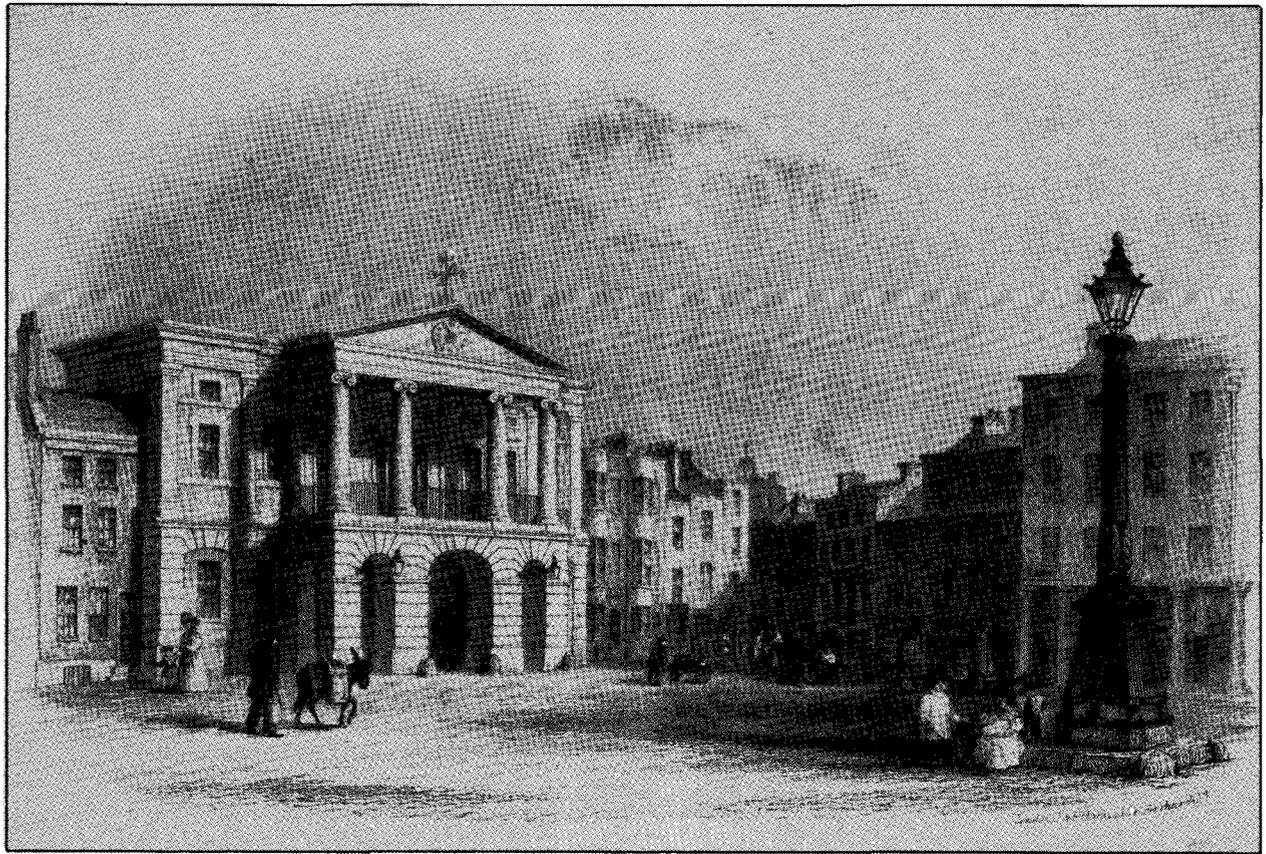


# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



*Derby Market Place.*

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DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Books and booksellers in late 17th century Chesterfield by Rosemary Milward	119
Buxton in 1787 by Jeremy Black	145
An unpublished 18th century poem on the Derby Silk Mill by J.G. Macqueen	146
Headstone Engravers of Melbourne by Howard Usher	149
Letter to the Editor	151

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(by Rosemary Milward)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on the inventories of two Chesterfield book-sellers who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, their possible customers, - those men who left their wills and inventories in the same period which mention books and libraries - and the books themselves. To elucidate the authors and titles of these books, often curiously spelt, I have used, in the main, the catalogues of antiquarian booksellers, the Dictionary of National Biography, and the Short Title Catalogues of printed books of Donald Wing, and Pollard and Redgrave.

None of the more important Derbyshire libraries, such as Chatsworth, has been referred to, but the Sitwells of Renishaw in the late seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries were connected with Chesterfield, in that Francis Sitwell was educated at Chesterfield School, his father lending books to the Master there, and sent his footpost to that town to collect the London papers, and so it seemed appropriate to incorporate certain information from the Sitwell Almanacks.

It should be emphasised that, in all the collections which follow, only a small proportion of the books are titled, and so no conclusions can be drawn. However, that they are recorded by the appraisers, or, in the case of the Sitwells lent to friends, indicates that they were considered to be more important than those on the shelves.

## 2. CHESTERFIELD IN THE LATE 17th CENTURY

Chesterfield in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was a flourishing market town supplying the needs, not only of its inhabitants, but of the local gentry and landowners in the surrounding country. Grocers, such as William and James Milnes and the Wheldons sold four or five kinds of sugar, raisins of the sun, prunes, a variety of spices - 'Jammaka' pepper, nutmegs, cloves, coriander, all imported; soap, tobacco and glazed pipes for smoking it, as well as the more ordinary groceries. Mercers and drapers supplied a remarkable range of materials made in towns as distant as Norwich, Taunton, and abroad, which included printed linen and cotton, Persian silks, Faradine, French Russelles, silver and gold lace, coloured and figured ribbon, and twenty different kinds of button - of silver, Royal oak breasts, gimp coats, cloak, satin and hair ..

The richest tradesmen in Chesterfield were the tanners, curriers and butchers. Samuel Stones, a currier, left an inventory of the value of £1,100, and the shops which sold finished articles of leather were the sadlers and shoemakers. William Youle, sadler, had a very large stock of every sort of equipment for horses and their riders. In his workshop were Russia leather, coloured leather, 'Kederminster stuffe', yellow cotton, silk fringes, and every kind of bridle stirrups, bits, buckles etc.; with the contents of his 10-roomed house and farm his inventory amounted to £447, and Rowland Madon, another sadler, had an equally large and varied stock, but specialised in saddles, selling charging, trooping, butcher's, pack saddles, twilted side-saddles, and old man's pads. There were shoemakers to suit all purses, and carpenters, iron-mongers and smiths to furnish the houses.(1)

The Grammar School, founded by Godfrey Foljambe in 1595, was educating at this time the sons of a barber, William Thorpe,(2)

a chandler, Samuel Bower, (2) and alderman, John Bright, (2) living in the town, besides those of gentlemen such as Thomas Hallows of Glapwell, later a Judge (2), Francis Sitwell of Renishaw, and George Mower of Barlow Woodseats, High Sheriff in his later years, to note but a few. Before Foljambe made his will, which provided the means for the engagement of a school master, the need for a school had occupied the minds of many local people who left in their wills small sums toward this end. Three or four years before the school opened Thomas Eyre of Dunston, gentleman, had had to send his sons to Staveley because Chesterfield had nothing to offer. Amongst his debts at death was - 'for the table of Mr. Edward and Robert Eyre his sonnes at Staveley Schole £1.5s', to which their father had added the services and keep of a cow for their nourishment. (3)

Men from outside the town came in to consult attorneys, doctors, and to transact business, and the many inns were important meeting places for the justices, parish officers and travellers who needed food and lodging. Traders, professional men and the more prominent innkeepers (usually styled gentlemen) had well furnished houses, with the luxuries of former years now being in general use.

So it is not surprising, perhaps, to find at least two booksellers trading at the end of the seventeenth century, and one can form some idea from their inventories of what was available, and from other ones, what was being read by the better educated and more substantial townsmen and country landowners. The poorer people usually had nothing more than a bible and perhaps a few chap-books when they could afford the occasional penny.

### 3. THE BOOKSELLERS

#### a) Brunsley and Bradley.

Little is known of Job Brunsley, where he came from or how old he was in March 1681/2 when he died. He may have been quite young as his wife was still of child-bearing age, and his house contained a cradle, two children's chairs, a trunk with some toys in it, and he left no will. He had a daughter, Mary, who survived him by 17 years, (4) but her date of birth is not recorded in Chesterfield, which lends weight to his being an 'incomer'. He lived in a modest, though comfortably furnished house consisting of a hall, shop and three chambers. There were 'whited' and sett-work chairs, 12 pictures, a dulcima, a box bag and basket, all made of paper, as well as solid oak furniture and the usual household stuff. Brunsley appears to have taken little part in the affairs of the town, though he was made a burgess in 1676, (5) and the praisers of his inventory were prominent men, - Peter and Thomas Dowker, both who served as Mayors; William Inman, grocer and man of property, who had a library of books and a case for them, £5; Ralph Heathcote, member of a notable Chesterfield family and John Lobley, vicar of Chesterfield. In 1678 Brunsley supplied a new Common Prayer Book and a bible to the Mayor and Corporation, for which he was paid £1.2s.0d, and shortly after, 4s. for the new Acts of the last Session. (6) A crossed out sentence in the same accounts reads 'for binding old Mr. Woodes Bible and Claspes £1.9s.0d.,' and the following goods the praisers listed indicate that book-binding was an important part of his work - '1 dozen Bassill skins, a parcel of glue, 1 parcell of Beech, 5lbs of Teare, 12 yards of Harding cloth, parchment and leather, Presse and working tools, a parcel of Paper, Leafe Gould.'

He had in his shop books in folio, £64 11s 10d, and though this could refer to the size, it would seem more likely that these books were in the form of folded sheets of paper, to be bound by Brunsley at the request of the buyer. In the sixteenth century printing had been

severely curtailed by the Star Chamber, mainly on account of the spread of controversial religious books, and only the presses of London, Oxford and Cambridge were licenced to operate, (7) but by the middle of the next century much freedom had been gained so that there were about 60 printing houses in London by 1660, and quantities of books and pamphlets flowed, not only from London and the universities, but also from provincial printers who were taking a substantial share. There is little evidence, however, that books were printed in Derbyshire before the eighteenth century when Houghton's Rara Avis in Terris the Compleat Miner, was printed in Derby by Samuel Hodgkinson in 1729. (8) English books were again produced in Paris, Amsterdam and other towns on the continent. The most expensive process in book production was the binding, often elaborate, so that booksellers tended to add this to their trade. However, some owners of libraries made provision for this at home, and Francis Baker, dying in 1665, styled servant to Godfrey Clarke of Somersall, had in his study there 'a scrue presse for Cutting Bookes in, a Bundle of Parchement, hard and soft wax, writing paper, Dowlasse and Holland.' (9) It is tantalising that the praisers of Brunsley's inventory felt unable to list any books by title or author, and all we know of the rest of his stock is 'Other bookes £90 2s 10d.' which must have covered several hundred volumes.

Some eighteen months later Job Brunsley's widow, Anna, married another bookseller, Joseph Bradley. They had several children who died in infancy, but Job, born in 1684, (10) survived, and had a son and grandson of the same name who were booksellers and stationers in the town, and later became printers in premises at the north-east corner of the Shambles; in fact a much later Job Bradley, dying in 1798, was still dealing in books and printing, serving as Mayor in 1771 and 1774, and as Post Master in 1790. He was also something of an antiquarian and worked on the Chesterfield muniments, making abstracts of some of the deeds with a view to writing an History of Chesterfield. He corresponded with Wolley and Samuel Pegge, lending the latter some of the documents, but never produced the History. In 1804 Henry Bradley, probably a relation, was in partnership with Thomas White, Bookseller at the top of the Market Place, and in 1808, after White's death, John Ford took over his stock which he removed to his own premises 'at the top of the Shambles', which sounds as though the Bradleys' shop had continued in the book trade well into the nineteenth century. (11)

To return to Joseph and Anna, several questions arise which, with the lack of wills and other sources, cannot be readily answered. Was Joseph already trading in the town in 1682? was he, perhaps Brunsley's partner? If he took over the shop and the books (worth £104), his business capabilities seem to have been poor, for Brunsley left £203, whereas 18 years later Bradley only left £48. Though the houses are similar in size, the contents in 1700 were much more simple with no pictures, dulcima or children's furniture, which in itself is surprising, the Bradleys having had several children. The drop in value of his goods and books could, perhaps, be accounted for by Anna's death five years earlier. As the wife of two booksellers she would have had experience of the trade, and possibly took a large share in running the business. Perhaps Joseph was sick or an ineffectual man, and left with an eleven-year-old son only, let the trade run down.

Bradley had been a burgess since 1685, but unlike his son and grandson, served no offices in Chesterfield. The praisers of his books were Henry Audsley, who became vicar of Chesterfield in 1703, Richard Brown, who had recently become Headmaster of the Grammar School (12) and Samuel Allen, about whom nothing has been discovered. Three other men dealt with the household goods. One might have supposed as they were specially called in, that the vicar and schoolmasters would have been more precise in their listing, and one can only suppose that their somewhat

eccentric spelling, abbreviated titles and frequent omission of the authors were due to their formidable task of taking an inventory of a complete book shop.

3. b) the books - inventory and consideration of contents.

Joseph Bradley's books in the shop

30th March 1699

26 books on the upper shelve next the doore	13s	
Musuilus on the Epistles	4s	Perhaps Paul Manutius. In Epistolas Ciceronis ad Atticum Commentarius. 1547.
Thomas Acannus	4s	Works of Thomas Aquinas
Anas on K: James the 1st.	5s	Not found
Liles Krittica	5s	Edward Leigh's Critica Sacra. 1650
Guiccij ardings	6d	Francesco Guicciardini. The Historie of Guiccardin containing the Warres of Italie and other parts. Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton. 1618.
Coolis Purila	1s	Not found. Perhaps Abraham Cowley?
Roger le Strange 2d pt Esop	5s	Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists: with Morals and Reflexions. Many editions in 16th and 17th centuries. Printed in Latin and Greek in Basle & Paris.
7 testants. 3s 6d. 33 bookes on the 3d shelve next doore (1 <sup>1</sup> )	13s	
54 bookes on the 4th shelve next dore (3 <sup>1</sup> ).		
37 bookes on the 5th shelf next dore. (1 <sup>1</sup> )		
Quintilian institucon		Marcus Fabius Quintilian. De institutione oratoria libri duodecum cum duplici indici: ... Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford.
Willies Eagebrin Anatt:	3s	Probably Thomas Willis M.D. Cerebri anatome 1664 (who also wrote An Essay of the Pathology of the Brain. 1681)
Weidenfeld de Secret Adeptorn	3s	Johann Seger von Weidenfeld. De Secretis Adeptorum. 1684.
Willis de Morbis Couvu	2s	Thomas Willis M.D. perhaps Convulsive Diseases.
Schroder Thesau: Pharmacye	1s	Johann Schroder. The Compleat Chymical Dispensatory. 1669.
Willis de Anima	4s	Thomas Willis M.D. De Anima Brutorum, 1672, or Two Discourses concerning the Soul of Brutes. 1683.
Willis Pharmacutis 2 pts	5s	Thomas Willis M.D. Pharmaceutice rationalis. 7 editions 1674 - 91.
Pettis Polit Erithm:	2s 6d	Sir William Petty. Five Essays in Political Arithmatick 1687. Several editions, one in French.
Collyers Essays uppon mor Subjects	3s 8d	Jeremy Collier. Essays on Several Moral Subjects. 1697. Several editions.
Bentley against Boyle	4s	Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris. 1699.

Pantheon	2s	
2d and 3d Volum of Dr.Still: sermons	5s	Dr. Edward Stillingfleet. 10 sermons 2nd vol. 1697; 13 sermons 3rd vol.1698. Author not found.
A Treatise of Womens Diseases	1s	
Wake couc Ecclesiast sin	4s	Not found. William Wake, prolific writer on the state of church and clergy.
Gray compleate horsman	3s 6d	
Metins de conscientia	1s	Not found
A Survey of the pretended discip:	6d	Richard Bancroft. A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline. 1663. Not found.
Skiner Opticks	1s	
Manwareing of Scurvy	10d	Everard Mainwaringe, medical writer.
Stumbling block of disobedience	6d	Peter Heylin. Stumbling Block of Disobedience, 1658. (followed by James Harrington, Stumbling Block of Disobedience Removed. 1658)
Jesints Reply to Ushers Answers	1s	Not found. James Usher, archbishop. wrote A Body of Divinity, or the Summe and Substance of Christian Religion Catechistically propounded and explained by way of Question and Answer ... 1645.
Attasall new Governant	6d	William Attersoll, New Governant 1614.
Guasis Quarternio	4d	Not found.
Neuter on the Galat:	4d	Not found.
Annaton Moses	8d	Henry Ainsworth. Annotations on the Five Books of Moses, and the Psalms. 1622.
Boards Philso:	2s	Perhaps Gerard Boate. Philosophia naturalis reformata. 1641.
Laurensius	4d	Perhaps Andre Du Laurens; wrote de Morbis melancholices tratatus, 1599, and a Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight. 1598.
Paulery opera Medica	6d	Not found.
Cr: Thorp Lodgicks	6d	Not found.
Deggs Privy Councill	3s 6d	Sir Simon Degge. Parson's Coun- cellor and Law of Tythes. 1676.
Tho: Dictionary	1s	Perhaps Thomas Thomas. Dictiona- rium liguae Latinea et Anglicanae. 1588.
Snake in the Grasse	4s	Charles Leslie. Snake in the Grass or Satan transformed into an Angel of Light. 1696.
Manlove pparato Evan:	6d	Timothy Manlove. Praepratio Evangelica: a Discourse concerning the Souls preparation for a Blessed Eternity. 1698.
Creeks Lucretius	4s 6d	Thomas Creech. Lucretius 1682. T. Lucretius Carus, the Epicurian Philosopher ... done into English with notes by Thomas Creech. His translation into English was highly thought of.
Bookes in the 3d shelve 30	4s	
Bookes in the 4th shelve 35	6s 8d	
30 book in the 5th shelve	1s	

12 bookes on the 6th shelve	1s	
Owins Divin:	2s	John Owen, Bishop of St. Asaph. Many works, but this title not found.
21 bookes on the shelve uppon the Glasse Case (2 <sup>1</sup> )	2s	
Burnits Church History	10s	Gilbert Burnet. History of the Reformation of the Church of England. Many editions 1681 - 1793. Nehemiah Grew. Anatomy of Plants. 1682.
Grews Anat: of Plants	8s	Plutarch. The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans. Very many editions over the years.
Plutarke Liues	8s	
A Booke of Homilies	4s	
Perkinson's Herbal	10s	John Parkinson. Theatrum botanicum; the theatre of Plants, or an Herball of a large extent. 1635 and 1640. Not found.
Stap Lexicon	10s	
New World of Words	4s	E. Phillips. New World of English Words, or a Universal English Dictionary, Containing the proper Significations and Derivation of all words from other languages, viz. Hebrew, Arabick, Syriack, Greek, Latin, etc. as now made use of in our English tongue ... A Work very necessary for Strangers as well as our own countrymen. 1696.
14 books uppon the high shelve next the gatehouse	14s	
40 bookes on the 2d shelve next the gatehouse	10s	
82 bookes on the 3d shelve next the gatehouse	2 <sup>1</sup>	
75 bookes on the 4th shelve next the gatehouse	10s	
3 of the lowest shelves next the gatehouse	7s 6d	
26 Construinge bookes	4s 8d	
18 Accidents	3s	A form of grammar book.
6 Nomen Cletur	1s 6d	Nomenclature, a glossary or list of words.
5 Berry Rhetor	1s 8d	Berry's Rhetoric. Berry not found.
4 other Rhetor	1s	
Bookes on the shelfves on either side of the Glasse Case	2 <sup>1</sup>	
Bookes and spectacle cases within the Glasse Case	5s	
10 dozen of spectacle	1 <sup>1</sup> 10s	
100 Inkhorns	1 <sup>1</sup> 5s	
3 dozen and halfe of seale wax	7s	
4 bottles of Alix: salutis	4s	A health-giving elixir.
3 dozen bottles of Scurvy grasse	18s	Thought to benefit sufferers from scurvy.
Bookes that were at Bakewell and toolles in the shop	2 <sup>1</sup>	

Of approximately 600 volumes the praisers name and price only 50, these being probably the most valuable and important, and they are certainly an interesting and varied selection, supplying the requirements of the medical, legal and scholastic professions, and more widely, the gentry, merchants and general reading public, in fact those who were interested in the many facets of religion, political affairs and the changing times.

Religious books predominate, 16 are mentioned as well as 7 testaments, but no bibles, which were probably on the ten, or more, shelves carrying just 'bookes'. The authors of some of the works had died long since, while others were writing at the time. Nonconformity was strong in Chesterfield and the district round it: the Elder Yard Chapel had been built in 1694 providing a settled place of worship for those who, for many years, had been meeting in private houses, in the early days suffering heavy fines for doing so. In 1683, for instance, Tabitha White had to pay £20 'for suffering the Conventicle to be held in her House' and the 23 people attending were each fined 5s. (13) So the establishment of the Chapel by Cornelius Clarke, son of Ralph Clarke, first Mayor of Chesterfield, and a rich man, gave the Nonconformists security. The Rev. Thomas Ogle and the Rev. Ferne were joint ministers in the 1690s, and it is possible to discover some members of the congregation from their bequests to past, present and future ministers: Roger Coates, merchant, and Mayor in 1693; Humphrey Pettie, surgeon, the Oxley and Hardy families, to select a few. The Quakers had a following from the 1660s, but had no Meeting House until much later.

So there was a demand for books from the established church and from the dissenters, and one thing both authors and readers enjoyed was religious controversy. Books, tracts and pamphlets appeared in profusion, and some of the arguments were prolonged and bitter. To give an example - The Snake in the Grass, or Satan transformed into an Angel of Light, by Charles Leslie, 1696, stocked by Bradley, was followed in 1697 by An Antidote against the Venome of the Snake in the Grasse, or the book so styled: and the Christian People called Quakers vindicated from its most gross Abuses and Calumnies, wherein that Authors Injustice and Falsehood ... are dicovered and Obviated. This was responded to in the following year by John Faldo with The Snake in the Grasse further Discovered; then Angius Flagellatus, or a Switch for the Snake: being an answer to the Third and last edition of the Snake in the Grass, by Joseph Wyeth ... to which is added a Supplement by G. Whitehead, 1699, and finally The Snake in the Grasse Caught and Crushed, Samuel Yound 1700. (14) Jesint's Reply to Ushers Answers is another, but as Jesint has not been traced this dispute must remain unexplained. Bentley against Boyle refers to a controversial series of pamphlets too long and complicated to be discussed here. (15) Every aspect of religion was in print, the finer points, in modern times of concern to the clergy, were then of great importance to the layman.

History, too, was on Bradley's shelves - Anas. on King James I, History of the Wars in Italy, Plutarch's Lives - but little else.

Bradley's next largest collection was medical, and practising in Chesterfield at this time were, or recently had been, eight apothecaries, four doctors of physic, and four surgeons. (16) With the exception of William Allott no volumes are named in their wills or inventories, and where 'bookes' appear the value is only a few shillings, at most £3. The medical subjects covered in the shop were women's diseases, optics, the treatment of scurvy, the anatomy of the brain, convulsive diseases, two books on pharmacy, and Opera Medica. As plants played a major part in attempting to cure or relieve physical ills, Parkinson's Herbal and Grew's Anatomy of Plants would have come into this category. The laity

have always been fascinated by sickness and methods of curing it, so that one might suppose that some of these works would have been bought by non-medical people, but this is not borne out by the book-owner's list, though the Sitwell library contained several works, probably used by Sitwell wives for the care of sick children, servants and neighbours.

For the lawyers and clergy, Bradley had Degge's Parson's Councillor and Law of Tythes, published in 1676. Though born in Staffordshire, Sir Simon Degge was much concerned with Derbyshire affairs. Called to the Bar in 1653, he subsequently became Recorder of Derby, Steward of the Manor court of Peveril, and was High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1673. This book was practically his only work, but was considered to be the leading authority for many years. (17)

Another Derbyshire author was Timothy Manlove, born in Ashbourne, and grandson of Edward Manlove, who wrote the rhymed chronicle The Liberties and Customes of the Leadmines, 1658. Timothy was a presbyterian divine and also a physician but spent most of his life in the north; he did, however, preach at Bakewell around 1689, (18) so presumably visited the county from time to time. He appears to have written only two books - Praeparatio Evangelica: or a plain and Practical Discourse, which Bradley stocked, and The Imortality of the Soul Asserted. Both books were printed in London for Nevill Simmons in Sheffield, a bookseller and publisher with a shop in the Market Place there from some time in the 1680s, when he had moved from Kidderminster, where his family pursued the same trade, specialising in Nonconformist literature. Richard Baxter, presbyterian, and John Fox, quaker, were amongst the writers whose works he, and other members of the Simmons family, published. (19)

Of general use and interest were Aesop's Fables, The Compleat Horsman, The New World of Words, and inexpensive books on grammar, rhetoric and nomenclature, of which Bradley had a quantity. With regard to prices, in England at this time to top range seems to have been from 7s to 16s; the majority from 7s to 10s, 1s to 4s also sold well, and unbound tracts, pamphlets and chapbooks cost 6d or less. (20) These prices fit in with Bradley's - Parkinson's Herbal and Burnet's Church History were for sale at 10s each, Plutarch 8s, the greatest number 3s to 5s, and a good supply of reading matter from 1s down to 2d.

#### 4. OTHER BOOKS MENTIONED IN CHESTERFIELD INVENTORIES AND THEIR OWNERS.

What was being read in Chesterfield, and by whom, during the whole of the seventeenth century will now be considered from an analysis of books referred to in probate inventories.

##### a) the books

<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Identification</u>	<u>Name of Owner</u>	<u>Date of Death</u>	<u>Status</u>
Abridgement	Brook	Sir Herbert Brooke, La Graunde Abridgement, 1578. Largeley based on Fitzherbert's of the same name.	Clarke, Nicholas	1590	Attorney/Gentleman
Books of years and terms.	---	---	Clarke, Nicholas	1590	Attorney/Gentleman
Abridgement	Fitzherbert	La Graunde Abridgement, re-printed many times 1514	Clarke, Nicholas	1590	Attorney/Gentleman
Acts and Monuments	John Fox	1563, 6 eds. & abridgement	Boulsover Richard	1612	Mercer/ Innkeeper
Two Books, Exposition of all	---	---	Newsam, William	1618	Yeoman

the Epistles and Gospels					
Two statute books	---	---	Rainshawe, Thomas	1623	Butcher
Statute book	---	---	Woodward, George	1623	Tanner
The Practise of Piety	Baily, Lewis	Bishop of Bangor. The Practice of Piety directing a Christian how to walke that he may please God. 1612 to 1640. c.45 editions	Heathcote, George	1626	Vintner
Treatise of Faythe	---	---	Farrayn, Robert	1626	Clothworker
David psalmes opened, The Whole Armory of God.					
Judathes Captivity	---	---	Farrayn, Robert	1626	Clothworker
Practise of Christianitie	Rogers	Practice of Christianitie, or an epitome of 7 treatises. 1618. Richard Rogers.	Farrayn, Robert	1626	Clothworker
The Practise of Piety	Bayly, Lewis	Bishop of Bangor. The Practise of Piety directing a Christian how to walke that he may please God. 1612 to 1640. c.45 editions		1635	
The Practise of Piety	Bayley Lewis	As above	Greaves, Margaret	1635	Tanner's Widow
Breastplate of Faythe & Love	Dr. Preston	The Breastplate ... in 18 Sermons, 1629. John Preston, Master of Emanuel Coll. Cambridge	Reynshawe, Francis	1648	Yeoman
Justice of Peace	Mr. Dalton	Michael Dalton, The Country Justice, conteyning the Practise of the Justices of the Peace, 1618 - 35.	Reynshawe, Francis	1648	Yeoman
English & French Bibles, Spanish Dictionary, a few bookes of Heraldry	---	---	Newton, John	1661	Gentleman
Justice of Peace	Dalton	As above	Baker, Francis	1665	'Servant' Secretary
History of Independency	Walker	Clement Walker, The Compleat History of Independency, with the Rise, Growth and Practices of that powerful & restless faction, 1648. Published in 2 parts under the pseudonom Theodorus Verax. 3rd part, The High Court of Justice, or Cromwell's New Slaughterhouse in England. 1651.	Baker, Francis	1665	Secretary
Works upon the Lord's Prayer & Two Psalms	Sir Richard Baker	Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, 1637. Series of Meditations on the Psalms, 1639	Baker, Francis	1665	Secretary

The Armour of God	---	---	Madon, Rowland	1667	Sadler
The Foules					
Conflict					
Herball	Dr. Rambert Dodoen	Rembert Dodoens. A Neuwe Herball or Historie of Plantes, wherein is conteyned the whole Discourse and Perfect Descrip- tions of all sortes of Herbes and Plantes; their divers & Sundry Kinde; their straunge Figures, Fashions and Shapes ... 1578	Allott, William	1670	Gentleman Surgeon
General Practice of Physicke Works	Christo. Witzung Rev. Mr Perkins	Christopher Wirtzung, Wirsung, 1605. The Works of that fam- ous & worthy minister of Christ, in the Uni- versity of Cambridge, M.W. Perkins, gathered into one volume, a newly corrected account to his own Copies. 1603 to 1635. 10 eds.	Allott, William Allott, William	1670 1670	Surgeon Surgeon
Latin Bible with notes Junius and Tremelins	---	Perhaps Adrian Junius who wrote Nomenclator or Remembrancer, in Latin, Greek & French. 1583. Philologist.	Allott William	1670	Surgeon
Works	Mr. Wm. Cowper	William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway. Works published in 1623, after his death.	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
Chronicles in a large volume in folio	Speed	---	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
English Annota- tions on the old and new Testaments, in folio	---	---	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
Saints Ever- lasting Rest	Mr. Baxter	Richard Baxter, Saints ... or a Treatise of the Blessed State of the Saints in their Enjoyment of God in Glory, 1650.	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
Morning Exercise at Cripplegate Of Original Sinne	---	Annesley, Samuel. 1661. 4 editions.	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
	Mr. Anthony Burgess	The Doctrine of Origin- al Sin, Asserted & Vin- dicated against the old and new Adversaries thereof, both Socinians, Papists, Armenians and Anabaptists ... 1659.	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
Of the Beatit- udes	Mr. Thomas Watson.	1660	Allott, William	1670	Surgeon
Certain old law Books	---	---	Clarke, Godfrey	1670	Lawyer/ Gentleman
A Large History	---	---	Newton, William	1673	Wollen- draper

Book of Astrology called Lillies Introductions	William Lilly	Mr. Lillie's Astrolog- ical Predictions for 1654, and many other similar titles. John Downame 1646	Youle, John	1673	Chandler
Treatise of Self- deniall			Sutton, Robert	1677	Yeoman
A Paraphrase and Annotacon upon the Psalmes	---	Perhaps Obadiah Walker who wrote A Paraphrase & Annotations upon all the Epistles. 1684.	Webster, Godfrey	1683	Tanner

b) their owners

Nicholas Clarke of Somersall, Brampton, died 1590. Member of a Chesterfield family important in the town for several generations. He bought the Somersall estate some time before 1577, and acquired more land before his death. He was an attorney with a Chamber in Clement's Inn, and acted, with his sons, in a somewhat unscrupulous manner in the affairs of the burgesses and the Earl of Shrewsbury, his main object being to further the interests of the Clarke family, and to establish it firmly amongst the landed gentry.(21) He probably had a good library, and left Brook's Abridgement, books of years and terms, and 'all other such books' to his eldest son, Robert, who was to have a quarter of the residue. Godfrey, who succeeded him at Somersall, was left Fitzherbert's Abridgement, and 'such other bookes as he has taken paines to coate', with another quarter of the library, and the last half was for Thomas. The books described relate to the Law, and Nicholas willed that all three sons should use the London Chambers should they decide to practise as attorneys.

Godfrey Clarke of Somersall, died 1634 aged 75, second son of Nicholas, had 'a roomthe called the Studie' containing books valued at £6 13s 4d, while his son, Gilbert, had them in several places in the house, £10 11s Od. Godfrey, in the next generation, died at Somersall in 1670, and left 'Certain old Lawe bookes and other bookes in the Closet in the Dyingroom', £3 6s 8d, a frame for books with curtains, and a cupboard, £1 15s Od, and the Lirkary in the Study, £30.

Further light is thrown on the books at Somersall through the will and inventory of their man of affairs, Francis Baker, (already referred to), who served this last Godfrey and had been rewarded by the lease of a farm elsewhere in Brampton. Though Clarke's library was in the Study the other contents of that room belonged to Baker, and besides the book-binding equipment he had a desk, greater and lesser presses for books, a chest at his beds' feet, a 'sayle' skin trunk, and several boxes for papers. He also had some interesting personal possessions - a gilt silver hat band, a walking staff with the head artificially cut and tipped with silver, silver and brass seals, a little barber's case with 'Rasors and Sithers', two pairs of bowles and a jack, daggers and pistols. He is careful to state that all his own books are marked F.B., and that any not so marked 'belong not to me, neither do I remember whose some of them are!' The ones he prized most were left to his friends - Sir Richard Baker's Works to Jane Clarke, Godfrey's daughter-in-law; History of Indepency (sic) to Mr. Robert Milward, a Chesterfield lawyer and cousin of the Clarkes, and Dalton's Justice of the Peace to John Akrode, who also served the Clarkes in some way, probably legal as he was also an attorney. This book had been lent to Richard Clarke, proprietor of the Angel Inn, and was to be recovered from him.

William Allott, M.D., died 1670, came from a gentry family long established at Crigglestone, Yorkshire.(22) He had interesting property in Cambridge leased from St. John's College, which comprised several messuages and gardens in St. Sepulchres parish ('commonly called the Round Church parish'), and further tenements including The Blue Boar.

The rent from his eight poor tenants there was owing at his death, nevertheless he left them 20s each. Several members of his family had been at St. Johns' including his 'deere' and distinguished uncle, Robert Allott, M.D., a Fellow living in College, and Linacre Professor of Physic. On his death Dr. William had inherited 'all his Phissicall Books, paper books, and all his phissicall notes, with all the Chirurgical Instruments' and a silver box of instruments. These, in 1670 were left to his cousin and namesake, with a strict obligation not to expend or 'emberill' the same.

To his nephew, William, went the English Annotations, Saints Everlasting Rest, Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, Original Sin, and The Beatitudes, 'hoping that these bookes of Divinity will further his Soules advantage and future felicity', and he also hoped that William would eventually be bound apprentice to a Physician, Surgeon or Apothecary. His sister was the widow of Richard Wood, apothecary of Chesterfield, whose son and grandson also followed this profession, and her son, Edward Wood, appropriately inherited Dodoen's Herbal, The General Practice of Phissicke by Witzung, while his brother, John, was left three volumes in folio of the Works of the Rev. Mr. Perkins. Allott distributed other books to relations, and willed that all his pictures and those of his uncle should return to his brother at Crigglestone. These included the Arms of St. John's College, the Allott Arms on parchment, David and Goliath's Sword, the largest picture in his chamber called the 'Peters Church in Roome', and a picture on a piece of a man's skull inclosed in silver!

He seems to have been a bachelor living with his nephew, Edward Wood, for he left only a press, a great twiggen chair and a screen by way of furniture, and small objects such as rings, watches and a gilt bowl with his library worth £15, but 5s each went to the 'menniall' servants who had been resident with Edward and Alice for half a year before the doctor's death.

Richard Boulsover, who died in 1612, appears to have been both a mercer and an innkeeper, having linen cloth, Manchester stuffe, and French wine worth £15. His house was large and luxurious for the time, and he also owned Licker (sometimes spelt Liquor) Hall in Saltergate, let to the Tupmans. He was closely related to the Clarkes of Somersall, and the Hunlokes of Wingerworth. At his death he owed £3 to the Lord Admiral, and £23 to two men at Hull. Besides a bible and a psalter he had Acts and Monuments by John Foxe, who had leanings towards the Lutheran doctrine.

William Newsam, died 1618, yeoman, but he had a warehouse and goods at John Cook's, Richard Graves and Francis Heathcote's, though his trade is not revealed. He had a lease for £26 from the Free School of Dronfield. Only two books are mentioned in his inventory, but he had a seeled ambry with shelves for the keeping of books, 7s.

George Woodward, died 1623, tanner. Inventory £174, his stock of leather £65, and was owed money by ten men for goods sold to them. As well as a bible and a psalter he had a statute book.

Robert Farrayn, died 1626, clothworker. Inventory £70, stock of cloth and equipment £27. Six-roomed house, well furnished. He had 3 old bibles, Treatise of Faythe, David Psalmes Opened, The Whole Armory of God. Judathes Captivitie, and two other books, valued at 12s. The Practice of Christianitie, was 1s; perhaps these were chap-books or pamphlets.

George Heathcote, died 1626, vintner. He had an eight-roomed inn, the contents of which were worth £24. His bible and The Practice of Piety were valued at 4s.

Margaret Greaves, died 1635, widow. Her inventory £111. Her husband, Thomas Greaves, had been a tanner and pre-deceased her by 15 years, leaving lands in Brampton, Ashgate, Dronfield and Chesterfield, which included spring woods, and he held a lease from the Earl of Pembroke of his house in Chesterfield. An unusual item in his inventory is 7 dozen of 'Bred', 7s., but Margaret did better, leaving 66 dozen of Breads and Simnells worth £3 6s Od. Margaret had a bible and The Practice of Piety.

Francis Reynshawe, died 1648, yeoman; inventory £204, farming stock and crops £97. Son of Thomas Rainshawe, and lived at Cuttholme, inherited from his father. He had leases from the Earl of Newcastle and Lord Deincourt. He kept one old bible, Dr. Preston's Breastplate, Mr. Dalton's Justice of Peace, with divers other old books in the closet at the back of the chimney.

John Newton, died 1661, gentleman, of Tapton. Apart from his will and inventory, which reveal a sophisticated life style, nothing can be found to explain his interest in French, Spanish and Heraldry; perhaps it was just the result of a good education.

Rowland Madon, died 1667/8, sadler. He had a house in 'Lemongate' and a shop 'under the Townes Hall'. Very detailed list of his stock. He had a bible, testament, The Armour of God and The Foules Conflict, with a little trunk, presumably to keep them in.

John Youle, died 1673, chandler. The only man to possess a book on astrology, though this subject appealed to many in the seventeenth century, and was accesible through chap-books to the poorer folk. William Lilly also wrote pamphlets with titles such as The Dreadful Deadman, and published 36 almanacks in one year. Pepys refers to a convivial evening spent at his house in the Strand. (23)

William Newton, died 1673/4, woollen draper. Inventory £190, cloth in the shop - broads, narrows, bease and cottons, £106. Held a lease from the Corporation, of which he was a member, of a little shop near the Butchery, for which he paid 6s 8d per year. (24) He was Mayor in 1658. in 1663 he was removed from the office of alderman for refusing to take the oath. (25) His books consisted of a large bible, a large History, and several other books, 17s.

Godfrey Webster, died 1683, tanner. His goods valued at £363, which covered his stock worth £293. He left one book to his daughter, Mary, being A Paraphraze and Annotation upon the Psalms. No books are listed in the inventory.

John Ashe, apothecary, died 1707. An unsolved mystery relates to this member of the ubiquitous Ashe family. Thomas Bateman, writing in Derbyshire libraries in 1860 states:- 'A third collection was gathered by John Ashe, an apothecary of Chesterfield, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, whose books - mostly of a theological or controversial class - are distinguished by the initials I.A. branded on the top edge of the leaves with a hot iron. Several pieces of considerable scarcity by Non-conformist ministers of the county, and a small edition of Esop's Fables, with absurd woodcuts exhibit this distinctive mark'. (26) Presumably Bateman had acquired a few of Ashe's books for his own library, as he and his father had spent many years searching for old books in all parts of Derbyshire. One might have supposed that Ashe's will and inventory would show the extent of his collection, but although his household goods are listed in great detail, and show him to have lived in considerable comfort in his eight-roomed house, his shop contained unspecified goods worth £12, and the terse entry 'bookes 30s'.

It is hardly necessary to say that, in the Chesterfield inventories, bibles were the most numerous of books. Of the 116 considered, 50 people

had one, 16 had two, 2 had four, one had three; one was French, one Latin, another had brass bosses; others were variously described as great, large, big, little, old and a Church Bible

c) where the books were kept.

<u>Study</u>	<u>Closet</u>	<u>Chest</u>	<u>Cupboard</u> <u>Press</u> <u>Ambry</u>	<u>Shelves</u>	<u>Stall</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Book</u> <u>Chamber</u>	<u>Frame for</u> <u>Books with</u> <u>Curtains</u>
7	8	2	1 each	2	1	1	2	1

When libraries are mentioned they clearly refer to a collection of books, rather than a room.

d) the value of the libraries.

No one in Chesterfield, so far discovered, had a large or valuable collection of books. Besides Clarke at £33, and Allott at £15, John Coope, vicar of the town, had a library of books and writings worth £24, Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Forth, who had had a Cambridge education, kept £15 worth in a press in the Book Chamber, Godfrey Watkinson of Brampton Moor House, lead merchant, had books in his study listed at £10, and John Wood, parson of Brampton, possessed four score and some odd books worth £8. With a few in the range between £5 and £1, the remaining 50 or so were valued at less than one pound.

e) chap-books.

It can be assumed that both the booksellers were dealers in chap-books, receiving them from the publishers and selling them to itinerant chapmen and pedlars, who sometimes had stalls in the markets, but more usually travelled the country on foot, or with a packhorse, selling their wares to farms, cottages, alehouses, or to servants at the back doors of the better houses. (27) One such was Abel Tilly of Chesterfield, a respected townsman who died in 1647, but all that can be learnt from his inventory about his trade is 'his severell porcons of ware in his pack and abroad, in his boxes in his house and parlour, preysed to £12 8s 10d. Seedes and harding bags £1 4s Od.' He also had hay, horse gears and tilts, but nothing is said about reading matter.

An inventory was taken in 1661 by the Town Clerk, Peter Needham, Peter Dowker and Francis Bagshawe, constables, and Roger Manifould, 'Bidle', of the goods of William Johnson, alias Peter, a pedlar who was apprehended at Chesterfield old Fair on the 14th September of that year, for suspicion of felony. He went on his rounds with a little bay nag, a hawking bag, and a trunk full of purses, stockings, buttons, ribbons of many colours, gloves, children's muffs, combs, leaden rattles and fish hooks. He, at least, had one dozen of battledores (horn books), 8 gilt primers and 9 more in a bunch, and again chap-books are missing. Indeed these 'small books' were so cheap, seldom priced at more than 6d, that when read they were mostly thrown away, used as wrapping paper, or even more basic purposes, and so few have survived. When noticed by praisers they were probably listed with husslements, trumpery, or things forgot.

The existence of chap-books must have encouraged the working population to form the habit of reading, for they covered almost every subject and were known as Godly books, which provided popular religion and death, usually dramatic; Merry books covering jokes and riddles, courtship, love letters, songs etc., Histories, which were romantic versions of old tales of Kings, Queens, poor apprentices who made good, highway men, trials, and many other subjects. There was also a serious and instructive group which touched on medicine, law, cookery, letter-writing and other useful matters. So it is probable that the 4d and 6d books

Bradley's shop such as Thorpe's Lodgings 6d, Paulery's Opera Medica 6d, Laurensius 4d, Guasius Quarterino 4d and '30 in the 3d shelve 4s.' (just over 6d each) fell into this category. About 50 of the owners had 'bookes' and many of these men were comparatively poor, so that 9 books 4s, 2 bibles and other little books 10s, 14 books 5s, were all likely to have been 'small' books, as they were known. On the other hand, Books in his studie and pictures' at 10s, though cheap, might have been old, and worn and unimpressive to the praisers, as Lancelot Butler was a lead merchant with a fine house.

5. THE RENISHAW HALL LIBRARY  
a) George Sitwell

A rather different collection of books, less restricted to religious works, and displaying the wider interests of its owner compared with the Chesterfield readers, was the library at Renishaw belonging to George Sitwell.(28) He had inherited the estate at the early age of 14, in 1671, and no doubt his mother and trustees would have managed it during his education, which ended at Trinity College, Cambridge, after which he returned to Derbyshire to live the life of a country squire. He had plenty to occupy his time, visiting his out-lying estates in Lincolnshire and Derbyshire, buying and selling land, managing the financial affairs of his mother and other relations, keeping an eye on the Sitwell Iron Works, and, as time went on, becoming a magistrate, deputy lieutenant, and being increasingly involved in the affairs of the county.

He married, in 1680, Ann Kent of Povey, a neighbour's daughter, her father, Thomas Kent, paying 1s to the pipers at the wedding. She was heir to her father, step-mother and grandfather, Hercules Clay of Whitecote in Chesterfield, who added a silver tankard, 2 silver bowls and 6 silver spoons to the Renishaw plate.(29) From his father-in-law George acquired the first of a series of almanacks, which he used each year till his death, not only for their printed information, which covered politics, prognostications, list of fairs, a calendar of law and university terms, medicines and current events, but which allowed him to enter detailed notes on most things relating to his daily life; the births of his children, his visits to London and what he bought there, his rents, directions for brewing good coffee, a cure for the ague, the making of a shoe polish and a host of other interesting facts. These little books were more sophisticated than most, which usually sold for about 9d, for his were bound in brown or red leather and fastened with silk strings or clasps of brass. The almanacks, as a whole, were published by many, but the Sitwells, favoured Riders British Merlin, Gallen's Pocket Almanack and Goldsmith's Almanack.

What concerns us here, however, are the books lent to his friends, no doubt a very small proportion of the Renishaw library but the ones of most importance and interest to George. He was buying books, both in London and from a Mr. Cadwell, and he and two neighbours subscribed to the Doncaster Post, the Evening Post, Newsletters and Gazettes, which Charles Eaton, 'our foot post' brought to Renishaw, and received a salary of 42s a year for so doing. In modern times we walk long distances only for pleasure, and tend to think the horse supplied all forms of transport in former times, but the footpost was an important servant in the families of the country gentry, and was also employed by the corporations of towns. It was considered that a well-trained man was faster than a horse on long journeys, indeed it is recorded that a footman ran 148 miles in 42 hours, including some periods for rest.(30) As we have seen, Chesterfield could supply many of the requirements of a large country house; the newspapers were first obtained from Edward Jessope, but later Jonathan Slater, a bookseller and member of a prominent Chesterfield family, provided this service. George Sitwell's administrative duties must often have taken him there as when he notes 'Md. the 14th day of February (1691) to meet Mr Sherrif's man at

Dodson's (the Angel Inn) in Chesterfield', and gives a date for the next monthly meeting. Groceries and fish were bought there, and in a previous generation cloth for the liveries of the men servants was bought, at 4s per yard, from Mr. Newton's shop in the Market Place. Shentall's furniture shop had perhaps developed from that of Peter Shentall, a joiner, who died in 1672, and had 'ware that is made, three sealed bedsteads, two tables, two cupboards, bed posts, bed stoopes', and two hundred three score and ten of wares unwrought up. He also had nine coffins ready for use.(31) Another bookseller named Crofts was in business, but nothing has been discovered about him. Cousins lived near the town - the Watkinson's of Brampton, the Wood family, three of them apothecaries, and the Revells of Ogston, with whom he kept in close touch.

In 1686, at the tender age of 4 years, George's eldest son, Francis, was sent, with Richard Townrow, to school with Mr. Cook, who was paid 30s for educating the two boys for the following 18 months. This school was most probably the Petty School at Chesterfield, whose master was a Mr. Cook then. In 1691 Mr. William Foxlowe had taken over the Grammar School - 'Received then of George Sitwell Esqr. by the hands of William Hattersley in full for one half years Table and Schoolwage for Mr. Francis Sitwell, due and ended ye 7th day of this instant Aprill and in full of all other accounts for the use of Mr. William Foxlowe, the summe of five pounds I say received by me, Grace Foxlowe'. In 1693 he was boarding with 'Cozen Wood' the apothecary, who was paid £8 for the year. The School building had closed in 1691 until 1699, but education was carried on in the Master's house. In Francis' last year at the school his father bought for him in London, a Greek Testament for 6s, and two other books costing 14s and 8s 6d. The Master had changed again to the Rev. Sleigh, who also took in boarders and taught them well, for he sent eight boys to the university, mostly to Cambridge, of whom Francis was one, together with Paul Jenkinson of Walton, and Samuel Bourne later rector of Ashover.(32) For a year Francis went, with his books, to a tutor in London, to study advanced mathematics and astronomy, and in April 1700 he was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

George's wife died in 1695 and two years later he let Renishaw to Mr. Sympson who rented the Iron Works, and went to London for three years to live with his brother, Francis, a merchant there. He made regular visits to Derbyshire to carry out his public duties, and he kept in touch with his friends and relations. Nearest to Renishaw was the Gardiner family of the Rector of Eckington. The Commissioners of the Commonwealth reported, in 1650, 'there is one Mr. Gardiner, pleading to be present incumbent, who is now Proctor in Cambridge'.(33) Dr. Samuel Gardiner was appointed and settled down to be Rector and Patron of the living. He married a wife from Hertfordshire who had the advowson of a living there which, in time, went to their second son, William. The doctor had many friends in the district, and Godfrey Clarke of Somersall left him £5 in his will of 1670, with the request that his reverend friend, Dr. Gardiner of Eckington, should preach his funeral sermon 'if he be at leisure and in the country'. On his death in 1685 his eldest son, Samuel, succeeded him, whose wife was a Revell of Ogston, and his mother-in-law, Mary Sitwell, and so he becomes 'Coz. Gard.' in the almanacks. He was one of the chief borrowers of books, mostly religious, but he was also interested in the Natural Rarities of the Royal Society, the History of Formosa, and an Abridgement of the Statutes. On one of George's trips to London he was given 2s 6d by Samuel 'to drink with my brother Francis and Andrew Gardiner', who was Samuel's attorney brother practising in London. The Rector occasionally requested his friend to make small purchases such as 6lbs. of tobacco at 12s, and Castellro's Bible for 23s.

Apart from the bevy of relations, George lent books to people scattered around the district - Lord James Cavendish had an Impartial View of the Two Parliaments; Mr. Brown, a later schoolmaster of

Chesterfield, who appraised Bradley's books, borrowed Cudworth's Intellectual System, and other literary friends were Mr. Ellison of Sheffield, an apothecary, Dr. Dakin, Mr. Chantry of Clowne, Sir John 'Roads', presumably of Barlborough, a Mr. Eyre, and several more. His new tenants, the Sympsons, were both readers, and one wonders if Sitwell decided on the books he lent, for he had the same pack for Mrs. Sympson and Mrs. Stringer (mother of the former lady) - Paradise Lost, Cowley's Poems, Sanderson's Sermons, and his wife's Receipt Books, whilst Mrs. Levints who lived near Retford, was lent four bound books of pamphlets and three single ones.

b) Books lent from the Renishaw library.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Identification</u>	<u>Lent to</u>
1682	Play called Romes follies	N.N.	Romes Follies or the Amorous Fryars, 1681	Mother, Katherine Sitwell
	Wonders of the Peake	Charles Cotton	First Published 1681	Mr. Ogden
	Duke of Epernoone Life.	---	---	Bought from Mr. Cadwell
	History	Barella	Perhaps Antoine Varilla, History of Heresies or Secret History of the Medicis.	"
	Postscript	Hunt	Mr. Hunt's Postscript for rectifying some mistakes 1682.	"
	Six Metaphisicall Med.	Dessartes	Descartes. Six Metaphysical Meditations 1680.	" (Mr. Cadwell for books £3)
1687	A discourse against Transub:	---	John Tillotson. Discourse against Transubstantiation 1684.	Mr. Fells of Rotherham
	The Answer to Popish Queryes	---	---	Mr. God. Gardiner
	Book against the Papists Works	Bishop of Lincoln Cowley	Robert Sanderson, Many works. Abraham Cowley, Works Consisting of those which were formerly printed, and those which he designed for the Press, 1684.	Mr. Letherland Mr. John Wigfall
	Institutes, 1st, 2nd, 3rd parts	Cook	Sir Edward Coke, published in 1642, 1644 and 1681.	Brother, Will. Sitwell
	Oates, his tryall Reply to the Amicable Accomodation	---	1685. William Sherlock, D.D. An Answer to the Amicable Accomodation 1686.	Mr. Burdin Will. Sitwell
	Reasons for his Turning to the Papists	---	---	Cousin Samuel Gardiner
	Remaines	Cambden	William Cambden, Remaines concerning Brittain ... with many rare Antiquities never before printed ... 1637	Cousin John Revell

1687	Religion and Royalty	Dr. Parker	Religion and Loyalty Samuel Parker, 1684	Cousin Sam. Gardiner
1690	Theory of Earth		Gilbert Burnett, Bishop of Salisbury, The Theory of the Earth, containing an Account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the general Changes which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo till the Consumacon of all things ... 1684	Mother
	Answer to Burnett	Bishop of Hereford	Herbert Croft, 'Answer to a letter to Dr. Burnett 'Some Animversions upon a Book intituled The Theory of the Earth, 1685.	William Sitwell
	Booke	Chillingworth	Probably 'Book called The Religion of Protestants, 1687.	Mr. Woolehouse
1691	System of Atheism	Dr. Cudworth	Ralph Cudworth, 'The True Intellectual System of the Universe, wherin all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted, and its impossibility demonstrated, 1678.	Mr. Revell
	Funeral of the Mass	Mr. Roden	Daniel Deroden, 11 edns. 1673-1685	Mr. Jackson
	Duty of a Constable, Tything man ...	Shepherd	William Sheppard, 'Offices and Duties of a Constable, 1641. Parson's Guide, or the Law of Tythes, 1654.	Isaack Fentham, jun.
	Travels into Italy	A Frenchman	Perhaps R. Lassels, 'An Italian Voyage.' Author an Italian priest who travelled as tutor to English nobility and gentry. 1685.	William Sitwell
	Answer to Burnett	Bishop of Hereford	as above	William Sitwell
	1st part Theory of Earth	Burnett	as above	Samuel Gardiner
	Doctor Burnett's Reply to ...		as above	Mr. Ellison of Sheffield
	3 pamphlets concerning a Case of Allegiance	Dr. Sherlock	'The Case of Allegiance due ... 1691, 6 eds.	Sir Paul Jenkinson
1693	Theory of Earth	Burnett	as above	Mr. Bassett
	Conflagracone		Simon Ford, 'The Conflagration of London. 1667	"
	Books Against ...	Warren		"
1697	Abridgement of the Statutes	Wingate	Edmund Wingate published many books on the Law	Cousin Samuel Gardiner

	Esop Fables	Sr. Rodger le Estra- gne	Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythol- ogists: with Morals and Reflexions by Sir Roger L'Estrange 1692.	Mr. Jackson of Beighton
	Desolacons of France		de Soulignee, 'The Desolation of France demonstrated. 1697.	Cousin Watkinson
	Book against Deism	Edwards		Mr. Blake- man of Chesterfield Cozen Sacheverell Aunt Sitwell
1699	The Act about the Quarterly Poll Present state of Europe from the Treaty of Nimiguen Intellectual System	Dr. Cud- worth	as above	Mr. Brown, schoolmaster
	Compleat Attorney		Compleat Attorney, 1654 and 1676	Mr. Francis Stringer
	System of Universe		Ralph Cudworth, as above	Mr. Browne schoolmaster
	Sermons	Bishop Sanderson	Published many sermons 1657-1689	Mrs. Stringer
	Paradise Lost	Milton		Mrs. Stringer
	Poems	Cowley	Abraham Cowley	"
	Two Receipt Books	Mrs. Ann Sitwell		"
	A Book of Plays, most of them Dreydens	Dreydens	John Dryden, wrote many plays.	Aunt Sitwell
1700	Sermons	Bishop Sanderson	as above	Mrs. Sympson
	Paradise Lost	Milton		"
	Poems, 1st part	Cowley	as above	"
	Two Receipt Books	Mrs. Ann Sitwell		"
	Expositions of the 39 Articles Lives, in 5 vols.	Dr. Burn- ett Plutarch	1699 Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, translated out of the French by T. North	Mr. Eyre "
1702	Metamorphosis Frag- mentum Petri et Scapulas Lexicon The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace	W.N. of the Middle Temple	Barrister at the flower de luce ... over against St. Dunstan's in Fleet St.	Owned by Francis Sitwell Bought by George Sitwell
	Secret History of the Kings of England		Eight possible books of this title relat- ing to James I & Charles I, 1690	Mr. Gerrard
	Book of Devocons 8th edition	Patrick	Perhaps 'A Book for Beniners, Symon Pat- rick, Bishop 1680, 14 editions.	Uncle Will Sitwell
	Fairy Queen	Spencer	Faerie Qwene, 1590, & many later eds.	Mother
	History of Formosa			Coz. Samuel Gardiner

	Tale of a tub		Jonathan Swift	Coz. Samuel Gardiner
	Miscellaneyes in Prose and Verse		"	"
1705	Lecture Life of Prince Eugin Ornithology	Boyle		" Uncle Will Sitwell Mr. Sympson
		Willoughby	Francis Willoughby, Ornithology, wherin all Birds hitherto known, being reduced into a Method suitable to their nature are accurately described ... 1678	
	... icum	Stillington	Perhaps 'Irenicum, A Weapon Salve, 1661 Dr. Edward Stillingtonfleet.	Mr. Stevenson
	The Tryall of the Regicides		Indictment, Arraignment, Tryall and Judgement ... of 29 Regicides, the Murtherers of ... King Charles I, Printed for the Booksellers ...	Mr. Sympson
	History of England 2 parts. Memoir			Mr. Sympson
	Clergyman's Law	Langalerye	Perhaps Richard Langhorn's Memories 1679	"
	Roman History 5th volume. A thick Quarto about the Exchange of Money.	Hackat		Mr. Chantry of Clowne Sir John Roads Mr. Sympson
1709	Conduct of the Roman Clergy in France.	Hayford		Mr. Millington
	Improvement of Husbandry.	Mortimer		Mr. John Ward of Killamarsh
	Natural Rareties of the Royal Society.	Creu		Cozen Gardiner
	The Church of England.			"
	... Thoughts of Mr. Harley.			"
	4 bound books of Pamphlets and 3 single ones, Character of a Low Church man, Letters to a North Brittain.			Mrs. Levints
	The Good Old Cause		Charles Leslie, The Good Old Cause, or Lying in Truth, a 2nd Defence of the Lord Bishop of Sarum, 1710	"

Esop Fables, 1st Vol.	Sr. Roger Lestrangess	as above	Mr. William Sympson
An Impartial View of the two late Parliaments.			Lord James Cavendish
A book of misselany Poems.			Cozen Sympson
Three Playes Letters, Vols. I, II, III	Mr. Steele Sir William Temple	Letters written during 1699 & 1700, 2 vols. 1695	" Bought by George Sitwell
Introductions to the History of England.	"	"	"
Memoirs, 2 books	"	Memoirs of what Past in Christendom, 1692	"
Miscellanies, 1st, 2nd, 3rd parts.	"	Miscellanea, A Survey, 1680	"
Observations of the United Provinces.	"	1673, 5 editions	"
Historical Collections. Vol I beginning the 16th yeare of King James and ending the 5th of King Charles, 2nd vol. 2nd pt.	Rushworth	John Rushworth, Historical Collections relating to the Civil War, 1659-1692.	"
Vols. 4,5,6 & 7 Strafford's Tryall.			"
Memorials of the Church of England. Lysis, or the Extravagant Shepherd.		Charles Sorel, The Extravagant Shepherd 1660	Mrs. Levints son (in-law) Sacheverell
Constitutione, Discipline of the Primative Christians for the first 300 years.			Mr. White
A Scholasticall History of Lay Baptism.			son Sach.
Lives of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugine.			Cozen Osborne & son Sach.
Acts of Parliament, Vol. I.			Mr. Drake
Remarks upon the tryals of Edmund FitzHarris, Stephen College, Count Coningsmark, The Lord Russel, Col. Sidney, Henry Cornish & Charles Bateman, also on Earl of Shaftesbury's Grand Jury.	Printed in 1684 by John Harris Barrister of Lincolns Inn.		

1713	Two Books.			Bought from nephew, Henry Allestree for 12s.
1714	Life of Jane Shore. Dictionarium Religiosum		1688	Mrs. Sympson Mr. Sympson
1715	Compleat Farrier.  Present State of Great Brittain. Pedigree of the Sacheverell Family.		Bradley stocked this book in 1699	" " Mr. Bussany
1720	The Vanitie of Physic & Philosophie. A Play called Attramule & another called Tamerlin, both Tragedyes. Miscellanies under 7 heads, Popes Urbin 7th; Innocent 9th; Gregory 14th; Leo 11th. Abridgement of the History of the Rebelione.  History of the Law  Analysis of the Law.	Marquess of Halifax	George Saville, Marquess of Halifax 'Miscellanies, 1700 - 1704.  History of the Rebellion & Civil Wars in England, begun in the year 1641. Perhaps Mathew Hale, History of the Common Law of England 1716.	Mr. Stringer Mr. William Sympson Bought by George Sitwell Mrs. Sympson Mr. Sympson Mr. Sympson

5. c) the nature of the books.

In considering the range of the Renishaw books we find, again, that religion predominates - about 20; with history next, 18, but contrary to what was found in Chesterfield, plays and poetry were popular, 14, followed by 10 law books. Camden's Remaines, Cotton's Wonders of the Peak, ornithology and husbandry were also of interest, though each of these books was lent to one person only, and not generally sought after. Sitwell and his circle would have followed the course of Marlborough's war and the highly complicated state of affairs in Europe, so that the Lives of both Marlborough and Prince Eugene would have been eagerly read. One fact that may surprise the modern reader is that no volume of Shakespeare was in any of these collections, and Bateman, writing on libraries in 1860 noticed this too, 'No scrap of Shakespeare has ever been observed by me'.(34) The owners of the Chesterfield books were deeply concerned with religion, several of them from the Non-conformist angle, otherwise their choice was severely practical - medicine, the law,

angle, otherwise their choice was severely practical. - medicine, the law, dictionaries - with no plays, poems or novels, which were anathema to those with puritan leanings, so that Shakespeare's plays, particularly the comedies, often bawdy with drunkenness part of the fun, would not have been in demand. Bateman subscribes to this view, stating that in Elizabeth's reign Calvinistic divinity was predominant in Derbyshire, and that the books collected by him and his father excluded poetry and plays.(35)

Bradley, whatever his views, would have supplied what was required as his business depended on local trade. In the case of Sitwell, with his broader outlook, we have only dealt with the books he lent, and these were mostly the latest. As Shakespeare had long been dead and his friends would have had their own copies, his absence is not surprising.

The Renishaw library had been built up over several generations, and although much of it had been dispersed in 1840, Sir George Sitwell, writing in 1907 (36) lists many of the books it contained at the end of the seventeenth century. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, read in Chesterfield by Richard Boulsover before 1612; Leigh's Critica Sacra, stocked by Bradley, books on philosophy, medicine, mathematics, history, voyages and travels, law and The Art of Speaking (a useful aid to a man concerned with public affairs). Works by Erasmus, Milton, Descartes, Bacon, Homer, Aristotle and other classical writers were there, but Sir George adds that to the country squire English poetry and prose were formerly unknown.(37)

So it would appear that George, born in 1657, and his son, Francis, having strong connections with the London world of literature and fashion, were being influenced by the changes of outlook which would gather momentum as the eighteenth century progressed. It would be long before the educated classes in Chesterfield would be freed from the rigours of dissenting thought.

#### APPENDIX

Notes on some of the authors.(38)

Ainsworth, Henry. 1571 - 1622/3.

Educated Caius College, Cambridge. Stated to be 'Fine type of Elizabethan Puritan; learned, sincere, earnest and uncompromising'. Joined Brownists - ancestors of Congregationalists. Became leader of separatist congregation at Amsterdam and wrote series of controversial works. One sold by Bradley.

Allestree, Richard. 1619 - 1681.

Royalist divine. Imprisoned for his part in Civil War. At Restoration, D.D., and Chaplain to the King. Provost of Eaton College. Prolific writer, Whole Duty of Man ran into 25 eds. Family related to Sitwells, and George bought books from his nephew, Henry Allestree, a bookseller in London.

Attersoll, William. d. 1640.

Educated Cambridge. Puritan divine and author of many religious works, including New Covernant of 1614, still sold by Bradley in 1699,

Baker, Sir Richard. 1568 - 1645.

Religious and historical writer, educated Oxford. M.A. 1594. Knighted by James I, 1603. On marriage took on debts of his wife's family and died in the Fleet, where he began literary career. Works considered mediocre 'the work of an old man's enforced leisure', but Chronicle of

the Kings of England popular with country gentlemen, hence in library of Francis Baker of Somersall, and a number of religious works.

Baxter, Richard. 1615.- 1691.

Presbyterian divine. Poorly educated at Free School at Wroxeter where a fellow pupil was Richard Allestree. Ordained at Worcester. Later became Nonconformist and Parliamentarian. Profuse writer and works mostly published by the Simmons family at Kidderminster (see Wing under Baxter). Allott had his works.

Bayly, Lewis, Bishop of Bangor. d. 1631.

Had puritan leanings, nevertheless made Archdeacon of St. Albans, and chaplain to the King. Frequently in trouble for his views. Practise of Piety based on series of sermons, and popular with Chesterfield readers.

Bentley, Richard. 1662 - 1742.

Educated St. John's College, Cambridge. Master of Trinity 1700, King's Librarian. Considered to be the greatest classical scholar of his time. Involved in bitter controversy concerning the Letters of Phalaris, which the Hon. Charles Boyle had edited. He unjustly accused Bentley, in his preface, of refusing him opportunities for his work, as King's Librarian. Bentley replied with his Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris, stating that he had not behaved badly, the letters were spurious and Boyle's edition was very bad. This book would probably be Bentley against Boyle on Bradley's shelves, only just published (1699).

Burgess, Anthony. d. 1652.

Educated St. John's College, Cambridge, so perhaps a friend of William Allott's uncle. Member of the Westminster Assembly, and after Restoration was ejected. Wrote many works, mostly sermons, and favoured titles such as Romes Cruelty and Paul's Last Farewell.

Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, 1643 - 1715.

Educated Aberdeen. M.A. at 14. Member of Royal Society; visited English Universities and made friends with scientists and divines, also went to Holland and France. Chaplain to Charles II and concerned with Royalist affairs. Spent some years abroad. In reign of William & Mary appointed Bishop of Salisbury, and Governor of Prince of Gloucester. Historian of his own time, and of the Anglican church.

Collier, Jeremy. 1650 - 1726.

Educated Cambridge, M.A. 1676. Ordained. Imprisoned for criticism of the King. Prolific writer, particularly against the profanity of the Stage. His Essays on Some Moral Subjects stocked by Bradley. Became Minister to Congregation of Non-jurors, and was attacked by Burnet and other bishops.

Cowley, Abraham. 1618 - 1687.

Educated Westminster School. Royalist, and retired to France with exiled Court, where he wrote satires, poems and some Latin comedy. Later took up medicine. Perhaps Coolis Purila in Bradley's shop was one of his works? His Works and Poems lent to Mr. John Wigfall of Eckington by Sitwell.

Cowper, William, Bishop of Galway. 1568 - 1619.

Educated St. Andrews, M.A. 1583. Religious writings considered superior to most work of the time. His Works still in library of William Allott in 1670.

Leslie, Charles. 1650 - 1722.

Educated Dublin, M.A. 1673. Non-juror and controversialist. Studied Law, but ordained in 1680. Very strong views against the Quakers, and published Snake in the Grass in 1696, which Bradley had in his shop. Also concerned with deism, Jews, mixed marriages etc.

Lilly, William. 1602 - 1681.

Educated Ashby-de-la-Zouch. In London during the plague. Became an astrologer in 1632 and wrote 36 almanacks in one year, and many pamphlets. Prophecies popular in Civil War; had become a Parliamentarian. Later studied medicine.

Mainwaring, Edward. 1628 - 1699.

Educated Cambridge and Dublin M.D. 1655. Practised on Ludgate Hill. Considered that smoking produced diseases such as scurvy and condemned violent purges and blood-letting. During the plague boasted that he had cured 56 people out of 80 in a Pest House. Died in poverty as his views had become old fashioned. Bradley had his Of Scurvy.

Owen, John, Bishop of St. Asaph. 1580 - 1651.

Educated Cambridge, M.A. 1600, D.D. 1618. In Civil Wars suffered for his loyalty to Charles. Impeached for High Treason and imprisoned in Tower, and bishopric sequestered. Many religious works - one stocked by Bradley.

Petty, William

Educated partly at Leyden and partly with the Jesuits at Caen. Early Fellow of Royal Society. Versatile author interested in economics, anatomy, politics and making dictionaries. Political Arithmetic was in support of Quakers, religious foreign exiles, protestant Non-conformists who, unable to hold public office, became successful in commerce. Bradley's books.

Rushworth, John. 1612 - 1690.

Historian, and trained in Law. Called to the Bar, 1647. Worked for Parliament, wrote reports for Fairfax. His Historical Collections attacked by the Royalists. Most of his writing concerned with the Civil War.

Sheppard, William. d. 1675.

Legal author with large country practice. Invited to London by Cromwell. Deprived of his offices at Restoration and fell into obscurity. Many works on the Law; Duty of a Constable ... at Renishaw.

Sherlock, William. 1641 - 1707.

Educated Eton & Cambridge, M.A. 1663, later D.D. Dean of St. Pauls. Prolific writer against Popery. Supported the Socinians (Unitarians). Many sermons.

Stillingfleet, Dr. Edward.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Works numerous, many books of

sermons, one in Bradley's shop and Sitwell had another work. Also wrote Answers to books and pamphlets by other men.

Walker, Clement. d. 1651.

Middle Temple, made Usher of Exchequer. Parliamentarian, and much concerned with its affairs. Arrested after the publication of History of Independency in 1648, for High Treason, committed to the Tower, but never tried, and died there. Wrote many pamphlets. Francis Baker had this book which he lent to innkeeper, Richard Clarke.

Willis, Thomas, 1621 - 1675.

M.B. 1646, and practised in Oxford. Later invited to London by Archbishop of Canterbury. Discovered Diabetes. Published medical works. Bradley stocked four of his books.

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- 14 Donald Wing, Short Title Catalogue of English Books printed 1641 - 1700. (1945) 3 Vols.
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- 17 D.N.B. under Sir Simon Degge.
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- 28 This section is based largely on Sir George Sitwell, Pocket Almanacks at Renishaw, in D.A.J. Vol. XII (1890) pps. 193 - 228.
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- 31 Sitwell, Old Country Life in the Seventeenth Century, Memorials of Old Derbyshire, pps 332 - 4. Inventory of Peter Shentall, 17 January, 1671/2. L.J.R.O. B/C/11.
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- 34 Thomas Bateman, Reliquary, Vol.I p.174.
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- 36 Sitwell, Country Life in the Seventeenth Century, Memorials of Old Derbyshire, pps. 338 - 9
- 37 Ibid. p. 340.
- 38 Appendix. The purpose of these brief notes on some of the authors of the books in this article is to show which side they took in the Civil War, or whether they supported the established church or some form of dissent. Most of the information is drawn from the Dictionary of National Biography and G.N. Clark, The Later Stuarts, 1939.

#### GLOSSARY

Sett work	-	stitched or embroidered work.
Bassill skins	-	sheep skins tanned in bark, used particularly for book binding.
Teare	-	the more elaborately dressed fibres of hemp, woven into fine cloth.
Harding cloth	-	course strong cloth, inferior to linen.
Dowlasse	-	course linen imported from Brittany.
Holland	-	fine linen, originally from Holland.
Tilts	-	covering of canvas or course cloth; a booth, tent or cover for a cart.

#### BUXTON IN 1787

(by Jeremy Black, Department of History, University of Durham.)

Two hitherto unpublished letters from a Scottish traveller provide a rather unflattering view of Buxton in 1787. They were sent by Robert Arbuthnot, a young Scot, who had travelled extensively in Europe, and who went to Buxton in the summer of 1787 in order to take the waters. The recipient was Arbuthnot's friend and fellow Scot Sir Robert Murray Keith, British Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Vienna. The letters can be found in Keith's papers, now part of the Hardwicke collection in the British Library. The full reference is British Library, Additional Manuscripts, vol. 35539 f. 229, 251. The letters are dated from Buxton, 18 June and 3 July.

'I have not been long enough at Buxton to judge of the effect of the waters. Their efficacy ought to be very great, to draw so much company to a place which in every other respect seems to be highly disagreeable. The climate is extremely bad and rainy and the country round is the most bleak and dreary I ever saw. The new Hotels built by the Duke of Devonshire for the accomodation of the company are very magnificent.'

'This place is so dull and affords so little variety that nothing occurs, the relation of which could either interest or amuse you, at the same time we are not without our amusements such as they are. There

is dancing almost every night, a set of strolling players are expected tomorrow, and we have already had two conjurers and a Dancing Bear. Lord Bulkeley has been here these last eight days, but he goes away tomorrow, Lady Bulkeley came with him, but not finding the entertainment at Buxton she expected she only remained one day:....'

AN UNPUBLISHED 18TH CENTURY POEM ON THE DERBY SILK MILL

(by J.G. Macqueen, Department of Classics & Archaeology,  
University of Bristol.)

On December 9th, 1748, the Rev. James Gatt, minister of the parish of Gretna in southern Scotland, sat down in his little manse to write a Latin poem. This in itself was not unusual, for he was a prolific composer of Latin verse, and a large collection of his works, neatly copied into notebooks, survives in the possession of the Kirk Session of Gretna.(1) What was unusual in this case was the subject of his poem. It apparently lay far outside his usual range of topics, for most of his works were concerned either with personal, local or devotional subjects, or with describing contemporary battles, both military and naval, in and around Europe and America. In this case however the exceedingly long title of the poem suggests something completely different. It deserves to be quoted in full:-

De mola sericaria Derbyensi in qua sunt 26,586 rotae, 97,746 motus,  
4 ampla et alta cubicula alia super alia posita. una rota magna  
totam agitat machinam tribus vicibus intra horae minutam;  
unoquoque rotationis tempore 73,728 ulnae Anglicanae serici  
plicantur; et spatio unius diei et noctis 318,504,960 ulnae  
conficiuntur -- ac, quod mirari subit, tertia vel quinta pars  
motuum, aut dimidium eorum, sisti potest, reliquis minime  
impeditis vel obstructis.(2)

On the silk-mill at Derby, in which there are 26,536 wheels,  
97,746 movements, and four spacious and high rooms arranged one  
above the other. One large wheel drives the whole machine three  
times a minute: each time the wheel turns 73,728 English yards of  
silk are spun; and in the space of one day and night 318,504,960  
yards are finished. And, wonderful to relate, a third or a fifth  
part of the movements, or half of them, can be stopped, with a  
minimum of hindrance or obstruction to the rest.

Then follows the poem itself:-

Visibilis quicquid mundi complectitur orbis  
Pricipio emicuit, Domino mandante, creatum  
Commodum in humani generis: sobeles et Adami  
Ad Iehovae laudes oriunda ex pulvere crevit,  
Caelesti mentem decorata scientia, ut ullus  
Ordinis Angelici superaret corpore Adamum,  
Quatenus imbutum: primaeva en gloria nostra  
In tantum effulsit; post lapsum evanida marcet,  
Non extincta tamen; Christo mediante salutis  
Auctore, Aetherei comitante et Flaminis aura,  
Desuper illapsi primorum in corda parentum  
Post manifestata his mysteria Foederis alta.

Nonne inventa hominum celebratu digna? quis unum  
Mirari satis hocce queat? mola serica, Derbe,  
Ingenio fabricata tua est tanto, ut nihil ultra,  
Iudice me, indubie toto sit in orbe repertum.  
Tot motus, totidemque rotas, quis non stupet astans,  
Ingeniique aciem cui nata est machina talis?

Quanta anima est humana? sinu quot, quanta capaci  
 Coplecti poterit, super astra evecta perennis?  
 Finiti est animi siquidem vis tanta creati,  
 Quanta infinitus pollet virtute Creator.  
 Mole in pulvere si tot miracula vermibus  
 Excitet, o quid non possit Deus ipse tri-unus  
 Qui mare, qui terras, caelum sphaerasque tetendit  
 Innumeras Verbo, suffulcit et omnia rerum?  
 Parvum opus humanum miratur homuncio parvus.  
 Quin potius lumen tu contemplare coruscum  
 Numinis aeterni, sacraria magna colentis  
 Lucis inaccessae. nam majestatis obumbrat  
 Culmine sublimi captum perfectio nostrum  
 Divina, extensum quantum libet. aurea cerne  
 Sidera, mensuris numerisque coercita nullis,  
 Incomprehensibilem at Iehovam reverenter adora.

### Translation

In the beginning, everything that the visible disc of the world contains came into being created at God's command for the convenience of the human race. And mankind was born to praise Jehovah, sprung from the dust but graced in mind with heavenly wisdom so that everyone, being of angelic degree, might overcome the Adam in his body, however deeply stained. So far did our original glory shine out! But after the Fall it weakened and withered. Yet it was not destroyed; for afterwards, with Christ, the author of their salvation, as mediator, and the breath of the Holy Spirit, which had descended from above into the hearts of their first parents, as their companion, the deep mysteries of the Covenant were revealed to men.

Are not the discoveries of men worthy of celebration? Who can sufficiently admire this unique work? Your silk-mill, Derby, is constructed with such skill that in my judgement it is certain that nothing finer has been found in the whole world. Who, standing beside it, is not astounded by so many movements, and as many wheels, and the brilliance of mind by which such a machine was produced? How great is the mind of man? How many, how great, are the things it will be able to enfold in its ample recesses, rising unfailling above the stars? Yet if the power of a finite, created mind is so great, with what great power is the infinite Creator endowed! If the worm in its house of dust can produce so many wonders, o what could God himself, the Three-in-One, not do, who by His word has spread out the sea, the lands, the sky and its innumerable orbs, and who sustains the universe? Petty man wonders at the puny work of men. Why do you not rather contemplate the gleaming light of the eternal Deity who dwells in the great sanctuaries of eternal light? For the divine perfection of His majesty with its lofty summit overshadows our capacity, though we extend it as far as we please. Look at the golden stars, innumerable and limitless, and reverently worship Jehovah, who is beyond our comprehension.

After the title, the poem is rather an anti-climax. In it Gatt certainly offers lavish praise of the Derby silk-mill and its designer, but he has no further information to give on the building or the machinery it contains, and it can easily be seen that description is not the main purpose of the work. Rather Gatt uses the mill as he might have done in one of his sermons (perhaps he did!), making it a stepping-off point from which to proclaim that however great are the works of man, they pale into insignificance when set beside the works of the almighty and all-powerful creator God.

Thus the poem turns out in the end not to be as un-typical of Gatt as the title suggests. But even so it has some historical interest for those who are concerned with the history of Derby and its early

connection with silk-spinning. It is clear that the poem refers to Sir Thomas Lombe's silk-mill, now the city's industrial museum, and equally clear that by 1748 the fame of the mill was such that it had reached the ears even of a humble and un-wordly parson in an obscure Scottish parish. Fortunately the source of his knowledge is not difficult to locate. The information given in the title of the poem is without doubt derived from the well-known description of the mill given in Daniel Defoe's Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. The first edition of this work, published in 1727, says nothing of wheels or movements, and the same is true of the second, published in 1738. But the third edition, much revised and enlarged (mainly by Samuel Richardson), which followed in 1742, contains the following paragraph (Vol.III, p67), and this is repeated in the fourth edition of 1748.

This engine contains 26,586 wheels, and 97,746 movements, which work 73,726 yards of silk-thread every time the water-wheel goes round, which is three times in one minute, and 318,504,960 yards in one day and night. One water-wheel gives motion to all the rest of the wheels and movements, of which any one may be stopped separately. One fire-engine likewise conveys warm air to every individual part of the machine, and the whole work is governed by one regulator. The house which contains this engine is of vast bulk, and five or six stories high.

Gatt's title is almost a word-for-word translation from this passage, and it must be the case that a copy of Defoe's work (probably the newly-published fourth edition) had recently arrived at the Gretna manse, and that it was in reading this that Gatt came across the description of the machine which so amazed and impressed him.

When one compares Gatt's description with that given in Defoe, one point is immediately obvious. The figures given for numbers of wheels (26,586) and movements (97,746), and for total daily production of silk (318,504,960 yards), are the same; but the figure for length of thread produced per rotation of the water-wheel is in Defoe 73,726 yards, while Gatt gives 73,728 yards. A first reaction is to assume that Gatt has simply mis-copied from his source; but a moment spent in calculation shows that this is not the case. A machine which produces 73,726 yards in a third of a minute will produce 13,270,680 yards in an hour, and 318,496,320 yards in twenty-four hours. This is not the total given in Defoe. On the other hand, if the machine produces 73,728 yards in a third of a minute, the figures will be 13,271,040 yards in an hour and 318,504,960 yards in twenty-four hours - and this is the total given in Defoe. What has obviously happened is that 73,726 is a mis-print in the third edition of Defoe, and that this was repeated, unchecked, in the fourth edition, and has been frequently repeated since. Gatt, it appears, had the good sense to check the figures before committing his poem to writing, and he may well be the only authority (if such he can be called) to have given them correctly. If this is the case we owe him a debt of gratitude for pointing out, albeit belatedly, a long-standing error in our principle source of information.

It is worth mentioning too that F. Williamson, in his article on George Sorocold, of Derby in the Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, vol.LVII (NS X), 1936, p.58, also had problems with his numbers. In quoting the fourth edition of Defoe (he seems not to have looked at the third) he reproduces the original's 73,726 yards for each rotation of the water-wheel, but his total of twenty-four hours is 317,504,960 yards. This figure is presumably a mis-print for 318,504,960, which, as we have seen, would have been the total had the original 73,726 been the true figure. It seems clear that Williamson observed the error in his source, but corrected the twenty-four hour total rather than the figure for a third of a minute. An

error in the overall total seems much less likely than a straightforward misprint of 6 for 8 in the smaller figure, which is the solution to the problem which was chosen by Gatt. The additional printer's error in Williamson's text has added even more to the mathematical confusion.

#### NOTES

1. I am greatly indebted to the present minister and Kirk Session of Gretna for granting me access to Gatt's papers.
2. In this and other extracts I have made some alterations in punctuation, and in the use of capital letters, in order to bring the text more into line with the twentieth-century conventions.

#### HEADSTONE ENGRAVERS OF MELBOURNE

(by Howard Usher)

In the Derbyshire volume of his 'Buildings of England' series, Nikolaus Pevsner wrote "...Nor do we know the names of the rustic craftsmen who did the slate headstones in the churchyards in the south of the county." Mr. Pevsner did not look very closely, as many of the engraved slate stones are signed, although the signature is frequently buried in the earth. In some graveyards the stones have been lifted and placed against the churchyards walls, and the name of the engraver is then clearly visible. Such is the case in the two disused graveyards in Melbourne.

Melbourne church is unusual in that the churchyard does not surround it, but is detached at about a hundred yards distant. There may well have been an earlier graveyard around the church as suggested by the occasional discovery of bones when trenches were laid across Church Square. The dates on the stones in the detached graveyard give a period of use from 1695 or earlier until 1860. By this time the graveyard was full and a new cemetery was constructed in Pack Horse Road, which was consecrated on 3 June, 1860, and is still in use. The Old Churchyard in Castle Street was cleaned up in 1891 and later the stones were lifted and propped against the walls where they remain to this day. The Baptist Chapel graveyard between Chapel Street and Derby Road was in use from about 1760 to 1860, when burials were transferred to the new cemetery. The stones here were similarly lifted and propped against the walls some years ago.

Out of 230 stones in the Old Churchyard, 136 (59%) have the names of the sculptors engraved on the base. In the Baptist graveyard there are 125 stones of which 71 (57%) are signed. The earliest stones in the Old Churchyard are of limestone whose legends are mostly indecipherable. Swithland slate appears in 1729 with good legible inscriptions and continues throughout the life of the churchyard, although purple Welsh slate starts to replace it in the 1850's, and by the time the new cemetery was opened, Welsh slate only was being used. However, by 1860, slate itself was being replaced by limestone or marble monuments with black inlaid letters, although the occasional slate headstone lingered on into the 1890's.

The earliest signed stone in Melbourne is one of 1744 with the name 'W. CHARLES SCULP' at the bottom. Mr. Charles does not seem to be a Melbourne man. The Melbourne engravers 'par excellence' were the Dun(n)icliff(e) family who cut stones for both the Anglican and the Baptist churches with three generations covering about eighty years. The Dunicliff family first appear in the Melbourne parish registers in 1683, and in the 1695 census, Thomas Dunicliff is described as a labourer. His great-grandson Thomas was the first of the headstone

engravers, born in 1739 and engraving at least 25 Melbourne headstones between 1783 and 1801. He signed himself variously 'T. DUNICLIFF SCULP' or 'DUNICLIFF' or plain 'T.D.' His son Charles enthusiastically entered the business and carved his first stone in 1796. He signed himself 'CHARLES DUNICLIFF MELBOURNE ENGRAVER' but was sometimes content to engrave simply 'C.D.' His father called himself 'sculptor' but Charles used the title 'engraver'. Whereas Thomas used the long 's' in his inscriptions up to his last stone of 1801, Charles used the new-fangled modern 's'. Charles had the morbid pleasure of engraving his father's gravestone, which was inscribed "Erected to the memory of THOS DUNICLIFF who died Decr 12th 1803 Aged 64 Years. Engraved by his son CHAS DUNNICLIFF". In 1802 Charles married Mary Ordish by special licence at Foremark. His eldest son, also Charles entered the business about 1820, and as he was working at the same time as his father, he signed himself 'C. DUNICLIFF JUNIOR MELBOURNE ENGRAVER.' Between them, the two Charleses engraved 84 stones in Melbourne and examples of their work can be found further afield at Chellaston, Repton and Breedon. Charles Junior had the task of carving the slate for his wife Jane who died in 1836 at the age of 34 "after a long and painful illness." Charles Senior seems to have given up carving about 1843, and Charles Junior continued his work under the simple signature of 'DUNICLIFF' in the form used by his grandfather. He continued until 1860 and was around long enough to engrave a few slates in the new cemetery, but was soon out of business due to the new fashion of black inlaid letters which replaced slates. Charles's cousin Thomas died in 1832, and his stone was engraved by his relict Sarah Dunicliff - at least she signed it, but perhaps Charles helped. This Thomas and Sarah were victuallers at "The Swan".

The Dunicliffs became an important family in the life of Melbourne. In 1829, Charles senior was the Steward of the Manorial Court. In 1835, Pigot's Directory describes him as "Butcher, Surveyor and Engraver in Stone." He lived at "The Lamb" in High Street. In 1857, his son Charles was living in Church Street and was described as a stone mason. Other members of the Dunicliffe family were also in trade at this time. John was a builder and wheelwright, Joseph was a tailor, Thomas a farmer and Francis a boot and shoemaker. Descendants of the latter formed Dunicliffe Brothers Boot Factory in 1894. In 1846, William Dunicliff of Derby Road was known as a gentleman and presumably he gave his name to Dunicliff Lane.

Another early Melbourne engraver was John Orme, who signed himself 'J. ORME SCULP' and sometimes plain 'J:O'. He engraved 8 stones between 1764 and 1779. A John Orme was Master of the Endowed School and Melbourne for 53 years, and died in 1798 aged 79. He seems to be the same person and may have done engraving as a hobby or as a part time occupation.

Samuel Marples engraved a few stones between 1823 and 1846. He carved the stone to John Pegg, cabinet maker, to whom Thomas Cook (who later started the travel industry) was apprenticed. John Pegg's memorial was engraved in 1826, and on the base of the stone is trial work by Sam Marples' apprentice. Neatly engraved are the capital letters A to W, followed by the phrase 'Edward Lewin Melbourne' in lower case. Edward Lewin does not appear later as a master engraver so he may have left Melbourne or found another trade. Samuel Marples is described in 1835 as 'Builder and Stone Quarry Owner'. He died in 1852 and his epitaph was carved by Samuel Bagnall.

Bagnall was prolific and engraved 29 stones in the two churchyards, although he worked from Castle Donington. He was willing to experiment with new materials and in 1846 he engraved the memorial to Joseph Scott in the Baptist Church in marble.

Seal and Gill were quarry owners in Melbourne and their name appears on a slate of 1808 to John Dunnicliff. W. Newbury of Melbourne engraved three stones in 1844, one of which was to his daughter Emma, aged 20 months. C. Morris Engraver Melbourne appears on only one stone in 1841.

Many stones in Melbourne were engraved by craftsmen from quite long distances away. Richdale of Ticknall carved one stone in 1859 and Allt of Bredon one in 1839. These are quite close and A. Cartwright of Castle Donington who carved 7 stones between 1807 and 1849 is not too far away. However B. Pollard of Quarndon must have been renowned, as he engraved 8 stones between 1797 and 1807. Vinrace of Ashby had one stone of 1816 and J. Dolman of Loughborough two in 1814-15. The record for distance is Hollins of Rocester, about 20 miles away, who carved one stone in 1859. We do not know the provenance of stones carved by J. Barton (1845), Chambers (1830), Dexter (1766), T. Grice (1841), W. Hyman (1837), John Pratt (1820's) or J. Summerfield (1839), although we can guess that Barton (brickmakers), Chambers (quarry owners) and Grice (tailors) were Melbourne people trying their hands at slate engraving.

The stone engravers seem to have been a fairly close community, in line with their medieval roots as a Guild of Masons. On 7 June, 1805, John Pratt, stonemason married Sarah Dunnicliff of Melbourne, by licence at St. Michael's Church, Derby. Later, on 31 May, 1825, Samuel Marples, builder married Mary Dunnicliff of Melbourne, by licence at St. Werburgh's Church, Derby. Mary was the daughter of Charles (senior) and Mary Dunnicliff and was baptised on 6 July, 1806. Intermarriage of the female Dunnicliffs with the male Pratts and Marples may have been considered genetically likely to produce an even better headstone engraver!

#### LETTER TO THE EDITOR

30th November, 1984.

Dear Mr. Fowkes,

I would like to thank your two correspondents for their constructive comments on 'Stinyards' in the Autumn issue of 'Miscellany'. At the risk of boring your readers, I wonder if I may continue the discussion?

When I wrote the article, I was under the impression that 'Stinyard' was a Trent Valley feature, and it seemed likely that every parish between Nottingham and Burton had its own parochial 'Stinyard'. This gave general support to the gravel quarry theory. Additionally, Chris Salisbury found a field called 'The Steames' near the Trent on a 1609 map of Colwick. However, the existence of Stinyards at Crich and Killamarsh show the name to be more widespread. Aileen Hopkinson's description of the Killamarsh feature with its man-made troughs and channels closely parallels the Trent Valley sites at Swarkestone, Repton or Melbourne.

The osier bed theory sounds fascinating. The Melbourne Stinyard adjoins a field called 'The Wiggs'. (Another interesting name - has anybody else got one of these?) Part of The Wiggs is given over to a wooded area which was marked as 'osier beds' in the 18th. century. These woods show a curious miniature ridge-and-furrow with channels leading to the river, presumably for osier cultivation. So at Melbourne, as at Swarkestone, the Stinyard would be conveniently placed for dealing with osiers.

I have never been very happy about the stone or gravel quarry explanations, although, as Peter Stevenson points out, etymology suggests these to be correct. In medieval documents, stone pits are generally referred to as 'Quarrells'. Stinyards located in remote areas, appear to have some connection with water and seem to be regularly fashioned, whereas quarries are very haphazard places, with good stone removed and low grade stone left in situ. At Stanton-by-Bridge are excellent grit-stone quarries which were worked from medieval times up to the 19th. century. Philip Heath of Woodhouses, Melbourne, has recently pointed out an undated deed in the Harpur-Crewe papers, referring to a field in Stanton called 'Basfords Steynard' which has "the Trent on the north side" A note of 1606 refers to 'Weeders steyn'd' in Stanton which may well be the same field, and is probably on the site of the modern gravel pits, well away from the stone quarries. However, if we are specifically thinking of road metal, I'm sure that gravel would be much superior to broken stone.

The 1614 inventory of Thomas Pigott, fisher, shows him holding the lease of 'the Steneard' at Melbourne. Could the feature be connected in some way with fishing, or was the fisherman also likely to be a basket weaver?

Any further suggestions would be most welcome!

Yours sincerely,

H.J. Usher