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KIRK IRETON near WIRKSWORTH

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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Melbourne Castle</i> by Howard Usher	126
<i>Parsonage houses in the Derby Deanery during the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries: Part II</i> by Rosemary J. Lucas	133
<i>Truths. No 1 and the Industrial Revolution</i> by A. D. Harvey	150
<i>The unemployed march of 1933</i> by John Heath	154
<i>Barmaster of Wirksworth</i> by Howard Usher	156

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MELBOURNE CASTLE

(by Howard Usher)

INTRODUCTION

The manor of Melbourne with its berewicks of Barrow, Swarkestone, Chellaston, Osmaston, Normanton and Cottons, was in the possession of the King from the time of Edward the Confessor until 1265 when Henry III granted the manor to his second son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Early references to the Royal manor house are rare, although the Liberate Rolls request repairs to the gutters of the King's buildings in Melbourne in 1246, and roofing of the King's chamber in 1248. In 1296 Edmund died at Bayonne and the manor passed to his son, Thomas, second Earl of Lancaster in 1298 when Thomas became of age [*Inq. p.m. III, No 423*]. Thomas had married the heiress of the Earl of Lincoln and as Earl of Lancaster and Leicester and Ferrars owned the castles of Lancaster, Leicester, Pickering, Clitheroe, Pontefract, Kenilworth, Tutbury and Castle Donington, among others. Why build a castle at Melbourne, among this plethora of castles?

CONSTRUCTION

Thomas had granted the manor of Melbourne to his steward, Robert de Holland, in February 1308 [*Charter Rolls, III, 109*], and in April, Holland had licence to grant Melbourne to Thomas [*Patent Rolls, 1307-1313, 68*]. In 1311 Robert de Holland obtained a licence from the King to crenellate his mansion house at Melbourne [*Patent Rolls, 1307-1313, 358*]. It is presumed that the castle was built on the site of, and perhaps incorporated parts of the manor house.

Construction soon commenced and in the year 1313/1314, John Russell, clerk of the works at Melbourne Castle, rendered his account at Donington court [*DL 29/1/3, m.15*]. The income and expenditure were made to balance at £1343. 8s. 11½d, but John Russell was good at creative accounting. The income actually totalled £1368.8s.11½d and the expenditure £1344.8s.2½d. The accounts were scrutinised in a contemporary note by Stapelton and were not accepted. The largest sum of £870.15s.7d was provided by Henry de Morley in 18 indentures. Other sums were provided by Henry of Leicester (£132), Jacob of Fairford (£95), Richard of Sheppey (£88), Thomas of Durham (£64) and a number of others. 10s went into the account from the sale of an old wheeled cart and an old iron plough. On the expenditure side, £548.8s.11½d was spent in the wages of masons for dressing stone. The preparation of the site cost £249, preparation of mortar £132, carriage of timber £105 and carpenter's wages £113. Iron and smith's wages came to £71.

Work continued for some years, as an Assize Roll of 1331 refers to an incident in 1315 when Master Peter de Bagworth, mason, and several other masons of the Earl of Lancaster at Melbourne were involved in an affray at Ravenstone [*DAJ, 31, 120*]. However some parts of the castle must have been fit to entertain a King, as Edward II stayed at Melbourne on 26-27 August 1314 on his way back to London after the debacle at the Battle of Bannockburn. From Melbourne he issued three letters patent and a fine.

It was noted that three chaplains were maintained at Melbourne Castle for which an illustrated missal was bought in 1314 [*Somerville, p79*].

THOMAS'S REBELLION

As the most powerful baron in the country, Thomas of Lancaster was a thorn in the flesh of the rather weak King Edward II. With the aid of other barons, he captured Edward's "favourite", Piers Gaveston, in the spring of 1312 and had him killed at Warwick. He corresponded with the Scots under the name of "King Arthur" and after Edward's defeat at Bannockburn, Thomas virtually ruled England. As he was on good terms with the Scots, they spared the Lancastrian possessions in Northumberland.

Thomas ruled his manors as if he were King, and when, in 1321, Thomas was successful in banishing more of Edward's "favourites", the Despensers, Edward had had enough. He ordered a muster of levies at Coventry and

advanced to Burton where Thomas's men held the river crossing. But Edward crossed the river at Walton and took Tutbury Castle on 12 February 1322. Thomas fled north to Pontefract, but stood to battle at Boroughbridge, where Edward combined archers with pikemen and was successful. Thomas of Lancaster and Robert de Holland were executed as traitors, and Edward confiscated all the Lancastrian property. The deserted castles of Tutbury and Melbourne were rifled by the local population.

Nicholas de Grey and John de Hardreshull were appointed to take and keep safely the castles of Donington and Melbourne and Ralph Bassett was appointed the King's steward [*Fine Rolls, III, 106*]. On 24 March a commission was issued to arrest those persons who took away the goods of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, at Melbourne [*Patent Rolls, 1321-1324, 149*]. On 30 March, John Bigge of Melbourne gave information to the King regarding various persons, leading to the issue of a warrant for their arrest [*Patent Rolls, 1321-1324, 92*]. Peace returned to the country so that on 13 April Edward issued an order to the keeper of the castle of Melbourne to withdraw the munition of men which had been placed there [*Close Rolls, 1318-1323, 437*].

On 4 July Robert Tochet was appointed keeper of the castle and soke of Melbourne [*Fine Rolls, III, 220*]. William Davy, receiver of the issues of Melbourne Castle, was ordered to pay the wages for the custody of the castle to Roger Beler, keeper of the castle [*Close Rolls, 1318-1323, 646*]. To do this, he was mandated to receive moneys from the sale of stock from the rebel lands in Staffordshire [*Close Rolls, 1318-1323, 140*].

On 12 January 1325 Edward II again visited Melbourne and issued five letters patent as well as granting the men of Swarkestone the right to collect tolls of pontage to repair their bridge [*Patent Rolls, 1324-1327, 90*].

JOHN OF GAUNT

After his coronation in 1327, Edward III restored the Lancastrian possessions to Thomas's brother, Henry, who became the third Earl. His son Henry, the fourth Earl, was elevated to become the first Duke of Lancaster following a successful campaign in France. This Henry died in 1361, possessed of the castle and manor of Melbourne held by the service of a barony [*Inq. p.m., XII, No 118*]. The constable of Melbourne Castle was Ingram Fauconer who received a yearly rent of £10 for life; his wife Amice had £5 yearly for life. The heiress of Henry was Blanche of Richmond, aged 19 years. Blanche had married John of Gaunt, the third son of Edward III, in 1359 and John was created the second Duke of Lancaster.

In 1366 John of Gaunt confirmed Ingram Fauconer's pension of £10 a year for life "for good service to the Duke and his consort" [*Patent Rolls, 1364-1367, p260*]. In 1377 Peter de Melbourne, Esquire, was granted the office of keeper of the Castle of Melbourne and keeper of the Parks at a fee of £10 yearly and was retained to serve John, Duke of Lancaster, in peace and war. In 1386 John granted Peter 66s 8d of rent for life and in 1395 an additional 10 marks a year was granted, provided that Peter did not meddle with the office of constable and keeper of the parks of Melbourne [*All Patent Rolls, 1396-1399, p522*]. As a Peter de Melbourne was constable up to 1415, it seems likely that Peter's son took over the office and the annuity of 1395 was to stop the father meddling in the son's work. The stone effigy in the vestry of Melbourne church is of a knight carrying a shield with a chevron and 3 scallops, which are the arms of the de Melbourne family, and the effigy may be Peter or one of his ancestors.

John of Gaunt was a great repairer of castles and his work survives in the Great Hall at Kenilworth and the Gateway at Tutbury. He also devoted some time to Melbourne. In 1392/3 Peter de Melbourne's account showed the expenditure of £6.13s.5d. The work included making windows in the Communal Hall and the Great Chamber, repairing the roof of the Bakehouse with slates carted from Swithland, soldering various defects, purchase of iron bars and of 78 square feet of glass bought for five windows to be glazed in the Chapel and the Lord's Closet. The glass was far away the most expensive item and cost 39s [*DL 29/6149*]. In 1393/4 a bridge in the castle was repaired with new chains and defects in the stonework were attended to at a cost of 5s 6d [*DL 29/6150*]. In 1399/1400 various defects in the chambers required the services of a plumber. It was noted that this year the Constable of the Castle was holding 6 pieces of lead, value 20s, which had been taken by John of Gaunt in 1397 as a forfeit from Robert Grenesmyth of Bonsall [*DL 29/6154*]. In 1409/10 further repairs needed the services of a plumber, three masons and a tiler for improving the chamber [*DL 29/6163*].

John of Gaunt died in 1399 and the King, Richard II, confiscated the Lancastrian estates. John's eldest son, Henry Bolingbroke, invaded England, Richard abdicated, and Henry was proclaimed King Henry IV. He was thus King as well as Duke of Lancaster, and this anomaly has remained to the present day. In 1400 there was a plot to overthrow Henry, led by John Holland and aided by the Bishop of Carlisle. The plot failed and the conspirators' property was confiscated. Henry remembered his father's old friend, Peter de Melbourne, and granted him the issues and rents of the Rectories of Melbourne, Chellaston and Barrow, not exceeding £43, late of Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle [*Patent Rolls, 1399-1401, p195*].

THE FRENCH DUKES

The great success of King Henry V at the Battle of Agincourt on 25 October 1415 resulted in the capture of some notable prisoners: the Dukes of Orléans and Bourbon and the Count of Eu. Shakespeare presents John, the Duke of Bourbon, as a war-like figure, contrasting with the timid nature of the Dauphin.

Henry V, Act 3, Scene 5: Rouen, before the battle.

Bourbon: " Normans, but bastard Normans, Norman bastards'
Mort de ma vie! If they march along
Unfought withal, I will sell my dukedom,
To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm
In that nook-shotten Isle of Albion...."

Henry V, Act 4, Scene 5: Agincourt. Part of the field of battle

Bourbon: " The devil take order now! I'll to the throng;
Let life be short; else shame will be too long...."

The Dukes were held for their ransom value; Orléans was held at Pontefract and later at Bolingbroke Castle; Bourbon was initially held at Somerton under the care of Sir Nicholas Montgomery, the constable of Tutbury and steward of Melbourne.

From Westminster on 22 March 1416, Henry issued an order to the Receiver of the Honour of Tutbury. " *As we have ordained, repairs to defects in our Castle of Melbourne will be carried out because certain of our French prisoners will be put there in security and under safeguard... the said defects will be mended and repaired with all the speed which is possible, by the survey of our faithful director, Thomas Griseley....*" [DL 42/17, fo36]. Peter de Melbourne's account for 1415/16 gives a cost of 48s 2d for repairing the castle walls and rooms " *..because a regulation from the Crown commanded that several dukes and several other French lords, prisoners to be kept in safe custody under the care of the said Thomas Gryseley..*" [DL 29/6165].

The expenses of maintaining the Duke of Bourbon were borne by the Tutbury receipt. Bourbon was paid 20s a day for himself and his entourage and 33s 4d a day when travelling. In 1419 the costs of maintaining the Dukes together with necessary repairs came to £2306.16s.10½d. Because of their importance, the French were allowed to travel and Bourbon visited his fellow prisoner at Bolingbroke as well as occasional visits to London and Fotheringhay. The French King refused to pay their ransom of 400,000 crowns so the two Dukes had a long stay in England [*Somerville*].

The duties of the Constable of the Castle of Melbourne were laid down in the Coucher Book of 2 Henry V (1415). The constable was named by the King and authorised by the King's letters patent. His fee was £4.3s.0d and his office was to attach persons for offences done to the King, and to bring them to the castle and there safely to keep them, until they had found sufficient discharge for the delivering of them. They should see the castle kept clean and maintain the walls and the leads [DAJ, 15, 96].

In 1429/30 Thomas Staunton was constable of the Castle and Park of Melbourne and presented his accounts showing an expenditure of 10s 4d. Four men were employed for four days cleaning rooms and turrets in the castle of all harmful things wherever they existed, each man receiving 3d a day. A carpenter was employed in replacing a beam, a broken lead dish was soldered and a gutter over the kitchen was repaired [DL 29/6174].

At the 1433 Peace Conference the Dukes were taken to France with the English contingent, but their ransom was again refused and they were returned to England. Orléans was having quite a good time, staying at Ampthill where he was in love with Lady Arundel and writing verse to Bourbon at Melbourne. However Bourbon was not well and he was released by Henry VI in 1435, but died in London on his way home and was buried in St. Bartholomew's Church. Lady Arundel died but Orléans continued his amorous affairs with Anne Moleyns before he was released in 1440.

CASTLE SURVEYS

J.J. Briggs in his *History of Melbourne* [1852] stated that Melbourne Castle was dismantled in 1460 on the order of Margaret of Anjou, the queen of Henry VI, in the War of the Roses. He quotes Stowe's *Annals of England* [1605] as his authority. The actual reference is "*...After victory at Wakefield .. Anthony Trollope, grand capitaine and as it were leader of the battell with a great armie of Scots, Welchmen and other strangers, destroyed the towns of Grantham, Stanford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Roiston, Meleborne and in a maner all the townes by the way into Saint Albons...*" These are obviously the towns down the Great North Road and the 'Meleborne' mentioned is Melbourn in Cambridgeshire, 2 miles from Royston and nothing to do with Derbyshire.

Henry VIII sent John Leland on a Tour through England and Wales in 1545. Leland found that "*Mielburne Castille, a 2 miles from Dunnington is praty and yn meately good reparation*".

When Elizabeth came to the throne, she immediately ordered a survey of the Duchy possessions with a view to 'privatisation'. Tutbury Honour was surveyed in 1559, and in 1562 the Treasurers reported that there were only ten castles worth maintaining in the North Parts. Melbourne was not included. The 1564 survey was to enquire if the constablerships of various lordships, including Melbourne, were superfluous.

On 5 June 1576 Elizabeth issued an order to Francis Samwell, deputy auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the North Parts, "*.. to repaire yorselves to oure Castle of Melbourne ...to viewe and surveye the estate of oure said Castell whether the same or any parte thereof be decayed either in Tymber, stone, Iron, sclate or in any other thinge..*" Francis Samwell with some other commissioners visited Melbourne on 25 September 1576. They reported that the stonework was substantial and fair except for one chimney and a window, the repair of which would cost 5 marks. However they found that the timber was perished because of the weight of the lead and the lead was thin and full of holes. £30 of timber trees would be required to mend this fault. All the lead needed recasting and had to be newly laid, which would require 6 fadders (1 fodder = 22½ cwt) of new lead and with workmanship would cost £91. There was a kitchen, 40ft square, made with stud and plaster which was utterly decayed and in manner ready to fall. The Privie Kitchen was also in decay by reason of slate and flooring and repair would cost 40s. In Samwell's report, dated 4 October 1576, he adds a post script: "*.. there remaineth further explanation of sundry things not mentioned in the Commission ... I do mind by God's sufferance to make your honour privy thereof at my next report..*" [DL 44/251].

The Duchy of Lancaster employed an unknown draughtsman who made drawings of those castles which were surveyed at about this period. The drawing for Melbourne [MPC 95] shows what appears to be a fanciful castle with numerous chimneys and turrets. However, when comparisons are made with other castles whose remains are more extensive, the drawings seem to be remarkably accurate. At Tutbury [MPC 114], the gatehouse, chapel and motte are all identifiable. At Pontefract [MPC 16], the gatehouse, curtain wall and chapel seem to be correct. Excavations at Sandal in 1973 revealed a multiangular tower shown on the drawing [MPC 97] and even the base of a small pillar supporting an oriel window was uncovered. It can therefore be assumed that the drawing of Melbourne Castle is correct in its main features, although the perspective may be a bit awry.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

When Mary was forced to abdicate the throne of Scotland and fled to England, Queen Elizabeth recognised her as a contender for the English throne. In 1569 Mary, with her entourage of 140 retainers, was put under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The Earl had enough to put up with, with his irascible wife, Bess of Hardwick, and the addition of the care of Mary, Queen of Scots, added to his worries. Mary was moved between Tutbury, Wingfield, Chatsworth and Sheffield, complaining in each castle of the conditions there. On 5 October 1576, hearing of the Survey of Melbourne, the Earl wrote to the Queen, informing her of the good state of Melbourne Castle, that it was worth at least £1000 and could be repaired for £100 [Talbot, P, f.767]. He saw this as an opportunity to get Mary off his hands.

However, the Queen was indecisive and it was not until October 1583 that a Privy Council minute recommended that Mary be moved to Melbourne. A report was presented to the Privy Council as follows [State Papers Dom. SP12-163]:

"It^m. the house is buylded of verie faier ashler covered with lead, with great and spatious roomes, but if an number should be lodged within the same, it will be requisit to make many partitions for the rooms being now great are but few.

It^m. the floures be all of earth and plaister.

It^m. the house being not finished by Thomas Duke of Lancaster whoe buylt the same it is left imperfect at every corner, in such sort as one being upon the leads may as easlie go downe on the outsyde of the house as downe a ladder, which cannot be remedied without great charge.

It^m. there is no base court nor wall about the house so as being out of dors you are in the myre, for it is verie foule and unpleasaunt to walk round about the said house..."

On 20 March 1584 the Earl of Shrewsbury was instructed to move Mary to Wingfield whilst Melbourne Castle was prepared for her reception. In September of that year the Babington Plot was uncovered and the scheme to move Mary to Melbourne was abandoned. Instead she was moved to Tutbury in January 1585 where she stayed until her last fateful journey to Fotheringhay in 1587.

THE END OF THE CASTLE

In 1592 William Flower and Robert Glover made a visitation of the County of Derby. They reported: "*Melbournewhere John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, began (but never half finished) a magnificent piece of building, eyther hyndered by some civile tumult stirred, or some other occasion...*" [Harleian 5809-0592].

On 14 June 1596 the Queen placed another order with the Earl of Shrewsbury to carry out a survey of the woods in Melbourne and Derby Hills. He was also instructed to find out "*what timber ston leade brick or iron hathe the sd Frauncis Needham had owt of the castell ther for the building of any pt of his house and whether hathe he broken down any part of the building of the said Castell for timber ston brick or lead*". The surveyors found that Gawen Robinsson was dwelling in a piece of the castle. They affirmed that Mr Needham had not broken down any buildings except that he took 4 or 5 stones from a place which stood like a bar where the Judges once kept the Assizes when the plague was at Derby and part of the top was broken down because it was too high for the prisoner to stand at [DL 44/560].

The life of the castle as a residence was now over. A survey held of the manor of Melbourne on 15 October, 39 Elizabeth (1597) showed that it was being used as a pound for cattle found trespassing in the common pasture of Derby Hills belonging to Melbourne and Castle Donington. The tenants, on their drives through Derby Hills, found cattle from Calke and Staunton Harold trespassing there and brought them to Melbourne Castle [X94/52/1/4].

In 1602 another survey of Melbourne Castle was taken by Thomas Fanshawe, auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the North Parts. He wrote that "*her majesty hath a fair antient castle standing there which her majesty keepeth in her own hands..*". Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, was constable of the castle at an annual fee of £10 [Nichols, III, 783]. It is interesting to observe that the fee of £10 per annum was the same as that paid to Ingram Fauconer in 1361. William Campden, writing his *Britannia* about that time, observed that "*..Not far from the Trent stands Melborn, a castle of the King's, now decaying..*". The new King, James I, had no problem in selling the manor and castle to a consortium of Sir Edward Howard and four others in 1604 [State Pap. Dom. 1603-1610, 111]. It was then resold to Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, for £4,700 and remained with his family for the next three hundred years [Nichols, III, 783].

No attempt was made to preserve the decaying castle, which was soon stripped of its lead and its facing stones. By the time that the Earl of Huntingdon's enclosure map was drawn up about 1630, the castle had disappeared and a house was shown on the site [X94/P1/17]. The inventory of Henry Hardie, gent, of Kings Newton, dated 13 January, 11 James, (1614) has the entry: "*Item ston in the yeard and at the castle ... xx^{li}*" [Lichfield JRO]. £20 would have bought a lot of stone in 1641! Sir John Coke purchased the lease of Melbourne Rectory from Francis Needham in 1628 and set to work to rebuild the Rectory House. The building accounts of Francis Astle for May to August 1629 included an item for "*Getting stone at the Castle in the Foundations*", suggesting that all the above ground stone had gone. A number of workmen were paid 4d a day each at a total cost of 137s 4d [X94/259/16/4]. The stone was also said to have been used to repair the weir at Kings Mills. Some houses in Melbourne, eg 43/45 Castle Street and the old houses on the site of Castle Mills which were burnt down in 1933 were built of the stone. Photographs of the Melbourne Iron Furnace and Furnace Farm barn suggest that they were constructed of castle stone. John Blunt has identified castle stone as far away as Old Hall Farm, Tong.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

After the castle had been robbed of its stone, the only visible remnant was a length of wall core, about 15 metres long and 4 metres high. The facing stones have all been robbed out and the wall remains have now been incorporated into the outhouses of Castle Farm. The remains of what may have been a buttress can be seen on the north side of this wall.

Joseph Deans in his book *Melbourne Church*, dated 1843, observed that: "*...Some years ago ... subterranean apartments were opened and partially examined; they were found to be of considerable extent and superior workmanship ... on the stairs leading down to these apartments there were found coins, bearing a date immediately prior to the Great Rebellion...*". Such coins of the early 17th century would agree with the date of the demolition of the castle. W. Dashwood-Fane, writing in 1889, noted that: "*..About five years ago, considerable foundation walls were uncovered (and covered again) in many parts of the garden [of Castle Farm] between the ruinous wall and the turret..*". He commented that the turret had been recently unearthed in the garden of Castle Cottage, and the semi-circular base is visible today [DA], 11, 132].

After these Victorian ravages, it is not to be expected that undisturbed castle foundations will be found. However, in 1969-71, John Blunt carried out an extensive excavation and revealed a complex of walls, complete with high quality ashlar facing stone at the lower levels. These appeared to be part of the north range of the castle. Interesting features include the base of a spiral staircase of two steps, the respond of a door pillar, and a large curved drip mould suggesting an outer courtyard. There are numerous masons' marks.

In 1973, redevelopment of the allotment site to the north of Castle farm was carried out and some trial trenches were dug by Terry Courtney. Little was found which could be connected with the castle, although a V-shaped ditch across the site may have been medieval in origin [DA], 96, 62].

Inside Castle Mills is a circular stone built well, about 2 metres across and 10 metres deep, which provided water for the mill boiler until 1928 when it was covered over. Some of the old castle foundations which were said to be 12 feet thick were used in the erection of the mill in 1840. Part of the foundation wall was preserved in Knitting Shop No 15. New extensions in 1961 to the east of the mill revealed a wall on the same alignment as a short section near the Cottage Turret, and massive foundations, 15 feet deep to the east.

In 1987 the east wall of the hovel to the north of the standing wall collapsed and during rebuilding the opportunity was taken to investigate castle stone which appeared in the new foundation trench. Eight courses of ashlar facing stone were uncovered, every stone of which had its mason's mark. The majority of the pottery thrown out was 16/17th century Ticknall products, suggesting later disturbance. There were a few sherds of green glazed medieval fabric. Also in the hovel, the laying of a concrete pad for a new machine revealed curving stone walls, perhaps of a projecting bastion.

The textile company of Melstar Fabrics, successor to Thomas Haimes Castle Mills ceased trading some years ago. In 1988 the site was sold for redevelopment and in spite of local objections, approval was given for demolition of the factory buildings and the erection of six sheltered housing units. Conditions for approval included the allowance of adequate archaeological investigation. The area covered the southern portion of the castle site although it was expected to have been heavily disturbed by the erection of the factory in the 19th century. The Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust excavated five evaluation trenches in 1988. A watching brief was maintained by English Heritage during the excavation of the construction trenches between August and October 1989. The line of the probable south wall of the castle was found extending across the site. Finds of moulded stones and pottery were generally disappointing. It is to be hoped that these excavations will be reported in detail at a later date.

The standing wall and the orchard of Castle Farm have long been scheduled as an Ancient Monument. To these have now been added the turret and the erstwhile garden of Castle Cottage which has not been deeply disturbed.

REFERENCES

The published Rolls Series is the source for the Charter, Close, Fine, Liberate and Patent Rolls, Inquisitions post mortem and State Papers Domestic quoted.

DL	Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts in the PRO
MPC	Maps & Plans Catalogue in the PRO
Somerville	<i>History of the Duchy of Lancaster</i> , London, 1953
DAJ	Derbyshire Archaeological Society Journal
Harleian	Harleian Manuscript in the British Library
Nichols	<i>History of Leicestershire</i> , 1804
Talbot	Talbot Papers in Lambeth Palace Library
X94	Lothian Archive at Melbourne Hall

PARSONAGE HOUSES IN THE DERBY DEANERY

DURING THE SEVENTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES: PART 2

(By Rosemary Luca)

1. PARSONAGE HOUSES OF THE 18TH CENTURY IN THE DERBY DEANERY

The writers of the glebe terriers were conservative men. Most of them appear to have copied previous terriers unless there had been some momentous change to report. Thus only two terriers give clear reporting of new parsonage houses (Breadsall and Spondon). One implies a new house by change of location (Kedleston) and the terriers for Ockbrook give no clear details of the new house which was built. From the terriers therefore, and in the absence of other information, it must be presumed that the houses standing during the 17th century remained largely unchanged during the 18th century.

Finance for a new house depended on the incumbent himself, since he had the freehold of the living, or on the goodwill of his patron. The incumbent therefore needed a good income from the living, something which only existed in a very few Derbyshire parishes, or he needed to be well connected. Increasingly many clergy were related to local gentry, and the latter were often patrons of the livings. (For example, the Pole family were patrons of Mugginton for much of the 15th century, 16th century, 17th century and 18th century, and three Poles were incumbents over long periods during the 17th and 18th centuries).¹

Gilbert Mitchell of Breadsall² wrote in 1703 that "at a proper cost and charge" to himself he had built a large new parsonage house of brick and stone. Its dimensions were 40 feet by 30 feet with a wing containing a brewhouse and a kitchen measuring 21 feet by 17 feet. There were 10 bays of outhouses and barns, and another large brick barn was built by him in 1726. William Woolley in his *History of Derbyshire* (circa 1712) reported "The parsonage house at Breadsall is a good new brick house built by the present incumbent Mr Michel, who married one of the Dixeys of Normanton and Selston in this county and Bosworth in Leicestershire". Breadsall was a good living, and so with a wife from a well-to-do family as well, Gilbert Mitchell was able to afford his new house. It was built on what is now called Rectory Lane.

In 1705 Samuel Fletcher, vicar of Spondon³ wrote that he had a vicarage house of four bays, and a barn and a stable rebuilt by himself in 1695. It is not clear whether all were rebuilt, but certainly the house was now four bays instead of the former three. He does not mention finance. However in 1795 the house had considerable additions made to it by its patron John Lowe and incumbent Thomas Manlove, presumably at their expense.

The terriers at Kedleston are significant for what they don't say. Terriers for Kedleston⁴ survive in large numbers up to 1758, all reporting the house by the church as in the 17th century. There is then a gap of 28 years when a bald statement is made in 1786, with no details, that the minister's house "was erected on the marsh meadow". This conceals great changes at Kedleston⁵ during 1759 and subsequent years when Robert Adam rebuilt the hall for Sir Nathaniel Curzon, and the existing village was cleared to make the park. Sir Nathaniel owned all of Kedleston except the churchyard, rectory house and glebe which belonged to the church via the bishop, and he could not peremptorily remove them. The rectory was in the way of a wing of his new hall. There was an agreement⁶ between Sir Nathaniel and the bishop to demolish the ancient rectory "of lath and plaster" and build a "new substantial rectory or parsonage house" upon the Malt House Croft entirely at the expense of Sir Nathaniel (who was also patron of the living) and to be in the possession of the rectors of Kedleston for ever. By 1771 Sir Nathaniel, now Lord Scarsdale, could no longer bear the sight of the new parsonage house blocking his view of the bridge⁷ and again appealed to the bishop for permission to rebuild the new parsonage outside his park upon the marsh meadow, where it still stands today, an elegant Georgian house designed by Samuel Wyatt.

The rectory at Morley was extended in 1719 and, from details of the old house given, it appears to have been a "hall house".⁸ There was a new house built at Ockbrook in 1772 as stated in the reply to Bishop Brownlow North

DETAILS OF PARSONAGE HOUSES IN THE DERBY DEANERY FOR WHICH NEW OR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS OBTAINABLE						
FROM 18thC GLEBE TERRIERS						
PARISH	REPORTED CHANGES IN SIZE	ADDITIONS TO 17thC HOUSE	ADDITIONS TO 18thC OUTHOUSES	EXISTING HOUSES FIRST REPORTED IN 18thC	NEW HOUSES IN 18thC	OTHER
Aston-on-Trent		(1705) Kitchen				
Barrow-on-Trent	3 bays (1705) to 3½ bays (1726)					"One little and decayed orchard, many trees being blown down in the wind"
Breadsall			1764. One granary rebuilt of stone 21ft x 15ft. 3 bays of barning rebuilt, 4 stables rebuilt, 2 of them with a granary over. All by John Clayton, rector.		1703. Rector Gilbert Mitchell built a new parsonage house of brick and stone measuring 40ft x 30ft and a wing for a brewhouse and a kitchen measuring 17ft x 21ft, "at a proper cost and charge to himself". Also a new barn of 7 bays, stables and cowhouse 3 bays, fold yard, 3 gardens and orchard. 1726. "A large barn of brick lately built"	
Derby All Saints				1747. A mansion house in All Saints Churchyard". 1766. An old house divided into two tenements with a small garden common to them both. Both rented out.		Minister is nominated by the Corporation at "a salary of 20 marks a year and no more". All tithes and Easter dues belong to the Corporation.

TABLE IV (contd)						
PARISH	REPORTED CHANGES IN SIZE	ADDITIONS TO 17thC HOUSE	ADDITIONS TO OUTHOUSES	EXISTING HOUSES FIRST REPORTED IN 18thC	NEW HOUSES IN 18thC	OTHER
Derby St Alkmund				1712. A house was settled upon the vicar in 1712 by the Corporation. It consisted of a kitchen, a hall, 3 chambers, a study over the porch, 2 garrets, a little closet, brewhouse, cellar and stable.	1735. "An house newly built adjoining to the church yard on the west side thereof". Contained a kitchen, back kitchen, hall, parlour, pantry, 3 cellars, 4 chambers on the first floor (1 of which is study), 4 chambers on the second floor, "a courtyard before the front door", stable, yard, rear garden with a "Necessary house", a passage from the church yard to the yard and stable.	"In 1713 the Corporation promised to pay the small tithes to the vicar, but do not do so, saying they never agreed to it".
Derby St Michael				In 1719 a vicarage house and garden by the churchyard, 3 bays of building. Bounded on the west by the churchyard, on the north by Mr Odham's house, on the south by Mr Parker's house.		In 1747 William Lockett, minister, lived in the house but by 1770 it was occupied by John Bridge, a butcher.
Derby St Werburgh	2 bays (1695) to 3 small bays (1726).					Still rented out.

TABLE IV (contd)							
PARISH	REPORTED CHANGES IN SIZE	ADDITIONS TO 17thC HOUSE	ADDITIONS TO OUTHOUSES	EXISTING HOUSES FIRST REPORTED IN 18thC	NEW HOUSES IN 18thC	OTHER	
Ilkeston	House with 8 rooms in 1612. House of 2 bays 1705.						
Kedleston	Up to 1758 terriers reported as for 17thC. Next terrier in 1786 gave change.				1786. The minister's house and garden - "the house was erected on the marsh meadow and the garden made from it".	This is the only change in the glebe terriers referring to a new house on a new site.	
Kirk Langley	4 bays (1698) 5 bays (1730)						.
Mackworth					"A house is supplied by Mr Mundy".		
Morley		1719. 2 large and 2 little rooms, 2 chambers with closets, garrets over them.		In the old building, a hall, brewhouse, coalhouse with chambers and garrets over them.		1786 terrier reports "One large and excellent parsonage house". No building beyond 1719 actually reported.	
Mugginton			4 bays (1698) 7 bays (1719)				
Ockbrook				1722. House of 3 bays, a little barn and stable, bakehouse, pigstand, orchard, small garden. No backside, fold yard or glebe lands.	New house in 1772 - as stated in reply at visitation of Bishop Brownlow North.		

TABLE IV (contd)						
PARISH	REPORTED CHANGES IN SIZE	ADDITIONS TO 17thC HOUSE	ADDITIONS TO OUTHOUSES	EXISTING HOUSES FIRST REPORTED IN 18thC	NEW HOUSES IN 18thC	OTHER
Pentrich				1741. House and outhouses, 6 bays, garden, yard, croft and orchard.		
Spondon				1705. A vicarage house of 4 bays, a barn and stable of 2 great bays, rebuilt by the present incumbent (Samuel Fletcher) in 1695. 1762. Vicarage house of brick, 3 rooms on a floor. Brewhouse adjoining. Brick barn 1½ bays, plaster and wood barn and stable 2 bays	1795. A parlour and room over it with passage and staircase and an arched vault or cellar lately built by patron/present vicar. House now has 2 parlours, 2 passages, 2 staircases, kitchen, back kitchen, pantry, brewhouse, 2 cellars, room over the whole and 2 garrets.	
Weston-on- Trent			1738. Barn 7 bays, barn 4 bays, barn 1 bay now existing.			
CHAPELRIES						
Alvaston				A house exists.		
Osmaston-by- Derby				A house exists.		

at his primary visitation.⁹

In the town of Derby some details emerge from the few extant terriers concerning its parsonage houses. In 1712 the Corporation, patrons of the living, finally settled a house on St Alkmunds (where lack of a house and poor income had caused the living to be vacant).^{5,6} The vicar, Henry Cantrell, when reporting his new parsonage house in 1735 stresses that it was on land conveyed to the bishop by the Corporation in 1712 "which is now enrolled in the High Court of Chancery where it may be seen by his (ie Henry Cantrell's) successors for their further satisfaction. This land was in St Alkmunds church yard facing the west end of the church. The house on it in 1712 did not appear to be a new one, and was a hall house of modest size. It was occupied by Jasper Horsington, vicar of Mackworth and curate of Allestree until his death in 1726, and not by the vicar, Henry Cantrell, appointed in 1711, who had a house provided in St Werburgh's parish by the recent and great benefaction of Dr Goodwin to St Alkmunds. Dr Goodwin was a parishioner of some wealth who had no relative to leave his money to. The house built by 1735¹⁰ appears to have been on the site of the first house made over in 1712.

Answers to questions posed at the primary visitation of Bishop Brownlow North in 1772 indicates that out of the 26 replies from parishes (not chapelries) in this deanery, 11 indicated that the minister resided in his parsonage house, ie was "resident". These were at Aston, Breadsall (rector 34 years there), Derby St Alkmunds, Derby St Werburgh, Mugginton, Pentrich, Radbourne, Elvaston, West Hallam, Ilkeston (vicar 30 years there) and Kirk Langley. Curates were resident in the parsonage houses at Spondon (the vicar, Thomas Manlove, was also vicar of Derby St Alkmunds) and Weston-on-Trent (vicar Joshua Winter was also perpetual curate at Derby All Saints and appears to have been "non-resident" at either). John Pickering of Mackworth lived in a house provided by his patron, Mr Mundy. This house was probably built 1760/71.¹¹ The vicar of Ockbrook was waiting to occupy his nearly completed new parsonage. J. Davenport of Willington had no parsonage, and so lived at Etwall.

Adjacent parishes held in plurality and served by one minister were Derby St Werburgh and Derby St Michael, Ilkeston and Kirk Hallam, West Hallam and Hearnor, the minister being resident in the first named of each pair. No returns were made by Barrow, Derby All Saints, Mickleover, Horsley, Kedleston and Sawley.

The remaining parishes were served by a curate, usually because of the non-residence of the incumbent, but it is not clear whether the curates occupied the parsonage house. Interestingly the new houses, whilst mentioning stables, do not mention gig or coach houses in this century. Probably parsons still travelled on horseback in the local area, although turnpike roads were established during the 18th century. New houses in this century were of brick, when much existing building was of lath and plaster.

Summary

This century saw little overall change in the parsonage houses in the Derby Deanery. Of the three completely replaced, two were by incumbents who had access to new income, Gilbert Mitchell of Breadsall had married a wealthy woman, and Henry Cantrell of Derby St Alkmunds had a good benefactor. The house at Kedleston was replaced by the patron of the living because it served his own interests to do so. No information has been obtained on the reasons for rebuilding a new house at Ockbrook. Spondon was largely rebuilt by the patron, Sir George Lowe of Denby and Locko.

II. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY - A PERIOD OF GREAT CHANGE

The growing industrial town

This was the century of great change beginning in about 1840 and the rapid expansion of Derby as an industrial town, change which also affected the parishes on its periphery. Other parishes in the deanery such as those in the developing industrial regions of the Erewash valley saw great changes, whilst rural areas to the north and west were only marginally affected.

Fortuitously for Derby, it was at the meeting point for three railways, the Midland Counties Railway (Derby -

Nottingham 1839), the Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway (1839) and the North Midland Railway (1840), who had a common station at Litchurch on the south west edge of the town. These amalgamated in 1844 to form the Midland Railway with Derby as its headquarters. By its advantageous rail situation Derby drew much engineering industry to the town in a way that the turnpikes and canals of the previous century had never done. This resulted in a population explosion¹, and since this was also the century of a great religious revival, existing churches in the town were faced with a challenge.

Clergy incomes in the 19th century

Before considering new developments, it must be remembered that as a result of parliamentary enclosure (circa 1750-1840) and the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, the incomes of clergy had in many cases risen considerably (although not everywhere).^{2,3} This fact in combination with the religious revival which developed as the century progressed served over the years to raise the social position of the clergy and this was reflected in their parsonage houses. There was an increased awareness amongst middle class members of Anglican congregations of the state of their churches and of the housing of the clergy, and so much public subscription towards improving both was increasingly evident as the century progressed.

Archdeacon Butler's Parochial Visitation 1823/4

One of Archdeacon Butler's concerns during this visitation⁴ was clergy housing. The visitation records include the "residence" of clergy, descriptions of the parsonages, their state of repair and details of outbuildings.

Out of the 32 old parishes of the deanery, Butler found the incumbent "resident" at only 15, viz: Aston, Breadsall, Derby St Alkmunds, St Michaels and St Peters, Mickleover, Radbourne, West Hallam, Heanor, Horsley, Kedleston, Langley, Mackworth, Ockbrook and Spondon. Even so the incumbents at West Hallam and Kedleston were too infirm to do any duty. Curates were resident in the parsonages at Crich, Morley, Mugginton, Ilkeston and Duffield. (Duffield also had a vicar living in his own house in the village.) The remainder were held in plurality or had a non-resident incumbent or curate.

Non residence of the incumbent and a poor parsonage house went together. Edward Unwin, vicar of Derby St Werburghs, lived at Mickleover Hall, although his curate lived in the parish. The official parsonage, recorded since the 17th century, was described by Butler as a "poor small tenement, unfit for a clergyman or decent family". It was still rented out. Similarly All Saints parsonage in Amen Alley, divided into two tenements, was still rented out. Butler's comment on it: "not fit for a clergyman's residence". All Saints was held in plurality with St Alkmunds by Charles Stead Hope.

"Not fit for clergyman" was also Butler's comment on the houses at Scropton, Shirley and Weston-on-Trent. The latter, where comparatively wealthy Edward Holden lived and farmed in the late 17th century, had obviously never changed since. Butler called it a "bad old rambling house, occupied by a farmer, and in very bad repair". None of these three houses had any resident clergy.

Crich house Butler described as "mean". It was occupied by the curate. It did not seem to have changed much since Thomas England's day. Houses at Derby St Michaels, Mickleover, Langley and Spondon he described as "new built". Architect Wyatt's elegant Georgian house at Kedleston he described as moderate, but perhaps he was referring only to its size. Derby St Alkmund's house was merely "convenient".

Of the chapelries, Findern and Belper had new houses. Alvaston had a "poor cottage", inhabited by the parish clerk. Osmaston-by-Derby had a "tolerable house with three sitting rooms and four bedrooms - partly thatched, the thatch out of repair". It must have been rented out for its incumbent, Nicholas French, also incumbent of Weston-on-Trent, was insane and lived in London. James Bligh was curate to both of these parishes but he was also head master at Derby School and lived in Derby.

Many houses, usually those occupied by a resident incumbent, appeared well appointed. 13 had three sitting rooms, those at Mickleover (new) and Duffield had four. Six or more bedrooms were not uncommon. There was

accommodation for servants.

Stables and outhouses were still the norm in most places. Surprisingly only five houses were recorded as actually having coach houses: Aston, Duffield, Mickleover, Langley and Radbourne. Mickleover and Langley were of course new houses and Radbourne was undergoing repair.

Gighouses were recorded at Belper (new house), West Hallam, Ilkeston and Osmaston-by-Derby. There was a "cart-shed" at Spondon. Butler was usually specific, but "outhouses" may conceal some vehicle accommodation. Non-resident clergy such as Edward Unwin at Mickleover Hall may well have possessed a coach or gig, but it must be concluded that many clergy still travelled on horseback.

Only four clergy lived out of the county, three of them because of ill health. However Richard Robinson of Barrow, where there was no house at this time, lived in Cambridge. He was probably a pluralist. Also the parishes of Kirk Hallam, Sandiacre and Willington had no parsonages.

Butler's review gives evidence not always to be gleaned from glebe terriers. Overall it records a wide range of housing.

Episcopal approval and finance at Derby St Alkmunds 1818

In 1818, Charles Stead Hope, vicar of St Alkmunds, wished to extend his parsonage, ie the house built by Henry Cantrell circa 1735. Details of the procedure are preserved with the glebe terriers.⁵ It was first necessary to apply to the bishop for permission to extend the house, and then to show that he could meet the necessary expense without any of the cost falling on the diocese!

The bishop wrote to four of his fellow clergy, requesting that two of them inspect the existing parsonage. He wished to know how long C.S. Hope had been there, the state of the house when he entered the living, how much he had received in dilapidation money and the current state of the property. Edward Unwin (St Werburghs) and Joseph Pickford (curate of Little Eaton and Quarndon and son of the eminent local architect) inspected the property and reported that all was correct. They also said that the proposed additions were good and proper except the water closet "which with its contingent expenses will cost £120 and is considered by us an unnecessary appendage to the house and as such improper in any part to be charged to the living". Charles Finney and Samuel Percival, architects, said that having viewed the parsonage, it was not large enough for the present incumbent. Their estimate for repair and extension was £462 and this was signed by John Hope, JP.

C.S. Hope swore an affidavit before John Hope, JP for the Borough of Derby, on 16 July 1818 to the effect that the annual profits of the vicarage were £320 per annum after all expenses except the curate's salary of £75 per annum. The money for the building was advanced by Miss Susan Ellen Hope and a bond was made by Edward Pole of Radbourne and C.S. Hope to the bishop that they would be responsible for paying the mortgage and it would not fall on the diocese.

These events show the formalities which had to be overcome presumably by every parson who wished to rebuild/enlarge his parsonage and show that at that date, even on quoting the Acts concerning promoting parsonages, the incumbent was ultimately responsible for any finance involved.

In the 1832 terrier, C.S. Hope reported that his extended house now had on the ground floor dining and drawings rooms, study, hall, kitchen, brewhouse, servant's hall and two pantries. On the first floor were four bedrooms, two dressing rooms and a WC. On the second floor were four chambers. There was a stable with a chamber over it, a passage leading from the churchyard to the garden and a courtyard before the front door - so he did eventually get his WC!

New houses and Queen Anne's Bounty

Clergy could obtain a mortgage from the administrators of Queen Anne's Bounty for the repairs/rebuilding of parsonages. Details of the houses of some of those who had such a mortgage survive at Lichfield Joint Record Office.⁶ These are for new houses at Weston-on-Trent (1865) and Mackworth (1878), enlargements at Allestree (1871) and at Brailsford (1871) and for the parsonage of the new Derby St Andrew (1868). It is evident from these documents that the bishop's approval had to be sought for any change and an inspection of the existing premises carried out before this could be given.

For example, the house then existing at Mackworth, which appeared to have been occupied by its clergy since the mid-18th century but not officially made over to the church by its patron (the Mundys were patrons) until the early 19th century. In 1876 the vicar, William Gilder, requested an inspection of the house by the vicar general to the bishop. The diocesan surveyor then reported that "the existing house is thoroughly worn out and in a very bad state of repair, that all the main timbers in the internal woodwork are quite perished and recommends that the said house be entirely rebuilt upon an improved plan". Permission was sought to demolish the existing house and to build a new one on the site in accordance with the plans prepared by Messrs Evans and Tolley of Nottingham, architects. Permission was also sought to sell and dispose of materials for the old house and the proceeds applied to the cost of the new. F.N.C. Mundy, the patron, agreed. A notice was fixed to the church door to inform parishioners of the proposals and left there over two Sundays in order to give the opportunity for any objections. The new house was duly built. These events at Derby St Alkmunds and Mackworth have been quoted at length to show the formalities required for change. They were repeated on many occasions in the deanery during the century.

A dilapidated rectory at Weston-on-Trent, a farmhouse in essence, was officially converted to a farm and an excellent and commodious parsonage built adjacent to and south of the churchyard. The new house was provided by Edward Wilmot, Bart, the patron, but a mortgage of £1480 was requested from Queen Anne's Bounty and further money of £679 was raised through mortgaging some of the "glebe, tithes, rents rent charges and other profits and emoluments of the said rectory". This was in 1865. In 1863 the absent and insane Robert Nicholas French had died after holding the living for 52 years and John Wadham had been appointed.

At Brailsford, William Giles, architect, of Derby said that the parsonage was in a good condition for an ancient building but the kitchen and offices needed to be renovated. When work commenced, William Giles found that more extensive work was necessary. The adjoining rooms needed work doing "in consequence of the thatched roof being in such a bad state. The whole of the premises are very old and have been patched and altered from time to time in a poor way without proper management - but the new Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act now in force renders it incumbent on the occupier to restore and maintain the edifice in a proper state, requiring him to borrow money from Q.A.B. for the purpose - and forcing the impropiator to do the same". The work needing to be done "cannot be done for less than £300 which is really a low sum obtained only by extreme economy and employing village workmen under our own supervision". The original quote had been £190.

The amount of repairs at Brailsford shows the compulsion to do effective repairs by this date and the worry of finance to some incumbents. It is also an example of how old and neglected many parsonages had become.

Local and family concerns

When considering new building in this period, it is instructive to look at the names of the patrons and of the incumbents at the time. Where the patron was a member of the local gentry, the parsonage of the church was usually improved. When both incumbent and patron were members of the same gentry family, then a grander scale of parsonage was built. For example, Sir George Crewe of Calke Abbey was patron at Breadsall in 1836 and Henry Robert Crewe was the Rector. Sir George applied for and obtained permission to build a new rectory 300 yards north of that built some 134 years earlier by Gilbert Mitchell (and still on Rectory Lane). The old rectory, used as a school room, was demolished and Sir George built a new National School Room at his own expenses. Similarly, when Frederick Curzon obtained the living at Mickleover in 1820 he built a grand new parsonage in 1821. The Curzons of Kedleston Hall were joint patrons of the living.

A view in 1857

White's *History and Gazetteer of Derbyshire*, 1857, gives a guide to the changing parsonage house scene:

Breadsall - The Rectory is a handsome mansion. It is a cemented building erected in 1832.

Aston - The rectory is a large neat residence.

Barrow - A vicarage house is to be erected midway betwixt Barrow and Twyford.

Crich - The vicarage is a neat modern residence, a little west of the church, enlarged in 1856.

Elvaston - In 1844 the old vicarage was exchanged for Thulston Grange, a handsome brick residence with about 3½ acres of land.

Ilkeston - The vicarage is a handsome stone mansion, erected in 1847 near to the church.

West Hallam - The rectory is a well built handsome mansion on an eminence near the church and commands extensive and beautiful views to the south east.

Willington - A vicarage is about to be erected.

The new parishes in rural areas

The creation of new parishes from the former chapelries began in the late 18th century and accelerated during the 19th century. Quarndon was one of the first to be created in 1762. New churches in new areas were also built.

In 1818, 1819 and 1823 Acts were passed to promote the building of churches in populous parishes. These Acts were quoted by William Evans of Allestree Hall when in 1851 he gave "freely and voluntarily and without any valuable consideration" a piece of land in Allestree to Her Majesty's Commissioners for Building New Churches. This land was for a parsonage house, glebe and garden for the incumbent. Allestree had a church but it was a chapelry of Mackworth until 1862 when it became an independent parish.

Land was freely given to the Commissioners to erect parsonage houses at Horsley Woodhouse in 1880 by Robert Sacheverel Wilmot Sitwell, at Stanley in 1872 by Godfrey Franceys Meynell, at Hulland Ward in 1875 by John Charles Burton Burrough and at Duffield in 1862 by the Rev. Francis Wellington Moore.⁷ The three former were new parishes. At Duffield the parsonage standing at the west end of the church had been isolated from the village by the building of the North Midland Railway line in 1839. This new site off Hazelwood Road was more central.

At Quarndon⁸ Joseph Humpstone, Esq, gave £1000 in three per cent consols for the support of a resident minister, on condition that the Church Building Society would erect a parsonage house. It did so in 1844 at a cost of £850.

On 26 November 1862 the *Derby Mercury* reported that Lord Scarsdale had given land for a parsonage at Turnditch,⁹ a former chapelry of Duffield. A subscription list was opened for a building fund as the income of the parish was only £54 per annum.

Developments in Derby

1. At the ancient churches

As has been seen, Charles Stead Hope modernised his existing parsonage in St Alkmund's Churchyard in 1818. John Garton Howard of St Michael's exchanged the land at the east end of his church on which the former parsonage stood for 1000 square yards of land on the north side of Lodge Lane. Here in 1821 he built a spacious new parsonage in landscaped gardens.¹⁰

During the 1850s the parishioners of St Werburghs opened a subscription list and invited contributions towards the erection of a new parsonage. Subscribers were listed at the back of the current burial register.¹¹ They included

W. Evans, Esq, £100, Rt Hon Lord Belper £50, Rt Hon Lord Scarsdale £50, Thomas Michael Bass, MP, £25, Andrew Handyside, Esq, £10, and many local well-known citizens. The parsonage on Ashbourne Road was completed in March 1858 at a cost of £1500 of which £1100 had been raised by subscription. The remaining £400 was borrowed as a mortgage on the living at four per cent from J.W. Evans, MP. The house still stands, occupied by British Road Services.

In 1849, the *Derby Mercury* carried reports of a meeting to find means of increasing the income of the incumbent of All Saints¹² and at this time a new parsonage was built on the east side of Kedleston Road about 50 yards beyond its junction with Duffield Road. It is the Polish Centre today. (In the 1832 terrier R.M. Hope had reported the stipend as still £13 6s 8d. "This is paid yearly by the Corporation and they never oblige themselves to pay more.") Again concerted public effort remedied a poor situation.

At St Peters, the old vicarage house and garden in St Peter's Street had been sold by 1857 (terrier) and new house built in Burton Road on glebe land close to the east end of Whittaker Road.

2. The new districts

The population of Litchurch, to the south east of Derby, had been only 35 in 1801. By 1851 it was 1720 and by 1860, according to the *Derby Mercury*, it was over 6000 due to workers at the railway and its workshops, iron foundries and related industries. These workers and their families from the new streets of terraced housing wanted to attend church. Many walked all the way to St Michaels¹³ where all seats were free, passing churches with many private rented pews. During the 1860s the *Derby Mercury* reported regularly on efforts to raise money for two new complexes of church, school and parsonage house in the Litchurch area. The one on land given by Mr Douglas Fox was to become St James in Malcolm Street. Its estimated cost was £6000. In April 1865 the paper carried an advertisement for builders to tender for the erection of a parsonage house for the new St James. The foundation stone for it was laid in October that year by Rowland Smith and its first occupant was the Rev. Alfred Oliver.¹⁴

The second complex, which became St Andrews, was on land given by Burton Burrough, Esq, on the east side of London Road just north of the railway bridge. It was hoped by the promoters that the directors of the Midland Railway Company would contribute generously to the building fund. As a body they declined to do so because not all were Church of England, although individuals subscribed. George Gilbert Scott, the eminent architect who had designed the St Pancras Hotel fronting St Pancras Station in London, had made a generous offer towards designing the complex. The building fund failed to reach its target sum and, whilst a handsome set of buildings was still built, certain economies had to be made.¹⁵ The original estimate of £2770 for the parsonage had to be trimmed by £478. For example, three proposed marble chimney pieces had to be replaced by stone ones and six other proposed chimney pieces at 60 shillings each had to be replaced by six at 30 shillings each. Six inch rim locks had to be used instead of eight inch mortice locks and narrower, thinner skirting board was used rather than that originally proposed.¹⁶ Nevertheless a fine large house resulted. John Erskine Clarke came from St Michael's to be the first vicar.

Derby expanded rapidly in all directions during the 19th century. Further new parishes were carved out of the old existing larger parishes.¹⁷ Other new parishes were:

St John's (Bridge Street)	1828, independent parish in 1847
Holy Trinity (London Road)	1836
Christchurch (Normanton Road)	1839
St Paul's (Mansfield Road)	1850
St Luke's (Parliament Street)	1872
St Anne's (Whitecross Street)	1873
St Chad's (top of Mill Hill Lane)	1882
St Barnabus (Radbourn Street)	1885
St Augustine's (Upper Dale Road)	Mission opened 14 October 1888 church consecrated 25 April 1898

These all required parsonage houses. St Werburgh's parish registers record that in 1853 a parsonage was built in Vernon Street for the incumbency of St John's. The money was raised by subscriptions and by grants from the Incorporated and Diocesan Church Building Societies. (St John's had been built in 1828 as a chapel in St Werburgh's parish, but became an independent parish in 1847.) Vernon Street was, and is still, a street of very select houses.

The *Derby Mercury* of 26 June 1867 carried an advertisement for builders for the erection of a parsonage for Christchurch, architects Giles and Brookhouse of Derby. This house was built in Mill Hill Lane.

Probably a typical example of these new town parsonages was that built for St Chad's in Empress Road at the corner of Stonehill Road in 1898. This area was part of a high class development of upper professional class housing on the former Breedon Hill estate. This parsonage was a large solid late-Victorian "mansion", the type which would require servants to run efficiently. It still stands today and is now a nursing home.

Notes on Table 5

The last available terriers are, by accidents of history, at widely differing dates. Some give an account of a newly built house and some an account of an old or unrepaired house. More detail is given about many of them in the text.

M.R. Austin has said that the parsonage house of Derby, St Michael was put up for sale in 1775.¹⁹ At that time it consisted of "four rooms on a floor with a pleasant garden" and was being rented by a butcher. This house stood at the east end of St Michael's churchyard. Evidence from St Michael's glebe terriers suggest that it was not sold at that point. The terriers up to and including 1773 report that the house was rented out. It still belonged to the church in 1805 but it appears to have stood empty. After 1805, three more terriers of 1824, 1828 and 1841 are extant. These three say that the then vicar, John Garton Howard, built a mansion on a 1000 square yard plot on the north side of Lodge Lane. The land had been obtained in exchange for a piece of about half that area adjoining the church on which the former "dilapidated vicarage house" stood. The deeds of conveyance were deposited in the "County Office". The new house was built circa 1821.

The writer has not found any primary source information concerning Sawley. There are no glebe terriers for it at the Derbyshire Record Office and it is not mentioned in the 1772 and 1822/3 visitations. However, M.R. Austin has an account of the Sawley house.²⁰ He writes that in 1810 it was "a long single house which was in a state of great danger to the inhabitants being deluged at every falling shower". The barn and stable being also a "common spectacle of ruin and scandal and an offence to all well wishers of the Church of England". The incumbent, Thomas Humphries, complained that he only received £40 per annum from the Prebendary of Sawley, and that this pittance was "encumbered by an old thatched house" which would cost five times his annual salary to repair. When Stephen Granginet's complaints of over 100 years earlier are considered, the ministers of Sawley are seen to have been ill used by successive prebendaries of that place, who probably drew the associated income and cared little for Sawley church.

CONCLUSIONS

The chance events of history had determined the wealth or otherwise of the benefices in the Derby deanery by the 17th century and this was reflected in the parsonage houses. The better houses were "hall houses" with two or more parlours and chambers over. The poorer houses had a "house place" and a single parlour, such as that at Crich which was a simple "two up, two down" cottage. Limited evidence suggests that some were built of "mud and studs" or "lath and plaster" with thatched roofs. They had some or most of the following: barns, stables, cowhouses, brewhouse, bakehouse, fold yard, orchard, gardens and a croft. Each parson seems to have had at least one cow and a pig and a horse for transport. Some actively farmed their glebe until well into the 18th century. Many complained of the cost of maintenance on their houses. This all reflects a local subsistence economy where little had changed from the 15th and 16th centuries.

DETAILS OF PARSONAGE HOUSES IN 19thC FROM LAST AVAILABLE GLEBE TERRIERS (DRO)																				
PARISH	DATE LAST TERRIER		Draw- ing/ Parlour	Din- ing	Study /Lib- rary	Kit- chen	Back Kit- chen	Cham- ber on 1st floor	Cham- ber on 2nd floor	Dress- ing Room	Clo- sets	Dairy	Shoe house	Stables	Cow house	Barns	Gar- dens	Or- chard	Coach, gig house	Other
Aston		No new detail																		
Barrow-on-Trent	1869	No house 1800-1857	"A good parsonage house attached to living"																	
Breadsall	1836		"A new parsonage house of brick and stone built conjointly by the Patron, Sir George Crewe, Bart, and the Incumbent, Henry Robert Crewe, in a close called Walker Top, about 300 yds northwardly of old parsonage house".																	
														for 6 horses	2 bays				Coach	Threshing floor
Crich	1857		"The house has been considerably enlarged at an expense of £532"																	
Duffield	1857	No new detail																		
Elvaston	1845	Thurlastone Grange purchased in 1844	1	1	1	1	1	7		4	4	1		1			1	1	Coach	Breakfast room, butler's pantry, larders. Site occupies 3 acres, 2 roods, 30 perches.
Hallam (West)	1857	No detail																		
Hearnor		No 19thC terrier																		
Horsley	1849		2 small					3									1			Small offices
Kedleston	1869	Improved by 1836	entrance hall	1	1	1	1	3	attics					1	1				Coach	Servants room

Table 5 (cont'd)

PARISH	DATE LAST TERRIER		Draw- ing/ Parlour	Din- ing	Study /Lib- rary	Kit- chen	Back Kit- chen	Cham- ber on 1st floor	Cham- ber on 2nd floor	Dress- ing Room	Clo- sets	Dairy	Shoe house	Stables	Cow house	Barns	Gar- dens	Or- chard	Coach, gig house	Other
Kirk Langley	1845		1 on first floor	1	1	1	1	5	3	1				2		1	1		Coach	Servants Hall, butler's pantry, larder, com- chamber, dove- cote, tool house, thrashing floor, saddle room. Pleasure ground
Mackworth	1857		1	1	1	1	1	not stated				1	1	for 4 horses	for 8 cows		1	1		Pig sty, calf house
Mickleover	1845		1	1	1	1	1	not stated						for 3 horses	for 3 cows	1	1		Coach	Pantry. Granaries + necessary offices, pig sties
Morley	1849			4				9						2		1	1		Coach	Granaries + necessary offices
Mugginton	1857	1841. "House nearly rebuilt throughout recently"	"A commodius house"											1	1		Pleasure + kitchen		Coach	
Ockbrook	1849		"A house capable of accommodating a moderate sized family"																Coach	Offices
Pentrich	1849		"The ancient cottage parsonage with stable, garden and outbuildings is now taken down, and new ones are in course of erection"																	
Radbourne	1845		No details are given but Edward Pole, rector, took out a mortgage from Queen Annes Bounty for £800 in 1821, therefore there are possibly new buildings.														Pleasure + kitchen			Farm buildings with yards and fold yard.

Table 5 (cont'd)

PARISH	DATE LAST TERRIER	Draw- ing/ Parlour	Din- ing	Study /Lib- rary	Kit- chen	Back Kit- chen	Cham- ber on 1st floor	Cham- ber on 2nd floor	Dress- ing Room	Clo- sets	Dairy	Shoe house	Stables	Cow house	Barns	Gar- dens	Or- chard	Coach, gig house	Other
Sandiacre	1845	No parsonage house																	
Scropton		No 19thC terriers																	
Shirley	1841	House built 1826	7 rooms on ground floor				over ground floor rooms						2					double coach	Wash house, cart shed
Spondon	1845	House largely rebuilt 1815 by William Drury Lowe	2	1	1	1	9 "lodging rooms"				1		2					gig	Housekeeper's room, servants hall, 2 pantries, 2 cellars, 2 stair- cases, 2 passages, pump court.
Weston-on- Trent	1841		Small old built rectory inhabited by curate																
Willington	1845		No parsonage house																
Derby St Alkmund	1845		1824 terrier states "A mansion house built by the present vicar on a plot of ground situate on the north side of Lodge Lane in the whole 1,000 sq yds obtained in exchange for the ground adjoining the church yard on which the former (dilapidated) vicarage house stood"																
Derby All Saints	1849		"An old house situate in Amen Alley, divided into 2 tenements and rented out (for approx 120 years)"																
Derby St Peter	1857		"A mansion house and garden situate on the glebe land in the Parochial Chapelry of Normanton St Giles in the parish of St Peter, Derby"																
Derby St Werburgh	1853		One small vicarage house in Friargate which is rented out.																

The 18th century appeared to bring improvements at only a few parsonages for specific reasons. Gilbert Mitchell at Breadsall married a wealthy woman and so could afford to totally rebuild. Henry Cantrell at St Alkmund's, Derby, was fortunate to receive an endowment which enabled him to rebuild. John Baker at Kedleston had an elegant new parsonage only because his patron required the area occupied by the existing one. At Spondon the patron, George Lowe, contributed to some rebuilding. For most parsons, housing altered but little.

It was not until the mid 19th century that conditions in clergy housing radically changed. By this time the new houses reflected the improved social status of the clergy. This was only partly to do with money in the Derby deanery. Those parishes with much glebe and tithe such as Aston, Breadsall and Morley were certainly much richer after parliamentary enclosure and the 1836 Tithe Commutation Act, but the Derby Borough parishes had very little glebe and tithe. The main impetus for improvement appears to have been the religious revival and the increased social conscience of the age. Congregations and concerned individuals made great efforts to improve not only their parish churches (and to build new ones) by personal subscriptions, but to house their clergy as befitted their improved status in a society where most people attended a place of worship. Acts of Parliament encouraged the building of parsonages. Mortgages were available via Queen Anne's Bounty and national societies existed which made grants for church and parsonage building. The new Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act required the incumbent to restore and maintain his house in a proper state.

There were special cases where an incumbent and his patron were both members of the same local gentry family; and this certainly led to improvements at Breadsall and Mickleover.

It can be concluded that clergy were relatively much better housed in this deanery from the mid-19th century onwards. Their housing then compared favourably with that of the rising professional middle class.

REFERENCES TO I

- 1 J.C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol III, 1877, p216
- 2 DRO Glebe Terriers (Breadsall), 1703. Ref 2360
- 3 DRO Glebe Terriers (Spondon), 1705, 1795. Ref 2360
- 4 DRO Glebe Terriers (Kedleston), 1758, 1786. Ref 2360
- 5 Edward Saunders, "The Old Rectory at Kedleston", *Derbyshire Life & Countryside*, March 1977
- 6 Lichfield Joint Record Office B/C/5 1759
- 7 Edward Saunders, "The Old Rectory at Kedleston", *Derbyshire Life & Countryside*, March 1977
- 8 DRO Glebe Terriers (Morley), 1719, Ref 2360
- 9 Lichfield Joint Record Office B/V/5
- 10 Maxwell Craven, *The Derby Townhouse*, 1987, pp88-9
- 11 Don Farnsworth, *From Mearca to Clark-Maxwell*, 1987, p75

REFERENCES TO II

1. Population of Derby in 1801

St Alkmund's parish	2002
St Michael's parish	771
St Peter's parish	2231
St Werburgh's parish	2966
All Saint's parish	<u>2862</u>
	<u>10832</u>

Population of Derby in 1851

St Alkmund's parish	10993
St Michael's parish	1036
St Peter's parish	13702
St Werburgh's parish	10048
All Saint's parish	<u>4396</u>
	<u>40175</u>

From Census Enumerators' returns, Derby Local Studies Library

2. M.R. Austin, "Enclosure and Benefice Incomes in Derbyshire, 1772-1832", *DAJ*, Vol C, 1980, pp88-94
3. M.R. Austin, "Tithe and Benefice Incomes in Derbyshire, 1772-1832", *DAJ*, Vol CII, 1982, pp118-128
4. Lichfield Joint Record Office, A/V/1/1
5. DRO Glebe Terriers (Derby St Alkmund's), Ref 2360
6. Lichfield Joint Record Office, B.A. 13 111, B.C.5
7. DRO Uncatalogued deeds of land for new parsonage houses in the 19th century
8. L.S.L. White, *History and Gazetteer of Derbyshire*, 1857, p309
9. *Derby Mercury*, 26 November 1862, p4, c6
10. DRO Glebe Terriers (St Michael's, Derby), 1824
11. DRO D11 45A/p1 Reel 169, St Werburgh's parish registers
12. Derby Local Studies Library, *Derby Mercury*, 7 November 1849, p2, c5 & 6
Ibid, 14 November 1849, p2, c3
13. Derby Local Studies Library, *Derby Mercury*, 12 February 1862, p4, c3
Ibid, 26 February 1862, p2, c3-4
14. Derby Local Studies Library, *Derby Mercury*, 20 November 1861, p4, c4
Ibid, 15 February 1865, p5, c2-3
Ibid, 15 March 1865, p5, c6
Ibid, 10 May 1865, p4, c6
Ibid, 26 April 1865, p5, c6
Ibid, 4 October 186, p5, c2
Ibid, 14 February 1866, p5, c2
Ibid, 13 June 1866, p5, c1
Ibid, 4 July 1866, p4, c4-5
Ibid, 4 July 1866, p5, c1
Ibid, 2 January 1867, p5, c3
15. Derby Local Studies Library, *Derby Mercury*, 6 April 1864, p2, c2
Ibid, 6 December 1865, p4, c5
Ibid, 20 December 1865, p4, c5
Ibid, 18 April 1866, p5, c2
Ibid, 16 May 1866, p5, c4-5
Ibid, 19 June 1867, p5, c5
16. Lichfield Joint Record Office, BA 13 111
17. DRO Summaries of parish records
18. DRO D11 A/P1, Reel 169, St Werburgh's parish registers
19. M.R. Austin, "The Church of England in Derbyshire 1772-1832", (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1969) p103 et al, DCL
20. *Ibid*

TRUTHS. No 1 AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

A working class autobiography from Derbyshire

(by A.D. Harvey)

The earliest working class autobiography to come out of the social milieu most directly affected by the process of industrialisation in the late eighteenth century England is Charles Whetstone's *Truths. No 1, or the Memoirs of Charles Whetstone, or an Exposition of the Oppression and Cruelty Exercised in the Trades and Manufactures of Great Britain* of 1807. It does not appear, indeed, that Whetstone was himself a factory worker. At the age of thirteen he occasionally helped out in the lead mine which his father part-owned in the Derbyshire Peak District: 'I undertook the care of the cattle, fields and garden, and sometimes assisted at the mine' (p44 and cf p25) and while still at school he had thought of being apprenticed to the engineer - ie the mechanic in charge of the steam engine - at one of the principal mines in the neighbourhood (p60). Instead he became a shopkeeper's apprentice in Derby. Owing to his many digressions Whetstone does not bring his autobiography down beyond his mid-teens, and the course of his subsequent career can only be guessed at. His eagerness to list the books which he read in his odd spare moments, and the pedantic, even learned nature of his digressions suggests that he may have made his career as some sort of self-taught intellectual, either a schoolmaster or a surgeon.¹ But since the subject of many of his digressions is the condition of the industrial workers amongst whom he lived, he seems to have regarded himself as essentially part of the emergent industrial working class: certainly he writes of himself as having been born 'without any other birthright than that of being impelled along the common beaten-road of life, by the stern and unrelenting commands of Poverty and Labour' (p22).²

It is probably that Whetstone emigrated to the United States, though whether *TRUTHS. No 1* was published in America appears unclear. No place of publication is shown on the title page. The only copy known to exist in Britain is in the Derby Local Studies Library.³ There are also copies in the libraries of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and of the Library Company of Philadelphia.⁴ Whether published originally at Derby or at Philadelphia it does not seem to have been very successfully marketed. As the title indicates, it was meant to be part of a series; perhaps *TRUTHS. No 2* and *TRUTHS. No 3* would have continued. Whetstone's narrative beyond his teens: but if these were ever issued, they have not survived. *TRUTHS No 1*, a duodecimo pamphlet of 102 pages, has the following dedication:

To the particular attention of the land-owners,
proprietors of mines, and the clergy, of the
High-Peak of Derbyshire:
Of the gentleman merchants, and master-cutlers,
of the town of Sheffield, in Yorkshire:
Of the master-hosiers and silk throwsters, of the
towns of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Congleton,
in England:
And to the intelligent and uncorrupted citizens
of the United States of America,
This first number of
TRUTHS
is most respectfully inscribed.
by the
EDITOR

There are numerous other references to an American connection: 'The fields on the hills and plains are inclosed, not with a skeleton-fence of posts and rails, so common in America...' (p14); 'We have many such select-academies in the U.S. - and teachers of equal merit! E.' (p26 footnote, ostensibly by the Editor). 'The annexed engraving is designed more fully to explain to the American reader of this work ... what must otherwise necessarily appear to

him, from description only, a very whimsical phenomenon' (p31). 'At an age I dare not mention - it would appear to an American incredible. E.' (p92 footnote). The last reference, in which the 'Editor' seems to have confused himself with the writer of the memoir, may suggest that in 1807 Whetstone was established, or was trying to establish himself, as a publicist and journalist somewhere in the United States. The book ends with a kind of dialogue between an archetypal American and a visiting English merchant (p96-102).

The possibility that Whetstone may have left the industrial Midlands twenty years or more before he sat down to write his memoirs may partly explain - but only partly - what is the most curious and striking feature of his contribution to the social history of the Industrial Revolution. With one exception - his reference to the introduction of gun powder and steam engines into the Derbyshire lead mining areas, by which 'we can carry our mines much deeper than the ancients, and into new and fruitful veins, to them totally inaccessible and unknown' (p10) - he never refers to a single aspect of Midlands industrial organisation that was distinctively and specifically new or recently established in the 1770s and 1780s.

The memoirs begin with a description of abandoned lead mines in the Peak District and of primitive huts in which 'the poor labouring boors and miners' still lived, but the history of the mining industry is traced back to the Emperor Hadrian (p4) and an ancient mine known as Odin is attributed to the time of the Saxons and Danes (p7). The folk customs of the miners are described in the context of their being 'the lineal descendants of the slaves of the Emperor HADRIAN' (p12). In his account of the textile industry, similarly, Whetstone notes that the towns of Derby, Nottingham and Leicester 'have long been noted for the making of stockings' (p88). He mentions the establishment of 'the great and original Silk-Mill' established by Sir Thomas Lomb at Derby in 1734 (p86) and the use made of the existing supply of indigent children (p87). Though he condemns the employment of child-labour in the Derby silk mills (p92) the list he gives of trades exploiting child labour consists only of traditional employments: 'how to forge the blade of a knife, to construct a mousetrap, to shoe a horse, to sweep a chimney, or to make a pin' (p33). While he writes interestingly of folk customs which he had evidently observed with his own eyes, Saint Monday at Sheffield, for example (p41-2)⁵ or the old practice of country women (including his mother) of giving twenty ounces for a pound when making up butter for the market (p59), much of his material seems culled from books and newspapers: and not simply the historical disquisitions. His remarks about child labour in chimney sweeping and pin making are supported by references to court cases in January and February 1803 (p33 footnotes). These are probably taken from a newspaper. The award by agricultural societies of prizes to country people who have raised numerous offspring without parish assistance, and of larger prizes to the local farmers for the best wheat and bulls, is noted from 'one of your best English Magazines' (p98) - possibly the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Perhaps Whetstone needed such printed sources to assist a faulty memory. Some of his details are certainly wrong: on page 42 (as a footnote, but not marked 'E' for Editor) he suggests:

If instead of crowding from 50 to 100 men and women together into one public work-shop, as is commonly and indecently practiced (to the injury of good manners) the philosophical and Howardian plan, of accommodating each workman with a separate shop, was, as far as consistent with the circumstances of the manufacture, adopted in Sheffield ...

But in fact large work premises were altogether exceptional in Sheffield, the cutlery and metal-working industry being primarily organised on the basis of artisan proprietors and their apprentices and journeymen, working in small workshops.⁶

Apart from the observation (just then beginning to come into vogue)⁷ that people in industrial areas lived on a larger scale of misery than hitherto, Whetstone seems to have missed the new structural features of industrial society. For example:

The Indian-tribes of North America, the Caffres, Negroes, and poor Hottentots, of Africa, are, all of them, strangers to that poverty and misery, and that distortion by oppression and disease, which are the hand and unmitigated lot of thousands of English mechanics. Those happy savages are equally strangers to the cruel law of apprenticeship, to public charities, and public hospitals, yet they are never distressed about maintaining their families. If one place could not

furnish to them the necessary means of subsistence, they can fly to another: but the poor English mechanic is compelled, by the cruel and invisible restraint of the laws, and the particular manufacture on which he solely depends, to tarry where he is, and to submit to all possible privations, or to perish! (p39).

Even leaving the North American Indians and the poor Hottentots out of the question, this misses the whole point of what was going on in Whetstone's own lifetime. The rapid increase in industrialisation must necessarily have been accompanied by a new fluidity in the labour market and by unprecedented levels of labour mobility. The Midlands industrial worker may have been poor, unhealthy and oppressed, but he had better opportunities to change jobs than had been enjoyed by his forefathers, or were enjoyed by the poor of the agricultural south.⁸

Perhaps Whetstone left England while he was still too young to understand fully what was going on around him, though since the American War of Independence was in progress between his fifteenth and twenty-second year of age it is more likely that he was already a mature adult when he left England. Perhaps he was simply not a very perceptive observer of his environment: it is in any case difficult to observe, let alone interpret, new conditions and new developments if one does not have a ready-made interpretative framework. When *TRUTHS. No 1* was published an interpretative model capable of providing an understanding of the Industrial Revolution was still - like the Industrial Revolution itself - in the process of emerging.⁹ In spite of the unique vantage point formerly occupied by Whetstone, he cannot be said to have contributed much to contemporary understanding of one of the most vital developments of his age. The Industrial Revolution was a revolution in scholarly retrospect, but as *TRUTHS. No 1* reminds us, for many of those who experienced it it must have seemed the same dreary round they had always known.

References

- 1 Not the least interesting material in this memoir is the account of the sort of reading material available to an ambitious youth of Whetstone's background. The sister of his first employer has a 'little library, the godly gift of her ignorant grandmother, [which] consisted, beside the Bible, of Thomas a Kempis, Nelson's *Festivals*, Harvey's *Meditations*, *The Whole Duty of Man*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and *The Rural Christian*' (p67-9). Most of these are standard Christian classics of the period - Robert Nelson's *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, first published in 1704, was in its 23rd edition by 1773 - but George Wright's *The Rural Christian* is an odd item to find in this hackneyed collection as it had only been published in 1772, three years or so before the period of which Whetstone writes. His next employer has 'a small library of books to which I had free access. I read them all: but the work that most engrossed my attention, was Derham's *Physico Theology, or a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God from his works of Creation*' a series of sermons by William Derham first published in 1713 (p76). Later he becomes friendly with a surgeon's apprentice, and begins to interest himself in medicine and the surgeon's specimen human skeleton. 'By means of Chesselden's *Anatomy*, and this skeleton, to which on a Sunday I had access, I acquired a good general idea of the admirable Osteology of the human frame' (p84). The reference is to William Cheselden's *The Anatomy of the Human Body* first published 1713, tenth edition 1773.
- 2 John Foster *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*, London, Methuen, 1974, p133-6 notes the role of shopkeepers as working class leaders in industrial communities during the 1830s.
- 3 This is the copy examined by John Burnett, David Vincent and David Mayall in their compilation *The Autobiography of the Working Class: an Annotated Critical Biography, Vol 1: 1790-1900*, Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984, p335-6. The present author has a photocopy of the Derby Local Studies Library copy.
- 4 Information from the National Union Catalog.
- 5 The best recent account of Saint Monday (a kind of secular Sunday when no work was done) relates to the town of Birmingham, which, however, had much in common with Sheffield: Douglas A. Reid 'The Decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', *Past and Present* no 71 (1976), p76-101, especially p77-81.

- 6 Whetstone may have had personal experience or knowledge of the insalubrious 'public workshop' conditions of which he speaks (a family firm like Marsh & Company, in 1818 employed at least 32 men and presumably numbers of women and in 1819, was operating 11 wheels and 11 hearths). See Sidney Pollard, *Three Centuries of Sheffield Steel, The Story of a Family Business*, Sheffield, Marsh Bros & Co, 1954, p10. But overall, the great majority of operations were controlled by smaller family firms and artisan workshops. Mass one-factory employment on the scale of the great mills of the cotton industry did not occur in the steel industry till the age of electricity. Cf Sidney Pollard, *A History of Labour in Sheffield*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1959, p132. 206-7 and Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914*, London, Methuen, 1968, p270-1.
- 7 Cf. A.D. Harvey 'First Public Reactions to the Industrial Revolution', *Études Anglaises*, vol 31, 1978, p273-93, reprinted with slight modification in A.D. Harvey, ed. *English Literature and the Great War with France*, London: Nold Jonson, 1981, p137-62.
- 8 The much greater level of unemployment in agriculture as compared to industrialised countries can be seen in the Poor Law Returns for 1803, published as *Parliamentary Papers* 1803-4, demy folio 13 (vol 13 of the supplement to *Parliamentary Reports* First Series).
- 9 It may be as well to acknowledge at this point that it is now the fashion in some scholarly circles to deny there was any such thing as an 'Industrial Revolution', either because growth rates were by modern standards so paltry or else because the degree of structural transformation achieved over a defined period was insufficient to justify the term 'Revolution'. The present author is an unashamed adherent to the view that, though economic change was in progress before 1750, and continued after 1850, there was, nevertheless, by 1850, an awareness that the industrial structure of Britain had radically and fundamentally altered, in an unprecedented manner, during the course of the previous hundred years. See reference foot note 7. Whether or not the concept 'Industrial Revolution' has any useful function in the terminology of applied economics, it remains indispensable for students of the history of mentality and of social and political structure.

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THE UNEMPLOYED MARCH OF 1933

(By John Heath)

The *Derbyshire Advertiser* for 29 September 1933 carried a report of a hunger march by about one hundred and fifty members of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement which ended in Derby on the evening of Wednesday 27 September. Some of the marchers, including many unemployed miners from the north-east area of the County had been walking for six days, finding accommodation overnight at selected places en route. At Derby the marchers were accommodated at Derby Corporation's Unemployed Welfare Centre in Full Street, "provisions" being supplied by Derby Co-operative Provident Society. On the Thursday morning the marchers re-grouped, and shouting slogans in unison as they marched round the streets of the town, attempted to meet members of the Public Assistance Committee of Derbyshire County Council, but were diverted by the police who refused to convey a message from the marchers to the Committee.

Unemployment had been increasing in the late twenties and the early thirties as a result of a world-wide recession. It reached a peak of nearly three million in late 1932, with between sixteen and seventeen per cent of the unemployed being out of work for more than twelve months. Of the country's mining workforce about one-third was out of work, and it is not surprising therefore that the politically-inspired march commenced in the towns of Dronfield, Eckington, Staveley and Chesterfield. But why was Derby selected? At this time there was intense feeling against the National Government's - a coalition under the leadership of Ramsey MacDonald (August 1931 to June 1935) - proposals to alter the Unemployment Insurance Benefits which were based on suggestions made by the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance under the Chairmanship of Mr Justice Holman Gregory (appointed in December 1930 - First Report in June 1931; Second Report in November 1931). The suggested cut-backs in benefits were in response to the £40 million Benefits' debt resulting from the large numbers of unemployed. It was the setting up of the Unemployment Assistance Committees under the Ministry of Labour that was seen by the unemployed as a tightening up of the administration of benefits and relief payments.

The slogans of the marchers high-light their aims:

We're on the march for bread
Away with the Means test
We want work not charity
Why not come with us?
We're going to the P.A.C.
Fight for shorter hours.
Working women must not die,
Down with the Task Work Centres.
We refuse to starve in silence
Down with the baby-starvers.
Down with the new Dole Bill
No more wage cuts
We want work schemes,
Our children must be fed!

A march, not supported by either the Labour parties or the Trade Unions, to the Nottinghamshire County Council in June 1932 by the Unemployed Workers had obtained school-feeding for children, but the march on Derby was more ambitious in its demands as the slogans indicate. In particular it was claimed that 'thousands are compelled to apply for Poor Law Relief', and the unemployed were forced to accept Task Work at pay less than Union rates. In the Derby area men were employed in the Arboretum - turfing, mowing, sweeping walks, assisting the gardeners and generally cleaning the park. For three days work the men received from 7s 6d to £1 5s 0d. Twenty-two men were engaged three days a week for 10s 0d in trimming and re-heading graves at the Nottingham Road and the Uttoxeter Road cemeteries. On Sinfin Golf course there were twenty-four men making

gravel paths, extending the course and weeding, receiving 6s to 27s 6d for their labour. The bone of contention was that these unemployed men were working alongside Council employees who were receiving trade union rates of pay and it was the Public Assistance Committees which were making plans for an extension of the practice.

The marchers came to Derby by three routes. One started at Dinnington on 22 September and passed through Worksop, Mansfield, East Kirkby and Heanor. At each of the towns the marchers were 'put up' overnight. A second group started from Dronfield, Eckington, Staveley and Whittington on 23 September, collecting fellow marchers at Chesterfield where they stopped overnight. Other overnight stays were made at Tibshelf, Alfreton and Ripley. The third contingent started at Hucknall on 25 September, staying at Nottingham and Stapleford having passed through Long Eaton.

On the march they were encouraged to sing one of the following:

Take all your troubles to the P.A.C.
And Fight, Fight, Fight.
The N.U.W.M. will lead the way
So fight boys for your rights.
What's the use of slumbering,
When we can use our might,
So take all your troubles to the P.A.C.
And Fight, Fight, Fight.
(to the tune of 'Pack all your troubles')

Come on the Hunger March!
We're on the Hunger March;
What a glorious sight to see,
All the Unemployed
Determined as we march;
We know how to get what we want
Come on the Hunger March.
(to the tune 'Round the Marble Arch')

Let us march together, together, together!
Let us march together to the P.A.C.
For your fight is our fight,
And our fight is your fight
So let us march together
To the Derby P.A.C.
(to the tune 'Frothblowers Anthem')

In the N.U.W.M. we fight,
For our Freedom and the Worker's Right,
Marching forward on to Victory,
Give us your help, my boys,
We're fighting the Battle for you.

Now the Unemployed are on the Road,
Marching forward until they reach their Goal.
Marching forward on to Victory
Give us your help boys,
We're fighting the Battle for you.
(the N.U.W.M. song)

This was fighting talk but it failed to stop the Unemployment Act of 1934 which confirmed most of the things the marchers were against; nor did it get any concessions from the local Public Assistance Committee and, with the numbers of unemployed gradually decreasing as the economy picked up, support for the demands declined.

BARMASTER OF WIRKSWORTH

(by Howard Usher

Sir John Coke, Charles I's Principal Secretary of State, had purchased the Rectory of Melbourne in 1628 and the Manor of Windelands (Over Haddon) in 1631. In 1633, Sir John obtained a lease of "All the profitts of the Lead-mines Lott & Cope and Barmaster's office in the Wappentak of the Wirksworth" as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster. The mine of Dove Gang was specifically excluded as it was held by Cornelius Vermuyden and the barmaster was prohibited from meddling with it. Sir John died intestate and the lease should have passed to his first son, John, and then to his second son, Thomas. A list of leases shows that John Milward and John Gell esquire were farming the office in 1641, but from 1646 to 1653, it was held by Thomas Coke. However, Thomas was declared a malignant Royalist and was imprisoned and his estates sequestrated in 1650. The lease of the Barmaster's Office was granted to Nicholas Wilmot. Eventually, in 1655, Thomas paid the compounding fine of £2000 and his estates were returned to him. Meanwhile Robert Parker had been granted a lease of the Barmaster's Office which expired in 1654, and he was followed by a Mr Ramsey whose lease expired in 1685. After the death of Charles II, the Duchy of Lancaster was granted to Catherine, the Queen Dowager, for her life.

In 1706, Mr Husbands wrote to the Right Honourable Thomas Coke, Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Anne and grandson of Thomas Coke who lost the Office of Barmaster. Husbands pointed out that a discovery of some importance had been made which would lend very much to the advantage of the person claiming the lease. Mr J. Statham observed that the lease was worth £2000 per annum. Michael Burson claimed to have vouchers showing how the lease was wrested from the Coke family and begged Thomas to make him Steward of the Court. William Barnes told Coke that Mr Montague, the previous farmer of Lot & Cope was dead, and Mr Bagshaw of Bakewell "who has no respect to Antient Custom and uses the miners in a very unusual manner" was hoping to get the lease. If Coke would get rid of Bagshaw, then Barnes would be pleased to be Coke's chapman. All these local people were angling for a position under Thomas Coke at the Barmoot Court.

With this wealth of evidence, Thomas Coke sent a petition to Queen Anne, requesting a lease of the leadmines in the Wapentake of Wirksworth, held by his great-grandfather and lost when his grandfather died in the Tower "in the time of that Rebellion, leaving your petitioner's father an infant". The fraud was not discovered until the death of Catherine, the Queen Dowager, when the lease reverted, as part of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Queen Anne. The Queen seemed to be convinced and issued a warrant to the Earl of Derby, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to prepare a lease of "the leadmines and office of Barmaster in the Soak or Wapentake of Wirksworth" to Thomas Coke for 31 years at a rent of £200 per annum. However, an inquiry held by Mr Richard Webb into the leases of the office in the reign of James I, Charles I, Catherine, Queen Dowager, and James II concluded that the position had not been held by Secretary Sir John Coke. This is a surprising conclusion in view of the evidence which seems to exist. Thomas was unsuccessful and the plea was abandoned.

This information was obtained from the Melbourne Muniments, references X94/C130/11, X94/17/7/4-6 and X94/67/2/1-7. I am grateful to Lord Ralph Kerr for permission to use the documents.