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Part 4

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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>An Alternative History of Derby</i> by Dudley Fowkes	91
<i>Walter Marsh, Archdeacon of Derby, Renegade, Spy and Heretic</i> by Richard Clark	93
<i>Derby Silk Mill</i> by Professor John Beckett	93
<i>A Commentary on Recent Work on the Morley Park and Alderwasley Ironworks and Coal Mines</i> by Terry Judge	94
<i>Mary Brocksopp (1811-1835) A Minor North Derbyshire Heiress</i> by D. E. Jenkins	103

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AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY OF DERBY

(by Dudley Fowkes)

Some years ago now, Richard Gregory of Belper kindly showed me the manuscript of a proposed History of Derby dating from 1825 he had in his possession. It was pasted on to card and described as ... "*a proposed History of Derby written by Rev J. Pike, baptist minister, at the request of Mr George Wilkins*". According to a note in the front cover, the manuscript was not used in consequence of the Rev. Robert Simpson's history, published by Wilkins in 1826. The manuscript was sold by George Wilkins in 1854.

The manuscript consists of 90 pages, with gaps left at intervals, with notes made from time to time to the effect that these were left quite deliberately to plagiarise from other works!

Pike was evidently the author of many religious works - *Persuasions to early piety* being one of his more notable works apparently. He died in September 1854, his funeral being held on Saturday 9 September. The *Derby Mercury* of 13 September 1854 reported that he was ... "*beloved as a pastor, admired as the author of many works of practical usefulness and piety and respected with a universality rarely enjoyed by man*".

His history is certainly different, and I thought that once space permitted, readers would enjoy a flavour of the work. So here goes ...

Fol. 1 The town of Derby is situated in a valley at 52.53 North Latitude and 1.28 West Longitude of Greenwich. It stands on the western banks of the Derwent and is intersected by a small rivulet denominated Markeaton Brook. The valley extends southward into a fine and fertile plain and the immediate vicinity of the Town affords much pleasing scenery tho destitute of those sublime prospects which excite wonder and admiration.

If we allow Mrs Mitton's supposition to be correct so far as this that the name of the Town was borrowed from the river on whose banks it stands yet is it not probable that the river itself took its present name from the Roman station which formerly stood near and that the word Derwent is derived from Derventium.

Fol. 2 The most probable derivation of the name appears to be suggested by Mr Mitton. He observes "*The name of the town and of the river on which it stands have the same origin; the word is of British extraction and means to move swift, which answers to the motion of the stream. Hence it follows that the river being something older than the Town gave it the name Derwentby or the town by the Derwent afterwards corrupted into Derby now Derby. Even this Roman city [Little Chester] derived its name Derventio from the same river. Darley also the next village on the opposite bank will decide the contest; its name is derived from the same source Der from the river and ley, which is British signifying a home*".

Fol. 3 It is as difficult to ascertain the exact age of Derby as it is to decide the derivation of its name. That it is a place of great antiquity all historians agree but there are no memoirs or monuments to fix the date when it first assumed the name of a town, nor does even tradition itself that unfaithful though sometimes correct guide declare. It has been supposed that it was a place of some magnitude even before the Roman Invasion. In support of this opinion it is urged that the situation of the town is such as would be very inviting and exactly suited to the task of our British Ancestors - that a passage over the Derwent was absolutely necessary in early ages to connect its eastern and western banks and that St Mary's Bridge in its various forms appears most probably to have been that passage: that it was a point with the Romans in forming their military ways to direct them by the

Fol 4 British Towns but never through them: that this was the case at Derby - Little Chester having been one of those stations and the Ikeneild Street one of their principal roads having passed close to the outskirts of the Town.

Fol 16 After the brief view we have taken of the former and present state of Derby. Curiosity may enquire for further information respecting its buildings its manufactures and its most memorable events - What its present public edifices are the eye of the traveller can discern better than the pen of the writer describe and respecting the buildings which time has destroyed but little authentic information remains.

Through a long lapse of benighted ages in which papal Rome appeared triumphant superstition was named Christianity and idolatry seemed religion. During this period riches flowed abundantly into the coffers of the popish priesthood. They and the nobility possessed almost the whole wealth of the nation and through many centuries the middle rank of society was nearly or quite unknown. The natural consequences of this state of things was that few edifices deserving notice were erected excepting such as were calculated to gratify the pride of a feudal lord or to minister to the convenience if not to the luxury of the devotees of superstition. Derby appears to have possessed one or more buildings of both the classes.

The Castle

On the south east corner of the town formerly stood a castle. It is supposed to have stood on what was subsequently called Cowcastle Inn. Its last remains are said to have expired about two hundred years back, but whether it fell by old age or violence is uncertain. If by the former, its origin would be thrown back to a very remote period; if by the latter, no time seems so likely as quarrel between the two roses.

Fol 17 The Lords of Derby being the house of Lancaster when that house fell, the wrath of the house of York might discharge its vengeance upon this castle. This however at best is only a probable conjecture. Mr Gibson in his Camden observes that there had been no remains of the castle within the memory of man. Mr Mitton with the enthusiasm of an antiquary imagines that the vestiges of it were discoverable in 1791 in the orchard on the summit of the hill. he adds ...*"one of the mounds eighty yards long runs parallel with the houses upon Cockpit Hill, perhaps one hundred yards behind them; also parallel with those in St Peter's parish but twice this distance. This place of security then stood out of the town in an open field, no houses were near. It was guarded by the Derwent on one side and on the other side ran the London Road. This I apprehend was the chief approach because the passage afterwards bore the name of Castle Street. From thence also the fields towards the east acquired the name of Castle fields"*. Leaving this fallen monument of departed grandeur we may take a glimmering view of edifices that arose in some instances thro' mistaken piety but more frequently from mischievous delusion.

WALTER MARSH, ARCHDEACON OF DERBY, RENEGADE, SPY AND HERETIC

(by Richard Clark,

In my list of rectors of Barlborough published in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1984, CIV, p41, Walter Marsh appeared as rector, instituted in 1589, and archdeacon of Derby 1588-90. His title of archdeacon was disputed and in the ensuing case he lost to John Walton, the better claimant. Thereafter it seemed that he became a Roman Catholic.

My reference to Marsh brought me into contact with Richard S. Peterson of the University of Connecticut as I was able to provide him with references on Marsh's displacement as archdeacon of Derby. He has managed to complete the story on Marsh's career which has recently been published as a short article. Its full reference is: Richard S. Peterson, 'In from the Cold: An Englishman in Rome, 1595' *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 5 Nos 2/3 (April, July, 1992), published by the University Press of Kentucky (663 South Limestone Street, Lexington, Kentucky, USA). Obviously the article is not readily available but one hopes that the County Library and the local university libraries will endeavour to procure it.

Richard Peterson's account is a *tour de force* of detection. Marsh's story is remarkable. In summary, after being turned out of his archdeaconry, Marsh in March 1591 went to the English seminary in Douai. He arrived there in September but, a year later, he was offering his services to the Elizabethan government as a spy on English Catholics abroad. In March 1593 he was admitted to the English College, Rome, though he soon left through ill health. He returned to Rome later where in June 1595 he committed sacrilege by snatching a monstrance, bearing the Host, from a priest's hands during a procession. The Inquisition condemned him to have his tongue cut out and his right hand cut off, then to be taken to his place of execution all the while scorched by his executioners with torches, and finally to be burned alive. The sentence was carried out on 19 June 1595. This summary does not do justice to the story on an unbalanced victim of the doctrinal divide of the late sixteenth century Europe. I recommend that Richard Peterson's article be procured and read in full.

DERBY SILK MILL

(A note by Professor John Beckett, Department of History, University of Nottingham)

An early visitor to Thomas Lombe's silk mill at Derby was John Lovelace of Caversham who passed through the town in 1732 whilst on a nationwide tour. The diary he kept was published in 1890 on a limited print run and is not widely known. Of the silk mill he recorded that

on the banks of the river stand the large buildings of brick belonging to the silk mills. It was Mr John Lombe, brother to Sir Thomas, who brought over the art of twisting silk from Italy. It is a difficult matter to gain any - the most cursory - view of this machine, they are so apprehensive of the art's being restole from them; we were admitted however; about 400 hands are continually employed here.¹

Sadly Lovelace tells us nothing more of what he saw in the mill, but the suggestion that there were as many as 400 employees is an interesting one since it revises upwards the usual figure of 300.²

References

1. John Lovelace, *Diary of a Tour in 1732*, Edinburgh, privately printed, 1890, p 213
2. J. Heath and R. Christian, *Yesterday's Town: Derby*, Buckingham, Barracuda Books, 1985, p13

A COMMENTARY ON RECENT WORK¹ ON THE MORLEY PARK AND ALDERWASLEY IRONWORKS AND COAL MINES

(by Terry Judge,

Coal in the Derwent Valley

Miss Johnson's article rightly pointed out that coal was available to the Alderwasley Furnace in the middle Grit series in the Derwent Valley², but I feel it underestimated the extent of the exploitation. John Farey did not just mention mines in the First Shale adjacent to Alderwasley but also others over a very wide area of Derbyshire and the surrounding counties. If his list of collieries is examined in detail, he shows that many of those mines were worked out even by the early 19th century. What is also of interest is the fact that he reports many of these pits as a supply of "brasses" or iron pyrites as a useful by-product. The list also shows pits tantalisingly close to both the Alderwasley Furnace and Mather's works at Milford³ and this raises the possibility of a use for this coal which will be examined later.

The following letter about coal mines in the Belper area⁴ helps to show how extensive those early mines in the Middle Grit had been:

"We have some remembrance of the Coal Pits at Dalley (area NW of Belper town centre) which was a wild and weird place in our younger days. The coal we believe lay but a short distance below the surface and was raised in the most primitive of fashion and carried into the town on the backs of Donkeys. The coal itself was probably the outcrop of some well known coal seam and had been got in the district for more than a Hundred Years. It is said that the house and grounds at Bridge Hill are themselves undermined. An old resident of Belper visiting the district after an absence of about Forty Years would scarce recognise the place, or familiar landmarks. This is due to the Late Mr John Strutt who after the death of his Father, obtained the place and expended a large amount of money in improving it. The coal pits were all filled in, hillside levelled and soil placed where it was required, hedges and bushes were pulled out and a good wide road formed. The new farm houses were built and the land thrown into large fields, the whole being rendered productive. We have often wondered why some effort has not been made to get the coal, which in all probability lies under the town of Belper and through the Derwent Valley to Derby. If coal could be traced it would be of great advantage to the district."

Anthony Bradshaw writing in an earlier age⁵ tells us that the Duffield Frith abounds with "Mynes for Iryne, Slate, Coal and Stone and other profyts many". Bradshaw said in a later part of his poem that he was sitting in the Court House at Chevin whilst writing. From his vantage point he would have been able to see both potential Belper mining fields, the Middle Grit and the Lower Coal Measures at Belper Laund.

In the Frank Nixon Collection at Derby Industrial Museum, referred to by Riden⁶, are two photographs of considerable importance in this context. One shows the remains of an old cog and rung gin which was in a field near to Alderwasley in the early 1950s; the other is of Shire Oak Pit which was near to Belper Lane End. Belper historian, Mrs Marion Robson, who first supplied the photograph, thought that it had been taken about 1850, but I think that it was later than that as one of the men appears to be holding a type of safety lamp which was not available at that early date but was commonly carried by colliery officials in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The man on the far left of the photograph appears to be working a hand-operated air-pump, which together with a very efficient type of lamp (Garforth) would seem to indicate the presence, or apprehension of gas in some quantity, probably blackdamp, if they were reworking old pillars.

Some old mine hillocks can still be found in a wood at Hankin Farm, Alderwasley, where the upper seam of coal is at a very shallow depth and is exposed in a field ditch to the west of the farm buildings. The dark shales have yielded some poor ironstone and some fish and plant remains.

The foregoing passages raise the question of whether this source of coal could have been used in the operation of charcoal furnaces. I believe that it could, and in all probability was. The argillaceous ores of iron required

treatment before being fed into the furnace. The ore was cracked upon the furnace bank and roasted or calcined. This required large quantities of fuel of which three were available - cordwood, charcoal and pit coal. All would have been suitable but the first two had ready use in all the local furnaces and local timber resources would certainly have been stretched in supplying both Hurt and Mather with these fuels. Pit coal, cheaper, less valuable and obtained locally, would seem to have been the obvious fuel for this operation.

Whilst not disputing the feasibility of experiments with coal or coke firings at Alderwasley, the very fact that coal was probably the roasting agent, in close proximity to the furnace mouth, would render any slag tests highly susceptible to contamination. Also there were basic design differences between a charcoal furnace and a coke furnace mainly in height and there is no evidence that the Alderwasley Furnace was ever a tall one. The late Arthur Guest and myself examined the suggestion that coal may have been tried in "backing" the furnace but as late as the 1830s it was still believed (wrongly) that a furnace could not be partially shut down. All the available evidence, including near contemporary writings⁷ suggest that Alderwasley Furnace was never other than charcoal fired, that it benefited from a ready supply of that fuel and that coal, if used at all, was the calcining agent and nothing more. Charcoal was still being used at Alderwasley in some of the smaller hearths as late as 1856, a charcoal hearth being mentioned in the Mold Partnership sale catalogue.⁸ The Kenny family, charcoal burners at Alderwasley, lived in the woods, reputedly under a large yew tree which still bears the name "The Betty Kenny Tree". A portrait of Luke Kenny by James Ward, R.A., which used to hang in Alderwasley, is now at Castern Hall.

The Alderwasley Works

Riden poses a number of questions about the works.⁹ Some of these can best be answered by the following letter¹⁰ written by William Henry Mold in 1900 to H.A. Johnson of Ambergate Wireworks, successors to Mold on the site. It is obviously in reply to an earlier query by Johnson, probably about the furnace and Oakhurst. William Henry was 21 when he went to the works and 74 when he wrote this letter.

"I am sorry that you were away when I called to see the Wireworks (in 1879) I think and I will tell you all I know, which extends back to 1832, and also what I believe are to the Old Slack Furnace, told to me by Francis Hurt M.P. who I followed in 1854 to Wirksworth Churchyard. He let the Alderwasley and also the Morley Park Ironworks to my father and uncle in 1810 and we held them until 1859 when the Alderwasley Works ceased to work. The rolls and most of the machinery were sold to a firm in Leeds (in 73 or 74). The Morley Park works you will not care to hear about, nor our Marehay Colliery.

In 1846 my Uncle John died at Oakhurst and in 1847 I was at the works and that Mr Hurt came to me and asked me to come and live there, (I was twenty one and living with my father at Makeney House, Duffield). I told him to look at it and he promised to give £1000 to rebuild a good part of the house which was begun at once by Robinson of Belper.

The Old Furnace was there in 1810 and the report were that it was driven by a small water wheel from the brook up to 1780. Then the river weir was raised and the Forge started. After 1810 Messrs Strutt wanted to raise the Belper weirs and paid a sum to cut the long sluice from your works.

We could roll rails to 48 lbs per yard and boiler plates and sheets to 39 inches and had a great trade in Belper for charcoal horse nail rods. All ceased in 1859 and in 1860 I came here to 501 acres of my own.

Speaking of the brook, I often had 4 to 6oz trout, one day 32 and my father said that potted, they beat any char."

William Henry then goes on to describe his Kent home, observing that the Dover boring had recently taken place proving Coal measures beneath his property and he tells Johnson "I am told that the royalties will realise £800 per acre so please come, bring your friends".

William Henry's letter poses almost as many problems as it solves but coming from a man with intimate knowledge of the works over many years, and who furthermore retained an obvious interest long after quitting them, his statements cannot be ignored.

The major question posed by Riden concerns the provision of iron ore to the Alderwasley Furnace. The geological survey sheets SK34NE and SK35SE show the coal measures in Heage neatly divided north to south by a sandstone ridge, the "Wingfield Flags", the dip is eastwards and it forms a prominent and distinct scarp to the west. The bulk of Heage coal and ironstone occurs to the east of the ridge, in ascending order from the Kilburn Seam to the Deep Soft, whilst the lower seams with some important iron rich ores occur to the west on what was formerly Heage and Belper waste.

The fact that coal and iron were extensively worked on the common is well documented. To quote Bradshaw again, he said that Belper Laund was ruined with ironworks. John Halton of Wingfield Park produced a map of Heage in 1698¹¹ showing extensive coal pits in the Alton and Belper Lawn seams and also to the east in the Kilburn seam. One Heage man was arraigned before the Court of Quarter Sessions at Chesterfield for "*digging or causing to be digged several shafts in the highway at a place called Belper Ward for the getting of coal*".¹²

Riden seems to assume that any coal or ironstone taken to Alderwasley must have come from Morley Park. The evidence against this assumption seems clear. Riden says that "*Hurt in anticipating a lease (Morley Park) set ironstone getters to work, thereby upsetting the commoners*".¹³ No part of the common lay in the Morley Park estate which was fenced at that time and was being farmed by four copyhold farmers.¹⁴ If the commoners had no rights in Morley Park, it is difficult to see what action they could bring against Hurt if he had trespassed. On the other hand, it is very possible that Hurt set getters to work on the common and would also have needed to put men to work on the sough which delivered into the common thereby upsetting the commoners who had legitimate rights that Hurt at that time did not hold. It will be shown that this situation was to change.

A further point arises in the statement "*This points to a scheme to supply ironstone to a furnace near Ambergate with ironstone from Morley Park which is two miles, or a little more, from the forge at Alderwasley*".¹⁵ Ironstone occurs in abundance in the measures between the Belper town seam and the Kilburn which occur in what was then common land. Two possible means of egress from the common were available: one ran directly west up the dip slope of the Rough Rock by way of what is now Common Farm, Heage Firs, Toadmoor and Newbridge Road to the Furnace Yard, the other ran a slight distance below the Spanker Inn, then by the same route - a distance of 1.9 miles. The nearest available shaft at Morley Park at that time was in the rear of Blackhorse at SK 376497. Exit from here was by way of Morley Park Road, Cackleton Green, High Green and Dunge Hill to Nether Heage, and then following the same route via Toadmoor, etc, a distance of 3.2 miles.

To sum up, coal was available in the Derwent Valley and was extensively worked. High quality ironstone was also available and both were being worked on Belper and Heage commons at no great distance from Alderwasley in 1764 and before. Morley Park was not part of Heage common but a separate estate, with the commoners having no rights within its borders.

It can be seen that contrary to being an isolated enterprise, ie a remote spot, Alderwasley was well served with all the minerals it needed at no great distance from the works. When the geography of the site is examined, it can be argued that Hurt's Alderwasley furnace and forge were better situated and better served with minerals than Mather's Milford operation which was for many years reliant upon Alderwasley for cordwood and was further from the Lower Coal Measures and limestone. If Mather were obtaining ironstone from the coal measures, his nearest sources were Belper common or Holbrook Moor and he still needed limestone. Could this relative isolation not have been his reason for wishing to quit Milford? Indeed, could Mather not have been one of the earlier enquirers eager to lease the Morley Park estate from Wentworth before settling for the Staveley lease?

The Morley Park works

Morley Park lies in Upper Heage, forming the eastern and southern boundaries of the parish. Within its confines, some of the most productive seams of the coal measures occur. Along with the seams and interbedded are ironstone, clays and building stone. The sequence is for Kilburn seam, up into the roof slates of

the Deep Soft. At greater depth and outcropping west of the border, the measures below the Kilburn also occur. This fortunate act of nature made Morley Park a compact and highly rich mineral field.

At outcrop, the dips vary between 1 in 4 and 1 in 12, but these soon shallow out, dipping gently eastward. Heage is bounded by two important faults, to the south is the Horsley fault and to the north is the Porters Barn fault. Morley Park is itself affected by two minor faults, the Downmeadow and the Morrells Wood faults. These are all dip faults with northern downthrows. These latter faults neatly frame the park and greatly influenced the mining practices and politics later.

Riden has given in his work the various owners of the estate and there is no need to repeat them here. Various papers in the Hurt collection give a clear account of the estate before large scale mining began and these early records warrant a future work of their own. The ways in which the trees, grass and arable land was cultivated are all documented. Other old Heage estates are also well documented in the collection.

In reading old accounts in areas where woods and also coal abounded, care must be taken in interpreting certain words. Georgina Green's account of Epping Forest, among others, show that words like coal, cole, collier and collyer can refer to charcoal burners and have nothing to do with the working of fossil fuel. Fortunately, perhaps because of its growing importance and acceptability, the early writers often made the distinction of fossil fuels by terms such as pit coal, sea coal or slate coal.

Thus, on safer ground, we get from the Duchy of Lancaster's minister's accounts¹⁷ that "*William of Semondeslegh Receiver for Belper Ward, renders his account from the Morrow of St Michael, In the Seventh Year of the Reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, to the Morrow of St Michael the year following, for £9 6s 8d from the farm of two picks digging sea-cole in Denbyhurne this year, and also £4 3s 4d for the farm of one pick digging sea cole at the same time*".

Mark Fryar thought that Denbyhurne referred to a portion of The Strype, which is at Morley Park, or perhaps Denby Corner. Interestingly enough a recent aerial photograph reveals some large bell-pits in the orchard of Stripe Farm, on the Denby side of the border. Again, in 1433 we get a further account from the receiver's book when Richard Milner and partners were granted the right to work sea-cole at an annual rent of £7 6s 8d until it was worked out.¹⁸

These men were working within the park and presumably working not only to special terms but also to the strict forest laws which applied at that time. Almost a century later Bradshaw shows that Morley Park is still fenced but makes the comment that "*the deer have not all gone*".¹⁹

Mark Fryar has shown that the Smalley, Denby and Kilburn areas were being heavily worked in early times, coal mining having gained some importance because of the proximity of these pits to Derby and other markets to the south. The account of the many drainage levels or soughs as they were termed and subsequent depth of the pits show the expense and trouble that the early developers such as Lowe and Richardson were prepared to go to to get the Denby and Smalley coals to the bank. In the era before steam engines the problems of mine drainage were the major limiting factor. Even then the pits were not entirely safe from human depredations, deliberate flooding of neighbouring pits, the cutting of pit ropes and stopping up of the soughs being common complaints.²⁰ Even then Lowe was forced to put advertisements in the *Derby Mercury* because unscrupulous competitors were selling inferior coal as best Denby hard coal.

The Lowes succeeded in driving a sough northwards on the Denby Old Hall estate which unwatered a large area of the Deep Hard and Deep Soft seams. This was close to Street Lane. He could move his coal north or south but still had no easy way of getting his coal to Belper or Ashbourne. At around this time, a sough was begun with its outlet on Heage Common. John Halton's map of Heage shows a group of pits at Cooks Farm, Cackleton Green. The coal available to these pits was the highly-prized Kilburn, or as it was then called, Buckland Hollow coal, from a known exposure at Buckland Hollow.²¹ The geology opened up the feasibility of developing the Kilburn to some depth by driving beneath the seam from a position beside the Townmeadow Brook, near New Road, eastward and on a slight upgrade until it met the eastward dipping seam. By now turning north or south and forming a level, the sough was said to have formed the sole of the mine or the lowest dip of the measures. The driving of soughs was a specialist job fraught with some danger, the major problems being ventilation and working in unknown ground. The underground plans which still exist show

the sough wandering off line as the sough encountered the edge of the Townmeadow fault and moved out of the broken ground, still trying to maintain a proper gradient. Ventilation was effected by sinking shafts into the sough which required accurate dialing to ensure that the two met. Once a shaft had formed a connection, air would flow along the working naturally, or would be induced by hanging a fire bucket in the shaft to rarify the air. As the level progressed these shafts became drawing shafts for men, materials and coal. One of these is at SK376497. This opened up the Kilburn to some depth and ensured adequate ventilation, drainage and winding capacity. The mine or delph was then said to be footed and ready for development.

One or two other recorded instances are worth including here. In 1723 Godfrey Wentworth, Lord of the Manor, granted to Mr Lowe of Denby "*the right of a road passing over the lands of Daniel Morrell and Richard Wainwright in Morley Park for the carriage of coals, from the said Mr Lowe's pits at Denby, to Heage and Belper Wards, for the passage of horses, carriages, wagon and wains*".²¹ This grant was an important one as it shows that Wentworth himself had no intention of developing the Morley Park estate himself or he would not have given Lowe such easy access to Belper and Heage, which could have been more easily served by pits at Heage. The road, long since abandoned, can still be traced beside the footpath from Street Lane to Knob Farm, where it joined the Whitemoor Lane to Belper.

In 1753 a perambulation of the boundary of Heage took place. As was the custom, many people took part. Starting at Richard Wainwright's house at Morley Park side (Morrell's Wood) they went by way of Belper Bent, Great Hill (Bessalone) to the Derwent at Broadholme, then along the Derwent to a place called Tongue in the East where the Amber flows into the Derwent, thence to Bull Bridge, Heally Bridge and Buckland Bridge. On the second day they went from Buckland Bridge, along the Hartshay Brook and Bridle Lane to Chadwicks Grave which is at the north end of Street Lane. Here the Rev. Ward preached a sermon and bread and ale were distributed to the crowd beside "*a high bank of slack in Morley Park*".²² This points to a pit at this location with, as it was summer time, a good stack of coal upon the bank. The wording could be taken to mean a pit waste heap but John Farey has shown that the word "slack" usually meant soft or crozeling coal [coal which caked easily forming cokes]. The Deep Soft outcrops close to this point and there may well have been a pit at that time. A shaft certainly existed there a century later and could well have been deepened.

A few years previous to this event in 1733, the following advertisement appeared in the *Derby Mercury*, "*To be Lett. A very good coal delph lying at Headge in Derbyshire in a very good place. Ready soughed and laid dry, two pits open one of then not half gotten, and in very good order. A good supply of pit timber and puncheons, a very good Horse Engine, to draw coals withal and all other tools and materials to work the same and almost 200 stack loads upon the bank*".²⁴

The sough was obviously now being put to good use. Francis Hurt acquired the manor of Heage, the Morley Park estate within it, the Heage estate and other property in Duffield from Godfrey Wentworth in April 1767 for £16,000. Four years after this purchase, Heage Common was enclosed. By this enclosure Hurt gained 172a Or 17p of former common land but more importantly in this context, the award specifically mentions his sough and gives its position. The exact wording is worth inclusion here: "*Save and always reserved unto the said Francis Hurt his heirs and assigns and we hereby award to him or them. from time to time and for all times forever hereafter full and free liberty of ingress, egress and regress in and over and upon and from the last said allotment of the lords and tenants set apart for the getting of stone, to open, cleanse and scous or repair the sough or drain for unwatering the coal and ironworks of the said Francis Hurt which now goes under and through the last mentioned allotment, and to open any shaft or shafts which have heretofore been made for that purpose, or to sink new ones for cleansing and restoring the said sough, or sinking to a deeper level and for turning to altering the course of the same*".²⁵ This indicates that Hurt was very concerned with protecting his coal and iron mining interests from the beginning.

Hurt's working of the coal freed by the sough would not have solved his coking problems however. The Kilburn was a top grade house coal, always got in as large lumps as possible but its slack or holing stuff was virtually useless and usually stowed in the gob or waste.

All the authorities give a start date for Morley Park furnace of 1780 but the acquisition in 1767 of the Morley Park estate by Hurt did give access to the necessary coking and steam-raising coals several years earlier. The Silkstone or Blackshale seam (here further confused with the local name Clod coal), parts of which were strongly coking, also became available and was widely developed. None of these later names seams would have been immediately available but as they all outcrop in Morley Park they could have been worked almost at

once by shallow bell-pits, in conjunction with ironstone. The importance of the location of the pit in the 1753 perambulation now becomes clear. If some earlier working had developed the Deep Soft, then coking coal was available from 1767 and makes the thirteen years taken to bring the furnace into operation hard to understand if Hurt had purchased the estate with a view to developing an ironworks.

Riden seems convinced that the Morley Park furnace was steam blown from the outset stating that "*There is no possible source of water power at Morley Park*".²⁶ Farey, however, states that it was a few years after 1780 that Hurt introduced the steam engine to work the blast.²⁷ This statement is reiterated in *Alderwasley and the Hurts*²⁸. One of Farey's informants was Matthew Bacon, the coal and iron agent at Morley Park.

The difficulty in accepting 1780 as the date for the steam driven furnace arises from the fact that Boulton and Watt's rotary engine was not invented until 1782 and the destinations of the first batch of these engines are known. If an engine was not available then 1780 cannot have been the date of the steam-blown furnace and some other form of power must have been employed.

When Morley Park was fully developed, there were over a dozen large steam engines employed. Those engines required large quantities of water and we need to examine the sources of this water. A stream rises in Ripley Fields to the east of Morley Park, flows westwards and enters the park at the bottom of Raven Hill. It flows through the park, exits at Sotshole and continues by way of Whitemoor to Belper where, as the Coppice Brook it meets the Derwent. Halton's map shows this brook impounded at Morley Park where it also formed a large dam. What is the evidence for this?

In Frank Nixon's short work on the furnace is a photograph which has since been reproduced in Riden's work. It shows the Rodgers children who lived in the house seen in the photograph, sitting on the bank of a large pond. The photograph was taken in 1922 long after the works had closed except for a pump, but enough details can be gleaned for it to be useful. The children are sitting on the top of a steep bank which is the west bank of the pond. To the children's right can be seen the headwall of the dam. As the waters were no longer needed for the works, the bottom sluice is obviously open which accounts for the low level of the water. It is even possible that the pump was not working when the shot was taken as there was a lockout and stoppage of work in the pits that year. It is known that the Morley Park and Marehay pumps were stopped during the lockout and that the owner, Mr Ford, had threatened to close the pit because of it flooding.

The tithe map also shows a large pond and the award names two fields, Upper and Nether Dam Close. That these waters could back-up for a considerable distance can be adduced from the depth of the channel still to be seen at Morley Park Farm.

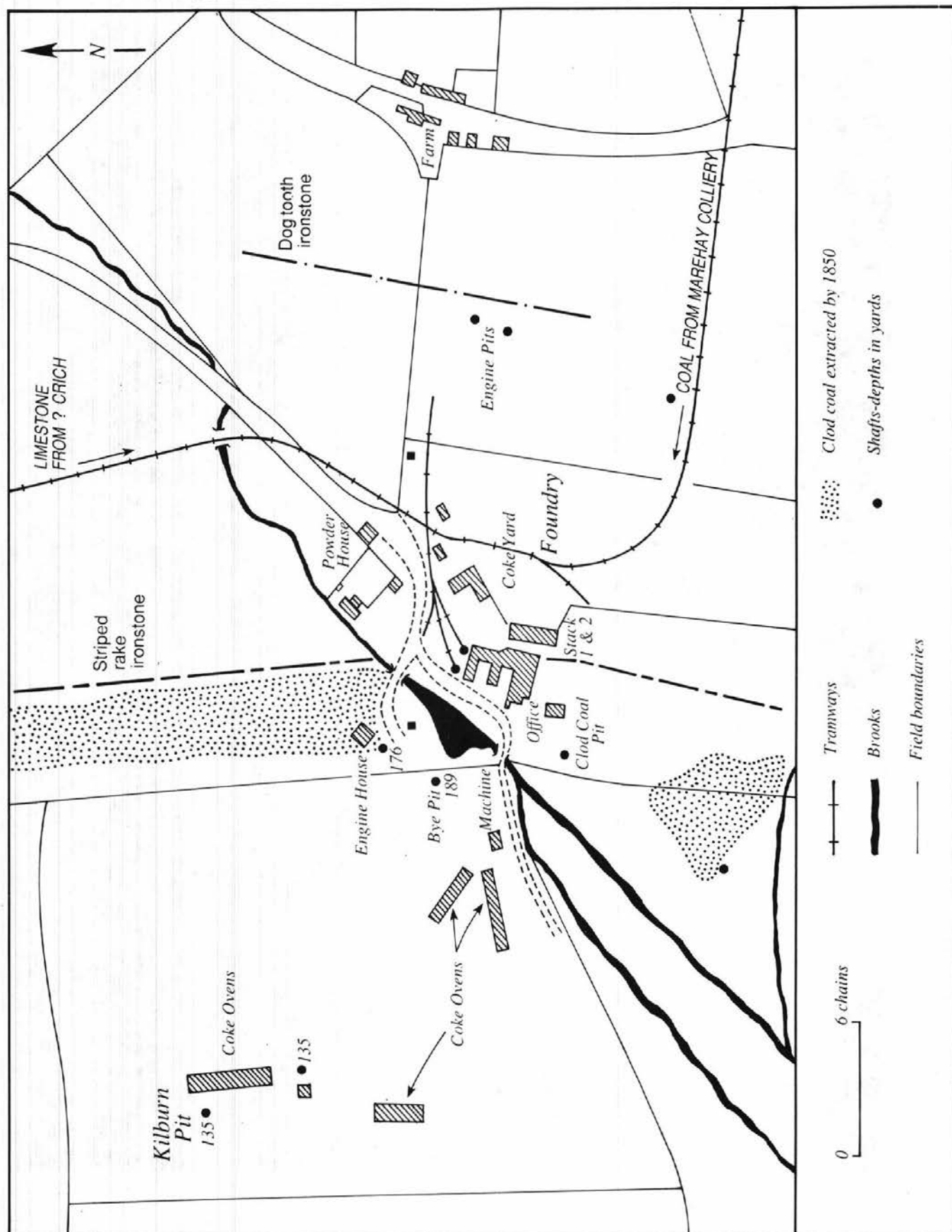
A large Newcomen-type engine stood adjacent to the dam. These engines were capable of delivering large quantities of water. Some works could not have existed without the additional power that these engines provided to augment the natural flow of streams, especially during summer periods of drought. The plan of the ironworks in 1850²⁹ (Fig 1) taken from the mining plans which also included the surface arrangement³⁰ shows that below the headwall of the dam the stream was for some reason split. The more westerly of these streams passed close to a building which Arthur Guest interpreted as a machine house. This, we thought, would indicate that the stream was utilised to drive some type of machinery, possibly a hammer. The map also shows a stream coming in from the east. This was a drain which brought pumping and surface waters from the Marehay Colliery at that time. This drain supplied a pond which still exists beside Street Lane at SK385492. As will be shown in a later chapter, the works were linked with the Marehay Colliery in 1840 by a tramway. It is thought that this tramway was worked by a steam engine which drew its water from this source. A short length of the tramway bed, which we interpreted as a spur to supply coal for the engine, still exists.

In summary, it is entirely feasible that water power could have been used for a short period to blow the Morley Park furnace. There is clear evidence that the means to do so were there, that a large dam was built and supplied with top and bottom sluices and that the stream water could be further augmented by the adjacent beam engine. Francis Hurt was very familiar with this method of blowing and for a man in a hurry with no immediate means of obtaining a steam blowing engine, why not use cheap and available power?

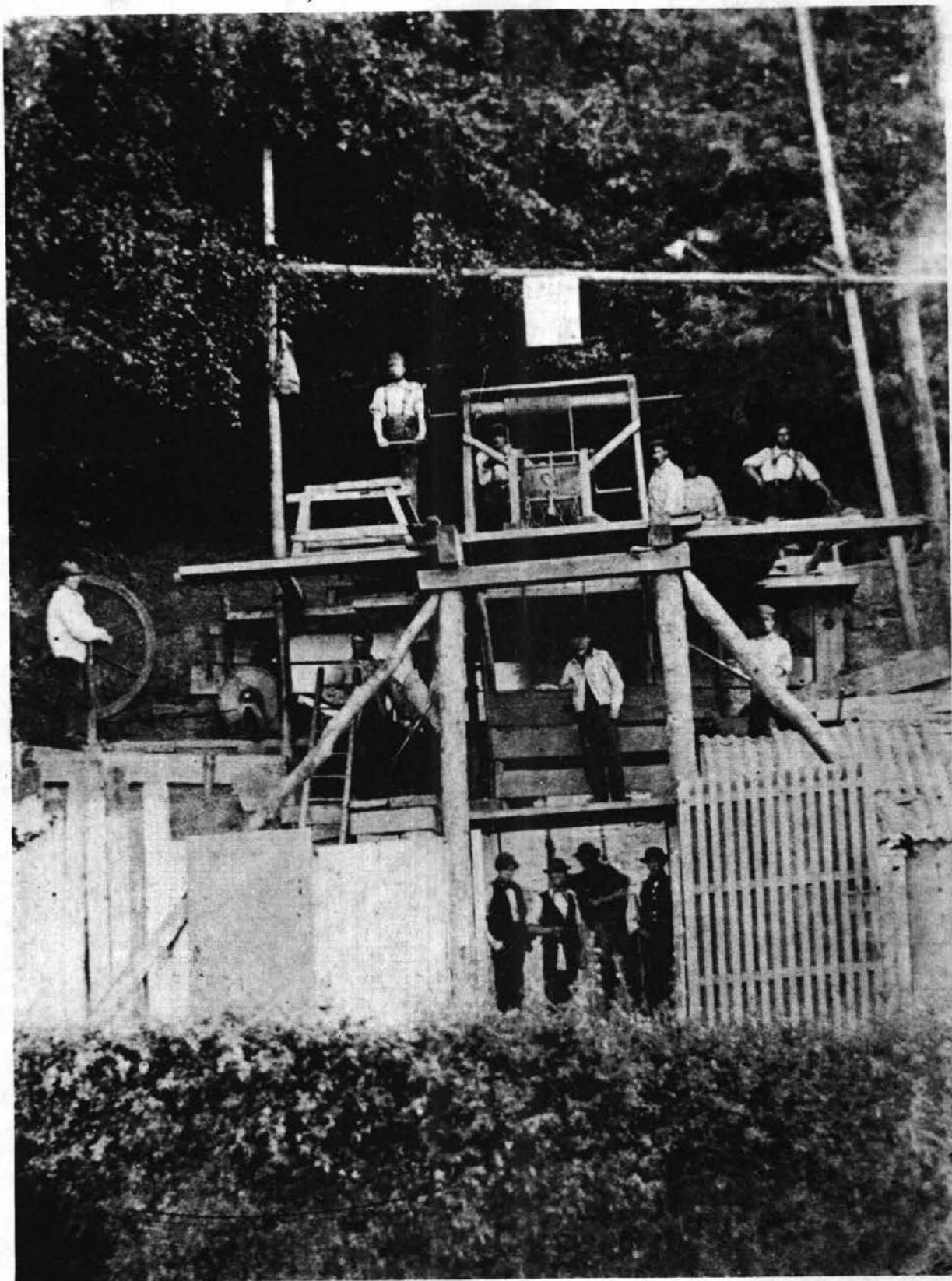
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Fig. 1 MORLEY PARK IRON FOUNDRY AND ASSOCIATED COLLIERIES IN THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY (1848-1856).



SHIRE OAK PIT, NEAR DALLEY LANE, BELPER (See page 94).



MARY BROCKSOPP (1811-1835): A MINOR NORTH DERBYSHIRE HEIRESS

(by D.E. Jenkins)

John Brocksopp (1753-1812) of Grasshill, near Chesterfield, Mary's father, was an opportunist yeoman farmer who had inherited 275 acres of good farm land from his mother, a Wragg of Stretton Hall Farm, near Clay Cross. In partnership with his mother until 1795, and then alone, he combined farming with coal and ironstone mining and made a short sally into iron production during the very profitable period of the French Revolution. He did not marry until he was fifty-four years old, taking as his wife Mary Marsh, whom eighteen months earlier he had engaged as a servant girl at £7 a year.¹

Whether John Brocksopp recognised the need to provide an heir to carry on his business or whether the new servant girl, aged nineteen, 'set her cap' at her new master we cannot tell from the papers that survive in the Barnes collection in Chesterfield Local Studies Library. John was, however, very ready to instruct his attorney to draw up a marriage settlement and remake his will, agreeing to have the great bedroom at Grasshill redecorated with wall paper, new hangings to be provided for the bed and new linen shades to be fitted at the windows.² They married in high summer at Chesterfield but subsequent events suggest that the family did not altogether approve of John marrying below his 'station'.

Their first child, named after her mother and grandmother, was born in 1811. John's reaction to his first born being a girl is not known, his pocket book for that year not having survived, but his jubilation the following year on the birth of his son comes through in his note that Dr. Cartledge, Junior, delivered Mary of a boy "*at 10 mins, before 3 o'clock in the morning*" on 2 September 1812 and that he paid him his fee of three guineas.³

At the time of his son's birth John Brocksopp was already a sick man and on return from a short stay at Saltfleet he started to redraft his will and gave instructions for changes to William Waller, his lawyer. But before the will could be engrossed and signed, John Brocksopp died suddenly leaving his son less than five weeks old.

The draft will, relating to personalty, was accepted for probate recognition at Lichfield. In it Brocksopp provided for an annuity of £80 a year to his wife (to be halved if she remarried) together with furniture and household goods to the value of £200. He directed that if the iron works was unprofitable it was to be 'mothballed' until his son came of age, the mines were to be closed down and the income from his four farms and cottages were to be held in trust for his children in prescribed proportions by his executor and old friend, John Gorrell Barnes. He was clear that he did not want the children raised in idleness and further directed that they "*should be put to school as early as possible and to be given a plain and useful education*". His son, in particular, was "*to be instructed in agriculture and knowledge of coal and ironstone mines etc. and be actively engaged and industriously employed until he becomes of age*".⁴

The widowed Mary soon tired of her 'white weepers' and widowhood and found solace with James Harrison, the agent of a Sheffield iron company, whom she married eighteen months after John's death. She had already moved from Grasshill selling up the dead and live stock and now, taking the two children (of whom she had been declared the legal guardian in 1815 by the Master of the Rolls) went to live in Sheffield. The family quickly grew, with the birth of five more children, two boys and three girls. Mary's annuity had been reduced on remarrying to £40 a year and since James Harrison turned out to be a ne'er-do-well, with a drinking problem that frequently got him into debt, there were family upsets. This led to the two Brocksopp children being taken back by their aunt Sarah whom the Court made their legal guardian in 1822.

Aunt Sarah was a woman of reasonable means, having inherited £1000 from her mother, but nevertheless she meticulously claimed from Barnes the sum awarded by the Court for the maintenance and education of the children, £110 annually for Mary and £120 for John. She spent it wisely looking after them well, arranging when John was seven years old for him to have dancing lessons and taking them both, two years running, to enjoy the new fangled pleasure of sea bathing at Blackpool (for which they were provided with special waterproof shoes costing 5s 4d!).⁵ The journey there was a tortuous one, by chaise from Chesterfield to Middleton, then on to Chapeltown and thence to Manchester where they stayed overnight before catching the coach to Blackpool the following day. The two-thirds fare claimed by Sarah (who bore her own expenses) was

£2 12s 4d. At the seaside they stayed rather grandly at Bank's Hotel where accommodation cost £8 5s 3d for the fortnight with "eating 5s a day" and "4s extra for suppers and 11s 6d for the bath-woman and baths". The seeds were already being sown to lift the status of the young Brocksopps above that of simple yeomen and even after Sarah died, just before Christmas 1823, this pattern was continued by their other aunt, Mary Cartledge, and then by her grown up daughter, Anna (married to Mordecia Hinde), who provided them with a holiday home in Chesterfield.⁶

The young John, from the age of five, was taught locally, at the cost of four guineas a year, but as soon as he was old enough to board he was sent first to Mr Falkner's school at South Hall, near Southwell and then when he was fourteen to the Rev. H.L. Biden who ran a school at Risley, near Derby. Little is known about his education except that it was on classical lines with fees of £26 5s for the half year with music as an extra £3 0s 6d. His few surviving letters to his sister are written in a beautifully formed full copper plate hand and enquire rather stiltedly after her health and enjoyment at visits to Monsal Head and Haddon Hall, and telling her that he had had a letter from papa whose show room had been built. He is more excited at the account of a Tyger (sic) that had escaped from a show at Nottingham, devouring a large number of sheep in the Forest and when recounting how he fell through the ice while skating and had to dry out in the coke kiln!⁷

When he left at seventeen years of age the Rev. Biden referred to his "exemplary conduct that secured approbation and esteem" and that he had "favourably impressed by his proficiency", his deportment having much improved while he was at the school. But if little is known of his schooling even less is known about the short remaining period of his life.

Provision had been made by the Court of Chancery in 1829, when he left school, for an annual maintenance payment of £200 to be made until he reached his majority. How far the directions of his father's will about instruction in industry were followed cannot be ascertained but we know he went to live in comfortable lodgings in Cavendish Square, London. He had always been a sickly child and ill health continued to dog him, his persistent chest pains getting worse. Despite following his doctor's advice to get away from "the hot walls of London" by sailing frequently to Margate, he died when still only nineteen and was brought home to be buried in Chesterfield. By his will, made as a minor but admitted to probate, he bequeathed half his personal estate to his mother, the residue of his share of his father's estate passing to his sister, but continuing to be managed by Barnes.⁸ Mary had had little contact with her only brother but she had a small lock of his hair mounted in a locket engraved with his initials and date of death as a fitting memento.⁹

Although it was not common to invest much in the education of girls aunt Sarah saw to it that Mary was given a good education and when she was four years old, in the autumn term of 1815, she was sent to board at the parsonage school of Miss Walton and Mr Parker at Brampton. The quarterly boarding fee was £13 2s 6d with extras for fires and candles 12s 6d, shoe cleaning 2s 6d, the use of a drawer 9d, a toothbrush 6d (which did not save her from having two teeth extracted at the cost of 5s), haircutting 1s and a seat in church 5s. Clearly it was a school suitable for young ladies, with drawing and music being important parts of the curriculum. In later years Mary took extra French lessons during the school holidays. But while much of the extra expenditure was scholastically based with 5s for quills and ink and £1 4s 0d for a bible, there was also a charge of 3s 9d one term for a theatre visit to Sheffield.¹⁰ Her clothes were bought locally in Chesterfield, Thomas Wilkinson supplying three yards of green plaid and four pairs of cotton hose for £2 2s 3d in 1817 and similar supplies in the following two years. What the accommodation or food was like goes unrecorded but Mary seemed to have enjoyed her schooling keeping contact with Miss Walton in later life. The indulgences allowed by her trustee seem to have been few, but when John was given a gold watch she received a coral necklace purchased from Emmanuel Bros. of Bishopsgate for four guineas. She also appears to have had better health than her brother there only being one surgeon's bill for 1s 6d.¹¹

During her latter days at school her half sister, Sarah Harrison, wrote to Mary and James Harrison sent a hamper with almonds, raisins and nuts and on another occasion a twelfth cake. Her mother appeared to want to make a closer contact with her Brocksopp children but it is likely that such contact was discouraged by the Brocksopp relations and by Barnes. When her brother died, her mother, who was having a particular difficult financial spell with her wayward husband begged Mary to help her, promising not to appeal to Mary ever again if she could but be helped quickly, adding that she knew Barnes held her in contempt. Mary referred the matter to Barnes suggesting to him that she would "give Mrs Harrison something out of her income ... since I think it is a duty though it may not be strictly necessary"; but nothing came of it.

At the end of her schooling she had to consider where she would make a permanent home and in early 1832 made an embarrassing approach, which was rejected, to a Mr Crawford Broomhead, a gentleman in Eckington, asking if she could live with his family.¹² Initially she stayed with friends, spending Christmas at South Park with Maria Helfit who was anxious that Mary, now with an income of nearly £750 per year plus nearly £100 annually from the interest of her brother's estate, should make the acquaintance of her brother, William. Mary was evidently unimpressed, indeed there is no evidence of any romantic attraction in her life. In March she was at Bath where Maria took her to task for not writing to South Park, though having promised to do so. But despite having a season ticket to the Promenade and Assembly Rooms Mary soon tired of the spa, a "*dismal town, the stone all black from the heat of the sun that gave it a gloomy appearance*" which may have been more bleak than usual because "*it was Passion Week with all the people at church*" and took herself off to Cheltenham in the summer of 1832.

There, by arrangement with William Peach of Brampton, she stayed at the household of his friend, Mr J.E. Sutton, but found the house not pleasing and so, without any explanation, took off to stay with Mr and Mrs Knight, the chemists (whom Mary had met at Bath), Mrs Knight being an "*overly superior woman and well connected*". The Suttons were sufficiently affronted to write a sharp letter to Peach about Mary's unseemly behaviour.

During the season Mary visited a few friends and had the not unexpected requests for financial help, one such coming from a Mrs Minch who was "*anxious to get to America to take up a good situation*". In her few surviving letters to her trustee she sounds a lonely person having no one, other than Barnes, with whom she felt able to discuss her personal affairs. She visited the musical gardens but had no parties that winter receiving only passing news from Chesterfield but being delighted to hear that the races there had been visited by "*persons of rank and fashion*". But her relationships with the people of rank and fashion close to her was not always happy. A Louise Ellis, wife of a colonel who had befriended Mary, wrote her a devastating letter condemning Mary for her false behaviour which she had to attribute to Mary's low origins saying that had she known Mary was no gentlewoman she would not have allowed her daughter to associate with her and would not have introduced her to her friends. Entry to 'polite society' was along a stony path.

Following a short stay in lodgings at 11 Promenade Villas with a Miss Carel, "*so agreeable and perfect a gentle woman*", Mary found a 'cottage' to rent at 2 Tivoli Gardens, Suffolk Lawn, near Virginia Water, Cheltenham, from a Mrs Isabella Smith who had taken a house in Whitchurch. The lease, at £140 per year paid quarterly (with no notice to quit required), and a detailed inventory of the house have survived.¹³ The house is described as completely furnished with plate, linen, china and glass sufficient for a family of respectability together with a pianoforte (the tenant to pay for the tuning) and a pew in the church to November 1833 (the extension of the pew rent to be paid by the landlady). All the rates and taxes and other assessments were to be paid by Mrs Smith who was also liable for the upkeep of the front and rear gardens. Under-letting of the property was only allowed at her discretion.

From the schedule we can get an impression of a just pre-Victorian house which had two large front rooms, the dining room and the drawing room, and a kitchen to the rear, with bedrooms over each. The drawing room had a Brussels carpet, a mahogany dining table with ten horsehair chairs, a sideboard and two footstools. Two bell pulls flanked the fireplace. The six octave grand piano with its crimson leather covered stool was in the drawing room which had a fitted carpet and a Brussels hearth rug. On the mantle-shelf stood an alabaster clock and against the wall a leather and rose wood chiffonier with a shelf and two doors covered in fluted crimson silk. Six chairs and a sofa completed the furnishings.

The serviceable kitchen had a deal table and four chairs while the pantry was equipped with a flap top table and storage space for 18 large knives and forks, 12 cups and saucers, plate and glass. Six pairs of sheets and six tablecloths were also provided.

On the first floor the large back bedroom had a stained French bedstead, green curtains, Venetian blinds and a green Kidderminster carpet. There was glass to the windows and three keys to the three door locks were provided. The front left hand bedroom was grander with a four poster bedstead with cornice chintz hangings. It had a feather bed, two pillows and a bolster and three blankets and was set off with a Marseilles counterpane. The wardrobe and dressing table were in mahogany and the secretary was fitted with glass doors. The furnishings were completed with a large swing mirror, a mahogany towel horse and a wash hand stand

(with a green and white iron-stone ewer, a basin, two cambey soap dishes, a drainer and a white foot pail), four cane chairs and some hanging shelves. On the floor was a three piece Kidderminster carpet and a Brussels hearth rug set before the fire place complete with rattle brass fender and steel fire irons. Privacy was secured with a Japan night shade and window curtains.

The simpler single bedroom at the front had a tent bedstead with white dimity furniture and a feather bed, bolster and pillow. The window had a green Venetian blind and a mahogany chest with a matching framed looking glass was provided together with a satin wood topped table, a ewer, basin and chamber. The servant's room had a yellow chintz cover to the tent bedstead with its feather bed and flock bolster. It was more sparsely equipped with only a ewer and basin.

Despite its seeming adequacy Mary was soon to find fault complaining about the piano and hiring an alternative instrument, at a guinea a month, to be squeezed into the sewing room. A box of her belongings, weighing 1 cwt, 1 qtr, 10lbs, had already been dispatched by carrier from Birmingham to Cheltenham at a cost of 11s 9d and Barnes was now requested to send on from Brampton her books and desk and the wash-stand she had purchased from Dyson the Chesterfield cabinet maker by Pickfords the carriers.¹⁴ He was also asked for more funds to pay the rent. Transmission of the cash was considered hazardous by Barnes who, because of recent thefts from mails, sent a bank note torn in halves, the second half not being sent off until he heard the first had arrived. [Bar. 343e]

Before leaving Miss Carel's Mary had taken the opportunity to dismiss her servants who had treated her "*most infamously*" and replace them with an ideal resident companion, Miss Jolliffe from Poole, to whom she paid a salary of £50 per year (plus travelling expenses). Unfortunately Miss Jolliffe was almost immediately struck down by a near fatal illness which required a great deal of nursing. This led to Mary confiding to her trustee what "*a disagreeable incumbrance servants can be*" and to seizing the opportunity once Miss Jolliffe was sufficiently recovered to pay her £25 as four months salary and part company as she had found her to be "*a very haughty and high flown lady*". We can only wonder if Miss Jolliffe would have thought the remark, had she known of it, akin to the kettle calling the pot black.¹⁵

While she stayed at Bath Mary had entertained herself by attending the Assembly Rooms and summer balls but no record survives of such amusements at Cheltenham. Although she kept a weekly record of her household provision expenses, ensuring the kitchen chimney was swept every six weeks and the back door locked after dark because there were many idle folk in the lane, as Mrs Smith recommended, and employed, as well as her maid, a young boy (for whom she bought a suit of clothes) to run her errands and be useful in the house, she took no interest in her business affairs, the farms and 11 cottages at Chesterfield, granting a power of attorney to John Gorrell Barnes. He received her Consols income and paid it into her account at the Chesterfield and North Derby Bank (of which he had recently been made a director), disposed of the remaining assets of her father's iron works and negotiated with the farm tenants who were, in 1834, seeking rent reductions of 15 per cent which would have reduced Mary's income by £60 a year. The farm and cottage rents (the latter almost all at 1s a week) had remained unchanged since they had been set soon after her father's death but farm incomes were well down following a catastrophic fall in the price of corn. Barnes sought her instructions but she replied that the matter was incomprehensible to her and begged him to determine the issue which he did by granting a reduction of five per cent, without any promise that the new level would persist.¹⁶

Mary White, her lady's maid, was paid £15 a year. She seems to have done most of the routine shopping ordering a ton of coal each month for £1 4s and a fairly prosaic supply of viands: inter alia bread 8d a day, 4½ gallons of ale monthly, ¼lb Lapsang tea 2s 6d and 2lbs lump sugar 1s 3d and for lighting 1½ dozen rush-lights 7d and 3½ dozen candles 1s 9d. Nor was Mary evidently a pursuer of high fashion paying only 1s for her hair to be cut and 9s for preparing and braiding and added ringlets but being credited 2s 6d for the added ringlets which she returned. Shopping for bonnets and clothes, however, seems to have been one of her real pleasures. Her wardrobe was a full one, an inventory showing that she had seven dresses (one made up for 7s 6d from 16 yards of silk at 5s a yard from Clarke and Debenhams of Cavendish House, Cheltenham and another from 14 yards of French silk lustring at 3s 3d a yard made up for 7s 6d and a third from gingham for 6s), six day chemises, four night chemises, two flannel waistcoats, five petticoats, two under waistcoats, three upper waistcoats, two shawls, 34 pairs of gloves, 14 pairs of stockings, 11 pairs of handkerchiefs, 13 pairs of shoes, two pairs of boots and two pairs of clogs. For outdoors she had seven capes, a cloak, six bonnets (one a rich blue and another of Tuscan, costing £11 5s), five vails (sic), four silk bags and a boa. More intimately she

possessed seven night caps, two day caps, eight waist bands, four borders, two slips, seven napkins, a spencer, two pairs of stays, a habit body, two buckles, two dressing gowns, four aprons, a clothes brush, a card case and a quantity of ribbons.¹⁷

But she did not have long to indulge herself. Illness, probably tuberculosis, flared up in the spring of 1834. She gave up the house at Tivoli and went back to Miss Carel's. By the autumn she was confined to the house and then to her bed. A nurse was hired to be in attendance at night but despite all the efforts of the doctor and the drugs (distilled vinegar, castor oil and a variety of draughts and potions) of the apothecary, Mr Alder, Mary died in her twenty fourth year in the evening of 26 January 1835 bring to an end this line of the Brocksopps of Hasland.¹⁸

Her staunch friend Miss Carel stepped in to arrange matters until a representative of Barnes was able to travel down from Derbyshire, staying at the Angel Hotel, to finalise with Dyson the undertaker and cabinet maker and Robinson and Sons the drapers of Chesterfield and Alder the undertaker and upholsterer at Cheltenham the funeral arrangements and interment at Chesterfield.

Mary's frail remains were wrapped in a winding sheet of fine cambric delicately edged in pink and laid on a velvet covered mattress and pillow inside a lead lined shell coffin. This was overlaid with a stout oak cover furnished with silver plated copper fittings and brought back to Chesterfield by the wagon carrier. At the parish church of St Mary's and All Saints the funeral bell was tolled as 15 bearers bore the velvet covered coffin under a rich pall to the brick lined vault which had been prepared close to her father's grave in the aisle by Elliott's men (who had built her father's furnace). This was closed with an impressive tombstone 21 feet 2 inches long. On it was inscribed (at the cost of 9s 4d) the 112 letters of the simple memorial: '*Mary Brocksopp, the only surviving child of the late John Brocksopp of Grasshill who died on 26th January, 1835 in the 24th year of her age*'.¹⁹

Mary appointed the advocate Drabble, the solicitor and George Jeavons, a gentleman of Ecclesfield, Sheffield, as her executors and her will, made in May 1832, was quickly proved at Canterbury in February 1835.²⁰ By it she left the proceeds of her holding of Consols to her mother. This bequest yielded about £120 year which, together with the £40 annuity from her late husband and the legacy from her son John, solved the financial problems of Mrs Harrison until her death in 1874 and helped to finance the Sheffield cutlery business of her sons. Mary's mother appealed for some of Mary's clothes as a memento but was again fobbed off by Barnes who only let her have some of the oldest garments.

After complaining about the time taken over the 7 days' round journey and demanding details of Dyson's expenses, Barnes finally paid from the estate the bill for £26 10s for the carriage of the corpse and £22 10s for the hearse and horses. He also paid for the funeral bearers' lunch at the Angel Hotel, Chesterfield with the hire of their mourning cloaks and the pall (£27 10s) provided by Robinson of the New Square, Chesterfield.²¹ The lady's maid was paid her wages and an extra two guineas for the work in "selling up". A few small household bills outstanding were discharged, one, puzzlingly, for the alterations to a bassinet (a baby's cradle) for 3s 6d. Surprisingly, these costs were charged, presumably under his power of attorney, to Mary's bank account, even after her death.

Bequests were also made of £2000 each to Mrs Martha Sampson and Mrs Anna Hinde (Mary's cousins and daughters of her aunt Mary Cartledge) and of £500 each to Elizabeth Jeeves and Sarah Walton (her old school mistress). Charitable bequests totalling £300 were made to Derby and Sheffield Infirmaries and the Chesterfield Dispensary, Benevolent Society, Industrial School and Bible Society.

In all the legacies absorbed £8020 out of her personal estate of £10,780 19s 5d, the residue going to Barnes. These bequests were not acceptable to the Harrisons or Mary Cartledge's children who objected strongly and acrimoniously about the will's unfairness but all to no avail, although payment of the bequests was held up until April 1836.

By distributing her personal wealth in this way Mary felt she had benefited all those who had befriended her in her short life. The cottages at Hasland and the four farms had never seemed to her to have been more than an encumbrance and she was pleased to leave them to her old trustee, John Gorrell Barnes. Under Grasshill lay the

fortune in coal which Barnes' son, Alfred, was to exploit in the new railway age as the Grassmoor Colliery Company.

Mary Brocksopp had been born in the year which saw the publication of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* and there is something of an Austen character about her short life as she tries to move from a provincial Derbyshire, almost orphaned, background into the world of respectability enjoyed by the gentle folk of Bath and Cheltenham. Although her mother was alive she was clearly no adequate Austen 'Mamma' who could act as mentor and guide. Her trustee, John Gorrell Barnes, whilst a successful business man who was moving up the social scale, had also not completely broken free from his yeoman origins. Unfortunately none of her intimate thoughts are known to us. She left no diaries or really personal letters so we cannot assess what she made of the spa life she was anxious to involve herself in. We know nothing of any romantic attachments and can make little assessment of how she would have enjoyed her not inconsiderable fortune had she lived. But her surviving papers do give a taste of the life of a very minor heiress at the onset of the Victorian age.

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19. Ford, *Chesterfield*, p 106
20. PRO, Probate 11/1842/pff 2355 CL; Bar. 902
21. Bar. 841

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