

# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

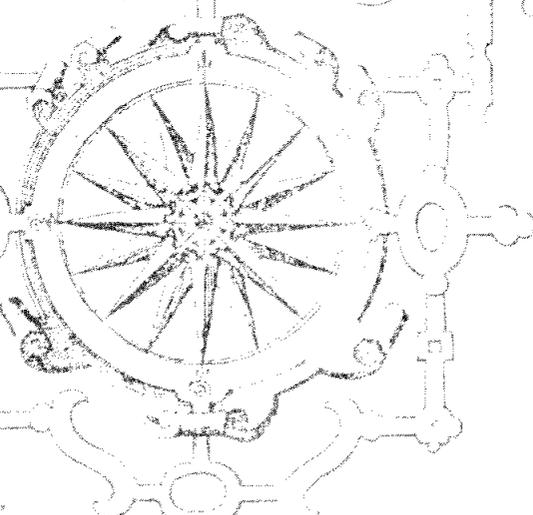
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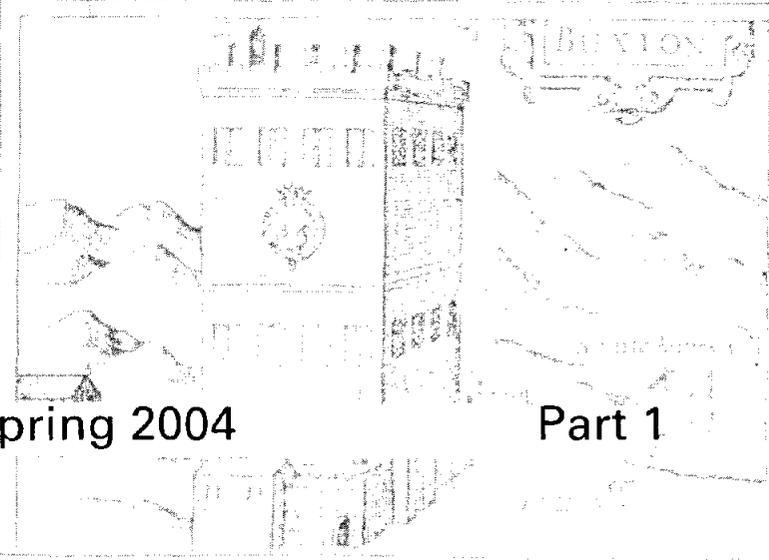
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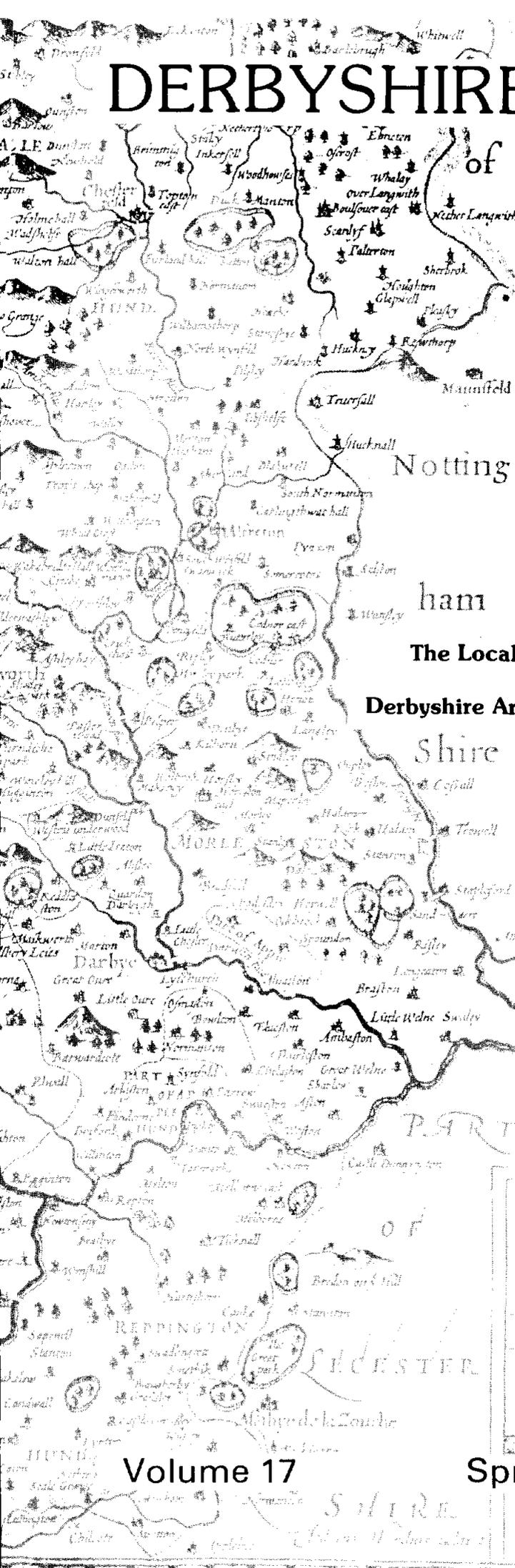
Prepared by John G. ... and ...  
published by John ...



Volume 17

Spring 2004

Part 1



# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

Volume 17: Part 1

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## **NOTE ON THE NEW COVER**

The cover design for Volume 17 is based on part of John Speed's map of Derbyshire of 1610. John Speed was born at Farndon in Cheshire in 1552 and his county maps were produced in the opening decade of the 17th century. They were unashamedly based on Christopher Saxton's maps of the 1570s and any errors or omissions that Saxton made he tended to repeat.

The most notable feature Speed introduced were the small inset maps of the county town and often one other notable town in the county. The map of the county town is often the first map of that town on a reasonable scale and as such is very significant. Speed also added the hundred boundaries.

His cartographic techniques were essentially those of Saxton. Relief was indicated by small "plum-pudding" hills; woodland was indicated by little trees. The main rivers were shown but no roads. The main parks - still largely hunting rather than ornamental parks at this date - were shown, possibly an indication that members of the aristocracy and gentry would be expected to be the main customers.

## THE FITZHERBERT FAMILY - DERBYSHIRE RECUSANTS

(by John March,

Governments throughout History have managed to convince themselves that they are able to control the moral and religious attitudes and activities of their subjects through legislation or, if necessary, through coercion. This was particularly true of a period in English History, between about 1560 and 1640, when successive monarchs were attempting to establish a national Church, which may have varied in its doctrinal position, but which was based consistently on the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, and on a repudiation of papal authority. Loyalty to the Crown became increasingly associated with adherence to the state religion, and denials of its legitimacy, especially at times of national crisis, was nothing less than treason in the eyes of the government of the day. To subscribe to the governmental systems enacted by the monarchs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also meant acceptance of the form of ecclesiastical organisation and government determined by the sovereign, along with the prescribed forms of ritual and common prayer. To do otherwise was to question the legitimacy of the monarch her/himself.

One of the ways these monarchs could try to ensure allegiance to a religious orthodoxy determined by themselves was by enforcing attendance at the state controlled Parish Church. Church attendance had always been compulsory, but in the absence of statistically reliable evidence as to levels of attendance and levels of enforcement the extent of conformity remains problematical. Recent studies, however, have suggested that church attendance had not always been enforced rigorously and that Elizabethan pressure to attend was '*a new thing*'.<sup>1</sup> In replacing Church control with that of the state it became a matter of necessity and a question of personal loyalty to make sure that the monarch's subjects went to church. Here the doctrines enshrined by a series of Acts of Parliament, Articles, Injunctions, Advertisements and Canons would find concrete substance for the majority of worshippers in terms of the rituals they were expected to adopt. Attendance at church, it was hoped, would persuade those present that the new rituals were better, or at least no worse than those that they had been used to, and that in the passage of time the old rituals, because of disuse, would be forgotten and replaced by the new orthodoxy. It became of paramount importance, therefore, for the government to enforce attendance at church, and, equally, it became vital for those who wanted to retain the old ways in religion to stay away from the Parish Church as much as possible and to maintain their own rituals in a variety of locations hidden from the eyes of the authorities. The battle lines had been drawn.

As early as 1559 the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity<sup>2</sup> imposed a penalty of twelve pence for every absence from church, as it was assumed by the government that any such absence constituted a refusal by an individual to attend church, and was an act of defiance against the Queen herself. Recusancy, from the Latin *recusare*, to refuse, was now a crime, which did not involve court proceedings but was punishable by a not insignificant fine. Some of our most eminent historians have maintained that the Acts of 1559 were not always rigorously enforced,<sup>3</sup> although high profile and persistent offenders, such as Sir Thomas Fitzherbert of Norbury, were to find themselves brought before the courts and sentenced to lengthy and sometimes indefinite terms of imprisonment.

Absenteeism from Church in Tudor and Stuart England took a variety of forms, and it should not be assumed that absence from church necessarily indicated Catholic belief. Often it was clearly the result of religious indifference. The vast of people in the country attended the traditional Easter communion, but at other times laxness of attendance seems to have been commonplace. For a significant number regular Sunday worship represented an intrusion into, or a prelude to, more pleasurable communal activities, such as hunting, bowls, football,<sup>4</sup> Morris dancing<sup>5</sup> or the alehouse,<sup>6</sup> each of which, at various times were blamed by the authorities for a decline in church attendance. It seems unlikely however that these groups would have occupied the attention of the church courts and J.P.s to any extent, except when they posed a threat to the discipline of rural life. Scarce resources and the need to concentrate on more subversive groups led to a pragmatic approach to absenteeism. It has even been argued that in Restoration England such absenteeism was seen as profound religiosity among the population who valued the Eucharist so highly that they would not take it if they did not feel worthy of it.<sup>7</sup> Checking on absenteeism was made more problematic by the fact that large numbers of people, particularly those employed as household servants, were exempted from regular church attendance as part of their conditions of employment.<sup>8</sup>

To describe every incidence of absence from church as recusancy, therefore, would be inaccurate, and it has even been suggested that genuine and independent lower class recusancy may have been very rare indeed.<sup>9</sup> Far more usual, and this is no less true in Derbyshire, was the way that popular forms of religious resistance tended to be associated with the presence of a determined and nonconformist gentry family who could provide leadership for the locality. One such family were the Fitzherberts, who possessed lands in Norbury and at Padley. The Fitzherberts, as their name would suggest, could trace their presence in Derbyshire back to Norman times. As such, they exercised strong local feudal and territorial demands on their retainers, exacting absolute loyalty, especially if that meant defiance of an heretical woman-led London government. They were to use that strength to provide refuge for those who were like-minded religiously, defending their right to exercise their own litany, in the face of unsympathetic neighbours and the hostile authorities.

By the time of the Henrician Reformation the Fitzherbert family had been lords of the manor of Norbury for over four centuries, and the importance of the family was reflected in the role its members were to play both in the cataclysmic events of the 1530s, and in the defence of Catholicism against the Elizabethan persecutions of the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1529 Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, the 13th Lord of Norbury, was appointed commissioner to hear Chancery cases in the place of Cardinal Wolsey, subsequently signing the articles of impeachment against him. As a judge he also took part in the trials of Bishop Fisher and Thomas More, although one Catholic source describes him as having done so '*unwillingly*'.<sup>10</sup> The same source also asserts that he was so disapproving of the king's ecclesiastical policies, and in particular the suppression of the monasteries, that he bound his children under oath never to accept or to purchase any abbey lands. Certainly there seems to be very little evidence to suggest that the Fitzherbert family took any advantage of the dissolution, but this might not have been surprising for even the eldest of the children, Thomas, was only nineteen at the time of the first dissolution, and only twenty-one when he succeeded to the Fitzherbert estates on the death of his father in 1538. Indeed, Sir Anthony's will<sup>11</sup> reveals a man who is almost in denial as regards the changes that were taking place around him, making bequests to monastic orders that were in the process of disappearing and making provision in perpetuity for the appointment of priests to say masses for his soul. What the incidents of the 1530s serve to illustrate are the importance of the Fitzherbert family at a national level, the patriarchal nature of decision-making within the Fitzherbert family locally, and an intransigence that seems to have been communicated from father to son. It was these characteristics which were to determine the nature of the Fitzherbert response to national events down to the end of the century.

*In 1558 the English throne passed from Catholic Mary I to her twenty-five year old half-sister Elizabeth, who it was widely expected would turn her back on the doctrines of the Marian regime, and would adopt a version of the new religion, which had been espoused by her mother, Anne Boleyn. It could even be argued that she owed her very legitimacy, and hence her succession to the religious changes that had been initiated during her father's reign. Despite a pre-Coronation promise not to make windows into men's souls, the Parliament of 1559 introduced an Act of Uniformity<sup>12</sup> which, in part, concerned itself with the refusal to attend Common Prayer services, both on Sundays and other holy days. For each separate absence the Act imposed a penalty of twelve pence, which was to be levied by the churchwardens and allotted to poor relief within an individual parish. It did not involve court proceedings, but persistent offenders could be called before various church courts and could be subjected to a variety of sanctions, ranging from a simple admonition, to the extreme penalty of excommunication. In actual fact the Act does not appear to have been applied widely, except in a number of high profile cases like that of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert where the severity of the punishment applied for absence from church seems to have outweighed the terms of the Act itself. The Elizabethan authorities would have been primarily interested in persistent offenders, and particularly in those of gentry status who were capable of wielding some authority themselves. If these could be brought into line, it was reasoned, the commoners would follow, either through fear, apathy, or through loyalty to the local lord of the manor.*

By 1561 Sir Thomas Fitzherbert had fallen foul of the Act as State Papers signed by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Chester show that he was already confined in the Fleet Prison.<sup>13</sup> This punishment, in itself, went far beyond the terms laid down in the Act for being absent from church. He did not command the national status of his father and therefore his punishment is more likely an indication that Sir Thomas not only would not attend church services where the Book of Common Prayer was being used, but also that he would not keep quiet about it, and that he would do his utmost to make sure that his retainers at Norbury and at Padley would do the same. We can be fairly sure that it was this kind of intransigence that brought about his incarceration, because in the same year, Sir Thomas Gerard of Etwall was also summoned to London to answer charges of recusancy, but was released on a promise that he would attend services in his parish church, although at the same time he was

permitted not to receive the sacraments. A simple promise would probably have sufficed for Thomas Fitzherbert to gain his freedom,<sup>14</sup> but two years later he was still in the Fleet, and Edmund Grindal, the Bishop of London was writing to Sir William Cecil, describing Fitzherbert as '*a very stiff man*',<sup>15</sup> who refused to compromise, even at the expense of his liberty. With only three brief periods of freedom Fitzherbert was to spend the major part of the next thirty years in the Fleet, in Derby Gaol, and eventually in the Tower, where he died in 1591 at the age of seventy-four, no mean age given the conditions in Derby Gaol at least.<sup>16</sup> Part of Sir Thomas's '*stiffness*', which we might, depending on our particular viewpoint, translate as '*resolution*' or '*stubbornness*', was no doubt the result of his upbringing and his own particular religious conviction, and this should not be underestimated in trying to assess the reasons for his resistance.

Part, too, emerged out of his own notion of family, and its role in the local and national framework. At a personal level family life was probably a disappointment to him. In the mid-forties he had married Anne Eyre, heiress to the Eyre estates at Padley, near Hathersage, but although the marriage had brought him lands, after fifteen years it had proved childless, and in 1562, perhaps fearful of his present situation, he settled some of his lands on his nieces.<sup>17</sup> Could it have been his childlessness that made him so careless of his own personal situation, and have contributed to his resistance? Could it have been this, too, that enabled him to accept parting from his wife, sending her back to the family estates at Padley? If he thought about the concept of family at all, it must have been increasingly associated in his own mind with the fortunes of his household and estates, and with the ever-growing family of his brother, John, his heir. The Fitzherberts were a family which traced their lineage back to the eleventh century and as such the fortunes of the family were dependent on the traditional loyalties associated with ancient feudal certainties based locally on the leadership of the lord of the manor and nationally on the primacy of the King working together with the Roman Church. The sixteenth century had witnessed the undermining of both these certainties.

The Tudor monarchs, from Henry VII onwards were distrustful of the old feudal families, and had placed their faith increasingly in an emerging strata of society which was eager to play a part in the running of the country, and which was subject to the monarch for its position. It was this group of people who were eventually to profit most from the Henrician Reformation and from the Dissolution of the Monasteries, which had been opposed so vehemently by Anthony Fitzherbert, and it was the same group, largely associated with the new religion, who were to assume control of the county for the queen by the end of the century. A list of the commissioners for Derbyshire responsible for the assessment of the half-year subsidy in 1595 reveals that it was 'new' families such as the Cavendishes, Manners, Leakes, Knivetons and Stanhopes who dominated, while only the Ferrers of the old families had retained their position.<sup>18</sup> No doubt believing that Catholicism would one day be restored Thomas was determined to resist the encroachment of central government into the religious lives of the people on his Derbyshire estates, accompanied, as he probably perceived it, by an attack on the traditional order. And what could have been more natural than that he should marshal his family, in the shape of his blood relatives, his household and his retainers to help him?

It is no mere coincidence that the Fitzherbert estates at Norbury and Padley, near Hathersage, provided the bulk of indicted Derbyshire recusants during the late sixteenth century. Despite his long incarceration Sir Thomas ensured that his lands would be managed by trusted members of the family and the household, and that the old ways would be retained. The Padley estates were leased to his younger brother, John, who used the income from them to pay Thomas's increasing fines.<sup>19</sup> The Norbury estates were managed ostensibly by his housekeeper, Anne Rolleston, and his park keeper, Thomas Capon, although Fitzherbert's youngest brother, Richard, having fled the country early in Elizabeth I's reign, had returned secretly to Norbury and it would seem unlikely that he was not closely involved. The lands of the Fitzherberts, for all but the last two years of Thomas's imprisonment, remained under family control, playing an important role in providing a safe haven for priests and recusants, and at the same time ensuring that the example set by Thomas in defying the authorities was followed by those dependent on the family for their livelihoods.

The women of the family also had their part to play, although it seems more than likely that their role, at least in the first instance, was a passive one. Anne Eyre, Sir Thomas's wife, retired back to her paternal home at Padley Hall, and we hear nothing of her until her death. John Fitzherbert arranged marriages for his daughters which helped to establish the kind of Catholic network which could be used to present a united front against the enemies of the family. Matilda, John's eldest daughter, married Thomas Barlow of Outseats, a Catholic zealot. Jane and Mary married Thomas Eyre of Chesterfield and Thomas Draycott respectively, both of them convicted recusants.<sup>20</sup> None of these marriages can be said to have been advantageous socially to the Fitzherberts as they

all involved an element of 'marrying down'. It may be, of course, that the Fitzherbert girls' choices were limited because they did not represent a good catch to either Catholics or non-Catholics of equivalent social standing. The career of their uncle, with its overtones of disloyalty to the monarch, combined with the financial difficulties created by the swingeing recusancy fines he had incurred, cannot have made them particularly desirable. Any association with them could have endangered already tenuous positions within the county. It was therefore to the next social strata down that John Fitzherbert looked for husbands for his daughters; to wealthy lesser gentry with impeccable Catholic credentials. In so doing he hoped to bolster the economic fortunes of the family, while maintaining its defiance of the government.

Unfortunately the unity of the family had begun to unravel even before Sir Thomas Fitzherbert's death. In 1583 Thomas Fitzherbert, John's eldest son, and prospective heir to both his father and his uncle, served a term in Derby Gaol for recusancy. The physical conditions of his imprisonment, together with the mental stress involved, seem to have concentrated his mind on his situation, and he agreed to conform. He is also alleged to have entered into an agreement with the notorious priest hunter, Richard Topcliffe, whereby Topcliffe would be given three thousand pounds and the manor of Padley in return for persecuting John and Sir Thomas 'unto the death'.<sup>21</sup> The rest of the family was horrified by his actions, a feeling heightened after the discovery of the three priests at Padley Hall in 1588 brought down the fury of the authorities on them. John escaped death for harbouring priests only by the payment of a heavy fine by his brother-in-law Thomas Eyre, but spent the next two years in Derby Gaol, where he died of prison fever. Matilda was also imprisoned until 1591, while Jane and Mary were removed from their respective husbands and placed under the tutelage of Protestant rectors, who were unable to shake their Catholic faith.<sup>22</sup> His youngest son, Anthony was also imprisoned for three years, and like his older brother the experience led him to promise to conform.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, in Norbury, Richard Fitzherbert, Anne Rolleston and Thomas Capon were all apprehended by the Earl of Shrewsbury.<sup>24</sup> The only person not to suffer in the family was young Thomas, who, as a result, has been blackened ever since as '*that wretched family traitor*'.<sup>25</sup> As a consequence of his alleged treachery Thomas was ostracised by the rest of the family and his uncle is reputed to have written a new will disinheriting him, although there is no evidence of this, Topcliffe's agents supposedly having discovered the will and destroyed it, a story which has been repeated by historians down to the present day.<sup>26</sup> Despite the lack of hard evidence there may be some truth in the story. As early as 1586 arbitrators had to be appointed to settle a dispute between Sir Thomas and his nephew,<sup>27</sup> a sign that there was already bad blood between the two of them. Then, in 1591, young Thomas did indeed succeed to the Norbury estates on the death of his uncle, his father having died in the previous year, and Richard Topcliffe did temporarily assume control of the Fitzherbert holdings at Padley.

The defiance shown by the patriarch, Sir Thomas Fitzherbert had succeeded in the end in breaking the very solidarity he had been trying to achieve. It did much more. It helped to undermine the very position of the family itself in Derbyshire, as it must have done if England remained Protestant. By October 1589 Sir Thomas was paying three hundred pounds a month in fines.<sup>28</sup> He had lost some two thirds of his estates in fines and the remainder were no longer capable of sustaining such a large amount, especially as a significant number of retainers and servants were also suffering financially, the most recalcitrant being imprisoned. The estates young Thomas inherited were already run down by 1591, and letters of attorney dated 1610, indicate that he was in debt by then.<sup>29</sup> He died childless and within one more generation Norbury and Padley had passed to the Staffordshire branch of the family at Swynnerton. Sir John Fitzherbert, Thomas's nephew, although a conforming Anglican, also died childless, in 1649 on the battlefield at Lichfield, fighting for a lost cause. The village of Norbury, according to the religious census of 1650<sup>30</sup> could boast only one house, and the hall itself was virtually derelict.

## References

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4. Martin Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540-1690', in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, 1500-1850*, 1995, p111.
5. Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun*, 1996, p268
6. John Guy, *Tudor England*, 1990, p296
7. D.A. Spaeth, '*Parsons and Parishioners: Lay-Clerical Conflict and Popular Piety in Wiltshire Villages, 1660-1740*' (unpublished Brown University Ph.D dissertation), 1985, f.355, quoted in Guy, p296.
8. Guy, p296.

9. Walsham, *Church Papists*, p93.
10. Edwin Burton, 'Sir Anthony Fitzherbert', in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol.VI, online edition, ([www.newadvent.org/cathen/06085b.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06085b.htm), 1999)
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12. 1 Eliz. I, c.2.
13. J.C. Cox, 'Norbury Manor and the Fitzherberts', in *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol 7, 1885, p244.
14. Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Addenda, 1547-65, p524, cited in Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society Under the Tudors*, 1993, p258.
15. Landsdowne MSS, vi, no 56, quoted in J.C. Cox, *Annals*, p252.
16. G.R. Batho, *A Calendar of the Talbot Papers in the College of Arms*, 1971, Vol G, f.642.
17. Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D641/5/T/230/21.
18. Listed in Gladwyn Turbutt, *A History of Derbyshire*, 1999, p929.
19. G.R. Batho, Vol G, ff.456.
20. Listed in G. Turbutt, p980
21. J.C. Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, p256. Cox seems to have a real down on Thomas, and although he claims he is able to trace 'the sickening details of the hypocrisy treachery and the wretched life of the young Thomas Fitzherbert' he finds it 'too painful' to go into details and fails to give his sources.
22. G.R. Batho, Vol C, f.22.
23. G.R. Batho, Vol H, f.289.
24. G.R. Batho, Vol I, f.83.
25. J.C. Cox, p260.
26. G. Turbutt, p981.
27. SRO, D641/5/T/20/30.
28. G.R. Batho, Vol G, ff.515.
29. SRO, D641/5/T/21/48.
30. L.J. Bowyer, *The Ancient Parish of Norbury*, 1953, p12.

## AN EARLY 19TH CENTURY DELICATESSAN

### ITALIAN WAREHOUSE

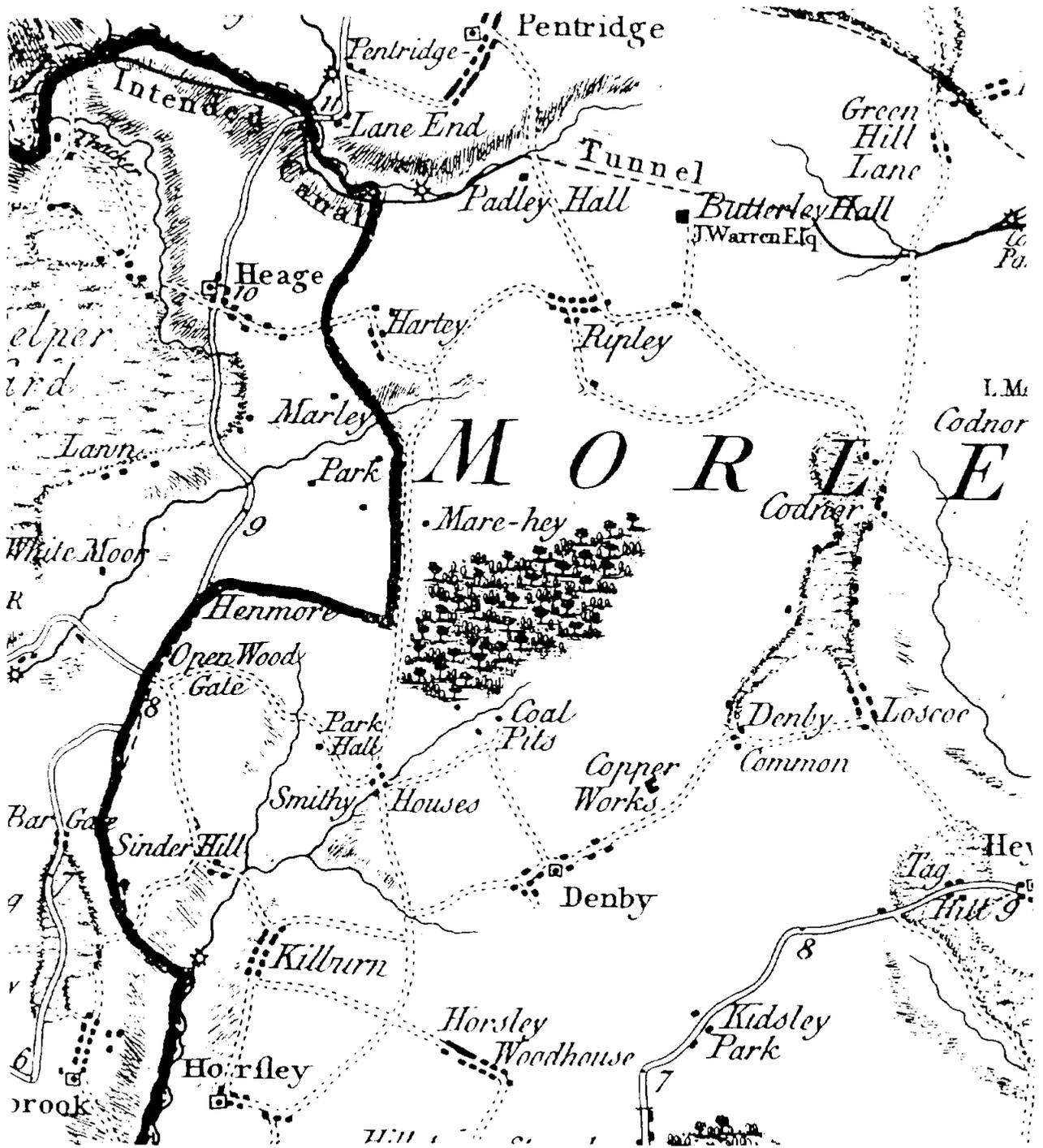
#### R. SMITH, ST. PETER'S BRIDGE, DERBY

Begs to inform his Friends, the Nobility, and the Public, that he intends opening on Monday next the 14th instant with a general Affortment of the undermentioned Articles, which he can recommend to them as genuine, and of the best quality, viz,..... Sallad Oils, Capers, Red and White French Double Distill'd Cayenne, Chilly and Camp Vinegars; French Garlic, Shalots, all-forts of German and other Saufages, genuine Essence of Anchovies, Gorgons Anchovies, West India and Pickles of all forts, Dutch Salmon, Herrings, Pickled Oyfters, Cods Sounds, Dried Sprats, Catfups, Patent Mustard, Hams and Tongues of all forts; Fine Parmefan, Stilton, and other Cheefe; Spices, Salts, and many other articles, too numerous to mention, from Burgess & Co.'s and other London and Liverpool dealers.

R.S. folicits the favors of his numerous Friends and the Public, and hopes upon a trial to give univerfal fatisfaction.

Derby, Oct. 19, 1803

*Derby Mercury, 21 October 1802*



Denby village in the mid 18th century.

# **SOME NOTES ON DENBY IN THE TIME OF JOHN FLAMSTEED**

(by Dudley Fowkes,

## **Introduction**

John Flamsteed was born in Denby in 1646. In 2003 an exhibition area was opened in the village to celebrate Flamsteed's life and achievements. These notes were produced in connection with this project.

## **Population and morphology**

In the 1670s Denby was a village of some 250-300 people. This figure is based on the fact that in the Compton Census of 1676 - a survey of the number of Conformists, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics - 176 were counted for Denby, and in the Hearth Tax of 1670 there were 63 families enumerated.

The basic form of the village would have been recognisable to the people of today with the long, twisting village street forming the core of the village, with the main outlying settlements at Smithy Houses and Park Hall. The twisting nature of the village street is a reflection of the fact that enclosure had taken place early in Denby - if indeed it had ever been farmed in open fields - and the road followed the ancient field boundaries.

What would have been unfamiliar would have been the lack of the "A61". The direct Ripley-Derby road was built over a hundred years later under a Turnpike Act of 1802.

## **The Hearth Tax**

The Hearth Tax was a 17th century tax on hearths or fireplaces and this immediately identifies the larger houses in the village - Denby Old Hall with 13 hearths - most usually associated with the Robey family - and Park Hall and the Hall next to the church, both associated with the Lowe family. Larger farms were occupied by William Wilson (3 hearths), Edward Middleton, John Riley, William Riley and William Gladwin (all 2 hearths). John Bancroft and Richard Riley were collectors of the Hearth Tax and John Bealey was the Constable.

## **The Parish Church**

In the mid 17th century, Denby continued to be a chapelry of Horsley. This situation harked back to medieval times when the great tithes (corn, hay, wool and lamb) were appropriated to Lenton Priory leaving the Vicar of Horsley responsible for seeing that divine service was celebrated at Denby.

The first surviving glebe terrier [survey of church property] for Denby in 1693 shows us therefore that the main income of the living was £8 per annum paid to the minister from a levy by the parish constable. There was also 20s left by Mrs Anne Lowe. This terrier was signed by Henry Smith and Robert Fletcher, churchwardens.

The glebe terrier for 1696 indicates that the minister also received 5s for every marriage by licence, 2s 6d for every marriage by banns, 9d for every christening or churching, 8d for every burial in the churchyard without coffin and 16d for burial with a coffin. The 1696 terrier was signed by John Bayly, curate, and George Eley, churchwarden.

## **Landownership and agriculture**

The principal landowners in the time of Flamsteed were the Lowes and the Robeys. There are estate maps for the Lowe estate in 1667 (Park Hall only) and 1728 in the Drury Lowe papers at Nottingham University Library.

As the maps show, apart from Denby Common which was an area of common pasture, the village was farmed in enclosed fields as now. A deed of 1658 shows a farm consisting of a farmhouse and fields called the Flate, Nine Acres, Six Close, Lady Crosse Meadow, the Broade Close and the Smithy Close.

As elsewhere on the coalfield, farming would be mixed with an emphasis on raising livestock. Arable farming would be traditional with wheat and oats the main corn crops and beans fodder crop.

### **The Manor**

The Lowes were sufficiently powerful to continue to run a manor court at Denby in the mid 17th century. In theory, everyone living in the manor's area of jurisdiction - in this instance the parish of Denby - were expected to perform a series of minor obligations to the lord of the manor, the most common of which was attendance at his court. Everyone in the manor owed "*suit of court*" and was fined for non attendance. The court continued through its "view of Frankpledge" to be responsible for minor misdemeanours such as failing to keep ditches or hedges and fences in repair. The parish constable would probably still have been appointed by the manor.

We do not know where the court was held.

### **The Vestry**

Other parish affairs were conducted by the vestry acting in its civil capacity. The relief of the poor and the repair of the roads were the responsibility of the parish and the vestry appointed overseers of the poor and surveyors of the highways to carry out these duties. The overseers' basic duty was to levy a rate out of which poor people with a legal place of settlement in the village were given help in cash or kind.

### **Trade and industry**

Even by the 1670s, Denby coal had a considerable reputation. Coal and iron had been mined in shallow bell pits from medieval times and during Flamsteed's days there was an agreement between John Lowe and Mary his wife and Robert Fletcher of Kilburn, yeoman, dated 9 January 1684/5, by which Fletcher was given permission to "*sink pits to get coal*" in Lowe's lands in Denby, .. "*to fetch coal with carts, horses and wains*" and .. "*to set up engines to de-water the mines*". As this agreement predates the invention of the steam engine, these engines would have been powered by water wheels.

The later copper and pottery industries had yet to be developed.

### **Sources**

Denby glebe terriers 1693 and 1696, Derbyshire Record Office D2360.

Drury Lowe Manuscripts, Department of Manuscripts University of Nottingham, in particular Dr D7/1/1 (conveyance 15 January 1658), Dr D7/1/31 (articles of agreement 9 January 1684/5), Dr M/2-4 (view of frankpledge for the manor of Denby 1664) and Dr P 8 (survey of Denby Park, 1667).

## **CHADDESSEN MILL, NEAR DERBY.**

### **TO BE LET**

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Chaddesden, March 19th, 1833

*Derby Mercury*, 27 March 1833

## THE REV. GEORGE GREAVES (1746–1828) AND STANTON BY BRIDGE DURING HIS INCUMBENCY

(by Joan Baker,

The village of Stanton by Bridge has experienced no great and unique historical event nor has it produced any nationally famous person; its people have led ordinary lives apparently, quietly making their living from the land, so little has been written about the village. However, the increasing availability of contemporary documents in Record Offices, etc, has made it possible to build up a fuller picture of life in Stanton during a period of rapid progress in farming methods and the consequently changing effect on social conditions in the village. This coincided with the long incumbency of the Rev. George Greaves from 1770 to 1828. He appears to have been a colourful character with interests social and financial far beyond the limits of his parish.

There had been no resident Lord of the Manor at Stanton by Bridge since the early 1600s, so it is not surprising that the Rector became the most influential person living in the parish. This position was enhanced at the time of the Enclosure in the mid 1760s when the Rector of the time, the Rev. John Rolleston, was allotted about a hundred and eighty acres of glebe land in compensation for all the tithes and other Rectorial and Vicarial dues.<sup>1</sup> Here in Stanton it had been the custom for the Rector to have farming interests as well as his parochial duties, and this was continued after the Enclosure with the Rector farming some of the glebe land himself and letting out the rest to others in the village.

In the autumn of 1770, Sir Henry Harpur appointed a new Rector for Stanton, the twenty-four year old George Greaves. His parents, William Greaves and Dorothy Ley, who both came from well to do families in Mayfield in Staffordshire, were married at St. Oswald's Church in Ashbourne in 1744.<sup>2</sup> Their first child, George, was baptised in Repton in 1746.<sup>3</sup> (His parents may already have been living at Ingleby Toft.) He attended Repton School and then went on to St. John's College at Cambridge where he was awarded his B.A. in 1768. He returned to his native area and was ordained a deacon at Lichfield in the following year.<sup>4</sup>

George became the incumbent at Stanton at a time of great change in the parish: the enclosure of the commons and open fields took several years to complete, - for ditches had to be dug for drainage, post and rail fences had to be erected and young hedges planted round the new fields. Notes, dated 1774,<sup>5</sup> still exist which give details of the Rector's allotments on the Common and in two of the old open fields (those previously known as Middle Field and Dam Field) and indicate how this land had been divided into separate fields. The second sheet notes the acreage and value of this land, and also the allocation of almost twenty six acres in the Meadows: meadow land was valued at 30/- an acre, while the (earlier) common land was worth 12/- an acre, and the old open field arable land at 25/-. The third sheet gives a plan of the 1708 yards of fencing put up by the Hawkesworth family round the newly enclosed fields they rented from the Rev. George Greaves.

The Enclosure Award also detailed the route and condition of the roads in the parish. The roads were to be at least forty feet wide, with fences and later hedges along them, paid for by Sir Henry Harpur and Sir Robert Burdett. The width of bridle roads and footways was not specified. Maintenance of the road surfaces continued to be the responsibility of the parish, and the Parish Account Book<sup>6</sup> shows that in each of the first three years of Greaves' incumbency more than a quarter of the total parish expenses was spent on road work. At different times at least ten of the villagers were employed in picking stone, getting stone (with powder supplied for blasting), widening the road, etc. At the same time repairs were needed on the causeway across the meadows, but this, together with the river bridge, was maintained by the County and so was not a charge on the parish,<sup>7</sup> though some of the work was done by Stanton people.

In spite of all the changes brought about by the Enclosure, the general lay-out of the village itself remained the same: no new outlying farmsteads were built and the newly enclosed fields continued to be farmed from the existing homesteads along the village street. Over the years some of the farmhouses were enlarged or rebuilt, cottages were improved by raising their roofs, some were demolished and new ones were built, but the number of households remained constant; when the population earned its living within the parish, it seems that the available acreage would only support about thirty-three families.

The Churchwardens were responsible for paying for repairs and improvements in the church but the enthusiasm of the young Rector is evident in the large amount of work undertaken in his first five or six years in the parish.

The church was ceiled and pews put in. No record has been found as to whether the church was open to the rafters before this, or what the earlier seating was like. Did '*pewing the church*' mean that this was when the box pews were put in? Several wills of the Tudor period had requested '*burial in the parish church at my bench end*'.

At the same time large quantities of quarries, bricks and tiles were bought and workmen were paid for work associated with these purchases. Later the church porch needed repairing, a weathercock was erected, the bells were repaired and a new bell rope was paid for. Along with these expenses the Churchwardens often noted the cost of "*ale for the workmen*". As the years went by further repairs were needed at the church as the Churchwardens' accounts show and again the Rector would be keen for the work to be done.

In 1775 the Rev. George Greaves married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Pipe of Walton on Trent.<sup>8</sup> His will notes that he had signed a marriage settlement for £2000 to be secured on estates at Halstead and Tilton in Leicestershire.<sup>9</sup> By the same settlement Elizabeth's own fortune of £2000 was vested in trustees for the benefit of George and their future children. Four daughters and a son were born in the next six years but Mrs Greaves died a few days after the birth of the son in August 1781.<sup>10</sup>

Within two years George had remarried.<sup>11</sup> Again there was a marriage settlement and his new wife, Susannah Biddulph from Barton under Needwood, was to have an annuity of £120. Six more children were born at the Rectory between 1785 and 1801 and the growing family needed more space.

When George first came to Stanton the Rectory house was a long narrow building of four bays,<sup>12</sup> just beyond the south wall of the churchyard. He had built on to the east end of the existing house the present fine dining room and possibly a hall and small sitting room.<sup>13</sup> The house was later extended eastwards again to provide a large drawing room, a study and a larger hall. This second extension, however, may have been added early in the incumbency of the Rev. T. W. Whitaker.

Around a farmyard to the south of the original house there were two stables, a cow house, pigsties, a brewhouse and coach house. In the 1780s the Rev. George Greaves was paying tax on two saddle horses, which presumably could be used for riding or drawing the carriage.<sup>14</sup> Later the family had a donkey, for his youngest daughter, Mary Louisa, wrote in her diary in April 1817 "*My mother thrown from her donkey*".

Another feature nowadays of the Stanton Rectory Grounds is a large walled garden which is said to have been established in the Rev. Greaves' time "*when bricks cost 6d a load*". His father's<sup>15</sup> and his own wills show that George had plenty of money for such an undertaking and there are entries in his daughter's diary that suggest the family had a special interest in gardening. In the autumn of 1817 "*Papa paid 7/6 for flowerpots*", and in the following spring "*we walked over to see Melbourne Gardens*". Could this be to get ideas for their own new gardens? A fortnight later they "*finished potting the greenhouse plants*." At the end of September 1818 there is the entry "*got greenhouse plants in*".

Such a large house, gardens and farming activities would provide work for a number of servants. It is difficult to assess how many were employed outside and lived with their own families in the village, but the Census returns<sup>16</sup> show that usually there were five servants living in the house to look after the Rector's large family, or to be cared for themselves in their old age. When one of the servants died in 1810, aged 80, she had lived in the Biddulph family and afterwards in Mrs. Greaves' for fifty-six years. Another moved with Mrs. Greaves to King's Newton after the death of the Rector, and when she died in 1833, aged 81, she had lived as housekeeper to the family for fifty-three years. The inscription on her tombstone shows she was as much a friend as a servant.<sup>17</sup>

The Rector's parochial duties included taking at least one service in the church each Sunday, when he was expected to preach a sermon, but there were only four communion services in the year, at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and Michaelmas. Accounts show that the Churchwardens paid for the bread and wine for these services and for dinners for the young people when they were confirmed.

When the Reverend Greaves came to Stanton, Swarkestone was a separate parish and had its own vicar, but after the Rev. Fletcher died in 1795, George's brother at Ingleby persuaded him to apply for that living too,<sup>18</sup> and he was to hold it with Stanton until his death in 1828. From 1820 onwards his son-in-law the Rev. Paul Belcher and other clergymen took some of the services at Swarkestone,<sup>19</sup> but from his daughter's diary it is clear that George still from time to time walked to and from Swarkestone to attend to parish duties there.

Throughout his time at Stanton the Rector was active in many aspects of village life. He knew his parishioners well, for he made copies of the 1801, 1811 and 1821 Censuses in the back of the Parish Register. (Such information is not available for most other parishes.) In each Census the order was the same: the Rector and his family and their resident servants, each farmer and his family and resident servants, the publicans (two in 1801), the parish clerk and gardener, the labourers and widows – a full list of the people living in the village, showing their relationship to the head of their household and their occupations, some of their ages but not where they had been born; reference to the baptismal registers, however, shows many had been born in the parish. At the end of the 1801 Census George Greaves, Rector signed a statement that he believed the above catalogue of the inhabitants of Stanton to be perfectly accurate (except, perhaps, in some instances of the Age of some of the inhabitants).

As early as 1787 there was a local Association for the Prosecution of Thieves and Felons which covered Foremark, Ingleby, Stanton, Swarkestone and Barrow.<sup>20</sup> Members from these villages paid an annual subscription and if a crime was committed against them, they were compensated at fixed rates when the wrong doer was apprehended. A meeting was held annually at Stanton's Dog and Duck and the Rev. George Greaves was a leading member of the Association. The rules, published in 1814,<sup>21</sup> are extant and among the list of rewards are the following:

For any highway or footpad robbery	£5 5s 0d
For wilfully setting fire to any dwelling house, warehouse, barn, stable or other buildings, stacks or ricks of corn, grain, hay or straw	£10 10s 0d
For stealing or maiming any horse, mare or gelding, ox or cow, or for stealing any sheep, lamb, calf or pig	£5 5s 0d
For robbing any garden, orchard, fishpond or chopping down, barking or destroying any timber, fruit or other trees	£2 2s 0d

By 1820 parish expenses in Stanton, as in other villages, were rising alarmingly: labourers in work were often not paid a full wage, and could make it up by claiming money from the parish. Those out of work also claimed from the parish. In an attempt to control the expenses the Rev. George Greaves and the leading inhabitants in the village met at the Dog and Duck in January 1821 and drew up a plan which was written down inside the back cover of the Parish Account and signed by all present: a young able man with a wife and two or more children should receive 1/6 a day from his employer, and a man without children 1/- a day; such workers should no longer be able to claim parish relief. Those who were unemployed were to be sent to the Overseer of the Poor to work for various farmers in turn for a certain number of days and the employer had to pay the recognised rate to the man or to the Overseer. However, concern for rising parish expenses did not affect the benefits received by the Rector and farmers when they came to these momentous decisions, for the Parish Account Book shows for 18th January, 1821 "*Paid at Town's Meeting called by the Rev. G. Greaves, Ale and tobacco for seven farmers 7s 0d. Brandy drunk by the Rev. G. Greaves 6s 0d*".

Another call on the parish was the provision of medical care for the poor when they were sick, and again the cost of this was rising, so in 1821 an agreement was signed by the parish officials, including the Rector, that Stanton should pay £6/6/- a year to Mr. James Dolman, surgeon of Melbourne, who would attend and provide proper medicine for the poor of the parish, but only when called upon to do so by the Overseer.

Evidence of a Rector's influence on his village is supplied by extant parish documents, but an insight into the Rev. George's private life and character comes from two contemporary diaries; that of the Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens which covered the years 1792 to 1799 and that of George's youngest daughter Mary Louisa for some of the years between 1810 and 1823.<sup>22</sup> Stevens was Headmaster of Repton School and in his Journal describes visits to the Burdetts at Foremark Hall, the Greaves at Ingleby Toft and the Rev. George Greaves and his family at Stanton. (Ingleby Toft was the home of George's brother, Robert Charles, the agent to the Harpur estate.) Stevens thinking he was writing a private diary did not hesitate, when he thought fit, to write derogatory remarks about his friends. He describes the Rector of Stanton as "*The Jolly Priest, often tipsy, always too talkative, often telling the same story as many as three times in the same evening or talking when he has nothing to say*". "*He has good sense which he does not always use, but his good nature never forsakes him*". "*Generally he is gay and sincere, a man to be loved, a man who willingly helps his friends, though he isn't always as willingly helped by them*".

One day in mid August 1792 Stevens dined on venison at Stanton, and the whole party intended to go to the Races (possibly on Sinfin Moor), but were prevented by rain and spent the rest of the day in conversation. Stevens did not record what they talked about then, but on later occasions they discussed why Greaves had not been admitted yet to Calke, "*but the little jealous Baron will not suffer any man, friend or servant, to see his wife*"; this was a reference to the seventh Baronet Sir Henry Harpur who had married Nanny Hawkins in February of that year. Obviously, the clergy of the area expected to be invited to the house of the local gentry at Foremark and Calke. On another occasion there was much discussion about applying for shares in the proposed Derby canal which would connect the Trent and Mersey canal at Swarkestone with Derby. Stevens was surprised that there were 2800 applicants for the 193 shares available and that George Greaves managed to get two of them.

A day or two after Christmas Stevens rode with Greaves to Derby where they dined before being joined in the evening by Mrs. Greaves and her daughter. On this occasion Stevens described Mrs. Greaves as "*a woman of intolerable conceit*", and at the New Year's Day Dance at Foremark she was "*flauntily feathered*". On another visit to dinner at Stanton, he notes "*Madam as usual in her altitudes*". Obviously the Headmaster of Repton School did not admire Mrs. Greaves but he was always happy to visit and enjoy the hospitality of her home at Stanton.

At the beginning of April in 1793 the Rector was far from well and obviously a poor patient: he was lame and his feet benumbed. By the end of the month Dr. Kirkland from Ashby was called in and predicted that his disorder would terminate in gout unless his wife could impose on him abstinence from the bottle. The Rector's incapacity persisted for some weeks and Stevens went over to preach at Stanton on a number of Sunday evenings that summer. When George was better Stevens wrote in his diary that "*he would never be the man he was*" but Greaves lived on for over thirty years and Stevens himself was dead in six. Even by August Greaves was still in pain and limping, so eventually he was persuaded by Mr. Burdett to go to Buxton to take the waters; in a letter received a week later he showed he had found no relief from the Buxton waters. However he did eventually recover and was able to attend to his parish duties and enjoy a full social life – if Stevens is to be believed dining was an important part of that; when Greaves lost his bet with Sir Robert Burdett that the French would have a king on the throne by April 4th, 1794 (the previous king having been guillotined by the French Revolutionaries) "*the wager was paid off at the Mitre with a truly Epicurean Dinner*". Greaves continued to drink freely: for a while he was not welcome at Foremark because he drank too much and was often tipsy, but he returned to favour and went each evening to sit and pray by the old Baronet during his final illness in 1797.

Stevens' journal covered six years when Greaves was in his late forties and early fifties and reported on what interested middle-aged men. The next diaries, handed down through the family of Miss Raynor, covered his seventies, and written by his youngest daughter Mary Louisa described events which impressed a young woman. On March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1810 "*Papa had his first lambs*" - so the Rector was still farming at least some of the glebe land. Later in the year, Mary Louisa, aged fourteen, was allowed away from home without her parents for the first time: she stayed with relations in the Mayfield and Ashbourne area from the beginning of August until after Christmas.

The next diary, for 1817, reported that when Mr. Burdett came of age in April, all the Stanton farmers were entertained to dinner at the Rectory. It seems that it was customary for the farmers to be entertained there over Christmas, several years on Christmas day itself; only the men were mentioned by name, so perhaps their wives were not included in the party, though one or two elderly spinsters from farming families were present.

The impression from these diaries is that socially there was little mixing with Stanton people, but a constant stream of relatives and friends from away visited and stayed with the Greaves family and during the summer of 1817 a large party from the Rectory went to hear the Repton speeches, and the following week went to see the Moira Baths which had just opened. These were the forerunners of those in the Ashby Bath Grounds.

From this time Mary Louisa was very concerned about her father's health. In October 1817 "*Papa was very unwell and we bled him with leeches*", but there was no hint of what his illness was. The next summer we do know his problem – "*my father*" (note the change of address) "*had been to the Repton Book meeting and had such a bad fall when returning that the doctor had to be called*" and for several weeks other clergymen came to do duty at Stanton and Swarkestone. It was about this time that Mary Louisa learnt to ride, and one day in September she noted that her Father walked while she rode to Melbourne - had he lost his nerve after the fall? There were still at least two horses at the Rectory as Mary Louisa, in her new riding dress, rode out with Mama "*several times*".

At the end of September 1818 the Rector was again “bled with leeches and cupped”, but in less than two months he was well enough to spend a fortnight with his wife and daughter visiting relatives in the Ashbourne and Mayfield area. During this time he conducted at least one service in Mayfield Church.

The Rector was often unwell in the early spring of each year. The doctor was called in “to see my father’s eyes”, “my father unwell again”, “ he was bled with leeches”, “his face was dreadfully swelled” and so on. Dr. Child was spending much time at the Rectory either professionally or socially - he was to marry Mary Louisa in June 1824. One of the last entries in these diaries was for December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1823, “my parents’ fortieth wedding day”.

In the summer of 1824 the Rev. George Greaves drew up a very long will which gave details of the financial settlements at the time of his two marriages, and very full instructions on how his money was to be divided among his family after his death. He was anxious that his “dear wife Susannah Greaves” should have an annuity of £350 and “all my household goods, furniture, plate, linen, china and other household effects in or about my present dwelling house”. She was also left £200 immediately on his death and £1000 at the end of a year. His children and grandchildren were to share the residue of his considerable fortune, which his inventory valued at £25,000;<sup>23</sup> everything was left within the family.

His death was reported in the Derby Mercury of 16th January 1828: “On the 12th at the Rectory, Stanton by Bridge, after a few hours illness in the 82nd year of his age, the Rev. George Greaves A.M., Rector of the above parish and also of Swarkestone.” The funeral took place at Stanton nine days later when the service was conducted by the Rev. E. Thomas, Curate of Swarkestone.

There is no gravestone in the churchyard to show where he was buried: his only memorial is in the Church on a metal tablet on the sill of the south window of the chancel, an inconspicuous tribute to a man who had ministered to the people of Stanton by Bridge for more than fifty years and who had led them in the changes which took place in their village during that time.

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## SIR JOHN GELL OF HOPTON AND HIS HAWKS

(by Ron Slack,

The gentlemen of seventeenth century Derbyshire were passionate about one sport above all others. While they placed great store on their horses and hounds they took even greater pleasure in their hawks - falconry was the favourite pastime. John Gell of Hopton was typical. The evidence is in surviving letters, mainly those he wrote in London to his son at Hopton Hall in 1648, and correspondence between father and son in the 1660s, but falconry had been a lifelong passion. In 1619, when Gell was twenty-six, his cousin Henry Sacheverell sent a servant to Kedleston, where Gell and his family were then living with his mother and step-father John Curzon. The man brought £51 13 4d from Sacheverell in part payment, plus interest, of a debt of £100, together with a letter explaining why he could not pay it in full. As well as expressing his shame at being short of ready money, Sacheverell passed on a piece of news "*Mr Millward wille be at Thrumpton on Munday next & will stay all the weake. He cometh with an army of hawks, I meane marlians & sparrowhawks. I could wishe you then heare with me that we might lawghe at his oste [host] of hawks*".<sup>1</sup> A marlian was a merlin, one of the smallest falcons, but one of the most aggressive. In Sacheverell's and Gell's day the male bird was trained to attack larks, and the larger female took on snipe and partridge. Sacheverell's remark about the two men laughing at their neighbour's birds suggests that falconry was a competitive sport among the gentry.

### **Incognito**

By 1648 Gell had handed over the Hopton estate to his son John, and was living in London, far from the Derbyshire moors and unable to follow his old amusements. He was now Sir John, with a baronetcy awarded, or sold, to him in 1642 by Charles II. He had had a successful but financially damaging four years as commander of the Parliamentary forces in Derbyshire during the Civil War of 1642 to 1646 and had been Governor of Derby. He had, however, made many enemies in Derbyshire and was out of tune with both the democratic tendencies in the New Model Army and the gathering republicanism of the new regime. He had paid court to King Charles after 1646 and had contributed to the king's funds at a time when the king, under house arrest in the Isle of Wight, was plotting with the Scots for an invasion by a Scottish army.

With this Scottish alliance destroyed in August 1648 by a Parliamentary army under Cromwell, Gell wrote a series of letters in the autumn to his son at Hopton, describing the continuing fighting and the comings and goings in London.<sup>2</sup> His known royalist sympathies meant that he was under surveillance and the letters to his son were sent incognito, addressed not to "*His loving son*" as later ones were, but simply to "*For John Gell Esq*". They were signed "*from your servant*" and references to Gell's visits to Hopton were put in the third person - "*Sir John wilbe downe presently & so will his brother Thomas*". In one of the letters Sir John gave the classic instruction - "*burne this letter lest you lose it*". In the middle of this turmoil, at a time of great danger to himself, Gell was also petitioning Parliament for compensation for his losses during the war. It was not until 1653 that it was conceded that he had spent £3000, and that this should be refunded with interest of 8 per cent for each year of the war.<sup>3</sup> At this same time Gell was negotiating a separation from his second wife, Mary Stanhope, whom he had married as recently as late December 1647.<sup>4</sup> His letters to his son demonstrated that neither politics nor domestic problems monopolised his thoughts.

### **Father and son and their hawks**

Almost all of the letters which Sir John wrote to his son in the autumn of 1648 mention what was obviously still his great passion - falconry. He was constantly advising John on the care and training of the hawks. With a revolution going on around him, one in which he was personally concerned and one which later saw him in prison, and was almost to cost him his life, beset by determined enemies and struggling to retrieve a lost fortune, Gell still worried about his hawks. In a letter of 5 September 1648, after a sentence describing the victory of a French and Swedish army at Prague, he tells John "*Make much of the hawkes. You may flie the tarsell*". A tarsell, or terciel, is a male hawk, usually a peregrine falcon or goshawk. While the goshawk is now extremely rare in Britain, peregrines remain the characteristic birds of falconry, flying at great speed and capable of killing any game bird.

In the next surviving letter, written on 3 October, after reporting that Berwick had surrendered, that Cromwell had dined there "*on Fryday last*" and that Carlisle was about to fall, Sir John told his son "*send me word what you want for the hawks & you shall have it*". John Gell the younger seems to have reported that his falconer at

Hopton was having difficulty with his tercil as his father instructed him "*You must needes helpe the falkoner to hawke &, if [he] will flee the tarsell afar of [f] at the first, hee wilbe a good hawke & learne him to flee out of the hooode*", which presumably means that the young hawk should be given plenty of rope on his first flights and should be introduced to the use of the hood, placed over a hawk's head to keep it calm on the falconer's hand until the time came to release it in pursuit of prey. Sir John had an abrupt and aggressive way with people but in a letter sent on 10 October he revealed that he knew that a different approach was needed in training animals. After asking how the hawks were doing and what his son thought of the falconer's performance, he went on "*His kill is not excellent but if hee love a hawke & be industrious hee may be instructed*". On 17 October, in the middle of a letter giving London news and advice on managing the Hopton estate, Sir John advises, "*If you give a partridge give it at the leure. For the tarsell it is no greate matter*", ie make the hawk fly for its food to the lure being flourished by the falconer.

On November 14 Gell's main news for his son was that his wife had left him but he found time also to ask again about the falconer's progress and revealed that in London he continued to take an active role in his hobby - "*I have 2 haggards [haggards - captured wild female hawks] more*". In the following week he reported that he had "*pepered*" these birds, or cleaned them of vermin with spiced water, and trained them with the hood so that they should have made good progress in a fortnight. He promised to send them to Hopton, together with a trained marlin "*that is not so subject to death as the day net hawkes are*". The "*day net hawks*" were presumably the haggards and Gell had advice about these "*entermewed*" birds, ie those which had moulted once. "*Untill they bee fully quarried [taught to catch their prey] they might have a stretter [tighter] hand of them than sore falcons have usually. Send me how the hawkes doe. Get your haggard quarried that shee may quarrie the rest*". A sore falcon was one which had not yet moulted and, being younger, was easier to train than a haggard.

Sir John was still worrying about the haggards' training at the end of November, telling his son not to give them more than six pigeons each - ie not to fly them at a dead pigeon on a lure more than six times but to get them flying in pursuit of live game as soon as possible. Sir John's spelling and syntax often make the letters difficult to understand but he seems to be telling his son that after these training flights he will be able to fly the hawks in pursuit of ducks. He also assured him that when the hawks see and feel water "*they wilbe wakened & live merily*" and "*if you make them a little fond on you at the first it wilbe well*". This latter, taken with the assurance that the falconer would succeed "*if hee love a hawke*", demonstrates that Sir John, prone as he was to irascibility in his dealings with people, was well aware that it was affection that got results from animals. On December the 5th he was telling John how it did him good to hear of the hawk attacking a heron. However, "*until shee have 2 or 3 quarries keepe her sumthinge sharpe [keen, eager]. Shee will get up after a little space ... if you keepe her sumthinge heigh & flee her late shee will please you often*" and John would be able to "*take her downe to a ducke or drake*".

In the last letter of this series, written from London on 12 December 1648, while Sir John and his wife's separation agreement was almost completed, Gell let his son know that "*your [step-]mother & my selfe is like to accord*". He passed on this piece of personal news only after telling his son "*send me word how the hawkes flee*".

### Post-Restoration

Sir John's dangers from his royalist sympathies subsided in the early 1650s and he began to sign his letters to his son "*your loving father*", while those from Hopton are addressed to "*his much honored father*". After keeping his head down during the Commonwealth period he received a royal pardon after Charles II's return to the throne in 1660. The correspondence between London and Hopton during the last decade of Sir John's life continued to include news and advice on falconry. At least one of the Gells' hawks, a goshawk, was either foreign-bred or from a part of this country without partridges. John, at Hopton, seems to have had trouble getting this goshawk to perform, and his father told him on the 3rd February 1663 that he had intended that someone else should have tried her with a partridge "*to have seene wheather that shee could have made any wing after one, for if shee can make wing after one, shee wilbe a very good hawke, if not I should have made her away*".<sup>5</sup> A week later he said that she needed to be familiarised with partridges "*for in her countree there is not one, so a partrig is a strange thing unto her*".<sup>6</sup>

In September 1664 Sir John sent several bottles of medicine for the hawks "*by this carrier Osborne of Ashburne*".<sup>7</sup> They included a quart and a pint bottle "*of the ould water that you give the hawke now of, but I must doubt the goodnes is gone of that which you have had so long, therefore give her of the new*". There were two quart bottles for "*rottennes*" and one for the worms. The worm medicine is better than "*our ould waters. It will*

*keepe a hawke for [from?] drying & kill all the wormes, & [is] the coolingst water that you can use". There were also two "ston bottles of Doctor Whartons that are for the killinge of wormes & castings but this is not yet tryed but questionles very good". Castings are the regurgitated balls of undigested prey - bones, beaks, etc - and Dr Wharton's medicine claimed to help the hawks in this process as well as curing them of worms. Gell recommended a remedy "that Pucall caules his blake [black] dog that refavored the tarsell and would this if you give it in any resonable time". One of John's goshawks had fallen ill and Sir John was sure that this had happened for the same reason that a tercil had become ill - the bird had been left in the cold while wet. He accused someone un-named but presumably the falconer of going to bed and leaving the bird in a cold room "now you may know it be shoure, so watch him & let him not goe to Kedleston to fly the tarsell". He would have sent some black dog but could not get it made up in time.*

There was a difficulty at Hopton in 1669 with Sir John's falconer, Nicholas Buller, who may have been the incompetent servant who was leaving wet birds to catch cold in 1664. On the 1st June John told his father "*Upon Saturday last Nicholas was got very pittifully drunke. Hee desires you would be pleased to provide some bells and jesse for the hawkes against [for when] they flye*".<sup>8</sup> A jess is the leather strap by which the hawk is held in the falconer's hand. Attached bells are supposed to please the birds as well as helping to keep track of them in flight or hiding.

John wrote twice to his father on 8 June 1669. In the first letter it is apparent that the problem with the falconer was longstanding, and that the trouble lay in his unpredictable temperament and behaviour - "*Nicholas will some times I doubt have a fit, but had he gone to the Moores, I feare hee would have beene oft high flowne. This last weeke hee hath kept at home, & whilst it continues, all will be well, but when hee begins to go abroad, hees in much danger*".<sup>9</sup> On the same day John reported that "*Nicholas hath beene pritty well this weeke also, but when he heares you are got to the Bath [for Sir John's annual cure in the medicinal waters], I am affrayd hee will take more libertys*", implying that the elder Gell still wielded some authority in his son's household.<sup>10</sup> The hapless Nicholas had been unable to tell "*of any eggs the hawkes have had*". John reported that "*the hawkes are all plumpe & faire, saving the sawnty [fool, ie Nicholas] hath hurt the white hawkes wing, in the same place as it was the last yeare, which is great pitty, for shee had recovered her strength & I thought perfectly sound, & high in flesh. If shee bate [flutter off the falconer's hand] shee hangs that wing, else [otherwise] shee takes it up, & I hope shee recovers. I caused the cap to be put on her that shee might sit quietly. The blacke hawke hee [Nicholas] cals loose [undisciplined]*." John's last surviving piece of news for his father about the Hopton falcons is a baffling description of the characteristics of three of the birds - "*the old hawke stands upon the 4th feather, the blacke hawke upon the 6th, the white hawke upon the 8th*".

Sir John Gell died in London on 26 October 1671. His passion for falconry had been of a piece with an earthy and hedonistic character. His son, however, was much more straight-laced - he had been described in 1663 as "*the most rigid Presbyterian in the county*".<sup>11</sup> He probably lost no time in getting rid of the drunken and incompetent falconer, and is likely to have been disinclined to continue his father's favourite sport. In any event there are no further references to falconry in the family papers.

#### **Acknowledgements**

I wish to acknowledge the help I have received in this research from the staffs of the Derbyshire Record Office at Matlock and Chesterfield Public Library.

#### **References (D258 = Gell papers in the Derbyshire Record Office)**

1. D258/17/31/33
2. D258/30/14/2
3. D258/9/16
4. D258/17/1/1-84
5. D258/33/2/6
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11. Public Record Office, SP Charles II, CLVXVI, 35 - in *Reliquary*, Vol 6, new series, 1892, p11.

**BARRAGE BALLOON SITES IN THE CITY OF DERBY  
READERS' COMMENTS ON THE ARTICLE IN VOL. 16: PART 6**

Perhaps not surprisingly, as a piece of relatively recent history, Jim Regan's article on barrage balloon sites gave rise to a number of comments. The following communications were received from John Heath and Richard Marfleet.

**John Heath** (The Paddocks, Church Lane, Lexington, IP10 0LQ)

Jim Regan's posthumous article brings memories eg the ack-ack site at the 'top' (Nottingham Road end) of Raynesway (later the pad was used for model car racing): also the one on the 'Race-course' not forgetting the one the early morning raider flew over (cover still on) in a raid on R[olls] R[oyce]. (?The Station)

Re the 'smoke generators' (posh name for paraffin containers with a funnel and lid) was their siting related to weather conditions (?) and topography? They were along the upper end of Abbey Street, Nottingham Road (town side of the Cemetery) and on Burton Road (town side of Abbey Street) but where else? Joyce reminds me of the 'swill buses' that were strategically positioned (waste food - vegetables only). A time for the golden oldies to come out of the woodwork.

On a similar theme - have the iron stanchions (on canals only I believe) been sited? These were put up for Lewis Guns to be fired from (and then moved on to the next site). I believe there was one at the Borrowash Lock.

**Richard Marfleet** (Brookfields, 26, Bullhurst Lane, Weston Underwood, DE6 4PA)

Reference the article by the late Jim Regan in the *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Autumn 2003, I wondered if you might be interested in the enclosed photocopies.

These were taken in 1995 on what I believe was the site of an ack-ack and balloon battery just off Stenson Road, Derby.

I recall seeing this establishment when as a small boy I would walk from home in Stenson Road to The Bubble.

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Site of barrage balloons and ack-ack gun site 1940-45,  
rear Stenson Road, Derby. ?No 200 Battery.

## PART 3: THE SITE OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST HELEN'S IN THE 19TH CENTURY

### 2. 85 KING ST, DERBY (FORMER DERBY CHINA WORKS)

(by Jane Steer,

Next door to the Marble Works on King Street is a building which housed the Derby China Works from 1848-1935. Since Part 2 (Vol 16, Part 4, Autumn 2002) of these articles was published, we have discovered that the building itself can be dated back to 1808 and is indeed probably one of the tenements which belonged to Old St Helen's House in the 18thC.



85 King Street in 2002 (left hand building next to the access road for the Spar Manufactory workshops)

#### The Owners

In 1802, Mrs Wallis occupied one of the cottages or tenements included in the sale of the site of Old St Helen's House to the Browns. This occupation by Mrs Wallis and earlier her husband can be traced back to 1780<sup>1</sup> and the building would have been only a few feet away from Old St Helen's House. By 1808 Mrs Wallis probably owned the building because she is paying a rate of 9d for Job Hughes's shop [workshop] as well as rates on the Seven Stars, a malt office and other properties.<sup>2</sup>

Job Hughes, who was a cabinet-maker, bought 85 King Street because records show that he and his descendants owned the premises for over a hundred years until they were bought by the proprietors of the Derby China Works. He probably also bought the malt office and the houses in the Seven Stars yard because his daughter Sarah owned them c1840-c1860. Job died in 1831 at his house in Alvaston, leaving effects under £1500. His son, John, followed him as a cabinet maker and later as a bow manufacturer<sup>3</sup> at King Street until his own death in 1843. In 1841 William Sparkes, who had written a book '*The Young Archers Guide or instruction on how to use the long bow*' in 1829<sup>4</sup> was also working with him as a cabinet maker. Glover's *Directory of Derby* of 1843 shows that William had a petrification warehouse at the King Street premises and by 1845 he had married Job's daughter, Anne. Three years later, the King Street premises were rented out to the Derby China Works and the Sparkes went to live at 6 Uttoxeter New Road. Before her marriage, Anne Hughes lent Joseph Hall the money to buy 10 St Helen's Street in 1832 and Joseph Richard St Helen Hall was an executor of the wills of both Sparkes, indicating that the families were probably good friends.

Anne Sparkes made her Will in 1855 but was still administering her own father's will in 1865.<sup>5</sup> By May 1867 she had sold part of her real estate belonging to trusts set up under her marriage settlement to the Derby Hotel

<sup>1</sup> Land Tax Assessments for parish of St Alkmund. DLSL, microfilm; *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 16, Part 4, p113-4.

<sup>2</sup> St Alkmund's Church Rates 1808. DLSL St Alkmund's parish register microfilm.

<sup>3</sup> 1841 Census. John was now over 65.

<sup>4</sup> Derby Local Studies Library, 4100.

<sup>5</sup> Job Hughes died on 28 June 1831 in Alvaston. Letters of Administration 1865, DRO.

Improvement Company for £1400. After her death later that year,<sup>6</sup> the rest of her property (under £2000) went to the use of her husband during his life, apart from a few family legacies and legacies to the Trustees of the Derby Infirmary, the London, Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies and the Bible Society. When William died in March 1869, now described as a gentleman and retired silk throwster, he left the Lord Hill public house, two messuages and a malthouse in Short Street upon trust to allow his servant, Ellen Hastings to receive an annuity of £52 a year so long as she remained unmarried; the remainder went to his cousins. His house at Green Hill Lane in Alfreton went to George Pegg and a legacy of £700 to the London Missionary Society. However, because Anne and William had no children, Anne's marriage settlement and will stipulated that after William's death her estate and property went only to descendants of either Anne's mother or father. The property consisted of a house in Alvaston and monetary legacies left to some of the grandchildren of her sisters Sarah Collumbell and Mary Forrester and:

*House, Shop and premises situate in King St, Derby, and now as a China Manufactory, to Sarah Sherwin, Caroline Sherwin, Eliza Sherwin and Kate Sherwin the daughters of William Bakewell Sherwin of Derby, chemist.*<sup>7</sup>

The Sherwin sisters were the unmarried grand-daughters of Sarah Collumbell (1774-c1864), Anne's sister, who married William Collumbell, a well-known tailor of St Mary's Gate. In the 1860s she lived at 4 Cherry Street with her granddaughters, Catherine and Emma Redshaw, both governesses, and owned the malt office and the two cottages in the Seven Stars yard, King Street as well as four other houses in Cherry Street.<sup>8</sup>

Sarah's daughter, Caroline Collumbell (1815-c1860) married William Bakewell Sherwin, a chemist, druggist and maltster of 18 Queen Street who lived at 8 Parker Street in 1857 and 7 North Parade in 1881. He was also Sarah Collumbell's tenant at the malt office c1860s and, for a short period, owned it. He was a Councillor for Bridge Ward, later an Alderman, and Chairman of the Watch Committee for 25 years. He appears to have been a popular politician. A dinner at the Lamb Inn, St Alkmund's Churchyard, was held in November 1866 to celebrate his 21 years in office<sup>9</sup> and on 4 December 1895 he was presented with a portrait, a massive silver bowl, two silver candelabra and a silver tea and coffee service bought with £140 raised by subscription as a testimonial to his fifty years as a member of Derby Corporation.<sup>10</sup> After his wife Caroline died leaving him with eight children to bring up, he lived with her sister Susannah who was known as Susannah Sherwin. When she died in 1890 she too left her estate in trust to the three remaining unmarried Sherwin sisters.<sup>11</sup>

None of the Sherwin sisters who inherited 85 King Street married. They lived with their father at 7 North Parade in 1881 and 1891 but by 1901 their father had died and Caroline, Eliza and Kate, although only aged 43 to 50, were living on their own means at a Home of Residence for Tired Workers at Ventnor, Isle of Wight. Their brother Henry, a master maltster, lived next door at 8 North Parade in 1881 with his aunt, Eliza Collumbell, and his Redshaw cousins, now annuitants living on dividends.

When Joseph Hall's children sold 10 St Helen's Street to Potts and Birkinshaw in 1903, the plan accompanying the conveyance document shows the owners of the Derby China Works as 'The Misses Sherwin'. (*Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 16, Part 6, p160). Their father appears to have administered the property for them because he was always listed as the occupier in the Rate Books, and after his death his Executors were listed.

### **The Tenants**

The Derby China Works operated from 85 King Street between 1848-1935 but for most of this time its proprietors were tenants of the Hughes (Sparkes) and the Sherwins.

In 1848 the original 'Crown Derby' Company closed on Nottingham Road. Later that year six of the factory

<sup>6</sup> Anne Hughes married William Sparkes in 1845. She died on November 24, 1867. From Will of Anne Sparkes, DRO.

<sup>7</sup> Will of William Sparkes, 30 March 1868. DRO.

<sup>8</sup> *Poor Law Assessments for St Alkmund's parish 1840-1860*, DLSL. 1861 census. A new Malt Office on the Uttoxeter Turnpike Road, Derby consisted of a cistern for steeping 20 quarters of barley, a drying kiln 20 feet square and a room on the ground floor measuring 101 feet by 20 feet. The rooms over it were erected for a cotton spinner or silk throwster. Advert for the sale of a house, malthouse and land in the *Derby Mercury*, 20 October 1825.

<sup>9</sup> *Derby Mercury*, 7 November 1866, p5, c4. DLSL

<sup>10</sup> Presentation to Mr Sherwin, *Derbyshire General*, Vol XVII, p46. DLSL Local 3200.

<sup>11</sup> Will of Susannah Sherwin otherwise Collumbell, 18 January 1881. DRO.

workers joined forces to rent 85 King Street and set up their own small china factory under the name of 'Wm Locker and Co - China Manufacturers and Dealers in Earthenware and Glass'. They had obtained equipment and moulds from the Nottingham Road factory and so the new factory made ornamental and useful wares in porcelain, similar to those produced by 'Crown Derby'.<sup>12</sup> William Locker died in 1859 and later his cousin, Sampson Hancock, ran the company from 1866 until his death in 1895. Edwin Haslam of St Helen's Street was one of the Hancock's Executors;<sup>13</sup> the other, his grandson and new owner, John James Robinson. Hancock left the china manufactory with all the plant, tools, machinery, stock in trade and patterns together with an option of taking his stock of best finished china to John Robinson. The china was to be valued and the purchase money put in trust: one part for his son, John Hancock, and the other in equal portions for his eight other grandchildren when they were twenty one.

After Robinson's death in 1916 the business was sold to William Larcombe. He took Howard Paget (of the Dorking Brick Factory) into partnership and the pair of them bought 10 St Helen's Street and its workshop from Potts and Birkinshaw the following year.<sup>14</sup> Although they apparently bought the freehold of 85 King Street from the Sherwin sisters for £1050 in 1920,<sup>15</sup> the Rate Books list Larcombe as the occupier and William Bakewell Sherwin's Executors as owner until 1930 when Larcombe was listed as owner. Larcombe sold out to Paget in 1933, who in his turn sold 85 King Street and 10 St Helen's Street to the Royal Crown Derby Porcelain Co on Osmaston Road in 1935.<sup>16</sup> The same year Royal Crown Derby sold 85 King Street to Arthur Fox, who sold furniture, carpets and bedding and used the premises as a workshop and warehouse until 1954,<sup>17</sup> and 10 St Helen's Street to Batterby and Hefford. A china shop was established at 85 King Street until the 1950s.<sup>18</sup>

The kilns (see below in 1890) and works were behind the house.<sup>19</sup>



*Hancock's Old China Works  
Opposite St Helen's Derby.  
May 1890*

In 1919, the owners W.C. Larcombe and F.H. Paget submitted plans to replace an existing one kiln workshop with a two kiln workshop and a new workshop. The plans included the elevation of the existing workshop.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Hilda Moore, *Porcelain Manufacture in King St, Derby*. Derby Museum Information Sheet c1983.

<sup>13</sup> Sampson Hancock's Will. Probate granted 15 April 1896. Anne and Alison Haslam. Private Collection

<sup>14</sup> *Schedule of Deeds relating to No 10 St Helen's Street*. Anne and Alison Haslam. Private Collection.

<sup>15</sup> Robin Blackwood and Cherryl Head, *Old Crown Derby China Works, The King Street Factory 1849-1935*, 2003, p29. Also see for the history of the works and illustrated information about its porcelain products.

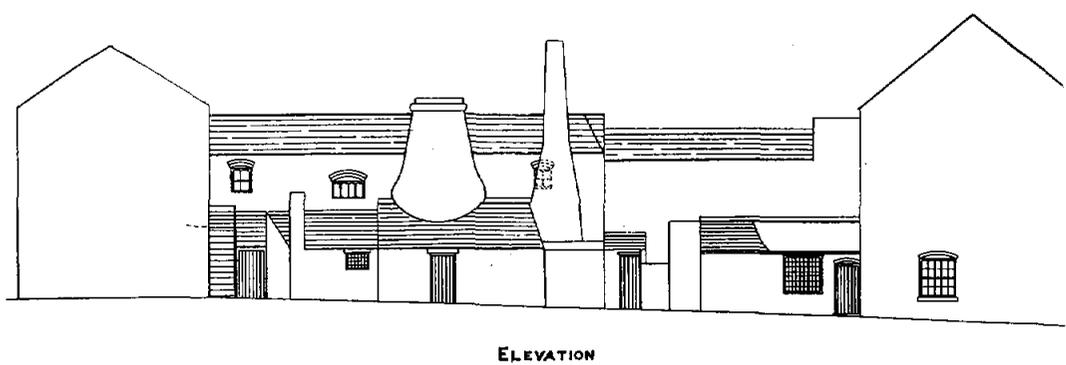
<sup>16</sup> Blackwood and Head, p50; *Schedule of Deeds relating to No 10 St Helen's Street*. Anne and Alison Haslam.

<sup>17</sup> Robin Blackwood and Cherryl Head, *Old Crown Derby China Works, The King Street Factory 1849-1935*, 2003, p51.

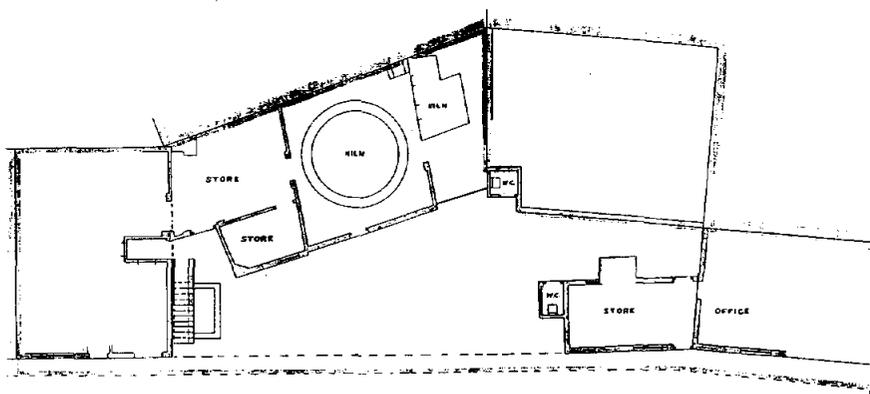
<sup>18</sup> Information about the shop from Peter Billson. William Larcombe bought the premises next door, 87 King Street, in 1930 where he set up shop as a china repairer and lecturer. Kingsmead Ward Rate Book 1930. DLSL

<sup>19</sup> G.G. Thompson, *Notebooks 1880-1902*, Vol 2, p63. Reproduced with permission of DLSL, MS A 900.8.

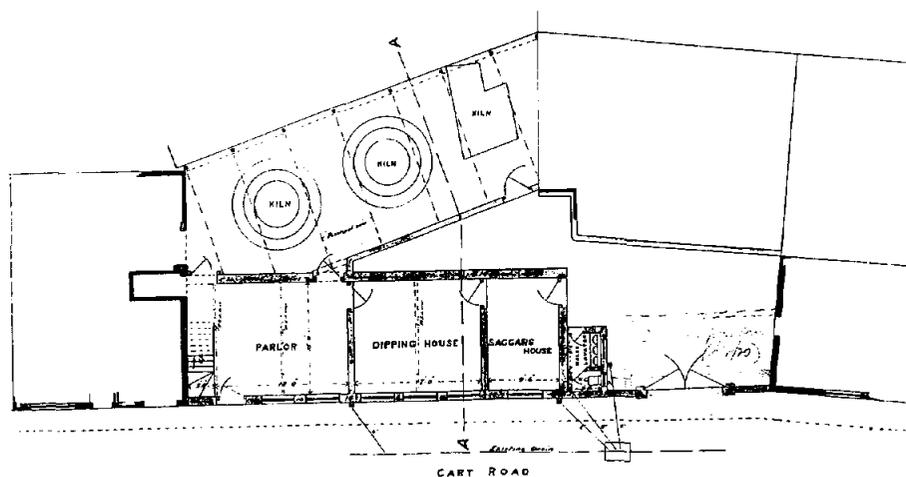
<sup>20</sup> Building Notice and Plan No 12423, July 1919, DLSL



The existing ground plan in 1919:



and the proposed two kiln workshop replacement and a two-storey building fronting the cart road. The first floor rooms were labelled 'Painting' and 'Japanning'.



The 1951 Ordnance Survey map and an aerial photograph taken in the 1950s show that the new buildings were erected.<sup>21</sup> The kilns were demolished in 1935 and the rest of the workshops in the 1980s.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 'Lost Derby Supplement', November 2001

<sup>22</sup> *Derbyshire Advertiser*, photograph, 28 June 1935, p6, c4; Blackwood and Head, p51.