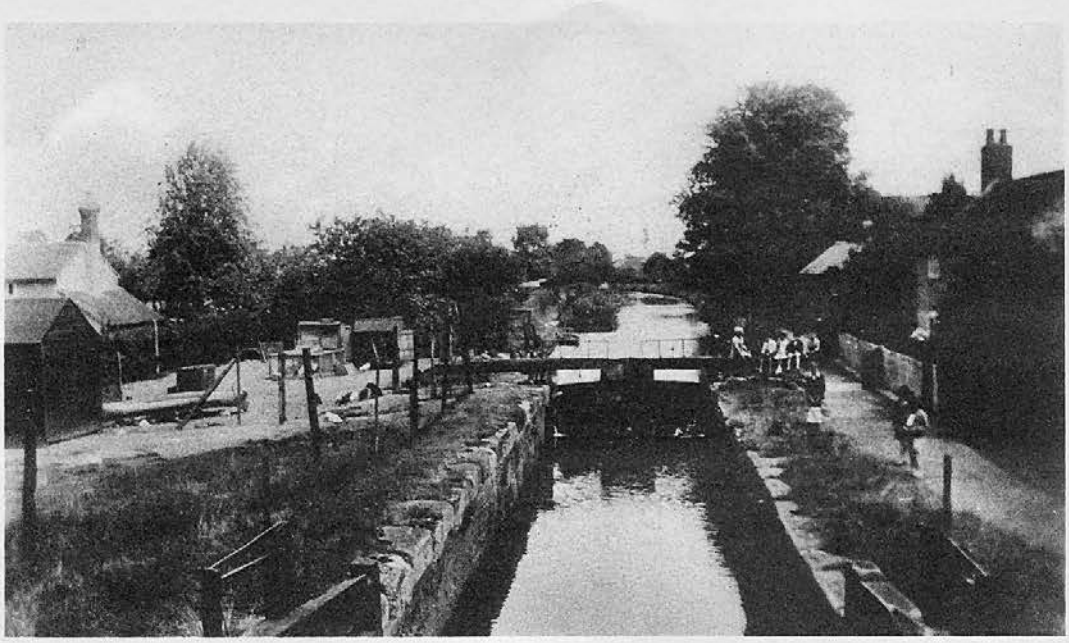
Vol 16

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY



Shelton Lock on the Derby Canal

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THE CHINLEY TITHE CASE 1765-66

(by Derek Brumhead, New Mills Heritage Centre)

In 1157, the abbey of Basingwerk in Flintshire received extensive grants in Longdendale from Henry II, which included the manor and church of Glossop. The charter gave *'Ten pounds value of land in Longdendale, that is Glossop, with the church that is there and with all things and land belonging to it, just as William Peveril held it in the time of King Henry my grandfather'.*[1] During the fourteenth century the abbey added steadily to its lands in the district including Charlesworth, Simmondley, Chunal and Chisworth. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the abbot leased all his rights in the manor of Glossop to John of Hallam who had become the first earl of Shrewsbury in 1442. It was thus natural that, on the dissolution of the monasteries in 1537, Henry VIII granted the possessions to George Talbot, fifth earl of Shrewsbury, as part of extensive grants.[2] The extent of the manor was greatly increased when, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the earl of Shrewsbury purchased from Elizabeth an extensive part of Longdendale, which was formally disafforested. A map prepared at this time (possibly between 1587 and 1590) shows six areas of herbages, in Longdendale, Mainstonefield (alias Chinley), Ashop, Edale, Fairfield, and Tideswell, which are represented by geometrically-shaped blocks of colour (red and yellow) varying in size apparently proportional to their area.[3]

The parish of Glossop was one of the largest in Derbyshire and the distances and terrain certainly made communications difficult. By the early fifteenth century the hamlets outside the manor of Glossop were divided between two chapelries, Mellor and Hayfield. Mellor chapelry included the hamlet of Whitle and part of Thornsett which were inside Bowden Middlecale, and Mellor, Ludworth and Chisworth hamlets which were outside it. Hayfield chapelry consisted of the rest of Thornsett and the remaining nine hamlets of Bowden Middlecale (Figure 1).

Monastic property forfeit to the crown on the dissolution of the monasteries was granted or sold to impropriators,[4] who were mostly men of substance and influence, often the dominant landowner of the parish. Thus, in the parish of Glossop, the earl, later duke of Norfolk, who succeeded the abbots of Basingwerk and the earls of Shrewsbury as rector and impropriator, received the great tithes while the vicar, whom he appointed, received the small tithes, of which half were paid to the duke.

> *'The benefit is only in small tithes and Easter Dues, the one and half of the said tithes and Easter Dues belongs to the Impropriator and the other half to the Vicar .... The tithes that do belong to the Impropriator and Vicar: In kind, are Easter Dues, Mortuaries, tithe of Wool and Lambs, of Pigs, Geese and Eggs... '.*[5]

Ownership of the tithes, of course, extended beyond the manor into the rest of the parish, which included the lands of the royal forest. Given the contentious matter of tithes, these were obvious conditions for a conflict between various parties and eventually gave rise in the eighteenth century to a celebrated dispute, the Chinley tithe case. The documentary sources, mostly papers of the former manor of Glossop, presented as evidence by the plaintiffs in the case are of great variety and interest[6] (see Appendix).

There is, of course, the usual conflict between who owns the tithes and who owns and works the land, but it is given an extra dimension by the fact that the lands in question, which were outside the manor of Glossop but within the parish, were part of the former royal forest of Peak.[7]

It was the generally the custom of impropriators to farm out the tithes to landowners, for the lease of tithes was a solution to collection problems and the expense of doing so.[8] In the past, in Glossop manor, substantial fines had been required as part of the contract. In 1661, 21 leases (for a term of 28 years) brought in £4,631 10s 0d in fines and £21 8s. 8d in rents annually.[9] Over the 28 years, for the onerous duty of collecting the rents, the leaseholders received a discount totalling £5,169, but the earl of Norfolk had the benefit of access to a substantial sum in fines. These hefty fines and low rents for tithe leases in 1661 paralleled the introduction of a series of revised leases for farms, introduced by the Howards, earls of Norfolk in need of large and sudden sums of money.[10] But by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the priorities had changed towards receiving a more steady income, whereby no fines were paid but total yearly rents had substantially increased. In 1743, the tithe rents due yearly under leases (with no fines) were worth £271. 5s. 6d compared with the £21. 8s. 8d in 1661. (Table 1).

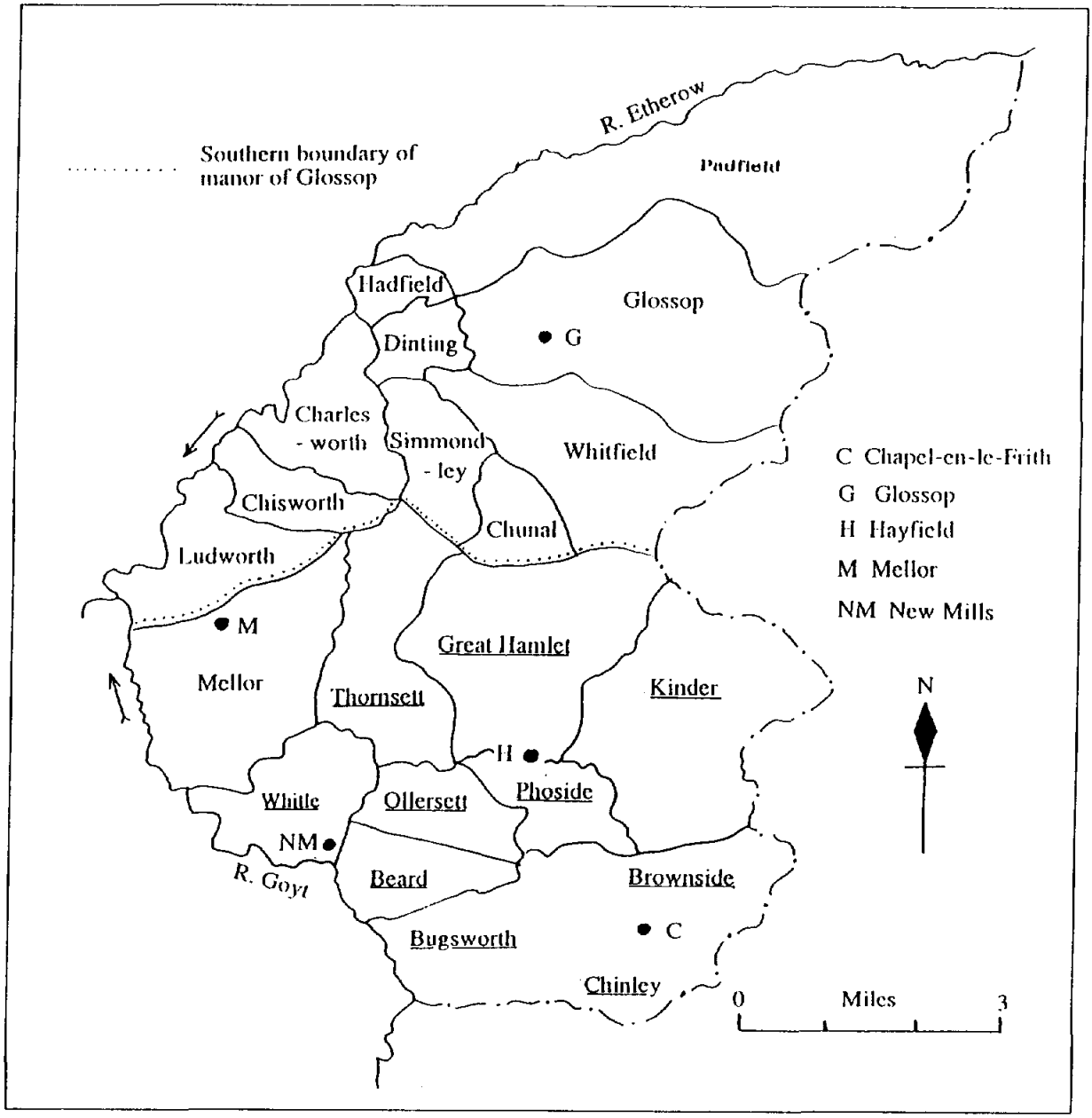

Fig. 1: Hamlets of the ancient parish of Glossop. Bowden Middlecale hamlets are underlined.

TABLE 1

TITHE RENTS [YEARLY] DUE CANDLEMASS 1743

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire (Beard and Ollersett)	17	10	0
Thos Chetham Esq (Mellor)	27	0	0
Wm James Carrington (Bugsworth)	7	6	6
Wm Goddard and al (Chalsworth)	18	0	0
John Beard and Jno Ratcliffe (Ludworth)	23	10	0
Mr Jno Carrington (Bugsworth)	1	13	6
Ralph Gee and others (Kinder)	7	0	0
John Hague and John Garlick (Whitfield)	12	6	0
John Harrison and William Hanford (Chunal)	5	0	0
Mr Robert Goddard (Chisworth)	10	12	0
John Frogatt and John Waterhouse (Great Hamlet)	16	0	0
Mrs Elizth Stafford (her farms in Whitle Hamlet)	4	18	4
Mrs Ellen Heathcote (her lands in Whitle Hamlet)	1	11	8
Mr John Bower and others (Whitle Hamlet)	12	10	0
Mr George Bower (Thornsett)	17	10	0
George Ward (Brownside and his estate in Chinley)	6	0	0
John Lingard and George Kirk (Chinley)	16	0	0
Mr John Moult (his estate in Chinley)	1	0	0
John Wagstaff and Joseph Wood (Dinting)	12	5	0
John Creswick and John Kenworthy (Padfield)	15	0	0
John Hall (Phoside)	9	2	6
Mr George Wagstaffe (Glossop)	17	0	0
John Morton (his tithe in Simondley)	2	10	0
Mr George Hadfield and others (Hadfield)	8	0	0
Robert Barber (Glossop Kiln)	2	0	0
	271	5	6

Source: Glossop library archives Z 142 (DRO D3705/25/1-55)

The dispute centered around the lease made by the duke of Norfolk to John Moult, dated 15 October 1745, which demised for a term of twenty years all the tithes of corn yearly arising in the hamlet of Chinley yielding and paying the yearly rent of £16.[11] Tithing in kind could be costly, lengthy and difficult.[12] The pressure was on a tithe owner to take a composition, a *modus decimandi* or modus, based on the average value of the crop which exonerated all the tithes of a particular estate. Mr Moult struck bargains with the farmers for the payment of yearly money compositions in lieu of tithe for the period of years remaining of his lease (Table 2), an attractive arrangement for owner-occupiers if the price was right, for their farms were not only then tithe-free,[13] but the fixed payments were set well below the nominal value of the tithe collected in kind and tended to become very under-valued in time.[14] In this, he was following common practice, for in such large, hilly parishes as Glossop, the difficulties of collecting tithes in kind, and selling the produce, were almost insuperable. Yearly valuations or bargaining, too, were uneconomic as well as likely to give rise to dispute.

But such arrangements caused problems when there were changes in what the farm produced, as in this case, when Moult soon began to have difficulty with collecting what was due (Tables 2, 3 and 4).[15] The matter came to a head, when John Taylor, began to farm about 70 acres of the former herbages in Chinley and, particularly, to grow corn and wheat, which took the grazing land out of the sphere of the lesser tithe and into that of the greater, and hence became of more direct concern to the duke (although injurious to the vicar).[16] Taylor paid his tithes to John Moult in 1758, but thereafter refused to pay them (Table 3). Another defendant in the case, John Lingard, paid tithes for corn up to and including 1758, but tithes for wheat only in 1759, and no tithes in 1760.

TABLE 2

MR MOULT'S VERBAL BARGAINS MADE WITH CERTAIN TENANTS CONCERNING TITHE RENTS, 1747-52

Tithe rents paid for year past	£	s	d	Yearly bargain*
John Shirt, Chinley	0	15	6	27 February 1749, 15s 6d at Chinleyhead
William Carrington, Chinley	1	5	0	9 September 1748, £1 5s 6d
John Carrington, Chinley	0	17	6	21 August 1747, 17s 6d for his own lands and that which he hath of Widow Bowdens
Joseph Dewsnap, Chinley	0	17	6	7 April 1752, 17s 6d, lands in Chinley commonly called Bennits land
John Lingard, Brownside	0	6	6	12 September 1750, 6s 6d
John Lingard, Chinley	0	7	6	22 February 1751, 7s 6d at Dakins. Joseph Lingard is removed into Cheshire and his son John lives there and hath paid till now yet he holds back
Thomas Holt, Chinley	0	12	6	20 September 1749, 12s 6d. A parcel of ground belonging to the Reverend Mr Baddyly of Hayfield
John Lingard, Hull, Chinley	0	18	0	17 August 1747, Hull and Hollowshaw
George Kyrk, Chinley	1	15	6	[no date]. Set William Kyrk The tyth born of Whiteknowle estate. Now William is dead and his father George Kyrk told me he would pay which he hath done till now.
Robert Kyrk, Chinley	0	8	0	25 October 1752
John Talor, Chinley	1	1	0	[no date], John Taylor agreed and his father in law Joseph Fearne for his tyth... but he never paid me any but joynes with reste and holds back.

[For the period remaining of Mr Moult's tithe term].
Source: Glossop library archives Z 164 (DRO D3705/25/1-55). No date but c1760.

The change in land use was a particular point in this dispute but, in any case, objection generally to the paying of tithes had grown since the Reformation, and in the case of parishes such as Glossop where the obligation was now owed to a lay Impropriator the religious compulsion had been removed.[17] In the Chinley case there was another factor, the existence of an influential group of nonconformists who objected to making such payments to either the laity or the established church. Nonconformism in the Chinley area went back to 1662 when William Bagshaw was deprived of his living as vicar of Glossop and took up residence in his father's house at Ford Hall, near Chapel en le Frith. He started services in a barn in nearby Malcoff, and in 1711, when discrimination against non-conformists had eased, an independent chapel was built in Chinley, which still stands. There was a large congregation and it was this church that has given the impression, erroneously, that Chinley was extra-parochial. These people, many of whom were yeomen owning their own farms, were of a very independent disposition and it is not surprising, therefore, to learn that most of the defendants in this case were dissenters.[18]

TABLE 3

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CORN HOUSED AND NOT TITHED

	£	s	d
John Taylors m / 1758 Slate Breakfield Oats tithe	1	0	0
Little Moseley Marsh, wheat	0	2	0
Moseley Meadow lower part oats crop lands wheat	0	7	0
all untithed	1	9	0
John Taylor in / 1759 / Sleate Breakfield oats	1	0	0
Moseley Meadow corn valued all untithed	0	6	0
	1	6	0
John Taylor, in, 1760 Boarseloagh Bank oats tithe	1	2	0
Oats in the Acre	0	2	0
Moseley Meadow Barley and wheat valued	0	6	0
all untithed	1	10	0
John Taylor in 1761 Great Millfield oats	0	12	0
Part of the Acre oats	0	1	6
Moseley Meadow upwards of thirty riders of wheat	0	7	6
Long Brow and Moseley Brow oats valued at	0	8	0
all untithed	1	9	0
John Taylor corn growing in / 1762 / Great Millfield oats	0	12	0
Long Brow oats and Moseley Brow oats and barley	0	8	0
Part of Moseley Meadow oats	0	3	0
Part of the Acre oats	0	2	0
Part of the Greensess oats and part barley valued	0	5	0
all untithed	1	10	0
John Taylor corn growing in 1763 Sept 16 Great Moseleyfield oats 300 riders the tithe of it valued to three shillings per the acre comes to	1	17	6
In Great Moseleyfield 15 riders of barley the tithe of it valued at a penny a theave	0	1	3
In Greenses 70 riders of oats the tithe of it valued at 2=6 thrave comes to	0	7	3
In Greens 6 riders of barley the tithe of it comes to	0	0	6
In Moseley Meadow the lands that go down to little field oats 19 riders valued to	0	2	0
In Moseley Meadow crop lands oats valued at	0	2	6
In Moseley Brow oats valued at	0	6	9
all untithed	2	17	9
John Taylor corn growing in 1764 Sept 13th Great Moseleyfield wheat in the lower end 110 riders the tithe of it valued to 2½ Sheave comes to	1	2	11
In Moseley Meadow 70 riders of barley the tithe of it at i a sheave comes to	0	5	10
In greenses 70 riders of oats the tithe of it valued at 2=6 thrave comes to	0	7	3
In greens 10 riders of barley the tithe of it comes to	0	0	10
Sept 27th in Higher Moseley Marsh 131 riders of oats at 2=6 per thrave comes to	0	13	5
In Moseleyfield 217 riders oats at 2=6 per thrave the tithe comes to	1	2	7

In Moseleyfield about 10 or 15 riders to cut in October 6 in Stone Bridge			
Meadow 160 riders the tithe at 2=6 per thrave comes to	0	13	4
In October 6 in Moseley Brow 138 riders of oats the tithe valued			
At 2=6 per thrave comes to	0	14	3
In Barber Acre 75 riders of oats good	0	7	0
	5	7	5
Item a shilling for standing corn in Mosleyfield as above	0	1	0

[Not dated or signed]
Source: Glossop library archives Z 168 (DRO D3705/25/3).

Notes: A sheaf or sheave: a large bundle of corn.
A thrave or threave: two stooks of corn, each containing twelve sheaves.
A rider: a sheave. Eg: Moseleyfield: 217 rider of oats, at 2s 6d per thrave,
ie: tithe £1 2s 7d = 9 thraves = 8 x 24 sheaves
= 216 riders + 1 odd sheave = 217 riders.

TABLE 4

A LIST OF THE NAMES OF THOSE THAT REFUSE TO PAY TITHE AND THOSE THAT HAVE PAID TITHE FOR THE LANDS IN CHINLEY AS FOLLOWS

Ab: John Lingard at Hul
John Barns
Ab: William Carrington at Ashton
Ab: John Carrington
Thomas Goddard at Hull End
George Hibert
Enok Lomas
Ab: John Shirt at Chinleyhead
Obadiah Pollitt
Edmund Barns
John Waterhouse at Easmats'
Ab: George Kyrk at White Knowl
Samuel Goddard
John Walker at Shireoaks
Rodger Hodkinson
Joseph Dusnap
Thomas Hall
Ab: Robert Kyrk at New Smithe
William Brodhurst
John Leech
Jophn Olerenshaw in Brownside
Joseph Millward
Robert Hoyle in Rushup

Wm Wood
T Seed

Joshua Lingard at Brownside
ab: John Taylor
ab: Williams Harrison Brownside
Samuel Wainright
Richard Wainright
ab: Samuel Kyrk paid
George Shirt
John Brownhill paid
John Lingard at Oaksmoor
Richard Midleton
John Heward
Thomas Shallcross paid
Thomas Kigley paid
Ann and James Ridgway

Harrison paid his tithes in ye years 1757-1758 and paid in 1759

Source: Glossop library archives Z 407 (DRO D3705/25/5)

Early in 1760, the duke directed that proceedings be started but there was a delay and *'owners and farmers are spirited to believe that no prosecution will ever be commenced'*, that refusals to pay tithes were increasing, *'and owners are now got so insolent that it is very uncomfortable for Mr Moult to live amongst them'*.[19] As was common, those who refused to pay tithe came together to make a subscription to contest the case and delegated a list of persons to be made defendants.[20] Tithe suits were heard in a variety of courts, but church courts could not decide suits involving moduses since these were a matter of temporal, not spiritual, right.[21] Temporal disputes were heard in the equity courts of chancery and exchequer. Evidence was taken by sworn commission often in the locality of the protagonists and this is what happened in the Chinley case. In September 1763, witnesses were examined before three commissioners *'at the house of Peter Newton known by the Sign of the Greyhound.'* in Stockport.[22]

The evidence was considered by the Court of Chancery in 1765 and took eight months to resolve, which might be considered a surprisingly short time.[23] His Majesty's Attorney General joined the defendants but took no part in the case. The defendants argued, among other things, that tithes were not payable to the duke or his leaseholder because James I on 9th January in 1623 had granted to Edward Bradbye [Bradbury] and William Weltden all his Majesty's herbages and lands in Chinley in the tenure of Peter Bradshaw, gentleman, of the yearly rent or value of £12 together with the great and small tithes except for Mainstonefield [Chinley] Mill.[24] They also maintained that as the herbages and lands were not mentioned as being in any parish, then Chinley was extra-parochial,[25] among other things being part of the forest of the High Peak which belonged to the duchy of Lancaster and hence the crown. They also maintained that until 1628-9 the hamlet of Chinley *'...laid open to the Forest of the High Peak and was uninclosed and uncultivated and did not produce any corn grain or hay and that no tithe of corn grain or hay growing within the said village or hamlet of Chinley were paid to any person until long after the 4th year of King Charles I* [1628-291...'.

In return, the plaintiffs maintained that the tithes did not pass with the grant and that the vicar of Glossop had been receiving the Easter dues and small tithes from the inhabitants of Chinley including the hay penny, where the occupiers had hay on their land. They produced the Easter Books which showed these payments. They maintained that the banns for marriages had been published in the Glossop parish church, that the dues for baptisms and burials had been paid, that John Moult and his previous owners of the tithes had paid land tax, and that the poor leys and constable leys for the corn tithes particularly for the lands in question had been paid.

In reply, the defendants maintained that the parish did not tax the inhabitants of Chinley, nor for the repairs to the parish church of Glossop nor any other public parish rate, that no inhabitant of Chinley had been nominated or served as any parish officer, but admitted that some up to the year 1758 had paid Easter dues and the hay penny. They agreed that the banns had been read in the parish church and that marriages had taken place there, that dues for baptisms and burials had been paid, that the collectors of the land tax and poor rate leys had received from Mr Moult payment for the tithes of corn. But they stated that there was a Protestant dissenting chapel and burial yard at Chinley where some few Protestant dissenters had been buried, but that the greatest part of the inhabitants of Chinley had been buried at Chapel en le Frith.[26]

The collection and production of accurate documentary and verbal evidence was of paramount importance in a tithe action.[27] Tithe owners held an important advantage in that they were more likely to be in possession of the relevant evidence or have more convenient access to it. Landowners and tenants had to ferret them out, or pay enormous costs involved in searches, transcriptions, payment of witnesses expenses, plus the costs of the action. Ecclesiastical terriers, for instance, were recognised as reliable guides to tithing customs of a parish. In the Chinley case, a large amount of written evidence (Appendix) was produced to the court for its deliberations by the plaintiffs, the duke, his agent, and his leaseholder, documents which, as has been said, were already in their possession or which they could the more easily procure. They were submitted chiefly for the purpose of showing that Chinley was mentioned as being in the parish of Glossop, and that tithes and dues had been paid in the past by the inhabitants of Chinley to the rector or his agent.

The court decided in favour of the plaintiffs and that the tithes of corn and grain owed were to be paid by Taylor and Lingard to Moult for the period 1758 to 13 February 1765 (termination of the lease by the duke to Moult) and to the duke for the period following.

> *'... And it is further adjudged and decreed by the court that the said plaintiff the duke of Norfolk's right and title to the tithes of corn and grain growing and arising from the several*

or parcels of arable land and ground hereinafter mentioned lying and being in the said hamlet or village of Chinley otherwise Mainstonefield in the said county of Derby being in the defendants Taylor's possession and occupation... is hereby established', [It was accepted that another defendant, Harrison, did not occupy any land or sow corn in Chinley.]

[9 December 1765 - 9 August 1766]. Copy, no date.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED BY THE PLAINTIFFS IN THE CHINLEY TITHE CASE

1. The grant made by Henry VIII to the earl of Shrewsbury dated 6th October 29th Henry VIII [1537].
2. The probate copy of the will of Thomas Moult dated 22 July 1668 (will dated 19 June 1666).
3. An old register book of the parish church of Glossop.
4. An agreement dated 11 March 1666 which had arisen among the parishioners of Glossop concerning the dispute regarding repairs to Glossop church, steeple and churchyard walls; and the defraying of other necessary charges laid out and yearly expended in and about church duties, and contained in the two inside pages of the last parchment leaf in and affixed at the end of an old register book of the parish church of Glossop.
5. A duplicate of the assessment of land tax for Bowden Middlecale for 1760 and 1763 which includes an entry under Bugsworth hamlet *'Owners of Corn Tithe in Chinley hamlet'* 9s 9d (1760) and 9s 2½d (1763).
6. Copy of part of the duplicate of the land tax for the Hundred of High Peak for 1763 under the title Bowden Middlecale the first article (which is supposed to be for the assessment for that year to the land tax) is as follows: Chinley £15. 7. 0.
7. Several books of accounts fixed together of the Easter dues and small tithes and of tithes of wool and lamb called the Midsummer Books for the parish of Glossop of the charges made on the inhabitants of the parish. 17 Easter Books for the years 1703-1758 (not inclusive) which include entries of tithes due and money received in respect of the hamlets of the parish of Glossop including Chinley. And Midsummer Books for the years 1737 and 1740-57 inclusive containing an account of the persons with whom bargains were made and the sums agreed to be paid and the money received and debts due in respect of small tithes, including an entry for Phoside and Chinley.
8. Easter Books for 1678, 1689, 1713, 1728, 1734, 1735, 1736, and Midsummer Books for 1676, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1690, 1696-1713 inclusive and 1720, 1735 and 1736.
9. 24 Easter Books for the period 1678-1757 (not continuous);[28] and 11 Midsummer Books for 1696-1749 (not continuous).[29]
10. The rental for the manor of Glossop for half year at Lady Day 1672 and 1683.
11. The rental for one whole year of the sums within the manor of Glossop for Lady Day and Michaelmas in 1656.
12. 13 books of rentals for the manor and rectory of Glossop for 1642, 1650, 1666, 1672, 1683, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1710, 1712, 1721, 1723, 1724.
13. The account of John Wagstaffe Senr for the rents, issue and profits of the Rectory and manor of Glossop for the years ending 1st March 1672, 1677, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, and for the years ending 12 January 1685 and 1687.
14. 10 several accounts for the rents, issues and profits of the manor and rectory of Glossop for the years 1655, 1658, 1672, 1677, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1685, 1687, ending 30 September, including entries as follows:

    1655, ending 30 September, account for Robert Ashton for the rents, issues and profits for manor and

rectory of Glossop. In the charge part for the tithes is included *'Chinley Hamlet £18. 0. 0'.*

1658 ,ending 30 September, Robert Ashton account for rents, issues and profits for manor and rectory of Glossop in the charge part is entered *'Chinley £31 .07. 00'.*

1672, ending 1 May, for John Wagstaffe ditto, in which the total sums for tithes is £13. 16. 00 which includes *'Chinley £1. 0. 0'.*

1677, ending 1 March John Wagstaffe, ditto as above.

1679, John Wagstaffe, ditto, as above.

1680, John Wagstaffe, ditto, as above.

1681, 1682, 1685, 1687, all as above.

15. Agreement dated 31 August 1711 between John Wagstaffe, gent, Steward and Bailiff to Lord George Howard of Norfolk and Thos Moult of Lane End, Thomas Moult of the Naze and Wm Carrington, yeoman, lease of tithe corn of Chinley hamlet excepting those lands belonging to Anthony Ward, George Ward and Ann Ward widow in their possession - 21 years from 24 June 1711 at yearly rent of £17 clear of taxes.

Ditto dated 3 September 1711, between John Wagstaffe and Anthony Ward and George Ward all the tithe corn of all the lands in Chinley belonging to the said Anthony and George Ward and Ann Ward, mother of the said George, 21 years from 24 June 1711 at yearly rent of 10s, clear of taxes.

Seven agreements made in 1738 with persons for demising the corn tithes in several hamlets of Glossop (Dinting, the town of Glossop, Whitle, Bugsworth, Charlesworth and Thornsett) including one made on 17 February 1738 between Vincent Eyre and George Ward for the corn tithes of the said Duke arising within the hamlet of Brownside and of his estate in Chinley for four years from Candlemas last under yearly rent of £6, as also all the taxes to be imposed on the tithes in the said term.

16. Three papers including one titled tithes of corn within the parish of Glossop granted on lease for the term of 7 years from Candlemas 1731 (Tenants pay all taxes) among the several entries therein under Bowden Middlecale p ann are the following *'Brownside 5. 0 - to George Ward pd Chinley 1 - - Ditto now in his possession'* and another entry *'pd Chinley 17 - - to Jo Lingard late in the possession of Thos Moult Jo Carrington and Thos Moult'.* And in another of those papers entitled *An Abstract of the Value of the Hamlets 1731* under Bowden Middlecale an entry is made of Chinley p ann to the poor 3.11 - old tithe £17. 0. 0, new tithe £17. 0. 0.

17. Lease of tithes made by the duke of Norfolk to John Moult dated 15 October 1745.

18. A tithe *Rotull Lasch Ecclio de Glossop de ..mino pasch Anno Dni Millimo CCCCme xxxii* [AD 1432] with entries of the sums made of the several sums therein mentioned to be received from several persons in the towns villages or hamlets of Glossop, includes an entry as follows: Maynstonfeld [Chinley], Ux Hug Hally... 12¾ Rico de schore... 14¼, Ux Robti Warde ... 5¾, John Warde 6¼, Willius de Swynslow 9¼,. Hug del Kipk 10¼. And this book concludes with sums set down for oblations (supposed to be received) at the Supper of Our Lord on the day of Easter, on the Vigil of Easter, on the day of Easter at the first Mass, at the second Mass, and the High Mass.

19. Books entitled Survey and value of the manor and rectory of Glossop taken by virtue of his Grace's commission to that purpose to John Wagstaffe for 1678 and 1683, in which survey and valuation several persons are said to hold several cottages and tithe barns in Middlecale. After the title An Abstract of the Valuation, is entered under the title Hamlets, Chinley and opposite to it under the word rectory £29 and the sum total of the manor is made to £2779. 10. 0.

20. An abstract of the valuation of the manor of Glossop 1683 contained in a book entitled A Survey and Value of the Manor and rectory of Glossop taken by virtue of his Grace's commission to John Wagstaffe directed 1678.

21. Accounts for Glossop tithe rents each for one year, due at Candlemas, as follows.

1737 Mr John Carrington... (Chinley) £1. 13. 6, John Lingard (Chinley) £17. 0. 0.
1738 John Lingard ... (Chinley) £7. 0. 0, Moult £17. 0. 0.
1739 Geo Ward (Brownside and his estate in Chinley) £6. 0. 0, John Lingard and Geo Kirke (Chinley) £16. 0. 0, Mr John Moult (his estate, in Chinley £1. 0. 0.
1740 Ditto
1741 Ditto
1742 Ditto
1743 George Ward (Brownside and his estate in Chinley) £6. 0. 0, John Lingard and George Kirke (Chinley) £16. 0. 0, Mr John Moult his estate in Chinley) £1. 0. 0.

22. Three sheets of paper, copies of transcripts of divers entries of baptisms marriages and burials in the parish church of Chapel en le Frith.

23. Order made by general quarter sessions at Derby on 13 January in 11th year of reign of Queen Ann upon petition by inhabitants of Bowden Middlecale for a division of the townships of Bowden Middlecale in three Overseerships, whereby the order should be referred to the judgement of the justices of Peace at the next monthly meeting for the Hundred of High Peak.

24. Deposition by Geo Higenbotham, gent, clerk to the township of Bowden Middlecale, copy of a certificate touching the three divisions made of the several villages in the constabulary of Bowden Middlecale by John Carrington, Charles Lingard and others for the maintaining and ordering of the poor of the said constabulary, dated 10 April 1713.

25. The final order made at general quarter sessions at Derby held on 14 April, 12th of Queen Ann, reciting certificate dated 10 April 1713 (Justices of the Peace John Carrington of Bugsworth gent, and Chas Lingard of Capel Miltown a freeholder in division or hamlet of Chinley and of other persons named who made an equal division of the township of Bowden Middlecale with respect to a pound rate into three equal parts and of the poor there.

26. Deposition of Geo Heginbotham, copy of entries made in the register of baptisms and burials in the chapel of Hayfield.

27. Copy of a grant made by Henry VIII on 6th October on 29th year of his reign to Geo earl of Shrewsbury.

This huge amount of evidence completely outweighed what the defendants produced, which amounted to only three documents:

A. Copy of an Order of Sentence in a dispute between the churchwardens of the parish church of Glossop and the inhabitants within the chapelry of Hayfield touching the repairing of the said parish church.

B. Copy of an agreement dated 11 March 1666 made between the parishioners of Glossop and the inhabitants within the said chapelry.

C. Copies of the parish registers of births and burials.

References and notes

1. Charter quoted by J. Scott, J.H. Smith, and D. Winterbottom, *Glossop Dale, Manor and Borough*, Glossop, 1973, p8-9.
2. N.J. Frangopulo, *The history of the parish of Glossop*, University of Sheffield MA thesis, 1936. J.H. Scott, J.H. Smith, and D.Winterbottom, 1973. J. Hanmer and D. Winterbottom, *The book of Glossop*, Buckingham, 1992.
3. J.C. Cox, *The royal forests of England*, London, 1905, pp174-75. PRO, Maps MPC 53. A copy is held by New Mills Local History Society. Also, H. Nicholas, *Local maps of Derbyshire to 1770. An inventory and introduction*, Matlock, 1980. These herbages are the same as those listed in the duchy of Lancaster rentals of the fourteenth century, which include the herbages of Mainstonefield, alias Chinley.
4. Nationally, one third of tithe owners were lay impropriators. E.J. Evans, *The contentious tithe: the tithe problem and English agriculture 1750-1850*, London, 1976, pp8-9.

5. *'A terrier of the tithes belonging to the parish church of Glossop...'*, Bishops' Transcripts, 1770. Lichfield Record Office, B/V/6. The benefit belonging to the vicar was valued at *'about sixty pounds a year'*. At the Primary Visitation of 1751, in the parish return the vicar commented *'... my living is but small about £60 per annum. His Grace the Duke of Norfolk is Impropriator and runs away with all the corn tithe and one half of the small tithes, wool and lamb, and one half of the Easter Dues which last I believe is not his right'*. Lichfield Record Office, B/V/5.
6. We are fortunate to have these documents available. On the occasion of the sale of the manor of Glossop in 1926, two lorry loads of documents were taken away from the manor house and destroyed. A small collection of miscellaneous documents was somehow saved and these were carefully catalogued several decades ago by the Glossop library staff (all with 'Z' index numbers). They have since been transferred to the county record office at Matlock, with the Glossop index numbers retained for reference. There are microfilmed copies in Glossop Library. A concordance has been issued.
7. The royal forest of Peak, extended from the 'dark peak' eastwards as far as the river Derwent. The forest originally formed part of an inheritance dating back to William II, but in the twelfth century it reverted back to the crown and, when the duke of Lancaster was crowned Henry IV in 1399, became part of the duchy of Lancaster as well.
8. Evans, 1976, pp35-6.
9. Abstract of leases of the several hamlets of Glossop parish dated 1661, Glossop Library Z49 (DRO 3705/5/5). These documents, and others (all with 'Z' numbers) referred to in this article, are part of the estate collection. Many of the papers came into the possession of C.H. Chambers, Headmaster of Glossop Grammar School, who donated them to Glossop Library in 1953 shortly before his death.
10. S.E. Kershaw, 'Power and duty in the Elizabethan aristocracy: George, earl of Shrewsbury, the Glossopdale dispute and the Council' in G.R. Bernard (Ed), *The Tudor nobility*, Manchester, 1992, pp266-95. Also, D. Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the forest of Peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Trans. Lancs. and Chesh. Ant. Soc.*, 2000, pp79-93.
11. Except *'all the tithes within the estate of George Ward in the said hamlet of Chinley and all the moduses or other compositions for tithe, hay...'* Case papers re dispute, Glossop Library, Z153 (DRO 3705/25/1-55).
12. Evans, 1976, pp18-19.
13. Evans, 1976, p35.
14. They became, in effect, a rent-charge on the land. N.J.G. Pounds, *A history of the English parish*, Cambridge, 2000, pp 64-66. Tithes paid in kind, on the other hand, were a tax on efficiency and did not encourage improvement. See M.R. Austin, 'Tithe and benefice incomes in Derbyshire 1772-1832', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 101, 1982, pp118-124.
15. These tables show a total of 13 farmers who had refused to pay their tithes.
16. Pounds, 2000, p 53.
17. Pounds, 2000, p 310.
18. Note by Chambers, DRO D 3705/25/28. Quakers, who were morally opposed to the payment of tithes, also had a presence in the area and there was a burial ground at Slack Hall, adjacent to Ford Hall. Social status and structure in Bowden Middlecale is examined in D. Brumhead, 'Social structure in some "dark peak" hamlets of north-west Derbyshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *The Local Historian*, 28 (4), November 1998, pp194-207.
19. Correspondence between attorneys and solicitors, 1760-62, was studied by Chambers who made notes from which this material is taken. DRO D3705/25/28. Chambers also made extensive notes about Glossop's history from various documents in his possession and in the Public Record Office. These are preserved in four large volumes in Glossop library.
20. Chambers quotes from correspondence dated 17 March 1760 in which the defendants are named as John Shird [Shirt], Wm Carrington, John Carrington (husbandman), John Taylor (yeoman), Robert Kirk (blacksmith), George Kirk (husbandman) all of Chinley. DRO D 3705/25/28.
21. Evans, 1976, p 43.
22. Interrogatories of witnesses, consisting of three large pages for depositions by witnesses for the defendants, Z 251(DRO D 3705/25/45) and, in contrast, 17 large papers similarly for the plaintiffs, Z 413-14 (DRO D 3705/25/53).
23. A tithe dispute at Kendal took seventeen years to resolve, 1817-34. E J Evans, 'A nineteenth century tithe dispute and its significance: the case of Kendal', *Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, lxxiv, 1974, pp159-83.
24. The defendants were correct, for the grant (by Letters Patent, 21 James I [1623-24]) demised the tithes

to Bradby and Weltden, although, as the plaintiffs pointed out, this was in error since they were already in the duke's possession. A copy of the grant is in DRO D 1673 Z/Z41. In contrast to the plethora of documentation presented by the plaintiffs, the defendants did not present a copy of this grant.

25. The problem has remained to this day for Chinley is still described as extra-parochial by the Derbyshire Record Office.
26. See Note 18 above.
27. Evans, 1976, pp49-51.
28. The Easter Books were for the years 1678, 1689, 1703, 1713, 1728, 1734, 1735, 1736. These books are missing from the collection in Glossop Library, and the reason may be that they were never returned after being submitted as evidence. This is supported by the fact that they include entries for Chinley, although none of the books in Glossop Library does. But where are the missing books?
29. Years 1676, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1696, 1697, 1699.

THE DERBYSHIRE FARM LABOURER IN THE 1860s

(by Roger Dalton, University of Derby, Kedleston Road, Derby)

In 1867 Parliament established the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture[1] which produced a series of reports and transcripts of evidence in the following year. The Commission's origins lay in long recognised problems relating to the employment of women and children in the agricultural sector which had remained substantially outside the regulatory provisions of the Factory Acts of 1834 and 1847. Additionally a series of government reports had highlighted issues relating to the gangs of itinerant labourers who moved around the country following the seasonal rhythm of work on the land and where children were increasingly considered to be neglected. Moreover early thinking about a state system of compulsory education had led to concerns about the impact of agricultural work on attendance at the various charity and national schools which existed in many villages. In the event the Commission found that it could not fulfill its brief without considering the circumstances of adult male workers so that its findings provide a much more comprehensive view of agricultural employment than its title suggests. The Commission conducted its investigation on a county basis and its reports plus submitted evidence provide detailed statements about fundamental aspects of the lives of agricultural workers and their families including conditions of employment, remuneration, housing and education. It is thus possible to gain important insights into the circumstances of those who worked on the land in the late 1860s and the aim of this paper is to review the Commission's findings with respect to Derbyshire.

The Agricultural Context

During the second half of the nineteenth century British agriculture saw two distinct phases of change. Between about 1850 and the 1870 the productivity gains of the agricultural revolution came together in a prosperous period of so-called *'high farming'* whereby high inputs were matched by high outputs. However from the 1870s onwards low cost imports from overseas led to a reversal of fortunes and initiated the *'great agricultural depression'* which effectively lasted until the 1930s.[2] But for the many Derbyshire farmers who specialised in cheese making events manifested themselves somewhat differently from the nation at large. Although output had expanded from the early nineteenth century marketing difficulties developed during the 1860s as a result of imports of cheese from the United States and the cattle plague of 1865/6 so it is perhaps difficult to entertain a concept of high dairying. By contrast the advent of the depression years found Derbyshire dairy farmers to be relatively well placed as they reoriented their farm systems to meet the rapid growth in demand for liquid milk from all sectors of the population. Milk could now be railed to urban and industrial markets across Britain and as the most perishable of farm products was immune from overseas competitions.[3] The Royal Commission of 1867 thus carried out its work at about the time when Derbyshire dairying was on the verge of an important change of direction.

In parallel with these developments a steady decline in agricultural employment took place across Britain as a result of the attractions of higher paid jobs in mining and industry and the increasingly effective application of mechanisation to basic field tasks such as mowing and drilling. At the 1851 census about 1.7 million people or 25% of the workforce were employed in agriculture in England and Wales. Subsequently the total of farmers either as owners and/or occupiers of land remained broadly constant but the number of engaged workers fell rapidly to just under one million in 1871 and 650,000 by 1901. Such trends are well evidenced in the changing employment structure of Derbyshire throughout the nineteenth century. As early as 1800 the county, with its diverse industrial base, had shown approximate parity between the agricultural and industrial sectors.[4] By 1851 out of 135,000 adults in employment only 21% or 29,000 worked on the land and by 1901 this had fallen to 7% or 18,000 out of 259,000.

The Royal Commission and Derbyshire

The Royal Commission appointed George Culley to carry out a survey of agricultural employment in Derbyshire and also the counties of Berkshire and Hertfordshire. In making his report to the Commission he found it convenient to combine his thinking about Derbyshire and Hertfordshire into one document.[5] The essence of Culley's approach to his task in Derbyshire was the distribution a letter of enquiry about farm workers to 38 potential information sources. Significant among these were the Boards of Guardians which administered Poor

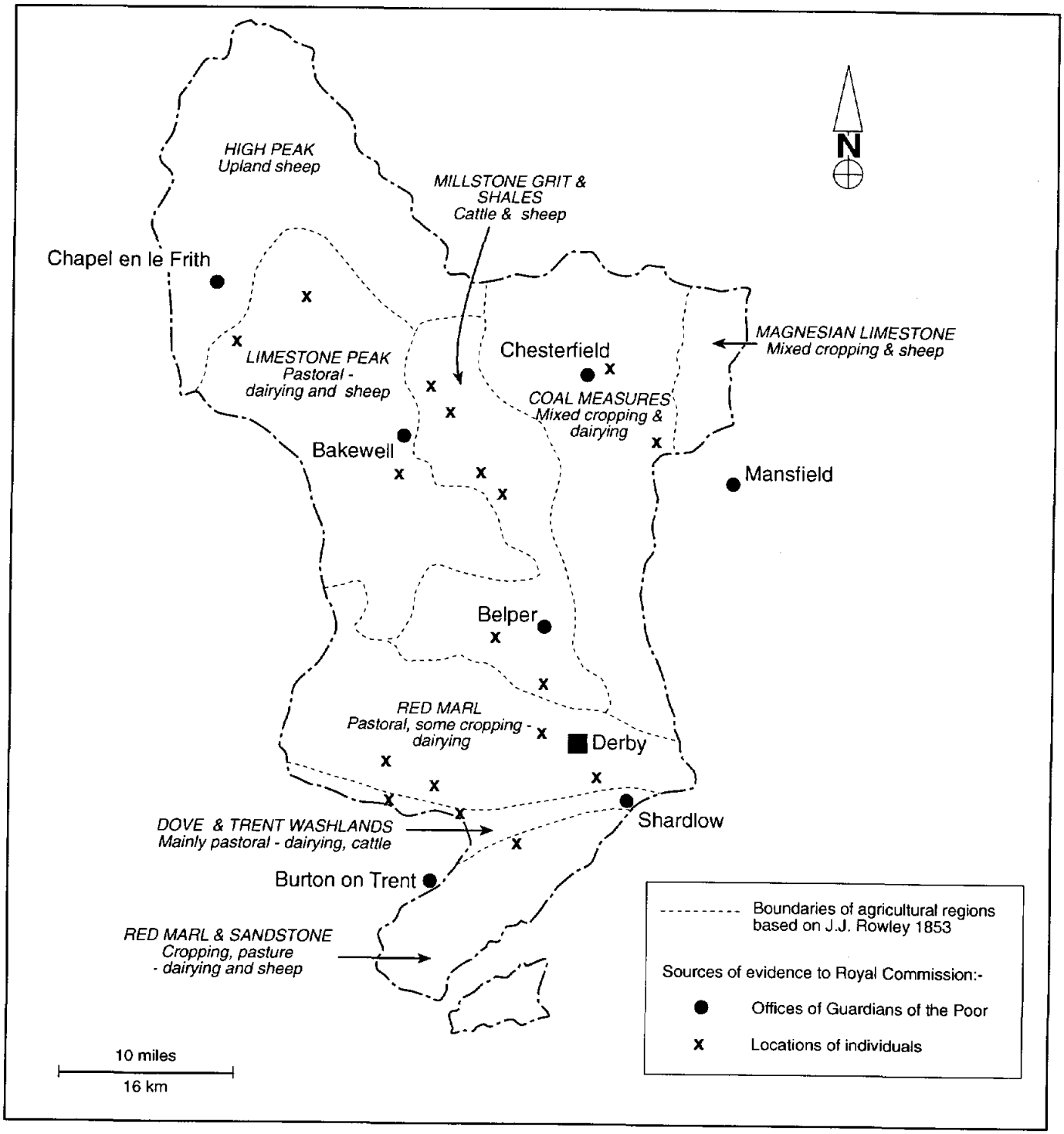

Figure 1. Derbyshire: Agricultural regions and locations from which George Culley collected evidence for the Royal Commission.

Law Districts relating to the county and during a visit of about a fortnight's duration Culley attended various of their meetings. Other individuals contacted were by profession magistrates, doctors and members of the clergy as well as bailiffs and land agents attached to prominent estates including those of the Dukes of Devonshire and Rutland and the Earl Harrington. Further evidence was obtained from tenant farmers and also five agricultural labourers, an important inclusion given the weight of material ultimately obtained from managers and observers of the rural scene rather than those with direct experience of employment on the land.

Through his letters Culley sought evidence on money wages, hours worked, remuneration in kind, the availability and condition of cottages and the extent of gardens, allotments and access to other land which enabled food and/or extra income to be obtained. The provision of schooling was also investigated together with opinion as to how both full and part-time employment on the land influenced attendance. Culley acknowledged that his survey was not comprehensive in that he selected the central portions of the county for his enquiry, the locations of the places involved being shown on Fig 1. Also shown are the agricultural regions of Derbyshire, which, following the schema used by commentators such as Rowley[6] strongly reflected the arrangement of the main geological outcrops and related soil and topographical characteristics. The sheep grazing country of the High Peak, the arable magnesian limestone of the northeast and the southern coal field were the main omissions. Hence Culley's report is focussed on the dairy and stock raising lands of the lower parts of the Peak, the eastern coalfield and the clays and marls of the south dominated by grazing land for dairy cattle. Culley saw Derbyshire as a county where agricultural workers were few as compared with arable counties as a result of the predominance of pastoral enterprises based on small farms where there were high inputs of family labour. Additionally itinerant gangs, both of local and Irish origin, were much less in evidence as in former times thus moving farmers towards greater levels of mechanisation. Daniel Roberts, bailiff to the Duke of Rutland, indicated in evidence that *'formerly a great many Irish labourers came, but their number is greatly diminished ..... and without mowing machines we should have a great difficulty to get through our hay cutting'*.[7] Similarly William Greaves of Bakewell reported that farmers had been *'compelled'* to acquire mowing machines thus reducing the need to employ even local casual labour.[8]

Wages and Hours

Culley's report makes it clear that agricultural workers in the late 1860s received what was essentially a remuneration package of which money wages were the most important element. At this time the concept of national wage rates had made little progress so that employers leaned towards paying what they could get away with. In Derbyshire, however, the money wage for agricultural employment was at the top end of the national range as a result of the need to take account of higher wages paid in a wide range of local industries. This trend had developed nationally from the late eighteenth century onwards as mining and manufacturing expanded leading to marked differentials in agricultural rates between industrial and non industrial parts of the country.[9] For Derbyshire Culley calculated that male farm worker's wages averaged between 14s and 17s a week before any additional means of remuneration or benefits were considered. By contrast in the *'corn growing'* county of Hertfordshire Culley showed basic weekly wages to have been between 10s and 12s. Within Derbyshire Culley noted that in the more northerly parts of the county agricultural wages were higher than in parts of the south which were more distant from mines and factories. But it is clear that the same principle operated within the south of the county where John Shaw gave evidence that *'the mode of living, rate of wages and earnings vary very much in different localities, being better near large towns and where alternative employment is feasible'*.[10]

Agricultural wages for full-time men in Derbyshire were based on a twelve hour day, most frequently between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. Hours and remuneration were increased at critical times like hay making and corn harvest but were reduced during winter months as restricted daylight hours impacted upon the length of the working day. The degree of seasonal variation was often of the order of two to three shillings a week. In some instances, as at Hazelwood and Shottle, the small tenant farmers had no need for labourers in winter who therefore found themselves out of work. In similar circumstances at Scropton and Egginton alternative employment was found in the rapidly expanding brewing industries of Burton upon Trent but the benefits were mixed. Faulkner, a tenant farmer at Scropton commented: *'they give so much beer it soon ruins them; if it was not for the beer the winter work supplied by the Burton breweries would be a blessing to our labourers, who sometimes cannot find farm work in winter'*.[11] In keeping with a south Derbyshire location Faulkner paid his workers 14s a week for the 13 week summer period with the opportunity for additional piece work when mowing or shearing whereas in the rest of the year the weekly wage was 13s. Similarly at Repton labourers received 14s per day which was raised to 15s to 16s with food and beer at harvest but reduced to 12s a week in winter. By comparison in central and northerly locations such as Bakewell, where alternative employment was more readily available throughout the

year, William Greaves paid his labourers at an annual rate of 14s a week with 8s extra at harvest instead of beer. Here more specialist workers such as cowmen and shepherds earned 16s or more a week.

In contrast to married men young bachelors often lived-in on farms and received their keep as well as money wages. They were just one element of the small working communities which occupied the larger farmhouses characteristic of all parts of the county. Greaves of Bakewell considered such men to be the best workers as they were often well fed and unlike married men had no daily walk to work. According to age and experience money wages varied between £10 and £20 a year and it was feasible for such workers to save as much as £10 a year to provide funds for marriage. In some circumstances as where the wife had been a live-in dairymaid, who had also managed to save, such couples might eventually take on a small holding. A minority of full time married male workers received food as part of their contract but returned to their cottage homes to sleep. These men appear to have lived at more than two miles from their farm of employment and to have spent much time and energy walking in all weathers between home and work. Travis of Shottle employed three men on this basis and paid 9s a week except at harvest *'when they have 13s plus extra meat and two quarts of beer daily'*.[12]

From Culley's findings it appears that by the late 1860s women were only employed on farms to a limited extent principally as a result of the increase in mechanisation. In the event of a full-time engagement the normal hours worked were less than those for men beginning at 8 a.m. and finishing between 4 and 5 p.m. E.M. Wrench, a surgeon at Baslow, thought that women were employed a good deal in milking but in nothing else. Seemingly women were more widely employed in the south of the county than elsewhere. Specific tasks cited were harvesting at Kedleston and osier peeling at Egginton but the best paid women were dairy maids who worked alongside farmer's wives whose role it was to manage cheese and butter making. According to Greaves of Bakewell dairy maids who lived in and received their keep would also receive £14 a year and perhaps as much as £20 on a large farm but at Repton lesser sums of £8 to £12 were indicated. In both instances such women were well placed to save modest sums of money.

With respect to the employment of boys it was acknowledged that their usefulness was limited by physical development until the age of 12. J. Young, agent to Colonel Leslie of Hassop stated that *'children should not be compelled to work before they are able, so as to retard and stint their physical development. I think they should be kept at school until they are 12 or 13 years of age'*.[13] Wrench of Baslow commented that *'it is quite the exception for any children under 13 years of age to be employed unless it be by their parents'*[14] although elsewhere younger boys were engaged for undemanding tasks such as milking or bird scaring at seed time. Those who were taken on full-time at 12 received 4s a week increasing to 8s or 9s by the time they were 16 or 17. Bagshawe of Bakewell reported that boys of 12 were employed on an annual basis and often lived-in on the farm. *'They work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and are usually employed morning and evening in milking, and often loiter and play in the middle of the day'*.[25] Culley recognised the many opportunities for boys to obtain better paid work outside agriculture including the lead mines around Stoney Middleton and Bakewell, the coal mines at Chesterfield and the railway works and other factories in Derby. Better prospects for employment in manufacturing and service for girls and young women was also an important factor in their limited involvement in farm work beyond occasional help with milking or hay making most often on family farms. Harrison of Allestree indicated that girls living within walking distance of Darley Abbey mills *'go to the factory'*.[16] Crawshaw of Staveley reported that girls going into service at 15 would receive £5 a year but M. Higginbottom, groom and labourer of the same town indicated that such rates might not be sufficient. His daughter aged 15 had evidently been in service for two years: *'she began at £5, but I must get her raised to £7; it takes £7 to keep her in clothes and shoes, and she's dressed in nothing gaudy neither. She went to school till she went to service; she can read well and write fairly'*.[17]

Education

The involvement of boys and girls in work on the land needs to be considered alongside the Royal Commission's concern with school attendance. By the late 1860s government was moving towards the establishment of a compulsory state system of education. The Education Act of 1870, known as the Forster Act, which aimed to bring education within the reach of every English home was the first significant legislation and soon led to compulsory school attendance up to the age of 14. Culley's informants in Derbyshire were unanimous in their belief that children should attend school and it seems that girls and to a lesser extent boys did so up to the age of 12. As Culley himself stated *'up to the age of 12 or 13 years of age farm labour does not altogether withdraw children from school but as early as 10 it makes their attendance irregular'*.[18] A major problem cited in evidence was the attitude of parents. For example the Board of Guardians at Burton noted that charity or board

schools existed in every parish but that *'advantage of these is not taken of these means to the extent that might be wished... which arises from the carelessness and negligence on the part of parents .... and from the indisposition to pay the weekly pence'*.[19] Greaves of Bakewell stated, *'I am always trying to get my labourers to send their children to school, but it is very difficult; they don't see the value of it, and I don't see what can be done without some kind of compulsion'*.[20] By contrast H.P. Bagshawe responding for the Bakewell Union noted that some schools were free while in others the weekly charge did not exceed 2d or 3d. *'The schools are tolerably well attended, most children attending long enough to learn to read and write'*.[21] Children whose fathers were engaged on the larger estates where schools were generously supported appear to have been advantaged. On Colonel Leslie's estate at Hassop both boys and girls were taught under a certificated master and mistress of the catholic faith while additionally girls were taught knitting and sewing. The charge was 2d a week for young children and 4d for those who were older. At Elvaston the Earl Harrington made superior provision for the children of employees on his estate. *'There is a large schoolroom with superior master's house; the master receives £45 a year plus a rent free house and large garden and a girl is also employed at £38 annually to teach sewing'*.[22] The children's parents paid ld a week for normal school but there were further classes for religious instruction on Sundays and night school was provided during the winter months for young persons who paid 2d a week for light.

Availability of Cottages

A basic need for married agricultural workers was access to cottages for rent, an issue to which Culley's report gives much weight. Rents could account for a significant proportion of household income, typically amounting to 2s or 3s per week in populous localities and near to towns. Workers seem to have been in more advantageous situations on large farms or estates where tied cottages might be available often at rents of ls a week. Culley considered cottages to be in short supply in those parts of Derbyshire where the level of competition from those employed in mining and industry was particularly strong. It was also evident that the quality of accommodation varied significantly. The least favourable comment was made by the Rev. Jenkins of Shottle where cottages were *'very bad'* often with only one bedroom *'in which children and adults crowd together'*,[23] the latter circumstance being considered highly undesirable on moral grounds. Young of Hassop also reported that cottages at Calver, Stoney Middleton and other places were poor, chiefly in the occupation of miners with a mixture of small farmers. They were neither well ventilated, lighted nor well supplied with water. By contrast T.W. Gardom of Baslow and the Rev. Vawdrey of Darley both presented evidence of better supply in their villages. Gardom considered that *'cottages are sufficient in number for the supply of labour required, well situated with respect to farms, not overcrowded, well equipped, well supplied with water, and well ventilated'*.[24] The highest standard of provision was at the Elvaston estate where the agent Gilbert Murray described cottages built in pairs with living room, kitchen with copper and sink, a pantry and closet on the ground floor while upstairs there were three separate bedrooms. Outside at the back there was a coal house, tool house and water closet. Similar quality cottages were reported at Edensor by the Duke of Devonshire's agent.

Gardens, Allotments and Other Facilities

Considerable emphasis is given in Culley's report to the availability of gardens, allotments or other land which labourers could use to enhance food supply and perhaps income for their families. The self-help in relation to low income which this implied had been an important issue since the early years of the century. For example in 1843 the report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Labouring Poor[25] found that there was less rural distress in places where farm workers had access to allotments for the growing of vegetables and perhaps keeping a pig. This Committee estimated the value of the produce from a quarter acre plot at £4 annually and in addition the labourer had a worthy occupation for himself and his family during leisure time and would be less inclined to visit the public house. The provision of allotments was thus encouraged and was soon promoted by the Inclosure Act of 1845.[26] Gradually such plots played an increasing role in rural and ultimately urban life and well-being.

Culley gathered much evidence that in Derbyshire most cottages had some kind of garden, that allotments were often available and some labourers had access to an acre or two of grazing. The Bakewell Guardians indicated good gardens and allotments throughout their area but at Stoney Middleton there were no allotments although *'several cottages have a small garden either near them or at a little distance'*[27] while in the vicinity of Ilkeston the Duke of Rutland gave quarter acre allotments at a rent of £1 a year. John Shaw remarked of south Derbyshire generally that the *'allotment system has been extensively introduced with advantage'*,[28] well exemplified at Elvaston where estate tenants were allowed up to 20 poles of land each. Access to grazing land which would

allow a cow or two to be kept was a more significant benefit for farm workers but tended to be restricted to those in the direct employment of landed estates or who worked for tenants with larger holdings. Such arrangements were less common on the smaller farms of south Derbyshire although their benefits were much approved. At Chatsworth, for example, most workers had *'sufficient land to winter a cow'* while *'in summer they pasture their cows in the Park, paying £3 for the summer grass, about 21 weeks'*.[29] Thomas Wilson of Edensor explained his situation: *'I have eight acres of grass with my cottage, and I keep two cows. It takes about four acres to keep a cow, two to graze and two to mow'*.[30] He indicated that there were two cow clubs for insuring cows *'we pay 2s 6d on entry and ls a year after'*. At Buxton, also on Devonshire lands, men who have no land can *'lay a cow for 20 weeks in summer for £4 their difficulty is to get food for the winter'*. Similarly Colonel Leslie allowed cows to be grazed for 21 weeks in summer in the park at Hassop. Evidence of cow keeping in south Derbyshire came from Edwin Dicken, a farm labourer at Egginton. He noted that *'two or three years ago labourers used to put their cows out on the roads in summer, and help them through with grains; now they are not allowed to turn them out on the roads in summer, and so they can't keep them, its a good job for a labourer to have a cow for his wife to look after and get milk for his children'*.[31] He also thought that other workers on the Every estate at Egginton were better provided for in that *'some small tradesmen, joiners, and such like can put their cows into a field of Sir Henry Every's in summer, but I don't think any labourers do'*.

The emphasis on cow keeping was very much related to the supply of fresh milk and the consequent benefits for the health of the whole family. Some cheese and butter might also be made and whey could be used for pig feed. In some instances where cow keeping was not an option farmers provided milk for workers and their families. At Bakewell Bagshawe allowed his employees a quart of new milk a day worth 2d and Culley concluded that it was *'impossible to overestimate the value of such provision of milk as is within the reach of most Derbyshire families'*.[32] A limited range of other benefits were also made available. Bagshawe noted that some labourers were allocated 300 or 400 yards of potato ground, sufficient for a substantial crop to be gathered. Additionally they were allowed the leadage or transport cost of coals from the pit enabling a useful saving on the cost of heating and cooking. Insurance against ill health was a further benefit cited although it is difficult to judge the extent of availability. Greaves of Bakewell for example asserted *'that all our men are in sick clubs and most farmers subscribe to these clubs'*. At Elvaston Murray gave more detail of such welfare arrangements: *'there is an enrolled benefit society in an adjoining parish to which most of the men belong, they pay ls 8d per month. In case of illness they are attended by the club doctor, receive 10s week for the first six months, 5s during the second six'*.[33]

Overview

In addition to the issues discussed above Culley's report incorporates a number of general statements about the circumstances of agricultural workers in Derbyshire which support the positive feel of much of the evidence submitted to him.

Although it is clear that some agricultural workers could access the essentials of living in greater measure than others, most notably at Elvaston, adverse comments about cottages and lack of winter employment at Shottle were in the minority and came from the clergy rather than someone involved in farm management. The two farm labourers who offered marginally critical evidence about their circumstances were James Longmate and Samuel Boughton from Staveley. *'We have 16s a week upstanding wage; we get no extra milk and have no cows. In harvest we get some extras but not much. We pay ls a week rent for our cottages and gardens; they are very good cottages and are let to us by the master; he has them with the farm'*.[34] It is interesting that George Culley found it necessary to qualify their remarks, perhaps as much on behalf of *'the master'* as in the interests of accuracy, to the effect that they were better off than they had been prepared to admit in that they received £2 worth of potatoes, £2 a week extra at harvest and rents well below the 2s 6d common to the district. Otherwise Culley summarised the comfort of labourers' homes in the north of the county in favourable terms: *'the father brings in 14/- or 15/- a week and the mother finds work enough at home in managing her cows and house and looking after her husband's and her children's clothes; and when their turn comes the children go out with frames much stronger than others of their age'*. In similar vein families in south Derbyshire were observed to enjoy a sound basic diet of bread, potatoes, bacon and cheese with most managing to have a fair supply of butcher's meat no doubt supplemented by garden produce.

Such assessments of basic aspects of living link with E. M. Wrench's remarks from a physician's perspective, that the general health of the agricultural labourer and his family was *'very good, and has much improved lately, from better cottage accommodation and water supply, though much remains to be done'*.[35] He also thought the

occurrence of goitre or Derbyshire neck had diminished it being *'not nearly so common as it used to be'* although the Rev. Vawdrey of Darley cautioned that *'goitre prevails among the aboriginal inhabitants'*.[36] In addition the situation of agricultural workers was seen to be improving in absolute terms and to compare favourably with workers in other occupations. Culley stated that *'many witnesses bore testimony to the fact that the agricultural labourers of Derbyshire live and treat their families in a better manner, and are less willing to throw themselves on the rates, than mining or manufacturing labourers earning much higher wages'*.[37] Moreover bailiffs and occupying tenant farmers agreed that they were *'more compliant'* which is to say less likely to give trouble than those in other employment.[38] It is difficult to put this largely positive view of essential aspects of rural living in Derbyshire as presented to the Royal Commission into true perspective as no evidence or opinion was offered as what it was like to be an agricultural labourer at the time nor was there comment as to the level of job security attached to agricultural work. There is therefore a need to go to other sources for a sense of the realities of rural living perhaps Hart's summary of the daily round of the nineteenth century farm worker provides an edge of balance: *'the overriding fact of unremitting labour and tiredness must not be forgotten'*.[39]

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30. Evidence of Thomas Wilson of Edensor, RC, p421.
31. Evidence of Edwin Dicken, RC, p428.
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33. Evidence of Wm Greaves, RC, p418.
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ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL - A PUZZLE ANSWERED

BY EYRE and SON

ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL, DERBY

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION
(EXEMPT FROM DUTY)

At the King's Head Inn, in the Town of Derby, on Friday the 29th June, 1832, at five o'clock in the afternoon, subject to such conditions as will be then and there produced:

The Fee Simple and Inheritance of and in All that plot, piece or parcel of Land or Ground, containing by admeasurement 1530 square yards, or thereabouts, situate fronting to the London Road leading from Derby, and being part and parcel of a certain Estate in the parish of Saint Peter, in Derby aforesaid, called the Castle Fields.

And also all that beautiful Edifice, Erection or Building standing upon the same land or ground, or some part thereof, and which is used as a Chapel for Episcopal Worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; and is commonly known called or known by the name or description of SAINT GEORGE'S CHURCH.

This Edifice has been recently built in a remarkably elegant style of Gothic Architecture. The extreme length of the Building is 92 feet, the width 52, and it is entirely surrounded by the church yard. At the West end is a square Gothic Tower, the base of which comprises the Porch with opaque glass in large plates, designed and prepared for painting. By this, and eight Side Windows, an excellent light is thrown into every part of the interior, the Seats of which are calculated to hold with ease Eight Hundred persons.

It is only necessary to add, that the situation of this Church facing the Lawn of the Derbyshire Infirmary, effectually precludes every possibility of the view of the front being obstructed by new buildings.

To view the Premises apply to Mr Richard Gallimore, Beadle of the Church, Court No 1, Castle Street, Derby; and for further particulars, apply to EYRE and SON, Auctioneers, Full Street, Derby; Messrs. MOSS and BAINBRIGGE LE HUNT, Solicitors, Derby; or to Messrs HIGSON, BAGSHAW & HIGSON, Solicitors, King Street, Manchester.

Derby Mercury, 27 June 1832

Trinity Church is situate on London road, it is of Gothic architecture; the extreme length of the building is 92 feet, and the width 52 feet. At the east end is a square Gothic tower, terminated by four domed pinnacles, the base of which comprises the porch and entrance, at the east end is a light oriel window, with opaque glass in large plates, designed and prepared for painting; by this, and twelve square headed side windows, an excellent light is thrown into every part of the interior. It has a gallery on the south and north sides and west end, and is calculated to hold 800 persons. The church-yard completely surrounds it; at the east end a school room is built, the scholars of both sexes are instructed on the national system. The Rev. E. Wade is the officiating Minister.

Mr Botham, a Builder from Sheffield, purchased 1530 square yards of land, belonging to the Castle fields estate, and built this church on speculation at the cost of £3500. He afterwards became a bankrupt, and the church was sold for the benefit of his creditors, for about £2000, which sum was raised by subscription.

Stephen Glover, *The History and Directory of the Borough of Derby*, 1846, p27

LONG EATON COUNTY SCHOOL BEFORE 1920

(Extracted from *Cambridge & Clare*, the autobiography of the late Sir Harry Godwin, FRS (1901-1985)
Fellow of Clare College, Emeritus Professor of Botany, University of Cambridge
by kind permission of Joan Godwin, his daughter-in-law)

I WAS BORN IN ROTHERHAM, South Yorkshire, in a small house where at night the rooms were vividly lit by the glare of the Bessemer steel converters. Of this I have no recollection, for when I was only a few months old, my parents moved to the growing township of Long Eaton, actually within South Derbyshire though outside the limits of the South Derbyshire coalfield and substantially closer and more in touch with Nottingham than with the county town. My father, a young grocer and licensed victualler, was taking advantage of the considerable local development of railway siding and associated wagon building alongside a great Nottingham-centred expansion of the machine making of lace.

A community of this expansive character was highly eligible to profit from the Parliament Act of 1870 by which, in areas that could not provide for all the local children of school age, 'Board Schools' might be publicly provided. Despite some opposition from the established church schools, the 'High Street Board School' had thus been opened in 1876 and this is where I attended school in the 'Infants', at the age of three or four. It was a daunting brick and stone Victorian building, and set in the yard alongside was a detached house that always puzzled me, for its symmetrical upper floor with oval table and surrounding chairs was given over merely to the infrequent meetings of the board, whilst the lower floor was the office of the attendance officer, a sad Dickensian figure, known to us as 'the kid-hunter', a man whose function was to visit parents and enquire into the too long or too frequent absences of their offspring from school.

After transit through the 'Boys', at the age of twelve I exchanged the Board School with its atmosphere of corduroy trousers and heavy boots as worn by all my friends, for the wider territory of a progressive new school, drawing its pupils from a radius of several miles. This was the County School and Pupil-Teacher Centre opened in 1910 with Samuel Clegg as headmaster and conducted upon lines advocated by Michael Sadler the outstanding educational theorist of the opening twentieth century and, specifically, consultant to the Derbyshire County Council upon secondary and higher education. The placing of particular emphasis upon drawing and artistic appreciation was visualised as suitable to the staple lace-making industry of the town, and it could not have been placed in more enthusiastic or more competent hands than those of the new headmaster. To begin with, Mr Clegg had the ear of the County Surveyor, G.H. Widdows, who was responsible for the design of a delightful modern building remarkable for many important features, not least a central, spacious 'Art Room', providing a north-lighted studio that became the heart of Clegg's curricula of those courses in drawing and design that were applied throughout the school, taking up a large proportionate measure of school time. The aims and achievements of this pioneering enterprise were effectively publicised by the book that Clegg afterwards published.

I did not advance to the 'Pupil-Teacher Centre' as a result of sitting for a scholarship, and indeed at this age had no idea of such mechanisms; but my parents having seen the head, I became a fee-paying student, although a 'Free Place', value £1 per annum, one of several at the disposal of the headmaster, was found for me within a term or two of admission. Even now I recall with vividness how impressed I was in my new environment by a style of teaching hitherto new to me: I recall returning home at lunch-time and trying to explain this amazing experience. Instead of receiving *ex cathedra* a piece of information (as hitherto), we were actually 'invited' to consider the reasons for each conclusion which might be drawn, and indeed were expected to say if the steps in the argument were not quite clear. No doubt it was elementary mathematics or simple physics that we dealt with, but whatever the subject the effect on me was dramatic and I remember feeling (and announcing) that this was indeed my sort of school. Nor had I reason later on to think myself mistaken in this assessment. My good fortune was actually far greater than I knew, for Samuel Clegg was a teacher and head of altogether exceptional quality, by whom it was my good fortune to be fostered and encouraged right through school and into university life. He had cut short his own university career at Owen's College, Manchester, after the two years needed for a teaching certificate, turning directly to begin elementary school teaching. This course took him to several of the Long Eaton schools then undergoing modification in structure and grading: the progressive young teacher remained in the van of these changes in the local educational system so that in 1910 he became headmaster of the newly built County School, an organisation still embracing the Pupil-Teacher's Centre at which Samuel Clegg had already

demonstrated his gifts as teacher and organiser.

The achievements of the new head through the next twenty years were altogether outstanding both in civic sociological terms and in those of educational progress. Now, fifty years since his death, I still find it impossible to account for the breadth, imagination and incisiveness of his mind except as the product of a natural swift eruption of a genius for learning and the gift of perceiving how best to develop love of learning and culture in young people. A biologist thinks of hidden genes suddenly found in harmonious contiguity and suitable environment. Some suggestion of the same assemblage can be seen in the personality of his grandson, the much-respected biologist, David Attenborough.

I trust it may go at least a small distance in conveying the nature of the school that Sam brought into being if I give a notion of some of its attributes, especially those associated with the teaching of visual art, as they appealed to a boy in his commencing teens.

As a beginning the headmaster, with deliberate intention, made of his new school a beautiful environment kept meticulously clean and unspoiled. The parquet floors of corridors and class rooms, the stained wooden panelling and pictures were each morning swept and dusted throughout, a task simplified by the absence of graphs, maps, timetable and general clutter from the walls. No thumb-tacks or ugly holes from them sullied the surface, so that defacement was unthinkable, the more reasonably so in view of Sam's tremendous care to select for each class room its own particular set of high-grade pictures upon one unifying theme, each picture given the attention of its appropriate framing, possibly by reconstruction of wood and gesso copies of originals from the school woodwork shop. Above the panelling stretched five feet or so of a continuous fresco, that in many of the rooms had been decorated, almost one might say 'illuminated', by a coordinated mural painting by some visiting artist happy to cooperate. The flat tempera of the 'Chaucer Room' exhibited the linear progress of the well-loved Pilgrims; another displayed typical scenes of work in the local lace factories, and yet another had been painted by Mlle Rosa Vaerwyck, once Professor of Figure-Painting at Ghent and now expressing nostalgic affection from the Flanders countryside as she remembered it free from the defilement of war. It was Rosa Vaerwyck who also carried through the decoration of the Elizabethan room and allowed some senior pupils the dizzy experience of filling in for her the running backcloth of Tudor gardens and hedges. It was she also, with fellow refugees from Belgium, who introduced into our language classes a stream of relatives of miscellaneous size, age, shape and vocalisation, for conversation and 'dictées', so enlarging our familiarity with spoken French that at the ensuing Oxford Local Examinations, the class was awarded, throughout, distinction in the spoken language.

Art instruction was a constant joy to me and I believe to a great many pupils, particularly because it was the head's own especial care and the vehicle of his own particular sensitivity. The field of study varied extensively: one week we might proceed via studies of a growing plant into designs suitable for borders in colour or line, the next to patterns of space-filling as shown by intervals and breadths of framing, next to oriental carpet design, or copying butterfly colouration as a clue to colour contrast and combination, and the setting of borders on the curved surface of cups or plates. Some of the studies produced designs for embroidery put into effect by the girls' needlework, or into coloured wood-block printing evolved by Sam as a simplification of the traditional Japanese technique by which both cutting and printing were effected in the school workshop. It was a longer but still pleasurable process that took some, girls as well as boys, from the printed sections of a book to the delight of a properly bound book finally with its own lettering and gilding.

Enamelling and wood-carving, like book binding, tended to be for the more experienced few, but practically everyone in the school was introduced to lettering in its various stages and very much use was made of the methods of hand-writing then being so successfully brought into general notice by Edward Johnston.

From mastering the primary alphabets one progressed to the laying out of fine writing, aided by being shown a few consummate originals and by exercises in illumination and the design of capital letters with and without colour or gilding. Sam insisted that our efforts be directed always to some prose or poetry worth the craftsman's effort and some pupils brought great aptitude and sensitiveness to their efforts so that it is not too much to say that in almost all of us there was implanted a lasting awareness of those virtues of fine printing that have the potential so much to enhance the contemporary scene.

Whatever the type of art exercise on which we were employed, at the well-calculated moment Sam would provide for us, from his own private resources, choice examples of fine products of other times and places,

prints, coins, tapestry, lace or manuscript. My mind still vividly recalls thus seeing for the first time that perfection of Greek coinage, the tetradrachrm of Syracuse, its head of Ceres serenely encircled by lazy dolphins. Sam seems unlikely to have been at all well-provided for this role, but entirely against the odds of an ill-paid provincial teaching post, all through the years he made weekly train journeys to London to edit the fine-art and collectors' magazine, the Bibliophile, through which he kept closely in contact with the art and letters of the metropolis, the vital authors, craftsmen, publishers and galleries of the contemporary scene. The home town of Long Eaton to which he returned had grown up during the previous half-century from a rural village, the railway and the lace industries having attracted a rootless population of nearly 20,000 with little in common save initiative, working-class determination and strong adherence to the numerous nonconformist sects represented locally. Aesthetically and culturally the social landscape was vacant territory for Sam's enthusiasm and his influence on the parochialism of this evolving township over the years was very great. So pronounced had this proved to be that, no more than twenty years after the school had opened, I found on return visits to the town that I could, merely from the outside appearance of houses, their window-hangings, furnishing and decoration, recognise the homes of former pupils at Sam Clegg's school.

What qualifies or advantages Mr Clegg himself claimed for the strong emphasis upon teaching art so extensively and devotedly emerges clearly enough from his book *Drawing and Design: a School Course in Composition*, published by I. Pitman in 1918 under a foreword from Professor William Rothenstein. It was not so much a studied exposition of principles as the record of an actual three-year curriculum illustrated freely by the drawings, prints and designs of average pupils taking the course: nonetheless the educational philosophy of the author emerges with force and clarity.

The emphasis on visual aesthetics had a particular value in my particular case, realised only as my own scientific interests declared themselves. As soon as biologists had adopted T. H. Huxley's principle of teaching by direct examination of plant and animal material in the laboratory, the admirable practice established itself of recording all observations by careful drawings, properly labelled and annotated. The interplay of inspection and of execution of the record was powerful in either direction, as Sam Clegg was well aware, and I never found it hard to accept the axiom of that admirable Japanese painter, Hokusai, who held that 'one picture tells more than a thousand words'. In the environment of Sam Clegg's school it was unsurprising that, encouraged by an able teacher of botany, I devoted much effort to botanical drawing, and learned a great deal from the considerable variety of material that I surveyed, often with no great anxiety whether scientific or aesthetic ends were being served. In my later school days I somehow acquired a copy of that monumental volume created by the Oxford botanist, A.H. Church. Entitled *Types of Floral Mechanism*, it was lavishly strewn with coloured and monochrome plates of impeccable accuracy, that displayed the structure and precise organisation of flowers, bulbs and other stem structures involved in plant reproduction. After directly copying one or two of these plates I went on to make similar large coloured illustrations of the flowers of many other species and organs, including the sordid, squat purplish-umber urn-shaped flowers of the Aspidistra, that are to be found now and then on the soil-surface where, one is told, they are attractive to the beetles or snails that effect pollination. When I became, at a later date, a demonstrator in the Cambridge Botany School, I found that extremely few students had received even the most elementary of drawing lessons, and most were able to benefit at once by even very simple devices for 'setting-out' any representation called for in their records.

The establishment of the new secondary school faced not only social difficulties in the acceptance of new ideas and ideals, but most of all in the hardships of recruiting and maintaining staff through the rigours of the First World War. With almost all the male staff absent on national service, senior pupils took over many day-to-day duties of running the school, but serious gaps persisted in the teaching of many subjects, especially mathematics and the physical sciences. There was no doubt a measure of compensating advantage in that pupils were forced back on their own resources for reading and experiment. The senior boys in my own form made grateful use for their 'homework' of the facilities of the public library adjacent to the school and stocked with such delectable material as the annual reports of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, a consequence of the original Carnegie bequest of the Library to the town. My own indebtedness was outstandingly to a purchase of the two massive volumes of Kerner and Oliver's *Natural History of Plants*, a work overflowing with fascinating botanical information. As I later realised, its outlook was entirely teleological, every structure and mechanism being described in terms of argument from design, 'devices for this purpose', 'structures intended to secure this or that end', and so forth. In the astringent air of the Cambridge Botanical Department, I afterwards shed this philosophy easily enough, whilst happily recollecting the wealth of factual phenomena presented by the two authors. I suppose it must have been from this work that I first realised the interest of plant ecology, at that time scarcely

acknowledged, although Kerner had already worked on the vegetation of the Danube valley in central Europe, whilst Oliver was the earliest of the pioneer ecologists who taught in University College London. Whatever the source, I found myself describing for the school magazine the strong floristic contrasts to be seen between the Lower Liassic Limestone outliers on the hills south of the River Trent and the Keuper Marl soils with which they are surrounded. My interest must have been apparent to Mr Clegg, for when the time came to consider my pre-scholarship programme, he announced to me that since I was interested in ecology, common sense suggested that I begin the study of geology, and he added that he had just appointed (as geography teacher) a first-class Birmingham graduate in geology who might well supervise my work in this subject. Thus I followed the course, unusual at that time, of offering geology in the Cambridge entrance scholarship examination, and I began a life-long association with geology in all the manifold interactions that subsist between that subject and botany, not least of which has been ecology itself.

It was as I became senior in the school that I understood how Mr Clegg's affection for the visual arts was fully matched or exceeded by his love for the English language, its superb legacy of poetry and prose, and those inherent qualities of flexibility and strength that have given it such overwhelming importance to the world. He himself wrote excellently well and undertook a good measure of the teaching of English in the upper forms, where I enjoyed his instruction right to the end of my school career. He taught me much about editing and I did not scruple to draw on his help to overlook the proofs of my earliest book written and published in 1929. There is little doubt in my mind that had he followed a university career, English would have been his preferred academic field. It was his instruction of F. L. Attenborough* in that subject at the Pupil-Teacher Centre which took that gifted pupil to the university where, ignoring Sam's advice to try for Cambridge, he successfully applied for entry to Bangor. No sooner there than 'Fred' acknowledged heart-brokenly that he already knew more English than did his new teachers. The repair of this error is another story, but part of it was his return as teacher in the new Long Eaton school where we had every opportunity of profiting from his remarkable gifts as a teacher and his own vital personality. The rapport with his own form was dramatic and I recall an occasion when he was urging us to resume a scripture lesson by saying, 'Remember, the two most important things in life are Scripture and football'; a spontaneous roar from the class instantly amended this to 'Football and scripture', a nice acknowledgment of Fred's own amateur international soccer trial. After this outburst we happily began the scripture class.

Mr Clegg's unsparing services to his early pupil-teachers are illustrated by the way in which he helped to launch the education of another local boy, then acting as railway clerk on the Erewash valley line. Sam would go up the line in the evening to sit with the young Will Bullock, and coach him in the slack intervals of the ticket office. This was Will Bullock who in due course became gold medallist of the Edinburgh medical school and achieved great distinction through and after the First World War, later under the changed surname of Gye. There can be small wonder at the affection as well as respect with which Samuel Clegg was locally regarded.

ENTRY TO CAMBRIDGE THE LATTER PART of the First World War was a period of great national harshness and austerity during which the country's food supplies were at one time so reduced by U-boat warfare that a reserve for only a few days remained. The ghastly attrition of trench warfare was reflected in the length of the queues formed daily at the local post office, where wives and sweethearts scanned the casualty lists of the local regiments: the mere absence of mention was a blessing, as was the relief of reading the message, subsequently blurred with time, 'All quiet on the Western front'. Many in the queue were seizing the chance to post parcels of food, chocolate, fags and knitted comforts, and the general sadness and anxiety were tangible.

Those of my friends able to proceed from school to university training mostly went daily to Nottingham and it was from them that I gathered something of the standards and character of the courses for degrees, in this case aimed at external examinations of London University. Now and again a group of us attended an evening lecture in Nottingham and I recall cycling home in the middle of an air-raid alarm, meeting delivery drays with horses being galloped home in the darkness. I remember also how apprehensive we were at having to cross the bridge over the railway exit to the vast shell-filling factory that had been built at Chilwell, a mile or so short of our home town. There was indeed cause for apprehension, for not only on that occasion did we hear (as we thought) the roar of the approaching German Gotha aircraft, but we knew the considerable risks that the factory sustained. I had been at home on the evening of 1 July 1918 when an explosion wrecked the greater part of the establishment, and had seen the immense cloud of debris and smoke flowering in the sky and yielding from its summit such unlikely objects as locomotives, girders and rails that hung for a while before turning down again earthwards. The shell-filling operatives, clad only in overalls, now stumbled, dazed and blackened through the

town, revived on their way by householders at the doorways, whilst those more seriously hurt were transported by ambulance to established or improvised hospitals, and not a few casualties lay upon the characteristically blackened bags of lace that lorries chanced to be bringing back from Nottingham†. It says much for the war-time energy of the nation (and likewise for the insatiable lust of the front for ammunition) that the sheds of the rebuilt factory by the time of the Armistice in November again housed over a million filled shells.

By November 1918 I was seventeen and a half years old and due to take the Cambridge College scholarship examinations held a month later. My college preference had been determined by experts. By about the middle of the war, F. L. Attenborough, exempt by a football injury from military service, had saved enough from his stipend as teacher in Mr Clegg's school, to take him to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, there to recommence his university education. Success in the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos, then the channel for all instruction in English, was followed by undertaking to give college instruction and by acceptance as research student by H. M. Chadwick, holder of the University Chair of Anglo-Saxon. Among Fred Attenborough's close friends was now Mansfield D. Forbes, like Chadwick a Fellow of Clare. 'Manny' was passionately interested in the visual arts and their encouragement in Cambridge, and it was natural that he should be very responsive to the educational views of Mr Clegg as retailed to him by Fred. Thus when the matter of application for entrance to a college came to be decided, it was through Manny and Fred jointly that I received the advice to apply to one of the smaller colleges, such as Clare, it being rightly supposed that I should be more at home there than in the wider acres of say Trinity or St John's. When the scholarship examinations were over and the Governing Body had made its awards, it was Manny who had the kindness to telegraph the news of my £60 award, and when I came up in 1919 and thenceforward to his death in 1936, he always offered me great kindness and contributed an invaluable link between the scientist and the lively Cambridge activities of the English School, the contemporary arts and all the vital activities of the humanities of which Manny was part.

I had a brisker reception on my first free afternoon during the scholarship examinations. Invited to tea with Fred Attenborough in the front court rooms of H. S. Bennett in Emmanuel, my host said he supposed I had come up to take the scholarship examinations: upon my admission of it, he said he had imagined so because 'the streets were full of raw callow youths'. This no doubt accurate acerbity I came later on to recognise as well in character. No long time afterwards at breakfast with Forbes in Clare, the political back-chat (well above my head) evoked from Manny the startling phrase that Lloyd George, the Liberal Leader, was 'behaving like a prostituted vixen'. This earliest example of Manny's vivid style instantly appealed to me, but I reflected that it represented a break from the home background.

Impressions of dining in Hall at this time, December 1918, are blurred and overlaid by layers of later origin, but in one respect at least they are unique to this time for they include a visual recollection of an ultra-dignified white-bearded butler presiding over (or at least dominating) the High Table. This was the almost legendary Phipps who had been butler to the former, recently deceased Master, Dr Atkinson. As I later found, Phipps was the centre of many college legends based upon his unchallenged authority. One such story concerns the great Professor Ridgeway, alike great classical scholar and authority on the geological history of the horse, whose failing vision was so untrustworthy that it was said that although he was observed to be wearing a black tie before struggling with the ox-tail soup, it was absent when he allowed Phipps to take his plate. On this occasion, also as guest in Clare, he was presented with a small woodcock to dissect and incorporate. Seeing a flurry of ineffective struggle, Phipps' compassion moved him to lean forward over the Professor's shoulder, removing the dangerous dish with a confiding remark, 'it isn't worth it, sir; it isn't worth it.'

So little trace remained of Phipps after the war that I was delighted, some years later, calling with a botanical class for tea in a pub in Comberton, to find that this was run by members of the family and that Phipps' noble figure was well represented in the photographs decorating the parlour.

The award of the college scholarship in December and supplementation by a County Council scholarship meant that I had nine months to wait before taking up residence in Cambridge, which I was assured might at that time be managed on a minimum of about £180 a year. I used my pre-university months to prepare for the London University Intermediate examination for the B.Sc., as insurance against a possible future need to sit for a London degree. For this purpose I required some knowledge of mineralogy and I was able to meet the need for the mineralogical microscope and prepared rock-slices by bicycling on Saturday mornings to the University Department of Geology in Nottingham, where that kindest and wisest of teachers, Professor H. H. Swinnerton, not only provided these necessities but produced and vetted for me exercises in the interpretation of geological

maps and threw in many morsels of geological instruction that I have remembered ever since. He came to our help many years later when my wife and I sought to bring pollen-analytic methods to clarify the dating of the peat-beds on the Lincolnshire coast, long the subject of Swinnerton's careful recording.

Notes

* F. L. Attenborough married Samuel Clegg's daughter Mary. Their three children are David, Richard and John Attenborough.

† The lace, blackened from the use of graphite lubricant on the lace machines, would have been going from Long Eaton to Nottingham for finishing.

SOME WEB SITES FOR DERBYSHIRE RESEARCHERS

VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY FOR DERBYSHIRE

In January 2002 work re-started on the Victoria County History in Derbyshire after a gap of more than ninety years. Research is currently in progress for a volume on Bolsover and District and material is also being collected for other parishes in the north-east of the county.

A web-site has been set up: http://www.derbyshirepast.net/. The following draft chapters are available on-line (go to Draft Text).

Ault Hucknall: Manors and Other Estates; Medieval Parish Church
Barlborough: Manors and Other Estates
Bolsover: Railways; Other Industry; Education
Clowne: Manors and Other Estates; Advowson
Heath: Manors and Other Estates
Langwith: The Langwith Colliery Estate; Manors and Other Estates; Education; Charities
Pleasley: Manors and Other Estates; Coalmining (Shirebrook Colliery)
Scarcliffe: Manors and Other Estates; Coalmining; Education; Charities
Whitwell: Manors and Other Estates

WILLS and ADMINISTRATIONS IN DERBYSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

A index of 35,066 Derbyshire Wills from 1858-1928 with 5,093 different surnames transcribed by Michael Spencer can be found on http://www.wirksworth.org.uk/WILLS.htm. The same site also gives access to his index of Derbyshire Administrations 1858-1873 covering 1,801 Administrations and 912 different surnames.

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER: DIGITAL LIBRARY OF HISTORICAL DIRECTORIES

The University of Leicester's New Opportunities Fund project is creating a digital library of eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century local and trade directories from England and Wales.

Directories of counties and towns are among the most important sources for local and genealogical studies. They include lists of names, addresses and occupations of the inhabitants of the counties and towns they describe, and successive editions reflect the changes in the localities over a period of time.

High quality digital reproductions of a large selection of these comparatively rare books, including some Derbyshire directories, previously only found in libraries and record offices, are available on http:// www.historicaldirectories.org. This collection will bring together a greater number and range of directories than any one repository could provide. There is also a powerful search engine available so that names, occupations, addresses and other key words or phrases can be located to their exact places on pages within the text.