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CONTENTS

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THE BAKEWELL CROSS

by

J. R. Pierrepont

Illustrated by

Bert Broomhead

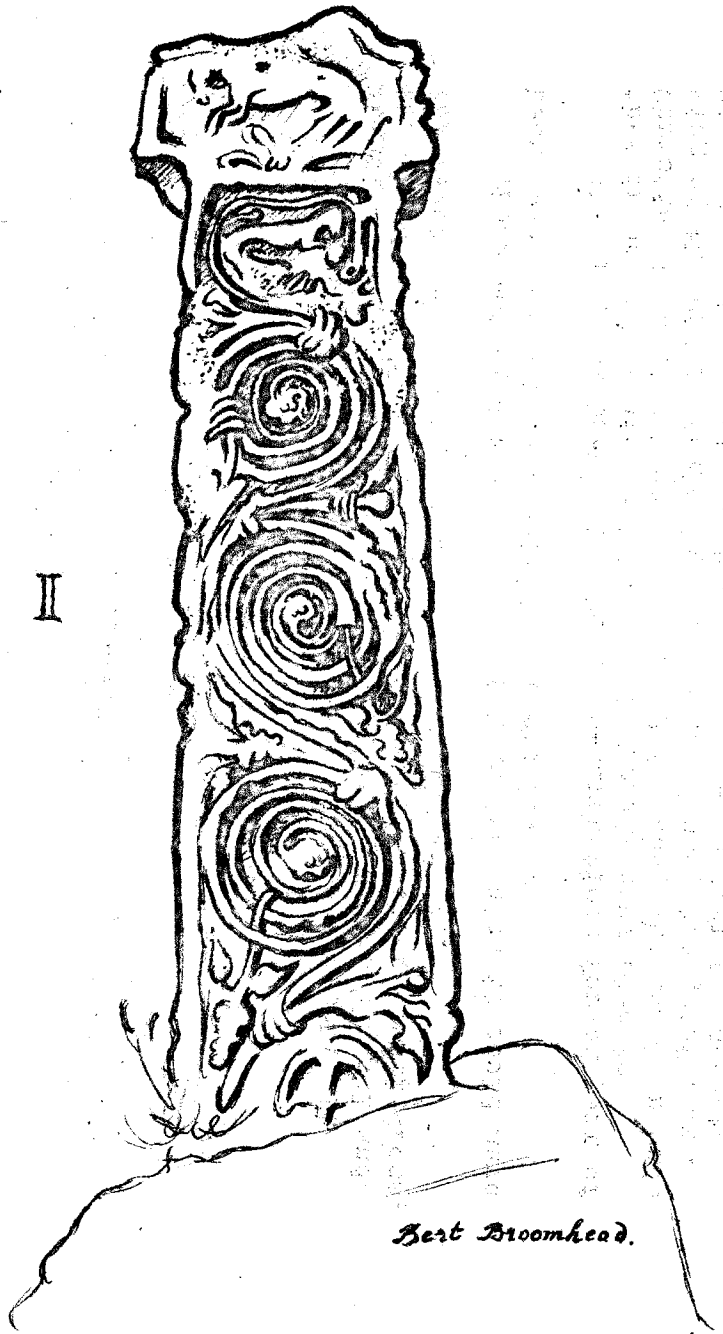
The Bakewell Cross here means the gritstone cross shaft standing in the churchyard in the angle between the chancel and the south transept. It is variously known as the Bakewell Cross, the Great Cross or the Hassop Cross. (Figs I-IV)

The terminal dates of the period during which it could have been erected may be determined historically.

The area now Derbyshire in Anglo-Saxon times formed part of the kingdom of Mercia, which was not finally converted to Christianity until about 658. In 652/3 Peada, who had been made king of the Middle Angles by his father Penda, the great pagan king of Mercia, married a Christian princess Elfleda, daughter of Oswy, king of Northumbria. One of the conditions Oswy made for the marriage was that Peada and his people should accept the Christian faith. To accomplish this, Peada brought back with him four priests, surprisingly with his father's permission. One of these four priests, Diuma, became the first Bishop of the Mercians about 656. Chad (the brother of Cedd, another of the four priests) was moved in 669 from York, where he was uncanonically holding Wilfrid's see, and sent as bishop to the Mercians, fourth in succession to Diuma. He chose Lichfield as his seat, beginning the long succession of bishops of Lichfield.

The conversion of the whole kingdom would not have been completed until after the death of Penda in 654, and the accession of his son Wulfhere, who succeeded Peada in 657. Wulfhere established Mercian supremacy over central England about 658. Then if as W.G. Clark-Maxwell (a) suggests in his introduction to T.E. Routh's article on 'A Corpus of the Pre-Conquest carved stones of Derbyshire', a generation is allowed for the spread of the faith over the area, it would seem to fix the date of about 700 as the earliest likely date historically, for the erection of a Christian monument. The latest date is determined by the Danish invasions. The Danes landed in 865. After campaigning in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire they wintered at Repton, an ancient royal seat in the centre of Mercia (some twenty six miles from Bakewell) in 873/4, and no doubt ravaged all the country round about. The cross however, shows no sign of Danish influence, except that the Danes may have been responsible for its mutilated state. Thus it will be seen that 873 is about the latest date possible historically for its erection. The cross is therefore probably the oldest Anglo-Saxon remain that we have in Bakewell, being dated before the Lady of Mercia (King Alfred's daughter) reconquered Derbyshire in 917, and Edward the Elder, her brother, built his fort here in 920.

II



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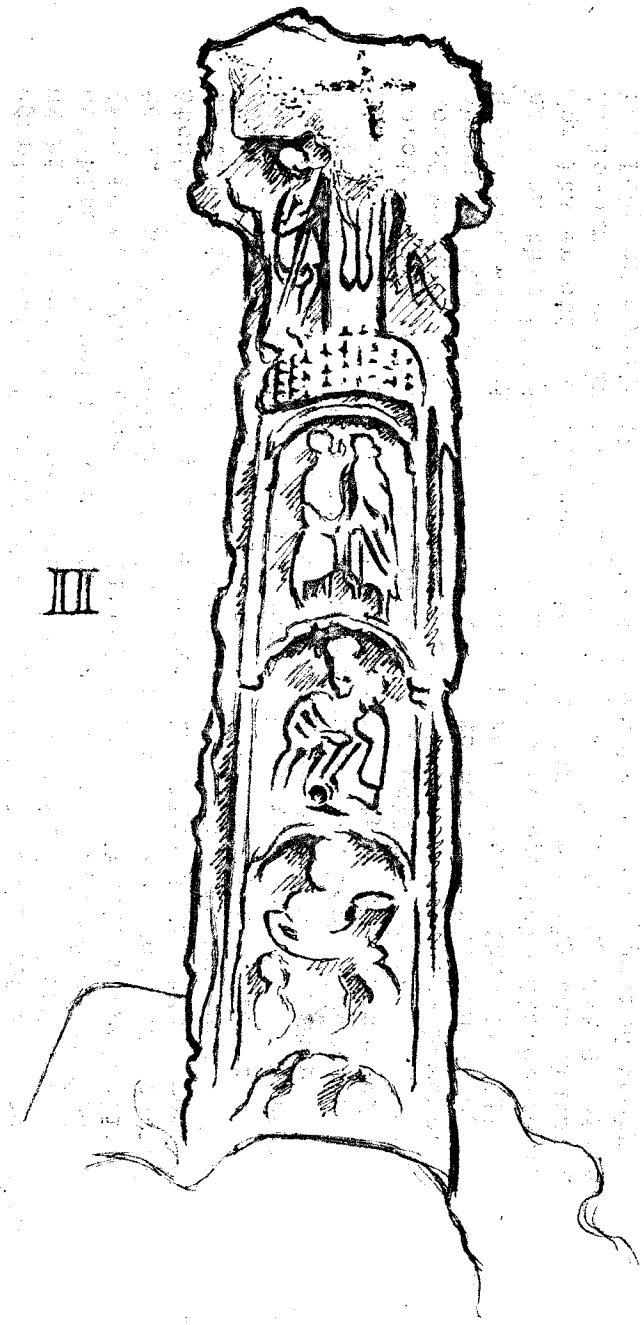

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Bert Broomhead.

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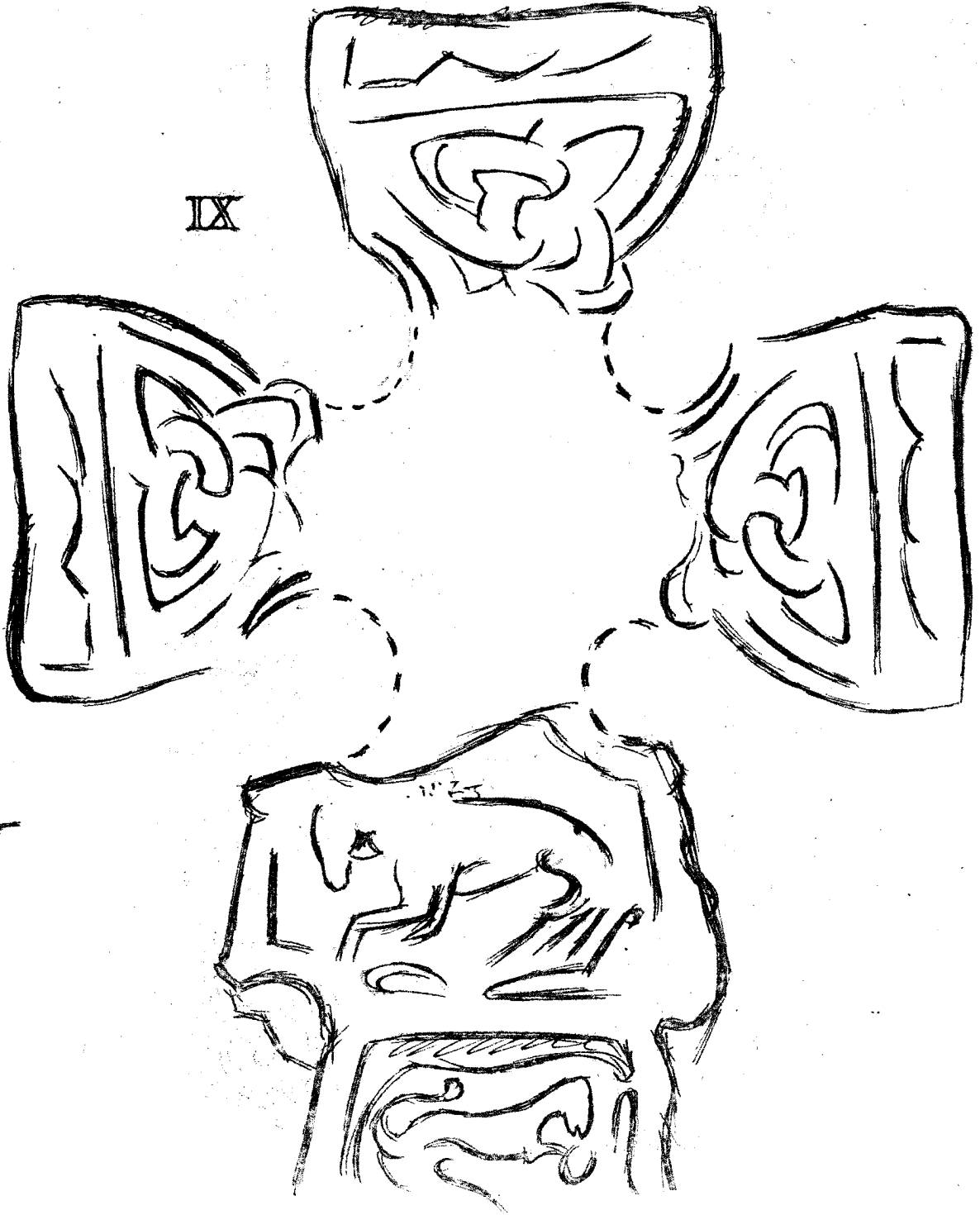

Within these limits, the cross is more exactly dated by its decoration, in particular by its vine scroll, which is a very conventionally stylised and debased form of the Northumbrian scroll. This places it, according to most authorities about 800, in the reign of either Offa 757-796, Ecgfrith 796 or Coenwulf 796-821.

The cross stands some eight feet high and measures approximately twenty one by fifteen inches in section at the bottom, tapering upwards to nineteen by twelve inches just under the arm of the offset. On the East, North and South sides we have the same coarse Anglian vine scroll, sometimes called the 'Mercian Scroll', typical of the Bakewell school, which includes crosses at Eyam, Bradbourne and Sheffield.

On the West side facing the south transept there are five scenes, the lower four each under an arch. (Fig.II)

The top scene is of the crucifixion with Longinus with his spear on one side and Stephaton on the other holding up the sponge soaked with vinegar. There would probably have been the sun and moon on either side above the arms of the cross, as on the crucifixion on the Bradbourne cross. (Fig.V)

The next scene is of two figures, said to be either the Annunciation or the Salutation. The third shows a seated figure holding something diagonally across his chest. J. Romilly Allen (b) suggests that it is a cross, but could it be King David playing a rotte or St. Peter holding a large key? The fourth depicts another seated figure holding a large curved horn. As the horn is a symbol of royal power, this may point to the figure above, the third, as being either King David or Our Lord. Bishop Browne suggests that it is Our Lord in Glory.(d) William Bray refers to a horn like a cornucopia.(c) There is a very similar scene on the Eyam cross showing a figure holding a horn, but with the Virgin and Child above. The rather rickety capitals and arches are the same as those at Eyam too, the figures in each scene having their feet on the top of the rounded arch of the panel beneath.

It is impossible to make anything of the bottom panel, of which there is only a small portion left, except that there seem to be two figures, but C. Lynam,(d) quoting Bishop Browne, suggests that it represents a man carrying a hawk, possibly the donor of the cross. There is just such a scene at the base of the west side of the Bewcastle cross.

There have been several explanations of these scenes. Most writers agree that they represent scenes from our Lord's life. It seems that the only two about which there can be reasonable certainty, are the crucifixion at the top and the figure with the horn.

The oldest illustration that the writer has been able to find of the cross so far, is Gough's drawing in the Bodleian Library 1782.(Gough Maps 4, fol.57B). This is also reproduced in Bray's 'Sketch of a tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire'(1783)(e)

Both Gough and Glover (m) seem to show scene 11 as two figures walking in the same direction, while in Lysons' (n) Magna Britannia they could be facing each other. All three show the figure with the horn (scene IV) plainly. J. Romilly Allen (f) in his book on Christian Symbolism mentions the figures on the Bakewell and Eyam crosses, holding horns. Lysons' drawing of the third scene gives the impression of a man holding a large key. In the New Minster 'liber Vitae', (Brit. Musm, Stowe 944) in the scene of the Last Judgement, St. Peter is shown twice holding a large key with a ring at the handle end very similar to the ring shown in Lysons' drawing, and the hole of the ring is still plainly visible on the cross. The 'Liber Vitae' is about two centuries later than the cross (1016-1020), but perhaps the design of keys did not change much in that time. There are similar keys to be seen also in King Edgar's Foundation Charter of 966, (Brit. Mus.Cotton, Vespasian,AVIII) and the sculptured slab in Daglingworth Church, Gloucestershire, about 1050. (Fig.VI)

There is nomention of the cross in any earlier edition of Camden's Britannia than the 1806 edition,(g) and J. Leland does not mention it in his 'Itinerary' 1506/52.

The two narrow sides of the cross have the same coarse Anglian vine scroll, the North side having eight complete scrolls and the South side six. The North side of the projecting top has the only bit of interlace on the cross (Fig.IV), while the South side has an angel very similar to the Eyam angels in style. (Fig.III)

The East side (Fig.1) has at the top a man on horseback, and underneath an animal in the top scroll of the vine at the bottom of which is an arc of a curve which may well be a bow with an arrow fitted and aimed up the vine. It is thought by some that the horse might be 'Sleipnir' with Odin riding him, and also that the animal beneath might be the squirrel 'Ratakosk', the messenger between the Gods and men, climbing the world ash tree 'Yggdrasill', and nibbling at its fruit. The archer they say could be 'Loki' shooting at him. It is reasonably certain that there was a archer at the bottom on the missing portion. There is one on the Bradbourne cross (Fig.VII) and also on the Sheffield cross.(Fig.VIII)

The writer is however unable to agree with the above interpretation for the following reasons:-

1) The scroll is not an ash tree, but a vine scroll complete with crude clusters of grapes at the centre of each scroll.

2) Odin's horse, 'Sleipnir' has by all accounts eight legs, whereas the one on the cross has the usual number.

3) The writer cannot find any reference in Northern mythology to Loki being an archer or of even using a bow. The nearest he comes to it is when one day the Gods were amusing themselves throwing darts at Balder, knowing that they could do him no

harm. Loki made a dart of mistletoe, knowing that it was the only tree that had not sworn not to hurt Balder, and gave it to Hoder, the blind god, and persuaded him to throw it at Balder, guiding his hand as he threw, with fatal results for Balder. In any case there are archers on several crosses beside those of the Bakewell school, and they are aiming at a variety of animals and birds. eg., St. Andrew Auckland cross, the Ruthwell cross and the Pictish 'Drosten Stone' which has a cross on the other side.

There is no need to look to Northern mythology for an explanation of the archer. There is a Christian explanation. The vine is a Christian symbol of Christ himself. Jesus said, "I am the vine".(John XV.5.), and the archer too may have a biblical significance. (Psalm XI.2) "For lo, the wicked bend their bow and make ready their arrow upon the string, that they may privily shoot at the upright in heart"; a reminder that even in the midst of life, death is an ever present possibility, quite a suitable subject for a memorial stone. J. Bronsted (h) suggests that the archer and bow ought to be interpreted as a relic of the chase motif which often appears in Syrian art, from which the vine scroll is derived.

The animal could be a squirrel: it seems to have the right posture, but it lacks a bushy tail. J. Romilly Allen (i) is a very definite that it could not be a squirrel on this account, and also states that there is no connection whatsoever with mythological subjects of Northern origin. Both Mrs. L. Webster, Assistant Keeper of the British Museum department of Medieval and Later Antiquities and Professor Rosemary Cramp of Durham University, concur with this latter view. Sir T.D. Kendrick (j) refers to the animal as 'a graceless afterthought'. It is however reminiscent of the inhabited vine and at least provides the archer with something at which to aim.

Bray (1783) (e) suggests that the horseman could be St. George with the dragon under his horse's feet, and this idea is repeated in Camden's Britannia (1806 edition)(g) except that the dragon is not mentioned. G. le B. Smith (i) suggests that it may be the 'Agnus Dei' (Lamb of God), or more likely still, St. George and the dragon, or St. Michael, for he says there is a strong resemblance to a dragon in the weather worn carving under the horse's feet. One can understand this point of view when one studies some of the early Norman tympana where the dragon is in some cases depicted as a very worm-like creature, with St. George's horse trampling upon it. e.g., the tympana at Ruardean, Gloucestershire and Brinsop, Herefordshire.

St. George was martyred in the reign of Diocletian about 303, somewhere in the East and became popular as the champion of the Christian armies in the conflict against the Saracens at Antioch in 1098. He did not become the patron saint of England until somewhere about the reign of Henry the Third. It is very doubtful whether he would have achieved sufficient fame in Anglo-Saxon England in 800, to figure on a cross.

There are sixth century legends about him as a warrior, which were very popular and he appears to have been known in England at least since the eighth century. The story of him rescuing a maiden from a dragon however, first appears in the late twelfth century and was popularised by the thirteenth century 'Golden Legend'. Another thing against this theory is the fact that there is no semblance of a spear in the rider's hand.

Horses are quite rare on Anglo-Saxon crosses, but are abundant on Pictish monuments in Scotland. There are horses and riders on some Anglo-Saxon friezes at Breedon-on-the-hill, just over the border in Leicestershire. Breedon is not far away from Bakewell and Professor Rosemary Cramp suggests that the Bakewell school drew on two traditions, that of the Northumbrian crosses and that of the Midland carving, as at Breedon.

The usual and the most likely explanation of the horse and rider, is that they represent Christ riding into Jerusalem on a donkey with palm branches strewed in their path.

There is in the church, in the North West corner, an arm of a cross head, which Bishop Browne (k) thinks may be one of the missing arms of the cross. He also suggests that the head of the cross was like that at Eyam. Having made careful measurements of the arm and drawn it to scale with the shaft of the cross, it seemed at first that the Bishop was possibly right. It was not until the question of its decoration came to be considered, that the writer regretfully came to the conclusion that this could not be the case.(Fig.IX) The arm has interlace on both sides, and normally this would be repeated on all four parts of the cross head, but it is difficult to see how in this case it could be fitted in with the horse and rider without stretching the bottom part of the head to make room for the interlace, and this would give a very queer shaped head for the cross. The same applies to the west side and the crucifixion scene.

It is difficult to be sure about the form of the head of the Bakewell cross because it is rather unusual in having such a pronounced offset portion at the top. The corresponding part of the Eyam cross is unfortunately missing. The nearest to it that the writer knows, is the cross at Hornby in North Lancashire, but there again the head is missing. Another factor is that the cross arm was found in the foundations of the Norman church along with other bits and pieces of cross shafts. Surely the shaft of the Bakewell cross would have suffered a similar fate along with the arm.

This brings us to the last problem. Where did the cross originally come from? It could, of course, be in its original position and the church had been built near it at a later date. This again does not seem likely. If it had been there in 1110, when William Peveril built his church it would most likely have been used for the foundations with the other remains of cross shafts now in the church, which were dug out of the foundations when the tower was rebuilt in the middle of the

nineteenth century. Neither Camden nor Leland mention it in the sixteenth century, but that of course does not prove that it was not there then. There is no mention of it being brought here in the church records which go back to the early part of the seventeenth century. Bray (1778) (c) says that it was said to be brought here from some other place, which is not very helpful. The only clue we have is a legend told by William Wood in his 'Tales and Traditions of the High Peak' (1862)(1) and he unfortunately does not give any indication as to his source. The story runs as follows:- In September of 1501, Prince Arthur, elder son of Henry VII, was staying at Haddon Hall with Sir Henry Vernon, who was his governor and treasurer. (There is in the church the tomb of his son Sir George Vernon, the 'King of the Peak'. He would have been the Prince's companion). One autumn evening the prince wandered along the banks of the Wye to a place two miles from Haddon known as 'Four Lane Ends', north of Bakewell, where there stood then a richly embellished stone cross, which now, he says, stands in Bakewell churchyard. (In a note he informs us that 'Four Lane Ends' is the present site of Hassop Railway Station.) There the Prince lay down on the grassy slope surrounding the cross and fell asleep. In his sleep he had a vision of a woman dressed in white, who pointing at him said, "Unhappy, royal prince, mourn not that fate which is not thine. One earthly pageant awaits thee, yea, it is at hand; and then, ah. then, thou wilt drop into the lap of thy mother - ah. thy mother earth. Forth comes to Britain's shore thy lovely, smiling bride - ah. bride and widow of a royal boy". The Prince awoke and making his way back to Haddon was met by servants whp came to look for him to tell him that he must go to London immediately to be married to Catherine of Aragon. After the wedding the couple went to live in Ludlow castle where the Prince fell ill and four months after his marriage, died. His last words are said to have been "O. the vision of the cross at Haddon".

In another of the tales Wood says that the cross was in Rowdale. This does not seem to be contradictory because Hassop cross roads is about at the beginning of the dale.

If the cross was at Hassop cross roads in 1501 and was in the churchyard in 1778, it would seem from the foregoing that it was moved here possibly towards the end of the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth.

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(a) T.E.Routh, 'A Corpus of the Pre-Conquest carved stones of Derbyshire', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, Vol.LVIII, 1937 p.2.
(b) J.Romilly Allen, 'Early Christian Art - Anglo-Saxon period', Victoria County History of Derbyshire, Vol.1, p.280.
(c) Wm.Bray, Sketch of a tour into Derbyshire & Yorkshire, London 1778, p.89.

(d) Charles Lynam, 'Some Pre-Norman Crosses in Derbyshire'. Journal of the British Archaeological Assn., Vol.VI. Part 2. 1900. p.309.
(e) Wm.Bray, Sketch of a tour into Derbyshire & Yorkshire, 2nd Edition 1783 facing p.155.
(f) J.Romilly Allen, 'Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland', 1887 p.152.
(g) Wm.Camden, Britannia, ed. Richard Gough, 1806. Vol.11 p.427.
(h) J.Bronsted, 'Early English Ornament', 1924. Footnote p.37.
(i) G.le Blanc Smith, 'Pre-Norman Crosses in Derbyshire', The Reliquary & Illustrated Archaeologist, Series 111, Vol.X. 1904. Editorial note p.204.
(j) T.D.Kendrick, Saxon Art to A.D.900, 1938. p.164.
(k) Bishop G.F.Browne, Pre-Norman sculptured stones of Derbyshire. Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, Vol.VIII, 1886, pp.171-2.
(l) Wm.Wood, 'Prince Arthur, A Tale of Haddon Hall', Tales and Traditions of the High Peak, 1862, pp.132-6
(m) Stephen Glover, The Peak Guide, 1830, p.79.
(n) D.& S.Lysons, Magna Britannia, 1817, Vol.V (Derbyshire) Facing p.ccxxxiv.

Illustrations.

Fig. I. Bakewell Cross. East side.
II. do. West Side.
III. do. South side.
IV. do. North side.
V. Bradbourne Cross. Crucifixion.
VI. Slab in Daglingworth Church, Gloucestershire.
VII. Bradbourne Cross. Archer.
VIII. Sheffield Cross. Archer. (In British Museum).
IX. Bakewell. A cross arm in Bakewell Church shown in relation to the cross.

CASTLETON PARISH REGISTERS

by

D. V. Fowkes.

Between October 1974 and May 1975 a Sheffield University Extramural Class under the direction of Mr. D.V. Fowkes worked on the Castleton parish registers.(1) The course had three basic aims; first to master the basic techniques of reading and interpreting the early registers; second to find out what occasional notes and memoranda in the registers revealed of the history of the village; third to carry out a series of exercises, beginning with simple counting exercises, to discover what parish register analysis would reveal of the demographis history of Castleton. The results of these investigations are summarised in the following short article.

The regular members of the class were Mrs. A. Vessey Mrs. L.M.R. Johnson, Mrs. A. Harrison, Miss N. Eyre, Mr. G. Braham, Mr. L. G. Darnborough, Mr. J. Hallam, Mr. R. Thorpe, Mr. E. Robinson and Mr. W. Green, all members of the Castleton Historical Society.

1. NOTES AND MEMORANDA IN THE PARISH REGISTERS

The registers contain relatively few notes and memoranda but those there are are of considerable interest to the history of the village. Many relate to accidental deaths, including men killed in the lead mines, and outbreaks of smallpox are also recorded notably in 1753, 1759 and 1820. In the inside of the front cover of the 1722-1783 register is a very faded and incomplete memorandum regarding the setting up of a parish charity, which has not so far been explained.

a). 1662-1722 register: Edale chapel consecration deeds - not translated.

b) 1722-1783 register:

> Whereas William How maketh oath before me that a fat cow which he intends to sell or expose to sale is and has been free from any distemper or infection for six weeks last past before the date of this certificate. This is to certify and all whom it may concern that he may lawfully sell her.
>
> Edw./presumably Edward Bagshawe/
> 1722

> November 27 1738 Mr. .....erheys, Attorney at Law, of Castleton, desires me as Vicar and Mr. Bray schoolmaster and Mr. Bradley? writingmaster to be witness to my last will and testament, wherein he declared that he had left 40 shillings for ever for the teaching of 4 poor children and the schoolmaster of Castleton for the time being and his successors, the children to be nominated by .....
> (not completed)

1735 Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty paid 3% interest
On 16th Aug 1723 Queen Anne's Bounty augmented the living of Castleton by £200.
21 September 1735 Thomas Pendleton killed in ye mine.
5 June 1738 Ottiwell Bramhall killed in ye mine.
15 November 1738 John Barber Junior of Lidgate killed in ye mine.
25 September 1742 John Bennet killed in ye mine.
31 March 1746 Robert Allen killed in ye mines.
15 September 1752 William Nall drowned in ye mine.
31 August 1753 Smallpox was broke out in the town. (23 died 23 October-28 December)
7 January 1759 The smallpox broke out in ye town.
14 October 1759 Rebeccah daughter of Nicholas and Mary Cock drowned accidentally in the brook.
22 June 1762 Joseph Flinders. He was unfortunately killed by ye wheel of a cart running over him.
22 Bebruary 1770 William Oldfield who destroyed himself by hanging in ye poor house.
30 April 1771 Ellen Hall she was unfortunately killed from a fall from a horse.
29 June 1778 Joseph Staveley unfortunately killed from a hayloft.
13 September 1782 Joseph Frost unfortunately killed in the Mine.

c) 1783-1812 register:

17 March 1809 Thomas Sidebotham having complained that his name is not entered in the Baptismal Register which appears about this period to have kept very carefully, and having brought two of his Sponsors namely Joseph Rose and Ann Barber who make oath that they stood for him in the church, I have thought it right to make the following entry
Thomas son of Isaac and Mary Sidebotham, christened 13 January 1809,
28 February 1809
The Vicar observes in his list of persons baptised that he planted 20 poplars on the east side of the churchyard about this time.

d) 1813-1886 burial register:

1820 Smallpox begun this year.
11 December 1847 Unknown. Body of a man found dead near Castleton on Saturday morning. Intered by order of the coroner.
4 May 1873 Stranger on Mam Tor. Perished during a storm - had been a soldier. Michael Fitzpatrick.
10 July 1877 Joseph Hartle Hadfield, from Hayfield, aged 28. Struck dead by lightning on Rushup Edge.

2. COUNTING EXERCISES
a) Aggregates

The first exercises involved simple totalling of the numbers

of baptisms, marriages and burials in each year in two sample periods. The periods were chosen as being manageable in the context of 16 sessions, and also as being two periods in which contrasts might be expected to be found. The totals are as follows:-

				Average per year		
	Bapt.	Marr.	Bur.	Bapt.	Marr.	Bur.
1663-1712	1204	215	1066	24.1	4.3	21.3
1762-1811	1589	389	1126	31.8	7.8	22.5

or divided into 25 year periods:

1663-1687	678	111	528
1688-1712	526	104	538
1762-1786	735	187	578
1787-1811	890	202	548

The trends suggested by these figures are made clearer by expressing the annual totals of baptisms, marriages and burials as a frequency distribution.

	40+	30-39	20-29	10-19-	10- baptisms per year
1663-1712	-	9	31	8	2
1762-1811	9	21	20	-	-

	40+	30-39	20-29	10-19	10- burials per year
1663-1712	2	6	17	23	2
1762-1811	2	7	17	24	-

Even allowing for the unreliability of the early part of the first register in particular, these figures seem to suggest a fairly static population in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, with a period of considerable natural increase - indicated by a large excess of baptisms over burials - in the second half of the 18th century. Some loss of population through migration in this period would of course be expected, reducing the overall rate of increase in the village. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the figures, however, is the consistent figure for burials, with little significant difference between the two sample periods as a whole, or between the four 25 year periods, and also almost indentical frequency distributions of annual totals in the two periods. This is in total contrast to the baptisms where there is clearly a large increase in the number of baptisms per annum in the later period, particularly after 1790.

These apparent trends fit in fairly well with the known landmarks in Castleton's population history. In 1676 in Compton's Religious Census (2) there were 500 communicants - suggesting a population of around 650-700 - while in Pilkington's Census of 1788 there were 182 houses, suggesting a population of 820-900.(3) At the time of the first census the population was 843 (405 males, 438 females).

b) Illegitimacy

Baptisms of children recorded as being illegitimate are infrequent particularly in the first register. Between 1662 and 1712 only three illegitimate births are mentioned. Even in the later period, only in the 1790s are there any significant number of illegitimate births referred to - 5 in 1796, 4 in 1792 and 3 in 1797, so that in the whole 1762-1811 period there are only 37 recorded baptisms of illegitimate children out a total of 1589 baptisms (2.3%).

c) Illiteracy

The marriage registers after 1754 - when the new registers of standard format, requiring bride and groom to sign the register were introduced - provide an interesting opportunity for the study of literacy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As the tables below indicate, roughly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the males getting married at Castleton were literate, at least to the extent of signing their name, as opposed to only roughly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the females.

(i) 1754-1805 marriage register

Literate	Male	245	360	70% males literate
	Female	115		32% females literate
Illiterate	Male	112	354	30% males illiterate
	Female	242		68% females illiterate

(ii) 1806-1812 marriage register

Literate	Male	37	52	65% males literate
	Female	15		26% females literate
Illiterate	Male	20	62	35% males illiterate
	Females	42		74% females illiterate

d) Occupations

Occupations of bridegrooms are recorded in the new-style marriage registers from 1754. As the figures below indicate, mining (67) and farming (49) in its various guises, were the most frequently recorded occupations. The recorded occupations are for the most part local as the vast majority of bridegrooms are described as being 'of this parish'. (see 3a.)

Miners 67, husbandmen 25,,farmers 12, yeoman 12, weavers 6, fustian weavers 2, tailors 4, flax dressers 3, excise officers 3, shoemakers 3, coopers 3, bakers 3, labourers 3, masons 3, ropers 2, carpenters 2, butcher 1, cotton manufacturer 1, clothier 1, flax spinner 1, slater 1, grocer 1, millwright 1, packthread spinner 1, innkeeper 1, petrefactioner 1, carter 1, silversmith(Manchester) 1, hat manufacturer(Stockport) 1, razorsmith(Bradfield) 1.

3. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

In an effort to carry the demographic work a stage further and to demonstrate some of the difficulties and pitfalls involved in family reconstitution work, a study was made of certain demographic characteristics of a smaple of persons getting married in the two sample periods. The sample was selected by taking a systematic 10% sample of the marriages in the two periods, giving 23 families to be studied in the 1663-1712 period and 42 in the 1762-1811 period. Because of the non-randomness of the sample and the low success rate, the results are obviously not reliable, but some interesting points nevertheless emerge.

a) Marriage distance

Out of 109 recorded places of residence at the time of marriage in the two sample periods, only 17 individuals came from outside Castleton i.e. 84% of the partners were living at Castleton at the time of marriage. There are only two instances of bridegrooms described as being from outside the immediate vicinity (Bradnop near Leek and Newchurch, Cheshire) and no bride is recorded as being from further away than Hayfield.

b) Family size

Despite the obvious weaknesses inherent in the method of sampling, the clear deficiencies of the first register and the problems involved in working out family size - families leaving the parish before they had had all their children for instance - it would seem that families were in general larger in the later period. Families of 4 children or more would seem to have been the rule rather than the exception in the Castleton of the 1790s and early 1800s.

Frequency distribution of family sizes

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	no. of children
1663-1712	1	4	2	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	
1762-1811	-	3	2	3	2	7	1	1	3	2	

1663-1712 2 out of 13 (15%) families had more than 4 children.
1762-1811 14 out of 24 (58%) families had more than 4 children.

c) Age of marriage

Discovering the age of marriage in the earlier period turned out to be difficult in most cases. Obviously the late starting date of the registers - 1662 - made it impossible to find out the ages of people marrying before c.1685, but given the high proportion of people of local origin it would seem reasonable to expect to work out rather more than 8 of the 46 possible ages of marriage involved. The evidence therefore, would seem to suggest some omissions from the first register, and with this deficiency it is difficult to detect any trend t towards earlier age of marriage over the 18th century. Age of

marriage proved easier to find out in the second period with 41 ages of marriage computed between 1762 and 1811, giving an average age of 26 (standard deviation 8.43; relative variability 32.4%) and an age range of 16 to 54.

There was a much better success rate in working out the ages of marriage of children born to the sample of people married in the two periods however, and the results seem to suggest the expected lowering of the average age of marriage over the century. The average ages of marriage of children born to couples married between 1663 and 1712 was 33 (13 computed with an age range of 18 to 55: standard deviation 10.39: relative veriability 31.5%), whereas the average age of marriage of children born to couples married between 1762-1799 was 24 (15 computed with an age range of 19 to 32: standard deviation 4.12: relative veriability 17%)

d) Age of death and infant mortality

Even allowing for the effects of the growth of non-conformity and a considerable amount of migration, the success rate in tracing ages of death of people getting married in both sample periods was disappointingly low, such a low proportion in fact that it is impossible to draw even tentative conclusions regarding trends in ages of death over the 18th century. The average ages of death in each sample period were 62 (8 computed: standard deviation 9.66: relative variability 15.6%) in the 1663-1712 and 60 (27 computed standard deviation 14.18: relative variability 23.6%) in the 1762-1811 period.

As would be expected with the apparently larger families of the later period, there are signs of increased infant mortality. Indeed, of 43 ages of death computed for children born to couples married between 1762 and 1811, 22 of them were below the age of ten. Obviously infant burials are more likely to be traced taking into acciunt that children surviving into adult life were likely to migrate or become non-conformists, but even so these figures suggest a substantial degree of infant mortality. In the earlier period, of 15 computed ages of death of children born to couples married within it, four died before reaching the age of ten.

e) Migration

With a steadily increasing population in the late 18th century combined with the growth of urban and industrial areas nearby, much outward migration would certainly be expected. In fact, the figures from the sample families suggest substantial migration throughout with 10 out of 23 (43%) of couples marrying between 1663 and 1712 apparently leaving the parish, and 19 out of 42 (45%) of those married between 1762 and 1811. The difficulty experienced in tracing the deaths of children born to people married between 1762 and 1811 is a further pointer to substantial outward migration.

4. CONCLUSION

All in all the attempted exercises on the demographic characteristics of the sample of families of people getting married at Castleton, while raising several interesting points, underlines yet again the difficulties of demographic investigation using parish registers, in particular the defective early registers. Families frequently inexplicably disappear and reappear, duplication of names among prominent local families is rife, and nonconformity and migration cause problems throughout.

References:

1. The early Castleton parish registers are deposited in the Derbyshire Record Office, ref. 1432A/PI 1-3, 5-6.
2. J.C.Cox, Compton's Religious Census 1676, D.A.J. vol.7. 1885.
3. J. Pilkington, View of Derbyshire, 1789.

THE LEAD MINING SECTION OF THE WOLLEY MSS

by

Miriam Wood

Of the 53 volumes of the Wolley Mss., 11, comprising about 2,600 folios, are chiefly devoted to the Derbyshire lead mining industry. These have recently been catalogued on cards, stored in number order of the volumes and, within the volumes, of the folios. The catalogue has been indexed to produce 3 indexes of persons, places and subjects, kept in alphabetical order.

The manuscripts are a mixture of original documents and copies, many of which Adam Wolley made himself. A few are not strictly manuscripts at all, as they are printed sale catalogues, broadsheets or pamphlets. There is a strong legal bias to this section of Wolley for a large proportion of the lead mining manuscripts relate to disputes over ownership and trespass, and the payment of lot and cope or of lead tithe ore. Briefs and cases for a legal opinion abound, many of them referring to earlier proceedings in the barmoot courts, although very few records of the barmoot courts themselves survive in this collection. Deeds are chiefly in the form of agreement for 'bringing up' soughs or grants of liberty to mine, with some partnership agreements, but very few conveyancing documents. Plans are a rarity.

The bulk of the manuscripts (in their original form) probably date from 1680 to 1780. The earlier 17th century material is fairly plentiful also, but the period from about 1780 to Adam Wolley's death in 1827, is not well represented. Likewise, the coverage of the lead mining area is very uneven. There is a great deal of material for Wirksworth and Eromford, Wensley, Winster and Elton, and Eyam and Stoney Middleton. Matlock, Darley, Bonsall, Stanton and Ashover also occur frequently, but other areas are rarely referred to, for instance Castleton and Bradwell, Calver, Snitterton, Alport and Lathkill Dale.

The manuscripts relate essentially to the exploitation of the lead veins, to the soughing without which much of the mining could not have taken place, and to the customs and liberties which regulated both, and to which the miners and owners were subject There is plentiful material on soughing, and an enormous body of evidence (admittedly, very repetitive) concerning lead mining custom, both in the legal papers and in accounts or presentments of custom. There is not, however, much evidence concerning smelting or the trade in lead. A reference to smelting costs in 1723, the occasional naming of a smelter or ore burner or reference to smelting mills is all there is on smelting. Many lead merchants appear as parties in disputes and agreements, and references to Wilne Ferry and to Bawtry and Hull in Yorkshire provide some evidence as to trade routes and the conduct of the trade, but

not very much. There is some interesting material concerning the 18th century exploitation of calamine or calamy (zinc carbonate) including 2 documents involving Matthew Sanderson, a Yorkshire chemist.

Perhaps however, the outstanding feature of these manuscripts is the large numbers of people who are named in them, usually as parties to disputes and agreements, sometimes as jurors or barmasters or witnesses. Not all have been indexed because of the large numbers involved - one document, for instance, contains over 140 names - but where unindexed names occur this has been indicated in the catalogue. The index of personal names contains hundreds of cards, with the more active of those engaged in the lead mining industry appearing several times in the index. There are, for instance 7 cards for John Hutchinson, containing 24 references of which 23 almost certainly refer to the same John Hutchinson - of Stainbrow gent, partner in mines and soughs, perhaps at one time a smelter, a lessee of mineral duties and stone quarries, and once described as lead merchant, who flourished in the late 17th and early 18th century. The 7 cards, containing 17 references, for Francis Gell, who was active at about the same time as Hutchinson, give a different picture, of a local man turned London merchant, investing in mining and soughing in his home county and bringing London merchant acquaintances to invest in the Derbyshire mines. At a later period, Peter Nightingale father and son earn 19 references on 5 cards, as lead merchants and mine owners, investing where necessary in soughs to unwater their mines. These, however, are not typical. Most of the cards contain only one or two references: the names include both outsiders who invested in the Derbyshire mines and numerous local people, from the Hodgkinsons and Milners of Ashover, the Gells of Hopton, the Bagshaws and Abells, esquires, gentlemen, yeoman, to butchers, bakers, widows and working miners. In one extraordinary instance, a soughing agreement, of 1721, involved the shoemaker, baker, ironmonger, tallowchandler and blacksmith of Ashover, besides a woolcomber and a miner of the same place. There is then a large body of evidence concerning the people who exploited the veins of lead and financed and owned the mines and soughs.

BELPER

by

M. E. Robson.

Passing through Belper on the A6 by car the casual traveller can be forgiven for thinking it a small unattractive town, undoubtedly industrial, with little to commend it architecturally.

On reaching the Triangle, the imposing bulk of the English Sewing Cotton Mill (now part of the Thread Division of Tootal Ltd) may persuade anyone with a discerning eye to investigate the area.

Here is to be found a wealth of industrial architecture, starting with the beautiful stone arch over the road, with its embrasures which were built in for protection during the troubles of the Industrial Revolution in the early 19th century.

This arch is a gangway which continues into the North Mill and formerly connected the North and West Mills. The latter was demolished in 1964, along with its splendid Victorian tower, erected by the Strutt family to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee.

The North Mill, built by William Strutt in 1804, after a fire destroyed the earlier Mill, was constructed as an iron framed building with brick arches, resting on flanged iron girders, which in turn are supported by iron pillars, springing from massive masonry blocks in the cellar.

This Mill is greatly admired by Industrial Archaeologists from all over the world.

Strutt also built houses for his workers, Long Row, The Clusters, three streets named after William, George and Joseph Strutt, sons of the founder, Jedediah and containing good examples of industrial housing.

Built in 1793 - 1805 and altered in 1891, substantial and plain, the cluster houses, four in a block, are unique and originally intended for the foremen at the Mill, since spoiled by recent additions of indiscriminate style.

The River Bridge (1796) is a solid piece of work, with a view of the Horse-shoe weir, again Strutt's work of around 1796.

The oldest building in the town, without doubt, is the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, somewhat hidden from view by The Butts, with its terrace of stonehouses of eighteenth century origin.

The Chapel, dating from c1250, is well worth a visit, with evidence of various restorations, the last about 1922.

There is a small stone altar behind the wooden frame, a piscina and two sedilia, all in a good state of preservation, but little used nowadays, rather different from the time when the Keepers of the Duffield Frith said Mass there.

Great concern is felt that this lovely old Chapel should be neglected and fall into decay.

The tower of St. Peter's Parish Church can be seen from many parts of the town.

This Church was built in 1824, and originally had lofty pinnacles which became unsafe and as sufficient funds were not available to restore them, they were removed entirely, giving a rather stunted appearance to the tower.

The Unitarian Chapel, tucked away in Field Row, off Green Lane, is another example of Jedediah Strutt's care for his workers welfare, spiritual this time.

Built in 1788, plain and solid in appearance, almost in its original state, with tiers of boxed pews, a private staircase for the Strutt family and an outside cantilevered stone staircase, leading to the gallery, now unsafe.

The Convent of St. Lawrence, in Field Lane, built in 1885, is a handsome stone edifice and best viewed from the Railway walk.

Inside it has been much improved by the use of lighter colours and the staircase is most attractive.

In the same area is the Congregational Church, built on the site of an earlier Church, now stripped of its pews inside, and used as a meeting place and badminton court, since the old schoolroom was demolished.

There are few private houses which merit special mention. Beech Lawn on Green Lane and Fleet House on The Fleet, are good examples of Georgian building which have stood the test of time, and Field Head House in the Gothic manner is attractive.

There are many examples of the nineteenth and twentieth century housing, pleasant to look at, but indifferent in style.

Farms in the area are generally of late eighteenth or early nineteenth century construction.

Cross Roads Farm built by John Strutt in 1830, as a model farm and dairy to supply his workers with produce at small cost.

Dalley Farm is of earlier date with 1830 additions and here framework knitting was done, a skill often combined with farming at that time.

Shottle Hall Farm, again 1830 and most imposing with its iron railed forecourt.

Manor Farm, the oldest of the farms, and built of stone from the ruined Manor House some time in the seventeenth century, bears various dates over the front door which relate to the Jodrells who were Lords of the Manor.

Here again, there are fears for its survival and great concern is felt by the Belper Historical Society, who feel its preservation well worth while.

The old and famous nail trade, which began as early as 1296, now has only two examples of nail shops, one with pantile roof in Green Lane, almost in ruins and the other fairly well preserved in Joseph Street and eighteenth and nineteenth century respectively.

As an industrial town, Belper has Mills and factories, the large stone fronted George Brettle and Company in Chapel Street, with its earlier red brick structure behind, with iron framed arch windows.

Unity Mill in Derwent Street, once a steam flour Mill, again solid stone, much altered, but still retaining some of its early dignity and character.

It has been used in turn as a cotton Mill, furniture manufactory and is now a chemical works. Its once very elegant chimney is being demolished brick by brick.

The Herbert Strutt School, built in 1909, as a gift to to town by Alderman H. Strutt is a fine example of twentieth century erection.

Babington Hospital, opposite the school, was built in 1839 as a workhouse to serve thirty-four parishes.

The hospital was added in 1889 and now has Maternity and Geriatric wards.

Many more buildings could be mentioned if space permitted and a walk round Belper could prove to be a rewarding experience in this Architectural Heritage Year.

We hope the Heritage will be conserved to be passed on to future generations.

POPULAR POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ANTI-TRADE UNIONISM IN THE DERBYSHIRE COALFIELDS IN THE 1860's.

by

C. P. Griffin

In recent years historians have become increasingly aware of the diffusion of classical economic ideas among the working class through the medium of elementary and adult education and the vast body of reading material aimed specifically at a working class audience.(1) There is not as yet, however, any agreement as to its impact on working class consciousness and action although Perkin, for instance, has hazarded that 'it cannot have been small'.(2) The problem of measuring the influence of these, or alternative ideas, on working class opinion and behaviour is indeed a very real one and it is equally clear that the historical tools for making such an attempt are as yet insufficiently developed.(3) It is with this limitation in mind that the present paper attempts an examination of the actions of certain individuals, and the grounds on which they were justified, during a mining dispute in the East Midlands in 1866-8 with the intention of discovering whether classical economic theory regarding trade unionism (basically one of opposition to it), in however crude a form, had exerted any influence on those concerned in the events.

I

The 1860's was a period of renewed trade union activity in the British coalfields and the revival was being strongly felt in the East Midlands by 1866-7.(4) The coalowners, particularly in North and South Derbyshire, but to a lesser extent in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire too, reacted by refusing to recognise their employees' right to join a trade union and instead pursued a vigorous, and ultimately successful, policy of eradication.(5) The main tactic adopted by the owners was to refuse employment to union men and only to re-employ them on condition of signing 'the document' (a pledge not to re-join a union). In order to keep the pits working they resorted to blackleg labour on a large-scale, and even assisted the organisation of anti-union societies, which offered sickness and accident benefits to their members, in competition with the union, the best organised being the North Derbyshire Free Labour Associations based on Staveley and Clay Cross collieries.(6) In both North and South Derbyshire locked out union members were evicted from company houses and replaced by blacklegs, and the owners used their influence to prevent locked out miners obtaining alternative accommodation or work.(7) Some of the owners offered carrots as well as rods to the locked out miners a particularly favourite tactic being to wait until

the miners and their families were on the verge of starvation and then hold huge feasts to which they were invited provided they agreed to abandon the union.(8)

The decisive weapon in the owners' armoury was undoubtedly the employment of black-leg labour to maintain production and the union realised that its only chance of success was to resist its use by every available means. Considerable numbers of black-legs were brought into the East Midlands from other coalfields and the Union believed that many of them had been gulled into coming with the promise of higher wages and more regular work than they had been receiving but not that this was only on the condition that they acted as strike-breakers. The Union therefore adopted the tactic, which was particularly successful in South Derbyshire, of meeting the new arrivals' trains and persuading them to return home on receipt of their return fare and a meal.(9) Indigenous strike-breakers by contrast were urged to join the faithful, on pain of external excommunication from the community, by speeches at mass meetings and marches, and propaganda on posters and leaflets.(10) When these methods failed intimidation followed, strike breakers' homes had their windows smashed and walls daubed with black paint and tar and threats of arson were commonplace.(11) Black-legs and their families were ridiculed, cursed and physically assaulted, and it was made plain that the social ostracism would be permanent.(12)

II

The strike breaker's position was clearly an unenviable one and the individual's willingness to adopt such a role surely requires some explanation. The motive was undoubtedly very often of a practical nature such as the pressure of poverty (particularly as the dispute dragged on),(13) and the ability of miners to migrate to other coalfields,(14) where their backgrounds were unknown, would tend to make it a more attractive proposition than perhaps appears at first sight.(15) There were those, though it is difficult to know their number,(16) who justified their role on grounds of principle; they simply did not believe that men should organise themselves into trade unions whose actions were harmful both to the individual and the community at large. Thomas Henshaw, for instance, argued that the Union demanded higher wages than the owners could afford to pay and that if they succeeded the owners and the miners would both be ruined.(17) Henshaw, and other miners who appeared before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, argued that the members of the non-union associations wanted 'liberty and freedom of labour' so that they could move to whatever employer would give them the highest wages; in a word, free trade in labour. This was the only way they claimed that would guarantee that the owners would pay as much as, but not more than, they could afford for labour.(18) Only

labour free from the influence of trade unions could receive 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work' according to Henshaw.(19) When asked what action he would take if his employer proposed to reduce his wages he replied that he would resist it and in the last resort 'would leave my work if I could get better wages elsewhere'.(20)

Unions which attempted to coerce the owners had the opposite effect since they induced the owners to resist their demands to the men's loss, or to use Henshaw's words 'I believe that if we allowed Brown (the Union leader) to go on with his doctrine in the neighbourhood we should have to work for about half the money we were working for'.(21) Henshaw believed, too, that 'to be able to work where and for what I like without union interference' not only maximised earnings but created a relationship of mutual trust between the owners and men which worked in the latter's favour since it resulted in owners contributing to miners' sick and accident funds for instance.(22)

It is clear that these views embody, however crudely, three of the classical economists' objections to trade unions: they prevented free trade in labour, undermined the profit motive (the main spring of economic activity), and destroyed the natural harmony of interests within society.(23) It follows that if the statements of these miners, and those they claimed to represent, are to be believed,(24) then there is a case for arguing that classical economic ideas were having an impact on the thought and actions of some English miners in the mid-nineteenth century and were having the desired effect of undermining trade union progress. It may also, of course, be reasonably asked, if there is a case for arguing along these lines, what was the nature and strength of this impact. This is a difficult, if not impossible, question to answer since if it is supposed that the ideas which the miners held concerning the desirability of trade unions were the product of ideas absorbed from popular political economy, it is even more reasonable to suppose that they were not the only element which determined their thought and actions.

In this regard it is known that they had been involved in the formation in 1844 of an earlier short-lived union, a Nottinghamshire-Derbyshire branch of the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, whose principal strength lay in the northern coalfields.(25) This experience had been an unpleasant and unprofitable one as far as they were concerned and not one which they wished to repeat. Henshaw claimed, for instance, that when he joined the Union he had been locked out (26) and subsequently suffered great hardship largely because 'we were promised an allowance while we were out by the delegates who came to us from the North but we did not get any'.(27) Smith claimed that he and his father were out of work for twenty four weeks with the result that his father had been forced to mortgage his home for £80 which 'he never got over while he lived.'(28) Whitworth complained

that before 1844 he had saved £20, but that this was dissipated during the dispute and he had eventually been reduced to the ignominious position 'of begging and scrounging enough to keep a man alive'.(29) Henshaw and Smith had also found membership of a union an unproductive and unprofitable activity in 1857 and 1866 respectively.(30)

It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that previous circumstances also exerted a degree of influence on the thought and actions of the anti-union miners. Indeed, it would seem that we have here a classic case of one of the most significant methodological problems facing any attempt to evaluate the influence of ideology on policy, was it a more important element than the dictates of circumstances(31) Be this as it may, it is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose, in conclusion, that this rather obscure case study suggests that further research may reveal that classical economic notions, by undermining potential support, had a greater adverse influence than is sometime supposed upon trade union achievement in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. See, for example, R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, Lond, 1955; M. Blang, Ricardian Economics, An Historical Study, Yale, 1958; B. Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, Lond. 1960; J. F. C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1790-1960, Lond. 1961; R. Gilmour, 'The Gradgrind School: Political Economy in the Classroom', Victorian Studies, 11 (1967).
2. H. Perkin, The Origin of Modern English Society 1780-1880, Lond. 1969, p.307.
3. Faced with the same kind of problem, but in a rather different context, Dr. Hollis has recently argued 'It is extraordinarily difficult to assess the influence of a paper or a press, because at no point does there exist a control-group against which to measure it. But it is not a problem which dissolves if it is ignored. It must at least be tackled if the press is to be fitted into its community and social and political climate'. P. Hollis, The Pauper Press. A Study in Working Class Radicalism of the 1830's, Oxford, 1970, preface p.x.
4. A. R. Griffin, Mining in the East Midlands 1550-1947, Lond. 1971, Part 1, Chap. V; J. E. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners. A Study in Industrial and Social History, Lond. 1962, Part 1, Chap. III; C. P. Griffin, The Midland Mining Community. Economic and Social Change in the Leicestershire and South Derbyshire Coalfield 1840-1914 (forthcoming), Part 3, Chap. 2.
5. By the middle of 1868 the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Miners' Association had ceased to be an effective force. A. R. Griffin, op.cit., p.83.
6. The Staveley non-union association, for instance, claimed a membership of about 1,500 of the 4-5,000 normally

employed there from the early days of the dispute. R.C. to Inquire into Trade Unions and Other Associations 1867-9, 6th Report, Evidence of C. Mashham Q 11, 481-11, 758. See also A. R. Griffin, op.cit., p.81.

7. Ibid., 6th Report, Evidence of W. Gleadow Q 12, 158-12, 321; 8th Report, Evidence of W. Brown Q 16, 471-16, 490.
8. Ibid., 6th Report, Evidence of T. Henshaw Q 13, 716-13, 857.
9. Ibid., 6th Report, Evidende of W. Gleadow Q 12, 158-12, 321.
10. Williams, op.cit., pp.105-118, C. P. Griffin, op.cit., Part 3, Chap.2.
11. R.C. on Trade Unions op.cit., 6th Report, Evidence of G. Whitworth Q 13, 937-13, 984; J. T. Woodhouse Q 11 902-12,048.
12. Ibid., 6th Report, Evidence of W. Gleadow Q12, 158-12, 321; J. T. Woodhouse Q 11, 902-12,048.
13. Williams, op.cit., pp.113-4.
14. S.C. on the Present Dearness and Scarcity of Coal, 1873. Evidence of J. T. Woodhouse Q 3,734-3,965 for comments on the extent of miners' mobility.
15. There was also a class of professional strike breakers employed by the colliery owners to act as the nucleus of the anti-union societies. They presumably adopted this occupation because of its pecuniary advantages. Nottingham Review, 16 August 1867.
16. Three of them Thomas Henshaw, Elizah Smith and George Whitworth, appeared before the Commission. Henshaw claimed that 'many men at the pit (Staveley) agree with me that unions are harmful and that the masters are wise in resisting their formation. There are plenty of men that I do not talk with and do not know but all I am aquainted with agree with me that we are better off without the union and are able to raise our wages more without the union than with it'. R.C. on Trade Unions op.cit., 6th Report, Evidence of T. Henshaw Q13,716-13, 857.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., and 6th Report Evidence of E. Smith Q13,858-13, 936, Whitworth Q13,937-13,984.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., see also 6th Report, Evidence of C. Markham Q11,481-11,758; J. T. Woodhouse Q11,903-12,043.
23. For a succinct account of classical economic ideas on trade unions see R. V. Clements, 'Trade Unions and Popular Political Economy 1850-75', Economic History Review,(1961) and H. Scott Gordon, 'The Ideology of Laissez-faire', in A. W. Coats Ed. The Classical Economists and Economic Policy, Lond., 1971, particularly pp.189-198.
24. There is, of course, the possibility that the strike-breakers' leaders, of which Henshaw is an example, were merely hired mouth-pieces of the owners with few or no independent ideas of their own. There is no evidence to support such a view at present though perhaps doubts must

always exist when employees advocate action which is in their employer's interests.

25. R.C. on Trade Unions op.cit., 6th Report, Evidence of T. Henshaw Q13,716-13,857, E. Smith Q13,859-13,867, G. Whitworth Q13,939-13,984. For an account of the 1844 Union see Williams op.cit., pp.89-99, A.R. Griffin, op.cit., pp.71-75.
26. As in 1867-8 the owners refused to recognise the Union and made non-membership a condition of employment.
27. R.C. on Trade Unions op.cit., 6th Report, Evidence of T. Henshaw Q13,716-13,984.
28. Ibid., Evidence of E. Smith Q13,859-13,867.
29. Ibid., Evidence of G. Whitworth Q13,939-13,984.
30. See biographical details below, note 31.
31. There is insufficient biographical material on the three anti-unionists to even attempt an answer to this question. All that we have at present is to be found in the Royal Commission on Trade Unions since an examination of local newspapers such as the Derbyshire Times, Nottingham Review and Ilkeston Echo proved fruitless, and they do not appear in either J. M. Bellamy and J. Saville Eds, Dictionary of Labour History. Vols 1 and 2, Lond. 1972 and 1974 respectively, or B. Harrison, Dictionary of British Temperance Biography, Oxford, 1973.
The information supplied by the Royal Commission is as follows:
Thomas Henshaw, a miner nearly all his working life, worked at various collieries in the East Midlands, been at Staveley since 1859. Involved in attempts to form unions in 1844 and 1857 and was vistimised on both occasions. Out of work ten weeks in 1844 without union financial support.
Elizah Smith, born 1834, had just started work as a boy Miner in 1844, worked at various collieries in the East Midlands and Yorkshire ever since, worked at Staveley since 1860. Out of work 24 weeks in 1844 strike, did not receive the financial support promised by the organisers of the Union who came from the Northern coal-fields. Joined N.D.M.U. under pressure from his work-mates in 1866 and was elected branch secretary, was out of work 14 weeks and lost £23 in earnings and loans to other union members.
George Whitworth, miner all his working life, been at Staveley since 1847. Out of work 26 weeks during the 1844 strike which totally failed to achieve its objectives.

THE COKE FAMILY AND LONGFORD.

HOME OF YOUNGER SONS.

by

Janet Arthur.

Sir Edward Coke.

The Coke family produced several outstanding men, who had less to do with Longford than their relations, but nevertheless affected the estate.

The first was Sir Edward Coke who became Lord Chief Justice of England and lived from 1550 in the reign of Edward VI, through the reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James I and Charles I, dying on the third September 1633. He lived through troubled times, yet he rose quickly to prominence, supported by Lord Burghley, and became Solicitor General, Speaker to the House of Commons and conducted the trials of the Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh and the Gunpowder Plotters.

He was singleminded both about his own advancement and in defence of the law and parliament. Having established his position under Queen Elizabeth, he was able to speak strongly against the increase of powers for the ecclesiastical courts and stood alone against James I when he attempted to be above the law. Sir Edward was sent to the Tower when King James dissolved Parliament, of which the dismissed Chief Justice was by then a prominent member, following a debate in favour of the liberties of Parliament. He was a stirring speaker and managed to survive several cases made against him in the Tower. His last work was to frame the Petition of Right. Even when he died King Charles was afraid of the influence of his words and removed all his books and papers, including his Will. They were not returned to the family for seven years.

Sir Edward was a ruthless and arrogant man. Speaking of the way he reviled and insulted Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir James Stephen considered there had never been anyone comparable except Judge Jeffreys. Yet his nature led him to the position of authority from which to establish the supremacy of the law as enacted by Parliament and applied in earlier judgements.

He was as assiduous and astute in the ordering of his domestic life. Having been born in Norfolk where his father, also a barrister, owned the Manor of Burghwood in Tittleshall, he married Bridget Paston of the Paston Letters family. She brought him a fortune of £30,000. Throughout his life he lived abstemiously and invested his increasing wealth in well-chosen properties, so that his sons were well provided. His chief residence was at Stoke Poges, though he had houses in

Suffolk and Norfolk. His elder sons Robert and Arthur are forgotten; the next, John acquired the Manor of Holkham in 1659; the fourth son Henry's seat was at Thorington, Suffolk and the youngest, Clement came to Longford.

Longford and Neighbours.

It is not clear why Sir Edward bought a property in Derbyshire, when his other land was in Suffolk and Norfolk, unless it was because Clement, when he married Sara Reddish the sole surviving de Longford, wished to continue that family's connection with the Manor which had lasted two centuries. Sir Edward bought Longford from Margaret Markham, the widow and fourth wife of Nicholas de Longford, in 1613 for £5,000.

An unrelated family of Cokes had owned the Manor of Trusley since the middle of the fourteenth century. Contemporaries of Sir Edward in this family became Bishop of Hereford and a Secretary of State. Much later there were three members of Parliament named Coke: Daniel Parker Coke of the Trusley family M.P. for Nottingham, Edward Coke of Longford M.P. for Derby and his brother Thomas William Coke of Holkham M.P. for Norfolk, who became known in the Commons as Coke of Norfolk. That was not until the eighteenth century.

Another neighbouring family were the Blounts of Barton Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, had been a favourite of Queen Elizabeth and a Commissioner at the Peace Conference between England and Spain and later put down the Irish revolts. He must have known Sir Edward Coke well and may have been the link with Derbyshire.

The Inheritance.

After the stormy Sir Edward, the Coke family passed into a calm period. The Longford estate continued in Clement's family. His son Edward was created a baronet but neither grandson had children, so the baronetcy and de Longford blood disappeared. Meanwhile Holkham passed to John's son John but he also died childless. Thus Sir Edward's fourth son Henry's descendants inherited both Holkham and Longford, Henry's great grandson Edward inherited Holkham which was a bleak, barren windswept parish in the north of Norfolk, flooded by the sea. This unpromising area and the misfortune that Edward and his wife Carey died in 1709, when he was twenty-nine and she was twenty-seven, produced the next exceptional Coke.

The Builder of Holkham Hall.

The five children, left orphans, were brought up by their grandfather Sir John Newton at Barr's Court in Gloucestershire. The eldest, Thomas, was sent abroad when he was fifteen, ostensibly to the University of Turin, but seems to have travelled extensively for six years. He was wealthy, was well received in Italy and this inspired a determination to

build a great house in the classical style. When he married Margaret Tufton in 1718, they came to live at Longford, but he chose Holkham for his great work. Longford Hall may have been altered by him. It was a Tudor house but Pevsner in "The Buildings of England", describing the facade as "very peculiar" said it was remodelled about 1700. Mrs. Stirling claimed (in "Coke of Norfolk and His Friends") that the house dated back to Norman times. "It was originally gabled, with buttresses, surmounted by chimney-stacks between the gables. At a later period the gables were destroyed, the upper storey raised and a balustrade was placed along the top. An old castellated tower then formed the centre of the house, containing the banqueting hall surrounded by a gallery, which had fine old carved panelling and stained-glass windows representing the arms of the de Longfords. The house was likewise surrounded by a moat, of which traces were found latterly, and also signs of a former garden. But the original walls and buttresses remain to this day." Pevsner considered the 1700 work to have been the introduction of sash-windows, quions and the top balustrade with vases, so it may be that Thomas began his building experiments at Longford, but finding them too limited, laid out Holkham instead. He began to reclaim land there in 1722, planted gardens in 1725 and building commenced in 1734, sixteen years after arriving at Longford.

He rose in politics with Walpole, was joint Postmaster-General and created Earl of Leicester. He had one son but no grandchildren. Although lenient with his tenants, he was said to be insolent to his equals and unforgiving to his daughter-in-law whom he virtually imprisoned. She separated from her husband who lived a dissolute life and died aged thirty-four in 1753,

The Other Orphans.

These were two brothers and two sisters. Edward, followed by Robert lived at Longford. Neither they nor their sister Carey had any children. Robert became Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Caroline and married Lady Jane Holt, a widow and sister of Philip the Jacobite Duke of Wharton who supported the Old Pretender, was convicted of high treason and died in Spain when thirty-three. Lady Jane's letters to her friend Mrs. Eyre were printed in 1889, edited by Mrs Ambrose Rathbone and show how isolated people were even from neighbouring villages. The remaining sister was Anne. At sixteen a ward in Chancery, she married Philip Roberts, whose family were living near Sir John Newton both in London and Oxfordshire.

Anne and Philip had six sons and a daughter. Their eldest son Wenman had two sons and two daughters, which must have been very galling to the builder of Holkham Hall, and his wife. Wenman inherited Longford from Robert in 1750 and under the Will of Sir Edward Coke, the last of Clement's family, he took the name of Coke and the family arms. With the death of Thomas's son three years later, it looked as though Wenman might also inherit Holkham. For six years he

was careful not to offend his uncle Thomas, although it involved offending practically all his other relations. Thomas died in 1759, leaving Holkham to his wife, Lady Leicester, for her lifetime and thereafter to Wenman and his descendants. So it was that Wenman and his first wife, Elizabeth Theobald lived at Longford. She died six months after the death of their day-old son and there is a monument to them in the church. Wenman and his second wife Elizabeth Chamberlyne made Longford their home and their four children grew up there.

Wenman was a quiet man, who disliked society. He was interested in field sports and agriculture (he ploughed with oxen and harnessed them to carts like horses) and spent much of the time reading. His father Gabriel Roberts had been M.P. for Marlborough and Chippenham. He himself became M.P. for Derby. They were whigs and strongly supported the Constitution. The influence of Lord Bute over the future George III caused them anxiety about the power of the Crown. Gabriel advised his grandson: "Now remember Tom, as long as you live, never trust a Tory." In 1774, while Wenman was living at Longford, he was invited to stand as M.P. for Norfolk, and his son Tom stood for Derby. Daniel Parker Coke, of the Trusley Cokes, found that Tom was under age and forced him to stand down. Mr. Gisborne, a friend of Tom's, stood instead, won and stayed in Parliament for several years. Lady Leicester died and Wenman inherited Holkham in 1775. He did not enjoy it for long as he died the following year.[1]

Coke of Norfolk.

Once again one of the outstanding Cokes was drawn towards Norfolk. Tom had spent his early childhood at Longford, going to the village school. His pleasure in field sports and the countryside was grounded in Derbyshire. As a youth, he would rise early, breakfast on freshly baked bread dunked in the newly milked cream and be four or five miles away before dawn, and not be home before dusk no matter what the weather. This shaped him into a landowner less interested in the arts than the practical aspects of management he observed as he travelled.

He married Jane Dutton, whose brother had married his sister Elizabeth, and they had three daughters. Jane died when the youngest was five and as his older daughters married young, he lived for many years with his little daughter Wilhelmina. His nephew was named after him, in the expectation of inheriting Holkham and there were plans for him to marry the daughter of Thomas's friend Lord Albermarle. She refused the nephew and married the uncle, bearing him six sons and a daughter. The fact that Lady Anne Amelia Keppel was fifty years younger than her husband and that her father married his neice caused quite a stir.

Like his father and grandfather, Thomas became an M.P. supporting Fox when George III was insisting that America

should stay within the Empire. He was a pacifist, all for liberty and sincerity, and favoured Catholic emancipation. He is chiefly remembered as Coke of Norfolk, for the improvements he made to the land, growing turnips, reclaiming marshland, growing trees, proving that wheat would grow as well as rye, and encouraging manuring by rearing animals. In spite of immense opposition, he succeeded. He rewarded his tenants with better housing and long leases so that they could benefit from their own efforts. He educated the tenants' children in farming and held annual sheep-shearing fairs, when farmers from all over the country would come to see all the activities. He was a restless innovator.

While this was progressing, his brother Edward lived at Longford. Edward had followed his father as M.P. for Derby. For less than a year in 1807 he and Thomas exchanged seats. This resulted from an electioneering skirmish between opposing supporters in Norwich after which Thomas Coke's and Mr. Windham's elections were declared invalid. The whigs had the greater triumph when Edward won the vacated seat, but with another election immediately the expenses were very heavy. Thomas spent over half a million pounds during his lifetime on elections and had to sell a Manchester estate in consequence.

After Edward died in 1837, Thomas took to visiting Longford every year and encouraged the same improvements on the farms as he had achieved in Norfolk. The Hall had been allowed to fall into a state of decay, so he wrote to the bailiff ordering him to do anything required to make it habitable. The bailiff reported that the stonework was unsafe. When all was ready Thomas, who had retired from the House of Commons and accepted the Earldom of Leicester, set off with his wife from Holkham. When, after the three day journey, they reached the top of the hill above the park Lord Leicester asked if she could see the tower of the Hall. In spite of her better eyesight she could not see it and to their dismay as they approached the house, they found that the bailiff had pulled the tower down, together with the banqueting hall. He claimed they were unsafe, though the thick walls had been unexpectedly difficult to demolish.

An ordinary hall with oak beams replaced the banqueting-hall and some of the old panelling went to Ingestre Hall, only to be destroyed by fire in 1882. Chantrey, who had made two busts of the Earl, designed and constructed the ceilings of the lower rooms, but little else was changed. The Earl built new farmhouses and six almshouses, now almost invisible in a shrubbery near the house, a new school and six bridges.

It was to open two of these bridges, crossing the mill streams that he travelled to Longford on Thursday 23rd June 1842. They had cost £800 and were the culmination of his improvements. People gathered from miles around and the Leicesters' carriage was drawn over the new road by some of the tenants. Great celebrations, a children's tea, amateur theatricals, a dinner and dance took place in the village.

Although Lord Leicester drove out again next day, and seemed well, it was a hot June and the excitement and travel were evidently too much for him. He became ill on Saturday night and died the next Thursday, aged eighty-eight.

The funeral procession was incredible. The coffin lay in state at Longford until July 7th. Many tenants and carriages accompanied it through Derby, where shops were closed and bells tolled. It lay in state each night reaching Norfolk on the third day. On the 11th July it set off from Swaffham for Tittleshall, the same route covered by the Lord Chief Justice's funeral two hundred years before. People had camped out in the fields and thousands watched the procession, which was two and a half miles long, passby.

The Cokes Leave Longford.

While Thomas William, the Earl's eldest son lived at Holkham, his younger brother Edward Keppel Wentworth Coke lived at Longford. He was an M.P. for West Norfolk and pursued his father's interest in agriculture, belonging to the Derbyshire Agricultural Society. He built the cheese factory on his land at Longford when the Society began its experiment. He married but had no children. His brother came to Longford and married Lady Katherine Grey Egerton, the second daughter of the Earl of Wilton. She was Woman of the Bedchamber to Queen Mary. Henry died in 1907. His son Reginald Grey Coke sold the estate after his mother died in 1920 to Sir Charles Markham.

Mrs. A.M.W. Stirling who wrote Coke of Norfolk's biography, the main source of this account, was grand-daughter to little Wilhelmina. The book was lent to me by the great great grand-daughter of Wilhelminaas sister Anne Margaret, Mrs. P. Butler who encouraged me to collect the story of Longford. More information could probably be obtained from the Keeper of Western Manuscripts, the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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DANIEL HIGGINBOTTOM AND SHEEPBRIDGE WORKS

by

A nephew of Daniel Higginbottom.

This memoir compiled largely from the notes of Daniel Higginbottom by an unidentified nephew about the turn of the century was deposited in the Derbyshire Record Office by Mr. A. St. H. Aubrey. It was passed to him by Mr. John Bunting, who retired as assistant secretary of the Sheepbridge Company in November 1957. He was connected with Leonard Higginbottom, Sheepbridge's oldest pensioner, who died in March 1958 aged 82. He may have written this memoir.

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My Uncle Daniel Higginbottom came from Yorkshire in 1839 to Chesterfield where he was apprenticed to the grocery trade. He was in the habit of telling me, a young man of his early experiences and being interested I made notes of them and now being well on in middle life am trying to write from memory.

Chesterfield in 1839 was a sleepy country market town whose trade was chiefly done on the canal, made by Brindley in 1756, and by road. In 1840 the North Midland Railway was opened to traffic from Derby to Leeds. My Uncle was in his youth engaged every day of the week in his trade, but on Sundays he delighted in long walks in the country and used to delight when old to tell me about them in a very full manner. One in particular I well remember:-

On a Sunday in 1844 he walked by the canal past Lockerford Colliery just sunk by George Stevenson down a footpath leading across the wild Whittington Moor on which the race course is and only two of three stone houses existed.

He climbed Whittington Hill and went to the Cock and Pynott as it was then called, now it is better known as The Revolution House from which the Earls of Devonshire and Danby and John D'Arch in 1688 sent the famous letter inviting William of Orange to come over and succeed to the English throne.

He ordered a tankard of their nut brown home brewed ale, for which the Cock and Pynott was famed for brewing. Jack Tracen, an old chum of his, joined him, Jack being employed by the firm of John Fowler & Son, Land Agent & Surveyor of Sheffield; Tracen had not been able to get home since Christmas as all the staff had been employed on survey work new and projected railways.

They often lived at Farm Houses on the moors surveying and levelling all day and plotting and working at their surveys

far into the night.

Often they had to get their work done in face of the open hostility either by diplomacy or getting up a fight in one place whilst the survey was done in another. Here Charles Waterton of Walton Hall, Wakefield, the Naturalist, had threatened to shoot young Mr. Swanwick, one of George Stevenson's Engineers, but the survey was made on a fine moonlight night and after hearing of this the Squire and Mr. Swanwick became great friends.

They left the Inn and walked down Broom Hill crossing the river Whiting or Barlow Brook at Sheepbridge and walked through Brierley Wood; leaving the road they struck down hill and walked on the bank of the brook which runs there between Cobnar Wood and Roe Car Wood.

These were coated with wild hyacinths, a carpet of blue, and the two friends sat down for a rest and to watch the trout rising at the May fly in a deep pool. My Uncle told Jack he trusted that no railway would come up there to disturb this beautiful wooded valley.

Jack then told him of what my Uncle's brother, Sam Higginbottom, was doing as foreman of a gang of navvies under Mr. Leather, Civil Engineer and Contractor, under whom Mr. John Fowler, the eldest son, had served his time. At this date 1844, Mr. John Fowler was working on the southern lines and building the Victoria Bridge over the Thames.

Coming out of the Wood they took a lane called Furnace Lane into the village of Barlow where they had delicious home cured ham and poached eggs with their ale at the old Peacock. Tea being very dear in those days, it was rarely provided at Country Inns. They conversed with some of the old villagers, who told them that lead ore from the Peak was carted in old days on the old Pack Horse roads and smelted by the charcoal made in the woods.

Also they told of one place where coal outcropped was worked in the open and that it was said in days long ago a good deal of coal was mined here and sent in carts and on Pack Horses in Derbyshire. They left at about five o'clock, walking to Newbold, where they had a look at the Desecrated Chapel as it is called, the burying place of the Eyre family who lived at Highfields and were once among the largest landowners in the District.

Descending the hill they saw over a span of Brimington Hill the smoke from Staveley Furnaces, which stood twelve hours on Sunday and were refilled in the evenings, Tapton Hill where George Stevenson was living. Further to the south they saw Bolsover Castle and in the sunset Hardwick Hall "more glass than wall" reflected towards them a blaze of light. Jack Tracer went back to his work on Sunday night, little dreaming he was in for what was called the Railway Mania.

Railways under King, Hudson and others, were projected right and left and Parliament passed an Act that all Railway Bills, together with Parliamentary plans and sectionsshould be deposited by November 30th 1845 and that a deposit of 10% of the estimated cost should be made.

At that period in 1845 November 30th, there were lodged 1263 Bills representing a capital value of 563 millions and requiring a deposit of 59 millions.

This huge amount far exceeding the amount of gold and coin in the Bank of England, caused alarm and out of the 1263 companies only 120 survived the Ordeal of Parliament. The panic of 1846 and 7 followed, many of the people of Chesterfield losing much money amassed by small savings.

During this period the House of Fowler & Sons flourished under the management of John Fowler Senior, his sons William and Charles.

My Uncle did not see Jack Tracer for some years. When they met again 1852 he told Uncle that Mr. William Fowler was buying Whittington Hall Estate and the Lordship of the Manor from Squire Dixon and was forming a company to open up Works in the district. His partners were his brother John and a London gentleman named Arthur Hankey. The Company was called the Dunston and Barlow Company and leases for Coal and ironstone were negotiated with the Dukes of Rutland and Devonshire, Trustees of Miss Elizabeth Smith of Dunston Hall, Rev. A. C. Broomhead and others.

Freehold property of 37a. Or. 2p. at Key Green was acquired and also a triangular strip between Dunston Lane and Sheffield Turnpike Road and a further 14a. 3r. 7p. to make a railway for Key Green to the Midland Railway and Chesterfield Canal. Surveys were made and in 1855 Samuel Higginbottom and Billy Steen came on the scene from Misterton Foss in Lincolnshire where they had been engaged in drainage work - a small army of navigators.

Sidings were put in in connection with the old North Midland Railway (which then had been made by amalgamation the Midland Railway) above Lockerford Colliery at a point named Dunston and Barlow Sidings, a junction to the canal, and the line made to Key Green land at Sheepbridge. So these works which were afterwards erected were built on freehold land, a very rare thing in those days. A fine bed of clay was opened out and bricks made by the thousand.

Three shafts of 70 yards deep were started to sink to the Top Hard or Furnace Coal and soon the place was a hive of industry.

Plans of the Works were made and William Wilde came as Architect and Surveyor to superintend the buildings and the construction of the Railway. The Offices were erected facing

Dunston Lane, together with an Office Keeper's House, a Coachman's House and Stables on the east side.

Further up the road a block of their Agents' Houses called Belvoir Terrace was built in one of which my Uncle's brother Sam Higginbottom lived. On the north side of Key Green Toll Bar, two Agents' Houses were built called Dunston Villas, in one of which Mr. Newall Edis, the Secretary to the Dunston & Barlow Company lived and in the other Mr. I.A. Birkback, the Mechanical Engineer who came from Messrs. Manning & Wardles, Leeds, with two six wheeled coupled locomotives named Devonshire and Hartington; a pair of Blast Engines each a hundred H.P. were ordered from Messrs Boulton & Watt. They were coupled together and from a span wheel outside the Engine House a set of pumps was arranged to be driven to clear the water out of the Water Pit sunk to the furnace coal which was always known as No.1 Pit.

Mr. William Fowler was much opposed to this and wanted the engines to be separate and another set of engines to be put down to drive the pumps which was afterwards done.

The two brothers had a serios quarrel over this, which later led to a complete estrangement between them.

Three Blast Furnances were started on with Hot Blast Stoves.

A large Foundry 160' x 75' was built next to the Blast Furnaces containing three cupolas and three ten ton revolving cranes, also one three ton crane.

The Railway having reached the Iron Works, it was pushed on up the Valley to Cobnar Wood and in Rough Piece Wood there was found the Dogs Tooth Ironstone and a thick clay back Ironstone, which it was arranged to work by open work and the outcrop of the Silverstone Seam was arranged to be worked with it.

A dock was made at the canal with Railway adjoining and a Dock-keeper's house was also arranged for.

This was left to Mr. Sam Higginbottom to build, his great weakness being he did not like to work to a plan and a favourite expression of his was "Nae, Nae, Mr. Wilde let me do job and make plan after, then you know it will be correct."

Uncle Sam got the bricklayers and Robinson the Carpenter to work and started on the cottage. When it was completed, an admiring crowd was called to see it, when it was discovered he had forgotten the staircase. A further wall was added, steps built and an opening made in the wall, a door put in and to go to bed the Dock-keeper had to go out by his front door and up this staircase at the side.

Sand from the Gainsborough side and lime from Kiveton Park came by Canal and by Railway, firebricks for the Furnace bottoms and castings for the Y. Standards of two Furnaces, also the Ring Plates. From Mitchells Worsborough Dale Works came the Plates for the castings ready bent and punched, and soon the work of erecting the castings was well in hand.

The Blast Engine parts began to come in from Boulton & Watts, Soho Works, Birmingham, and the foundations being ready erection was started and the building of the Engine House pushed on to the level of the Beam Floor. The great beams were twisted and the house finished and roofed in and if you look at it to-day you find the date 1858 marked in lime on brickwork.

Smiths shops, fitting shops and stores were built in the same line and a little distance away a carpenters and Pattern Shop for the Foundry were built.

The Railway reaching Cobnar Wood, a junction was made and a turn to the right went up to Monk Wood and one to the left to near the village of Barlow.

Near the River Whiting or Barlow Brook and adjoining a farm called New Farm a square called Cavendish Square was built containing 40 cottages and also 8 larger ones parting Sheepbridge Lane.

Water supply claimed attention and a reservoir was built between Cobnar and Roe Car Woods by damming up the Barlow Brook. A pipe line of $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles of 12" pipes was laid to works connected with this underground service. Reservoirs in one of which water from No.1 Pit which was very Ochery could be used for mixing in emergencies.

Gas was laid on from Whittington Gas Works which were situated at the bottom of Whittington Hill and were the property of the Whittington Gas Company and established under an Act of Parliament.

To bring down the ironstone from the open work quarries in Rough Piece a 3' 0" Guage Railway was constructed $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles long to the bottom of Rough Piece Wood, the other end being at the back of the furnaces. A self acting incline at Rough Piece brought the calcined ironstone down to a Tip where the waggons were loaded and they, after being hauled on the Railway, were discharged from a gantry at the Furnaces. The engine, a 4 wheeled coupled locomotive, was called "Little Nell" after Mr. William Fowler's.

The big water-balanced hoist, was started on and completed to receive the girders from the Furnace castings. It stood between No.2 and No.3 Furnaces. At Whittington next to Glasshouse Common were Ironstone Mines worked by Appleby & Co. of Renishaw and the Staveley Companies. Here 22 engine pits were sunk and 10 ironstones pits with horse gins and

two shafts to the Blackshale Coal on the outcrop.

A tramway 3-0 guage was made to the Chesterfield Canal where a wharf was constructed to load the ironstone into boats. The stone was calcined on the spot by the coal raised from the Blackshale outcrop and delivered at the Dunston and Barlow Wharf where it was loaded into waggons and conveyed by the Railways to the Furnaces. The engine at Whittington was peculiar. It was 20 H.P. and drove a vertical shaft with a number of drums of different diameters on it. From these drums, ropes were led over pullies to the different pits, some of which were over 200 yards from the Engine House.

The engine was run every ten minutes and it took two minutes to make a wind. A man came up often on the tub and tipped and banked it, the ironstone in a canche three feet high. He might miss the next two journeys and then run the tub on to the Crude Cage and go down with it again.

The payment was by the piece contractors engaging to work a bell pit. The canches were measured up once a fortnight and so many cube feet of stone estimated to the ton.

The next batch of my Uncle's notes I find concern the collieries.

In sinking No.1 Pit in the Ironworks land a roof of conglomerate ironstone was found over the Furnace or Potter's coal. It consisted of nodules of rich ironstone in a white matrix of silicious stone like raisins in a plum pudding.

The stone was not rich enough to be smelted as gob and so had to be treated. Mr. I.A. Birkback had patent machines to wash slack for coke making and he was set to grapple with this problem. He calcined the stone and crushed it and made a washing machine to deal with it. The crushed stone was put into two large conical vessels with bottom doors and a strong stream of water sent through it by pulsating pumps.

The heavier ironstone sunk to the bottom and the particles of white matrix came to the top, from which they were raked out and put in waggons for dumping. When the hoppers were full of ironstone, the bottom doors were opened and the stone ran into wagons and tipped into bins ready for smelting in the Blast Furnaces.

Twenty-three Bee-hive ovens were built attached to this colliery and a Coal Washing Plant installed. The rest of the coalfield of Blackshale Coal was sublet.

Mr. C.H. Plevins took 400 acres of the Duke of Rutland's coal and sunk two pits at Monkwood. Messrs. Sparkes, Weight and Owin took 600 acres of the Duke of Devonshire's and Duke of Rutland's coal and sunk three shafts, two in line for winding and one for ventilating and pumping in a level field

belonging to the Duke of Devonshire by Cobnar Wood. It was always called by the men "Cobnar Wood Pit" but officially became known as Dunston Colliery. It was not sunk at point A as stipulated in the Duke of Rutland's lease, which led to litigation in future years.

The Chesterfield and Midland Silkstone took over 200 acres of the Duke of Rutland's coal at Barlow and sunk two shafts. They were called Nesfield Colliery after the Duke of Rutland's popular Agent.

The Devonshire Silkstone Company took over 800 acres of Blackshale coal under the Dunston Estates and those of the Rev. Crawford Broomhead and the Duke of Devonshire. They sunk two shafts and the colliery was known as Devonshire Silkstone.

My Uncle noted that Sheepbridge had not a single acre of Top Hard coal which the Staveley Company largely used for their furnaces.

Each of the subleased collieries was fitted with a Birkback Washing Machine and a Battery of Bee-hive coke ovens. In all, water was feared, and provision made for pumping. Monkwood had a 12" pump; at Nesfield, two 6" pumps were installed, and at Cobnar a powerful Cornish Pump of 80" cylinder was installed working two 18" pumps. Devonshire had a 6" dry rod forcing pump.

The sublet collieries had all to pay a railway rate to the Dunston and Barlow Company on their coal and coke conveyed to the Dunston and Barlow Junction where they got access to the Midland Railway and all railway tolls were calculated from this junction.

Early in 1859 the works got in full activity and pig iron castings began to be made.

The furnace coal was not found suitable to use by itself in the Furnaces, not being hard enough.

A portion of the output was coked on long brick open Coking Hearths in heaps often containing over 100 tons.

The damping out was done by covering the heaps with coke dust and ashes and by watering. The coke was loaded in iron tubs and taken to the Furnaces in this open Coking Hearth Plant some 2½ miles of 2' 0" pit tramways were laid. Castings and hot and cold blast pig iron were the chief production.

The cold Blast Iron was of excellent quality and was sold to the Sheffield Works, also to the Kinstall Forge Company, Messrs. Taylor of Leeds the great shaft forgers of that day, and Eastwood Swingler of Derby.

Messrs. Beale & Co. of Parkgate entered for the Armour Plate competition in 1859 to 1860 and made their first Armour

Plate which resisted shot out of Sheepbridge iron. Many kind of plates were tried, some being of a composite character being faced with hexagonal pieces built on a plate of iron as backing.

Mr. Needham of Sheffield was agent for castings amongst the Sheffield Work and Builders and Mr. George Toyne sold pig iron and coke to the Sheffield firms.

The Companies Act was passed in 1862 to form registered companies with or without liability and limited liability. This Act was destined to cause great changes in the district and in 1863 the Staveley was formed by some Manchester gentlemen and was registered on December 29th 1863 being the fourth oldest in the Kingdom. Negotiations were started by Mr. David Chadwick of Chadwick Adamson & Co., Accountants of Manchester to convert Sheepbridge into a Limited Company. After much negotiation it was registered in September 16 1864 as a Limited Company and a Prospectus issued.

My Uncle Daniel together with several Chesterfield Tradesmen applied for shares which were £100 shares of which £10 per share was called up at once. Total Capital £500,000.

In my Uncle's papers I have found tied up the original Prospectus, Articles of Association containing Vendors conditions of Sale and an Inventory of Works as on Aug.9, 1864.

The Vendors were:-

William Fowler of Whittington Hall, Chesterfield Ironmaster
Arthur Hankey of St. James Street, London, Esquire

The Purchasers were:-

Benjamin Whitworth
Henry Davis Pochon
James Holden
Merchants of the City of Manchester

The date of the purchase to be as from June 25 1864. Possession to be given on August 1864 but all Contracts and Agreements which have been entered into from June 25 1864 to be carried out for the Benefit of the Purchasers. All outgoings to be cleared up by Vendors to that date June 25th 1864.

Property to be taken at a valuation to be made within 14 days by two Valuers, one appointed by each side.

Such Valuers before entering on their valuations to appoint in writing an umpire whose decision shall be final.

Freehold parts of Second Schedule to be taken at the Market Value thereof. Remainder to be taken on the Principle that Purchasers shall receive an account of the sums paid for various parts Percentages viz ; on royalties sublet £8 per cent.

on account of railway traffic £10 per cent. on account of remainder on Schedule 2 £15 per cent.

Stores, Stocks of iron, fuel timber etc. and loose stock to be taken by Purchasers at cost price on a valuation to be made by Mr. David Chadwick of Manchester, cost thereof to be borne by the Vendors and Purchasers equally.

In the event of valuations not being made by December 1 1864, purchasers to give six bills for £20,000 each to secure payment to Vendors of £120,000 by six equal instalments, first to be due on February 1 1864 and the last on June 25 - 1867.

Residue to be paid by six similar bills on the date August 1 - 1864. Purchasers to pay to Vendors £30,000 of which £10,000 is to be forfeited if the Company be not registered by December 1 - 1864.

If the Company be so formed, then the Vendors to be allowed shares as under:-

188 Shares with £80 paid up to John Fowler
500 Shares with £50 paid up to William Fowler
500 Shares with £20 paid up to Arthur Hankey

Shares ranking with other shares for dividend and 5% interest to be paid on excess. Vendors to supply title. The Dukes of Rutland and the Duke of Devonshire's Titles to be taken as granted.

William Fowler to be Chairman and Managing Director and not to engage in similar business for ten years after August 1 1864, differences to be referred to John Horatio Lloyd, his award to be final and binding on both parties.

The first Schedule in deed gives freehold land as 41a. 3r. 20p. on which the Railway & Sidings & Canal Wharf are situated, also 37a. 0r. 2p. on which the Works are situated viz:- Furnaces, Shops, Offices, No.1 Pit, Foundry and Offices.

Next are given the Acreage Rents under the different Leases

Trustees of Elizabeth Smith
Furnace Coal £50 per acre
Dunston Coal £80 per acre
Blackshale Coal £80 per acre
Tapton and Tapton ¾ Coal £40 per acre
Sheepbridge Ironstone £25 per acre
Dogtooth Ironstone £25 per acre
Blackshale Ironstone 6d per ton

Rev. A.C. Broomhead
Furnace Coal & Sheepbridge Ironstone £80 per acre
Blackshale Coal £100 per acre

Duke of Devonshire
Blackshale Coal £80 per acre
Blackshale Ironstone £90 per acre

Duke of Rutland
Blackshale Coal £80 per acre
Blackshale Ironstone £90 per acre

Fowler & Hankey
Blackshale Coal £100 per acre
Blackshale Ironstone £150 per acre

The Areas comprised
2,000 acres of Blackshale Coal
700 acres of Furnace Coal
and other thinner seam not then in work.

Ironstone
2,400 acres of Blackshale Ironstone and
160 acres at Whittington

Dogtooth Ironstone
850 acres of Dogtooth Ironstone

The Reserved or Minimum Annual Rents for the different leases were as under:-

Duke of Devonshire £400 per annum
Duke of Rutland £600 per annum
Trustees of Miss M.E. Smith £1,000 per annum
Rev. W. Smith £80 per annum
Rev. A.C. Broomhead £400 per annum
Prospectus of Whittington Estate £900 per annum
Prospectus of Whittington Coal £50 per annum
Total £3,430
Payment to E,M. Smith £100
Wayleave at Whittington £25
Total reserved rents £3,555

These include No.1 Pit, with piece ironstone and coal Whittington Ironstone and coal which were worked by the Company. Of these were sublet

Parties	Term unexpired in 1864	Quantity leased a r p	Reserved Rent	Rent per acre	Rent paid by Dunston and Barlow Company
C.H.Plevins	35	400 0 0	£2000	£200	£80 per acre
Sparks,Wright & Owin	35	600 0 0	£2550	£150	£80 per acre
Chesterfield & Midland Silkstone Co.	27	200 0 0	£ 900	£150	£80 per acre
Devonshire Colliery	34	800 0 0	£1500	£150	£80 per acre
		2000 0 0	£6950		

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The first serious difficulty arose with the value of these subleases.
The Vendors claimed their value as between £50,000 and £60,000.

Mr. William Armstrong, the great north of England Mining Engineer acting for the purchasers, valued them as Nil, as he contended that the terms of the leases were so onerous that the Lessees could not work them at a profit.

He proved correct, as in a few years all the subleasess except C.H. Plevins went into liquidation.

Affairs to a deadlock, each party objecting to the other's selection of an Umpire and after much argument, Horation Lloyd was called in and he appointed Mr. Ronald Johnson of Glasgow as Umpire in this matter, this gentleman being quite unknown to the disputants.

I next found a list of property sold:-
Iron Blast Furnaces with necessary appurtenances
Large Foundry and Pattern Shop
No.1 Pit capable of raising 600 tons per day with 23 Beehive Coke Ovens, Coke Hearths and ironstone calcining hearths, 2½ miles of tramway, Washing Machine for 350 tons a week of Conglomerate Ironstone, Brickyard in full work, 3 Refineries. Stables for 15 horses, Corn Store and Bailiff's House, 6 Agents Houses, Offices and 48 Cottages.
2 Loco Sheds and Locomotives with water appliances
8¼ miles of 4' 8½" gauge Railways
29 Railway Waggons
2¾ miles of 3' 0" gauge Railway and engine with sheds
Water Reservoir with 6" pipes
One half of 3' 0" gauge Railways at Whittington
1¾ miles long to canal
Mechanics and Smiths Shops
Waggons for narrow gauge Railways
Plant at Whittington ironstone and Rough piece
Freehold land

Mr. Ronald Johnson awarded £36,000 as the amount to be paid in respect to the subleases and Mr. David Chadwick completed his valuation of loose plant and tools.

The Company duly took over the works and the first Directors were as under:-
William Fowler Whittington Hall Chairman and Managing Director,
Arthur Hankey, St. James, London.
James Holden, Appley Villa, Waterloo Road, Cheetham, Manchester½
Benjamin Whitworth, Irwell House, Prestwich, Nr. Manchester.
John Brown, Shirle Hall, Sheffield.
Henry Davis Pochin, Broughton Old Hall, Manchester
George Wood, The Grange, Salford.
The names and addresses of the subscribers were:-
Benjamin Whitworth, Irwell House, Prestwich, Manchester.
Henry Davis Pochin, Broughton Old Hall, Manchester.

James Holden, Apsley Villa, Waterloo Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.
John Holden, Highlands, Royton.
Edward Wood, Green Bank, Bowden, Nr. Manchester.
John Grave, 34 George Street, Manchester.
The Solicitor to the Company was:-
William Foyster, 33 Piccadilly, Manchester.
Date of Certificate, September 14 - 1864

In checking Mr. Chadwick's valuation, an error of £1,000 was discovered and rectified and paid after the papers had been signed.

During the American War a good deal of shot and shell were made for both the Federals and Confederate sides.

The Company got into work as a company and the business progressed especially being the casting of anvil blocks and floor plates for the large Works then growing at Sheffield, also grates and other sanitary castings. One of the first problems the board had to deal with was a fact that the Furnaces coal drawn at No.1 Pit was not very satisfactory for iron making, even though coked, and the furnaces were given to scaffolding. The usual remedy was a purchase of the quantity of Hard Coal Fence Collieries, so instructions were given to acquire a coal field of top hard coal and after much negotiation, a coal field at Killamarsh of about 3,000 was secured, the principal Lessor being Mr. Chanders Pole.

Sinking was started in the summer of 1865. Mr. Edward Hedley being consulting Engineer. Ventilation was to be by a furnace, a common arrangement in those days as the guibal fan was not then invented.

Some 120 yard of tubbing were put in through the water measures with cast iron curbs in the downcast shaft and strange to say bake curbs in the furnace or upcast shaft. The back shrank with the heat and had to be rewedged often and caused much trouble until 1879. It was grappled with and the back limbs cut back and iron facings put in with a flange to carry the 2½" brickwork lining.

In 1867 a good seam of Top Hard Coal 5' 6" was reached and the colliery gradually got to work in the end reaching an output of 1,200 tons a day. This Norwood Colliery then became the chief source of supply for the furnaces which went with greater regularity.

Some difficulty arose in selling the make of iron and stocks at time accumulated. The foundry took a portion of the make of pig iron and Mr. William Fowler being desirous of using up more of the pig iron on the Works proposed that a Forge should be built. There was opposition to this on the Board and Mr. William Fowler offered to guarantee for a term of years a profit of 7½% on the capital expenditure.

After a time this was agreed to and a Deed drawn up and signed by both parties and work commenced on the land to the east of the main line by the side of the River Whiting or Barlow Brook.

A Mr. Griffiths was engaged by Mr. Fowler to superintend the erection of the Forge. He was the inventor of a system of mechanical puddling called the "iron chain". The Puddling Furnaces were double, a paddle being worked from each side and so arranged that by means of racon gears to stir up all parts of the baths of molten metal.

The speciality to be manufactured was wrought iron weldless tyres for railway wheels.

Two shingling hammers were erected and one four ton hammer to form the blanks. The puddled bar was cut up and mixed to form piles of some eight pieces, these being reheated were rolled into bar iron, which being put into a Cooling Mill and coiled into a coil.

These coils after reheating were stamped in classes or blanks and after again reheating were taken to the Tyre Mill and rolled out under vertical and horizontal rollers into a finished railway tyre. A large business was done in these tyres, but after 1876 the coiled iron tyre had to give way to the Bessener Steel Tyre. Merchant bar, spokes and light rails up to 28lbs. was also made and blooms of puddled bar to make the wrought iron bosses of railwat wagon wheels.

In 1866 Messrs. Sparks Wright & Owen were unable to meet their Minimum Rents at Nesfield Colliery and a re-entry was made at Nesfield Colliery.

In the next year the Chesterfield & Midland Coal Co. were in the same position and the Dunston Colliery was seized. As the shareholders in these concerns were Sheffield and local men, strong feeling was aroused against the Sheepbridge Coal & Iron Co.Ltd.

Mr. Robert Snow who was the Secretary of the Chesterfield & Midland Silkstone Co. was taken into the employ of the Sheepbridge Co. and became salesman for the new Forge and also for pig iron and castings.

His son came into the Cost Department under Mr. Fatkin who was celebrated for being able to add up pounds, shillings and pence columns in one operation.

Mr. Fatkin left Sheepbridge and became an Accountant of good standing in Leeds. Mr, Robert Snow, Junr. became Chief Cost Clerk in his place andMr. Alfred Scott Gatty served two years with him to obtain a business training. He is now Sir Alfred Scott Gatty, Chief Herald.

To provide capital for these extensions, calls were made at frequent intervals.

Arthur Hankey one of the founders became interested in Philanthropic work in London and spent a deal of money in building Hankey's buildings, Westminster, which were an early type of the Rowton Houses and did not answer expectations.

Mr. Hankey as his share of the purchase money had 500 shares allotted to him with £20 credited as paid on each.

When a £10 call was made raising the Called Capital from £20 to £30 he had £5,000 to fund and could not pay his call.

The shares were liable to be forfeited and if flung on the market would bring down the value of the shares to a very low figure. So Mr. Benjsmin Whitworth acquired them and paid the Calls due.

Mr. Hankey had to resign his seat on the Board and at the same period Messrs. John Brown & Wood also resigned. In 1866 their places were filled by the election of Messrs. Garden and John Stores Smith of Manchester.

In 1868 Mr. William Fowler wished to be released from his post of Managing Director and in September of 1868 Mr. John Stores Smith was appointed as Managing Director, Mr. William Fowler retaining the Chairmanship.

Two important Law Suits were pending, one with the Duke of Rutland for not putting down a shaft at Dunston Colliery on Point A and the second an action of Mr. Worswick for non-delivery of full Contract quantity of tubbing for Annesley Colliery and a claim that faulty tubbing had been supplied.

After much argument the first Suit was settled by the Company purchasing the site of Dunston colliery from the Duke of Devonshire and conveying it to the Duke of Rutland free of cost.

The second case was referred to Mr. Overend K.C. To obtain evidence the Managing Director and Engineer Mr. I.A. Birkbeck spent a couple of days in Annesley Shaft scraping the tubbing plates.

They found many marked Ø which were not made at Sheep-bridge and some of the O Plates were also faulty.

In the Arbitration, things seemed to be going badly for Sheepbridge.

In the Annesley evidence it came out that a Sinkers Diary was kept. Production was demanded and granted. Mr. Busby, the Company's Solicitor, sat up all night making extracts. He found entries like this "Fixed two rounds of tubbing, rammed

them to place with the Tup". The Tup was a large piece of wood weighing five hundred weight.

In consequence of this Mr. Overend awarded in favour of Sheepbridge and each party to pay their own costs.

His explanation of this was that at the first he thought the Annesley Case could not be answered but the Sinkers Diary etc. gave the case to Sheepbridge and things being so nearly equal, he in consequence gave no costs, which proceeding Mr. Worswick said he could not understand.

Serious attention was given to the Sales and Carrick & Brockbank of Manchester and Birmingham were appointed as agents to sell the iron.

Mr. Newall Edis resigned the Secretaryship and Mr. John Hall was appointed in his place.

At this time 1868 the Northampton ironstone was discovered and the Staveley Company took a field from Sir Joseph Robinson.

The cost of the Clay Band Stone calcined was about 18/6 a ton yielding 37.5% of iron.

The Northampton Stone cost 8/0 delivered at the Works at a yield of 33% so by degrees this stone ousted the Clay Band Stone from the Coal Measures and in a few years after this the Company had to abandon the use of it entirely and to use Lincolnshire and Northampton stone.

They had to pay the Covenanted Minimum Rents which hampered them much.

In 1870 in June the Franco-German War came like a Bolt from the Blue and coal and iron rose rapidly in price, pig iron reaching 100/0 a ton and Top Hard Coal 20/0 a ton in 1873.

Large profits were made and divided amongst the shareholders and no reserve made for a policy of expansion which was adopted.

It was thought these good times would last for ever.

The dividends paid at these times for the year ending on June 30th were :-

1870	1871	1872	1873	1874
6%	8%	11%	20%	22½%

In 1873 a Bonus Fully Paid Share was given on each £100 Share.

This was done to keep back money for extensions. In the same year the Staveley Company gave on each £100 Share in Staveley another £100 Share credited as £10 paid, thus securing further uncalled Capital.

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WIRKSWORTH CHARACTERS
SHOLTO, THE CYCLE HIRER AND OTHER WIRKSWORTH DEALERS

by

Hubert Harrison.

One of the characters in Wirksworth in the years between the South African war and the 1914-18 War was Sholto Greenhough, who hired out bicycles for sixpence an hour to youngsters eager to learn to ride them. The machines, second-hand ones to begin with, were illused to such an extent that Sholto learned to repair them (punctured tyres, broken spokes or chains were the chief sources of trouble), becoming so expert that similar jobs on the cycles of more prosperous people flowed to the tiny shop in North End where his mother, a French woman I believe, a thrifty cook, sold her pickled onions, beetroot, red cabbage, etc. to the neighbours.

Also Sholto's mother had an extensive trade with children for lucky-bags, licorice strips, locust beans, boiled sweets, any item that could be sold for a halfpenny, as children were not given the lavish spending money they get today. I believe Mrs Greenhough's lucky bags cost a penny. One took a chance whether they contained a balloon or a squeaker, a few sweets, chewing gum, a sheet of transfers which wetted and pressed on the back of the hand or a book, left a highly coloured picture that was not so permanent as the tattoo marks of old soldiers or sailors. She also did a thriving trade in marbles, popular at that time as a boys' game.

Reverting to Sholto(his Christian names were John Sholto Douglas) he was a pioneer photographer as well as a dealer in bicyclesspare parts and he quickly built up a trade for portraits, footbal1 and cricket team groups, wedding pictures, and he sold photographic materials to amateurs, second-hand cameras, etc. On the whole I suppose he made a satisfactory living.

Two other cycle dealers in the town were Charlie Slater, St Mary's Gate, and Will Killer, North End, but they had agencys for new machines. Mr. Slater did his business mostly in the evenings, after he finished work as a clerk with a Cromford firm. Mr. Killer was a printer by trade and at his death left a surprisingly big estate, bequeathing a sum for the provision of the public clock in the tower of the Town Hall. Part of his fortune came from his brother, who had a confectionery business in Manchester.