniveton started attacks on some of his neighbours including Roger de Wardington, Roger Cokayn and William de la Launde. He became a nuisance, a disturber of the peace and started feuds which lasted down the centuries.

Shortly before 11 December 1263, Earl Simon and the Earl of Derby took control of London. In February 1263/4 Robert de Ferrers captured Worcester. However when Prince Edward captured Northampton in April 1264 the younger de Montforts were taken prisoner and Ferrers punished by partial demolition of the castle at Tutbury. Also his lands in Derbyshire and Staffordshire were harried. In the next shift of fortune Henry III was defeated on 14 May 1264 at Lewes by Earl Simon, but the next year Simon met his end on the 4th August 1265 at the Battle of Evesham.

On the 15 May 1265, Henry of Almain surprised and captured the Earl of Derby at Chesterfield.

The Earl of Derby's lands were given on June 28 1266 to Edmund, Henry III's son. On August 14 1266 Mathew de Kniveton was given a safe conduct and then obtained a pardon on August 26 1266 at the instance of Prince Edward. This is so recorded in the Calendar of Patent Rolls. In November 1272 Henry III died and so ended an era.



The new king, Henry's elder son, Edward I visited Ashbourne in 1275 (19 Aug.) and during this time many wrongs were enquired into and remedied in Derbyshire as a whole. As the century ended trouble flared. In 1294 the Welsh revolted and from 1296 onwards there was war with either Scotland or the French. Lugard's Trailbaston gives many instances of murders, robbings and beatings during these years. In Ashbourne alone we had 5 murders before the king died in 1306:

- 1298/99 Simon Walround of Burton, chaplain killed John le Postelesman of Ashbourne
- 1298/99 John de Bibrigge of Ashbourne killed Walter le Wodeward in Compton on August 24 1297
- 1299 Richard son of Gervase of Ashbourne killed Thomas le Grom of Derby on December 13 1299
- 1302 Richard son of Nicholas de Bentley on September 29 killed John son of Richard de Bentley in the field of the same town
- 1305/6 John de Tappelesyneg of Underwood killed Alan Bubieyse of Ashbourne

Edward II's reign was a troubled one, in 1314 the Scots sorely defeated the English at Bannockburn. In 1315 torrential rains ruined the harvest and for three years there was famine in Europe. By 1316 wheat was six or seven times the normal price. Thomas Earl of Lancaster the King's cousin had succeeded his father in the earldom in 1296 and in 1316 suppressed a revolt in Lancaster. He was however jealous of the influence of the King's favourites.

The year 1317 was one of intrigue and private war. Lancaster refused to attend the Council and civil war threatened. On August 11, King Edward II mustered his forces at Newcastle while the Earl collected his at Pomfret. Despite the Earl refusing the King's followers leave to cross the river at Castleford, by September 24 the King had reached the south. Next year on 4 July 1318 the King went to Northampton while the Earl was at Tutbury Castle. Against this background a very minor incident (3) happened at Fenny Bentley near Ashbourne described in the following poem.

#### THE FIRST BARKER

1. T'was in thirteen eighteen  
That Barker is first seen  
Standing sheriff's bail in court  
In a contest hard fought  
Over whether on a July day  
Some men should have carried hay away
2. Now Walter Barker stood bail  
To keep Henry of Bupton from jail  
Since he with Roger, brother of that name,  
To Fenny Bentley with others came  
And there with force and arms did now  
Some Grass which other men did grow
3. In the England of that year  
Civil unrest hung in the air  
To Northampton came the king  
Not to Lancaster's liking  
At Tutbury Castle that Earl lay  
While in Bentley men took hay
4. William of Bentley owned that hay  
Roger and Henry took away  
In Fenny Bentley fair  
Some others did their share  
And came from nearby  
Where Ashborne doth lie
5. Whence did Walter Barker come  
To help Henry de Bubbedon  
T'is certain that two others came  
From Ashborne just down the lane  
From where in that meadow  
Others did mow what grass did grow
6. On the Ashborne roll  
Is Thomas de la Pole  
But t'was Robert the Plumber  
Who in that summer  
Came with John son of Richard  
And stood bail as Henry's ward
7. One other man did mainprize  
To Henry's freedom realize  
Richard de Bentley was his name  
And he may be the same  
As one who in the Leiger Book  
Some land near Ashborne took

8. In that second Edward's reign  
 Le Barker was a new name  
 For to England from Spain long had come  
 Soft leather preserved with alum  
 But now men it with tannin treated  
 That from the bark of tree they cheated
9. In Latin a shepherd was Bercar  
 And men had this name near and far  
 But we know that in later years  
 When plague did come to bring them tears  
 A man's trade became his surname  
 Even if he came to fame
10. So with a century gone  
 We find first Hugh then John  
 In fourteen twenty two and three  
 As Barkers both and tenants free  
 In old Saint John's Street between  
 That road and the school brook unseen

By 31 July, a general pardon was issued to Lancaster's partisans. This did not settle the matter for dissension again broke out. This ended in the Battle of Burton on Trent in 1322 and the hanging of the Earl's followers before surrender at Boroughbridge. The local supporters of the Earl of Lancaster at Burton in 1322, later charged by Edward II were: Henry de Bradbourne, Richard Foun (who held Yeaveley), Richard de Pountfreit, John de Twyford (of Twyford and Kirk Langley), Thomas Whither, Nicholas de Longford, Richard de Stretton, John de Mynors, Richard de Holland and Walter, son of Walter Montgomery. The King's supporters at Burton in 1322 drawn from this area were Ralph Bassett and John de Blount. After Boroughbridge, Lancaster and most of his army surrendered to Edward's northern supporters. Edward himself marched north from Tutbury and Derby to Pontefract where Lancaster and his main supporters were executed. Thomas' estates were confiscated.

Not only Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was jealous of Edward II's favourites. The King's behaviour had also estranged his wife, a French princess, and many barons. In 1325 the Queen, her brother the Earl of Kent and her son Edward were sent to France. On 24 September 1326 she invaded England, landing at Harwich. By November the King was captured and was murdered in captivity in 1327 at Berkeley Castle. The young King Edward was only a minor when he gained the throne and his mother and her lover, Roger Mortimer, held control. However in 1330, now married, with a son, he asserted himself at Northampton. Mortimer was tried and hanged. His mother was consigned to captivity. The years before this were troubled ones but in 1328 Henry of Lancaster regained his brother Thomas's estates and earldom.

Before Edward III tightened his grip on the kingdom a gang roamed Derbyshire (4) killing, robbing and wounding. Although led by the Coterels (James, Nicholas and John) the gang received aid and succour from the Bradbournes (John, his brother William and Richard) and their servants. In the fourth year of Edward III's reign, Sir William de Knyveton and John Matkyinson were slain, in the fifth year Thomas Ithel and William de Pare of Ashbourne and in the sixth year Walter Tyst of Brassington. Shortly before he died of the plague in 1361 Henry, now Duke of Lancaster granted Ashbourne to John Cokayne in 1359. John of Gaunt, Edward III's third son, succeeded to the Duchy in right of his wife, Blanche, daughter of Duke Henry.

In south west Derbyshire new family alliances were being made. In 1368 a marriage settlement (5) was arranged between Roger son of John de Bradbourne and Katharine daughter of John de la Pole. In 1373 Richard de Stafford, Lord of Clifton near Ashbourne was enfeoffed by John de la Pole. While Edward III won his glorious French victories (Crecy, 1346; Poitiers, 1356) and the Black Death stalked the land from 1348, there was little time for civil strife. However in 1377 just before he died, Edward III's last Parliament granted the first poll tax, to be succeeded by a second in 1379 and a third in 1380. John of Gaunt was Regent since Richard II, the son of the Black Prince, was still a minor. Gaunt's policies made him extremely unpopular. His London home was burnt in the Peasants Revolt which broke out in 1381. On June 12 that year, Richard II and the court moved from Westminster to the Tower and the following day the rebels from Kent and Essex entered the city. Apparently the revolt which was essentially a peasants rising did not extend to Derbyshire. Ashbourne was a local trouble centre in 1388 however. Nicholas de Knyveton, justice of the peace was killed, as was Sir John de la Pole of Newborough, Thomas Lymester, Richard Spicer, and William Yate at or near Ashbourne. This occurred on the Sunday after St. Hilary in 11 Richard II (1388). The Patent rolls of October 30 1391 and May 15 1393 record this and the killing of one John Paytvyn esq. a King's messenger of the Receipt of the Exchequer by Stephen servant of John Cresyl. Out of these tragic events arose the founding of a chantry in St. Oswald's Church, Ashbourne, for Sir Nicholas de Knyveton. Royal pardons were given in 1393 to Stephen and in 1399 to his master John Cresyl.

As Richard II grew older he built up a close circle of young friends whom his barons and older relatives resented for good reason. Michael de la Pole and Robert de Vere were the most important and offensive of these. While John of Gaunt was in the country peaceful counsels prevailed. In 1386 he left for Spain. Richard paraded his friends and his folly, and in 1388 a group of leading barons, known as the Appellants, moved against his friends, using the Merciless Parliament to break and exile Richard's circle. Things were bad in South Derbyshire. As always in times of national unrest local rivals seized the opportunities offered by national dissension to pursue their own ends. On February 26 1388 a warrant was issued for the arrest of John Cokayne and his associates. Cokayne had put his lands in trust to Philip de Okeover and his chaplains in 1382, and transferred them to other trustees including John Cresyl, rector of Longford in 1384. Such trusts were much used in the later fourteenth century. Perhaps the political unrest of the time accounted in part for the fashion. If a man's lands were in trust they might still remain in the family, even if the man were to be condemned for some political act and his property be confiscated.

Between 1388 and 1397 things were relatively peaceful. John of Gaunt's return from Spain in 1389 helped to establish greater calm. As Gaunt grew old Richard increased his personal power and in 1397 throwing aside restraint took his revenge for 1388. The leading Appellants were killed or tried then banished or executed. In 1398 the King took advantage of a personal quarrel between his cousin, John of Gaunt's eldest son, Henry Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Norfolk to banish both. Then when his uncle, John of Gaunt, died in February 1399, Richard seized the whole of his estates which should have passed to Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke invaded the country and with widespread support forced Richard to abdicate. Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, cousin of Richard II and Bolingbroke recognised by Parliament in 1385 as heir of the childless King had been killed in 1398, fighting in Ireland. There were other cousins, children of Gaunt's older brothers, who by descent had a stronger claim to the throne, but Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster was acclaimed as the nation's deliverer and ascended the throne as Henry IV.

When King Richard's death was announced in February 1400 it was rumoured that he had escaped. For several years Henry Bolingbroke was engaged with first the Welsh and then the Scots. The Earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur revolted and the latter was slain at Shrewsbury on July 21 1403. Although the Earl was pardoned he revolted again two years later. The King's health failed during the next few years and there were often troubles in Derbyshire.

In 1409 Hugh Erdeswyke (6) of Sandon, Staffs. with one thousand men attacked John Blount and others of the King's supporters at Newcastle-under-Lyme and then, still armed and equipped for war, went to the Derbyshire home of John Blount. The record says they sent their pricklers and hoblers with the purpose of killing him and destroying his house and lands. However, they were prevented from doing so by the posse of the County of Derby.

In 1410 Sir John Cokayne (7) collected 200 men at Ashbourne, so it was said, to resist Roger Leche who had come to attack him and kill him with a group of armed men. Soon, however, the King was dead and his strong wise son Henry V was in control. He came specially to Lichfield to sort out problems including those of Derbyshire. A pardon was given to John Cokayne and his followers for past offences. Not till the end of Henry V's reign was there more trouble. In 10 H V (1422) Ralph Shirley (8) of Brailsford with his men broke into the land of his neighbour, Henry Kniveton of Bradley, and depastured cattle on his grass and underwood. Within the year there was an insurrection (9) at Newton Grange and intimidation with swords, bows and arrows of a jury based on Ashbourne.

Henry IV's descendants (Henry VI etc.) became the Lancastrian faction while Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (1411-60) whose mother was the daughter of Roger Mortimer and father, the son of one of the younger sons of Edward III, led the Yorkist faction. In 1442 the Duke of York's wife Cecily gave birth to a son Edward; this was the future Edward IV. By 1450 the situation was that William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk who managed Henry VI affairs was impeached and assassinated. His two direct collaborators the Bishops of Chichester and Salisbury were lynched. They were succeeded by a combination of Henry VI's Queen Margaret, and Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who had married one of the Earl of Warwick's daughters. On 15 October 1453 Queen Margaret gave birth to a son Edward. In August 1453 Henry VI had a mental breakdown. In February 1454 Parliament was called and made York the Protector till December 1454 when Henry VI regained his senses. During this period York had to put down a rising led by Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont (2nd son of 2nd Earl of Northumberland) and Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, whose grandmother was the sister of Henry IV. The rising took place in Yorkshire (April 1454) and when the Protector moved north petered out. The raids described here may have been part of this general pattern.

In the 28th year of Henry VI (1445-50) John Cokayne (10) of Ashbourne led 40-50 men in an attack on Ralph Basset of Blore burning 40 cartloads of pease, 20 cartloads of hay and stealing arms. Not till 30 H VI (1451-2) were the raiders found guilty and fined.

The Blounts of Barton Blount and Sutton on the Hill sided with the Yorkists. Longford supported the Lancastrians. One thousand persons gathered under Longford's leadership at Longford (11). Many of these men were named including an ancestor Thomas Barker, barker of Ashbourne. John and High Barker had taken a lease in St. John St., Ashbourne in the early 1420's. The raid was a retaliatory raid for one a few weeks earlier by Sir Thomas Blount. Luckily for Walter Blount he was away when the men reached his house in the Order of Friars Preachers at Derby. Despite the riot act being read by the sheriff, Sir John Gresley, the raiders moved to another home of Walter Blount at 'Aielwaston' just south of Derby.



There they did much damage before returning. Richard, Duke of York, John, Earl of Shrewsbury, Richard Byngham and Ralph Pole tried the raiders in Derby. This raid had occurred in 32 Henry VI (1453-4).

In the 16th year of Edward IV (1476-7) Richard Robert, barker of Ashbourne (12) led some 20 men in a rampage through the lands of Nicholas Knyveton at Underwood. Not till Charles 1st's reign was the true ownership and privileges of Ashbourne men properly clarified and determined in this area.

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## YEAVELEY - STYDD AND THE HOSPITALLERS

by S.L. Garlic,

Yeaveley is mentioned in the Domesday book as Gheveli. Over the years it has been spelt in at least a dozen ways.

Geofa's clearing: Gleve Leah: Yeve ley: Yeaveley.

It would seem that the site was owned by Earl Ferrers and tenanted by a Saxon with an unpronounceable name at the time of Edward the Confessor. At the time of the Domesday book Yeaveley was comprised of two manors, Yeaveley and Stydd.

In 1306 Stydd was spelt Stede; in the 15th century Yeveley-Stede; in the 16th century Styd, meaning a stead, farm-stead or home-stead on which was a hermitage, later to become the preceptory of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

Yievele - i.e. - Yeveley, or Yeaveley, Derbyshire.

"Ralf le Fun, (Fawne) temp. R.l., gave the hermitage here, with lands, water, woods and a mill, thereto belonging, to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whereupon it became a preceptory to that Order, to which Sir Will. Meynill, Lord of the town, was a greater benefactor A.D. 1268". It was dedicated to St. Mary and St. John the Baptist.

It is undoubtedly interesting to learn how and why the Knights Hospitallers came to Yeaveley and founded the preceptory there as far back as the 13th century. The hospitallers were founded about 1092 by the merchants of Amalfi, in Italy, for the purpose of affording hospitality to pilgrims in the Holy Land. Their chief house was called the Hospital. It was situated in Jerusalem, over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and there were branches in other places frequented by the pilgrims. The services given to the sick and wounded during the first crusade made them very popular. Several princes and pious men endowed them with estates in a number of countries throughout Europe.

Many young men of influential families flocked to join the Order. During this period of their history their habit was a plain black robe, with a white cross upon the left breast and for out door wear, a flowing mantle, also with the white cross.

When Palestine was finally lost to the Christians, the Hospitallers withdrew to the Isle of Cyprus, afterwards to the Isle of Rhodes and finally to the Isle of Malta. The Hospitallers then became a naval power. They conferred great benefit to the western world by halting the progress of Mohammedan armies, by patrolling the Mediterranean sea in their galleys, each of which carried a force of armed brethren of the Order, officered by the knights.

In 1338 the headquarters of the knights, now known as the Convent, was based on the island of Rhodes and ruled by Grandmaster Elyon de Villanova, but financially supported by the profits derived from the many estates which were managed by selected brethren.

The Hospitallers were first introduced into England during the reign of Henry I, at Clerkenwell, which continued as their headquarters in England. The Order also had 35 endowed estates in various counties throughout this country called preceptories and some smaller holdings known as cameras.

The head of the movement in England at this time was known as the Prior: he was Brother Philip Thane who during his 28 years of office restored the Order's failing prestige, finalised the transfer of the disbanded Templar properties to the Order of St. John and made the report of the Hospitallers properties in England in 1338.

The Hospitallers' estates were managed by a Preceptor, with the assistance of one or more brethren. There were also a number of persons of various rank and condition who were admitted to the 'Fraternity' and the usual laymen to undertake the necessary chores. The duty of these establishments was to cultivate the endowed estates for the support of the Order overseas, to dispense the rule of hospitality and to form depots for the training of novices.

The Rev. L. B. Larking spent the winter of 1838-39 in the island of Malta. Whilst there he took the opportunity of inspecting the MSS. in the Public Library at Valetta and he relates that one of the volumes, bound in parchment, consisted of 160 pages, legibly written (in latin) upon paper in a hand and dated 1338 and in excellent preservation.

#### TRANSLATION OF THE ACCOUNTS

In the county of Derby

Baliff of Yeaveley

(Income)

There is a messuage, of which the garden yields per annum	4s. 8d.
Item a dovecote which yields per annum	3s. 4d.
Item 100 acres of land, the value per acre 6d yields per annum	50s. 0d.
And 8 acres of land, value 12d and yields	8s. 0d.
And the assize rent per annum	£52. 0s. 0d.
Pleas and perquisites of the court yield per annum	110s. 0d.
And the profit of the stock there	40s. 0d.
And of the moiety of the church of Stavley (Staveley) by appropriation	£12. 0s. 0d.
And of the fraternity per annum, at will, and in 'uncertain'	£20. 10s. 0d.
The sum total of receipts and profits of the said baliff	£95. 6s. 0d.

#### Expenditure

The a.c. in expences of the house, for the preceptory, of its brotherhood, of one chaplain, two corredars, and others in the group and also many other supervisors, in the cause of hospitality, just as is ordered by the rules of the house.

In bread provided per annum, 72 quarters of what, the price per quarter 2s. and now	£7. 3s. 0d.
Item in ale brewed per annum, 84 at a 'Quarter brew' price per quarter 2s.	sum £8. 8s. 0d.
And in provisions, as meat, fish and other essentials	£10. 0s. 0d.
In provender for horses of the preceptory and supervising per annum, 120, and a quarter price 12d.	£6. 0s. 0d.

In robes, mantles, and other essentials of the preceptory and its brotherhood	69s. 4d.
And in robes and stipends of the 'family' of the house except the cook and the key-bearer	£4. 0s. 0d.
And in gifts given to the council of the king and other lords	68s. 4d.
In the visitation of the prior for 3 days	60s. 0d.
<u>Donatus</u> : Item John Brex by gift there, for robes and his essentials	22s. 8d.
And one chaplain, for his stipend	20s. 0d.
Item William Warde, for charter of the chapter	6s. 8d.
<u>Corrodars</u> :	
And William Pistori, per annum	10s. 0d.
And the Steward, and in other fees	£4. 0s. 0d.
And William de Impyngton, for charter of the chapter	£4. 0s. 0d.
<u>Pensions</u> :	
And Robert Brex for pension, for charter of the chapter	40s. 0d.
And the bailiffs in collecting rents in diverse parts, per annum	30s. 0d.
In wine, candles and oil for the church there	6s. 8d.
For repairs to the house	40s. 0d.
In stipends, 1 chamberlain, $\frac{1}{2}$ mark (6s.8d.) 1 key-bearer	13s.4d. 20s. 0d.
In stipends, 1 washerwoman per annum	16d.
The sum of all expenses and disbursements	£63.06s. 0d.
Sum of the value - and there remains to pay to the Treasurer for supporting the burdens	£32.00. 00d.
Father Henry de Bakewell, chaplain, precentor.	

The names of the brothers:

Father Thomas de Bathley. s.

Donatus - John Brex - donatus

\* Note: In the preface by Rev. L. B. Larking of The Hospitallers of England he points out that the name 'Brex' was miswritten and should read 'Bray'.

The accounts here given reveal the names of the most important inmates at the preceptory at Yeaveley in 1338. Brother Henry de Bakewell was both chaplain and preceptor. He was born of distinguished parents and was a professed priest who had been admitted to the Order. Of Brother Thomas de Batheley, s., the addendum s, at the end of his denotes that he was a servientes armorum (knights esquire) who had served for five years in the Convent at Rhodes and sailed for at least two years with the Orders before being appointed to his secondary position at Yeaveley. Both these brothers received an annual allowance of a £1 for a robe, 6s. 8d. for a mantle and 8s for other expenses, both wore the Orders eight pointed white cross.

John Brex (Bray) was a donatus - a layman who had given himself and his estates to the hospitallers cause. On so doing he requested that he be admitted to the preceptory and that he be supported by the Order. He received 22s 8d. for a robe and other necessary expenses. He was allowed to wear a cross of six points, (honorary knight) and was excused compulsory attendance at religious services as he did not take the oath. William Warde and William Pistori were corrodaries, (from the word corrody, meaning to eat together, referring to the custom of benefactors sending their old servants to feed in religious institutions): they were a charge on the house of 6s. 8d. and 10s. respectively. There were also two pensioners, William de Impyngton and Robert Brex (Bray), recorded in expense accounts: they were an imposture secured upon estates granted to the brotherhood, or for services rendered and paid for out of the general fund.

A number of personnel were not mentioned by name: one a chaplain was not an inmate of the preceptory as he was in charge of the appropriated church at Staveley. It is interesting to note the facts arising from the appropriated church, whose collections the Order took to itself, paying the chaplain at a reduced rate. The profit upon this transaction was very considerable. (the moiety of Staveley Church was £12, the Chaplains stipend was £1.)

Subordinated to the brethren were various persons requisite to maintain the establishment. Perhaps the most important of these were the chamberlain, the officer managing the household, the bailiff, who collected the rents, the steward, who was entrusted with the hospitallers property, the key bearer, (janitor or door-keeper:), the cook and the humble washerwoman.

Others not mentioned but covered by 'stipends of the family of the house' would be a baker, a brewer, a cellarer, and, as a number of horses were kept, a stable-man and horse-boys. There would be one or two novices: these would act as pages in attendance during the Prior's annual visit and to guests such as the King's representatives and other persons of rank.

The accounts of 1338 show that the hospitallers did not avoid the heavy burden of hospitality; this expenditure is to be found in the charges occasioned by 'supervenientibus' (strangers who stayed at Yeaveley at the cost of the house.

A closer study of the accounts reveals some of the customs of those times; that a court was held when complaints were corrected and wrong doers were placed 'in mercy' of the court and fined. It was at this court that some of the rents were collected. There are no accounts of this court at Yeaveley, but 'pleas and perquisites of the court' record that there was one. A century later a 'court with View of Frankpledge of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem' was held from time to time at Chesterfield and at (Temple) Normanton, and gives a good example of the type of court that would have been held at Yeaveley.

The estate at Yeaveley was managed as a farm. There was a 'messuage' or dwelling house, offices with a garden, 100 acres of arable land and eight acres of meadow land. (a sizeable area). Attached to the estate was 'columbarium' (dovecote) which seems to have been a steady source of income. It provided fresh meat to replace salted beef during the winter months. There was also profit from stock (stauri): this is interpreted as sheep and cattle kept on the 'demesme land' (home farm).

The estate was roughly a mile square so staff would be needed to till the land, to take care of the stock and to undertake other menial tasks. These are accounted for by the statement 'and also many other supervisors', although some of the land was rented out to a number of tenants.

The hospitallers also held land at Compton, Ashbourne. In 1376 serious complaints were made against them because they permitted their tenants to sell bread and ale, and they granted stamps for weights and measures which interfered with the monopolies claimed by the royal manor of Ashbourne.

The hospitallers were not well liked by city and town authorities or land owners, as foreign dominated organisations enjoyed a privilege known as mortmain, meaning (in the dead hand) they paid no tax. However, harmony seems to have prevailed, and the hospitallers continued in possession of Yeaveley and Stydd for the next 200 years, that is until the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII.

At the Court of Augmentations, Thomas Charde received by letters patent, the site and chief messuage of the Manor or late Commandary of Yeaveley otherwise called Stydd, and parcels of land in the county of Derby, and possession of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, lately dissolved, with the lands in Yeaveley and Stydd. 1 March 33 Hen. VIII (1541/2). In 1542 Thomas Charde sold the preceptory lands to Vincent Mundy, Esq., of Markeaton and later in 1543 it was granted to Charles Lord Mountjoy and finally to Francis Colwich in 1599.

During the years that followed the preceptory fell into disuse, was allowed to crumble into ruin and later still some of its stone was used to lay the base of the present Stydd Hall.

The knights are dust  
And their good swords are rust  
Their souls are with the saints, we trust.

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I am also grateful to Mr. D. V. Fowkes for the translation of the Yeaveley 1338 accounts and for his encouraging interest.

#### Book Note

The Illustrated History of Derbyshire by John Heath (Barracuda Books Ltd., price £9.50), 192pp. A valiant and praiseworthy attempt by John Heath to plug a gaping hole in available literature on the county, this being the first serious effort at a general history of the county for over a century. It is basically an economic and landscape history, with an excellent series of maps and illustrations, and it will doubtless be a boon to several generations of students. It is very attractively produced and it is therefore a pity that many minor errors and inconsistencies of spelling, dating and fact have been allowed to creep through. On a more general point it is unfortunate that the myth regarding the county's dry stone walling i.e. that somehow it all miraculously appeared after parliamentary enclosure, should again be perpetuated.

D. V. Fowkes

## CIVIL WAR AND CIVIL STRIFE IN SOUTH WEST DERBYSHIRE

1500 - 1650

(by Professor S.A. Barker, Department of Chemistry, University of Birmingham)

The Tudors brought a settled and, in Elizabethan times, a prosperous era to England. There were, of course, the alarms from the outside but civil war was not in that scene. Only the constant search for, and harrying of, Catholics was the preoccupation of some residents. In South West Derbyshire, the key meeting place (1) for Catholics as Yeldersley Old Hall. 'At Mr. Withalls house near Ashbourne, 4 miles from Alkmonton, lieth one Robert Showel a Catholic priest with a bald head having one leg longer than the other and at the buttery door they go up a pair of stairs straight to the chamber where they say Mass and Tanfield useth thither often' (3rd February 1595). Earlier in 1587/8 Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, Mr. Longford and Constance Sherwin of Rodsley were imprisoned.

Samuel Sanders (2) of Little Ireton, the son of Thomas Sanders, had been educated at Repton School and gathered material for a historical description of Derby. He tells of the disturbances in Derby,

1576 A great number of persons assembled by Sir John Zouch and Sir Thomas Stanhope should have fought in the town but were restrained by the Burgers and ringing of the Town's Bell.

1588 A great affray between Mr. Vernon and Mr. Langford's men and were parted by the Burgers and ringing of the Town's Bell.

1610 A great affray between Sir Philip Stanhope and Sir George Gresley and Great Contraversy with ye Townsmen about it. Our assizes were taken away and kept at Ashbourne.

In a sense it was a way of letting off steam, with worries about the Armada and the plagues in 1586, 1592, and 1605 prevalent.

The opening of the Civil War is recorded in a letter (3) from Sir Edward Nicholas at Derby to Sir William Boswell (September 15 1642). 'On Tuesday (13 September) the king marched there with his banner from Northampton with 500 horse, 5 regiments of foot and 12 pieces of artillery. The Derbyshire trained bands met him at Cavendish Bridge ca. 7 miles hence. Some 500 thereof attend the king and are billeted. The rest are disarmed. The king removes tomorrow to Uttoxeter.' Sir John Gell received his commission from the Earl of Essex 22 September 1642 and was to give one to his brother Thomas Gell as his Lt. Colonel dated 10 November 1642. On the Royalist side, Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsorth in Cheshire, colonel for the King started to organise their forces at a meeting with Sir John Fitzherbert, Sir Andrew Knyveton, Sir Thomas Fleetwood and Captain Barnesley held at Ashbourne. In a later investigation (4) it was said that Ann Cockayne furnished her son Sir Aston Cockayne of Ashbourne with horse and arms to serve against Parliament. She sent her goods to Tutbury Castle, a King's garrison, for safety. Other Royalist supporters in the area who also later suffered sequestration included Richard Peacock of Ashbourne, John Lee of Ladyhole (Yeldersley), William Fitzherbert (Tissington), Francis Cavendish (Doveridge), Henry Vernon, son of Sir Edward Vernon and Sir Simon Every and Sir Henry Every, his son, of Egginton. (5)

Among more than 400 signatures at the end of one 17 century Ashbourne parish register is that of Robert Greenwood. He probably signed with other townfolk of Ashbourne, Clifton, Compton and vicinity in February/March 1641/2. This was the time when most Protestation Returns were arriving in London although no Derbyshire returns survive in the House of Lords Library. This could well be because Derbyshire, on 14 March 1642 sent a petition about Papists to Parliament via Sir John Curzon with thousands of signatures (7077) at about the same time; this did survive.

It is interesting to view the Civil War in South West Derbyshire through Robert Greenwood's eyes since he was born at its centre, Hollington, and baptised at Longford 17 April 1614 as the son of William Greenwood who had a farm at Hollington. In 1628/9, Robert's father had died and the farm was sold. Robert's mother Susanna was the sister of George Lees, a dyer of Ashbourne, where Robert probably went to the Grammar School. He was later to become an Assistant Governor of the school until he resigned suddenly in 1648. Robert Greenwood seems to have set up business as a skinner at Ashbourne after marrying Sarah Ashe on 21 September 1636 at Ticknall Church. He and his brother Timothy were to prosper from their involvement in the Civil War, the former on the military front and the latter at Ashbourne on the civilian front handling the purchase of proeerty.

In the Calendar of State Papers Domestic 26 June 1656, the military service of Robert Greenwood is listed. (6) It establishes that at the beginning of the war in 1642 'he engaged against the public enemy as captain of foot, was afterwards appointed captain of dragoons and then of horse and continued therein till 1646, when his regiment was disbanded'. According to the Derby Fair Book, 1647, p. 147, he had then retired to Ticknall, since as Robert Greenwood, gentleman, he sold his black bay horse to Thomas Woolley of Marston-on-Dove. Certainly he had celebrated the end of the first Civil War by marrying his second wife Katharine Thacker on 4 August 1646 at Ticknall.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, Sir John Gell entered Derby (31 October 1642) and gave out commissions to his officers of whom the two key ones were Major Mollanus and Major Sanders. Thomas Sanders (b. 11 August 1610) was the son of Collingwood Sanders, Lord of Cauldwell and Little Ireton and had been educated at Derby School and Repton. Shortly before the war (2 June 1640) John Rowe of Windle, gent, had sold to Thomas Sanders of Inner Temple, London a mansion house called Windle Hill and others in Osleston, Thurstaston and Sutton. One of his neighbours there was Robert Hope of Trusley who, together with Robert Greenwood, became a Captain.

Initially as a Captain of Foot, Robert Greenwood was probably stationed at Ashbourne. In a letter (7) of February 9 1642/3 from Lichfield, Littleton wrote to the Royalist Commander, Col. H. Hastings, at Ashby de la Zouch that 'I am informed by Mr. Ball that came from Ashbourne that there lies six score foot of Gells who have neither powder nor match nor above 30 muskets'. Indeed the Royalist paper 'Mercurius Aulicus' reported on 21 March 1643 that 'A good prize was intercepted by Sir John Fitzherbert near Ashbourne in the peak where he took fourscore horses loaded with March and Ammunition for Manchester to furnish Sir Thomas Fairfax'. Sir John was to set up his Royalist headquarters at Tissington near Ashbourne. Shortly before, Col. Gell's regiment had regained Lichfield (5 March 1643) only to be defeated on 19 March 1643 at the Battle of Hopton Heath.

Burton on Trent became the focus of fighting in the area during the ensuing summer. In April 1643 Gell and Grey attacked Burton and Sanders occupied it with 200 foot and 60 dragoons until 2 July 1643 when it fell following an attack by Prince Rupert. At Christmas 1643 it was still in the hands of the Royalists under Colonel Harpur of Littleover. On January 4 1643/4 the Parliamentarians, following an attack by Major Mollanus, captured, one Royalist major, six captains, eight other officers and 500 men.

Tutbury Castle had been garrisoned for the King in November 1642 under Henry Hastings (later Lord Loughborough) with Sir Andrew Kniveton of Bradley as governor. It severely hampered the free movement of Parliamentary forces in South West Derbyshire by its command of that stretch of the River Dove. On the 24 July 1643, Sir Edward Nicholas had written (8) to Prince Rupert at Oxford that Col. Hastings had beaten the rebels from before Tutbury Castle.



During the winter of 1643 the north of Derbyshire had been secured by the Duke of Newcastle. Early in November he marched south to Chesterfield and subdued the Parliamentary garrisons at Chatsworth (November 29) Wingfield (December) before moving through Bolsover to Welbeck. On 27 February 1643/44, Sir Andrew Kniveton tried to surprise Ashbourne and Uttoxeter but was driven back by Sanders.

On 27 February 1643/4 the Committee of both Kingdoms wrote (9) to Mr. Nathaniel Hallows, M.P. at Derby saying that they had appointed one to be at his home weekly with letters from them. A similar letter was sent to Sir John Gell who was to give intelligence. Derby was a key point in the network of towns to which regular letters were dispatched from London. The messenger both gave and received intelligence along a north westerly route; London (Saturday morning), St. Albans, Newton Pagnell, Northampton (Sunday night), Leicester (Monday), Nottingham (Monday night), Derby (Tuesday), Manchester (Wednesday night), Preston (Thursday noon). He called back in at Derby on a Saturday and got to London on the next Thursday night.

The Committee wrote (10) on 1 April 1644 to the Derbyshire Committee that they had appointed Thomas Fairfax to head a force that was to include 300 horse and 500 foot from Derbyshire. Later that month (20 April) they warned Fairfax that on the 17th instant Prince Rupert had been about Burton on Trent and that he was arraying men in great numbers.

In the summer of 1644, Sanders captured Colonel Eyres' troop in Boylestone Church and in a key move established a garrison at Barton Blount to harry and eventually act as a base to beseige Tutbury Castle some 3 miles away. Captain Robert Greenwood as the governor of the Barton garrison and 'with his troop consisting of 120 horse, ould and honest valiant souldiers being all dismounted; and he leading them first outside the towne (Tutbury); being shrouded with Captain Villers and 20 horse they marched to the town. There was found one sentry we tooke; we marched up the great street, to the Crosse and possessed ourselves of the gard; there was only one man of the enemy slayne in the gard; a sargiant; we have no further opposition: we toke aboute 2 prisoners and about 120 horse.' This incident (11) happened on the night of 10 September 1644. It merited a letter (12) from Sir Andrew Kniveton to Lord Loughborough on 11 September from Tutbury saying that 'My lord, this night about 11 of the clock the enemy came into the town and rid up and down with much fierceness. They took only 5 of our men and Lt. Smith and Serg. Sleigh that belonged to the dragoons were 2 of them. One was Capt. Meynell's man and 2 townsmen were the other'.

Greenwood felt so settled in his garrison that he styled himself 'Robert Greenwood of Barton Park, gent.' when his brother Timothy Greenwood of Egginton, gent., enfeoffed him in 2 messuages in Compton on 15 November 1644 (13). On 27 January 1645/6 Timothy ordered Edward Manlove of Ashbourne to deliver seisin of the two messuages to Robert Greenwood of Barton Park, gent.

In the early summer of 1645, Captain Symond's Diary (14) records that King Charles I and an army reached Uttoxeter on 24 May having earlier marched past a house of Sir Hervey Bagot's. The Earl of Lichfield quartered that night near Cubley, Derbyshire. On Whitsunday 25 May 1645, the army marched to Burton on Trent, their headquarters. The King stayed at Tutbury castle under the command of Lord Loughborough with Sir Andrew Kniveton governor. Some, including Symonds stayed at Rolleston. On the following Tuesday the King marched away to Ashby de la Zouch and later to the battle of Naseby. On July 1st 1645 a clash took place at Ashe in which several men of the Barton garrison were wounded.

After much wandering the King again returned to Tutbury on 12 August 1645. On Wednesday, 13 August 1645 they made their way to Ashbourne.

'In this march a body of 500 of the enemy's horse fell upon the reare, near Barton garrison by Tutbury and were well received by us. Some 20 of ours hurt, with 3 or 4 on both sides killed'. On 14 August 1645, Gell (15) had ordered Major Sanders to follow in the rear of the King's Army using Capt. Greenwood's horse and to send for the Stafford horse. A clash took place at Alkmonston and two soldiers were killed and buried at Longford. On 4 October 1645 Gell again wrote (16) to Sanders ordering him to join with the Nottingham horse and follow the enemy. However the troop of horse was to be left at Barton together with Capt. Frithe's dragoons. Other events at Barton Blount and the surrounding countryside during this time have been previously described by the Rev. Auden (17). On 25 October 1645 Robert Greenwood wrote (18) to the Constable of Hope 'These are to charge and command you to bring and collect and gather in your Township the sum of 2ls. and to bring the same to the Garrison at Barton on 31 November for reedifying the said garrison, by order of the Committee of Derby'. In the Longford register it describes that 'John Mabley was attacked and had his house broken in sundry places by souldiers the first of November in the night, and because they could not get in and he would not yield, they shot him with a sluge into the head and soe died and was buried the 2nd day of November'.

On the 16th February 1645/6 there was a brush between royalists and the Barton Garrison and some roundheads were defeated near Uttoxeter on the 18th February. Within one week, supplies were demanded from Marchington ny Gen. Gerard from Tutbury (6 March) and Col. Bowyer who led the troops now besieging Tutbury Castle (13 March) with troops from both Staffordshire and Derbyshire under the overall command of Sir William Brereton (30 March). By 16 April 1646 Bowyer reported (19) he had 220 from Stafford but only 130 from Derbyshire under Capt. Bagshaw and Capt. Poole.

Articles for the surrender of Tutbury castle to the Parliamentary forces were set down on 20 April 1646 and signed by Sir William Brereton, Bowyer and Vernon for Parliament, and Kniveton, John Fitzherbert, John Gerrard and William Browne for the Royalists. There were five articles the first of which said that not only would Tutbury Castle be sleighted but also the Barton Garrison post. Orders for the sleighting of the Castle were given by Brereton to Captains Greenwood and Villars also on 20 April. Their forces were to remain behind after the departure of the main forces under Col. Bowyer and Major Snow. The arms captured at Tutbury were itemised on 24 April and conveyed to Eccleshall Castle. They included 147 muskets, 40 pikes and two barrels of gunpowder. Tutbury was a centre for breeding military horses and there were at that time 107 horses in all listed on 2 May.

Soon after, the regiment was disbanded and some of the men from Greenwood's birthplace, Hollington, sold their horses at Derby (John Millington, William Allen, Francis Morley, Richard Morley) according to the Fair Book.

On 30 June 1648 the Committee in London reported to the Houses of Parliament that a troop of horse was to be raised in Derbyshire for which a Commission was given to Captain Greenwood to command them. Other troops were given to Captains Thomas Hatfield and Gabriel Wyan. On 5 July 1648, according to Col. Hutchinson (20), in a fight at Willoughby, Notts., a troop of Derbyshire Horse was engaged and their Commander Capt. Greenwood was dangerously wounded. In the original record of Greenwood's military service it states that 'at the Duke of Hamilton's coming he engaged against him and was in service in Scotland till the care of his family caused him to leave that employment'. The Army of the Scots was defeated on 22 August 1648 in Lancashire by Cromwell. Greenwood continued until April 1649, the troop being paid by the Committee of Sequestrations for the County of Derby. He was again called upon 4 March 1650 to command a troop of horse and on 2 July 1650 the order was renewed for three further months. It is appropriate that the account of his military record ends 'Captain Greenwood served again when the late King of Scotland invaded this nation'.

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## THE ORIGINS OF PROTESTANT DISSENT IN ILKESTON 1600-1735

by Richard Clark,

Ilkeston today contains churches and chapels of a wide range and variety of religious denominations. It is a town where Protestant Dissent remains influential, having had a long and powerful tradition. During the 1820s, with a tenth of its present population, the town already contained meeting houses for Unitarians, Independents, General and Particular Baptists and Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists; the Congregationalists in 1887 supplied the new borough with its first mayor.<sup>1</sup> Examples of this kind could be multiplied, but the purpose of this article is to describe and assess the origins of Dissent in Ilkeston.

The origins of the English Congregationalists and Baptists can be traced back with certainty to a number of secessions from the Church of England during the reigns of Elizabeth I and her two Stuart successors and, with less certainty, to earlier Anabaptist and Lollard congregations. However, there is no definite trace of such sectarianism in Ilkeston during the early seventeenth century; indeed there seems to be little, if any, for the whole of Derbyshire in this period. Although seven parishioners were cited to the bishop's visitation courts of 1636 and 1639 for their absence from Ilkeston church, it should not be assumed that their actions stemmed from religious discontent and separation from the Church of England; the causes were quite likely to have been of a more secular nature.<sup>2</sup>

The vast majority of people, including the Puritans, dissatisfied with the Church of England as then established by law, were content to remain within the national church, if only as the least of evils, during the early seventeenth century. However, if Puritan laymen found the services at their own parish church unsatisfactory, it was common for them to supplement their spiritual fare by going to the services and sermons of other local churches where the doctrine was more to their liking. This practice was disliked by the ecclesiastical authorities as it tended to undermine their efforts to ensure that every parishioner attended his or her own parish church each Sunday, and they attempted to discourage it. In 1609 eight parishioners were cited from Ilkeston to the visitation court because they "frequented services outside their parish", but, when they explained that they only did this when their minister did not preach and not otherwise, their case was dismissed. Thomas Eaton, one of this group, was again cited in 1636 "for going from his own<sup>3</sup> parish", but, after receiving a warning not to do this, he was dismissed.

The small amount of evidence suggests that Ilkeston harboured a few Puritan laymen, sufficiently moderate to submit to the spiritual courts of the Established Church. Ilkeston was obviously not a centre of Puritanism in so far as some of its parishioners felt that they had to leave the town on occasion to fulfil their spiritual needs. It is apparent that the early seventeenth century vicars gave no lead to Puritanism in their parish.

With the onset of the Civil War came the collapse of ecclesiastical discipline and the widespread growth of sectarianism, culminating in the appearance of the Quakers during the 1650s. As with Puritanism, Ilkeston never became a centre of primary importance for sectarianism unlike, for instance, Chesterfield. Nothing is known of the sects in Ilkeston during the Interregnum; evidence of Quakers there only appears after the Restoration during the years of their persecution. By this time the Bluntons of Little Hallam were Quakers.

The register of the Codnor Breach Monthly Meeting records the marriage of John Blunston and Eleanor Branton, both of Little Hallam, on 23 September 1669 and the births of their children in 1670, 1672, 1673 and 1676. The register also records the births of the children of John Hanks of Ilkeston and John Bennett of Cotmanhay.<sup>4</sup>

The Quakers of Ilkeston, as others elsewhere, suffered considerably for their beliefs. William Marshall, John Hanks and Samuel Roe had their goods distrained for failing to pay the fines imposed on them under the second Coventicle Act for being present with other Quakers at a meeting in Heanor in October 1675. During the following year John Wagg, a collier, and John Wilson, vicar of Ilkeston, gave information to the Justices about Quakers' meeting in Ilkeston for the burial of Samuel Roe's wife. This resulted in the goods of Samuel Roe, John Blunston and John Hanks and his wife being distrained upon their refusal to pay the consequent fines. The church courts had already excommunicated certain Ilkeston Quakers, and so eight were cited to the consistory court in Lichfield Cathedral for its session, held on 17 July 1677, to explain why they remained excommunicate. Only John Blunston bothered to appear. He was told to frequent his parish church and certify his attendance at services there; he refused, and was excommunicated again. The others would have been excommunicated for their contumacy. In 1679 Blunston's goods were again distrained for his refusal to pay tithes and William Fox, another Ilkeston Quaker, was convicted for recusancy in 1684.<sup>5</sup>

References to Quakerism in Ilkeston peter out after the 1680s. In order to avoid persecution, and encouraged by William Penn, many Quakers emigrated to Pennsylvania. The Blunstons were among that number, arriving in the New World in 1682. Apart from emigration Quakerism probably declined because of the difficulty ordinary people had in upholding the Quaker way of life. In 1675 Samuel Roe 'from his house in Cotmanhay' had to acknowledge his 'sin of drinking too much' to the Quarterly Meeting. Others might have lacked the humility to confess their faults publicly, and so fell away from the movement. In south-eastern Derbyshire as a whole numbers declined, and the Codnor Breach Monthly Meeting in 1715 had to report that they had "no weekday meetings and but small first day meetings". Quakerism in Ilkeston died out, merely forming an interlude rather than a foundation in the history of Ilkeston's Protestant Dissent. In any case the Ilkeston Quakers, apart from the burial of Roe's wife, appear to have met and worshipped outside the parish. Their most important venue was the meeting house at Codnor Breach which had been erected during 1678, John Blunston, framework-knitter of Little Hallam, having been one of the first trustees. According to the minute book of the Codnor Breach Monthly Meeting, Quakers also met at Little Eaton, Eastwood and Ripley.<sup>6</sup>

With the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 came the re-establishment of the Church of England and the re-imposition of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662. To many clergymen the religious reaction of this time was unacceptable, and they chose to leave the Church of England. Numerous of them continued to pursue some form of ministry, their teaching attracting groups of laymen. In many places these events marked the beginnings of a moderate form of Protestant Dissent, separate and independent from the Church of England; in Ilkeston the course of events is less clear.

Ilkeston seems seldom to have come directly under the influence of the nonconformist ministers who were ejected in 1662, either before that year or afterwards. William Fox, vicar of Ilkeston from 1633 until 1658 when he became rector of Strelley, was a conformist during the 1630s as well as after

1662. Of his successor, Patrick Jacke, nothing else seems to be known other than his name and his departure from the vicarage before September 1662. In July 1661 Samuel Wright, vicar of Heanor, was presented to the Quarter Sessions, described as 'of Ilkeston', for failing to use the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>7</sup> Wright might have been serving Ilkeston as the vicarage was then already vacant, but his nonconformist influence was probably brief. His main sphere of activity lay in Heanor, and, after he was ejected from the vicarage there, moderate Protestant Dissent began to develop in Heanor rather than Ilkeston.

After 1662 Wright remained in Heanor working amongst his old parishioners, though usually too ill to preach. By 1669 John Hieron, the ejected rector of Breadsall, maintained a conventicle in his house at Loscoe. After Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 three Presbyterian meetings were licenced in Heanor Parish; two in Heanor itself and one in Hieron's house; none were then licenced in Ilkeston.<sup>8</sup> After the withdrawal of the Declaration, conventicles had to go underground, but it is known that Hieron remained at Loscoe, while, during the persecutions of the mid-1680s, Gervase Disney held meetings in his house at Aldercar (again in Heanor Parish).<sup>9</sup>

Persecution was ended by the Act of Toleration of 1689. This act required Protestant Dissenters to register their meeting places with the Quarter Sessions or diocesan authorities. By the end of 1690 eighty-two meeting places throughout the county had been registered with the Derbyshire Quarter Sessions, but, though meetings were then registered in Heanor Parish in Heanor itself, Codnor, Langley and Loscoe, none were in Ilkeston. Somewhat later off the mark, on 10 January 1693 Hannah Carrier's house in Ilkeston was registered as a Presbyterian meeting house. This was the somewhat unspectacular beginning of permanent Protestant Dissent in Ilkeston.<sup>10</sup>

A compound of circumstances probably explains why a meeting house in the parish was registered in 1693 and not before. Obviously the fact that it was then safe and legal to do so has something to do with the case. Why meetings appeared in Heanor years before must partly stem from the fact that there were two nonconformist ministers there to supply the impetus; there were none in Ilkeston. Although there had been a tradition of lay Puritanism in Ilkeston during the earlier half of the century, it was not sufficiently strong and dynamic enough to be transformed into moderate Protestant Dissent during the reign of Charles II. The impetus to set up a meeting in Ilkeston after the Revolution presumably stemmed in part to the proximity to the meetings in neighbouring Heanor, but another determining factor might have been increasing discontent with the Established Church as it then existed in the town. The post-Restoration vicars of Ilkeston were not models of virtue, let alone spiritual guides. Richard Needham in 1665 was cited to the visitation court "for neglecting the repair [of] the vicarage house and for swearing". Bishop Lloyd described John Wilson, his successor, as a "very mean tippling man ... not tolerable; great trader of clandestine marriages at Dale Abbey". During the 1690s Wilson was deprived of his living and ended up in the county gaol for debt, his wife forced to appeal to the Quarter Sessions for herself and family.<sup>11</sup> By 1693 Protestant Dissent provided a respectable alternative from these scandals.

Even after the licensing of Hannah Carrier's house for meetings, the future of Protestant Dissent in Ilkeston was not secure. Like many other Derbyshire dissenting congregations the Ilkeston meeting needed continual outside financial aid in order to pay a minister for conducting services.

During the early 1690s it was reported to the Presbyterian Common Fund that the meeting had need of £13 per annum in order to maintain a minister. That organization, based in London, paid of grant of £5 a year to Ilkeston throughout the 1690s. This grant was continued during the early decades of the eighteenth century, varying between £5 and £6 a year.<sup>12</sup> The meeting was able to survive and make ends meet by sharing its ministers with other local meetings. John Platts and Daniel Lowe, ministers at Ilkeston 1708-35 and 1736-44 respectively, also served at Loscoe.<sup>13</sup>

By 1719 the meeting was well-established enough to build its own permanent meeting house rather than depend further on the hospitality of a member of its congregation. On 14 July 1719 "a new erected building adjoining to a lane called Broad Lane in Ilkeston" was registered at the Derbyshire Quarter Sessions "for a public meeting house".<sup>14</sup> With the transformation of the Presbyterian congregation into a Unitarian one during the eighteenth century this building became the unitarian chapel. The chapel was rebuilt in High Street in 1869; it still survives, though its Unitarian congregation died out years ago.

Although Ilkeston experienced Puritanism, Quakerism and Presbyterianism during the course of the seventeenth century, it was never an important centre for any of them. In that century the foundations of Protestant Dissent were laid, but the age of its expansion and influence came much later. Expansion only began during the last three decades of the eighteenth century under the influence of the Evangelical Revival. In 1772, tired of the growing trend towards Unitarianism in the meeting house, a group of orthodox members seceded and set up their own meeting - the beginning of Congregationalism in Ilkeston. Around the same time the Baptists and Methodists established themselves permanently in the town. The age of their influence was ahead in the nineteenth century.

#### Abbreviations

D.R.O.	Derbyshire Record Office
L.J.R.O.	Lichfield Joint Record Office
N.R.O.	Nottinghamshire Record Office
P.R.O.	Public Record Office

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## Book note

The Story of Methodism in Dore by John Dunstan, 36pp., price 65p (inclusive of postage) (available from the author, 126, Selly Park Road, Birmingham B29 7LH). Carefully researched history of Methodism in Dore from its earliest mention there in 1790 through to the turn of this century, adding to the three volumes on Dore history enterprisingly published by the Dore Village Society. Excellent value for money.

D. V. Fowkes



### LEAD SMELTING IN LEA

(by Mrs. M. Wood, Derbyshire Record Office, County Offices, Matlock).

North of Lea Mills, between the road and Lea Brook (grid reference 319 568) lies a large whiteish heap of calcium sulphate (1), the principal remains of what was once the largest lead smelting site in Derbyshire. The Lea Lead Works closed down within living memory, the last survivor by many years of the county's lead smelting mills (2), but its origins lie at least as far back as the 1630's, and the history of lead smelting in Lea is older still.

When Francis Babington, Esq., (brother of Anthony of Babington Plot fame) mortgaged the manor of Lea - strictly half the manor - on 23 June 1590, it was provided that the mortgagees should not cut down the woods on the premises except towards the making of lead and leadworks at or within the lead milne in the manor and the necessary repairs to the lead milne and other the houses appertaining to the lead works (3). The mortgagees were Godfrey son of Roger Columbelle of Darley esq. and Thomas son of Roland Eyre of Hassop esq. Where this mill was situated is unknown, though presumably it was somewhere on the Lea Brook, nor is the date of its building known. A paper in the Shrewsbury Manuscripts (4), undated but thought to be 1590-1595, comments 'If your ho: (honour) buie your oerr at Cuimforde & Brassington and make the same into leade at leigh mille, one fother leade all his necessarie Issues (expenses) allowedde will stand your ho: in at Bautrie (Bawtry, co. Yorke) under - fother vi li vis viii of' (£6 6s 8d or £6 33p). Marginal notes add 'The beste makinge of leade to buie orr & make it at leigh Mill. yet to buie orr in Eam & Middleton lo: (lordship) & to make it at Barley (Barlow) is as profitable' and 'Both places good to mak<sup>xx</sup> (160) or<sup>xx</sup> (180) fothers a yeare'. 'Your ho:' is Gilbert the Earl of<sup>viii</sup> Shrewsbury<sup>ix</sup> (son of Bess of Hardwick's 4th husband the 6th Earl) who had a considerable industrial empire in Derbyshire and the Sheffield area. Whether however the mill at 'leigh' is his own or someone else's property is not evident (5). The Earl seems to have been making enquiries concerning Babington property in 1590 (6) and there is no doubt that his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Henry Grey Earl of Kent were disposing of properties which once had belonged to Francis Babington, in the 1630's (7). These included a corn mill at Lea (Francis is known to have owned both a corn mill and a lead mill there (8) ) but there is no evidence of their selling a lead mill, and what happened to the Babington mill and that mentioned in the Shrewsbury Manuscripts is not known.

The first reference known to the site - or part of the site - later occupied by the Lea Lead Works, is in a release dated 2 June 1634 (probably from his own trustees) to Gilbert son and heir of Godfrey Clarke of Somersall in Brampton gentleman, of Lea Hall, a tenement and close called the Cowhay in Lea in the occupation of George Royde, and a lead mylne or smelting house in Lea and Ashover (9) with dams, watercourses etc. now or late in the occupation of George Spateman, all of which Gilbert purchased of Thomas Peshall esq. and William Peshall Knight (10). The deed suggests that the property was already in Gilbert's hands by 4 November 9 Charles (1633): Later in the 17th century and in the early 18th century the Cowhay property was normally in the same ownership as a lead mill often called the Cowhay smelting mill (s), so it is probable that the 1634 'lead mylne' is the same as that later known by the name Cowhay. It is this mill which developed into the 19th century Lea Lead Works : the identification of the Cowhay site with

the Lea Lead Works site is a theme of this article. It is not, however, possible to link the 1634 mill with Francis Babington's or with the one mentioned in the Shrewsbury Manuscripts.

The Peshalls were a Staffordshire family, who by marriage with the Rollestons of Lea, had acquired the latter family's large estate at Ashover and Lea, including the Rolleston half of the manor of Lea. The Peshalls sold off their Derbyshire lands in the 1630's and 1640's and this sale was one of several by which they disposed of the old Rolleston estate (11). The mill itself need not, of course, have been part of the Rolleston inheritance, although it does seem inherently more likely that the Lea family would build it than the non-resident Staffordshire family. A Francis Rolson or Rowelston was one of the parties in the lawsuits of the 1580's arising out of alleged infringements of William Humfray's patents for smelting lead in a furnace using water - powered bellows and for the use of sieves in the preparation of the ore (12). There was at the time a Francis Rolleston of Lea who died in 1587, but there is nothing to prove that he is the same man, nor that he was the first man to build a smelting mill in Lea (13).

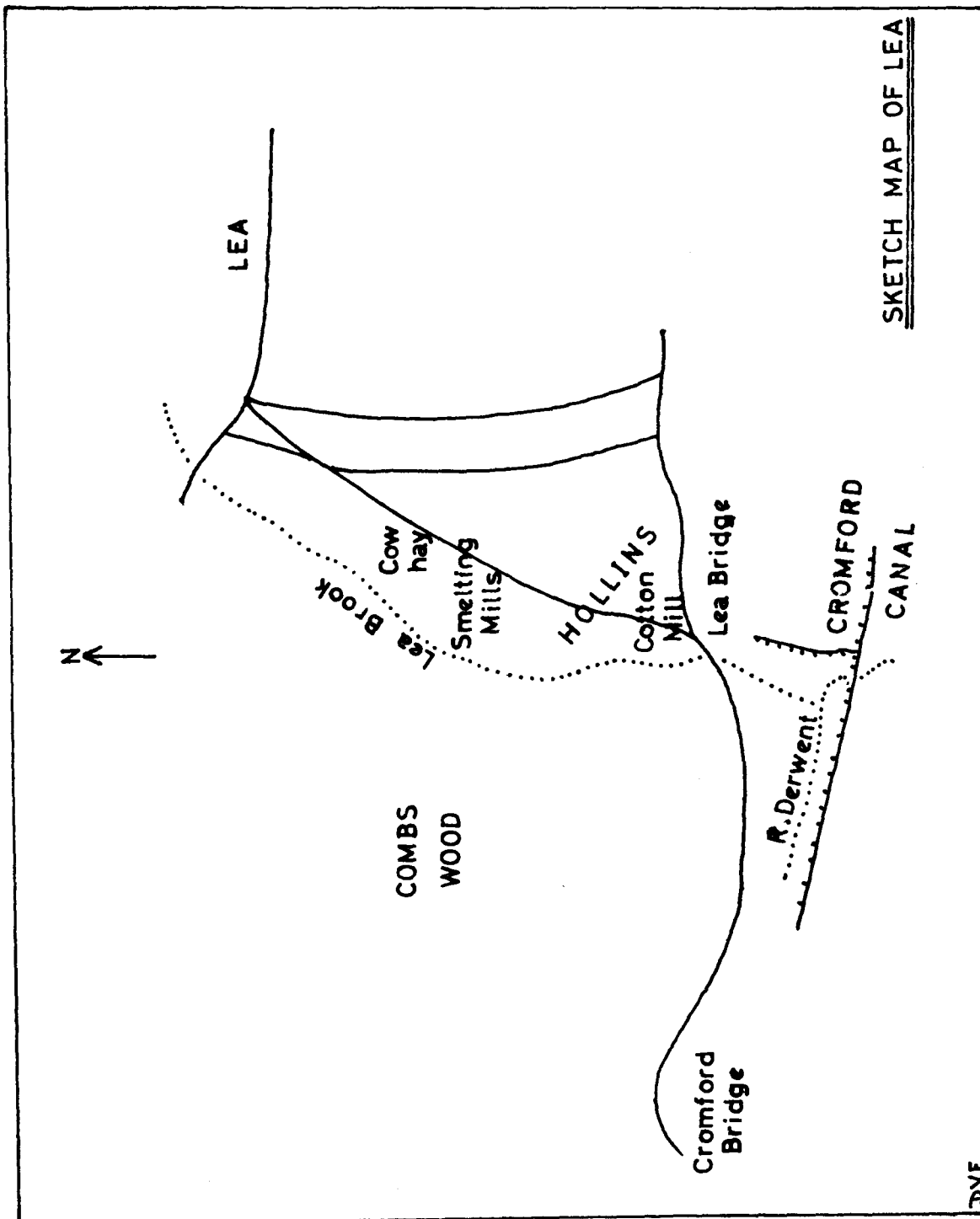
The Clarke family owned property at Somersall, Brampton and Chesterfield, and were already involved in industry with a coalpit on Brampton Moor and a corn mill on Holymoore (14). Of George Spateman less is known. He leased a farm at Tansley and built a house in 1623, which still stands beside the Matlock-Tansley road (15). His occupancy of the smelting mill at Lea may help to explain his evident prosperity: as tenant, he presumably controlled the smelt and took its profits. George 'Spatman' is also named, in 1633, as the occupant of Lea Woods and Hiclston Springes, (formerly part of Francis Babington's property) (16). In the early 18th century also the Lea Wood(s) were associated with the Cowhay Mills - (see below) - probably to ensure supplies of fuel.

If the lead mill of 1634 was indeed the same as the Cowhay smelting mill(s), then by 27 September 31 Charles II (1679) it had changed hands (17). On that date, Sir Gilbert Clarke of Chilcote and John Wigley of Cromford gent. mortgaged to Hugh Bateman of Grays Inn esq. a messuage called Cowhey Yate in Lea in the tenure of Thomas Tomlinson, four "Smiltinge" houses or Lead Mills in Lea called by the several names of the Cow hay Mills and the Hollin Mills, in the joint or several tenures of John Wigley and John Spateman the elder esq., and 2 parcels of ground and trees on them called the Hollins and the Neather Springe in Lea and Nether Holloway. The true mortgagor was not Clarke, but Wigley by whom the mortgage money was to be repaid - it was £424, of which £400 seems to have been the capital and £24 interest. Probably Wigley had bought the premises or some of them from Clarke, but lacking the money to pay, had mortgaged them to raise the purchase price. Clarke's participation in the transaction was no doubt additional security for the mortgagee as to the title to the property. The description of the mills is of the greatest value and interest, showing that the whole site must have been of some size and importance, but the inclusion of the Hollin Mills is a surprising factor. Their origin is as obscure as that of the Cowhay Mills. It cannot even be certain that they had belonged to the Clarkes, for Wigley could have been mortgaging both the property he had just purchased from Sir Gilbert and property he had long held in his hands. All that can be said about the Hollin Mills with any certainty, is that they lay to the south of the Cowhay property, judging from the description of Cowehay-gate in 1681/2 (see below) as abutting upon the Hollins south.

Sir Gilbert Clarke was the grandson of the Gilbert of 1634, but the family had moved away from the area (18). Likewise, John Spateman the elder was the son of the George Spateman mentioned in 1634, but though he too had left his family home (at Tansley), he had moved only to Roadnooke, between Brackenfield and Wessington. According to a note in the Wolley Manuscripts he "was very fortunate in the lead mines & purchased a Good Estate in that neighbourhood" (19). It would appear that he had succeeded his father as a smelter at Cowhay and that smelting as well as investment in mining had played a part in his considerable success. Of John Wigley little is known, though it is possible that he was the son (N.B. this identification is very uncertain) of John Wigley of Wigwell and his wife Bridget Gell, born in 1643/4 (20). If so, he was related to John Spateman through the marriage of his brother Henry, last of the Wigleys of Wigwell, with Spateman's daughter Mary (21). A John Wigley is mentioned on several occasions as a partner in lead mines and soughs in the Winster, Wirksworth and Cromford areas, from the 1670's to the 1690's (22). To this activity we must presumably add that of smelting at Cowhay and/or Hollin Mills.

Some two years later, on 16 January 1681/2, John Wigley sold to John Spateman of Roadnooke esq. (son of John the elder now dead) a messuage and 12a. of land now or late in the tenure of Thomas Tomlinson commonly called Cowehay gate and abutting upon the Intacke north, to a wood called Coombs west, to the Hollins south and to land now or late of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Halifax east, and the smelting mill or mills called Cowehay Milles, all in the parish of Ashover, and in the tenure of John Spateman, for the price of £190. Spateman was the third of his family to hold the mill, although the first to also own it (23). Nine months after this conveyance, the 1679 mortgage was assigned by Bateman's executors, with Wigley's consent, to John Litchford of Derby sadler. Strangely, Spateman was not a party to this, although he now owned part of the mortgaged property, (but Bateman, the mortgagee of 1679, had been party to Wigley's conveyance to John Spateman). John Litchford of Derby gentleman with Sir Gilbert Clarke assigned the mortgage on 1 October 2 James II (1686) to Hannah Lathwell of Aston upon Trent widow, but only the smelting house or lead mill in Lea called the Hollin Mill and the parcels of ground called the Hollins and Nether Spring were said to be subject to the mortgage repayment (24). Yet a deed of Hannah Holden, granddaughter, heiress and executrix of Hannah Lathwell, refers in 1692 to the whole of the property mortgaged in 1679 (25). Further evidence is needed to unravel the history of the mortgage, but Hannah Holden was paid off - at least as far as the Hollins property was concerned - at the time of its sale by Wigley in 1694. Samuel Wood of Nether Holloway yeoman paid John Wigley a token 10s. and Christopher Rolleston of Watnall esq. and his wife Hannah (Holden) £280 for the Hollin Mill, the Hollins and the Nether Spring on 19 April 6 William and Mary (1694). It looks as though Wigley had over-stretched himself and could only repay the mortgage by selling his property, which, moreover, was apparently mortgaged to its full value, as the whole of the purchase money went to the mortgagee and her husband, and Wigley got nothing. It seems, too, that there was only one smelting house on the site, suggesting that the Cow hay site was the larger of the two.

It is not until 1709 that either of the mill sites is mentioned again. By then John Spateman was dead. He had died without heirs and left his property to be sold (26), but the sale of his lands in Ashover, Morton and Crich did not go entirely smoothly. The purchaser, Edward Nevill of Newhall had to make a declaration on 10 December 1709, that he was not to have "the Lea Wood and Smelting Mills the Cow Hay house and lands thereunto belonging and one other Close late in the possession of Thomas then and now in the



possession of the s'd (said) Thomas Nightingale" of Lea yeoman, which were not intended to be part of the premises bought by him (27). There is a certain ambiguity about the description of the property, as to whether Allen and Nightingale possessed (that is, were tenants of) the whole of the property concerned, although it seems likely. It is made clear later in the declaration that Nightingale is in possession of the house, but the position regarding the Lea Wood and the smelting mills remains uncertain. Nothing is known of Thomas Allen, though no doubt he was one of the many Allens in the Ashover area rather than an outsider. Thomas Nightingale, whether he was a tenant of the mills or not in 1709, is a far more important figure in their history, for it was he who firstbrought them - or half of them as we shall see later - into the Nightingale family. He was baptised at Ashover on 25 March 1666 (28), the son of John and Frances Nightingale, but otherwise his early life is obscure. He was a servant at one time to John Marshall of Lindway Lane yeoman (29), but by 1703 was himself known as a yeoman (30). He must have known the second John Spateman by 1702 (31) and in 1707 was made one of the trustees of his will. When he first entered the Cowhay property is not known - only his will made in 1732 gives unequivocal proof that he occupied the mills - but it seems very likely that even if he was not already the tenant in 1709, he was by 1714. In that year he began to call himself 'lead merchant' (32), an occupation often combined with the running of a smelt, and there is no doubt that Thomas was both smelter and lead merchant in the last years of his life. He prospered in the 1720's and 1730's and his will of 1732 shows not only that he occupied the Cowhay Mills, but that he was half-owner of them (33).

Thomas left to his eldest son Henry, amongst other property, half the house called Cow Hay house and a croft, orchard and other lands belonging, with the injunction that Henry was not to obstruct or hinder any ways going through the last mentioned premises to the smelting mills that are now in Thomas's possession and standing near the same premises, nor the water or water courses to the same mills. To his son Peter, inter alia, he gave half the smelting mill in Thomas's possession called Cow Hay Mills and half the lands and woods called Lea Woods. There is no explanation of the division of these properties and the ownership of the other half remains a mystery. It is of course possible that Thomas had once owned the whole property, but had made over half to one of his sons before making his will. He would certainly seem to have been in possession of the whole of the mills (that is, he was the occupant whether as owner-occupier or as tenant) to judge from the wording of the clause concerning access to them. This incidentally also suggests why the Cowhay property was held with the mills - that access to them was through that property.

Peter Nightingale like his father was known as a lead merchant and undoubtedly also operated the Cowhay Mills himself. Accounts he kept mention a cupola in the 1740's and refer also to the Upper and Nether Mills (34). Peter Nightingale and Son's Journal (accounts) for 1757-9 make constant reference to a 'cupyloe', a slag mill and an ore mill, but unfortunately without naming them or saying where they were, except that Cowhay is mentioned once: "Cooks" (? cokes)" sent to ye Cowhey Mills from Clea Cross Pitts ... from Mar 26 1757 to May 18 1758" (35). It is probable that the cupola and the slag and ore mills were all at 'Cowhey', if only because Nightingale would surely have had to constantly identify his smelters by name if he had had more than one. He must have spent some money on the site, building a cupola to bring it up to date, and the accounts make it clear that it was the scene of considerable activity.

The old Hollins property meanwhile remained in the hands of the Wood family to whom John Wigley had sold it in 1694. In 1753, Anthony Wood the elder of Holloway yeoman mortgaged parcels of land called the Spring, containing 20a., and the Hollins, excepting two closes therein of arable containing about 7a. called the Hollins Closes, the whole containing about 25a. being at Holloway. Five years later, Anthony sold to Peter Nightingale the elder and his son the younger Peter, both of Lea, lead merchants, a close in Lea called the Nether Hollins (4a.) with the old cupola or smelting mill thereupon standing which had been sometime separated and divided from a parcel of land adjoining called the Upper Hollins and which before the division were both of them called the Hollins. Evidently, the old Hollin Mill had continued in use after Wigley's sale of it in 1694 and had even been modernised by the building of a cupola. The use of the word 'old' gives the impression that it was no longer in use, although the cupola could not have been very old in years, as this method of smelting lead had only been introduced into Derbyshire in about 1737 (36).

The Cowhay site is mentioned by that name once more - in 1800, near the end of the second Peter Nightingale's career. On 25 March 1800, Nightingale leased out a new erected corn mill and, amongst other property, part of a close called Great Nether Hollins lying between the cotton mill upper and nether dams and a parcel of land between the cotton mill upper dam and the Hollins road, granting also liberty of access from the premises to the turnpike road from Cromford Bridge to Langley Mill by and past the cupolas of the said Peter Nightingale called Cowhay Cupolas (37). Thereafter, the Cowhay smelter disappears from history, but only in name, for there can be little doubt that it is the same as the site known in the 19th and 20th centuries as the Lea Lead Works. The description of the boundaries of the messuage and 12a. of land called Cowehay gate in 1681/2 includes reference to the coombs wood to the west and the Hollins to the south. There is no doubt of the position of the Coombs wood in relation to the Lead Works in the 19th century - it was to the west of them and of the Lea Brook. The deed of 1800, just described, places the Hollins to the north of the cotton mills, but we have already seen that the Hollins was south of the Cowehay gate property in 1681/2. This makes Cowehay north, but not immediately north, of the Lea cotton mill (with the Hollins between) - as were the Lea Lead Works. Final proof is provided by two 19th century maps, George Sanderson's Map of Twenty Miles Round Mansfield, surveyed in the 1830's, and the first edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey Map (1840), both of which make an area north of the Mills or Lead Works on the Lea Brook with the name Cowhay, and by a lease of 1856 which gives evidence of a quite different nature. In this, William Edward Nightingale leased out the site and the buildings of the Lead Works, claiming their ownership by virtue of conveyances and other assurances to Peter Nightingale father of Peter, and to Peter the son (38). This takes the ownership of the site in the Nightingale family back to the time of Peter I (died 1763), when the smelter concerned can only be the Cowhay Smelting Mills.

In 1802, the second Peter Nightingale constructed a cut from the Cromford Canal to Lea Bridge to serve his cotton mill and lead smelter, and leased it and the Wharf Yard, amongst other property, to Joseph Wass of Lea millwright, who was later to play a part in the history of the Lea Lead Works. Peter died in 1803, leaving his estate to his great-nephew William Edward Shore, then a child. By this time, the smelting works at Lea was probably no longer worked by Nightingale but was leased out. In 1811, Farey listed a cupola at "Lea, near Cromford, (and Slag Mill) - Shore and Co." (39) and the Reverend

D. P. Davies in his "Historical and Descriptive View of Derbyshire" wrote "Near this cotton mill" (Lea Mills) "is a cupola furnace for smelting lead, belonging to Mr. Alsop". Though Davies was wrong if he meant to attribute ownership to Alsop, there is no doubt of the latter's connection with the smelting works, which lasted until the early 1830's. In 1815 William Edward Shore changed his name to Nightingale (40) and took over his estate, but it made no difference, so far as is known, to the operation of the smelter. Alsop was still operating it when Glover compiled his Directory between 1827 and 1829 and wrote in the Introduction "The Messrs. Alsop, of Lea Wood, are the greatest smelters of lead ore in the county; they frequently smelt thirty tons per week", and in the directory proper, Alsop John and Co. lead merchants are listed.

Old John Alsop died in 1831 and his son, another John, in 1834 (41). In 1835, Pigot's Commercial Directory for Derbyshire gives two lead merchants in this area "Alsop John, Lea Bridge and Crich" and "Wass Joseph, Lea Lead Works". Wood had long leased the Leawood Branch of the Cromford Canal and the Wharf Yard, and he had married into the Alsop family. Now, apparently, he had taken over the smelting site which the Alsops had run for so many years, perhaps at the death of one or other John Alsop. Yet there was still a John Alsop lead merchant at Lea Bridge in 1835 and 1842 and John Alsop and Co. continued in business, for Wyatts of Middleton Dale (Upper Cupola) had accounts with the company from 1824 to 1846. The John Alsop of this period is probably a grandson of John I.

There is a local belief that there was a smelting works in the 19th century (and even earlier) below Lea Bridge and near the hat factory of William Walker and the branch canal. The remains in that area are said to be typical of lead smelting, yet it is not possible to find this smelting works marked on any map of any period. It is probable, however, that there was a second lead works somewhere near Lea Bridge for a short time, presumably run by the third John Alsop (and later his cousin Alfred - see below) although the site must be conjectural. Bagshaw's Directory of 1846 says "At Lea Bridge, ... is the smelting works of Alfred Alsop Esq., near to which are Lea lead works, the extensive establishment of Joseph Wass Esq., where about thirty tons of lead are produced weekly". Clearly, there were two smelting works near Lea Bridge at that time, of which Alsop's was the less important. Alfred was another grandson of John Alsop I and perhaps succeeded to John III when the latter emigrated to Australia. Two years later, the Post Office Directory for 1848 gives only one lead smelter in Lea, Joseph Wass, and both the Post Office Directory for 1855 and White's Directory of 1857 mention only Anne Wass as a lead smelter at Lea.

Joseph Wass died in 1838 and his son and successor the second Joseph in 1852. The family business was then taken over by Joseph II's son Edward Miller Wass, whose career was to have a profound effect upon the future of the Lea Lead Works. However, when a new lease of the works was taken from W. E. Nightingale in 1856, the lessee was not E. M. Wass, but his mother Mrs. Anne Wass, who was also named as a lead smelter at Lea in the 1855 and 1857 Directories mentioned in the last paragraph. The 1856 lease was for 21 years and the rent £138 per annum. A plan drawn on it shows a rolling mill, stable, slag mill with chimney and dam, ore house, 3 cupolas, blacksmith's shop, office, Nether Cupola, red lead mill, lime kiln, and foreman's house and garden. On the same date, Mrs. Wass also took a new lease of the Wharf Yard with the house and buildings thereon near to the Hat Factory, the new cut or canal and its west bank, again for 21 years, at an annual rent of £75 (42). By 1864, Kelly's Directory lists Mrs. Wass and Son as lead miners and smelters and this is the normal Directory entry until

and including 1881. E. M. Wass spent heavily in his attempts to revive mining, but his only success was at Mill Close Mine, Darley, which he re-opened in 1859 (43). This, however, developed into the richest and most productive of all Derbyshire's lead mines, ironically at a time when the industry was otherwise in its death throes. The ore from Mill Close was sent for smelting to Wass's own works at Lea, the crucial factor in their survival into the 20th century, alone amongst the county's smelters.

Wass died in 1886 and until about 1919, the business was run by the executors or trustees of Wass and Son (that is Anne and Edward Miller Wass). Kelly's Directories from 1886 to 1891 show that John Davies managed the Lead Works at that period, whilst A. M. Alsop was the firm's mine agent. By 1891, the trustees were the only smelters left in Derbyshire, although they operated two works, Lea and Wakebridge. Four years later, Kelly shows that the Wakebridge smelt had fallen out of use and by 1904, the trustees had only one mine, 'Mill Close Stoop'. They renewed their lease of the Lead Works, together with Lea Wharf, in 1912, leasing them from Louis Hilary Shore Nightingale at an annual rent of £350 (44). The plan drawn on this lease shows that there were 4 Scotch hearths, but that 3 out of the 5 cupolas were disused.

Mill Close Mines Limited, a new company, was formed by 1922 (45). From that date, the entry for the Lea Lead Works under Dethick, Lea and Holloway in Kelly's Directories, reads "Mill Close Mines Limited, Lead Smelters, Lea Bridge". In the Trades Directories sections of the same the only lead smelters are "Mill Close Mines Limited, Lea Bridge, Matlock; head office, South Darley, Matlock". Yet the Lea Lead Works still did not belong to the Mill Close firm. It was only in 1930 that the trustees of the late William Shore Nightingale, including Louis Hilary Shore Nightingale, at last sold the Lead Works (together with Lea Wharf and its buildings and the private canal) to the Mill Close Mines Limited. The sale was completed on 25 June 1930, for the sum of £2,600 (46). By this time, the huge quantities of crude ore raised at Mill Close could not all be smelted at Lea and more than two-thirds was sold to continental blast-furnaces (47). In 1934 a modern smelting plant was completed at Mill Close and the Lea works closed, almost exactly 3 centuries from the first recorded reference to the site. Only 4 years after the opening of the new smelter at Darley, Mill Close was flooded when the Pilhough fault was encountered in February 1938, and the mine propensively closed down in 1938 and 1939. However, smelting, chiefly from scrap metal has continued there, for H. J. Enthoven and Sons Limited took over the buildings and the smelter. The old buildings at Lea remained standing for a few more years, but were taken down in 1948 (48).

#### References and Notes

Notes: Wolley Mss. refers to British Library (or British Museum). Additional Manuscripts numbers 6666-6718 inclusive, a microfilm copy of which is held at the Local Studies Department of the County Library, County Offices, Matlock. A microfilm copy of numbers 6676-6686 inclusive is in the Local Studies Department of Derby Central Library.  
D.R.O. means Derbyshire Record Office and D.R.O. D 1575 refers to the Nightingale papers in the D.R.O.



References and Notes continued .....

1. Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society Vol. 4 Part 1 'Cupola Lead Smelting Sites in Derbyshire, 1737-1900' by L. Willies, pages 104-5.
2. A modern smelter was however opened at Mill Close Mine in 1934.
3. Wolley, Mss. 6702 f36.
4. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. D. Kiernan for this reference.
5. Shrewsbury Mss. (Lambeth Palace Library, but microfilm copy in Local Studies Department, County Library, County Offices, Matlock) MS 710 f70.
6. Shrewsbury Mss. (as 3.) MS 705 f67.
7. Wolley Mss. 6667 ff9d - 12d.
8. Wolley Mss. 6702 f86.
9. Lea was mainly in Ashover parish.
10. Ormonde/Kilkenny deeds in Northamptonshire Record Office, but photostat copy at Chesterfield Library, No. 26. I am grateful to Mrs. R. Milward for her kindness in giving me this reference.
11. Wolley Mss. 6669 ff68d - 69d, DRO 1088 M/E 2.
12. Wolley Mss. 6702 ff48, 57d.
13. Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Notes and Queries, Vol. 6, 1898 Pages 161 - 6.
14. Derbyshire Miscellany Vol. VII Part 5 (Spring 1976) page 221.
15. Wolley Mss. 6707 ff7d, 8 and Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal Vol. xxxvii, pages 48 - 9.
16. DRO D 1575 Box E, conveyance Babbington to Allestrye and Buxton.
17. Wolley Mss. 6694 ff204 - 216.
18. Derbyshire Miscellany as 11., but page 222.
19. Wolley Mss. 6707 f7d.
20. Wolley Mss. 6704 f2d.
21. Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal Vol. xxxvii pages 46-7.
22. Wolley Mss., several references for which see Index of Persons to numbers 6676 - 6686.
23. D.R.O. D1575 Box F, Spateman and Slack bundle.

References and Notes continued .....

24. DRO D1575 Box A/3.
25. Nottingham County Record Office DDR 20/1.
26. Wolley Mss. 6695 ff328-9.
27. Wolley Mss. 6666 f289.
28. DRO 253A/PI 8 (Ashover parish registers).
29. Wolley Mss. 6670 f93d.
30. DRO 1088M/Z23.
31. Wolley Mss. 6677 ff148 - 168.
32. DRO D1575 Box D.
33. DRO D1575 Box E, copy will.
34. In private hands.
35. DRO D1575 add. bundle V, especially p: 21.
36. Bulletin of Peak District Mines Historical Society Vol. 4 Part 5 (June 1971) The Introduction of the Cupola 'for smelting down lead' to Derbyshire' by L. Willies.
37. DRO D1575 add Box 1.
38. DRO D1575 Box E, leases to Wass
39. J. Farey, General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire, i (1811).
40. Wolley Mss. 6674 ff 41 - 42.
41. Information from Dr. A. Cox of Wensley Hall.
42. DRO D1575 Box E. All the leases to Wass referred to here are in this box.
43. Transactions of the Midland Counties Institution of Mining Engineers Vol. 15 (1886 - 7), 41 - 4.
44. DRO, D504B/L406.
45. Lead Mining in the Peak District, Cromford Area by N. Gregory and T. D. Ford (PPJPB), 98 - 9.
46. DRO, D1575 2nd add. Box 1.
47. L. F. Taylor, "The Mill Close Lead Mine", Derbyshire Life and Countryside, Vol. 23, No. 6, 28 - 9.
48. F. Nixon, The Industrial Archaeology of Derbyshire.

# FURTHER NOTES ON J. T. BOAM (THE RAY SERVICE) AND J. H. BOOTH

by Christopher

Two interesting accounts of independent bus operation in the late nineteen-twenties and early nineteen-thirties appeared in Part 4 of Volume 8 of Derbyshire Miscellany (Autumn 1978). The operations described were those of J. T. Boam (The Ray Service) of Ilkeston and J. H. Booth of Park Mill Farm, Westhouses. Both of these operators were acquired by the Midland General Omnibus Company along with many other small operators during this period. The licences of The Ray Service were acquired on the 26th March 1931 and those of J. H. Booth on the 4th July 1934.

The vehicles operated by the two operators were varied in manufacture, a situation which no longer exists with the current trend towards standardisation. The following schedules set out details of the known vehicles in the fleets of The Ray Service and J. H. Booth and are representative of many similar operators of that era.

J. T. Boam, "The Ray Service", 18 Richmond Avenue, Ilkeston.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
NU 4509	Durant			B14 New 1924
NU 7755	"			" 1925
NU 8319	Chevrolet			" 1926
RA 46	"			" "
	Overland		Willowbrook (2011)	B14 " 1927
RA 2061	Leyland Lioness PLC1	45708	Leyland	B26F " "
RA 4116	" " "	46051	"	" " "
RA 5538	" " "		"	C26 " 1928
RA 6612	" Lion PLSC1	47340	"	B31F " "
RA 7999	" Tiger TS2	60359	"	B32F " 1929
RA 9944	" Lion LT1	50635	"	B35F " "
RB 1616	" Tiger TS2	60898	Willowbrook (2444)	B32F " 1930

Subsequent Owners:

NU 7755, 8319, RA 46, Overland: Not Known  
 NU 4509, RA 5538: Midland General (not used), 3/31  
 RA 2061, 4116, 6612, 7999, 9944, RB 1616: Midland General  
 (numbered 49, 58, 51, 60, 66, 63 respectively), 3/31  
 Withdrawn by Midland General: 1937: 49, 58  
 1939: 51, 60/6  
 1944: 63

J. H. Booth, Park Mill Farm, Westhouses.

TO 6588	G.M.C.	1969976		B20	New 1927
TO 7546	"	206923		"	" 1928
RA 6609	"			"	" "
RA 8853	" T42	422213		B24	" 1929
RA 9830	" "	423043D	Duple (1742)	B26F	" "
VA 8458	Leyland Tiger TS1	60208	Alexander	B32F	" "
TV 1562	Chevrolet LQ	62641	Bracebridge	B20F	" 1930
TV 1674	G.M.C. T42	422702		B24	" "
TV 2138	" T30	304311		B20	" "
TV 2647	" "	307413		"	" "
VJ 2628	Leyland Lion LT2	50256		B31R	" "
TV 3508	G.M.C.	923013		B17	" 1931
RB 4394	Morris Dictator	049H		B32F	" "
RB 6502	Albion			B20	" 1932

Previous Owners: RA 9830: Eaton, Heage  
 VA 8458: Midland, Airdrie  
 TV 1562: Earnshaw, West Bridgford  
 VJ 2628: Morgan, Hereford

Subsequent Owners: TO 6588, 7546, RA 6609, TV 2647: not known  
 RA 8853, 9830, TV 1674, 2138, 3508, TB 6502: Midland General  
 (not run), 7/34  
 VJ 2628, VA 8458, RB 4394: Midland General (numbered 134-6),  
 7/34  
 withdrawn by Midland General: 1938: 135  
 1939: 136  
 1945: 134

TV 1562: Graves, Nottingham

#### Explanation of column details:

Column 1: the vehicle registration number  
 Column 2: the chassis manufacturer and name of model  
 Column 3: the chassis number  
 Column 4: the body manufacturer with body number in parenthesis if known  
 Column 5: i) body type B - saloon type C - coach type  
 ii) seating capacity  
 iii) entrance position F - front R - rear

The number of gaps in the information is, unfortunately, inevitable when listing vehicles of this period.

Acknowledgement: The P.S.V. Circle, London.

#### Book note

The Nottinghamshire Coalfield 1881-1981 - A Century of Progress: a pictorial history of the Nottinghamshire coalfield to commemorate the centenary of the Nottinghamshire Miners' Association, by A.R. Griffin (Moorland Publishing, price £5.95), 147 illustrations. Although obviously dealing principally with eastern neighbour, anyone interested in the history of coal mining in the East Midlands is likely to be attracted by Alan Griffin's commemorative volume, which unlike many other books on the subject is by no means confined to the economic and technical aspects of mining history. The miners as well as the pits receive their fair share of attention, with sections on aspects of the industry such as the development of mining communities, safety and rescue and the struggle for union recognition. The quality of some of the illustrations is disappointing but this is largely explained by the poor condition of the often scanty photographic evidence of 19th and early 20th century mining.

D. V. Fowkes

## DERBY'S FORGOTTEN RAILWAY - THE DUKE STREET BRANCH

by Mark Higginson,

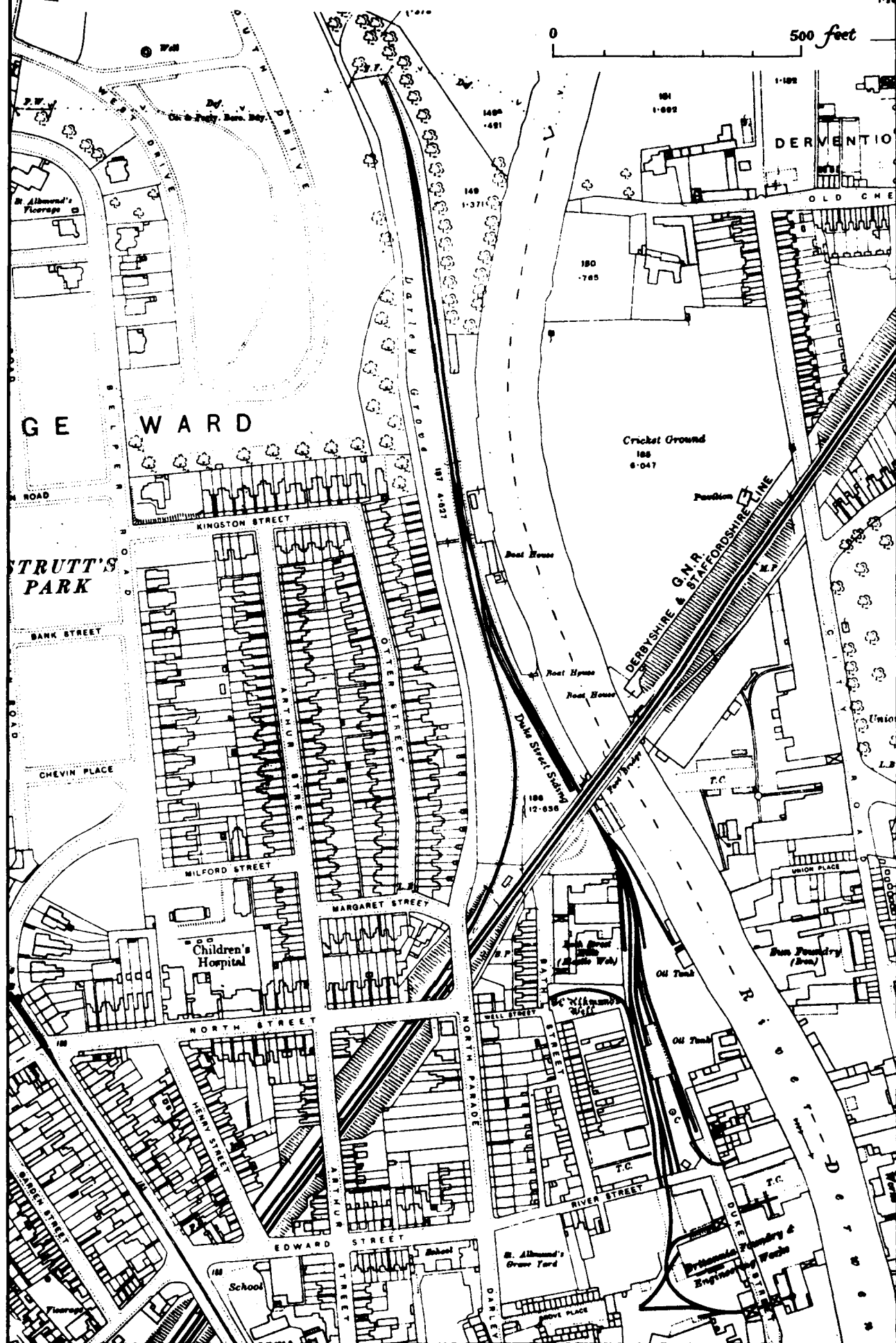
The Duke Street branch, a short goods-only line tucked away in the northern part of the city, must rank as Derby's least known railway. It was opened in 1878 as part of the Great Northern Company's "invasion" of Midland Railway territory hereabouts and closed down about thirty years ago after the industrial district it served declined. Today its course is difficult to trace and books on Derby and on the Great Northern Railway do not even mention it.<sup>1</sup> As a result much of its history, including the exact dates of its opening and closure, remains a mystery. This article attempts to record what little is known of the line, but the author would be delighted to hear from any reader who has further information.<sup>2</sup>

The G.N.R.'s presence in Derby was a result of its rivalry with the M.R. over the transport of coal from the provinces to London. In the 1850s the G.N.R. chose to challenge the M.R.'s monopoly in the thriving Erewash Valley coalfield by seeking running powers over M.R. lines from Nottingham to the pits. Eventually the M.R. had had to agree as it depended on the co-operation of the G.N.R. to reach London. However, in 1868 the M.R. opened its own route into the capital and was therefore free to expel its competitor from the Erewash Valley. When this occurred the G.N.R. decided to invade and promoted a "Derbyshire and North Staffordshire Extension". Despite some fierce opposition from the M.R. and local property owners this was authorised by Parliament in 1872. It involved a main line from Nottingham through Ilkeston and Derby to Burton-on-Trent and a branch up the Erewash Valley to Pinxton. Opened in stages between 1875 and 1878, it effectively broke the M.R.'s monopoly in this part of the East Midlands.<sup>3</sup>

In Derby the G.N.R. selected an expanse of fields, allotments and half-developed streets between Friar Gate and Uttoxeter Old Road for its main passenger and goods station, but it soon became clear that an additional goods depot on the other side of the town would be an advantage. The most suitable location lay on the west bank of the Derwent, immediately south of the railway's proposed river bridge near Darley Grove. Here the river was lined with busy mills and foundries which meant that the site was cramped and could only be reached by a reverse branch running at a lower level than the main line and passing beneath it (see map). Furthermore, construction would involve the demolition of numerous terraced cottages in Duke Street and River Street, the Old Britannia public house, and part of a plaster works. The cost was put at £37,513.<sup>4</sup> The G.N.R. submitted its plans to Parliament in a Further Powers Bill in November 1873 and this was passed unopposed, receiving Royal Assent on July 30, 1874.<sup>5</sup>

The Nottingham to Pinxton section of the "Extension" opened in 1875 and the G.N.R. then started on the continuation to Burton-on-Trent. This was divided into three contracts and the line through Derby, from the Derwent to Granville Street (including the Duke Street branch), went to the local firm of Benton and Woodiwiss on April 6, 1876 for £85,711.<sup>6</sup> Work commenced later that month with a brief ceremony in Darley Grove,<sup>7</sup> but little appears to have been done regarding the branch until October 1877 when the materials of various buildings awaiting demolition were put up for auction.<sup>8</sup> Its completion date is not known for certain but the main line opened for freight traffic on January 28, 1878 and Duke Street goods yard probably came into use then as well.<sup>9</sup>

# THE DUKE STREET BRANCH IN 1914.



Immediately west of its 132ft. bowstring girder bridge over the Derwent the G.N.R. put up a signal box called Darley Lane. This contained 35 levers and marked the beginning of the branch which was worked on the "one engine in steam" principle. Curving northwards from the main line a spur descended into a long shunting neck beside the river. This part of the branch was constructed on former gardens and although some mourned the loss of "this lovely spot, where the tradesfolk of Derby once ruralised within the sound of All Saints' bells",<sup>10</sup> the scene remained a pleasant one with boathouses dotted along the water's edge and trees flanking the railway tracks. This though was in marked contrast to the rest of the route for after reversing trains passed through a narrow bridge beneath the main line to emerge in heavily industrialised surroundings. The single line now branched into many sidings, some leading off into the factories and works which hemmed in the site, others forming the goods yard itself.

Beyond the goods depot a siding crossed River Street and entered Andrew Handyside's extensive Britannia Foundry and Engineering Works. Handyside's, who were responsible for the G.N.R.'s bridges over Friar Gate and the Derwent, had taken over this establishment in 1848 and had soon achieved a world-wide reputation with their high quality castings. In the 1860s and seventies' they expanded considerably, setting up a bridge-building department in Fox Street and, stimulated by the arrival of the G.N.R., making their original works one of the largest in the town, complete with internal railway system.<sup>11</sup> This crossed Duke Street on the level in two places but so far as is known the firm possessed no locomotives of its own.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to Handyside's siding one curved across Duke Street to reach C. W. T. Wheeldon's roller flour mills; another connected with George Holmes's Bath Street elastic web mills; while at the northern end of the site one served a wharf and transhipment shed on the Derwent, which was navigable at this point via the Phoenix branch of the Derby Canal. Finally, the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey 25" map (1882) shows another siding serving a group of buildings beside Darley Grove. This was probably the G.N.R. District Engineer's depot, moved to Parcel Terrace within a few years of the line's opening.<sup>13</sup>

The Duke Street branch seems to have been busy from the start. In March 1878 concern was expressed over the danger to the public caused by the ungated level crossings in Duke Street and River Street,<sup>14</sup> while soon afterwards the G.N.R. authorised a crane at an estimated cost of £260. This was to be erected by the river and would enable the Company "to secure valuable traffic for London and other places".<sup>15</sup> Later, Derby Corporation was provided with an "Electric Light Siding" from where coal was transported by road to the town's power station in Full Street and at some date before 1914 the area of the goods yard was extended by demolishing several adjoining buildings and curtailing the upper part of Duke Street.

By 1882 a number of alterations had taken place at Darley Lane Junction. The formation of the main line between here and Friargate station ( $\frac{3}{4}$  mile) had been constructed to take four tracks instead of the usual two. This would have provided "up" (eastbound) and "down" (westbound) loops for slow-moving goods trains but when opened only the "up" loop had been laid<sup>16</sup> and even this proved unnecessary. Hence, the junction at Darley Lane was soon abolished by linking the goods loop directly with the Duke Street branch and removing all connections with the main line. The short-lived signal box disappeared and thereafter the branch commenced at Friargate, being under the control of the East box there.<sup>17</sup> By 1904 a private siding had been inserted in the section running parallel with the main line to serve W. & G. Brown's Lodge Lane flour mill.

On January 1, 1923 the G.N.R. became part of the London and North Eastern Railway, one of the "Big Four" companies created by the Railways Act of 1921, but despite the fact that it is well within living memory the subsequent history of the Duke Street branch is extremely vague. In April 1931 Handy-side's went into voluntary liquidation for the third and final time<sup>18</sup> and four years later the Britannia Foundry was mostly demolished to make way for a small housing estate. Meanwhile, other firms no doubt turned to road transport and so traffic on the branch declined. Early in 1939 Derby Corporation considered modifying and increasing the capacity of their "Electric Light Siding" but nothing seems to have been done.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, traffic continued throughout the 1940s and wagons standing in the goods yard could be glimpsed from passing trains on the main line until at least 1949 or 1950.<sup>20</sup> The end for the branch finally came during 1952 when the track was taken up,<sup>21</sup> although, as the recently formed British Railways was often in no hurry to remove disused lines, the actual cessation of traffic and the official closure date may have been some time earlier.<sup>22</sup>

Today it is difficult to find much evidence of the Duke Street branch. By walking along adjacent streets the course it shared with the main line (closed on May 6, 1968 and dismantled in 1969) is fairly obvious and although the deep cutting beyond Duffield Road has been completely filled in, a loading platform can still be seen at the rear of Lodge Lane mill. Beside the river the remainder of the branch has been landscaped to form a southern extension of Darley Abbey Park and is thus largely unrecognisable. However, some distance along Darley Grove a low embankment which was once the top end of the shunting neck can be detected, while close to the modern Derwent Rowing Club building, the narrow bridge beneath the main line survives.<sup>23</sup> The site of Duke Street goods yard lies beyond this, a grassy open space, partly occupied by the 12 storey Rivermead House (built 1963-6). With the exception of the now dilapidated Bath Street mills there is nothing to suggest that this quiet backwater was once a hive of industry with railway tracks running in every direction.

## References

1. A recent exception is John Wrottesley, The Great Northern Railway, (3 vols., London: B. T. Batsford, 1979-81), II, 55-6.
2. Pictorial evidence, for instance, is very limited. Derby Museum and Art Gallery has a painting, "Derby and the Derwent from Great Northern Railway bridge", which shows the goods yard about 1890, while rather crude representations of the transhipment wharf on the river appear in Sketches and Illustrations of the Iron, Steel and Allied Trades, (London: Advertizing Concessions Co., 1910), p.39; and in Derby Illustrated: Its Art, Trade and Commerce, (Brighton: Robinson, Son and Pike, not dated), p.28. The latter also contains a photograph of the siding serving Wheeldon's Duke Street roller flour mills (p.55).
3. The story of the "Invasion" is covered in more detail in Charles H. Grinling, The History of the Great Northern Railway, (3rd edition, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966); John Marshall, "Midlands Coal on the Great Northern: Part One", Railway Magazine, CXXI (1975), 431-5; O. S. Nock, The Great Northern Railway, (London: Ian Allan, 1958); and Wrottesley, op.cit., I and II.



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4. House of Lords Record Office, Deposited Plan, 1873, G11, Great Northern Railway (Further Powers) Bill.
5. Local Act, 37 & 38 Vic., c.158.
6. Public Record Office (P.R.O.), Great Northern Railway, Way and Works Committee Minutes, III, 365.
7. Derby Mercury, 26 April 1876.
8. Ibid., 3 October 1877.
9. Derby and Chesterfield Reporter, 1 February 1878.
10. Derby Mercury, 10 October 1877.
11. Roy Christian, "The Handyside Story", Derbyshire Advertizer, 7 April 1961, p.15; and 14 April 1961, p.15.
12. Information kindly supplied by Mr. W. K. Williams, Hon. Records Officer, Industrial Railway Society.
13. Both this latter siding and that serving the transhipment wharf were removed before 1914.
14. Derby Mercury, 13 March 1878.
15. P.R.O., Great Northern Railway, Way and Works Committee Minutes, IV, 329-30.
16. P.R.O., Report by Inspecting Officer of Board of Trade, Great Northern (Derbyshire and North Staffordshire Extension), Railways 7 and 9.
17. However, many years later it seems the junction was reinstated. Mr. G. A. Yeomans of Alvaston recalls a connection onto the main line and a ground frame at Darley Lane shortly before the branch was dismantled.
18. Jeffrey Russell Knight (ed.), Register of Defunct and Other Companies, (East Grinstead: Thomas Skinner, 1979), p.226.
19. Derby City Council, Borough Council, Electricity Committee Minutes, III, 18 January 1939.
20. Information kindly supplied by Mr. G. A. Yeomans, Alvaston.
21. Information kindly supplied by Mr. C. R. Clinker, Padstow.
22. However, the siding serving Lodge Lane mill survived officially until June 3, 1968 (information per Mr. Clinker), but as this was a month after the main line itself had closed it was probably long disused. I have been unable to discover whether the siding was connected to the main line after demolition of the Duke Street branch in 1952 or, alternatively, whether the branch was retained from Frairgate as far as Lodge Lane.

References continued .....

23. It was altered somewhat in 1978 when the ex-G.N.R. bridge across the Derwent was refurbished for use by pedestrians.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mr. Roy Christian, Mr. Robert Clegg, Mr. C. R. Clinker, Dr. B. J. Turton, Mr. W. K. Williams, and Mr. G. A. Yeomans for their help in writing this article. I am also indebted to the Cartographic Unit of the Department of Geography at the University of Keele who prepared the map.

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#### Letter to the Editors

Dear Sir,

#### LONG EATON MARKET BETWEEN THE WARS

The recent article on this subject (Derbyshire Miscellany Volume 9, p 98) was prefaced by a paragraph which included the statement that 'this market had only been in existence from the time of the First World War'.

This is certainly not so: the market existed long before that time. In A History of Long Eaton, 1750-1914, Ed J.E.P. Heath, p 24, it is correctly stated that 'In 1881 the Local Board established a retail market ....'. This was the first regulated market having bye-laws but there was obviously a former market. The site was called market place at least by 1859 when Henry Howitt advertised his house in the Derby Mercury '.... situated in the very centre of the village fronting the Market Place .....'. The 1861 census and numerous subsequent documents refer to Market Place before 1881, e.g. the Medical Officer of Health's report for 1877.

Yours faithfully,

Keith Reedman