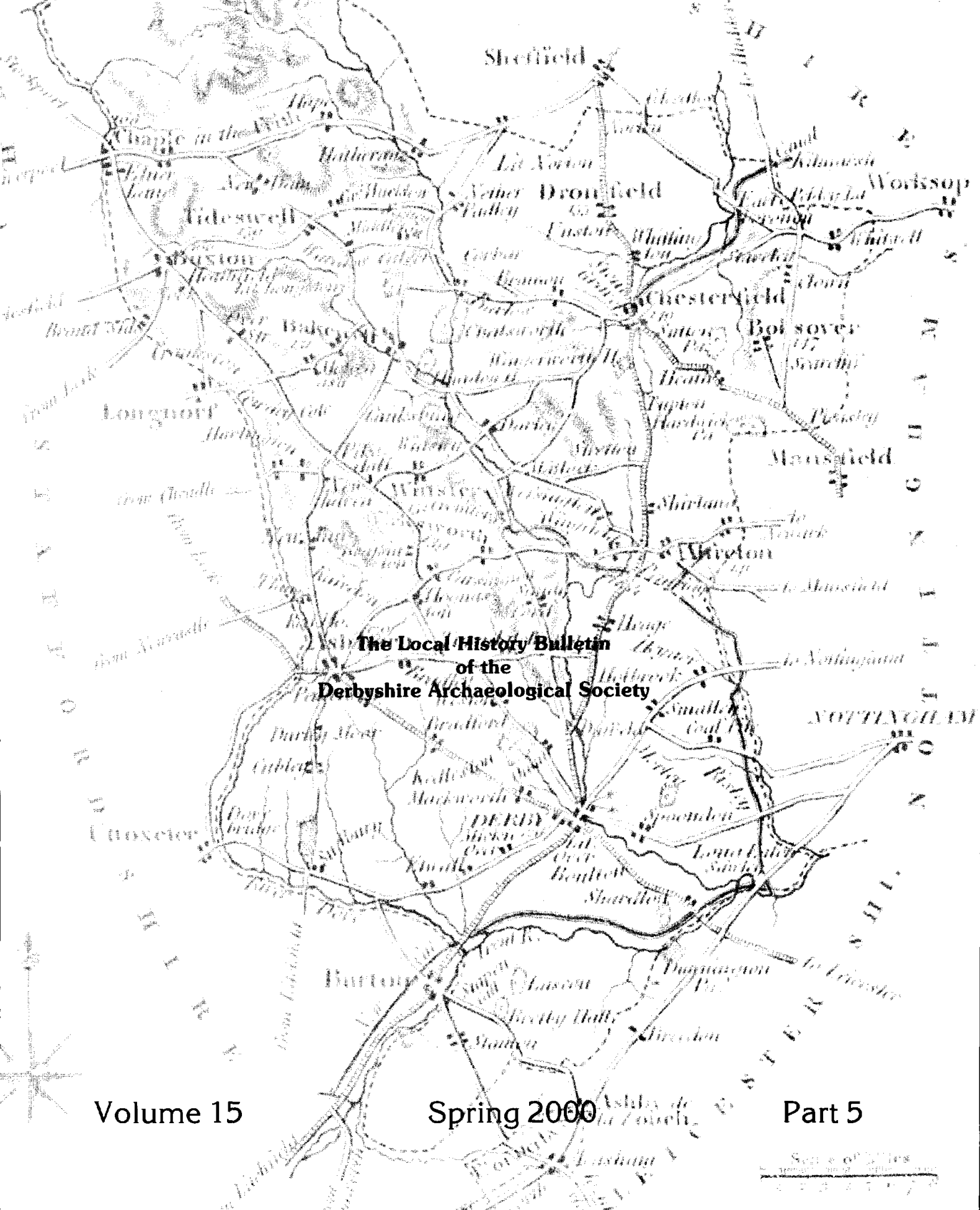


# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



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

Volume 15

Spring 2000

Part 5

Set of 5 parts  
£10.00  
£2.00 per part  
£20.00 per set

# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Volume 15: Part 5

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## CONTENTS

	Page
<i>A short life of J. Charles Cox</i> by Canon Maurice Abbot	127
<i>The estates of Thomas Eyre of Rowtor in the Royal Forest of the Peak and the Massereene connection</i> by Derek Brumhead	134
<i>The High Peak Rail Road 1815</i> by David Martin	143
<i>Gold!!</i> by Howard Usher	152

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ISSN 0417 0687

## A SHORT LIFE OF J. CHARLES COX

(by Canon Maurice Abbott)

First impressions stay with us, they say; and ever since my school days when my parents took me with them on their frequent visits to old churches, I have maintained a constant interest in them. This became a lifelong pursuit on my 20th birthday, when my father gave me a copy of *The Parish Churches of England* by J. Charles Cox and Charles Bradley Ford.

In his preface, written in March 1935, Mr Ford pointed out that Dr Cox's *English Parish Church* was first published in 1914, and was the recognised handbook on its subject. In time the book became out of print and it was felt that a revised edition would be appropriate, because Cox was somewhat discursive in his writing. The text was pruned and space made for the inclusion of a chapter on 'Local Varieties in Design'. This was based on Cox's original notes on the subject and other sources. I found this book quite fascinating and as the years went by I began to purchase second-hand copies of Cox's works and eventually wanted to know more about the man himself.

An outline of his career and a list of his books is to be found in the *Who was Who 1916-1928* although in fact the list is incomplete. In this entry his date of birth is given as 1843 and he is described as the second son of the Rev. Edward Cox, Rector of Luccombe. In fact when he was born in Parwich, his father was then Vicar of Parwich, Derbyshire. In 1849 Edward Cox moved to Luccombe in Somerset, where he lived as the curate, while the rector - Thomas Fisher - lived in Minehead. It was not until 1856 that he became the rector.

Little is known about his schooling except that he attended Repton School from April to September 1858. According to the school register he was born on 29 March 1843. He also attended Somerset College, Bath before proceeding to Queen's College, Oxford in 1862 but left in 1864-65 without graduating. However, in 1885 he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Archbishop of Canterbury in recognition of his work on the records of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral. On 23 October 1867 he married a distant cousin, Marian Smith, born in 1840. They had seven sons and three daughters, born 1868-85, and lived at Chevin House, Hazelwood, near Belper, Derbyshire until 1879. A marriage settlement ensured that he became financially independent. In the 1871 census he is described as a county magistrate, landowner and colliery proprietor.

In the early years of his marriage he became known as a magistrate who supported a number of radical causes. He wrote several political pamphlets and tried to enter parliament without success. He chaired two riotous meetings in Derby in 1871 and 1873 and as a result the Lord Chancellor was petitioned (unsuccessfully) to remove him as a JP. He showed considerable interest in the condition of agricultural labourers. He wrote articles in *The Examiner* on 'The rise of the farm labourer' (1872-3) and with his brother, Henry Fisher Cox, financed the newspaper, *The English Labourer*.

In 1879 he entered Lichfield Theological College and was ordained deacon in 1880 and priest in 1881. From this time he began to gain a reputation as a writer. Some of his sermons were published and he became known as a writer particularly on churches and on local history.

His clerical career was brief. He was curate at Christ Church, Lichfield from 1880-3, curate at Enville, Staffordshire 1883-6, rector Barton-le-Street, Yorkshire 1886-93 and rector Holdenby 1893-1900. It would seem that he then gave up his pastoral ministry and moved to Sydenham, geographically in Kent but by that time a suburb of London. During his years in Derbyshire he acquired a profound knowledge of the county. His four volume work on its churches is still in demand and at least one set was up for sale for over £200 in recent years. Elizabeth Williamson, Deputy Editor of Pevsner's *Buildings of England*, in a letter to me dated 12 March 1997 writes: 'I know that Sir Nikolaus Pevsner used the Cox volumes on Derbyshire churches for the first edition of *Derbyshire* as I have used the notes prepared from them for him myself when revising the book. Indeed Cox's books take pride of place in the 'Further Reading' section of the revised *Derbyshire* volume and all his writings on church architecture were an important source for all the *Buildings of England*.' Cox contributed many articles to *The Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*. One of these articles - *Belper Regiment - Grenadiers* (1890) was printed separately and appeared in a second-hand book list in 1991 for sale at £12. Cox also wrote *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals* (2 vols. 1888). At Mount St Mary's College, Spinkhill, Derbyshire, is kept a large volume

compiled by Cox of the contents of the archives department of the Derby County Office of his day.

During his term in Yorkshire while still in the active ministry of the Church he began to edit two national journals, *The Reliquary* 1887-1909 and *The Antiquary* 1888-94. From 1890 onwards he was able to devote his whole time to writing. His output was prodigious and this is reflected in the number of references - seventy nine - to his name in *The British Library Catalogue of Printed Books*.

As Cox himself tells us in the preface to *The English Parish Church* his interests were mainly in England when he writes: 'I know comparatively little of the Continent, for I have, for upwards of half a century found such an abundance of interest in my own country.' It would seem that from an early age he was a serious student. When he published his book on *Churchwardens' Accounts* in 1913 he writes in the preface: 'It is more than half a century since I began to make extracts from a few early parish records or wardens' accounts in West Somersetshire'. In his book on Norfolk churches he reveals there that at an early age he was making notes on them.

In his book on Surrey in the *Little Guide* series he claims to have a fair knowledge of most parts of England. Indeed, what strikes the reader is the frequent visits he made to so many counties. Thus in his book on *The Churches of Cumberland and Westmorland* he tells us that he spent happy summer holidays as a boy and youth in England's incomparable tableland district and that his acquaintance with the two counties has been frequently renewed. In his *Little Guide to Kent* he remarks that many parts of that county have been familiar to him for about half a century. In his preface to the *Essex Little Guide* he writes 'I can claim a good general and long-standing knowledge of this considerable division of eastern England from many visits extending over a period of forty years, visits which have of late considerably increased in frequency and duration.'

When the *Little Guides* began in 1903 the format was laid down by Cox as General Editor in consultation with Mr F.G. Brabant, the author of the first *Little Guide - Sussex* - and Sir Algernon Methuen, the publisher. The lines laid down then were continued until by 1939 there were 60 titles in print. Of the *Little Guides* published between 1903 and 1916 Cox was responsible for nine volumes. The first edition of the *Surrey Little Guide* was by Mr F.A.H. Lambert. Strangely when Cox rewrote a new edition in 1910 he made no reference to Lambert's work. The first edition of the *Kent Little Guide* was by George Clinch. When this became out of print Clinch lacked the time to enlarge it for a new edition, Cox rewrote the whole of the book from p. 48 onwards. This edition appeared in 1915. Cox was responsible for the first edition of the following counties: *Cambridgeshire* (1914); *Derbyshire* (1903); *Essex* (1909); *Gloucestershire* (1914); *Hampshire* (1904); *Lincolnshire* (1916); *Warwickshire* (1914). He helped in the production of other *Little Guides*. Thus Charles Masefield in his *Staffordshire Little Guide* expresses his thanks to the Rev. Dr. J.C. Cox for reading his book in manuscript and for making several valuable suggestions for its improvement.

He was a man with many friends and many family connections. He knew Cambridgeshire well, from more than forty years, and he liked to boast that his father, two of his brothers, two of his sons and many other relatives were members of Cambridge University. His many friends are revealed in the dedications to his books and in the references made to them in his prefaces. Thus he was a friend of Mr Mazzinghi, the Librarian of the William Salt Library, Stafford. His *Lincolnshire Little Guide* is dedicated to Edward Tucker Leeke, Chancellor of the Lincoln diocese whom he describes as a friend and cousin. In his book on churchwardens' accounts the dedication is to another cousin, John Cox Leeke, bishop of Woolwich, an old friend.

His reputation as a scholar was considerable. In 1887 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. In his book on *The Royal Forests of England* the publisher Methuen describes him as a well-known Antiquary and informs us that he is a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute, Corresponding Member of the British Archaeological Association, Council Member of the Canterbury and York Record Society and of the British Numismatic Society. Again, we learn from the preface to his book on *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediaeval England*, dedicated to a friend of thirty years standing, that he was a member of the Salt Archaeological Society, Stafford.

Given his Anglican background, his views on the Reformation are very interesting. Thus in *The Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. vii, pp243-4 (4 Jan. 1885) he describes the treatment of Catholics under Elizabeth and James I as 'outrageous ..... before which the short-lived and fierce Marian persecution absolutely pales in comparison.' In the first volume of his *Churches of Norfolk* (1910) p205 he states that the church of St Edmund in Egmere was one of many Norfolk churches which were deliberately allowed to go to ruin and

profaned during the irreligious reign of Elizabeth. Her Lord Keeper and Privy Seal - Sir Nicholas Bacon - used Egmere church as a barn.

In his book on *The Churches of Cumberland and Westmorland* he writes on pp. 23 and 25 about Thomas Leigh and Richard Leyton who were commissioned by Thomas Cromwell to undertake the visitation of the monasteries in the north of England with their dissolution in mind. He tells us that these visitors spent no more than two or three days on the houses in Cumberland and Westmorland. They branded Salkeld, the last prior of Carlisle, as an adulterer. Yet he was appointed as the first dean of the reformed chapter and when he died in 1560 he was described as one noted for his piety. On p. 26 he recalls the instruction given by Henry VIII to the Duke of Norfolk to proclaim martial law in Cumberland and Westmorland and to cause a good number of the inhabitants to be hung and to quote here '*cause the monks to be tied up without delay or ceremony*'. On p. 29 just as he pointed out the neglect of church fabrics in Norfolk so here he claims that for most of England churches were grievously neglected. He also calculates that for every pound spent on church fabrics a hundred pounds were spent on the residences of gentle-folk.

He really waxes very strongly in his *Cambridgeshire Little Guide*, published in 1914. Thus on p. 21 he tells us that after the dissolution of the monasteries there was a general rise in rents. He quotes with approval Mr Conybeare, the county historian, who states: '*The greedy courtiers who now clutched the forfeited property had no scruples. They rackrented without mercy, and with results truly disastrous to the social life of our rural districts*'. On p. 22 Cox tells us that fifteen hospitals, because they were of religious foundation, were all pitilessly suppressed.

On p. 23 he informs us that Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely from 1559 to 1581 was responsible, as Chancellor of Cambridge University, for the destruction of the university library. The reason given for this was that the books it contained were papistical. When Richard Cox died in 1581 Elizabeth devoted the whole income of the see to her own benefit and a new bishop was not appointed until 1600.

Cox was not afraid to boast about his own achievements. A good example of this appears in his preface to the revised edition of the *Derbyshire Little Guide* which was written in August 1915. He remarks: '*The reader is referred to the mass of information contained in the first two volumes of the Victoria County History of Derbyshire (1905 and 1907) to which the present writer was by far the largest contributor*'. It is not surprising to find that his articles included one on ecclesiastical history and a number dealing with the county's religious houses. This service was repeated in a number of volumes for other counties in this series. When this scheme was first proposed Cox was invited to be a member of its Advisory Council. In the Derbyshire volumes his articles included one on Ancient Earthworks and a long one on political history. Yet another article was on medieval forests and this subject was dealt with in other VCH volumes. His qualification to write on this subject is shown by his book on *The Royal Forests of England* published in 1905. Another article in this Derbyshire work dealt with Old Sports and Games. This was another subject in which Cox displayed much knowledge by his publication in 1903 of a new edition of Joseph's Strutt's *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, which involved much enlargement and corrections.

That his knowledge of England's churches was profound appears very clearly in his contributions to the *Little Guides*, his joint book on church furniture, a book on pulpits, lecterns and organs and another on bench ends. He wrote on individual churches as for example a book on St Sepulchre, Northampton and another on the Wirral church at Bebington. In his renowned work entitled *The English Parish Church* he wrote in the preface: '*If there is anything of the nature of a blunder or misconception in this rapid survey of England's old parish churches, it will not be caused from any lack of acquaintanceship with these fabrics. With thousands of them I seem to be on terms of friendship, and in at least ten counties I know them all*'. From time to time his private life appears in occasional references. In the third volume of his *Derbyshire Churches* he shyly mentions his wife. In another work he mentions some of his children. All his works give the impression of a very healthy and happy man.

It is not surprising that, given his views on the reformation, Cox decided to join the Catholic Church. He was conditionally baptised, as was the custom then in the reception of converts. The ceremony was performed by a member of the Downside Benedictine community, Ethelbert Home, a titular abbot. He was a convert himself and had a keen interest in the county of Somerset. Perhaps these facts would explain the link between the two men. Such a scholar's conversion caused quite a stir and the Abbot received many telegrams of enquiry. His rejoinder was to say to these people read John 9:21 where the parents of the blind man whom Christ had healed said: '*he is of age; ask him; he shall speak for himself*'. Abbot Home entered the conditional baptism in the register of the Church of St Benedict, Stratton-on-the-Fosse without any comment. He related the story of John 9:21 to another titular

abbot Dom Aelred Watkin who informed the Society of Antiquaries of London. Cox considered his conversion so important that mention of it is made early on in his entry in *Who's Who* which reads as follows:  
Cox, John Charles LL.D., F.S.A.; late Rector of Barton le Street and Holdenby; admitted into the Roman Catholic Church, 1917.

In November 1918 Cox suffered a cerebral haemorrhage at his home, 13 Longton Avenue, Sydenham. His death occurred on 23 February 1919 at the Brooklyn Nursing Home, Beckenham. His burial took place on 28 February 1919 at Elmers End cemetery, Beckenham after a funeral service at the Church of Our Lady and St Philip Neri, Sydenham.

#### Sources for the Notes on his life

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| Membership  | <p>Editorial Committee of the Salt Archaeological Society, Stafford</p> <p>Royal Archaeological Institute</p> <p>British Archaeological Association</p> <p>Council of Canterbury and York Society</p> <p>British Numismatic Society</p> <p>Derbyshire Archaeological Society</p> <p>East Riding Archaeological Society</p>   |
| Contributor | <p><i>The Times, Athenaeum, Academy, Country Life, Builder, Guardian, Church Times, The Tablet, The Universe</i></p>   |
| Sources     | <p><i>Who was Who</i>, 1916-28.</p> <p>R. F. Wearmouth, <i>Some Working class movements of the nineteenth century</i>. (1948)</p> <p>W. Cox, <i>Pedigree of Cox of Derbyshire</i> (1889)</p> <p>Obituary Notices in <i>The Times</i> 26 February 1919, <i>The (Church) Guardian</i> 27 February 1919, <i>The Universe</i> 28 February 1919, <i>The Tablet</i> 1 March 1919</p> <p>Christopher J. James, "M.P. for Dewsbury; One Hundred Years of Parliamentary Representation", Brighouse, 1970. British Library, Catalogue of Printed Books.</p> <p>D.A. Hamer, <i>The Politics of Electoral Pressure</i>. (1977) (Bath by-election)</p> <p>P. Horn, <i>Joseph Arch</i>. (1971)</p> <p><i>A Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations</i>, The Harvester Press Ltd., Humanities Press Inc. 1977</p> <p>Crockford's Clerical Directories.</p> <p>Derby Local Studies Library, Deposit 152. Letters from 1876-1879 concerning Derbyshire Churches: Scarsdale Hundred, Appletree Hundred, Hundred of Repton and Gresley, Hundred of Morleston and Litchurch, Hundred of Wirksworth.</p> <p>Deposit 188, 1873 Lord Chancellor.</p> <p>Extracts from British Museum Harley Manuscripts.</p> <p>Various notes in Latin.</p> <p>List of the Deans of Lincoln,</p> <p>Miscellaneous church notes.</p> <p>Darley briefs - for <i>The Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>.</p> |

## Cox's published works

### A

The Antiquary Books first volumes published by Methuen edited by Cox. Complete series 1904-1930.

### B

*Architectural History of Bebington Church*, 1897.

'Belper Regiment - Grenadiers 1890' - a reprint of an article in *The Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*.

*Birkenhead Priory*, 1894.

*Churchwardens' Accounts for Boxford* kept in the Suffolk Record Office.

### C

*Canterbury. A Historical and topographical account of the city*. Methuen, London, 1905.

*Church Property National Property*: a letter to the Bishop of Manchester ..... In reply to a speech delivered at Dewsbury on the 2nd of December... Alexander Ireland & Co., Manchester 1874.

The 'County Church' Series of handy guides to the old Parish Churches of England edited by Cox. (12 titles). George Allen & Sons, London. In this series the titles by Cox:

<i>Cambridgeshire &amp; the Isle of Ely</i>	1911
<i>Cornwall</i>	1912
<i>Cumberland &amp; Westmorland</i>	1913
<i>Isle of Wight</i>	1911
<i>Norfolk Vol. I</i>	1910, Vol. II 1911

*Churchwarden's Accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century*. Methuen, London, 1913.

*The English Parish Church*, B.T. Batsford, London, 1914 revised by C. Bradley Ford, 1935 and further revised by Bryan Little, 1961.

*Pulpits, Lecterns and Organs in English Churches*, Oxford University Press, London, 1915.

*Bench Ends in English Churches*, Oxford University Press, London, 1916.

### D

*The Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* - many articles.

*Calendar of the Records of the County of Derby 1558-1896* compiled by Cox. Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1899.

*The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints, Derby*, Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1881.

*Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals, as illustrated by the records of the Quarter Sessions of the County of Derby, from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Victoria*. 2 vols. Bemrose and Sons, London and Derby, 1890.

*Memorials of Old Derbyshire* edited by Cox, Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1907.

*Notes on Kedleston Church (Derbyshire)*, Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1877.

*Notes on the Parish Church of Wirksworth* - corrected and extended from the second volume of *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*. George Marsden, Wirksworth, 1916.

*Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* 4 volumes. Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1875-79.

*Place and Field Name of Derbyshire which indicate Vegetable Production* (reprinted from *The Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*), 1881.

*Some Notes on Deep Dale Cave, Buxton*. (nd)

*Tourist's Guide to Derbyshire*, Edward Stanford, London, 1878.

*Minute Book of the Wirksworth Classis 1651-1658* edited by Cox, Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1880.

## E

*The Cathedral Church and See of Essex*, 1908

*The Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh The cost of the Royal Household, Royal annuities and Crown lands*, enlarged edition, E. Truelove, London, 1873.

## F

*The Royal Forests of England*, Methuen, London, 1905.

*English Church Furniture* (in the Antiquary Series) by Cox and Alfred Harvey, Methuen, London, 1907.

*English Church, Fittings, Furniture & Accessories*, B.T. Batsford, London, 1923.

## G

*Some account of Garston and the Chapel formerly existing there*, 1888.

*The Parish Church of Giggleswick..... Historical Notes, ancient and modern*, Richard Jackson, 1920

## I

*The Irish Church: a lecture delivered on Nov 13th, 1868 at Duffield, being a churchman's reasons for its disestablishment and disendowment etc...* Chesterfield: J. B. White, steam printer, 1868.

## K

*Rambles in Kent*, Methuen, London, 1913.

## L

*An attempt to recover the plans of the castle of Liverpool*, 1898.

When the 'Little Guides', published by Methuen, started in 1903 Cox was the general editor. He was responsible for the following Little Guides:

<i>Cambridgeshire</i>	1914	
<i>Derbyshire</i>	1903	
<i>Essex</i>	1909	
<i>Gloucestershire</i>	1914	
<i>Hampshire</i>	1914	
<i>Kent</i> , 2nd edition	1915	He rewrote the first edition from p48 onwards.



<i>Lincolnshire</i>	1916
<i>Surrey</i> , 2nd edition	1910 A rewriting of the first edition.
<i>Warwickshire</i>	1914

*Catalogue of the Muniments and Manuscript Books pertaining to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield. Analysis of the Magnum Registrum Album. Catalogue of the Muniments of the Lichfield Vicars*, London, 1886.

*The Mortuary Chapels of Lichfield Cathedral*. Paper read in Lichfield Cathedral, July 27th (from *The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Transactions*) 1879.

*The Rise of the Farm Labourer*. A series of articles reprinted from "*The Examiner*", 1872-3, illustrative of certain political aspects of the agricultural labour movement, E. Dallow, London, 1874.

## M

*Churchwardens' Accounts for Mendlesham kept in Suffolk Record Office*.

*English Monasteries*, 1904.

*The Ancient Churches of Middlesex* (nd).

## N

*The Records of the Borough of Northampton* second volume ed. by Cox. Published by order of the Corporation; Northampton, 1898.

*A History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Northampton*, W. Mark, Northampton; Simpkin, Marshall & Co., London, 1897.

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## P

*How to write a history of a Parish*, Bemrose & Sons, London and Derby, 1879.

*The Parish Registers of England*, Methuen, London, 1910.

*St Patrick: an example of the humanizing and civilizing ministry of the Church* (Sermon), Skeffington & Son, London, 1890.

## S

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*Six Meditations on the Gardens of Scripture, together with a sermon on Christianity and Archaeology etc.*, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London, 1893.

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*The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Medieval England*, George Allen & Sons, London, 1911.

*Memorials of Old Surrey*, George Allen and Sons, London, 1911.

*Primitive Sun Dials or Scratch Dials. Containing a list of those in Somerset*. Preface by Cox. Barnicott & Pearce, Taunton, 1917.

*The Sports and pastimes of the People of England* by Joseph Strutt. A new edition much enlarged and corrected. Methuen, London, 1903.

# THE ESTATES OF THOMAS EYRE\* OF ROWTOR

## IN THE ROYAL FOREST OF PEAK AND THE MASSEREENE CONNECTION

(by Derek Brumhead, New Mills Heritage Centre)

Raising revenue was a perennial problem for the Stuarts and despite the opposition of James I, who specifically opposed the sale or disafforestation of any forest, chase or park,<sup>1</sup> from about 1615 disafforestation of the royal forests and the improvement of wastes for profit became a major attempt to solve the crown's financial problems. The process involved the freeing of the land from forest law, the removal of the deer, the division of the commons and wastes amongst those who held rights of common pasture in the forest, and ultimately the enclosure and improvement of the land to the general benefit of all.<sup>2</sup>

There were 68 forests in 1609<sup>3</sup> and among them was the royal forest of Peak.<sup>4</sup> Most of it covered the region of gritstone hills and westward-flowing rivers of north-west Derbyshire but there was an extension eastwards into the limestone region. The value of royal forests to the crown varied considerably.<sup>5</sup> Some had scarcely any trees growing on them or had marginal soils or were remote moorland, and the forest of the Peak with over 30,000 statute acres of commons and wastes could be said to fall into this category. In an estimate made of the value of trees in various counties in 1608, Derbyshire, within which was the forest of the Peak, did not appear in the list.<sup>6</sup>

Between 1632 and 1640, Charles I, in a further fiscal expedient to raise money without recourse to Parliament, turned his attention again to the royal forests, restoring the laws which had more or less been in abeyance for 300 years.<sup>7</sup> Forest courts were held all over the country applying the laws and exacting huge fines from influential nobility and gentry. In addition, forest boundaries were extended to their medieval limits.<sup>8</sup>

This unpopular process encouraged demands for disafforestation and in the forest of Peak it started a process which led to a radical reorganisation in land ownership of the commons and wastes. Although they had been nibbled away for centuries by encroachments, they remained largely untenanted. With the agitation for the removal of the forest laws attention once more turned to them, the crown seeing them primarily as a source of revenue and the commoners, ie the freeholders and tenants, seeing them as access to new land for enclosure and improvement.

The process began in 1634 with a petition of the freeholders and tenants in the Peak for dividing and allotting in equal parts between the duchy of Lancaster<sup>9</sup> and commoners all the commons and wastes, amounting to over 14,664 Cheshire or forest acres (c30,794 statute acres). The duchy appointed commissions to negotiate division, make surveys, impanel juries, and agree generally with the commoners for disafforestation. However, all this activity came to a halt with political disorders from 1640 and the onset of civil war in 1642, followed by the interregnum. For more than thirty years the division of the commons and wastes was left in abeyance. The divisions were never carried out although the deer were removed and the forest disafforested.

After the restoration, Charles II granted to Denzil Lord Hollis and others all right and title of lands in the lordship of the High Peak for a term of 99 years, to make and grant leases in trust for the Queen Dowager Catherine. However, because of the troubled times and lack of supervision, the boundary marks of 1640 had been lost or removed and encroachment had been widespread. A survey recommended that the land could be improved for agriculture and that the king's part should be granted to a prospective improver.<sup>10</sup> At the end of 1674, the crown's proportion of the commons and wastes was granted in fee farm to Thomas Eyre of Rowtor Hall, near the village of Winster, for the residue of the term of 99 years (31 years) for the annual rent of £100: *'All those Seven Thousand Three Hundred and Thirty-two Acres, Three Roods and Sixteen Perches of Barren and Waste Land being Parcel, or reputed to be Parcel of the Manor and Lordship of the High Peak...'* In 1675, Eyre obtained an extension of 57 years from the end of the 99 year term.<sup>11</sup>

But Eyre met many difficulties in attempting to take possession of the crown's lands and enclosing it. The freeholders and tenants of the High Peak had no wish to see the commons enclosed and improved by a private prospector. From the late 1670s until the matter was finally resolved, Eyre was involved in much litigation through the duchy courts with the freeholders and tenants, who maintained that they had been granted all the commons and wastes. The matter dragged on for decades and was not finally settled until 1711, when a final duchy decree was made, which in most particulars brought to an end the process of disafforestation and the

division of the wastes and commons which had begun with the commoners' petition in 1634.<sup>11</sup>

Although he was involved in expensive litigation to confirm his right and title, the 1674 grant at an annual rent of only £100 was of great benefit to Eyre for soon after receiving it he commenced leasing land or selling it in fee farm. The earliest record of a transaction found so far is in November 1680, when 23 acres of commons in the hamlet of Whitle (now part of New Mills) was divided up and sold to four local men, Anthony Stafford, Ralph Bowden, Randle Hibbert, and John Heginbotham for a fine of £17.16.6 and rent of five shillings per acre.<sup>13</sup> Further examples of transactions include one dated May 1687 when Thomas Eyre 'in consideration of £25.10.0 did grant bargain sell alien enfeoff convey and confirm unto the said Samuel Bagshaw [of Ford] his heirs and assigns in fee farm for ever... All that piece or parcel of common or waste ground lying and being in the hamlet of Bowden Edge... containing by estimation 122 acres of the forest measure or thereabouts..., parcel of the commons and waste grounds heretofore meered and set forth for the King's part..., late in the possession of the said Thomas Eyre... excepting all great trees woods and underwood..., and all mines of coal, lead and tin and all other mines and quarries whatsoever therein and all cottages erected thereupon and all parcels of land incroached forth the same and also all ways theretofore used etc...'.<sup>14</sup>

Another is dated 26 March 1715.

*'Thomas Eyre of Rowtor in the Hundred of High Peak in the County of Derby in and by one Deed or Indenture of Lease duly executed bearing date on or about the 26th. March 1715 Did demise lease set & to farm let unto John Downes of Hall Walls in Thornsett Hamlett... All that piece or parcel of common or waste ground with the appurts lying and being in Ollersset in the said Parish of Glossop commonly called Ollersset Moor containing by estimation about 127 Acres of land... (the same being part & parcel of the common and waste grounds then or theretofore set out & measured for the King's Share or part)'.*<sup>15</sup>

In this way, thousands of acres of former crown land came into private hands and on to the market, an important aspect of the local traffic in land from the late seventeenth century. The access to the new land resulted in a general improvement in the farming economy. New farms appeared, new tracks and roads were required to open up these lands. Many of the freeholders and tenants to whom these lands were first sold were those engaged in litigation against Thomas Eyre.<sup>16</sup> As a result, the estate papers of Rowtor, comprising leases, abstract of titles, deeds, mortgages, etc, are today found scattered in several repositories as part of local family papers or Duchy of Lancaster documents.<sup>17</sup> Sales of parcels of this land continue until the present day and modern deeds still cite this land as being part of the king's part of the former commons and wastes of the royal forest of Peak.

Thomas Eyre died in 1717 and by his will the Rowtor estate passed to his distant cousin, Henry Eyre of Rampton.<sup>18</sup> Henry had one child, Anne, who in 1741 became the second wife of Clotworthy Skeffington, 5th Viscount of Massereene.<sup>19</sup> He was created 1st Earl of Massereene in 1756. Unfortunately he was a spendthrift and was obliged to raise money by selling off his estates in Ireland and even the Fisherwick estate in Staffordshire in 1755, the estate which had provided the territorial designation for the family's oldest title, the Skeffington baronetcy created in 1627.

Anne Massereene inherited the Rowtor estate from her father on his death in 1766.<sup>20</sup> A document gives details of her freehold land in the High Peak in 1772 (Table 2).<sup>21</sup> The total area, some of which was not part of the 1674 grant to Thomas Eyre, came to about 3,555 acres, which gives some idea of just how much land of the 1674 grant had been disposed of. In fact, a great deal more had already been sold, for the acreages in the Massereene estate of 1772 do not include the lands in fee farm or out on 999 year leases, although the rents are given (Table 2). These lands, which were for all intents and purposes freeholds, included whole divisions of the King's part of the commons and wastes, such as 352 Cheshire acres of Hayfield Moor (Mr Joseph Hague of Park Hall - out of lease, rent £1.10.0), 179 acres of Beard Moor (Duchess of Devonshire - lease 1705, rent £7), and 127 acres of Ollersett Moor (James Bowers - lease 1715, rent £3), a total of 658 acres out of the original grant in Bowden Middlecale of 2228 acres.<sup>22</sup>

At this time, Lady Massereene seems to have been considering selling off over half of this remainder, for another document a few years later, in 1777 (Table 1), lists lands totalling 1,910 Cheshire acres which were being put up for sale.<sup>23</sup> These sales if completed would more or less have completed the disposal of the 1674 grant.

TABLE 1

## THOMAS EYRE: GRANTS OF COMMONS AND WASTES

PLACE	1674 EYRE GRANT			1772 MASSEREENE ESTATE			1777 MASSEREENE SALES LIST		
Bowden Chapel*	973	1	9	463	1	7**	463	0	39**
Bowden Middlecale	2,288	0	0	32	1	27	32	1	7
Bradwell	657	1	3	860	2	23	680	1	35
Castleton	441	0	8	1,011	3	9	110	3	15
Chelmorton and Flagg***	622	3	29	214	1	4	221	1	35
Fairfield, Fernilee, Shallcross and Bowden Chapel	917	3	8						
Hope	616	3	1	274	1	4	274	1	4
Mellor	182	0	18						
Taddington and Priestcliffe***	188	3	14						
Taddington				323	3	34	85	1	2
Wormhill	504	3	6	829	3	9	42	1	17
Total (forest acres)	7,332	3	16	3,155	3	16	1,910	1	14
Rowtor				123	3	12	22	2	38
Winster				20	1	28	17	3	14
Elton				10	2	34	10	2	34
There were other fee farm or 999 year leases in Bonsall, Brassington and Derby:				28	0	22	28	0	22

## Key

\* Includes Malcoff

\*\* Includes Chapel-en-le-Frith

\*\*\* The proportions of the division of the commons and wastes in the purlieus (being outside the forest) were one-third to the crown and two-thirds to the commoners.

As Thomas Eyre sold off various parts of the commons and wastes he indemnified the purchasers from the payment of the annual fee farm rent of £100 reserved to the crown, which was chargeable on all the lands, for apportionment and collection was obviously difficult. In 1776, Anne Massereene obtained an Act 'to Discharge certain Lands, heretofore Part of the Estate and Inheritance of Thomas Eyre Esq... from the Payment of a certain Fee Farm Rent of One Hundred Pounds a Year; and for securing the same on other Parts of the said Estate'. The Act proposed that the £100 rent charge be devolved on certain lands which 'were ... full, sufficient and ample Value for securing the Payment of the said Fee Farm Rent, and Exonerating the Residue of the said Lands therefrom...'<sup>24</sup>

The £100 rent was devolved onto the following holdings.

Lands and Occupiers	A	R	P
Castleton Pasture Samuel Needham and John Needham	900	3	34
Greatrix Dale Anthony Goodwin	742	2	17*

The remainder of the estate was discharged.

\* The 1772 list of freeholds says 7 perches.

Not much of the estate, which Anne Massereene inherited, survived the financial crisis which beset the family in the second half of the eighteenth century, and also - perhaps because of - her own expensive lifestyle as a society figure in Dublin and its environs during her long widowhood. She died in 1805.<sup>25</sup>

The Skeffington and Foster families intermarried in 1810 - Foster heir and Massereene heiress. In 1816 after the death of the last earl (4th) of Massereene, the viscountcy was able to pass through a woman and the earl's daughter succeeded as Viscountess Massereene in her own right and through her the viscountcy has descended to the present day.

In 1817, Thomas Foster who had married Harriet Skeffington in 1816 changed his name to Skeffington. He became 2nd Viscount Ferrard when his mother died in 1824. In 1843 the estates and title in the person of the 10th Viscount Massereene and 3rd Viscount Ferrard merged.<sup>26</sup>

Recently, fieldwork has confirmed that a surprising amount of evidence of encroachments, grants of freeholds, and later seventeenth century divisions of the commons and wastes is still to be found today in the landscape of Bowden Middlecale. Particularly, the freehold properties of the freehold lands or 'old lands' (pre-1640) which occupied choice sites within or on the edge of the commons, and the boundaries between the king's part and tenants' part on the commons can be still be identified on the ground. The boundary with ancient farmlands (those cut out of the forest since medieval times) drawn on the 1640 maps can also be related to the physical nature of the land, for instance breaks of slopes, and the geology. In so doing, this confirms the unsuspected accuracy of the maps. The author, with a colleague, is preparing a description and an analysis of this field evidence.

TABLE 2

A PARTICULAR OF A FREEHOLD ESTATE IN THE HUNDRED OF HIGH PEAK AND COUNTY OF DERBY  
BELONGING TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ANN COUNTESS OF MASSEREENE [1772]

Names of towns where the estates are	Names of Farms	Tenants Names	Leased or granted in fee farm	Quantity			Yearly Rent		
				A	R	P	£	s	d
Bradwell	Nunley £7 parcel of Coates Close £16	Thomas Creswell	21 years 1770	62	0	30	23	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Bradwell Edge	William Slack	21 years 1770	59	1	15	18	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Bradwell over Moor	Mr George Bradshaw	60 years 1723	497	3	37	14	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Pindale Head	Mr Micah Hall	999 years 1765	120	2	22	8	0	0 <sup>1,2</sup>
	Third part of Within pitt	Laur. Marshall & Wright	21 years 1770	24	0	0	13	0	0 <sup>1</sup>

Names of towns where the estates are	Names of Farms	Tenants Names	Leased or granted in fee farm	Quantity			Yearly Rent		
				A	R	P	£	s	d
Bradwell	Ditto and Ditto	Thos Humphy & Mary Hallom	21 years 1770	25	0	23	13	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Ditto and Ditto	Robert Marshall	21 years 1770	28	0	37	13	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Part of Coates Close	Widow Hall	Out of lease	43	1	39	9	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
Castleton	Castleton Pasture	Saml & Jno Needham	42 years 1770	900	3	34	280	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Redseats	Isaac Hall	24 years 1760	110	3	15	70	0	0 <sup>1.3</sup>
Chappel	Combs Moss	Heirs or Execrs of Alexr Taylor	99 years 1723	361	3	17	3	10	0 <sup>1.4</sup>
	Chappel Hill Top	Joshua Bagshaw	Fee Farm 1691				2	16	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Plumpton	Henry Coape Esq	Fee Farm 1684				3	10	0 <sup>1.5</sup>
	Castle Nose or Garsey Bank	Anthony Belliott	Fee Farm 1685				0	6	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Horridg	Thomas Hallom	Fee Farm 1690				0	0	6 <sup>1</sup>
	Chinley Hills and a piece out of lease	Wm. Carrington	Fee Farm 1704	20	3	13	5	10	0 <sup>1.6</sup>
	Eccles	Saml Kirk & Assignee of Joseph Trickett	900 years 1724				20	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Loads Moor	Henry Marchington	999 years 1723				27	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Dovehole Meadows	Kirke & Frith	900 years 1724				28	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Part of Wharmbrook	Robert Hibbersone	Out of lease	42	0	18	36	0	0 <sup>1.7</sup>
	Other part of Do	Robert Longden	21 years 1766	10	1	17	10	0	0 <sup>1.8</sup>
Malcalfe	Malcaffe estate & House at Wharmbrook	Thomas Potts	21 years 1762	28	0	22	19	1	0 <sup>1.9</sup>
Hope	Elming Pitts	Revr Mr Hadfield	Fee Farm 1686				15	6	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Aston Edge	Hans Winhop Mortimer Esq	Fee Farm 1691				2	5	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Fallwood Carr	Mrs Eliz Schollar	Fee Farm ?				2	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Pindale Ends	Robert Hall	Do				0	15	0 <sup>1</sup>
	All Three parts of Fernelee	George Hall	21 years 1770	274	1	4	90	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Tunstead Clough	James Bennett	Fee Farm 1706				5	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Kinder	Samuel Marriott	Fee Farm 1701					10	0 <sup>1</sup>
Wormhill	Small Dale	Vernon and Frith	Fee Farm 1691				6	5	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Cowlow Longridge & Greatrix Dale	Anthony Goodwin	21 years 1770	742	2	7	233	14	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Part of Dovehole Dale	Edward Vernon	Do and Do	28	2	0	12	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Part of Dovehole Kilns	Mr Saml Frith	Lease to 1822	45	0	25	9	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Other part of Do	William Wright	Do and Do	13	2	17	4	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
Beard	Beard Wood Heads	The Duchess of Devonshire	Fee Farm 1705				7	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
Chelmerton	Five Wells	John Buxton	99 years 1723	80	1	37	8	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Chelmerton Low	Mr Samuel Frith	Out of lease	124	2	18	31	10	0 <sup>1</sup>

Names of towns where the estates are	Names of Farms	Tenants Names	Leased or granted in fee farm	Quantity			Yearly Rent		
				A	R	P	£	s	d
Taddington	Whale Pasture	Mr Samuel Frith	Lease in dispute	245	3	35	34	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Sough Pasture	Hayward & Schoefield	99 years 1723	77	3	39	16	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Part of Whale Pasture	Mr Samuel Frith	Assgmt of said lease in dispute				1	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
Flag	Dales Tenement	John Gisborne Esq	Fee Farm 1693				15	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Flagg Pastures	Mr Saml Frith	999 years 1723				23	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Five Houses and Crofts at Flag	Jonathan Turner	Out of lease	6	2	29	10	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
	For a House & Croft	William Redferne	Do	1	0	19	0	12	0 <sup>1</sup>
	For 2 Houses & Crofts	Solomon Mycock	Do	1	1	21	0	9	6 <sup>1</sup>
	A Blacksmith Shop & 2 Gardens	James Charlesworth	Do				0	6	0 <sup>1</sup>
	A House & Croft	George Dale	Do				0	2	0 <sup>1</sup>
	An Incroachment	John Redferne	Do					0	6 <sup>1</sup>
Great Hamlett	Abbotts Chair	Lomas & Mary Bowers	999 years 1714				2	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
Olersett	Olersett Moor	James Bower	999 years 1715				3	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Hayfield Moor	Mr Joseph Hague	Out of Lease	4	1	33	1	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
Bowden Middlecale	Four Acres at Spinnerbottom	Anthony Ratcliffe	Do	4	0	22	1	5	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Thornsett Bank	John Hibbard	Do	23	3	12	3	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
Rowter	Woodhead pingle & Brind Bank	Thomas Roose	Do	10	2	39	8	0	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Little Wheat Close	John Smith	Do	2	2	14	2	10	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Great do Yates Close pl of Boulwood & 2 Houses in Winster	Mr John Roose	Do	11	1	30	14	3	0 <sup>10</sup>
	A Close at Rowter	Joseph Bailey	Do	4	1	33	4	5	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Long [.....]	John Gregory	Do	7	1	4	8	3	0 <sup>10</sup>
	White Holme, Henisby Close	Richard Gregory		15	0	6	14	10	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Nearer Close & ½ a corn chamber	Wm Gregory	Do	3	2	23	2	10	0 <sup>10</sup>
	a House Garden Close	Jonathan Prime	Do	17	0	19	10	12	3 <sup>10</sup>
	Stray Top	Abraham Gyte	Do	4	0	23	4	17	9 <sup>10</sup>
	Clover Close & Rough Piece	John Roose	Do	11	1	21	10	5	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Walkers Close	Henry Woolley	Do	5	2	22	7	5	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Green Hill Close	James Gregory	Do	3	2	9	6	0	0 <sup>10</sup>
	Rowter Rock	Joshua Bradley	Do	6	3	8	2	0	0 <sup>10</sup>
Winster	Winster Market	Bradley Roose	Do				23	0	0 <sup>1,10</sup>
	A House & Willmoor Flatte	Anthy Foxlow	Do	18	2	17	18	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
	Elton Cross	Mr John Bradley	Do	1	3	11	2	5	0 <sup>12</sup>

Names of towns where the estates are	Names of Farms	Tenants Names	Leased or granted in fee farm	Quantity			Yearly Rent		
				A	R	P	£	s	d
Winster	Two Beast Gates in Bank Pasture	James Keeling	Do				1	8	0 <sup>1</sup>
Bonsall	Free Fishery in Bonsall	Mr George Evans	Do				2	2	0 <sup>1</sup>
Brassington	Sheep Walk	Bache Thornhill Esq	Do				20	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
Elton	Three Elton Closes	Wm & Saml Twigg	Do	10	2	34	12	7	3 <sup>13</sup>
Derby	A House	Mrs Mary Oakes	Do				2	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
	A House	William Talliott	Do				2	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
	A House	John Clarke	Do				2	10	0 <sup>1</sup>
Rowter	Tyth of Wool & Lamb	Rowter Tenants	Do				0	15	0 <sup>1</sup>
Bradwell:	Liberty to get and carry away Lapis Calaminaris ore, Black Jack or Mock Ore out of lands in possession of Bagshaw, Wm Hall and Creswell	Robert Hurst	7 years from 1770				5	0	0
Rowtor:	Rowtor Hall and two Gardens	Humphry Marshall	pays taxes and keeps it in repair						4
	Birchover and Boulwood	In hand		20	2	1			
Total				4,165	3	11	1,345	9	9

Outgoings out of the above Estate

To the longer liver of the Trustees of Thos Eyre Esq & to the heirs of such surv'	5	0	0			
To Winster	20	0	0	130	0	0
To the Chaplin of Rowter	20	0	0			
Chief Rent [.....] out of £100 yearly out of which deduct Land Tax at [.....]. This issues only out of the land granted by the crown	85	0	0			
				1,215	9	9

[Illegible] to be paid out of the Estate to Mrs Mary Eyres Widow of Henry Eyre [....] far advanced in years have not made any Deduction out of the above to Counter Ballance which the timber in the woods of Birchover and Boulwood has not been valued wch would more than discharge sd Annuity

Note also That Redseats in the possession of Isaac Hall is subject to a Lease from 22 September 1757 being the Date thereof for 21 years of all Mines and Veins of Lapis Calaminaris Ore granted by Henry Eyre Esq to said Isaac Hall reserving for Mr Eyres his heirs Extrs & Assigns one full 8th part thereof when made Merchantable.

There was a mine of Blue John discovered upon Castleton Pasture in the possession of the Needhams which was let the first year for 40s the next year for £40 and the 3rd for £90 or £95 and afterwards taken into my Ladys Hands and sold at the Rate of 5 Guineas p ton which in the foregoing particular no notice is taken.



Note likewise All the Leases made in 1770 were granted at a much lower Value than the Lands were really worth in order to recompence the tenants for large sums laid out by them on their Farms in pursuance of Lease made them for 999 years by the late Mr Eyre Lady Massereenes Father whose Assets to which she became intitled upon his Death were liable altho' he had not Power to make such Leases to the Breach of the Covenants entred into by him.

#### Observations

1. Clear of taxes
2. Lease in dispute
3. Purchased by Henry Eyre Esq
4. In 1729 granted in fee farm
5. A dispute has arose within these 3 or 4 years last whether taxes are to be paid Grantor or Grantee.
6. NB the piece out of Lease being 20a 3r 1p
7. Purchased by Henry Eyre Esq
8. Do
9. Part purchased by Do
10. Her Ladyship pays taxes for Rowter Estate and the same is subject to a Chief Rent of 4d a year for Tythes Hay Silver to John Howe Esq paid also by Lady Massereene.
11. Tenants repair the Market House Stalls
12. This Close is subject to a Chief rent of 11d a year
13. Her Ladyship pays taxes
14. To quit possession at two months notice

Source: Sheffield City Archives, Bagshaw Collection 667/1. I am grateful to the Head of Leisure Services, Sheffield City Council for permission to publish this transcript of the document.

#### References and Notes

- \* Not to be confused with his Catholic cousin, Thomas Eyre of Hassop.
- 1. P.A.J. Pettit, *The royal forests of Northamptonshire. A study in their economy, 1558-1714*, 1968, p 65.
- 2. P. Large, 'From swanimote to disafforestation: Feckenham Forest in the early seventeenth century' in R. Hoyle, *The estates of the English Crown, 1558-1640*, Cambridge, 1992, p 391.
- 3. Pettit, 1968, p 66.
- 4. In 1372, except for the manor of Glossop which had been granted away, the forest came into the possession of John of Gaunt. When his son was crowned Henry IV in 1399 it became part of the huge crown estate known as the duchy of Lancaster. It has always been administered separately. As a result there is a rich heritage of primary documents available in the Public Record Office. In this context, all students of the manor and forest of Peak are indebted to Somerville who made use of his unrivalled access to duchy documentation in a work of great stature and in a seminal article. R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1, 1265-1603*, London, 1953. R. Somerville, 'Commons and Wastes in north-west Derbyshire in the High Peak "New Lands"', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, XCVII, 1977, pp 16-22
- 5. Pettit, 1968, p 68.
- 6. Pettit, 1968, p 59.
- 7. G. Hammersley, 'The revival of the forest laws under Charles I', *History*, 45, 1960, p 85. Pettit, 1968, pp 83-5.
- 8. Pettit, 1968, pp 88-92.
- 9. Somerville, 1977, p 16.
- 10. The report by Richard Shallcross is in PRO DL, 41/19/4. Shallcross was surveyor of the North Parts of the Duchy and receiver and bailiff of the High Peak. He was a local landowner and lived at Shallcross Hall near the present Whaley Bridge. Somerville, 1977, p 24. He valued the crown's part of the commons and wastes at £135 12 9 per annum, the best and middle sort of land at 4d per acre and the worst sort at 2d per acre; the latter, he suggested, might be thought fit 'to be allowed the Improver for

*encouragement*'. Presumably, this was how the annual rent of £100 was arrived at.

11. Indenture of lease dated 24 December 1674, Derbyshire Record Office (DRO), D1673 Z/Z4. Quoted in Act, DRO, D1673 Z/Z10, and Somerville, 1977, who confirms that the measures are in customary or forest acres.
12. Copies of the final decree confirming the freeholders and tenants title and rights of common are found in several family papers, eg Kirk in DRO 513M, Bagshaw in John Rylands Library (JRL) E379, Oakes in Sheffield City Archives (SCA) OD 958 b,c,d. A copy is also held in the archives of New Mills Local History Society.
13. DRO 513M
14. Abstract of title 1697-1749, Bagshaw papers, JRL 134/3/208a
15. Abstract of title 1858, James Brocklehurst, New Mills Local History Society.
16. For instance, Mark Trickett of Rowarth, Edward Shirt of Bowden Head, Adam Bagshaw of Wormhill, Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, Charles Kirk of Shireoaks, John Downes of Thornsett, Edward Bower of Whitle, William Barber of Malcoff, William Carrington of Chinley.
17. For example, the Bagshaw papers in the University of Manchester John Rylands Library, the Bagshaw and Oakes papers in the Sheffield City Archives, the Kirk papers and Duchy of Lancaster papers in the Derbyshire Record Office, and the Duchy papers in the Public Record Office at Kew.
18. A copy of the will is reproduced in *The High Peak News*, 6 April 1859, p 3. Henry Eyre was the great grandson of Sir Gervase Eyre, Lord of Rampton, county of York, killed in the civil war at the battle of Newark for King Charles.
19. In 1654, Sir John Skeffington of Fisherwick near Lichfield married the only daughter and heiress of Sir John Clotworthy, 1st Viscount Massereene. In 1647 Sir John succeeded his father as 5th baronet of Fisherwick. By the death of his father-in-law in 1665, he became 2nd Viscount Massereene. A P W Malcomson, *Introduction to the Foster/Massereene papers held in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland* [PRONI], 1998. See also *Report on the family and estate papers of Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, 1590-1935*. RCHM for PRONI, London, 1978.
20. Settlement of the estates of Henry Eyre on the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Anne Eyre, to Viscount Massereene, 24 November 1741. PRONI D/207/16/56. Papers of the Rowtor estate can be found in the Foster/Massereene papers PRONI D/1739, D/207, D/562, D/2681, D/3711, D/4084 and T/2519/4. Unfortunately they are not separately classified but papers relevant to this period are to be found in D/207/16 (title deeds, leases, mortgages, etc c1590-1849). There may be others. I am grateful to the staff of PRONI for information and help in tracking down these references.
21. 'A Particular of a Freehold Estate in the Hundred of High Peak and County of Derby belonging to the Right Honourable Anne Countess of Massereene'. SCA, Bagshaw Collection 667/I.
22. Bowden Middlecale, consisting of ten hamlets, was adjacent to Bowden Chapel, consisting of three hamlets. These two divisions were administrative entities for tax purposes and both were in the 'dark peak' part of the Peak District. Together, they were known as Middlecale. The names are no longer in use.
23. 'Estates in Derbyshire belonging to the Lady Massereene which on 20 April 1777 were not sold as appeared from the Account of Mr Joseph Butler of York of whom inquiry is to be made as to price'. Chatsworth Trustees, AS/171. I am grateful to Tom Askey, Archivist of the Chatsworth Trustees for finding this document, which runs to 42 pages.
24. These lands, which were part of the original grant of the commons and wastes, had a special status in the Massereene estate since they formed part of the dowry Henry Eyre bestowed upon his daughter on her marriage. Their rents and profits provided the security for the interest that Henry had agreed to pay to Anne's husband on the sum of five thousand pounds which was bonded to be paid on Henry's death or sooner if he so wished. Marriage settlement, PRONI D/207/16/56.
25. Malcomson 1998.
26. Malcomson 1998

## THE HIGH PEAK RAIL ROAD 1815

(by David Martin,

During the Napoleonic Wars, the increasing prices that could be demanded for agricultural produce encouraged landowners to consider ways of improving their marginal land. The Duke of Devonshire's Woodlands estate of approximately 18,000 acres to the north of Hope, was under developed. Tenants at the time considered that one third of the estate: was capable of improvement with liming.<sup>1</sup>

The major problem was the cost of transporting limestone from the Duke's quarries in the parish of Peak Forest to the Woodlands. The success of the Peak Forest iron-railed tramway, which carried limestone away to the north west, appeared to offer the solution. It was decided that a rail road would be constructed to transport the limestone. The Duke's agent instructed a firm of surveyors to determine the best route and obtain an Act of Parliament to enable the rail road to be built. There was also the possibility that the rail road could be extended east towards Sheffield to become part of a cross Pennine route.

The survey was completed and the Act successfully obtained. But the war with France ended and was followed by a depression. It would no longer be economic to improve the Woodlands. The rail road scheme was shelved without a sod being cut.

By chance, the surveyors records, including field books, note books and correspondence have survived. They provide a fascinating insight into contemporary thinking on rail roads and a detailed picture of a line which would have altered the face of the Dark Peak.

The Duke of Devonshire's Woodlands estate, north of Hope, was still largely uncultivated at the start of the nineteenth century. It had been identified as having potential for improvement by John Farey in Volume One of his General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire, published in 1811. He had seen farmers struggling to carry lime over the difficult countryside and compared it unfavourably with other moorland areas that had been improved. He thought that tunnels could be cut into the hills to get at the limestone which could be burned with coal that he imagined might be found on nearby Kinder Scout.

In his second volume, published in 1813, he described Hope Woodlands as "a blot even in the maps of England" (sic), and recommended that the drier parts be planted with scotch fir and larch so that fields could be sheltered and brought into profitable cultivation by the use of lime. At this time the tenants had large tracts of uncultivated mountain bog and heath attached to their small farms. The land was grazed by sheep, including several merino rams introduced by the Duke in 1810 to improve the quality and quantity of the wool.<sup>2</sup>

The Napoleonic wars had pushed up the price of foodstuffs and this had encouraged greater use of lime to improve acid soils.<sup>3</sup> Ellis Eyre, a farmer at Nether Booth, Edale, stated that 6000 acres, which was one third of the Woodlands, was capable of improvement.<sup>4</sup> But he said that the farmers of Hope and Edale needed a minimum of fifty horse loads or 5 tons of lime, to manure an acre of land properly.<sup>5</sup> The price of lime at the Duke of Devonshire's Harratt Lowe quarries in the parish of Peak Forest, was 8d per horse load of 2 cwt, or 6/8d a ton. That did not include the costs of transporting it almost ten miles to the Woodlands.

The time must have seemed right for attempting to improve the productivity of the Woodlands. Whether Farey's volumes influenced the Duke is not known, but in 1815 it was decided to establish a limeworks on the western side of the River Derwent approximately one mile north of its confluence with the River Ashop. This would enable the estate to be brought into more profitable cultivation. The limestone was to be transported by rail road from the Harratt Lowe quarries near Sparrowpit.

There was a precedent. The Peak Forest Tramway had been very successfully transporting lime and limestone north west from the Dove Holes Dale quarries to the Peak Forest Canal at Bugsworth since 1800. It was designed by Benjamin Outram, with L-section cast iron plates laid to a gauge of 4ft 2in. In 1808, a ton of coal taken up the tramway to the lime kilns at Dove Holes Dale cost 7d, but it cost 5 shillings to take it by cart along the road.<sup>6</sup> Another similar rail road must have seemed the ideal solution for transporting limestone to the Woodlands. But as the Duke did not own all the land between his quarries and the Woodlands, an Act of Parliament was required before construction could commence.

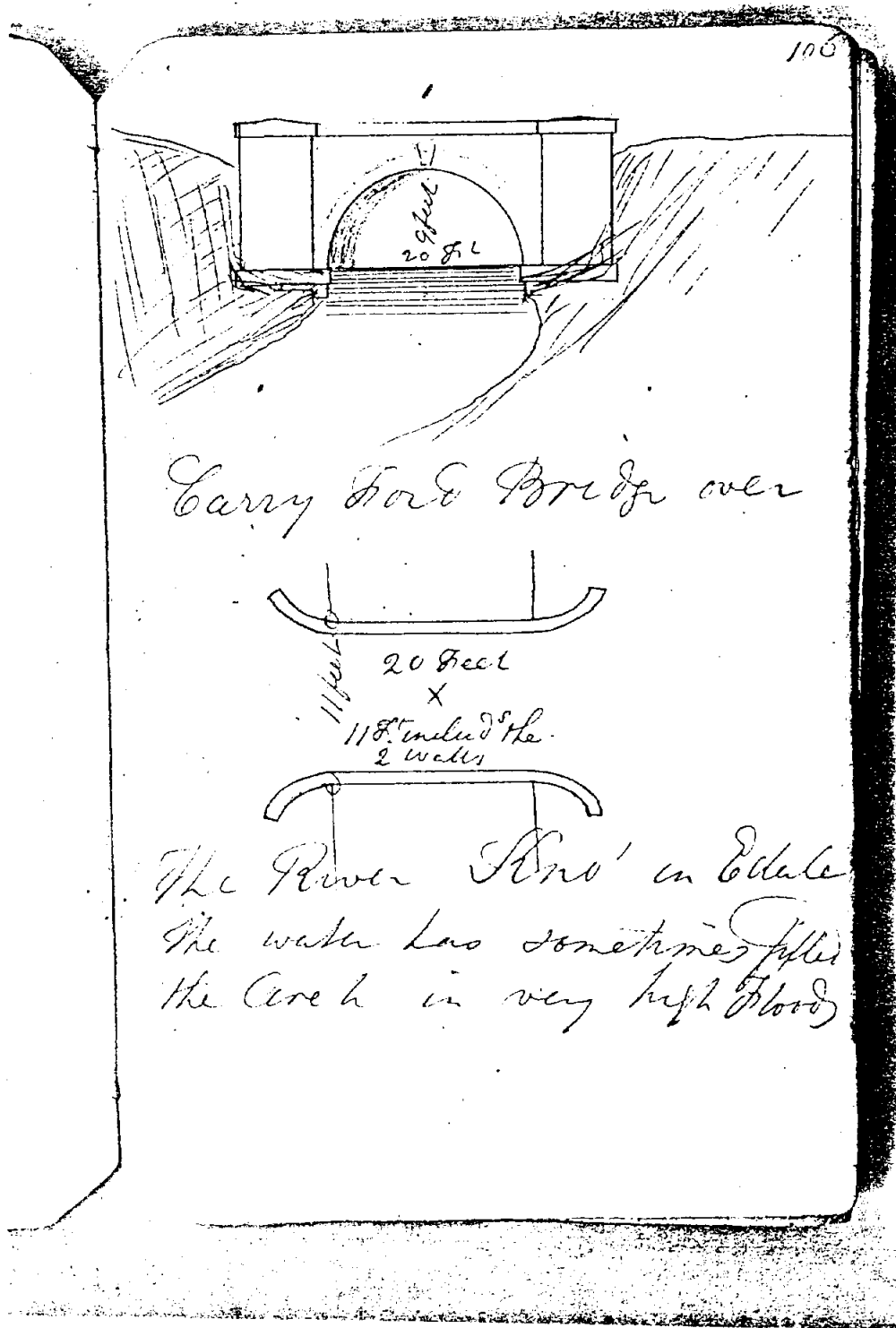


Fig. 1 Carry Ford Bridge over the River Noe in Edale

In conjunction with the rail road to the Woodlands, the Duke also had another line surveyed by Joel Hawk yard of Aston under Lyne. Both lines were included in the same Parliamentary Bill, although they appear to have always been considered separate projects. The other rail road was planned to run from Sparrowpit to Bar Moor Clough, where it would have joined the Peak Forest Tramway. A separate section would have run from the end of the Peak Forest Tramway at Bugsworth to the Peak Forest Canal at Bank End near Beard, in the parish of Glossop. This line was to be known as Intended Railway No. 1 in the Bill. The line to the Woodlands was confusingly called "Peak Forest Intended Railway No. 2".

Once it had been decided to build the rail road, the Duke's auditor J. N. Shaw, a solicitor with the Tideswell firm of Shaw and Cheek, contacted the Sheffield firm of surveyors, W. & J. Fairbank. The Fairbanks were Quaker land surveyors, but had considerable experience of working on turnpike roads and canals. They had made several surveys between Sheffield and Manchester in the previous five years. Josiah Fairbank had surveyed the proposed *High Peak Junction Canal through the Edale Valley*; also the *Tinsley and Grindleford Bridge Canal* in 1810.<sup>7</sup> In 1813 the firm surveyed the Padley and Tinsley Canal and produced a map of the Pennines to accompany the engineer William Chapman's report on various lines of navigation from Sheffield.<sup>8</sup>

Josiah Fairbank, the head of the firm, had not engineered a rail road before, although his father William had surveyed the wooden-railed "Newcastle Coal Road" from the Duke of Norfolk's Sheffield Park collieries to Sheffield Coal Yard in 1772.<sup>9</sup> But Josiah and his brother William had seen rail roads. They were aware of the Peak Forest Tramway and included a drawing of part of it when surveying a turnpike road at Chapel en le Frith in 1810.<sup>10</sup> They were also aware of rail roads in the Sheffield area and had included drawings in their field books of examples at Darnall colliery, near the River Sheaf and from John Curr's Rope Place to the Ropery in Sheffield.<sup>11</sup>

They were competent surveyors and must have relished the thought of being involved with a rail road survey, as they were interested in contemporary technical developments. Josiah Fairbank went to Chatsworth on 7th September 1815 to receive his instructions from J.N. Shaw and two days later he was viewing the country to determine the best route.<sup>12</sup> Initially using Castleton as a base, Fairbank, with assistants Thomas Hodgson and Joshua Thorp, began surveying the route from Rushup eastwards.

It was always described as the High Peak Rail Road in their field books. The route was planned to traverse the face of Mam Tor, then cross over the ridge into the Vale of Edale at Hollins Cross Gate, the lowest point before Back Tor. The ridge was illustrated in a field book sketch.<sup>13</sup>

From Hollins Cross Gate, the route was to descend by inclined plane to the bottom of the valley, then cross the River Noe and follow its north bank to pass behind Aston Hall and north of Thornhill village. It would then have turned north and followed the eastern side of the River Derwent valley until it was opposite Cocks Bridge which crossed the River Ashop at its confluence with the Derwent. The rail road was to terminate at or "near to Ladybower Woods and even up towards Moscar if time will admit".<sup>14</sup> This proposal, minuted in the field book, would have brought the rail road to within eight miles of Sheffield and could have become a cross Pennine route, in conjunction with "Intended Railway No. 1". This idea was suggested by the Liverpool Quaker and philanthropist, James Cropper in 1817.<sup>15</sup> It was a very early proposal for a cross Pennine railway. Cropper was later to advocate use of the fixed haulage steam engine and he also sat on the board of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in the 1820s.<sup>16</sup>

Another contemporary scheme for a rail road from the quarries is mentioned briefly in one of the Fairbank books.<sup>17</sup> This was a plan by Elias Hall of Castleton, described by Farey as a "fossilist" and mineral collector.<sup>18</sup> Hall proposed to begin his route near Sparrowpit at an elevation of 507 feet above the River Noe at Edale. It was then to tunnel north under Rushup Edge to reach Dale Head in Edale. From there it was to descend at half an inch per yard for six and three quarter miles before terminating at Edale End on the south side of the Noe, supplying all of the Edale valley. Estimated cost was £29348, but no more was heard of this scheme. It seems to have been an independent speculation which got no further.

The first two miles from the Duke's quarries in the Peak Forest parish, towards Rushup, do not appear to have been surveyed. Presumably, this was because Parliamentary sanction was not required for a rail road on the land owned by the promoter. This section of the route could have been decided upon later. The survey commenced on Devonshire land tenanted by Jonas and Frances Owen, just west of Mam Tor. Levelling began on 13th September 1815.<sup>19</sup> The route eventually decided upon then crossed the face of Mam Tor and skirted the southern slope below Hollins Cross Gate and Back Tor, descending all the way. It was then to pass round Lose

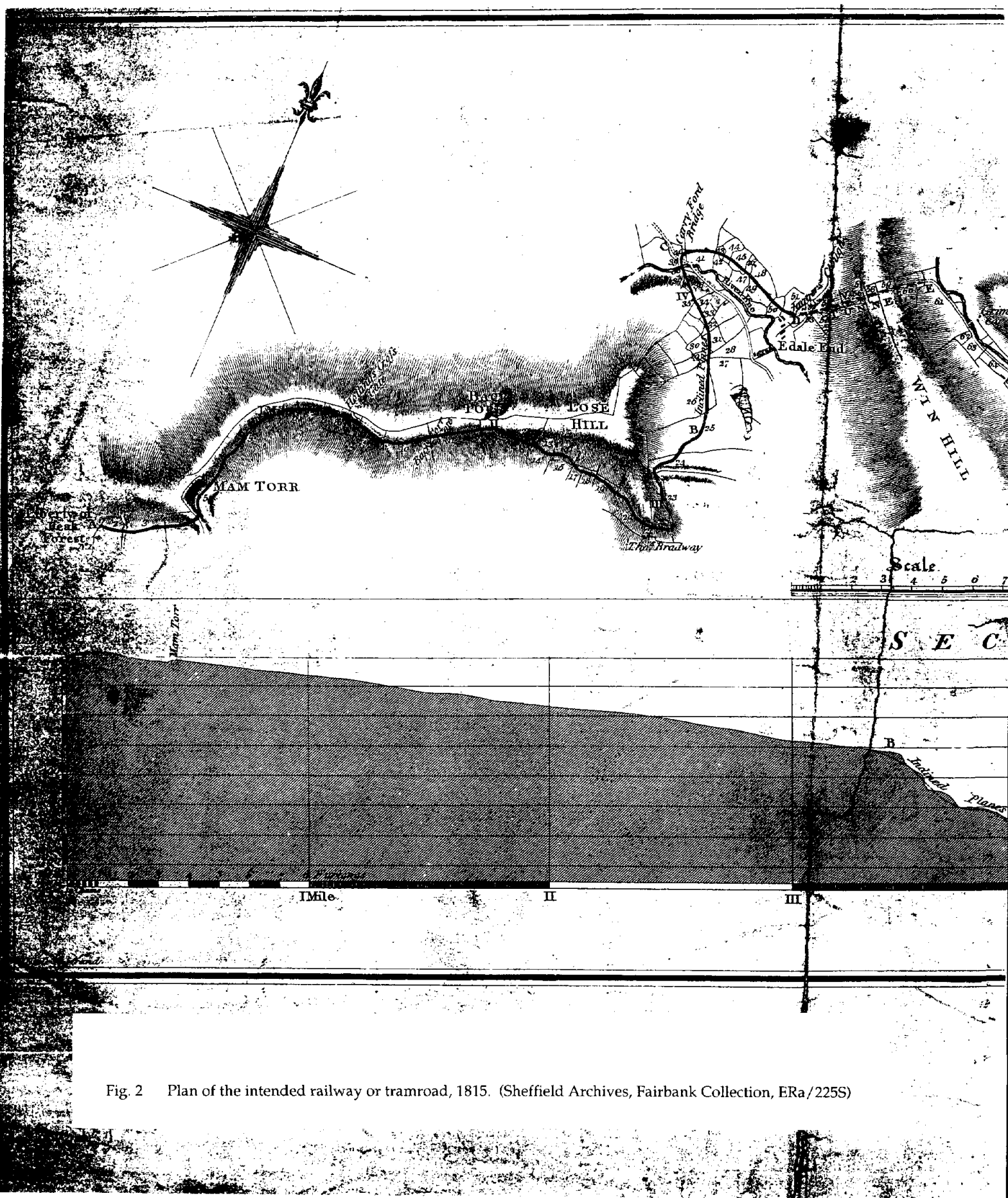


Fig. 2 Plan of the intended railway or tramroad, 1815. (Sheffield Archives, Fairbank Collection, ERa/2255)

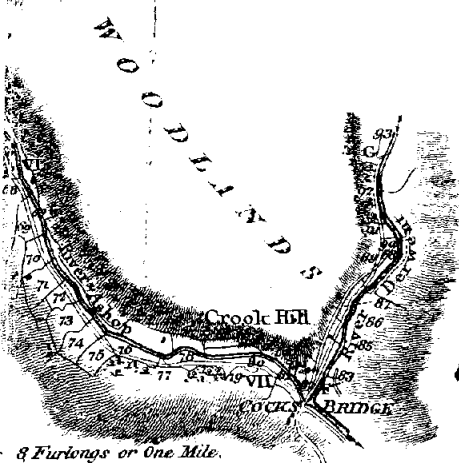
*A Plan of an*  
**INTENDED RAILWAY OR TRAM ROAD**  
*From or near the*  
**LIBERTY OF PEAK FOREST IN THE COUNTY OF DERBY**  
*into or near the*  
*Township or Hamlet of* **WOODLANDS** *in the Parish of Hope*  
*in the same County*  
*by W & J Fairbank 1845.*

**EXPLANATIONS.**

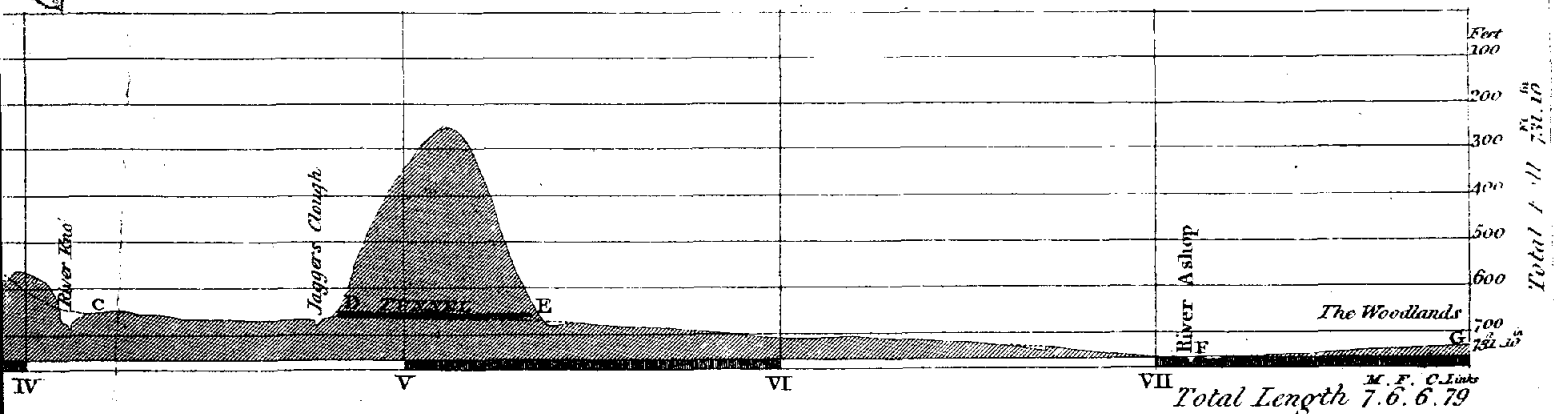
*From the commencement at A to the summit of*  
*First Inclined Plane at B*  
*Thence to the Bottom of the second Inclined Plane at C*  
*Thence to the West Entrance of the Tunnel at D*  
*Thence to the East Entrance of " " at E*  
*Thence to the crossing of the River, Shop at F*  
*Thence to the Termination at G*

Falls	Rise	
Ft.	In.	Ft. In. Ch. Lk.
326	5	273. 10
331	3	61. 18
13	7	49. 26
10	0	17. 18
69	11	139. 87
751	2 1/2	570. 89
	19	4 1/2 55. 90
751	2 1/2	19 4 1/2 626. 79

*NB. The line of the intended Railway is coloured thus ———*  
*of the intended Tunnel. .... thus ———*



N



*Drawn by E. Potter - Kentish Town*

*Mass of Peak*  
*Calculation*  
*Widewell*  
*13. 11. 18*

Hill, turning north, before dropping down two inclined planes. Crossing the Noe just above Carry Ford bridge<sup>20</sup> (see Fig 1), between Nether Booth and Edale End, it would then have turned sharply east. At Edale End it was to enter a 1044 yard long tunnel which would gain access to the Ashop valley. It then followed the south bank of the Ashop, until it joined the Derwent at Cocks Bridge. From there it was to cross the Ashop and climb along the west bank of the Derwent for a mile, to terminate at Lower Cote Close, Woodlands, where the lime kilns were to be situated. The total length of the route was to be 7 miles, 6 furlongs, 6 chains and 79 links<sup>21</sup> (see Fig. 2).

By the end of September 1815, Fairbank had completed the surveying and levelling of the route and three copies of the plans and sections were made at Hope by a third assistant, James Harford. The owners and occupiers of the land required were then sought for the book of reference and an estimate of the works had to be compiled. With no direct experience of rail road construction, Josiah Fairbank consulted the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and made a scale drawing of a coal wagon with a capacity of 50 cwt, on L-section rail at a gauge of 4ft 2in.<sup>22</sup> It had evidently been decided to use the same gauge as the Peak Forest Tramway. Wagons could then be used on either of the two intended rail roads. The track bed was to be "stoned" at two yards wide for the single track line and four yards wide on tile double track inclines.<sup>23</sup> He also made notes about gradients on the Penrhyn Railway and a rail road at Ayr from the *Philosophical Review*.<sup>24</sup>

Fairbank examined a rail road at Handsworth colliery, Darnall, near Sheffield, which had iron plates two feet apart; the commonly used gauge in that area. One horse could pull twelve wagons equalling 4.5 tons up a quarter inch per yard incline.<sup>25</sup> On the Peak Forest Tramway, one horse could pull 22 tolls on the 4ft 2in gauge line.<sup>26</sup> He calculated tonnage at 1.5d per ton per mile on the proposed rail road<sup>27</sup> and noted that the road carriage of goods from Sheffield to Chapel en le Frith was 18d a mile. The superiority of a rail road for the carriage of limestone must have seemed self evident.

Advice on the track and suppliers was sought from Joseph Haslehurst, a colliery owner from Unstone, near Chesterfield, who was to employ the Fairbanks to survey a rail road from his pits to the Chesterfield Canal at Wheldon's Mill in 1816. Haslehurst recommended yard length rails for heavy weights and four foot lengths for light weights. "1 yard rail weighing 40 lbs will carry 2 tons 10 cwt. The rails are laid double"<sup>28</sup> (see Fig. 3). He recommended the rails be laid on stone blocks, 21 inches square with a 2 inch plug of wood in the centre for the fixing nail. The cost was estimated at £1000 per mile for the heaviest rails, which could be purchased at Chesterfield for £11 per ton.

Haslehurst got his "tram plates" from Joseph Butler of Chesterfield. Butler had a furnace at Wingerworth and a foundry at Stonegravels, which was sold to the tenant, William Smith, in 1815.<sup>29</sup> Fairbank got advice on iron plates from Samuel Smith of Chesterfield, presumably from the Stonegravels foundry. Smith recommended yard long plates, 4 inches wide at the top and the edge from 2 to 3 inches high, and from 2 to 3 inches thick, weighing 56 lbs. They could be made at Chesterfield for £11 to £12 per ton.<sup>30</sup> George Haslam of Crich supplied information concerning fixing the yard-long plates to stone sleepers. He calculated that it would cost 2/6d per rood to form a 4 foot wide track bed.<sup>31</sup> There was also advice from George Middleton, a stone borer from Hollow Dale, Bradwell, who offered to prepare the holes in the stone blocks and a mason who had worked on the rail roads near Leeds.

Advice about tunnelling was obtained from one of the Duke's stewards named Philip Heacock of Buxton. This appears to have influenced Fairbank to shorten the route of the line by use of a 1044 yard tunnel from Edale End. Heacock stated that tunnelling cost about 5 or 6 guineas a yard, including air shafts, at the Buxton collieries.<sup>32</sup> Fairbank planned his tunnel to be 10 feet wide by 10 feet high and estimated the construction costs to be £7 a yard.<sup>33</sup>

Scale drawings were made of the chain wheel at the head of the incline at Handsworth colliery, Darnall. The incline chain weighed 2.25 lb per yard and pulled wagons weighing 2.5 cwt.<sup>34</sup> Parker and Foster of Attercliffe, Sheffield, supplied information about iron chains and Fairbank decided to use one weighing 3.25 lb and costing 1s 7d per yard.<sup>35</sup>

Having sought advice on rail road construction, Fairbank made his first estimate of the cost of the line on 21st December, 1815.<sup>36</sup> He spent the early part of February 1816, examining the Peak Forest Tramway and consulting with its principal agent, James Meadows, in Manchester. A revised estimate was then made.<sup>37</sup> The track bed was to be four yards wide with a two yard bed of stones for the stone blocks to lay on. Between Rushup and the incline there was to be 3.413 miles of single track, with 75 yards allowed for passing places. The iron plate rails were to be 1 yard long, weighing 50 lbs and costing 5/6d each. The inclined planes were to have a track bed 6.5



yards wide and the deepest cutting was to be 9.25 yards deep.

It had been decided to use a 6 lb per yard chain, 2200 yards long, costing £440, plus carriage from Attercliffe of £12. The bridge over the River Noe was to have a 7 yard wide arch and cost £200. The tunnel was priced at £10 per yard; a total of £1044/12s. The bridge and embankment over the River Ashop was priced at £250. The total estimate including land, walling, fencing, making culverts, machinery at the top and bottom of the inclines and 10% for contingencies was £30902/8/1d.<sup>38</sup> James Meadows signed estimates for the line to Bank End.

Using most of the figures taken from the rates mentioned in the 1st Act of the Peak Forest Canal & Railway, passed in 1794, Fairbank calculated that the income from the line to the Woodlands would more than exceed four times the interest, besides improving the estate. Without any back carriage, he calculated an income of £5554/3/4d, with tile interest being £1334/6/0d.<sup>39</sup>

There were then 23 owners and the occupiers of land to get consents from. Only Thomas Timm Middleton, who owned two fields under Back Tor, dissented and instructed his agent to attend Parliament on his behalf.<sup>40</sup> The book of consents was sent to Shaw on 16th February 1816 and the following day, Fairbank went to Chesterfield to compare plans and books of reference with those lodged in the office of the Clerk of the Peace. He then travelled to London to give evidence on the Petition which had been presented in February.<sup>41</sup>

During April 1816, Fairbank spent half a week getting the consent of owners he had not yet seen and travelled to London again on the 24th for eight days to give evidence to the Committee on the Bill in the Commons.<sup>42</sup> Fairbank signed an estimate that the line to the Woodlands could be completed within eight years and Meadows signed that the line to Bank End would take two years.

As presented, the Bill was entitled "Bill for making & maintaining a Railway or Tramroad from Peak Forest, to or to communicate with the Township or Hamlet of Beard, in the Parish of Glossop, and also from Peak Forest aforesaid, to or near to the Woodlands in the Parish of Hope all in the County of Derby".<sup>43</sup> It received the Royal Assent on 21st May 1816.

Although the Duke obtained Parliamentary sanction to construct both lines, no work was ever carried out. In the absence of documentary evidence, one can only speculate on the reason for this. It seems likely that the depression which followed the end of the Napoleonic wars, made expenditure on improving the Woodlands estate and constructing a rail road to do this, increasingly uneconomic. The pre-1815 high prices, which offered immediate returns on the outlay of improvements to marginal land, could no longer be demanded. The slump certainly affected the iron industry and Joseph Butler's Wingerworth furnace appears to have been blown out in 1816. He had already sold his Stonegravel's foundry to the tenant the previous year.<sup>44</sup> Fairbank calculated his bill for the rail road work would be £272/2/5d. No details regarding payment have survived.

The Fairbank Collection, housed at Sheffield Archives, provide a fascinating insight into the process of surveying a horse-drawn iron plateway. Besides the surveyors field books containing detailed measurements and levelling, they include much information about the contemporary practice and thinking on plateway construction. This information, gathered from Derbyshire, Yorkshire and the technical literature of the day, enabled Fairbank to make decisions about the structure of the line he expected to build.

It never was built. There would have been considerable and continuing problems for a track bed crossing the unstable face of Main Tor had it been. The Woodlands estate would undoubtedly look quite different today if it had been developed in the early nineteenth century. The details of the planning survive to illuminate a fascinating period of railway development and a tantalising "might have been".

#### Acknowledgments

Head of Leisure Services, Sheffield City Council for permission to quote from and reproduce documents from the Fairbank Collection (F.C.), held at Sheffield Archives.

The Keeper of Collections at Chatsworth, for permission to refer to The Devonshire Mss. 114/81.

# Rails Road

Fairbank Collection  
CP-18-(187)

## Questions

## Answers

- 1<sup>st</sup> What are the length of }  
the Iron Plates ————
- 2<sup>d</sup> What will 1 yard of }  
the Plates weigh ————
- 3<sup>d</sup> What are they to be }  
had for per plate }  
or per lb ————
- 4<sup>th</sup> Are they laid on }  
Stone Blocks or wood }
- 5<sup>th</sup> If on Stone of what size

Yard Rails for heavy weights  
and the best for light weights 4 feet  
a Yard Rail weighing 20lb will  
carry 15 tons 30lb 7 1/2 tons and 40  
lb Rail 2 1/2 tons besides the carriage  
the above rails are laid double  
so that the 1 yard Rail of 20lb will  
take 40lb metal to lay a yard  
may be had at 11 £ 6d per ton (short)

Stone blocks of 21 inches sq  
9 in. thick will be sufficient  
for the heaviest Road with  
a plug of wood in the middle  
2 in. square for the Rail to  
take hold of ————

Information from  
Joseph Haslehurst  
(JH)

Where Land does not require  
more than a yard elevation  
a settling a Road of the  
heaviest sort will cost abt  
1000 £ per mile — of the  
lightest 20lb Rails 700 £  
per mile ————

Fig. 3 Information from Joseph Haslehurst. (Sheffield Archives, Fairbank Collection, CP-18/187)

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# GOLD!!

(by Howard Usher)

In early 1848, the discovery of gold was reported from Sutter's Hill and Mariposa in the Californian hills. As the news spread around the world, there was a gold rush to California culminating in the great '49 discoveries. A few years later, in 1851, gold was discovered at Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria, Australia, leading to another gold rush. The Melbourne Hall Agent, Frederic Fox, wrote to Lady Palmerston in 1850 and said that the produce of the Californian mines was estimated to be ten millions per annum and that the whole amount of bullion in the world was estimated to be 330 millions. Writing of the American development of the gold mines, Fox observed that the Spanish discoveries were not days of steam and the Spaniards were not go-ahead people like the Yankees.<sup>1</sup> The glut of gold led to a financial collapse in which Lady Palmerston was involved and in 1857 she wrote: "... there is so much money & so much speculation afloat and the price of everything is so high that one is quite bewildered with the prospect & I cannot but believe that Australian gold has much to do with it ...".<sup>2</sup>

Over Haddon was not to be left out and the rumours of the discovery of gold and silver in a disused mine in Lathkill Dale in July 1854 started a local gold rush. There was said to be two ounces of gold in every ton of lead ore. On 11 July, Benjamin Wildgoose, the Over Haddon bailiff, wrote: "... I hope to hear something soon as to the value of the gold and silver. Mr F. Barker is gone to London with a bag of it from Mr Nesfield's works to have it assayed & I have no doubt but he will bring a true account as to the value of it ...".<sup>3</sup> The sample may have come from the surface remains of the Lathkill Mine which had closed down in 1842. Prospectors arrived to crush the rock in order to extract the gold. Entrepreneurs invented the Over Haddon Gold and Silver Mine in which shares could be purchased for £1. The value of the shares rose to £30 before the bubble burst in 1856 and the speculators lost their money in this hoax. The sample turned out to be iron pyrites, otherwise known as Fool's Gold, which gave rise to the maxim: "Fools and their gold are soon parted".<sup>4</sup>

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