

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Accounts of Middle Separe
with of Marston for year
 including reputation sessions for 4 at 0
 for the 10 years 3 sessions and 1/2 session
 at times for 1/2 or 3/4 of session
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 companies of passengers — 00—00
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 by Constable in 2 payments for 1/2 year
 for 10 years of Correction prisoners
 and 1/2 years of 100 lbs 10 pence
 for 10 years to pay 1/2 and 2 quitances
 and a settlement for 3 sessions & 1/2 } 00—03—6
 for going to Dunblow to make a settlement for 00—01—0
 for 10 years and 1/2 presentment
 for a company to pass — 00—00—0
 for going to session to Scambury 3 times — 00—00—0
 for carrying of humanry to Kilton — 00—00—0
 for 10 years Constable for 100 lbs Scambury 10 pence
 for 10 years quitance 1/2 or 1/4 of session
 for 10 years for 3 sessions — 00—02—0
 for 10 years for carrying 1/2 Kilton — 00—01—0
 for 10 years for 1/2 of 4 Market — 00—04—0
 for 10 years to a passenger — 00—00—0
 for carrying a humanry to Kilton — 00—00—0
 for 10 years Constable of passengers — 00—00—0
 for carrying a humanry to Kilton — 00—00—0
 for carrying a man with a pack — 00—00—0
 for carrying of humanry to Kilton — 00—00—0
 for 10 years of a company — 00—00—0
 for 10 years reputation sessions for 1/2
 for 10 years 1/2 or 3/4 of session
 for 10 years 1/2 or 3/4 of session
 for 10 years reputation sessions for 1/2
 for 10 years reputation sessions for 1/2

Summit

The Local History Bulletin
of the
Derbyshire Archaeological Society

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Volume XIII: Part 6

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A DESCRIPTION OF DERBYSHIRE IN 1764

(by Professor J.V. Beckett, Professor of English Regional History, University of Nottingham
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Diarists almost invariably write at greater length and more interestingly about places they visit than about their home town or village. This can be a frustrating business for the historian. If the surviving diary is in a Record Office it is likely to be the Office of the place where the person lived, and a long contemporary description of Derby or Chesterfield maybe hidden away in Cornwall or Northumberland. An attempt was made a few years ago to collate some of the material,¹ and the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts is currently developing an experimental database provisionally entitled 'Diaries and Papers' to allow researchers to make subject and place name searches across references to the papers of individuals who cannot be traced in standard reference works.²

In the meantime we are all a little dependent on chance, and the following is a description of a tour through Derbyshire in 1764 which can be found in a document in the Nottinghamshire Archives Office.³ It was compiled by an unknown traveller passing from Scotland to Nottingham, and although it lacks any great literary merit it is interesting as one of the earliest instances of writing which portrays the romanticism of the Peak District. As such it is much in keeping with the new spirit of enquiry in the mid-eighteenth century, and seemingly more than a generation apart from Daniel Defoe's description of the Peak in the 1720s as '*inhospitable*' and '*wild*'.

At length we reached Buxton, which is situated in a vale amidst mines and barren mountains, but much resorted to, on account of its warm baths, which are very salutary for rheumatisms, and many other disorders. Here we refreshed ourselves and baited our horses (having just before entered Derbyshire) after which we bent our course to Bakewell, over a barren and bleak moor. Here we took up our lodging and the next day September 8 we proceeded through the Peak, midst corn and rich pastures, bounded by lofty mountains, cultivated or planted, and some terminating in the clouds. At length we came in sight of a prodigious rock called the Tor, the front of which is an horrible perpendicular precipice, washed by the rapid Derwent. Continuing along the opposite bank of the river, which is a narrow pass between that and a towering hill, we comforted ourselves amidst heavy showers of rain with the most romantic views of rocks almost covered with trees spontaneously growing from their sides, and the river beneath rushing in hollow murmurs over heaps of loose stones. Soon after we took shelter and some refreshment at Matlock Bath, and riding on by the side of the hills with vast massy stones hanging on their declivities, and seeming to threaten ruin to the passing traveller we proceeded through Crich, famous for its lime pits, and stopped at Ripley to dine. We then pursued our course by the side of Sir Charles Sedley elegant temple which he built in the form of a Turkish mosque and finished our journey at the town of Nottingham.

Notes

1. Robin Card, ed., *The Observant Traveller* (Association of County Archivists, London, HMSO, 1989).
2. Personal communication from Michelle Cale, Curatorial Officer at the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. The database can be consulted by calling at the RCHM, Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London, WC2A 1HP
3. Nottinghamshire Archives Office, M. 380, *Notes of a Tour from Blair to Nottingham from Monday 16th August 176- to the 8th September 176-, by conveyance and horses, [1764]*

WINTER AT EYAM 1807

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS BIRDS

(by Dudley Fowkes,

Among the Smith-Hill-Child papers in the Staffordshire Record Office (D1229) is a considerable accumulation of material originating from the Birds family of Eyam. This arises from the fact that Richard Clarke Hill of Stallington Hall near Blyth Bridge was executor for the estate of Thomas Birds who was a substantial yeoman farmer with a characteristic interest in the lead trade. He was in partnership with William Longsdon in running a lead smelt known as Callow Cupola at Hathersage.

Several of his journals have survived in the papers, the fullest being that for 1807 (ref D1229/4/6/7). References to Callow Cupola and the lead trade occur frequently and the Journal is also written against the backdrop of parliamentary enclosure which was in progress in Eyam, and some neighbouring parishes, at the time.

The following is a complete transcript of the Journal for the months of January, February and March 1807.

JANUARY

- 1st Thursday A sharp frost. At home. Cousin L. very ill. WL (William Longsdon) here from Longsdon. Mr Froggatt sent for.
- 2nd Friday A fine day. At home. JR went for Mr Froggatt to Heathy Lee (Alstonefield, Staffs). Cousin L very ill
- 3rd Saturday A fine day. Mr Froggatt here twice. Mr Longsdon here.
- 4th Sunday A fine day. JE to Winster to desire John Melland would come. Mr Middleton, Mr Athorpe and J. Longsdon junior here. Mr Froggatt here all night.
- 5th Monday A little frost. Mr Melland came, also Uncle B. Mr Froggatt here all night.
- 6th Tuesday A sharp frost. At home. Cousin L very ill. Mr Froggatt all night.
- 7th Wednesday A frost. At home. Mr Froggatt here.
- 8th Thursday A frosty day. Walked down Davy Lane for the first time since Cousin L's illness. Still very ill. Mr Melland came. Mr Froggatt twice.
- 9th Friday A very misty night. At home. Uncle B here and Mr James Longsdon. Mr Froggatt twice here.
- 10th Saturday A very misty day. Mr Froggatt twice here. Received Mr Middleton's rents.
- 11th Sunday. A very fine day. Uncle Birds and Mr Melland here. Cousin L much better. Mr and Mrs Hargrave called here in the evening. Mr Froggatt here once.
- 12th Monday A fine day. At home. Mr Froggatt here once.
- 13th Tuesday A very fine day. At home and planting. Mr Froggatt here once. Set in a frost at night.
- 14th Wednesday A very sharp frost. At home. JR to Callow. Mr Hargrave to Lea.

- 15th Thursday Frost went. At home and Dale Side. W. Wyatt (enclosure commissioner) here.
- 16th Friday A fine mild day. At home and Dale Side. Mr Froggatt here once and bled JR - and finished planting on Dale Side allotment.
- 17th Saturday A wet cold day. To Callow Cupola by Leam.
- 18th Sunday A stormy cold day. At home. J and Serlo Longsdon here to tea.
- 19th Monday A fine mild day rain at night. JR very ill. Mr Froggatt here twice and stopped all night. Mr Middleton here in morning.
- 20th Tuesday A fine day but cold. To Callow Cupola: called at Leam. Mr and Mrs Hargrave to tea.
- 21st Wednesday A snowy wet day. To Callow Cupola and dined at Leam and met Mr Hargrave and ate venison.
- 22nd Thursday A showery day. At home and down to Rock Garden.
- 23rd Friday A showery day. At home. Uncle Birds came and dined.
- 24th Saturday A fine day. at home. Sister M and J walked round by Ryley Side.
- 25th Sunday A charming, fine day. To Hassop. Home to dinner. Mr John Longsdon and Mr Middleton called.
- 26th Monday A fine day. At home. Mr L and JL a courseing [sic].
- 27th Tuesday A fine day. To Callow Cupola. JR with me to Shaw Engine. Mr L to Longsdon. JR a coursing at Stoke.
- 28th Wednesday A fine day. At home. Poor J. Ridge took quite delirious in the night. Mr Froggatt came and stopped all night.
- 29th Thursday A fine day. Took very ill myself. Violent sickness and sweating. Poor John still raging. Mr L to Leam. Mr Froggatt here twice and stopped all night.
- 30th Friday A fine day. Still very ill and JR no better. Mr Froggatt here twice also Mr Melland sent for and came.
- 31st Saturday A fine day but cold wihd. At home. Mr Froggatt here twice. Poor JR no better. I began to mend. G. White two days work for me at the wall next the road going to Shaw Engine which is all I owe him on my own account.

FEBRUARY

- 1st Sunday A very snowy day and frost. Most winterly day we have had. At home. Poor JR is so ill we sent for Mr Melland. Mr Froggatt here twice.
- 2nd Monday Candlemas Day. Snow and frost. At home. Poor JR no better. Mr Froggatt here twice.
- 3rd Tuesday Sharp frost. At home. Mr Green, Carleill [sic] and Mr Hargrave dined here. Mr Froggatt here twice. Poor JR no better.

- 4th Wednesday Snowy and cold. At home. Mr Froggatt here twice. Poor JR better this evening than any time since his attack.
- 5th Thursday Snowy and cold. At home. Mr Froggatt here twice.
- 6th Friday A cold day. At home. Mr Froggatt here twice.
- 7th Saturday Wet. At home. Poor JR no better. Mr Froggatt here twice.
- 8th Sunday A tempestuous wet day. At home. Mr Froggatt here twice.
- 9th Monday A wet day. At home. Very unwell. Mr Melland here and Mr Froggatt once. Mr Middleton called.
- 10th Tuesday A very high wind. At home. Mr L to Callow and Turnpike Meeting at Hathersage. Mr Froggatt here once.
- 11th Wednesday Ash Wednesday. A rough wind but no frost. Mr Froggatt here once and Mr M called.
- 12th Thursday A very fine day. At home. Mr L to Matlock. sister S and I walked to Hollow Brook. Mr Froggatt here once. G. White and Joe Wild walling for me in Hollow Brook.
- 13th Friday A fine day. At home. C. White and Joe Wild walling for me in Hollow Brook. Also J. Youle half a day.
- 14th Saturday A fine day. Mr L returned home. G. White walling all day and Joe Wild half and the other half spreading dirt.
- 15th Sunday A fine day. At home. Uncle Birds and Mr Peach here.
- 16th Monday A fine day. Mr L and I to Middleton to pay our share of the inclosure assessments. Home to dinner. George White began to make holes for me at 5d a score in Hollow Brook. Joe Wild spreading dirt for me in Pump Close. Mr L, self, sister and Mr Peach went to drink tea with Mr and Mrs Withington.
- 17th Tuesday A fine day but hard frost at night. To Ryley Side and I have agreed with Geo. White and Co. to wall my wall by Hollow Brook for Old Brook Head Shaft to the extent of my Allotment by Shaw Engine 5 feet high and make a neat wall and to get stone and do everything at it at six shillings and sixpence per rood also to make a fence from Shaw Engine to Ryley Gate at 9s 6d per rood 7 quarters high and they to get stone and lead it to the place and rid ground work etc. Also let them my soughing to cut in Hollow Brook Bottom and on Ryley Flatt at 22d per rood to be two feet deep and 20 inches wide.
- 18th Wednesday A very sharp frost. Mr L to Matlock to Gang Meeting and called with me on Mr Dowland and Birks at Middleton. Mr Birks set out the line between me and Robert Outram on Ryley Side also between me and Mr Smith up Old Brook Head Hillock. Mr Froggatt here.
- 19th Thursday A very sharp day. Mr L returned home by Bakewell. Mr Peach left us. Mr Birks went home as he could not go on staking out the common on account of the frost. Mr Froggatt here. I also bought John Barber's House right which lies next the poor houses. Joe Wild spreading soil for me in Pomp Close.
- 20th Friday A cold day. Mr L went with me to Leam and I forwarded to Callow Cupola. Home to dinner.

- 21st Saturday A fine day but rather cold. Mr L to Longsdon. Went to Ryley Flatt, my men soughing. Settled with George White for all my work to this time.
- 22nd Sunday A fine day. at home. Mr L dined at Mr Hargrave's. Mr Withington's party here to tea.
- 23rd Monday A fine day, little frosty. Met Robert and William Outram on Ryley Side to look at the fence. Dined at the Bull's Head making the reckonings for the mines in the west end of the edge. Mr Hargrave then Sister M to Leam.
- 24th Tuesday A fine day. To Ryley Side staking out the pottatoo ground, my men soughing. Mr L to Longsdon. To Carleill's. Home to tea Sister M.
- 25th Wednesday A general fast day. Very wet. At home. Sister S and Mr Hill came to Eyam. My workmen holing on Ryley Side. Mr Birks came.
- 26th Thursday A most excessive cold frosty and snowy day. Mr Hill left us at 6 o'clock this morning. I went to Callow Cupola. Home to dinner. Mr L to Bakewell and came home for dinner. My men began to get stone near Shaw Engine. Birks began to lay out Foolowe Moor.
- 27th Friday A very severe day. At home and Shaw Measure, men to Ryley Side and Shaw Stone Pit my men getting stone walling. Mr Birks again returned the severe weather quite stopping him. I agreed this day to exchange with Mr John Cocker viz. to give up the House right which I bought of John Barber in Eyam Bridge for which he must give me as an equivalent in the Dale viz. that little bit so as to cover Merlin's Cart gate and the remainder next my own Davy Lane Wood and then I am to give up to Mr Middleton the above bit next Merlin Cart gate for which Mr L will give me a bit near Rock Hall and charge Mr Middleton the same in money.
- 28th Saturday A severe cold day. At home.

MARCH

- 1st Sunday A sharp day. At home. Poor John Ridge set off to Manchester to the Lunatic Hospital and Joseph Bank and William Cooper with him.
- 2nd Monday A sharp cold day. At home.
- 3rd Tuesday A cold day. To Callow Cupola. Called at Leam. Home to dinner. My wallers began to wall at the Old Brookhead Hillock.
- 4th Wednesday A cold day. Mr L to Leam to dinner. Mr James Longsdon here. I went to Dale Cupola and to Stoney Middleton.
- 5th Thursday A cold day. At home. Sisters went to Bakewell. William Wyatt dined here. Mr Smith's family to Foolow.
- 6th Friday A cold severe day. At home. Mr L and Mr Hargrave to Foolow and Mr H here to supper.
- 7th Saturday A very cold day. To Callow Cupola.
- 8th Sunday A sharp cold day. At home. Mr Birks and Mr Cocker dined here. Leonard Cowley here from Coal Aston.
- 9th Monday A sharp frost still. To Callow Cupola. The coldest day I felt on Eyam Moor this winter. Let to George White & Co. to cut my sough from Ryley Nook to Hollow Brook through the

- rough stones at 22d per rood also to sough and cover the same at 20d per rood more making whole 3s 6d.
- 10th Tuesday The sharp frost still continues. Mr, Mrs and Miss Smith here. Mr L, Mr Middleton and self to Foolowe Moor and Wardelow. Mr L and I went to Foolow in the afternoon to drink tea with Mr, Mrs and Miss Smith.
- 11th Wednesday Frost still as severe as ever. At home and on the Common. Mr M came here, also Joseph Gregory agreed this day with G. White & Co. to level a certain bit of ground from Ryley Nook northward to 4 certain stokes and to clear it of stone and save all the soil to lay it on the top for which I am to give them £5. But if it should prove a good bargain they are to abate some part.
- 12th Thursday A fine day but a sharp frost. Mr L, self and James Gregory to a Gang Meeting. Mr Milnes and Mr Allsop there. Called at Hassop and saw Mrs Nutton.
- 13th Friday A good raw day. Mr L and I to Callow Cupola. Home to dinner. Called at Leam.
- 14th Saturday A very fine spring day. At home and on the Common. Mr L to Ashford etc.. David Green here also Captain Shuttleworth called.
- 15th Sunday An excessive cold day. At home. Uncle Birds and Mr J. Longsdon here.
- 16th Monday The coldest snowy rough day we have had this winter. To Callow Cupola, home to dinner. Agreed with a man to pare off the turf from my allotment on Ryley Flatt at 32s per acre. William Blanksby his name and I gave him a 1s earnest.
- 17th Tuesday A fine day. To Wardlow in morning and afterwards to Calver to stand godfather to Matthew Frost's daughter Elizabeth. Matthew Frost's wife (the innkeeper) stood as godmother. Mr L to Leam to dinner and I sent Joe Ridge to Callow.
- 18th Wednesday A wet, cold day. To Callow Cupola. Home to dinner. No ploughing yet done. A very unkind month so far.
- 19th Thursday A most tempestuous cold day and very snowy. Mr L and I at home writing out Duke's accounts. So rough that none of my men could work on the common.
- 20th Friday A cold sharp day. To Calver to B Side Meeting. Mr L to Tideswell to a meeting about Tideswell Commons. William Wyatt came to tea.
- 21st Saturday A fine day. To Bakewell and home at night. Saw Mr Nuttall at Hassop. Mr James Longsdon here in morning and went to Goutley.
- 22nd Sunday An exceeding fine spring day. Mr Middleton here. At home. Palm Sunday.
- 23rd Monday A cold day. At home and to Common. Began to plant on Ryley Side. Joseph Wild began to try for stone for Mr Longsdon.
- 24th Tuesday A very cold day. Mr L and I to Callow Cupola. Home to dinner. Mr L and I set out some of his allotment to be cultivated. Sisters came from Bakewell.
- 25th Wednesday Our Lady's Day. Snowy morning but fine afternoon. At home. Mr Blore, Mrs Longsdon and son and daughter here to dinner and tea.

- 26th Thursday A very cold day. At home and to the Common. Met William Wyatt at Ladywash Mine. Sisters returned to Bakewell. Mr L also to the Hill Carr meeting and returned at night. Ordered John Cundy to bring some lime to mix with the clods from my soughs.
- 27th Friday Good Friday. At home. A very cold, black day. Sisters left Bakewell and went to Stallington. My men began to make me a road at Shaw.
- 28th Saturday A cold day. Mr L and I to Callow Cupola. Home to dinner and called at Leam as we went.
- 29th Sunday Easter Day. At home. Very cold. Mr L to tea at Mrs Wright's. I called at Mr Withington's and Mr Prime's in the evening. Mrs Middleton brought to bed of a son Robert.
- 30th Monday A very cold day. On the Common. James Cotterill and partner came and I agreed with them to wall my 4 foot wall from Ryley Nook at 22d per rood. Also to fill up level the remainder of my Hollow gates near Ryley Nook for the sum of five guineas and they are to save all the wall stone and take care to spread the soil on top when levelled. Also agreed with them to make Mr L's north fence and as much more as he will have the same height viz. 7 quarters at 2s 2d per rood.
- 31st Tuesday A most terrible tempestuous snowy day and by night a larger snow than any this winter and a many large drifters. Mr Hargraves tea with us. I attended the annual vestry meeting and was appointed Collector for the Assessed Taxes and J. Bank joined with me. Joseph Skidmore overseer of the poor and Matthew Andrew and Abraham Unwin, Assessors to the Assessed Taxes.

HASLAND OLD HALL

(by S.L. Garlic,

Of the ancient halls of which there can be found little trace or description are Curd House, Swathwick Hall, Bacon Hall, Boggard House, Holme Hall, Durrant Hall, Eastwood Hall or Wynsic Hall.

At Hasland, a short way down Calow Lane at the junction with Chapel Lane (once known as Cottage Road) is the site of the palatial building that was Hasland Old Hall, three storeys high, double gabled, with mullioned windows, stone tiles, and self contained at the corner of Chapel Yard. Internally there were at least ten rooms including an entrance hall, living room, dining room, five bedrooms (two of which had four poster beds between them) and, at the rear above, the servants quarters. To the rear of the house were a number of outhouses, including a milk parlour, bake house, brew house, malt house and stables.

The Hall, in which had lived a succession of well-known families, is believed to have been built by Thomas Linacre and was in the occupation of his younger brother who died in 1488.

The Hall came into the possession of Ralf Leake of Sutton. He is described as a rural gentleman, a rich merchant and a leading figure in Chesterfield parish. Ralf Leake died in 1575 and an inventory of his goods and possessions revealed that he had a large flock of sheep and pigs which grazed on the commons to the south of Calow Lane.

It is known that Colonel Roger Molineux, the defender of Bolsover Castle, resided at this Hall for a time. He later sold it to Captain John Lowe, whose descendants sold it to Thomas Lucas in 1727.

By the first quarter of this century the building had been altered and turned into three cottages which were lived in until the roof collapsed due to the weight of stone tiles on decayed timbers.

THE 1803 "HOME GUARD"

(by Howard Usher.

Mrs Janet Smith of Station Road, Melbourne, recently came across the following document:

Melbourne and King's-Newton *Infantry*

1803

DECLARATION

WE, the MELBOURNE and KING'S-NEWTON VOLUNTEER INFANTRY, convinced that it is our Duty to assist the Executive Government in the Protection of our Laws and Constitution, DECLARE, that we enter into the said Corps under an Act of Parliament, intituled the General Defence Act:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved

- 1st THAT as the most perfect confidence in each other is absolutely essential to the Existence and Prosperity of the Corps, that therefore Unanimity, Friendship and mutual Assistance be observed and maintained throughout the same.
- 2nd That the Days and Hours of Attendance be appointed and altered by the Officers from Time to Time according to the length of Days, Season of the Year, and Duty that may be requisite; and when any Alteration is intended to be made, that Notice thereof shall be given on the Parade Day next preceding.
- 3rd That no Volunteer shall absent himself on the regular Days of Training or Exercise without Leave in Writing of the Captain, or in his Absence of the next commanding Officer; and that every Volunteer who does not appear upon Parade when his Name is called. or before the Roll is called over (not having Leave as aforesaid) shall be for every such Omission forfeit as follows, viz, if a Commissioned Officer, One Shilling and Six-pence; a Non-commissioned Officer, Nine-pence; a Private Six-pence. Which Penalties shall be doubled if the Parties do not attend the succeeding Drill or Day of Exercise; and an Increase to the Amount of the original Penalty shall be made for each succeeding Neglect of Attendance.
- 4th That every Volunteer who shall not during the Time of Exercise conduct himself in a decent, regular, and orderly Manner, or shall refuse to obey the lawful Commands of his Officers, shall forfeit One Shilling.
- 5th That any Volunteer coming intoxicated to Parade, shall forfeit as follows, viz. if a Commissioned Officer, Three Shilling and Six-pence; a Non-commissioned Officer, One Shilling and Six-pence; a Private, One Shilling; and for the fourth Offence within six Calendar Months shall forfeit Five Shillings, or be expelled.
- 6th That any Volunteer swearing on Parade shall forfeit as follows, viz. if a Commissioned Officer, Three Shilling and Six-pence; a Non-commissioned Officer, One Shilling and Six-pence; a Private, One Shilling.
- 7th That each Volunteer who shall not attend Parade or Field Exercise in such Uniform or other Appointments as shall from time to time be regulated and ordered by the Commanding Officer, shall forfeit for each Neglect One Shilling.

- 8th That every Volunteer who has had Clothes or Arms provided for him by the Fund for the Support of the Corps, or by Government, shall on departing therefrom deliver up the same to the Commanding Officer.
- 9th That no Volunteer who shall be furnished with Clothes out of the Fund shall wear them except on Duty, or when ordered by his superior Officer, under a Penalty of One Shilling for every Offence.
- 10th That no Volunteer shall use his Musket or other Arms unless on Duty, or for the Purpose of Military Exercise, under the Penalty of One Shilling for every Offence.
- 11th That all Forfeits and Penalties shall be collected the Parade Day after they are incurred, by the Serjeants, and applied.
- 12th That the Officers of the Corps shall have the Power of making such Regulations as they shall find necessary from time to time, for the better Management thereof.

[DREWRY, PRINTER, DERBY]

This document recalls a time when England was threatened with an invasion as she was in 1940. The Treaty of Amiens of 1802 had not held and war between England and France had again broken out in the spring of 1803. Napoleon Bonaparte was assembling an invasion fleet at Boulogne and was making threatening noises. On 4th August 1803, Peniston, Lord Melbourne wrote to his Melbourne agent, Henry Fox, that he had received the Melbourne plan for the army of reserve and was willing to subscribe £25. He felt that the burdens which fell upon the different parishes should be paid through the rates. *"At this time when every man in the Kingdom is likely to be called upon to defend themselves I am ready on all occasions to assist in any plan"* However when Peniston found that he would be expected to subscribe for all the parishes in which he had interests, he decided to give only to those places in which he had houses where he could reside. Mr Abney, who was his tenant at Kings Newton Hall, took up the organisation of the Melbourne Volunteers and Peniston subscribed £25 for their clothing. By January of 1804, all the organisation had been completed and Peniston wrote to Fox: *"I have a letter from Mr Abney saying that the Volunteers are to appear at Church in their uniforms and wish to have an opportunity of drinking the health of the family at the Hall. Fix a date; you might do it at about 2s. a head. Give them as much of my ale as they can drink"*

Considering that it was only a Volunteer force, and presumably, people did not have to join, the fines seem to be excessive for comparatively minor misdemeanours. Did the 1940 Home Guard forces have such a strict regime?

THE INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF NEW MILLS

(by Derek Brumhead, New Mills Heritage and Information Centre, Rock Hill Lane, New Mills, SK12 3ES)

New Mills is a former small cotton town on the north western fringe of the Peak District about eight miles east of Stockport. It has an interesting site astride the River Goyt at its confluence with the River Sett, both rivers being deeply incised into an impressive sandstone gorge about 30m deep. Mills and the ruined foundations of mills lie in the bottom of this gorge, their working once facilitated by weirs and leets which are still in place. Evidence of a varied transport history in the town and surrounding area is provided by several former turnpike roads, the Peak Forest canal, two nineteenth century stone viaducts over the gorges and several railways making use of valley routes.

The town takes its name from a manorial corn mill (Duchy of Lancaster) which was located on the site of the present Salem Mill at the bottom of High Street. Soon after 1391, if not before, it became known as "newmylne" (it had been rebuilt) and by the late sixteenth century the name New Mill was in use as a place name for the little hamlet which had grown up around it.

In the late eighteenth century came the introduction of the cotton industry, mechanisation and the factory system. New mills based on water power were built in the Torrs. This gorge - formed by glacial meltwater about 15-20,000 years ago - was particularly suitable for mill construction. Rocky waterfalls and cascades in the river bed allowed the construction of weirs and a steady supply of water; there were good mill sites on a rocky terrace several feet above the water and the sides of the gorge provided sandstone for building. The hamlet of "New Mills" around the corn mill spread up what is now High Street and along Market Street, a new turnpike road built over the fields of Torr Top estate. The town became an important new industrial centre and by 1819 there were eight spinning mills, two calico printworks and two bleachworks. A population of 1878 in 1801 had almost doubled by 1831. From the 1840s-50s, steam power was introduced and about the same time a second phase of mill building took place on the banks of the Peak Forest canal at Newtown. These mills were steam powered from the outset.

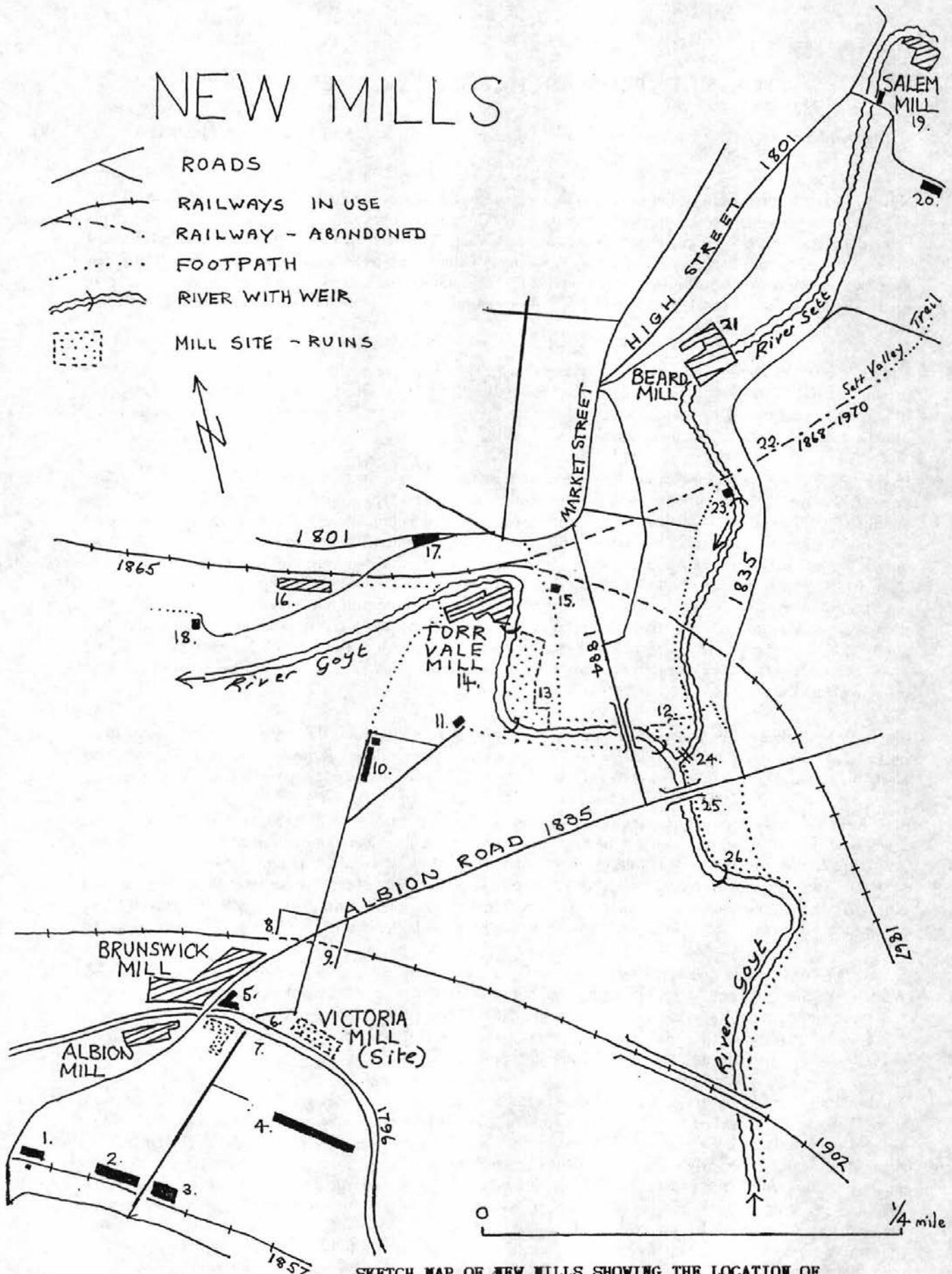
The New Mills district remained an important centre for calico printing until the 1960s. Designs were printed on to calico cloth using either wooden blocks or engraved copper rollers. There was a string of printworks along the Sett and Goyt valleys between Strines and Hayfield. The only surviving works today is at Strines.

New Mills was also important for the engraving of copper rollers. It was in New Mills about 1821 that John Potts, who was an artist, turned his skills to that of engraving. He became famous for inventing a method of preparing copper rollers for engraving by an adaptation of the 'die and mill' technique which previously had been used for engraving flat metal plates for printing bank notes. Potts's invention spread all over Europe and North America. The tradition of engraving established by Potts was continued by Textile Engravers (New Mills) Ltd. The closure of this firm in 1976 however meant the end of engraving at St George's Works.

Since John Potts's engraving skills were derived from his work in china and earthenware, with his brother William Wainwright Potts he set up the partnership of Potts, Oliver and Potts at St George's Works. A very rare patent mark giving the New Mills address and dated 17 September 1831 relates to an improved method of printing earthenware and porcelain by means of engraved copper rollers. Part of the building still stands on St Georges Road, one of the oldest industrial buildings in the town.

The building of mills and the general increase in industry and population brought about a demand for more coal. Coal had been worked in and around New Mills since at least Elizabethan times, the earliest known date being a licence dated 1599 from the Duchy of Lancaster to Henry Needham of Thornsett. A coal mining account book from the early eighteenth century records that much coal mining took place on the high and exposed moors of Ollersett and Beard. For several decades (1711-57) a surprising amount of coal, as much as 2000 tons per year, was mined from a number of shallow pits. As the nineteenth century got under way the demand for coal increased for houses, mills, workshops and lime kilns, and many new, deeper and larger mines were opened up. Eventually there were up to thirty mines on the hillsides around New Mills working one main seam, the "Yard" and they sent their coal down into the town via tramroads and tunnels as well as by

NEW MILLS



SKETCH MAP OF NEW MILLS SHOWING THE LOCATION OF SITES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

horse and cart. The last two major pits to close were Lady Pit, near Buxworth, in 1902 and Ollersett Hall Farm Pit at the end of 1924. A few small drift mines were opened up in the 1940s.

New Mills has an interesting and varied transport history. A network of ancient routes predating the modern roads crosses the surrounding high ground. The road to Mellor and Marple Bridge is an old packhorse road. Laneside End in Low Leighton which continues over Beard Moor as a rough track to Chinley and Marsh Lane leading to Furness Vale are both routes which are shown on maps of the pre-industrial period. Pott Bridge near Goytside Farm is a crossing point over the River Goyt on an ancient track leading to Beard Hall Farm and Ollersett: along with the road now known as Marsh Lane it is shown on an estate map of 1670.

Before any such routes were modernised, the Peak Forest Canal contouring along the southern side of the Goyt Valley was opened in 1796. It was built to carry lime and limestone from the Peak District towards the Manchester area. A small hamlet, which served the mills at Newtown, is now a marina. As the nineteenth century got under way, the demand for improved roads led to the construction of turnpike roads and there are several former turnpike roads, particularly the present A6 (Manchester to Buxton turnpike), the road between Marple and Hayfield via New Mills and Thornsett (an extension of the Stockport to Marple turnpike) and the main road to Hayfield through Low Leighton (the Thornsett turnpike). The construction of this new road led to the building of the first high level bridge over the Torrs in 1835, the present two-tier Church Road bridge.

The high level four-arch Union Road bridge, which is not a turnpike bridge, joins New Mills to Newtown and was opened in 1834. It was financed by subscription loans taken out by the New Mills Local Board, formed in 1875. Built across the fields of Torr Top estate, it was a major stimulus to the growth and commerce of the town and shops, terraced housing and public buildings soon appeared along it. Until the two high level bridges were built, the natural gorge of the Torrs provided a major obstacle to communications. Other than the bridge at the bottom of High Street, the only way to cross the Torrs was by descending tracks to the low level bridges which can still be seen over the Rivers Goyt and Sett.

Railways came to New Mills in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first railway between Stockport and Whaley Bridge through Newtown was opened in 1857 and extended to Buxton in 1863. The railway from Manchester to New Mills Central was opened in 1865 and extended to Hayfield in 1868. It was joined by a line from Chinley, Derby and London in 1867 and from Sheffield in 1894. These lines required bridges over the Torrs and tunnels under the town. Today there are three railways still operating: the line to Buxton with a station at Newtown, the line to Sheffield via New Mills Central and the 'viaduct' line across the Goyt floodplain direct from Sheffield to Manchester via Hazel Grove. The railway to Hayfield was closed in 1970 and is now followed by the Sett Valley Trail, a walking and cycling route.

As the population increased in the early nineteenth century, many houses were built in cramped conditions on the steep slopes of the River Sett near to the mills. They were demolished in the 1930s and 1960s in slum clearance programmes. Since many houses were built on steeply sloping ground it is still common to find houses which rise to two storeys on one side but three and four storeys on the other. Even today, one household occupies the upper half of such a building while another occupies the "underliving" in the lower half. Houses on Station Road and Meal Street are typical of these.

The district now known as New Mills is chronicled in documents of the thirteenth century relating to the royal forest of the Peak with local names which we can recognise today. However, from the urban point of view it is basically a new town of the nineteenth century. There are many features which remind us of its industrial history and these are described in the following account with locations placed on the accompanying map.

New Mills (Newtown) railway station (1) is on the Manchester-Buxton line which originated as the Stockport, Disley and Whaley Bridge Railway (part of the LNWR), opened in 1857 and extended to Buxton in 1863. The original station buildings have been demolished, except for a stone shelter. The decorative iron footbridge is a notable feature, a Grade II listed building.

Adjacent to the car park, the original stone stables (2) remain and next to them is a mixed red brick and blue engineering brick warehouse. These were served by sidings now removed, although the platform remains. Immediately to the east is an iron footbridge built on the line of the Redmoor Lane, a road which pre-dated the

railway and the 1835 turnpike now Albion Road. This footbridge is contemporary with a large former LNWR warehouse or transfer shed (3) built entirely in engineering brick and dating from the 1880s, typical of the expansion in railway goods facilities at this time. It is now owned by Swizzels-Matlow, the sweets firm, who occupy Brunswick Mill.

A rope walk (4), mostly original, was in use for some time after 1945 and is now used for workshops. It is one of four ropewalks in New Mills shown on the OS 25 inch map of 1898: all the others have been demolished. There were plenty of uses for ropes in and around New Mills - horse drawn barges on the Peak Forest Canal, mill machinery and coal mining.

The former Hawthorn's canal iron foundry (5) dates from at least the 1880s, although the New Mills district has a history of iron furnaces and forges going back to medieval times. This foundry ceased working in 1989. On Albion Road there is a fine iron framed door and lintel.

At the canal end of Victoria Street is the abutment of a bridge (6) which carried Redmoor Lane over the canal, it also served as a horse transfer bridge for the stables. The bridge carrying Albion Road over the canal is an original bridge of 1835, modified in 1984 for modern traffic. It has an additional arch, now filled in, carrying an access track to Brunswick Mill. There were originally six mills in the vicinity, all built in the middle of the nineteenth century using steam power. The largest, Brunswick Mill, has been extended by Swizzels-Matlow. Albion Mill is another former cotton mill now occupied by a firm manufacturing gears.

The Peak Forest Canal basin is now a marina (7). Opened in 1796, the canal forms part of a level contouring section (518 ft OD) running along the flank of the Goyt valley from the top of the flight of sixteen locks at Marple to Buxworth, where it connected with the Peak Forest tramway, bringing lime and limestone down from Dove Holes. A branch to Whaley bridge connected to the Cromford and High Peak Railway. Adjacent to the marina at New Mills are stone stables dating from about 1830 and standing in the basin is the stub of a former wooden jib crane.

Off Wirksmoor Road can be seen the western portal of the tunnel (9) carrying the 1902 Midland Railway line to Central Station, Manchester. This was one of the last major lines in the country to be built and provided the Midland Railway with its own direct line into Central Station, Manchester from London via Derby and the Peak District. It is now used for trains to Sheffield. From Wood Street (9) can be seen the eastern portal of the tunnel and the curving viaduct crossing the Goyt flood plain.

Torr Vale cottages (10), with datestones, form a terrace built in 1863 to provide living accommodation for mill workers. There are two large houses in the centre and the detached house at the end of the row is still the manager's house of Torr Vale Mill.

From Rock Tavern (11) a setted road leads down into the sandstone gorge of the Torrs. At the bottom it crosses an eighteenth century footbridge dwarfed by the 1884 Union Road stone viaduct bridge above it. Torr Mill (12), destroyed by fire in 1912, stood at the confluence of the River Goyt and the River Sett. Some walls remain. Originally it was a small water-powered mill dating from 1794. In the mid-eighteenth century it was extended and converted into a steam-powered five-storey mill. The truncated chimney stands almost out of sight against the rock face of the gorge.

Rock Mill (13) which covered an extensive site within a bend of the river was burnt down in the 1880s. It had a varied existence, being a cotton mill, paper mill and calico print works at various times. Little now remains except an engine bed and fragments of walls. There is an ancient weir in the river. On the opposite bank within another bend of the river is Torr Vale Mill (14), which stands on the site of the first mill to be built in the Torrs in 1785, following Arkwright's loss of patent rights. Above the impressive weir, an iron sluice gate marks the entrance to the head race which carried water to the water wheel.

The Heritage Centre (15) stands at the top of one of the paths leading down into the Torrs. From the viewing platform there is a view of Torr Vale Mill and its weir. The Centre was opened in 1988 and occupies the basement premises of a former butcher. The displays describe the town's history and industries and there is a model of the town in 1884. Local history leaflets and guides for several local-trails can be purchased here.

Central Station (16) is the original building dating from 1865: note the station house and datestone. It was built by the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway on their line to Hayfield. The Midland Railway route from Derby and London joined here in 1867, and from Sheffield in 1894. Note the portals to two tunnels under the town in the rock face - left hand tunnel to Hayfield, right hand tunnel to Sheffield. On Station Road are the "under-livings" of terrace houses - four storeys at the rear, two storeys at the front, typical of New Mills with its steep slopes (17). At Mousley Bottom, awaiting restoration, is a cruck barn (18) with timbers dating from the sixteenth century.

A walk along Market Street and down High Street follows the line of the 1801 turnpike and generally is from younger to older property. Around Salem Mill (19) is the oldest part of the town. The manorial corn mill (Duchy of Lancaster) has been demolished but the present mill buildings were formerly a cotton mill and later a chemical works. The road bridge over the river has an additional arch for the former mill tailrace. Note Salem Mill cottages.

St George's Works (20) on St George's Road is one of the oldest industrial buildings in the town. John Potts, internationally famous for inventing a method of engraving copper rollers for printing calico cloth, established his engraving works here about 1821. Later, with his brother, he established a pottery works on the same site. Engraving ceased here in 1976.

Beard Mill (21) on Hyde Bank Road stands astride the River Sett. There are two arches under the mill, visible from the road. Rebuilt after a fire in the early nineteenth century, it stands on the site of an early woollen mill. In the early 1780s its woollen master signified the changeover from wool to cotton by establishing here one of the first cotton spinning factories in New Mills. The mill is not now used for textile manufacture.

The Sett Valley Trail (22) follows the line of the former railway to Hayfield, closed in 1970. The bridge over the River Sett remains; so does the portal of the tunnel under the town. Adjacent are the foundations of three mill workers cottages (23) built just above the river. They form part of a group of houses demolished in the 1960s under a slum clearance programme.

The wooden footbridge (24) over the River Sett was erected in 1984 to commemorate the work of Dr Millward who led the campaign to open up the Torrs to the public. The bridge stands on the site of the former aqueduct which carried water to the wheel of Torr Mill. The former head race or leet is followed by a path under Church Road bridge. Church Road bridge (25) was originally a two-arched bridge built in 1835 to carry the turnpike road to Thornsett and Hayfield over the River Goyt. The lower tier was inserted in 1888 to strengthen it; note the datestone above the lower arch. At the end of the path is the sluice gate which controlled the flow of water along the headrace. From the river bank (26) is a view of the thirteen-arch 1902 Midland Railway viaduct which now carries trains from Manchester to Sheffield via Stockport and trains bringing limestone from the Buxton area. From here it is possible to follow the track alongside the River Goyt to Goytside Park and then up the towpath on the canal, where Bank End bridge is another Grade II listed building. From here follow the towpath back to Newtown.

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A CASE OF MINERAL TITHES

(by Howard Usher)

Tithes were claimed by the Rector of an estate on produce which was renewable yearly, although tithes were sometimes paid on personal industry such as the product of a mill. Mineral tithes were a source of argument, as it was held by some that minerals grew in the veins and were thus titheable.

One of the earliest references to mineral tithes is in the Foundation Charter of Lenton Priory, founded by William Peverel in 1113. William granted to the priory two-thirds of the tithes of all things that could be titheable and specifically included the tithes of lead in his Peak District estates. The other third of the tithes went to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, notably from Bakewell, Hope and Tideswell.¹ An action on tithes is noted between 1306 and 1336 in the coal and iron works of Sir William de Staunton within his manor of Staunton Harold in Leicestershire.² In 1538, the Bishop of Carlisle leased the tithes of Chellaston, parcel of the Rectory of Melbourne, to Hugh Walley for 40 years, and these tithes included "*one playster pytt to gett playster in*".³ It could perhaps be argued that these mineral tithes were in the nature of a levy upon a mine, similar to the tithes upon a mill.

The vicar of Wirksworth had long received the tithes upon lead ore raised within the parish but this does not seem to have applied to other lead-producing parishes within the district. At Odin Mine, Castleton, the clergy received one-fortieth of the ore produced.¹ However, the miners of Ashover, Matlock, Darley, Bonsall and Carsington received a shock in 1701, when a Bill was presented to the House of Commons, entitled "*An Act for Preventing Multiplicity of Vexatious Suits, and for Settling and Ascertaining the Tythes of Lead-Oar in the said County*". Thomas Coke of Melbourne was the M.P. for Derbyshire and was presented with petitions from the miners to support their case. Copies of these bills have been preserved in the Melbourne Muniments.⁴ The miners argue that there has never been a custom to pay tithes in the five parishes, that the Rector of Ashover's case was dismissed in 1658, and similarly the Rector of Matlock lost his attempt to obtain tithes in 1672 and his appeal in 1676 was likewise dismissed.⁵ The only reason why Wirksworth paid a rectorial tithe was because "*there was neither Glebe, nor Tithe-Corn, nor Tithe-Hay*". The five parishes have good Glebe land paying £60 to £200 per annum. The appellants finally say that the bill will not help the poor parishes of income £6 to £10 a year, as a saving clause reserves the right of the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Rutland and Sir Phillip Gell, "*in whose Hands most of these poor Vicaridges are*". Thomas Coke also received a letter from Samuel Gardiner of Eckington petitioning on behalf of the clergy and others in the Peak for confirmation of the right to a customary tithe on lead ore which was unjustly detained.⁵ One presumes that the bill was rejected by the Commons.

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Note: a fuller discussion on tithes in the Peak District will be found in DAS Miscellany Supplement, No 9, *Lead Ore Tithes*, by Nellie Kirkham (1965).

STAVELEY POPULATION CHANGES

(by A.D. Smith)

Relatively accurate population figures are available for the country as a whole and for individual towns and parishes from 1801 onwards through the 19th and 20th centuries as a consequence of the decennial series of censuses.¹ Thus, for instance, in 1801 Staveley, Derbyshire, was shown to have a total population of 1,653 which by 1981 had risen to 17,854. Prior to 1801 population counts, carried out contemporaneously, are few and far between and relate unsystematically to individual towns and parishes at random times. For instance one of the few such pre-census parish "listings" for Derbyshire was undertaken in Barlborough in 1792.²

The only demographic data collected in a relatively comprehensive way prior to 1801 are contained in the Anglican parish registers, kept in principle since 1538, which relate to baptisms, burials and marriages. Whilst none of these series can be made to yield directly estimates of population totals, it is obvious in a general way that each of them bears some positive relationship to population size: the registers of a large town will contain, in any given period, larger numbers of baptisms, burials and marriages than those of a small neighbouring parish; also births and deaths in any period have a direct impact on population numbers by, respectively, adding to and diminishing the population total.

Not surprisingly therefore the information contained in parish registers has attracted considerable attention as a potential source for estimates of population totals. These efforts range from the earliest, relatively simplistic, attempts undertaken by Rickman to the latest, comprehensive, highly sophisticated, "state of the art" analyses conducted by Wrigley and Schofield.³ However a prime feature of these various exercises is that, for the most part, they are concerned with the derivation of national population series⁴ - for England, England and Wales and the United Kingdom - from parish register information, rather than developing methods of estimating early population series for smaller individual places. It is with this latter aspect that this article is concerned. Whilst its purpose is to derive population estimates for Staveley using that parish's registers of baptisms, burials and marriages, the method which emerges could have a wider applicability to other towns and parishes.

The Staveley parish registers are now held at the Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock and are available on film for inspection. Those records which have survived the years relate to baptisms in the periods 1558-1665 and 1702 onwards, burials for the same years and marriages in the periods 1558-1692 and 1702 onwards. In practice, however, the ravages of time and the disrepair into which the registers have fallen mean that, unfortunately, entries for the 16th and 17th centuries are for the most part unusable, certainly for any continuous run of years. On the positive side, for the purposes of the exercise undertaken here - the estimation of population size - it is unnecessary to distinguish details (names, residence, day, month) of each baptism, burial or marriage, so that even when such information is indecipherable in the registers, it is sufficient for the present purpose to record the year in which such events took place. In short it is enough to be able to count the annual number of entries, under each of these three heads, without knowing the associated details.

In the event, perusal of the Staveley parish registers yielded the numbers of baptisms, burials and marriages shown in Table 1.⁵ It is evident from this table that all three series are characterised by substantial annual fluctuations. This should occasion little surprise: numbers of marriages, baptisms and burials are subject to a variety of short term random factors. It is necessary when estimating longer term population trends from these series to eliminate as far as possible such short term instability. The method adopted for achieving this is to average the readings for each ten year period. More precisely an average figure for baptisms centred around the year 1710/11 is based on the years 1706 to 1715; for 1720/21 on the years 1716 to 1725, etc. The same method is applied to the burials and marriages series.⁶ This method of minimising the effect of short term instability in the readings has two advantages: it ensures that all the annual data for baptisms, burials and marriages are taken into account when making the population estimates; and also that these estimates centre on the years 1710/11, 1720/21, etc. which can be linked up with later census totals relating to the years 1801, 1811, 1821, etc. in the 19th and 20th centuries. The results are presented for baptisms and burials in the first column of Tables 2 and 3 respectively. They are also plotted in Fig 1, from which it is plain that the short term instability has been removed to reveal underlying trends in the series.

Table 1: Numbers of Staveley Baptisms, Burials and Marriages 1706-1805

Year	Baptisms (1)	Burials (2)	Marriages (3)	Year	Baptisms (1)	Burials (2)	Marriages (3)
1706	18	16	3	1736	29	20	5
1707	24	16	5	1737	22	35	5
1708	26	18	3	1738	28	20	4
1709	24	13	1	1739	32	10	5
1710	11	17	2	1740	29	12	5
1711	17	22	2	1741	26	18	5
1712	18	10	4	1742	20	13	5
1713	15	18	7	1743	35	12	3
1714	15	16	6	1744	21	19	5
1715	19	17	5	1745	24	30	5
1716	25	10	2	1746	27	19	6
1717	18	13	2	1747	30	14	8
1718	26	15	2	1748	22	11	9
1719	27	27	4	1749	29	17	2
1720	32	25	5	1750	29	22	3
1721	35	11	1	1751	31	15	3
1722	30	25	3	1752	30	33	7
1723	28	29	2	1753	32	16	6
1724	30	19	5	1754	34	18	5
1725	22	16	3	1755	25	23	10
1726	24	19	3	1756	27	24	2
1727	24	15	1	1757	30	22	8
1728	24	49	8	1758	26	16	10
1729	30	29	3	1759	37	17	7
1730	25	28	4	1760	23	28	6
1731	31	19	8	1761	38	13	5
1732	22	14	3	1762	29	17	11
1733	35	18	6	1763	29	17	11
1734	36	16	7	1764	32	28	8
1735	24	16	5	1765	31	26	10

Cont'd over

Year	Baptisms (1)	Burials (2)	Marriages (3)	Year	Baptisms (1)	Burials (2)	Marriages (3)
1766	36	31	10	1786	45	26	4
1767	26	23	9	1787	41	27	14
1768	36	27	8	1788	38	21	10
1769	38	23	5	1789	49	20	14
1770	36	32	6	1790	45	17	14
1771	35	24	9	1791	50	30	16
1772	34	16	12	1792	56	33	16
1773	43	31	7	1793	43	23	19
1774	33	26	13	1794	49	34	10
1775	36	20	6	1795	49	59	8
1776	42	38	10	1796	60	30	12
1777	41	22	7	1797	56	35	4
1778	34	33	8	1798	49	25	15
1779	44	36	9	1799	57	29	5
1780	46	17	7	1800	54	32	9
1781	48	27	8	1801	51	36	7
1782	52	27	17	1802	64	26	17
1783	54	26	7	1803	51	28	9
1784	48	28	10	1804	70	38	6
1785	39	21	12	1805	47	45	11

Source: Staveley Parish Registers, Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock

Note: The actual number of baptisms recorded for 1777 was as high as 59, a figure which was not exceeded for another 19 years. It seems very likely that this high birth rate reflected the presence of transient families engaged at that time on the Staveley section of the Chesterfield Canal. To avoid distortion to the underlying birth based population estimates a figure of 41, derived from average annual baptisms in the 10 year figure period 1772 to 1782 (exclusive of 1777) has therefore been substituted. To avoid distortion to the underlying birth based population estimates a figure of 41, derived from average annual baptisms in the 10 year figure period 1772 to 1782 (exclusive of 1777) has therefore been substituted.

We can now focus on the precise manner in which population estimates for Staveley can be derived from these data. The construction of comparable series at the national level enabled Wrigley and Schofield to develop a highly sophisticated technique - the "aggregative back project" - which yields population estimates as long ago as the mid-16th century by carrying back 19th century population totals using numbers of baptisms and burials.⁷ Unfortunately this method requires detailed information about the age structure of the population which is being projected backwards, data that are available at the national level but not for a unit as small as a parish.

In the event therefore recourse was made to a cruder method, developed earlier, but here subject to a series of refinements. It proved to be a method well suited to the use of baptismal and burial data - but for reasons considered later less appropriate for marriages - so that attention is focused on these two series. The method can be demonstrated, in its most simplistic form, in the following way.⁸ Table 2 shows that for 1801 the average number of Staveley baptisms, derived from parish registers, was 55.9 at a time when the first (1801) population census revealed the populations of Staveley to be 1,653, implying a rate of 33.8 baptisms per thousand persons. If, very crudely, we assume that this same baptism rate applied in 1721 when the number of baptisms in Staveley was 27.3 this would point towards a Staveley population at that time of 807 people. Applying the same crude method to the burials series in Table 3 yields a burial rate of 19.6 for 1801 which applied to the 19.0 burials recorded for 1721 suggests a Staveley population total of 969. It is clear that using this method the baptisms and burials data will produce different population estimates for earlier years which in general will not agree with each other and for which the precise degree of conformity will have a major bearing on the accuracy that can be attached to the estimates obtained.

Employed in this fashion the method can yield only relatively crude results since for a variety of reasons the relationships between the numbers of baptisms and the total population and of the numbers of burials and the total population can change over time. Among the major significant influences, baptism and burial rates can vary as a consequence of factors such as changes in numbers entering Anglican parish registers as a result of the spread of non-conformity; of the impact of inward and outward migration in a parish, town or country, and of the long term influence on birth and mortality rates of changes in living standards and advances in medicine.⁹

For a demographic unit as small as Staveley no data are available for making precise allowances for these distortionary factors when applying the method to parish registers. However thanks to recent progress achieved at the national level by Wrigley and Schofield in the use of parish register data it proves possible to refine the Staveley estimates by applying national adjustment factors to which an individual parish will to a greater or lesser extent be subject.

The first of these factors, applicable to baptisms, is set out in column 2 of Table 2.¹⁰ As can be seen the significance of this factor in converting numbers of Staveley Anglican baptisms to total numbers of births increase substantially through the 18th century and into the early 19th century. This reflects the growth of nonconformity and of the increasing delay between birth and baptism which was associated with a rise in the number of child mortalities not reflected in either baptisms or burials. It is for these same reasons that in the case of burials the impact of adjustment factors shown in the second column of Table 3 also grows steadily through the 18th century and into the 19th century. Applying these factors yields the estimates of the 'true' numbers of births and deaths set out in the third columns of respectively, Tables 2 and 3, and plotted in Fig 1.

The question remains: which birth and death rates should be applied to these streams of Staveley births and deaths to yield 18th century population estimates for the parish? In the case of births Table 2 reveals that in 1801 the Staveley birth rate was 45.6 per thousand population.¹¹ This was somewhat higher than the national rate of 38.8. However column (4) of the table also reveals that the national birth rate was subject to a long term increase between the beginning of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century and it is highly likely that the Staveley birth rate was subject to the same influences which shaped the national trend. In the event the 1801 Staveley birth rate has been 'carried back' through the 18th century on the basis of the pattern revealed by the national series, yielding the birth rates set out in column (5). Applying these rates to the number of births contained in column (3), in the manner described earlier, produces the Staveley birth based population estimates in column (6).

This exercise is repeated for deaths in Table 3 to reveal a 1801 Staveley death rate of 24.7.¹² This is little different from the 1801 national rate of 26.1. Column (4) of Table 3 suggests a long term tendency for the

Table 2: Birth based population estimates for Staveley

Year	Baptisms (1)	Adjust Factor (2)	Births (3)	National C.B.R. (a) (4)	Staveley C.B.R. (a) (5)	Population Estimate (6)
1581	20.4	1.022	20.8	34.5	40.5	514
1661	27.4	1.057	29.0	27.4	32.2	901
1711	23.9	1.103	26.3	29.8	35.0	751
1721	27.3	1.108	30.2	33.0	38.8	778
1731	27.5	1.114	30.6	34.0	40.0	765
1741	26.6	1.123	29.9	33.9	39.8	751
1751	28.9	1.136	32.8	33.6	39.5	830
1761	30.2	1.149	34.7	33.7	39.7	874
1771	35.3	1.163	41.1	35.2	41.4	903
1781	44.8	1.186	53.1	36.1	42.4	1252
1791	46.5	1.257	58.5	38.7	45.5	1286
1801	55.9	1.347	75.3	38.8	45.6	1653

Sources: Table 1; Wrigley and Schofield, *op cit*; 1801 Population Census

Note: (a) Crude birth rate per thousand

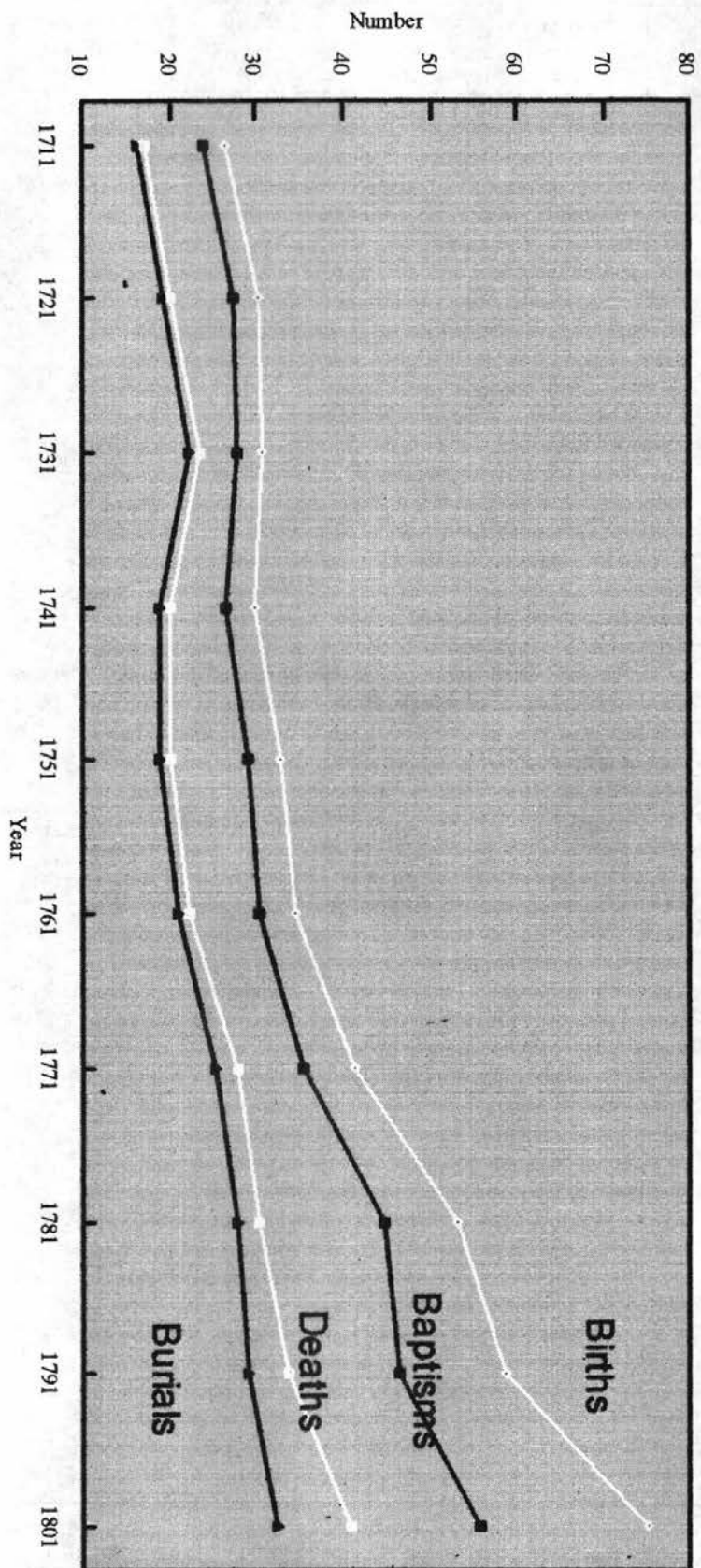
Table 3: Death based population estimates for Staveley

Year	Burials (1)	Adjust Factor (2)	Deaths (3)	National C.B.R. (a) (4)	Staveley C.B.R. (a) (5)	Population Estimate (6)
1621	16.5	1.000	16.5	26.4	25.0	660
1661	25.1	1.010	25.4	29.4	27.8	914
1681	25.4	1.028	26.1	30.8	29.1	897
1711	16.3	1.041	17.0	27.0	25.6	664
1721	19.0	1.046	19.9	28.9	27.3	729
1731	22.3	1.050	23.4	33.0	31.2	750
1741	18.9	1.058	20.0	29.5	27.9	717
1751	18.8	1.069	20.1	26.7	25.3	794
1761	20.8	1.076	22.4	27.7	26.2	855
1771	25.3	1.086	27.5	27.6	26.1	1054
1781	27.5	1.103	30.3	27.7	26.2	1156
1791	29.0	1.165	33.8	26.6	25.2	1341
1801	32.4	1.260	40.8	26.1	24.7	1653

Sources: see Table 2

Note: (a) Crude death rate per thousand

Fig. 1 Staveley 18th. Century Births and Deaths.



national death rate to fall over this period and this trend has been used when 'carrying back' the 1801 Staveley death rate. The latter, shown in column (5), taken in conjunction with the number of deaths contained in column (3), yields the death based population estimates of column (6).

The two series of Staveley 18th century population estimates, based respectively on births and deaths, are plotted in Fig 2. Whilst the difficulty in knowing the extent to which one parish follows the national trend in birth and death rates means that there can be no *a priori* assumption of the reliability of the method essayed, the degree of agreement which emerges between the separately derived birth and death based population estimates obtained for Staveley suggests that *in practice* the method can be regarded as reasonably successful. The largest discrepancy is recorded for 1711 where the birth based population estimate, 751 persons, was 13 per cent higher than the 664 person death estimate. For the other 18th century decennial readings the discrepancy between the two estimates was less than 5 per cent. It should be stressed that the estimates are derived from six independent statistical series: numbers of baptisms and deaths from the Staveley parish registers; national adjustment factors for births and deaths; together with birth and death rates.

Originally it had been intended to apply the above method also to the numbers of marriages recorded in the Staveley parish registers to produce a third independent series of early population estimates. However it became apparent at an early stage that such estimates would be unreliable and differ significantly from those based on baptisms and burials. There are three reasons for this, two probably of national relevance and one peculiar to the Staveley marriage series.

First annual numbers of marriages are low compared with baptisms and burials. Given the size of Staveley in the 18th century this means that, as can be seen from Table 1, annual numbers of marriages were very small also in absolute terms. As a consequence fluctuations in numbers of marriages by as few as 3 or 4 per year can have a major impact on the marriage rates and even when annual series are averaged over a ten year period - a technique which does so much to smooth the baptism and burial series - the results for marriages yield a high degree of residual instability as it evident from the results: the period 1706-1715 produced an annual average number of marriages of 3.8; 1716 to 1725, 2.9; 1726 to 1735, 4.8; 1736 to 1745, 4.7; 1746 to 1755, 5.9; 1756 to 1765, 7.8; 1766 to 1775, 8.5; 1776 to 1785, 9.5; 1786 to 1795, 11.5 and 1796 to 1805, 9.5.

Secondly although there is a broad positive relationship between parish population size and numbers of marriages, there also exists a specific negative impact of the latter on the former. For to the extent that local females marry males from other parishes, the marriages, though for the most part registered in their home parish, will have been associated with some movement of females to the husband's residence in his home parish.

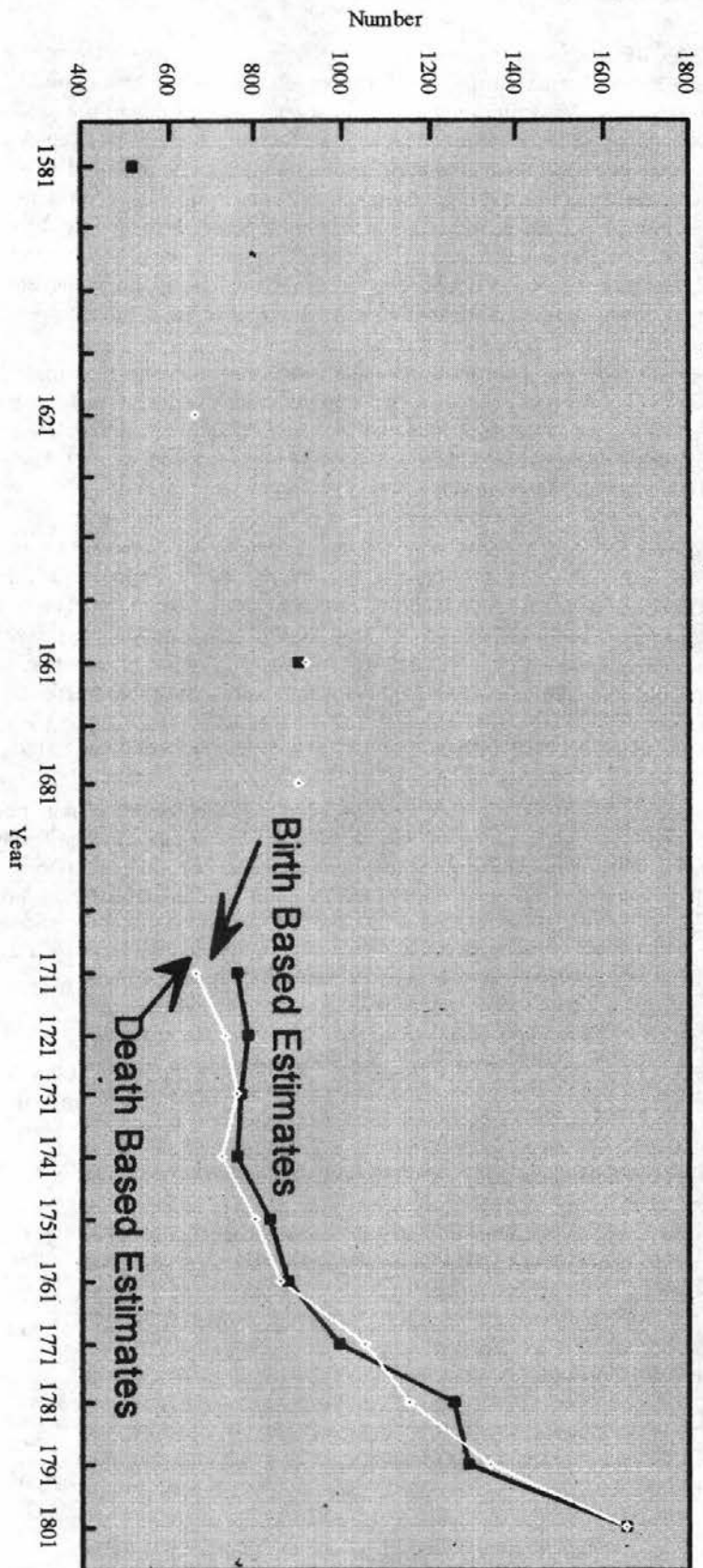
Thirdly, and this is a factor which applies specifically to the Staveley marriage series, the marriage rate which the registers yield for 1801 and upon which the process of 'carrying back' population levels crucially hinges, appears to be highly untypical when compared either with Staveley marriage rates in adjacent periods or with the national average. The average Staveley marriage rate for the period 1796 to 1805 is as low as 5.7, compared with the national average of 8.6 for the same period and with a Staveley rate of 7.2 for the period 1806 to 1815.

Table 4: Surviving early data for Staveley baptisms, burials and marriages

Period	Number of years (1)	Baptisms (2)	Number of Burials (3)	Marriages (4)
1576 to 1584	9	184		
1611 to 1625	15		248	
1610 to 1618	9			61
1619 to 1632	14			94
1656 to 1663	10	274	251	35
1679 to 1690	12		305	

Source: Staveley Parish Registers, Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock

Fig. 2. Staveley 17th. and 18th. Century Population Estimates



Because of the missing registers and the poor condition of some of those that have survived, series of baptisms, burials and marriages for Staveley parish prior to the 18th century are deficient. The little information which could be rescued for the 16th and 17th centuries is summarised in Table 4 where data are presented for stipulated periods rather than for individual years since the quality of register entries is frequently such that the latter cannot be distinguished. For reasons considered above the marriage data have not been used. The 1575-84 baptism series yields an annual average of 20.4 which has been associated with the year 1580-81 in Table 2 and the 1665-63 series gives an average of 27.4 associated with 1660-61 in the same table. In the case of burials the 1611-25, 1655-63 and 1679-90 series yield average annual figures of 16.5, 25.1 and 25.4 attached respectively to the years 1620-21, 1660-61 and 1680-81 in Table 3. Staveley population estimates have been derived in Tables 2 and 3 from these crude baptism and burial figures using the method applied above to the 18th century series and the results are plotted in Fig 2.

Because of the paucity of baptism and burial data prior to the 18th century and because the resulting population estimates may be less accurate the further one moves from the 1801 base date, a lower reliability should be attached to these results obtained for the 16th and 17th centuries. Yet they possess one or two reassuring features. In particular the baptism and burial based estimates display a surprising degree of agreement given that they are based on entirely independent demographic variables. In 1661, a year for which both series yield a population estimate, they suggest Staveley population totals of 901 and 914 respectively! Moreover when the intermittent estimates are plotted as in Fig 2, it can be seen that the baptism and burial based graphs are quite close together.

Thirdly it is instructive to compare these early population estimates with Staveley 16th and 17th century population totals suggested by quite separate sources. As one element of a countrywide ecclesiastical survey carried out in 1563 the Privy Council sought information about the number of households in each parish. The results obtained for Derbyshire have been analysed in some detail by Riden.¹³ Applying to the 130 households recorded for Staveley a factor of 4.5-5.0 residents per household as suggested by Riden, a population estimate in the range 585-650 emerges - which, at least, is of the same order of magnitude as the total 514 obtained for 1581 in Table 2.

Two other sources covering a period of about a century or so later, throw further light on to Derbyshire population levels: the Hearth Tax returns centred around 1662-1670 and the Compton Census of 1676 which again was an ecclesiastical survey designed in this case to determine the number of conformists, papists and non-conformists. These two sources have been jointly analysed by Edwards to produce population estimates for North East Derbyshire.¹⁴ The principal feature of the two surveys is that whilst the Hearth Tax records essentially numbers of households the Compton Census produces figures which approximate numbers of individuals over 16 years of age. Based on 158 Hearth Tax entries for Staveley, together with an estimated 4.3 persons per hearth (the midpoint in Edwards suggested range of 3.6 to 5.0) a Staveley population of 679 is obtained. Taking account of the 493 conformists, 6 papists and 1 nonconformist listed for Staveley in the Compton Census, Edwards settles for a Staveley population estimate in the range 700-800. This result compares with the baptism and burial based population estimates obtained in Tables 2 and 3 above for 1661 of, respectively, 901 and 914 and a burial based estimate of 897 derived for 1681. Again sources with very different characteristics yield Staveley population estimates which are very much of the same order of magnitude.

It is not the purpose of this article to analyse and comment in detail on the Staveley population changes which emerge. Its aim has been to derive a population series for the parish and at the same time develop an estimation procedure which might have a wider, more general, applicability. Nevertheless it is instructive to link together the lesser reliable population levels estimated for the 16th and 17th centuries, with the more reliable series obtained for the 18th century and also the relatively firm population data available for the 19th and 20th centuries. This provides a population series for Staveley in recent times which, in turn, constitutes a framework within which economic and social developments in the town might be analysed. It also enables the longer term population changes which emerge to be compared with national trends.

The first column of Table 5 presents the decennial population totals for Staveley. As explained above those relating to the 16th and 17th centuries are the least reliable. The readings for this period are derived from an average of the baptism and burial based estimates suggested by the graph in Fig 3 for the 16th and 17th centuries, the missing years being interpolated. These 'best estimates' up to 1791 have been rounded off to the nearest 10 to avoid spurious accuracy. The Staveley population series from 1801 onwards are taken from the official decennial censuses.

Table 5: Comparative national and Staveley population changes

Year	Staveley (1)	England 000s (2)	Relative Population (3)	Year	Staveley (1)	England 000s (2)	Relative Population (3)
1621	690	4693	0.147	1801	1653	8664	0.191
1631	740	4893	0.151	1811	1793	9886	0.181
1641	790	5092	0.155	1821	2051	11492	0.178
1651	850	5228	0.163	1831	2345	13284	0.177
1661	910	5141	0.177	1841	2688	14970	0.180
1671	880	4983	0.177	1851	3998	16736	0.239
1681	860	4930	0.174	1861	6831	18938	0.361
1691	810	4931	0.164	1871	7376	21501	0.343
				1881	8194	24685	0.332
1701	760	5058	0.150	1891	9363	27572	0.340
1711	710	5230	0.136				
1721	750	5350	0.140	1901	11420	30987	0.370
1731	760	5263	0.144	1911	12081	34109	0.352
1741	730	5576	0.131	1921	12646	35724	0.354
1751	810	5772	0.140	1931	17845	37827	0.472
1761	860	6147	0.140	1951	17945	41159	0.436
1771	1020	6448	0.158	1961	18070	43461	0.416
1781	1200	7042	0.171	1971	17655	46018	0.384
1791	1310	7740	0.169	1981	17845	46363	0.385

Sources: Tables 2 and 3; Fig 2; Censuses of the Population; Wrigley and Schofield, *op cit*; CSO Annual Abstract of Statistics

Notes: A small discontinuity between 1841 and 1851 was associated with a 6% increase in the Staveley parish area.
 A small discontinuity between 1861 and 1871 was associated with a further 3% increase in the parish area.
 There were minor breaks in the national series between 1861 and 1871 and between 1881 and 1891.
 A redrawing of the Staveley parish boundaries between 1921 and 1931 caused a 7% rise in population.
 No population census was taken in 1941.
 Col (3) measures the size of the Staveley population relative to the national total, times one thousand.

The second column of Table 5 sets out the population of England, estimates of which for the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries have been made by Wrigley and Schofield.¹⁵ These have been extended into the 19th and 20th centuries using the census based series.¹⁶ The third column of Table 5 contains a factor which measures developments in Staveley's population relative to the national totals.

It is plain that there was relatively little change in the English population - it remained around 5 million - between the early 17th century and the middle of the 18th century. Thereafter it grew at a remarkably steady rate up to the early 20th century: between 1771 and 1911 the national population expanded at 1.6 per cent per

annum. During most of the 20th century this rate of increase declined. Taking the period as a whole the English population grew at an annual rate of 0.7 per cent a year.

Between 1621 and 1981 Staveley's population grew significantly faster, at an average rate of 0.9 per cent per year, from about 690 to 17,845 inhabitants.¹⁷ As in the case of the national picture Staveley population in the mid 18th century was little changed, at around 700 from the level reached in the early 17th century. However there is some suggestion - though it should be remembered that estimates for these years are not wholly reliable - that the population expanded in the early part of the 17th century, perhaps reaching an early peak of around 900 people by the middle 1600s and then, for some reason, declining somewhat into the early part of the 18th century.

As with the national population, from the mid 1770s Staveley's population started to increase. In the hundred years between 1741 and 1841 it expanded from about 730 to 2688, at a fairly steady rate of 1.3 per cent per year, in a period that coincided with the early stages of the industrial revolution. Then in two remarkable decades between 1841 and 1861 Staveley experienced a population explosion which coincided with its own, local, industrial revolution. Between these two dates the town's population expanded from 2,688 to 6,831 inhabitants, an average annual rate of increase of nearly 5 per cent, compared with a national population growth rate in the same period of 1 per cent a year. This enlargement of the town's population was much greater than could be accounted for by natural growth and must have owed a great deal to inward migration. Thereafter Staveley's population continued to rise until 1931 but at a much slower rate, around 1.3 per cent a year, and much more in line with the national increase of about 1 per cent per annum. Since 1931 the town's population has changed relatively little, hovering around 18,000 people.

Comparing these Staveley and national population trends, column 3 of Table 5 suggests that up to 1841 there was little disparity in local and national long term population developments, with the relative measure lying in the approximate range 0.13 to 0.18. Nor was there much long term change in the relative between 1861 and 1981, years during which it was at a much higher level. Virtually all of the significant disparity in the Staveley and national population growth rates was concentrated between 1841 and 1861 when the relative measure doubled from 0.18 to 0.36.

Acknowledgements

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Notes and references

1. Though the 1801 and 1811 censuses of England and Wales may have understated the population by 5 and 3 per cent respectively. N.L. Tranter, *Population and Society 1750-1940*, Longman, 1985
2. Derbyshire Record Office, *Population History in Derbyshire*. Archive Teaching Unit No 4, compiled by P.S. Fox and D.V. Fowkes, p6
3. J. Rickman, 'Preliminary Observations', *1821 Census of Population*; E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, Edward Arnold, 1981
4. Some of these historical series are set out in B.R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge University Press, 1962
5. Parish registers continued to be kept of course beyond the period in which our interest lies, throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century. Their form was standardised early in the last century and from 1837-38 they were maintained alongside the system of civil registration of births, deaths and marriages.
6. Data limitations for some readings in the 17th century mean that, as noted in Table 2, on certain occasions there are variations from the standard ten year period in the numbers of years from which an average is derived.
7. Wrigley and Schofield, *op cit*
8. The method was first employed in this fashion by Rickman, *op cit*
9. For an analysis of these kinds of disturbance see David L. Loschky, 'The Usefulness of England's Parish Registers', *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 1967, Vol 49.

10. The adjustment factors used for baptisms and burials in Tables 2 and 3 are based on those presented by Wrigley and Schofield in their Appendix Table A4.1. Similarly the national crude birth and death rates used in Tables 2 and 3 are taken from their Appendix Table A3.3. In all cases, following the method employed in this paper, adjustment factors, together with birth and death rates for the year 1720-21 relate to their average values over the ten years 1716 to 1725 and similarly for 1730-31, etc.
11. Derived from the 1801 Census population total of 1,653 in conjunction with the parish register based figure for births of 75.3.
12. That is, a 1801 parish register figure for deaths of 40.8 coupled with a Staveley 1801 population total of 1,653.
13. Philip Riden, 'The population of Derbyshire in 1563', *The Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1978, Vol XCVIII, p61-71. Riden examines the nature, strength and weaknesses of this survey at length. He notes (p70) that even if 'Bakewell and Ashbourne ... were both occasionally called boroughs [it] did not necessarily make for greater population than villages such as Staveley or Eckington both of which were much larger than many of the smaller market centres'.
14. D.G. Edwards, 'Population in North East Derbyshire in the Reign of Charles II', *The Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1982, p112-115. The Derbyshire data, derived from the Compton Census, had been earlier analysed by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, 'A Religious Census of Derbyshire, 1676', *The Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1985, Vol VII, p31-36.
15. *Op cit*, Table A3.3
16. Contained in Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics, op cit*
17. Some marginal enlargements in the parish boundaries of Staveley between 1841 and 1851, and also between 1861 and 1871, are unlikely to have had any significant implications for the town's population. However boundary changes between 1921 and 1931 produced a 1931 Staveley population of 17,845, 7.2 per cent higher than it would have previously been. Nonetheless even when allowance is made for this, the long term rate of growth of the population between 1621 and 1981 is little changed, falling from 0.91 to 0.89 per cent per annum.

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