

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



Derby Market Place

**The Local History Bulletin
of the
Derbyshire Archaeological Society**

Volume 10

Spring 1984

Part 3

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Vol. X : Part 3

Spring 1984

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Stinyard by Howard Usher	63
A further note on lead smelting in Lea by Mrs. M. Wood	65
Melbourne House, Bakewell, and associated properties by M. L. Knighton	66
Stanton-by-Bridge - a study of its people from wills and inventories by D. J. Baker	72

Copyright in each contribution to Derbyshire Miscellany is reserved
by the author.

ISSN 0417 0687

EDITOR

Mr. D. V. Fowkes
Staffordshire Record Office
County Buildings
Eastgate Street
Stafford ST16 2LZ

TREASURER

Mr. T. J. Larimore

PRESS DATE FOR AUTUMN 1984 EDITION - 30 JUNE 1984

STINYARD

(by Howard Usher)

"Stinyard" is a minor field name found in a number of parishes bordering on to the River Trent. The derivation of the name seems obvious: from ON. 'steinn' = stone and OE. 'geard' = yard or enclosure.¹ However, when the actual Stinyard fields are studied, the name 'stony enclosure' does not seem to be particularly apt. All the Stinyard fields are located on or close to the River Trent or one of its abandoned courses, they are very remote from their parent village and they frequently show artificially cut mounds and hollows. To the east, in Nottinghamshire, the name occurs as "Stener"² which is equated with the Swedish word 'stenör', a place abounding in gravel and stones. It may be therefore that the Stinyards are enclosures where gravel was obtained.³

Nottingham

The Records of the Borough of Nottingham gives a list of street names ending in Stener. This includes 'Epursteyner', 'Ingollsteneres', 'Lytulle Stener', and 'Heyberd Steyner'. It is noted that they all abutted upon the ancient or modern course of the Trent.²

Attenborough c.SK 524335

David Osborne⁴ reports a Stinyard field name in this parish.

Castle Donington SK 443295

By an agreement dated 17 February 1309/10 Henry de Lacy granted to the Abbot and Convent of St. Werburghs, Chester, a right of way to carry their hay from 'le Stener' through the Earl's pasture called 'Langholmford'.⁵ It would seem to be a meadow at this time, but later it becomes 'Stinyard' in the enclosure award of 1778. It is a flooded channel about 400 metres long, joining the Trent near Shardlow and may well be an abandoned ox-bow. To the north-east is a flood bank, built mainly of earth, but at one point it is constructed of ashlar stone in the form of a weir. To the south-east, David Osborne has uncovered a platform of large laid stones.

Weston-upon-Trent Unlocated

Steanard is given in a list of fields of 1647.⁶ Possible sites are at Weston Cliff or opposite Kings Mills.

Melbourne SK 403270

A Huntingdon rental of 1623⁷ has "meadowe buttinge uppon ye Steaneyarde", and it is marked on the Huntingdon enclosure map of c.1632⁸ as 'Steanard'. The 1735 map calls it 'Steenyard'⁹ and in 1840 it is 'Stin Yard'.⁸ It is of interest that the 1735 map shows an adjacent island called 'A Beach', but by 1790 this has been joined to the shore, still called 'Beach'.

The field contains two parallel hollow trenches about 200 metres long with a stony mound between them.

Swarkestone SK 381274

The Harpur-Crewe collection contains an early C17 document which notes that "Sir John Harpur holdeth at will one parcel of ground ... called Thornyholm Steynard containing about one acre covered with willowes and osiers."¹⁰ It is a narrow strip of uncultivated land adjoining the river and at one end is a

hollow about 70m. long and 10m. wide and 2m. deep. At the north end a well-built ashlar wall juts into the river and is marked by the Ordnance Survey as "breakwater".

Twyford SK 315285

It is 'Steemyard' in the tithe award of 1848. Surprisingly it is situated on the opposite bank of the Trent to Twyford village, and the parish boundary may preserve an old abandoned course of the river. Geographically it belongs to Foremark of Ingleby. The field is a small triangular one with a brook course on one side.

Barrow-on-Trent Unlocated

It is named as 'The Stinyard' in 1724 and 1750 in rentals of land held by the Cokes of Melbourne,⁸ but there are no maps to accompany these rentals. A possible location is SK 356282 where there is a cut channel near the Trent.

Repton SK 305273

Fraser¹¹ gives Stinyard and Stinyard Close on opposite sides of the Old Trent Water. In 1593, the churchwardens gave 12d. "to a pore man thett laye at the Steanarde". Today the Stinyard field has been ploughed, but some hollows can be discerned. The Stinyard Close to the north remains as pasture and shows a now-dry cut trough close to the Old Trent, about 100m. long and 15m. wide, somewhat resembling a medieval fishpond. There is no sign of stone around.

Findern Unlocated

Fraser¹¹ gives a field called 'Stanhope Holes', derived from 'Staner Pool' in 1840, which in turn was derived from 'Staynyard Poole' in 1691. He locates it on the Hell (or Hall) Brook, but a more likely site is at SK 318286, where the Findern parish boundary joins the Trent near Potlock, where there are similar characteristics to other known Stinyards.

References

- 1 Cameron, K., The Place Names of Derbyshire, III, p.644.
- 2 Stevenson, W.H., Records of the Borough of Nottingham, Vol. II.
- 3 I am indebted to Dr. C. Salisbury for this suggestion and for other information.
- 4 Information from Mr. D. Osborne, Trent Farm, Castle Donington.
- 5 Duchy of Lancaster Misc. DL1/21, quoted in T.L.A.S., 14, (1925).
- 6 Holden, W. H., "A Miscellany of Place Names", D.A.J., 70, (1950).
- 7 Leicester Record Office, DE 658/8, fo.10.
- 8 Melbourne Hall Muniment Room, uncatalogued.
- 9 Leicester Record Office, DG 30/MA.
- 10 Derbyshire Record Office, D2375M/53/5/13.
- 11 Fraser, W., Field Names in South Derbyshire, (1947).

Editor's note: There are several Stinyard names in Pentrich well away from the Trent. Any other offers?

A FURTHER NOTE ON LEAD SMELTING IN LEA

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

Since my article on this subject was published in the Spring Miscellany 1982 (Volume 9, part 5) I have been given additional information by Mr. D. Kiernan and Mr. S. Turner of Derby. I am most grateful to them both.

Mr. Kiernan tells me that Anthony Babington owned a lead smelting mill in the Lea area at his death in 1586. Presumably, this was the mill mentioned in Francis Babington's mortgage of the manor of Lea in 1590 (see 1982 article page 128). Its date of origin is still unknown, though one may suspect it was a very recent development following on the end of the dispute over Humfray's patents (1982 article page 129).

Mr. Turner has given me evidence that Peter Nightingale the elder purchased half the Cowhay Mills early in 1737. The details of the purchase are as follows: on 8 January 1736/7 Samuel Clark the elder and Samuel Clark the younger sold to Peter Nightingale for £1250 one half of the following premises: half the Cowhay House and croft (1 acre), half the Intack lying contiguous (about 4 acres), half Smiths Croft on Allens Croft in Lea (about 1 acre), half two "Smilting" Mills called Cowhey Mills, half of a parcel of barren land on which the mills stand (20 acres), half of 4 "Copies of Wood Ground" (i.e. wood coppices) called Leawood (about 140 acres) half of the Leawood Lane adjoining (about 3 acres) half a beastgate in Banks Pasture and a quarter of the royalty of the manor of Lea. These details come from a ledger or account book and not from a conveyance which may explain a certain ambiguity. Strictly half of half the Cowhay House, for instance, is a quarter of the premises, but no doubt a full half is intended. At the end of the entry is a note that "The other half of the above Premises belonged to Peter Nightingale before".

There are a number of points of interest in this ledger entry. It shows that the Spateman family retained a connection with the Cowhay Mills even after John Spateman's death in 1707, for Samuel Clark the elder was almost certainly Samuel Clark of Chesterfield, husband of Spateman's niece Sarah Bryan. Moreover, it would appear that the Clarks took a more active interest in the Cowhay Mills than might have been expected, for the Mills, the barren land on which they stood and the woodland were said to be in the possession of the Clarks and of Peter Nightingale. Yet Thomas Nightingale's will gives the impression that he was the sole occupant of the Mills, though he did not wholly own them. Exactly how the Clarks acquired the property is not known, for Spateman did not leave it to the elder Samuel in his will (see 1982 article, page 130).

The entry gives the number of mills on the site as two, which fits with what little other evidence there is on the Cowhay Mills at this time (see 1982 article page 131). Most interesting perhaps are the references to the large area of barren land on which the mills stood and the coppicing of Lea Wood. The former suggests expensive poisoning of the area about the mills. The latter is evidence of the management of the woods to provide fuel for the smelt. There is no doubt that woodland in Lea was used from the very beginning of lead smelting there to furnish the mills with fuel, for as early as 1590, Francis Babington's mortgage of the manor provides that the woods on the premises should not be cut down except towards the making of lead or leadworks at the lead milne

(1982 article page 128). Later, in the 1630's George Spateman is known to have held both the mill at the Cowhay site (not necessarily the same as the Babington mill) and the Lea Woods. Some 20 years after the 1737 purchase, however, "Cooks" presumably cokes or coke, was being sent to the "Cowhey Mills from Clea Cross Pitts" ... (1982 article page 131).

MELBOURNE HOUSE BAKEWELL AND ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

(by M. L. Knighton)

Older residents still call Buxton Road by the older name of Mill Street (it did not become a direct Buxton Road until after the Ashford Buxton Turnpike Act of 1810). Eighteenth century deeds concerning the area refer to Mill End, mid nineteenth century deeds to Mill End or Mill Street, whilst fifty years later it was referred to as either Mill Street or Buxton Road.

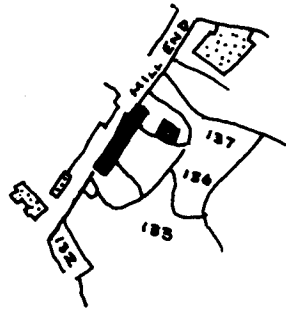
In the 1847 Poor Law valuation, a dozen or so properties in the vicinity were recorded as still thatched and it is probable they were demolished or replaced within the next thirty years. Incredibly the street was even narrower than it is today, and before the New Inn, the present Progress House, was built diverged via the present Milford Hotel. In the vicinity of the present narrowest section, the precursor of the present day Nelson's pork butchers projected even further into the road. This is still shown as such in the O.S. 25 inch map for 1879 and unoccupied ground along the street together with the new semi-detached limestone houses (Easthorpe/Rufford) would seem to indicate sites of demolished/thatched properties.

Brian Hill of Melbourne House kindly loaned bundles of deeds of his property dating from 1773 which give fascinating information about part of the old Mill Street. A number of deeds are obviously missing, others refer to properties now demolished, and a will of 1828 gives a good inventory of one of the more prosperous households in the town.

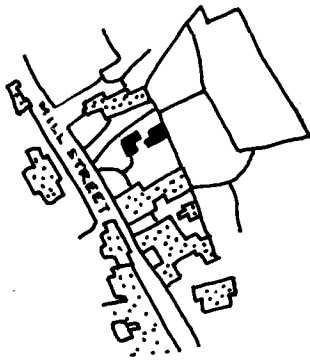
The present Melbourne House stands well back from the road - a plain somewhat austere three storey house, overshadowed by adjoining properties. Probably on the site of an older dwelling or substantially rebuilt it appears to date from the period 1800-1820. A glance at the O.S. map for 1879 shows the house somewhat more isolated as the Bramwell properties to the north and the house, "Linden Villa" to the south were not yet built. The garden walls shown on the O.S. in front of Melbourne House are significant and will be referred to later.

Thirteen assorted documents comprise the first batch of deeds dating from 1773 to 1790, consisting of conveyances and associated mortgages. The first is dated May 1773 and refers to property left by William Naylor, hatter, of Bakewell to his three "... surviving Deviseses ..", that is his nephew and two nieces, namely Richard Hamilton of Bakewell, yeoman, Ann, wife of James Watson of Shire-Oaks in the Parish of Worksop, yeoman, and Catherine, wife of Thomas Powel of Duke Street, Grosvenor Square in the County of Middlesex, yeoman. The properties concerned were all situated in Mill End and were described as:

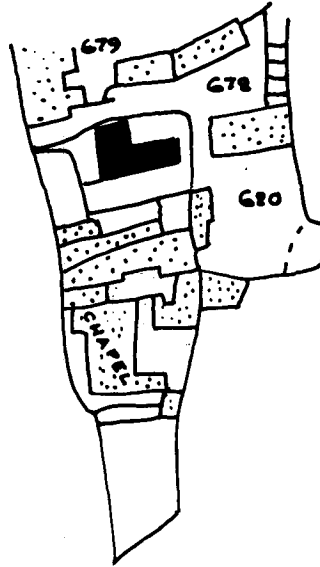
Message or tenement and garden now divided into two dwellings and gardens and in the .. several possessions of Thomas Smith and Elizabeth Aldgate widow ... with a small building ... used as a shop standing in the garden ... in the possession of Mary Naylor ... to the use and behoof of Richard Hamilton.



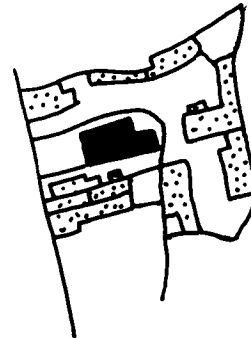
1799 Rutland estate plan



1879 Ordnance Survey



1920 Rutland estate sale



1979 Conservation Area report

MELBOURNE HOUSE AND ITS ENVIRONS 1799-1979

dvf

One other message or tenement with a garden ... heretofore in the possession of Robert White but now of Thomas Hudson ..., to the use of James Watson; similar in the possession of Christopher Punchaby to the use of Thomas Powel and finally similar ... heretofore in the possession of Joseph Palfreyman but now of Martha Robinson widow ... to the use of all three beneficiaries

The reference to the house now divided is interesting and seems to have a connection with the property purchased some sixty years later by Sarah Shore Smith in 1837.

Six months later, in October 1773, there were further property transactions. The dwelling in possession of Martha Robinson, widow, was sold for £24 to Mr. John Woodward, felt maker - which would be eight pounds each to the three beneficiaries, two of these having moved their homes - James Watson now described as "... late of Shire-Oaks in the Parish of Worksop but now Anstone in the County of York .." and Thomas Powel "... late of Duke Street Grosvenor Square in the County of Middlesex but now of the Parish of Saint Dunstan in the West in the City of London ..". It is significant that two of these yeomen, Watson and Powel, signed their names "X, his mark". Also in October 1773 the dwelling occupied by Christopher Punchaby is sold by Thomas Powel for £23 to John Woodward. Further documents in this period referring to dwellings occupied by Thomas Smith and Elizabeth Aldgate, May Naylor and Thomas Hudson, appear to be missing.

A complex number of conveyances/mortgages now follow:-

- (i) 11th January 1778 Conveyance by Mr. John Woodward, feltmaker, to Mr. Joshua Cotterill, clockmaker, for £32, of the dwelling heretofore in possession of Martha Robinson but now of Thomas Mellor.
- (ii) 12th January 1778. Mortgage for £24 and interest by Mr. Joshua Cotterill to Mr. John Woodward.
- (iii) 29th July 1783 Conveyance by Mr. Joshua Cotterill, clockmaker, to Mr. Samuel Flint the younger of Matlock, hatter, for £16, subject to the sum of £24 and interest charged thereon. The conveyance indicates that Thomas Mellor is no longer the occupant but Joshua Cotterill and his wife Phoebe, and also states that Cotterill appoints "Anthony Berrisford of Bakewell, stone cutter, his true and lawful attorney for him and in his name".
- (iv) 3rd February 1785 Conveyance by Mr. Samuel Flint the younger of Matlock, hatter, to John Smith the younger of Bakewell, hatter, for £16, subject to the payment of £24 and interest charges thereon. The conveyance indicates Joshua Cotterill was no longer occupier but John Smith. In this case Samuel Flint appoints Benjamin Elliott of Bakewell, hatter as "... his true and lawful attorney ..."

This 1785 conveyance bears the first reference to the family of Smith having a financial interest in the property. On 4th/5th April 1785 there is a lease/release with a mortgage which conveyed the dwelling in the occupation of Christopher Punchaby from John Woodward, feltmaker, to John Smith the younger, feltmaker. The price was £50 (14 immediately paid) with the sum of £36 secured upon the property.

The last eighteenth century reference is an endorsement on the mortgage of 5th April 1785 which reads:-

"16 March 1790 I the undersigned William Riddyards sole Executor named in the last Will and Testament of John Woodward decd ... acknowledge this day received ... from Mr. John Smith the younger the sum of sixty seven pounds seventeen shillings and eleven pence being in full of the principal Interest of two mortgages upon certain premises in Bakewell ...

William Riddiard"

The nineteenth century documents commence in 1828 by which time the house now known as Melbourne House was standing much the same as today. The first document is a conveyance (for £100) between John Smith and his daughter Sarah Shore Smith dated 30 January 1828 and refers to a messuage or tenement with a small yard. It contains significant wording "... as now fenced off with a stone wall from other premises ... of John Smith ..." which can only refer to walls, then new, which still remained to be shown on the O.S. map of 1879 although the properties had gone. The documents refer to the occupants "... Joshua Cotterill since then Thomas Noton and now of James Smith ...". The next document is the will of John Smith dated 1828 and proved 1829 and gives interesting insight into the contents of Melbourne House and is reproduced as Appendix I. Owing to further family transactions a pedigree of the Smith family relative to the properties is shown as Appendix II.

Further property transactions took place in 1837. A lease for possession and a release of a messuage and premises is dated 27th/28th April 1837, between Hugh Boam, yeoman, and Sarah Shore Smith, spinster. These documents refer to "All that Messuage Dwelling house ... with a garden ..." and mentions the occupants as "... formerly Richard Sellors and Elizabeth Aldgate widow and lately of John Turner and William Blackwell but now of Samuel Thompson ...". This house was purchased along with another dwelling house adjoining one of a pair purchased by an earlier Hugh Boam from one William Smith (see Appendix III). Also in this transaction was one equal half part of the gable end of the house (adjoining the house purchased) in the occupation of Thomas Mottram. The price was £100 for the purchase of this property. The mortgage was for £100 and dated 1st May 1837 by Sarah Shore Smith to James Taylor. The preamble combines that shown in the conveyance of 1828 with that of 1837, the occupancy of the first house changing with references to James Smith now in the past tense and currently being "... now of ... Sarah Shore Smith ...". That the two dwellings were adjacent is confirmed in the expression "... all that other ... dwelling ... and adjoining the ... last mentioned ...".

The two cottages were sold the same day as the mortgage was redeemed for £220 on 31st January 1853 by Sarah Shore Smith to James Taylor. Samuel Thompson had ceased to be the occupant of the second cottage which was possibly now uninhabited as it was ".....now occupied by Luke Frith Bingham as a Fishmongers Shop". The description of the properties was now expanded as indicated hereunder:-

"All those two cottages or messuages adjoining..... one occupied by Sarah Shore Smith ... the other.. by Luke Frith Bingham as a Fishmongers Shop also all that plot of land occupied by Sarah Shore Smith and situate at the back of the cottages and extending to a croft belonging to the Duke of Rutland and bounded on one side by a plot of land belonging to James Bissett and Ann his wife ... on the other by a Dwelling house.... belonging to James Smith together with one equal half part of the Gable End of the house now in the occupation of James Bissett adjoining... the (cottage) in the occupation of Luke Frith Bingham...."

James Taylor died in 1863 and his devisees sold the cottages back to the Smith family in 1875 for £160. In May 1875 James Taylor's devisees conveyed to Mr. William Wilson the property, formerly occupied by James Smith and Luke Frith Bingham, now William Fryer Backhouse and John Kay, bounded by hereditaments of Smith and Richard Bradbury. In April 1876 Mr. Joseph Wilson Lindsay, conveyed this property to Mr. George Smith for £145. Mr. William Wilson died in November 1875, and his property had to be divided between his nephew Joseph Wilson Lindsay and niece Sarah Lindsay with a financial settlement to their mother Mary Lindsay, William Wilson's sister.

No further documents concerning these cottages were found in the bundle, indeed they are not shown on the O.S. Map for 1879 so it appears they were quickly dismantled by the new owner owing to age and condition (at least one was thatched), in addition to which the outlook from the bigger house would be improved.

James Smith died in 1875 in his eighties having made his will in 1862 and left "... to my son George Smith my Dwelling house and the cottage adjoining.." This refers to what is now Melbourne House and a cottage immediately to the rear of the House. Other bequests of James Smith were a close of land called Melbourne situated in Bakewell to his daughter Elizabeth Smith, a close of land called Kirkdale in Ashford to his son Joseph Ridgard Smith and £100 to his other son James Smith with nineteen guineas to his grand-daughter Katherine Ann Smith. His executors were his son George Smith and nephew William Wilson.

In 1901 27 square feet of land were purchased from the Duke of Rutland at the rear of the house for £5 in order to improve the property. It seems that certain improvements and enlargements were carried out at this time and probably the cottage was incorporated into the house. The O.S. map for 1879 clearly shows a smaller building behind the larger house. The cottage is shown on a sketch attached to the receipt for £5 as "out offices". Later plans show one larger house.

George Smith died in May 1903 and left his house to his daughters Ann Earp Smith and Marion Else "... in equal shares.. then for the survivor...." Ann Earp Smith died in 1906 in Ontario, Canada, and the surviving sister Mrs. Marion Else, by then living also in Ontario, sold the property in 1924 for £450.

The first document to refer to the house by name is a mortgage of October 1903 "...A Dwelling house called 'Melbourne Grove'.... occupied by Marian Else and her husband where they carried on the business of a boarding house.. and also a private dwelling called 'Linden Villa' situate adjoining.... occupied by Mr. William Clarke.....". 'Linden Villa' could only have been built subsequent to the demolition of the older property. The conveyance of 1924 refers to 'Melbourne House' formerly 'Melbourne Grove' by which time the house had been in the occupation of Mr. Henry Woodiwiss for some years. Indeed the old orchard at the rear of the property owned by the Duke of Rutland appears as Else's Orchard in the 1920 sale catalogue and was occupied by Mr. H. Woodiwiss with his business of Wheelwright and Co. at that time.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

PROBATE AND COPY OF THE WILL OF JOHN SMITH DECEASED 1829 proved before Dean and Chapter of Lichfield on 24th April, 1829 - Administration granted to James Smith the sole Executor, effects sworn under £100.

I, John Smith, of Bakewell, hatter, bequeath to my son James Smith, hatter, "...Two hat presses or Desk and Book Case a pair of Drawers and an oval dining Table... standing and being in the Common Sitting Room and Parlour....

also a feather Bed Bedding and Bedstead with the Green Hangings Bolster Pillows and all other appurtenances... now are in the Kitchen Chamber and also the Pump standing in the Kitchen.....".

to my wife Ann Smith

".... one Bedstead Bedding and Hangings and a Square Oak Table now... in the Parlour Chamber also a large Tea Table in the Parlour together with the large History of England.....".

to my daughter Martha Wilson the wife of Joseph Wilson of Bakewell, victualler,

".... an oak Chest of drawers...standing in the...Parlour Chamber..."

to my daughter Helen Gibson

".... a Feather Bed...."

to my daughter Mary Smith

".... the Silver Cup which I now use....."

to my daughter Sarah Shore Smith

".....the Clock and the Night Chair..."

".... And as to all the rest residue and remainder of my personal Estate and Effect... not here in before specifically disposed of I give and bequeath the same to ...James Smith and my said wife Ann Smith... to be divided equally...."

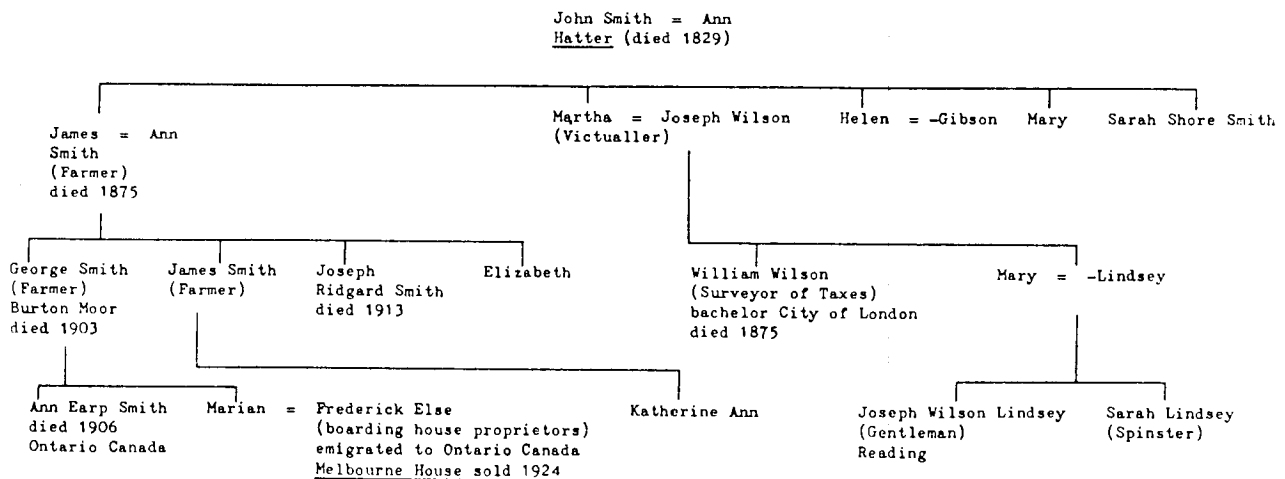
dated 28th August 1828

John Smith

Witness hereto J.M. Stevenson
Thomas Smith

APPENDIX II

SMITH FAMILY PEDIGREE



APPENDIX III

CONVEYANCE BETWEEN HUGH BOAM AND SARAH SHORE SMITH DATED 27TH/28TH APRIL 1837

The said Hugh Boam shall produce and show ... certain Title Deeds

- December 1750 Conveyance by William Naylor of Bakewell, hatter, to Christopher Punchaby the younger, hatter.
- July 1753 Conveyance by Christopher Punchaby the Younger of Bakewell, hatter, to Daniel Hambleton of Bakewell, husbandman.
- March 1802 Copy of Will of Hugh Boam deceased.
- December 1819 Mortgage by Hugh Boam to Andrew Brittlebank of Oddo, gentleman.
- July 1830 Conveyance by Andrew Brittlebank to Hugh Boam.
- July 1830 to April 1837 Four documents regarding Mortgages between Hugh Boam and John Hutchinson of Bakewell, victualler, and Robert Critchlow of Bakewell, stone mason.

STANTON-BY-BRIDGE

A STUDY OF ITS PEOPLE FROM WILLS AND INVENTORIES, 1537-1755

(by D. J. Baker)

A Lay Subsidy Roll of the mid 1540s ¹ shows fifteen men of 'Stanton at Swarston Bryge Ende' liable to pay a subsidy totalling thirty nine shillings. Three of them paid on their land, eleven on their goods and one, Thomas Sheperd, on an annuity of forty shillings. The value of their land varied from £20 to £5 and of their goods from £7 to twenty shillings. These bare facts give little idea of the way of life, possessions or standard of living enjoyed by the inhabitants of Stanton-by-Bridge at that time, but more can be learnt from the wills left by some of these men and others who lived there during the next two hundred years. Wills of this period were usually accompanied by 'a true and perfect inventory of all the goods and chattels' of the deceased at the time of death, and a study of the two together can throw some light on the social and economic conditions prevailing in the village. The value of any conclusions, however, must be dependent on the small sample available and the possible inaccuracies of the inventories, which were drawn up by men who were fellow villagers, often illiterate, and sometimes unaware of the need to list everything, or unwilling to do so.

A search of the Calendars of Wills at the Lichfield Joint Record Office has produced probate documents for eighty five people of this village who died between 1537 and 1755. (There may be others extant, as the Diocese of Lichfield used to include a number of Stantons in Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire, but care has been taken to include only those which are definitely from Stanton iuxta Pontem). It is not possible to estimate what proportion of the inhabitants left wills over the whole period, but more than half the householders listed as liable to pay Hearth Tax in 1662 and 1665 ² or their widows later did leave wills. In each of these assessments thirty four householders were listed. None of the householders, ten in 1662 and nine in 1665, listed as 'not chargeable within the Act' seem to have left a will, but this is not surprising as the fact

that they were not chargeable showed that they did not have property worth twenty shillings or more, and wills were not needed on estates under £5. Again of the fifty one villagers who, according to the parish account book³ held office as churchwarden, overseer of the poor or constable between 1690 and 1745, three out of five left some record of their worldly goods in a will or inventory.

It is convenient to examine the extant documents in two sections, 1537-1641 and 1667-1755. No relevant documents were found at Lichfield for the years 1641 to 1667, a period of over twenty five years covering the Civil War and Commonwealth. Table 1 gives details of the extant documents:-

<u>Table 1</u>	<u>Extant Documents</u>	
	<u>1537-1641</u>	<u>1667-1755</u>
Wills and Inventories	27	17
Wills only	1	14
Inventories only	6	20
Total	34	51

Up to 1679 there are usually wills and inventories together, and where only an inventory is extant, it is probable that the deceased died intestate; from 1680, however, there are only nine instances of both documents - five of these from between 1722 and 1728, the date of the last example of both documents being extant - and after this it seems that inventories were drawn up only when there was no will.

All the early wills were nuncupative; the earliest to bear the testator's mark was in 1598 and the first with a signature was in 1673.

<u>Table 2</u>	<u>Types of Will</u>	
	<u>1537-1641</u>	<u>1667-1755</u>
Nuncupative	22	-
Testator's mark	6	18
Testator's signature	-	13

The increasing use of a signature in the eighteenth century may indicate a rise in literacy in the village at this time.

Overseers or supervisors were named in the earlier wills to ensure that the executors carried out the deceased's wishes. In some instances the landlord was asked to be supervisor and was duly rewarded: 'my good Mr. Henry Sacheverell for his pains to have my grey horse' in 1564, and 'to my good master John Francis 10s.' in 1564/5. The Sacheverell and Francis families obviously took a very active part in the life of the village in the mid 1500s, supervising or witnessing wills and in the case of 'Mayster' William Sacheverell helping to appraise the inventories. The last example of the landlord being named as an overseer was in 1591, and from then on relations, neighbours or friends were appointed, but the rector or clerk continued to act frequently as supervisor or witness. The earlier wills were witnessed by three, four or five witnesses 'with other men'. Later there were usually only two witnesses.

The usual form for a will was to note the testator's state of health and then express his wishes for the disposal of his soul, his body and his worldly estate, (on which the first call was the payment of debts and funeral expenses). In the earlier period four out of five wills were made when the person was sick or weak in body, but all claimed they were 'hole in mind and of gud and perfect memory' and so able to express their wishes. The parish registers for this time have not survived, so they cannot be used to check how long before death the wills were made, but the inventories were usually taken within two months of the date of the will and occasionally on the day after the will was made. It seems, then, that early wills were drawn up when death was imminent. Most later wills were still proved within a few months of being made, but a few people now made wills years before they died when, like Samuel Holden in 1710, they were still 'in good health, but calling unto mind the mortality of the body and knowing that it is appointed unto all men ever to die'.

It is probable that at least six of the first eight Stanton wills were made by men who were Roman Catholic, for they bequeathed their souls 'unto almighty God, to our lady Saint Mary and to all the holy company of heaven'. Among them were Sir Ralph Francys, clerk and the Rector of Stanton in 1545, and Thomas Bakewell who in 1557 wished to have half a triennial of masses said for the health of his soul. Most of the others in the earlier period bequeathed their souls to Almighty God of Jesus Christ. Eighteen expressed a desire to be buried within the parish church of Stanton, and four of them gave a more specific location: Sir Ralph Francys wished to be buried in the chancel before the middle of the High Altar and 'that a grate stone be layd over my body', Robert Heare in 1591 wished to be buried 'as near the place where my wife was layde as conveniently may be', Richard Sacheverell in 1607 wished to be buried in the Chancel, (was he a son or grandson of the William Sacheverell of the 1558 monument in the church?), and John Hycelyng in 1536 asked to be buried 'before the rode at my forme ende'. Three others wished to be buried in Stanton churchyard, one of them, John Leytson, in 1558, wishing 'to be brought home in wool', a custom which became obligatory under the 1666 Act for Burial in Wool⁴. Four more left their place of burial to the discretion of their friends, William Rossell in 1598 desiring his wife and other of his friends to see 'his body honestly brought to the earth'. Only two of the twenty eight who had left wills by 1641 gave no instructions about their burial. After the Civil War there was less concern about the disposal of the deceased's soul (mentioned in fifteen wills) and body (in eight wills) and more about the disposal of his worldly goods.

A person's marital state influenced how these goods were bequeathed. Table 3 shows who left the fifty nine wills still extant for Stanton-by-Bridge:

<u>Table 3</u>	<u>Marital State of Testators</u>	
	<u>1537-1641</u>	<u>1667-1755</u>
Husbands	21	14
Widowers	5	4
Bachelors	1	2
Widows	1	11
Total	28	31

It was to be expected that most of the wills would be left by men at a time when married women legally had no property of their own; but it is surprising that only one widow left a will before 1641, as most husbands made the wife the sole or joint executor and usually left her a third, a half or all the residue of his estate after other bequests. If the children were grown up when the father died, the eldest son inherited the living and was expected to support his mother 'with sufficient meat, drink, clothing and lodging' for her natural life or so long as she remained a widow; but if she remarried she was to 'aboyd awaie with her said goods'. There are two examples of a wife being left a fixed annuity: Elizabeth Shipton in 1712 was to have £12 a year, and Ellen Roberts in 1727 was left the yearly sum of £5 if she should not agree to live with her elder son, but 'if she is willing to live with him then my son shall pay her the yearly sum of 20s. to provide her with necessaries' - presumably at that time a generous personal allowance for a yeoman's widow, for her husband left almost £280.

Some husbands with young children left the house and lease to the wife, sometimes for a limited period, expressly for the upbringing of the children, but only three fathers in the whole period made a definite reference to their education: Exsuperius Dudley in 1640 wanted his son to be taught to read and write well, John Barrow in 1699 requested that his three young sons should be 'brought up with the learning and education according to their degree' and Thomas Shipton in 1712 'would have his son Thomas (not yet 21) kept at Cambridge and maintained at my executor's charge till he is 25 years of age' - a request unique in these Stanton wills. From other sources, however, it is known that two Stanton boys received the education necessary to become clergymen. ⁵

The provision for children varied as one would expect; often where the wife had a half or third of the residue, the rest was divided equally between the children. Some children were left sums of money, while others, especially in the earlier wills, were left animals: Ralph Porter left each of his four daughters 'one haffer cawffe' in 1558. Henry Weeder in 1636 left his daughter Sarah a bible, valued at 3s. 4d. in the inventory, and both he and Dudley in 1640 bequeathed special items of furniture to their sons. Later the children were usually left money, with often a nominal sum of 1s. or £1 for sons who were set up and daughters who were married. Special provision might be made for an unmarried daughter: Sarah Brooke in 1673 was left £100 with the best bed and its furniture; and Elizabeth Roberts in 1685 left special instructions to a son for the care of his two unmarried sisters: he was to let them have the kitchen chamber to live in, he was to 'keep them a cow winter and summer as he doth his own', allow them 'one roodland of corne and bring it home every year and fetch them a load of coles every year and pay for it at the pits': little wonder that his own widow was buried a pauper. There were a few legacies of furniture - 'the bedstead with the yellow curtains, one pair of courser sheets and a white blanket' in 1679, 'the longest table now standing in the house' in 1667/8 - and occasional bequests of particular animals for individual children - 'my red cow', 'my brinded cow', 'the black yearling filley' and in 1750 William Starkey left a daughter a sheep and lamb of the 'Cut Breed', possibly an indication that selective breeding had come to Stanton, though full enclosure did not take place here for another sixteen years. ⁶

These bequests to children provide information on the size of families in Stanton at the time when the wills were made, as Table 4 shows:-

Table 4Family Information

	<u>1537-1641</u>	<u>1667-1755</u>
Wills naming children	23	23
Sons named	39	53
Daughters named	49	46
Average no. of children per family	3.83	4.30
Wills naming children under age	8	5
Wills naming parents	1	2

The later period shows a slightly larger average family, while a detailed study of the wills shows a markedly higher proportion of fathers in the earlier period dying while their children were under age. Some testators named brothers, sisters, friends, neighbours, cousins, grandchildren, godchildren and other relations, to receive legacies or to act as executor or overseer of the will. These details suggest a close knit family and village community, especially in the earlier period. Other relations and neighbours were mentioned less often when the habit of naming overseers of the will was dropped towards the end of the 17th century and they were remembered in the 18th century only when there were no children.

At least six households before the Civil War had servants; three men servants and five women servants were left legacies and four of the women were in households where there was also a wife. They were left heifer calves or lambs and one of the women was also to have two petticoats, one red and one white. In the later period only three servants were named and they were left sums of money by a widower and two widows.

Occasionally there were bequests of clothing; Thomas Here in 1553 left 'my hous I were', a doublet, 'my rusket jacket and my green jacket' to four friends or neighbours; others bequeathed a 'best hat and a russet jacket' and a 'coat and breeches', and in 1564/5 Thomas Fessher left his brother four and a half yards of russet cloth for being overseer of his will. The best descriptions of the clothes of the time are in the will of Joseph Adcocke who left his brother in 1682 'my best sewte, that is to say one great coate and one streate body coat and one pare of breeches, one pare of drawers, one pare of jarsey stockins, one shirt and two cravats with lace on them and my best hat', and in the inventory of Samuel Brown in 1693, whose apparel consisted of 'two coates, four new shirts, one old pare of bootes and shoes, two hats, two newskins of buck's leather, two aprons, some old breaches and westcoats and some other wearing things and some small linings' to the total value of £2.5s.0d. With his father a farmer of Ellastone in Staffordshire, £1.0s.6d. in his purse and such clothes, one wonders why Brown was a servant in Stanton.

Most of the nine legacies to Stanton Church, all before 1628, were of 3s. 4d. for the repair of the church or for the breaking of the ground if the legatee wished to be buried within the church. In addition to his 3s. 4d., John Hycelyng in 1536 made a further bequest of a coverlett to the church, and to 'the hye aulter ij tapers off a pounce a peysse there to be broute in the wysheppe off the blessed sacrament' and twenty pence towards 'the byyng of a torche the wyche torche I dyssyre all my nebers that yt may be brout when ary pore body dyes yt ys not abull to to have lyght of there awne'.

Five legacies ranging from 2s. to 6s. 8d. were made to the parish priest in the same period; and in 1622 Lucy Clarke, the only widow in this set of wills, left 10s. to Mr. Herringe, preacher of God's word, but he does not seem to have been a clergyman at Stanton.

In about a third of the wills of the earlier period there were bequests to the poor of Stanton: at first of food, such as 'a pot of corn' and 'one strike of rye made into bread' and later of small sums of money. Others remembered the local community in different ways. Thomas Bakewell in 1557 left 4s. to the making of the town well, and six men between 1545 and 1564/5 left sums of money ranging from 1s. to 10s. to Swarkestone Bridge. The bridge may have been in need of repair at this time as in 1557 Sir John Port of Etwall, the founder of Repton School, also left money for its repair and maintenance.⁷ The only bequest to charity after the Civil War was made in 1710 by Richard Shepperd who left £12 to be laid out at interest to produce 12s. a year for the distribution of bread to the poor. (This charity was increased to 20s. a year by the will of his son Richard of Aston in 1728).

Again the earlier documents are more informative on how the land was held: it seems that the usual practice then was for the holding to be leased for a number of years and if the tenant died, another member of the family hoped to complete the term. Thomas Cokes in 1564 desired 'my good Mr. Henry Sacheverell.... to be gud master to my brother John Cokes, if he may enjoy and have the interest of my house and farm', and Richard Wyder obviously had a fixed term lease as he left his wife 'the reversion of one lease if she live until it expires, if not Richard, my son, to have it'. About a third of the early inventories give the value of the lease: the highest was that of Lucy Clarke at £92. Her husband's, three years earlier, had been £23. 6s. 4d., so she must have taken out a new lease but their inventories do not name enough similar rooms to make it clear if she had continued to live in the same house. William Rossell, however, had taken his house for his own life and those of two of his daughters, but there is no evidence in the wills to show if he was a tenant of the same landlord - Stanton was by this time owned by the Francis and Harpur families.

Apart from two references to St. Bride's, the earlier in 1559, there is no indication in the probate documents of where in the village the deceased lived; but some idea of the type of house he lived in can be formed when the inventories listed the separate rooms, as almost three out of four did after 1600. Table 5 has been compiled from the forty eight inventories which name rooms; it has been assumed that all the rooms in the house were noted in each case and service rooms such as dairies and butteries have been omitted.

Table 5 Number of Rooms per House
No. of houses with rooms named

<u>No. of rooms</u>	<u>1537-1641</u>	<u>1667-1755</u>
1	2	1
2	6	-
3	4	7
4	1	5
5	3	9
6	1	4
7	2	1
10	1	1

Sir Ralph Francys had a hall, parlour, kitchen and buttery in 1545, but the early villagers' houses would have been single storeyed with one or two rooms, and the next mention of a separate sleeping room or parlour was in 1560. Later houses had upper storeys used at first for storage, and here in Stanton Roger Manley's inventory of 1593 was the first to name a chamber where already there were beds. John Collington's chambers seven years later were still store places with saltmeat, sheets and coverlids stored in one, and wheat, rye and malt in the other. After 1620 eight of the next nine inventories noted chambers, so by then two storeyed houses were becoming more usual, but all the parlours still had beds and 'comodities' were still stored in the chambers.

There are details of rooms in the inventories of twelve people who paid hearth tax in 1665, and if they were still living in the same houses when they died, less than half the rooms (other than service rooms) had a fireplace. After 1667 the houses had more rooms and all were two storeyed with at least one chamber in each house furnished with a bed, though the room might also be used as a store, and the parlour was still usually used for sleeping too. Several houses had best parlours and nether or little parlours too, and there was one instance of a boarded parlour, in 1679. Over a third of the houses now had 'the house' and a kitchen and there were more butteries, dairies or milkhouses. Apart from Katharine Shepperd's cellar in her ten roomed house, the only mention of cellars was in the last two inventories in the 1750s. One of these latest inventories also had 'cheese in the garret'.

The occupation of the deceased was noted in more than half the documents and these indicate a purely farming community; even when a different occupation was given the inventory usually showed some farming interest, and in many cases when no occupation was given it is reasonable to assume that the deceased was in fact a husbandman or yeoman. Information from other sources of a person's work has been included in the 'assumed' numbers in Table 6 which gives details of the occupations of these Stanton people.

Table 6

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Occupations</u>		<u>1667-1755</u>	
	<u>1537-1641</u>		<u>Stated</u>	<u>Assumed</u>
Husbandmen	11	> 11	11	> 11
Yeomen	3		7	
Labourers	2	1	2	-
Parsons or rectors	2	1	3	-
Innholders	1	-	-	-
Tailors	-	-	2	-
Bakers	-	1	-	-
Gentlemen	-	-	1	-
Shoemakers	1	-	1	-
Servants or serving men	-	-	2	-
Widows	1	-	7	4

One would expect considerable variation in the value of what individuals left. No one left an estate of more than £66 until the late 1590s, but from then on there was a marked increase in the total value of the inventories. The largest estate before 1641 was that of the yeoman Thomas Clarke valued at £207. 5s. 2d. in 1620, and the smallest that of John Hycelyng at £8. 10s. 8d. in 1537. In the later period the total values ranged from £470. 9s. 4d. in 1677 to £1.16s. 6d. in 1672 and of the men who were actively engaged in farming from £435. 7s. 6d. in 1755 to £16.12s. 0d. in 1677, with half in this group leaving goods worth between £100 and £200.

Most of the inventories before 1600 started with the animals, but the later ones valued first the deceased's purse and apparel and the contents of the house and then the outside stock, crops and implements. In analysing the items in the inventories 'household goods' in this study include purse and apparel, debts owed to the deceased and the reversion of leases as well as the usual contents of the house. Before 1600 there was no example of household goods making up more than 30% of the value of the total estate, but from then up to 1641 about a third of the inventories showed them valued at over 50% of the total. The value of household goods, however, was less again in proportion to the total estate during the fifty years after the Commonwealth; one in four had such goods making up half their total estate compared with one in three earlier, and this trend continued in Stanton into the 18th century with very few people having these goods worth half the total between 1710 and 1755.

Purse and apparel and later purse, girdle and apparel usually accounted for less than a tenth of the value of the household goods, but where the appraisers made a full list of the clothes of the deceased the proportion was higher, so clothes may have been an item which was not often valued accurately - or possibly relatives had shared them out before the appraisers were called in. In some wills the testator had noted money he owed, but in every case the value of the estate was more than enough to settle the debts. Henry Weeder admitted in 1636 that he owed over £32 to twenty three creditors, and there were a further sixteen small debts totalling over £2. 5s. 0d. which were 'not known till after his death'. Among his debts was one of 'xxs to John Taylor for bating iiiij stryks of lime' and another of 16s. 8d. to Sir John Harpur for 'due ease'. Some inventories included debts owing to the deceased and in three instances in 1598, 1611 and 1615 these debts were worth more than 40 per cent of the value of the household goods. These facts suggest that the villagers of Stanton at this time were willing to help their neighbours in financial difficulties but expected the account to be settled when one of them died.

Until near the end of the sixteenth century furniture was often referred to as 'the woodstufte in the house' and formed quite a low percentage of the value of the household goods. The earliest inventory, in 1593, to give full details of furniture listed among other things 'one thrown bedsteed with a tester of waynescote' valued at 14s. From then on the importance of furniture increased and by 1640 it made up half the value of these goods. Furniture now included bedsteads, cupboards, chests, cofferes, aumbries, tables, forms, trestles, chairs and one press in 1605 and one cradle in 1637. John Bakewell in 1605/6 had a well furnished living room with 'one table in the house with frame, formes, stooles, bench, cheares and cupboarde' worth xxxvis. Fourteen households had painted cloths for hanging on the walls, ranging in value from 1s. to £1; some of these were surprisingly highly valued - Thomas Cokes' painted cloth was worth 2s. and all the furniture in his house was worth only 3s. 4d. Window sheets and later curtains were mentioned seven times, and cushions, seven in one household, were valued in nine homes.

In the sixteenth century bedding and linen were much more valuable than the 'wooden stufte' in the house. Some of the early inventories give the impression that mattresses were used without a bedstead; feather beds were more common after 1600, and flockbeds and one chaff bed in 1636 were also listed. It is interesting to compare the prices in Richard Sacheverell's inventory of 1607/8 - 2 featherbeds £3. 6s. 8d., 2 mattresses 15s. In most households there seemed to be enough coverlets, but a surprisingly small number of blankets (seven only) before the early 1600s, and an equally surprisingly large number of sheets: in fifteen inventories before 1625 which give details of sheets there was a total of 227 sheets, an average of almost eight pairs per household. In 1564 two pairs of flaxen sheets were valued at 3s. 4d. and six pairs of harden sheets at 10s.; in 1598 three pairs of canvas sheets were worth 8s. 8d., three pairs of flaxen 30s. and seven pairs of 'overworn' ones £1.10s. 4d. More bolsters were noted than pillows, and fewer still pillow beares. About half the inventories before 1625, at a time when forks were not used at mealtimes, mentioned napkins, with the rector Richard Sacheverell having two dozen worth 30s. Over half the households had a bordecloth or tablecloth, but usually there was only one. Roger Manley in 1593 had a 'bordcloth' and a 'carpet for the borde'. Towels were listed less often, and then only one or two per household.

By the second half of the seventeenth century the proportional value of the furniture was decreasing, but there was more of it in the houses and often of a more varied type. Some items were carefully described: 'one little round table, one twiggen chair, one livery cupboard, one joyned forme, foure red covered stooles' in 1673, 'one deske, three cabbonets, one knifecase, one cloth chair' in 1679, 'one clock' in 1703 and 'a looking glass' in 1727. On occasions the appraisers did not hesitate to mention the state of the goods: '6 old chayers' in 1711, '8 sorry chairs' in 1727 and 'one old flock bed' in 1735. The later inventories tended to value 'goods in the parlour' or 'goods in the best chamber', but the last one in 1755 was very detailed, with among other things, a screen chair, a swing looking glass, three smoothing irons and a warming pan. In about three quarters of the inventories after 1660 the number of beds in the house was noted, often with some mention of bedding but there was not so much emphasis on the number of sheets, coverlets, pillows and bolsters as there had been before the Civil War.

In the earlier set of inventories great value was placed on the brass and pewter and separate items were carefully noted: Thomas Bakewell had three brass pots, two pans, three kettles, nine pieces of pewter and three saucers worth 13s. 6d. and two candlesticks worth 4d., and Robert Hear had 'x puter dishes, ii sawcers, ii counterfetes, one chafindishe, i candlesticke' worth 8s. and 'a brasse panne and a possnet' worth 6s. In 1564 George Coxse left an amazing collection of brass pans with capacities ranging from nineteen gallons to one gallon, as well as nineteen pewter dishes and 'vi good chandelers and ii oud candyllstyks' worth in all £3. 8s. 3d., about half the value of his household goods. Silver spoons were noted sometimes: in 1600 John Collington left two valued at 6s. 8d., and Henry Pym in 1628 left an unspecified number worth £3. A considerable amount of wooden ware was used and this was duly mentioned: Thomas Bakewell had two dozen trenchers, six dishes, two loomes (open tubs) and two pales (were these peeles, used for drawing bread from the oven?). Ticknall ware was only recorded twice in the early documents: Richard Sacheverell had Tickenhall ware and coles worth 5s., and Richard Wyder in 1604 left Tickenhall ware and glasses worth 2s. 8d. It seems surprising that it was not mentioned more often as it was made in a neighbouring village, but it may have been so common that the appraisers did not bother with it.

In the later period pewter and brass were still valued separately, and the equipment for cooking, such as landirons, hanging irons, spits, dripping pan, pothooks, potracks and 'other irons in the chimney' were obviously important items and were listed separately too. 'Some earthenware', plates and trenchers were noted in some lists. Barrels and brewing vessels valued at £1. 5s. Od. in 1728, brewing vessels and one hogshead of ale in 1729 and drink in the barrels in 1711 indicate that home brewing was carried on in the village. Only two inventories mentioned books: 'one Bible and several other books' in 1673 and books worth £2.10s. Od. belonging to the 'minister' Augustine Jackson in 1703. Edward Brooke in 1673 had 'one cross bow with gaffles and one rapier'.

Food of a perishable nature was not usually listed but a few Stanton inventories did note stocks of food: certain cheeses £1.12s. Od. in 1598, bacon and whitemeat £4.10s. Od. in 1620, bacon and butter £1, beef and bacon 'at roofs' £2 in 1628 and butter 4s. in 1630. Several more mention a flich of bacon. Later about a quarter of the inventories noted perishable foodstuff in the house. Most of these had cheeses in store, several had bacon fitches, and Katharine Shepperd in 1677 had '2 fat swine and beef in salte' in her dairy.

Livestock were of great importance throughout the period under consideration and nearly all the inventories before 1600 showed the value of the animals making up half or more of the total estate. All had cattle and these were the most valuable item. The average herd before 1641 numbered twelve with four cows per herd. The variations ranged from William Rossell's herd of twenty two to Robert Heare's five. (Heare may have been in partnership as his inventory lists half a filly, half the corn and half the hay). From the 1570s the value of one cow was around £2, the value of a bullock was slightly higher and that of an ox again slightly higher still. So oxen and bullocks, noted in ten inventories and always in pairs, were the most valuable stock and obviously the draught animals of this period.

After the Civil War in the fifty years up to 1709 six inventories, just over a quarter of the total, showed no animals at all, but these probably belonged to three retired husbandmen, a widow, a tailor and a servant. All the others had cattle among their animals and eleven of their inventories showed animals making up over 40% of the total estate, now about half the sample compared with two thirds in the previous period. After 1710, all fourteen inventories showed animals; only one, that of a retired farmer, had no cattle; in eleven the animals were the most valuable item in the estate and in ten cattle alone made up over 40% of the total value of the animals.

The average number in a herd cannot be calculated accurately after 1667, as some inventories did not give full details. Eleven people before 1710 had herds of five, six or seven milking cows, with heifers, young beast and calves to follow on. Nathaniel Simms had twenty in his herd when he died in 1699, while William Ratcliffe, the shoemaker, left only one cow in 1686. There was only one mention of one bullock, in 1681, so presumably by this time horses had become the draughts animals, - as, indeed, they were described in Simms's inventory. In the last fourteen inventories most herds still had five to eight milking cows, but William Ratcliffe in 1755 had thirteen - he had a number of sons and his inventory showed he was by this time farming at least two and possibly three holdings. His total herd of thirty eight included six bullocks (for meat?) and one bull. This is the only mention of a bull in all the Stanton inventories, and William Fraser suggests the field name 'Bull Piece' 8 implies a parish bull in the late 1600s. Four other men left herds of twenty or more and generally it seems that they were rearing more calves and young

beasts and keeping rather larger herds. One wonders if some farmers were taking over more land, and others were losing their shares in the 'stids' in the meadows and the grazing on the common.

Although oxen and bullocks seem to have been the main draught animals in sixteenth century Stanton, horses were also kept and may have been used for work on the land, but as nearly all were mares, fillies or foals, it seems likely they were kept principally for breeding. Before 1600 each inventory showed at least one mare and Nicholas Jackson in 1560 had five mares and a colt. In this period the value of horses increased, for John Hycckelyng's two mares and two foals were worth 18s. in 1537, and William Rossell's two mares were worth £3. 6s. 8d. in 1598; but on average the value of the horses remained about an eighth of the total value of each man's livestock. After 1600 eleven people left horses though the number was not always stated. Thomas Peate had seven horses in 1614 and John Collington and John Bakewell each had six when they died. These again were mostly mares, fillies or foals and they were still valued at a lower price than milking beast or oxen, but usually now were worth one fifth of the total livestock value.

If Stanton farmers were not breeding horses for a market outside the village before the Civil War, it seems certain that they were after the 1660s. The number of horses mentioned in inventories was almost double with two people leaving ten horses each, one nine and another eight, and their share of the total livestock value doubled too in the fifty years to 1710. It is difficult to compare prices, as in one inventory where each animal was valued separately five mares varied in price from £7 to £1.15s. 0d. and four colts from £10. 5s. 0d. to £1; and only four years later '4 mares big with foal' were valued at £70 and one barren mare at £20. After 1710 eight people had horses making up 40 per cent or more of the total value of their animals, and the large number of mares and foals shows that horse breeding continued to be an important part of farming in Stanton at least up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Before 1641, two out of three villagers had sheep; some had as many as sixty, others only one or two. Prices ranged from £6 for sixty in October 1557 to £5 for twenty in September 1598. The next seven inventories to give the numbers of sheep show a steady increase in prices so that in under thirty years sheep seem to have doubled in value. (The scope of this study does not cover possible devaluation of the currency during the time).

<u>Table 7</u>			
<u>Increase in Value of Sheep</u>			
<u>Date</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Price per Sheep</u>
Sep. 1600	20	£3. 6s. 8d.	3s. 4d.
Oct. 1610	10	£1.16s. 0d.	3s. 7d.
July 1614	52	£10	3s.10d.
Sep. 1615	72	£17	4s. 9d.
Feb. 1619/20	38	£10	5s. 3d.
Jan. 1622/23	30	£7.10s. 0d.	5s.
Apr. 1628	60	£20	6s. 8d.

After the Civil War only about half those who left inventories had sheep; using only documents where numbers were given, up to 1710 the average was fifty three compared with thirty nine in the earlier period. The largest flock was one hundred and fifteen and there were two other flocks of a hundred, yet even so the general picture was that sheep now made up a lower proportion of the total value of all stock. Most of the later inventories listed sheep but the numbers and so the relative value to other animals had noticeably decreased in this period. Apart from Thomas Roberts, obviously an old man who had handed on his stock to his son by 1715 and had kept only a few sheep for himself, no-one left sheep worth a fifth of their total animal stock value. Two generations of one family in 1728 and 1753, left fifty seven sheep - was this mere co-incidence or the allocation of grazing on the common for their holding?

Nearly everyone kept one or two pigs, just for their own use. There were, however, a few individuals throughout the whole period who had more pigs than would seem necessary for home consumption and they may have reared them for sale. (This was particularly likely in the case of some of the latest inventories). Prices varied - 'vi swyne and iii pigges' were valued at 20s in 1600 and five years later 'v swyne' were worth 26s.6p. 'i fatte hodge' was worth 18s and two fitches of bacon 10s. By the 1750's a sow and ten pigs were valued at £3, and a feeding pig and twelve stores at £4 5s.0d. In one list a 'goate that is sicke' was included with the pigs and this was apparently the only goat in the village in the whole period. Most households must surely have had poultry but these were rarely assessed, and in this respect it seems that the inventories do not give a true picture of a person's possessions. Geese were noted in two of the earlier lists, and hives of bees twice in the 1720's when the value of a hive was given as 10s.

Crops made up only between 10 per cent and 18 per cent of the total value of the estate in most cases before 1600 but after that date they showed a slight increase. The time of year when the inventory was taken and the fact that the crops were measured by loads, by bays, by acres or by quarters and strikes make it difficult to compare the information in the different documents. There is, however, some indication of how the Stanton farmers worked their land. Three inventories between 1575 and 1600 showed arable of fifteen to eighteen acres, sown with the crops detailed in Table 8.

Table 8

Details of Crop Acreage 1575 - 1600

<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Pease</u>	<u>Total Arable</u>
7	2	4	2	15
7½	2	3	3	15½
9	3⅛	4	2	18⅛

The only two references before the Civil War to wheat, in January and February inventories, showed it sown with rye; there were several references to winter corn which may have been the same crop. The general impression, then, is that however the crops were measured, rye totalled about as much as barley oats and peas together, but it is not possible to compare the price of the different grains from the scanty information available. The acreage of fifteen to eighteen acres already noted suggests half a yardland of arable to each husbandman at that time, but by the early 1620s one person had twenty eight acres of arable and another twenty one acres.

About half the inventories up to 1641 noted stocks of hay and some of the others were drawn up before the hay harvest was in. Only one, in 1600, gave the acreage of meadow and then ten acres were valued at £5; this belonged to the man who had eighteen acres of arable. The highest value of hay was £13.6s.8d. left by the innholder in August 1640, but this was not typical of the rest of the villagers, who rarely left more than £5 worth. Straw was occasionally valued with the hay, and there was one instance of barley straw in 1605/6.

From the 1660s the value of the crops made up an increasing percentage of the total estate, but remained well below that of the animals. After 1710 over two-thirds of the inventories showed the crops making up over 20% of the total. Whereas rye had been the most popular crop before the Civil War, it was only named in six of the twenty six later inventories which showed crops, and there was no note of it at all between 1679 and 1753, though it must have been included in 'the corn' of many lists. Barley was named eleven times, wheat ten times and oats eight times, and peas figured in twenty inventories, twice with beans in the late 1720s. 'Corn on the ground', 'winter corn' and simply corn were noted in many inventories, so it is impossible to judge the relative popularity of the different grains. Occasionally more details were given about the crops: Robert Houlden in 1678 had corn in the Damfield worth £30 and 'pease and oates in the Breakebacke and Stone fields' worth £10. John Barrow in 1699 had thirteen acres in the winter corn field, 'some sow'd with winter corn, the rest with barley' worth £32.10s.0d. In the same year Nathaniel Simms had nine acres of corn in the winter corn field valued at £27, three and a half acres of pease and oats worth £3 and corn growing in 'ye Common Close' worth £7; three years later John Quinton who had married Simms's widow had pease in the Common Close worth £6.15s.0d. (The winter corn field would vary from year to year, but the other field names appeared in the Stanton Enclosure Award of 1766, where the Common Close, one of almost forty ancient enclosures, was given as 4a 3r 08p.) Hay was mentioned seventeen times and was valued with clover and rye grass in the Radcliffe inventory of 1755, a clear indication that at least one Stanton farmer was trying to improve the winter feed he was producing for his livestock. Only five inventories, two of them in the 1750's, valued dung, muck or manure - were the farmers or the assessors only now beginning to realise its value to their crops?

Here in Stanton before the Civil War farm implements formed a very small part of the value of a man's estate: in only two cases did they make up 10 per cent of the total. Essential items for the husbandman were a wain, plough, yoke, iron teyme and harrows and various small tools. The wain was usually described as iron bound, and was often listed with plough and harrows etc. but one on its own in 1575 was valued at £2. A few men left two wains though it was more usual to have only one. The 'wayne rope' was noted a number of times. The first mention of a cart came in 1637, though some left ladders, used according to F.W. Steer⁹ to convert the two wheeled cart into a hay waggon. The parts of the plough were sometimes given: plowirons, plow timber, the coulter and share, and the plough gears. An inventory of 1622/3 gave a fascinating list of further equipment with the wain, plough, harrows and yokes: 'swingell tree, axell trees, plowe beams, shelboards, folleys, plow heads, styltes and tazles'. Tools named included axes, hatchets, bills, spades, pitchforks, pease-hooks, muckforks, weeding hooks, great rakes, an iron wedge and a 'cawboard'. A grindle stone was listed twice. It is convenient to mention here the only lime kiln, that of Thomas Peate, valued at 30s in 1614; had the limestone burnt in it been fetched over Stanton Common from Ticknall?

After the Civil War implements still made up a very small proportion of the total value of the twenty one inventories which showed them; there was however, a small but marked increase in their comparative value. One or two carts, plows and harrows and gears 'with other instruments of husbandry' were the most common entry, with fleakes, plow timber and ladder included sometimes. The first waggon, belonging to Simms in 1699, with a druggger was worth £6, and a waggon and rathes in 1753 were worth £7, while two waggons in 1755 were valued at £10.10s.Od. Rakes, forks, shovels and spades were noted in some inventories. Henry Bostock in 1720 had a winnowing cloth, hopper and two sieves, and John Roberts in 1753 had a winnowing fan, a hay basket and a grindstone, but such items were probably usually included in 'the other instruments of husbandry'.

The probate documents then have given a mass of facts about some of the people of Stanton-by-Bridge, who for want of other information may be taken as typical of the villagers as a whole at this time. In the earlier period more care seems to have been taken in drawing up the terms of the wills and in appraising all the deceased's possessions so that there emerges a detailed picture of the life the people led at a time when there is a dearth of other contemporary sources. On the whole the documents of the later period are not so detailed but they do suggest a gradual improvement in housing and general standard of living, and give hints of the changes in methods of farming which were to follow the enclosure, so that by the end of the eighteenth century there were only six or seven farmers¹⁰ in the village where in 1725 there had been twentyfour people¹¹ with rights to 'stids' in Stanton Meadows and presumably to land in the open fields and on the common.

References

1. P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), E179/92/174
2. P.R.O., E 179/245/7 and E 179/245/10.
3. Derbyshire Record Office, Stanton-by-Bridge parish records.
4. W.E. Tate, The Parish Chest, p. 67
5. The Rev. Thomas Bakewell, M.A., Rector of Rolleston, 1657-1661, and later a Non-Conformist Minister at Burton-on-Trent, was the son of Augustine Bakewell of Stanton. C. H. Underhill, History of Tutbury and Rolleston, (1949) p.229. The Rev. John Clarke of Seckington, who founded the Clarke's Charity at Stanton in 1716, was the son of Thomas Clarke of Stanton, d.1679. White's Directory of Derbyshire, 1857 and various family wills.
6. Enclosure agreement and award for Stanton-by-Bridge 1764 and 1766. Berkshire Record Office, Burdett Papers, D/EBu E4
7. J. L. Hobbs, Derbyshire Villages. Derby Central Library.
8. William Fraser, Field Names in South Derbyshire, p.133
9. F. W. Steer, Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid Essex, 1635-1749
10. Derbyshire Record Office, land tax assessments.
11. Derbyshire Record Office, Stanton-by-Bridge parish records.

EXTANT PROBATE DOCUMENTS for STANTON-BY-BRIDGE

<u>Date Proved</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u> (given or assumed)	<u>Will</u> (if any)	<u>Value of Inventory</u>	
1537	May 26	John Hyckelyng	Husbandman?	W.	£ s d 8-10-08
1545	Aug. 4	Sir Ralph Francys	Rector	W.	17-12-00
1554	Apr. 16	Thomas Here	Husbandman?	W.	13-00-00
1557/8	Jan. 24	Thomas Bagnell	Husbandman	W.	25-19-02
1558	Apr. 22	Ralph Porter	Husbandman	W.	15-01-08
1560	Apr. 30	Henry Hyde	'Laberer'	W.	17-17-04
1560	Sep. 16	Nicholas Jaccion	Husbandman	W.	32-08-08
1562	Sep. 18	John Leytson	Husbandman	W.	-
1564	Sep. 8	Thomas Cokes	Husbandman?	W.	23-12-08
1564	Dec. 23	George Coxse	Husbandman?	-	23-11-00
1565	Apr. 12	Thomas Fessher	Husbandman?	W.	21-18-02
1576	Apr. 29	Robert Domylowe	Husbandman	W.	65-10-00
1579/80	Mar. 11	Robert Revett	Parson	-	37-13-05
1592/3	Jan. 22	Robert Heare	Husbandman	W.	41-06-04
1593	Apr. 22	Roger Manley	Husbandman?	-	55-15-04
1598	Aug. 2	William Rossell	Cordwainer	W.	82-12-01
1600	Sep. 26	John Collington	Husbandman?	-	65-12-08
1604	July 12	Richard Wyder	Husbandman?	W.	38-06-08
1605	Aug. 29	John Wright	Yeoman	W.	108-09-04
1605/6	Feb. 3	John Bakewell	Husbandman	W.	166-09-10
1607/8	Mar. 1	Richard Sacheverell	Parson?	W.	38-08-00
1611	Apr. 23	Robert Byard	Labourer	W.	20-00-08
1614	July 29	Thomas Peate	Husbandman	W.	87-09-08
1615	Nov. 29	Giles Schofield	Husbandman?	-	45-03-04
1616	June 22	William Kyldale	Yeoman	W.	9-18-06
1620	Apr. 26	Thomas Clarke	Yeoman	W.	207-05-02

1623	May 2	Lucy Clarke	Widow	W.	190-08-05
1628	June 12	Henry Pym	Husbandman?	W.	171-10-00
1630	June 7	John Marshall	Baker?	W.	37-11-04
1637	Apr. 4	Henry Weeder	Husbandman?	W.	62-04-00
1640	Sep. 10	Exsuperius Dudley	Husbandman	W.	137-13-02
1640	Sep. 10	Richard Sheppard	Innholder	W.	137-05-00
1640	Dec. 30	Ralph Bostock	Husbandman	-	26-09-00
1641	Sep. 9	Francis Mee	Husbandman	W.	78-03-08
1667/8	Feb. 10	John Cockayne	Yeoman	W.	138-00-00
1672	Oct. 22	Catherine Marshall	Widow?	W.	1-16-06
1673	June 21	Edward Brooke	Yeoman	W.	99-01-06
1677	Apr. 3	John Henley	Husbandman	W.	16-12-00
1677	May 2	Katharine Sheppard	Widow	W.	470-09-04
1678	Sep. 13	Robert Houlden	Husbandman	W.	90-12-08
1679	Sep. 8	Thomas Clarke	Yeoman	W.	146-05-10
1679	Oct. 8	Theophillus Hawford	Clerk	W.	158-13-08
1680/1	Mar. 3	John Simpson	Husbandman	-	8-14-00
1681	July 23	William Meakin (alias Williamson)	Husbandman?	-	36-17-00
1681	Oct. 27	Samuel Clarke	Husbandman	-	54-06-06
1681/2	Feb. 2	Joseph Adcocke	Tailor	W.	5-11-08
1685	Apr. 27	Elizabeth Roberts	Widow	W.	43-07-08
1685	Oct. 29	Goodier Holt	Retired?	-	8-18-10
1686	Sep. 24	William Ratcliffe	Shoemaker	-	43-02-02
1693	Aug. 14	Samuel Brown	Servant	-	3-05-06
1699	Apr. 14	John Barrow	Husbandman	W.	163-17-00
1699	Oct. 19	Nathaniel Simms	Husbandman?	-	163-14-08
1701	Apr. 2	William Meakin	Husbandman	-	163-05-00
1701	Nov. 14	John Spencer	Retired?	-	3-19-00
1702	Oct. 6	John Quinton	Husbandman	-	106-19-10
1703	Apr. 16	Augustine Jackson	Minister	-	173-16-08
1705	May 22	Dorothy Marshall	Widow	W.	6-07-10

1710	Nov. 17	Richard Shepperd	Gent	W.	-
1711	Mar. 29	Henry Roulston	Day Labourer	-	37-13-00
1712	Apr. 11	Thomas Shipton	Yeoman	W.	-
1717	Apr. 26	Thomas Roberts	(Retired)	-	2-15-00
1720	Mar. 29	Henry Bostock	Husbandman	-	63-00-00
1720	Sep. 20	Dorothy Williamson	(Widow)	W.	-
1722	Apr. 6	Samuel Holden	Husbandman	W.	38-00-00
1722	Oct. 19	Allen Hammond	Rector	W.	-
1724	Nov. 8	Mary Holding	Widow	W.	111-16-10
1727	Apr. 5	Mary Jackson	(Widow)	W.	99-08-00
1727	Apr. 5	Nathaniel Simms	Yeoman	W.	137-12-00
1728	Apr. 9	John Roberts	Yeoman	W.	279-15-00
1729	Apr. 22	John Draper	Husbandman	-	80-07-06
1729	Oct. 14	William Ratcliffe	(Yeoman)	W.	-
1732	Nov. 14	Thomas Tailor	Tailor	W.	-
1732	Nov. 14	Elizabeth Taylor	Widow	W.	-
1734	Apr. 30	James Dawson	Serving man	W.	-
1735	Oct. 14	Walter Adams	Labourer	-	9-11-04
1737	Oct. 19	John Wayn	Husbandman?	-	123-10-00
1738	Oct. 17	Ann Adams	Widow	W.	-
1740	May. 6	Ales Draper	Widow	W.	-
1740	Oct. 14	Patrick Cox	Husbandman?	-	161-12-00
1746	Oct. 14	Henry Wright	Husbandman	W.	-
1749	Oct. 17	Alice Draper	(Widow)	W.	-
1749	Oct. 17	Thomas Draper	Yeoman	W.	-
1750	Oct. 19	William Starkey		W.	-
1753	Oct. 19	John Roberts	(Farmer)	-	194-09-00
1755	Apr. 15	William Ratcliffe	Yeoman?	-	435-07-06