

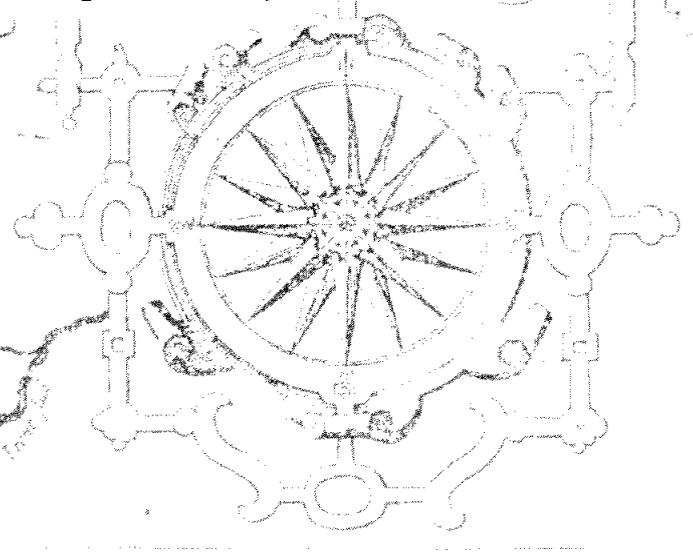
# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

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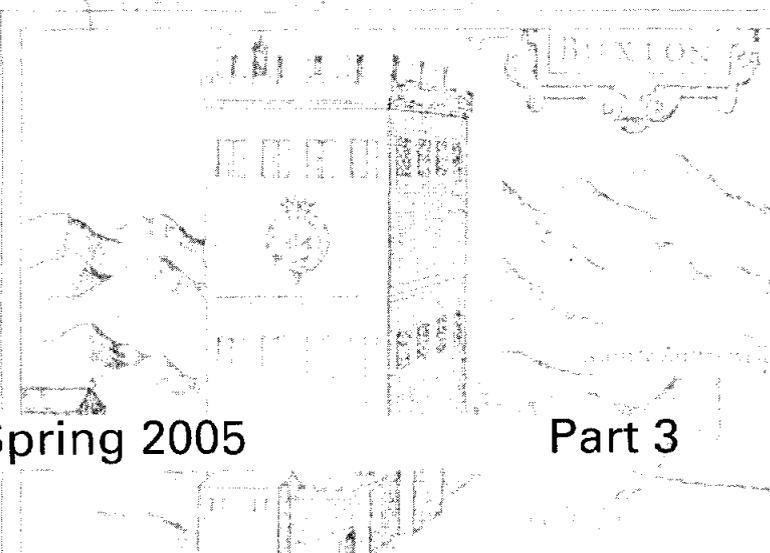
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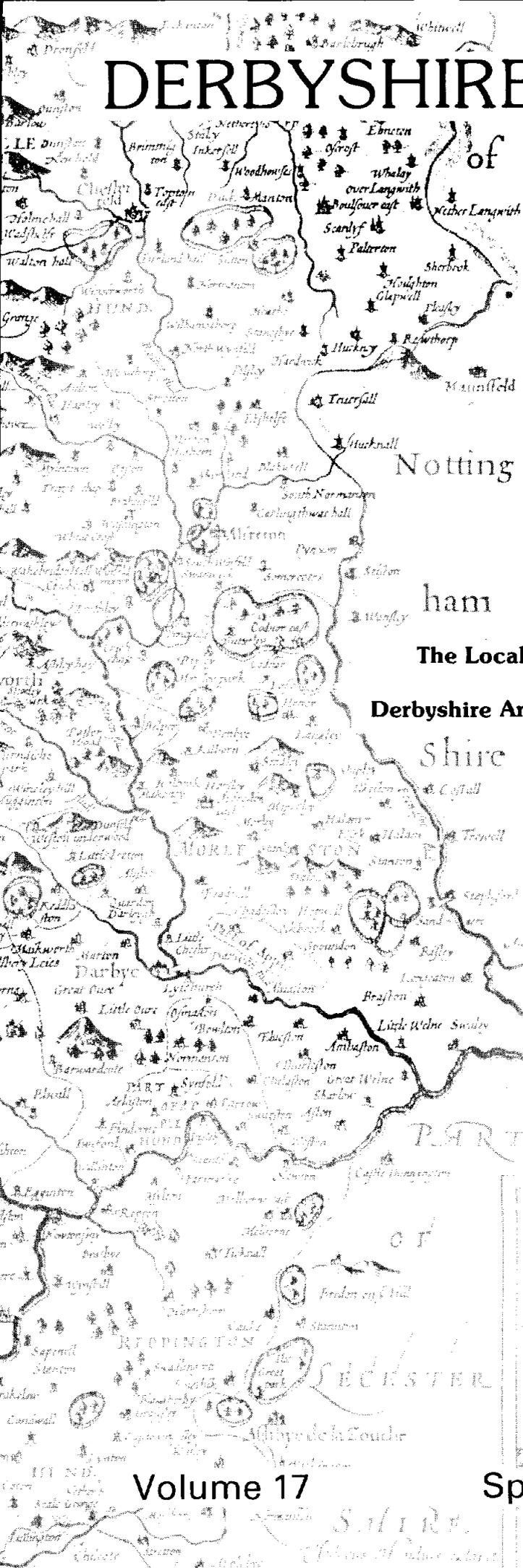
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# DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

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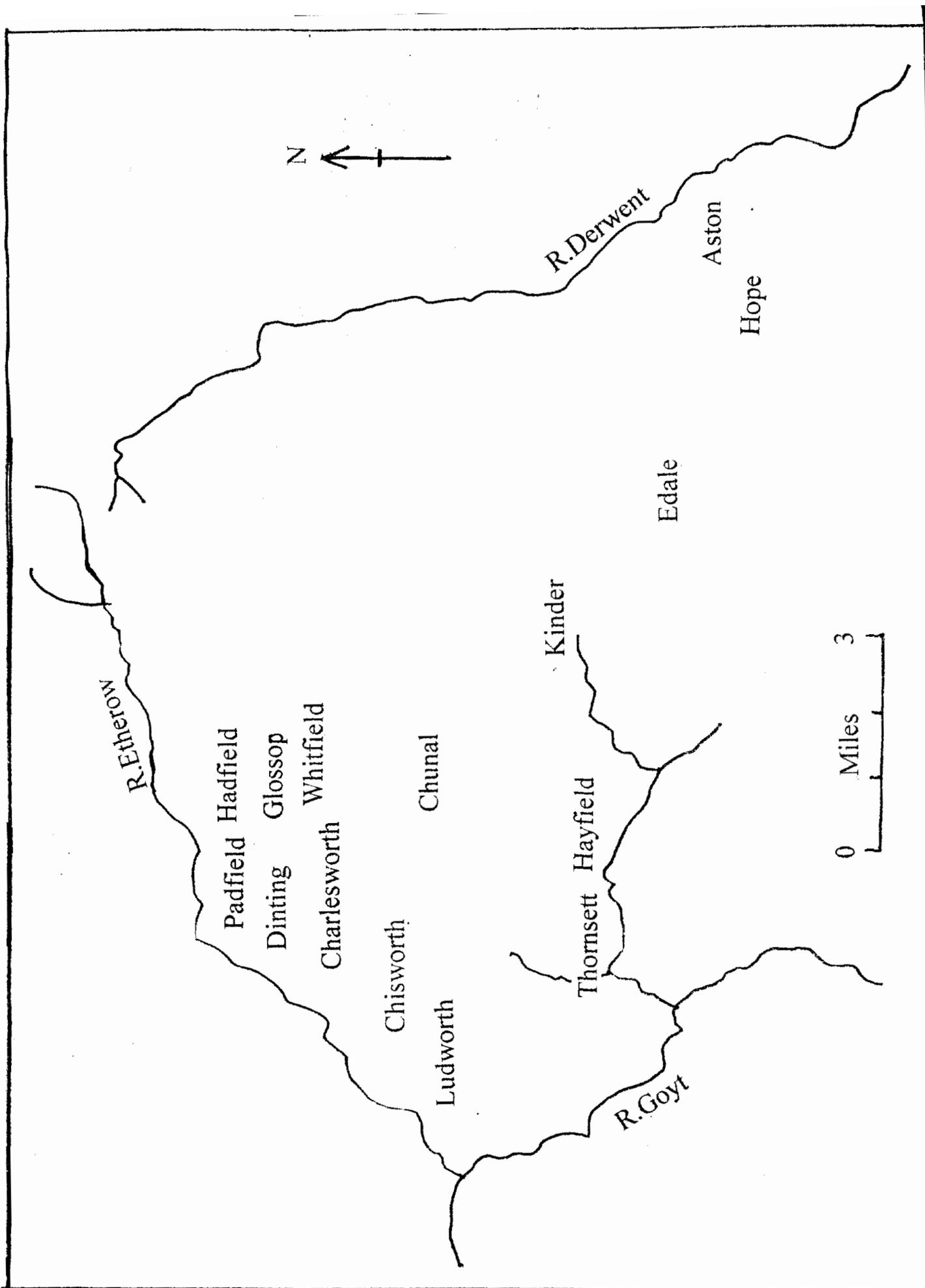


Figure 1: Estate names recorded at the time of Domesday 1086.

## NEW MILLS IN BOWDEN MIDDLECALE BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(by Derek Brumhead, New Mills Heritage Centre, Rock Mill Lane, New Mills, SK22 3BN)

Writers of tourist guides in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem to have taken the view that the north-western boundary of the Peak District, if not Derbyshire, stopped at Buxton on the western edge of the limestone 'white peak', so emphasising the detachment of the 'dark peak' from the rest of the county. Except for very few exceptions, towns and villages such as Glossop, Hayfield, Chapel en le Frith, New Mills, Whaley Bridge and Chinley were ignored or simply forgotten, although it has to be remembered that the last three are new towns of the industrial revolution. There is a geographical reason for overlooking this region for, although historically part of the High Peak, this pronounced north-west extension of Derbyshire, with its gritstone moorlands, its hills of sandstone, shales, and coal seams, with intervening valleys, and westward-flowing rivers has geologically and geographically more affinity with the western Pennine fringe than the rest of the county.<sup>1</sup> Its economic history - a rural economy based chiefly on cattle and sheep, the growing of corn (mainly oats and barley) and the domestic production of textiles, mainly wool and linen out of which grew new industrial towns with cotton and calico print industries based on the ample water power sources - places it within the fringe of the textile region of south-east Lancashire and north east Cheshire, an economic affinity recognised in a more modern context by Bowles and later by Ashmore and Walton.<sup>2</sup> A post-war writer described the area '*as this most Lancashire corner of Derbyshire*'.

As a result of its northwest extension as far as the Longdendale valley (River Etherow), anomalies arise as to where to place this area regionally. Because of the westward-flowing rivers, its water services are provided by North West Water.<sup>3</sup> But being in Derbyshire, in many administrative matters it finds itself part of the east Midlands.<sup>4</sup> Like the *East Midland Historian*, the journal *Midland History* is the repository of articles on Derbyshire, although articles on the cotton industry, railways and canals in the region have more relevance to the Manchester region and the north-west, covered by *Northern History*. The most recent authoritative and, in part, theoretical analysis of the region's definition and identity is by Melanie Tebbutt.<sup>5</sup>

This study is concerned with identifying this region and describing its growth and economic development from medieval times to the late eighteenth century. The end notes are a part of this study intending to serve as a survey of the sources of information for this district.

Little is known of the two centuries or so which span the departure of the Romans from Britain and the first occupation of the Peak District by the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century. Settlement by these people in the north-west region appears to have come late because of the relative inaccessibility. There are neither documents nor archaeological sites to shed light on the history of this period, but we do have the evidence of place names. Generally in this region, place names show a marked difference from those elsewhere in the county. Names ending in *-ton* (meaning enclosure, farmstead, estate, village) or *-ley* (wood, clearing in a wood) are rare, but where valleys provided access from the Cheshire plain, there is an important group in the 'dark peak' containing the element *-worth* (enclosure), for example, Bugsworth, Rowarth, Charlesworth, Chisworth, Hollinworth, and Ludworth.<sup>6</sup>

The Domesday Survey provides evidence of the conditions which prevailed in the area just before the Norman Conquest.

*All Longdendale is waste: woodland. unpastured. fit for hunting. The whole 8 leagues long and 4 leagues wide [12 x 6 miles]. [Value] before 1066, 40s.*

At the time of Domesday, Longdendale was a name that meant more than it does today. It was one of the three large divisions of the royal forest of Peak, and not being confined to the Etherow valley as it is today, included a large tract of hilly country to the south which included the Kinder plateau. William I had taken Longdendale for himself, but we are told that before the Conquest nine individuals, men with Anglian names, held the estates.

The Domesday description suggests that the Etherow valley was heavy with forest, suitable for hunting rather than farming - *Silva est ibi non pastilis, apta venationi*. Certainly the collective value at 40 shillings was low; many 'white peak' manors were individually assessed at several pounds. It seems that the Longdendale

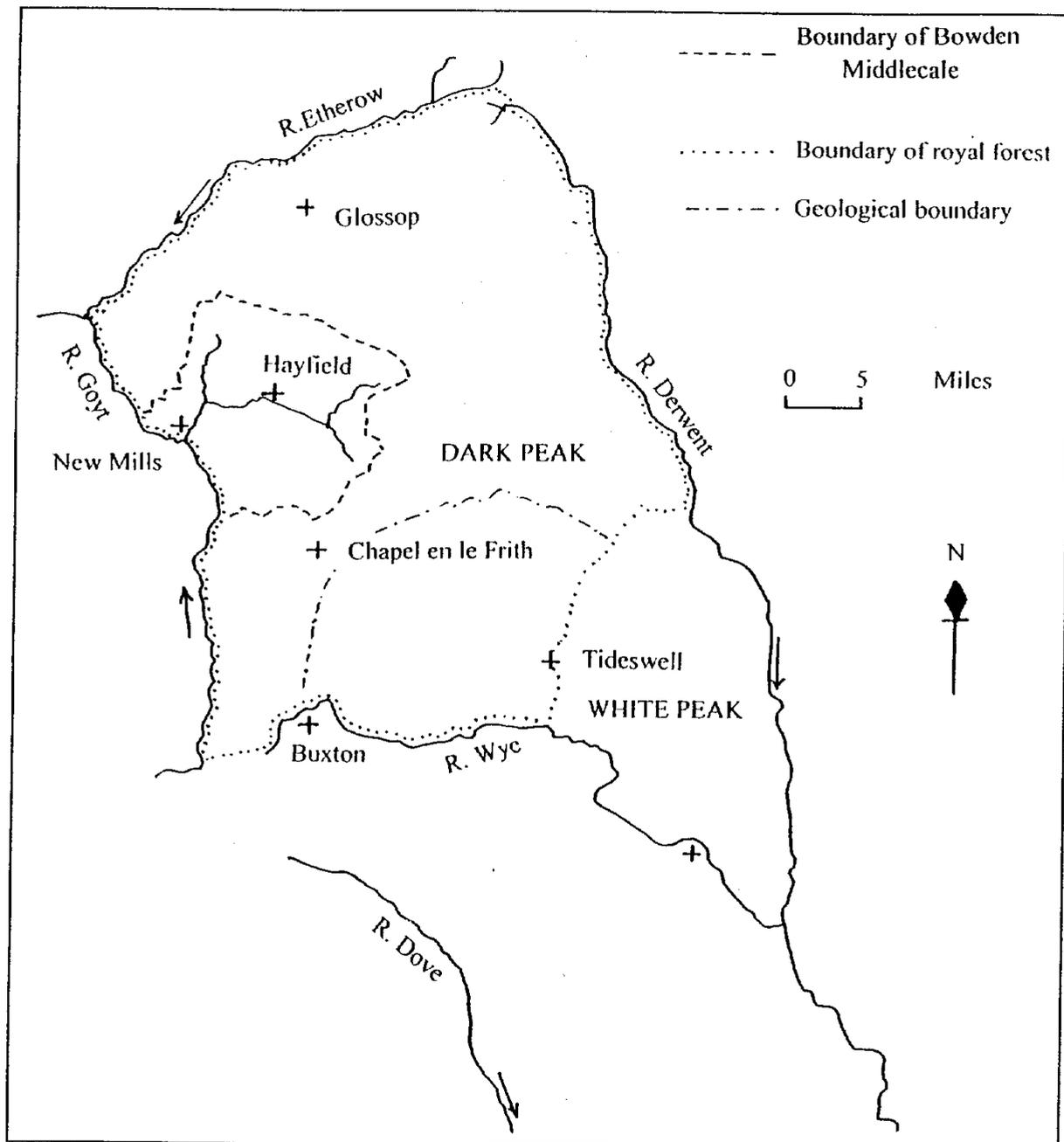


Figure 2: Boundary of the Royal Forest of Peak in the thirteenth century

settlements were probably no more than dispersed hamlets or farmsteads with limited arable land, occupying clearings in the woodland, or perhaps the gritstone shelves and gentle lower slopes above the undrained valleys and below the open moors. There is an isolated cluster of estate names in the extreme north-west of Derbyshire which highlights the region's distinction as a different geographical area (Figure I). This character has continued to the present day.

'*All Longdendale is waste*' is the description in 1086, when no value could be attached to the estates and no population recorded. The use of the term 'waste' is one of the most puzzling expressions used in the Domesday Survey. Many manors in north Derbyshire are recorded as waste, a fact attributed to William's 'harrying of the north' in 1069-71, his ruthless retribution against those who refused allegiance.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, it might be that Longdendale, its farming always marginal, suffered an eclipse and loss of population in those unsettled years. Many hundreds of years later in the seventeenth century, the unenclosed moorland areas of the region were still being described as wastes. When the earl of Shrewsbury purchased an extensive part of Longdendale from Elizabeth I, a map prepared at the time (possibly between 1587 and 1590) shows 'great wastes' in between blocks of herbage.<sup>8</sup> Later, in the seventeenth century, these commons and wastes became the subject of a contentious division between the duchy (crown) and the freeholders and tenants.

The medieval and early-modern history of the region was moulded by it being part of the royal forest of the Peak, whose affinities extended eastwards into the 'white peak' and was part of an inheritance dating back to William I (Figure 2).<sup>9</sup> Early in the twelfth century, the Longdendale part centred around Glossop was granted away by the crown, forming the manor of Glossop, and from then onwards had a separate history of its own.<sup>10</sup> The rest of the forest formed a core within the manor and forest of Peak, which in 1372 passed into the ownership of John of Gaunt to become, from 1399 when his son was crowned Henry IV, part of the huge crown estate known as the Duchy of Lancaster. To protect his inheritance, Henry decided early on that the administration and accounts of the duchy should be kept separate from the crown. As a result, there is a rich heritage of primary documents available for this region in the Public Record Office, particularly rentals, ministers' accounts, decrees of the duchy court, special commissions giving details of the disposition of land, landholdings and estate managements, and maps. In this context, all students of the manor and royal forest of Peak are indebted to Somerville, who made use of his unrivalled access to duchy documentation in a work of great stature and in a seminal article.<sup>11</sup>

Since the region was part of a royal forest, there are useful comparisons and contrasts to be made with other crown forests in the north-west, eg Bowland, Pendle and Rossendale, particularly with respect to land tenure. Although physically separate, they are similar in geography, geology and climate, resulting in landscapes of marginal farming in the valleys with the higher moorlands providing wastes and commons. The students of these forests have considered in detail their economic history but there has been no such systematic study of the royal forest of Peak, other than those dealing with the medieval period.<sup>12</sup>

Being preserves for hunting, royal forests naturally coincided with the more heavily wooded areas of the country, but they were to some extent artificial in that they included not only lands without woods but lands with villages, farms and even towns.<sup>13</sup> The king owned the deer but not necessarily the land within a royal forest. Other persons might possess lands within its bounds, but they were not allowed to hunt, cut trees, or build houses. However, ancient enclosed arable could normally be used and there were rights of pasture for grazing. Although the forest laws have the reputation for being harsh, transgressions were normally punished by fines, a useful source of income to the crown.

Forest laws were strict, but as population grew in the later middle ages there was increasing competition for control of the resources of the forests. Yeatman, in his transcriptions from medieval Latin of the proceedings of the royal forest and from the pipe rolls, brought to light the economic history of the royal forest of the Peak. Although this work was continued by Hope, Kerry and Bowles, it was not seriously taken up again until more recently by Blanchard, Garratt and Bryant.<sup>14</sup> Bryant has re-worked documents relating to the region, such as the accounts of the eyre courts, which give details of assarts - land taken illegally for private farming - houses built and the destruction of trees for building and fuel. These important transcriptions, which have not been published, show that the early thirteenth century appears to have been a formative period in the history of the New Mills area - the first recorded period of arable farming, when land was cut out of the medieval forest.<sup>15</sup> One of the largest assarts took place at Beard where William le Ragged assarted 58 acres in about 1230. Settlement was certainly well advanced by this time, for a number of local names are mentioned in the documents - (modern spelling) - Aspenshaw, Beard, Beardhough, Cown Edge, Knightwake, Ollersett, Ravenslack, Redishaw, Rowarth, Strines, Thornsett and Whitle. Following these clearances and encroachments, the area gradually

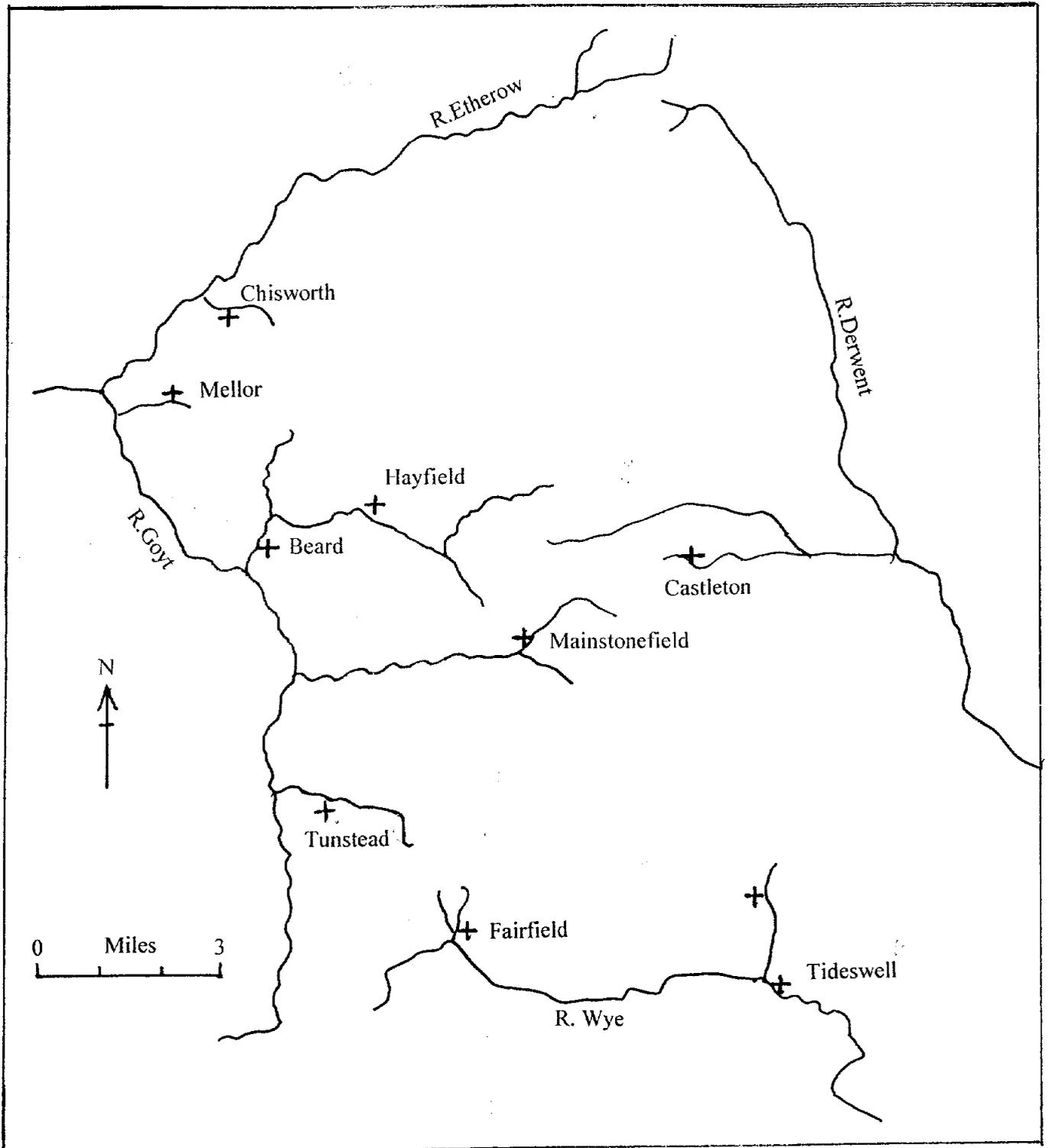


Figure 3: The location of duchy of Lancaster corn mills in the fourteenth century (Source: Bryant, 1990)

developed a mature spread of farms and hamlets. A stable, but evolving, rural economy grew up with farms engaged in sheep, cattle and considerable crops of corn, supplemented domestic textiles, chiefly wool and linen. Bryant's work on the local corn mills from a study of duchy of Lancaster financial accounts provides us with a glimpse of the wealth of material in the PRO (in medieval Latin) which has not been tackled. (Figure 3).<sup>16</sup>

Despite increasing interest in pre-industrial economic history, the region was not intensively researched until very recently. Indeed, the early modern history of the region received scant attention at all in modern academic literature despite the leads given by pioneers such as Yeatman, who made a general survey of Derbyshire's history including a synthesis of historical research to that date. His ten-volume *The feudal history of the county of Derbyshire* (1886) unfortunately was careless and unreliable, with many mistranslations and mistakes.<sup>17</sup> This is a pity since he tackled some important documents in medieval Latin about the royal forest of Peak. Before him, Adam Wolley 1758-1827 made an immense collection of papers on all aspects of Derbyshire history, comprising over fifty folio volumes in the British Library.<sup>18</sup> He made transcriptions of duchy papers relating to the royal forest.<sup>19</sup> There is a card index in the local studies library at County Hall, Matlock.

In the early twentieth century, a new phase of research into the economic history of the county culminated in the major contributions by Stenton, Lander, and Cox in the *Victoria County History of Derbyshire*.<sup>20</sup> They made use of such notable sources as articles in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, the Wolley manuscripts, and the duchy of Lancaster's ministers' accounts, producing the first important synthesis of the economic history. This is the beginning of specialist studies among which Cox was pre-eminent. Particularly, in separate publications he described the administrative aspects of the royal forest and the economic effects of disafforestation and division of the commons and wastes in the seventeenth century which could be regarded as seminal.<sup>21</sup> But it was some decades before his work was followed up by Bunting in his important general study of Chapel-en-le-Frith and its region, which focussed on the economic changes in the royal forest.<sup>22</sup>

Later detailed studies, however, still concentrated on the late middle ages. Power, described the organisation of the duchy of Lancaster's sheep farm in the High Peak in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, yet it was another twenty years before there was another detailed study, by Birrell.<sup>23</sup> Finally, Blanchard's dense analysis of economic change in early-late medieval Derbyshire is a study which has attracted a good deal of attention supported as it is by a wealth of primary documentation, both private and public.<sup>24</sup> The *Victoria County History* was followed by more specialist studies - by Cameron, Williams, Nixon, Harris and the Derbyshire Record Society. More recently, Turbutt's monumental four-volume work is the first comprehensive general history of the county since the *Victoria County History* volumes were published. It provides the most comprehensive synthesis available of research done in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly on the royal forest in medieval times, and includes a survey of Derbyshire historians and record sources.<sup>25</sup> Although in any such county history it is clearly impossible for every region to receive a satisfactory survey across the centuries, nevertheless the references to the New Mills region before the industrial period, besides the pages on the royal forest, are confined to six brief one-page references. This shows the importance of researchers tracking down local publications, which inevitably are overlooked but which are often authoritative source material.<sup>26</sup>

Administratively, from medieval times, the district was part of a wide area called Bowden Middlecale, a division consisting of ten hamlets for tax purposes (Figure 4).<sup>27</sup> In 1713 these were divided into three groups based on an equitable division of the poor rate - Great Hamlet, Phoside and Kinder; Chinley, Bugsworth and Brownside; Beard, Ollersett, Thornsett and Whitle. This three-fold division of hamlets came to form the basis of the division of local government areas, census districts, and poor law unions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the four hamlets of the last group became linked eventually to form the district of New Mills.

All ten hamlets, together with the hamlet of Mellor, were in the ancient parish of Glossop, which like many other parishes in Derbyshire was extensive and widespread. This was partly a reflection of its geography and geology - gritstone moorlands and lower shelves of sandstone and shale areas with intervening valleys, none of it very fruitful in the way of arable land. The low grade and marginal farming carved out of the lands of the royal forest of Peak contributed to the establishment of the large parish. The distances and terrain involved would certainly have made communications difficult and by the early fifteenth century chapels had been built at Hayfield and Mellor.<sup>28</sup> The ten hamlets of Bowden Middlecale fell within the Glossop parish, but the chapelry boundaries cut across the hamlet boundaries. Mellor chapelry, for instance, included Whitle and part of Thornsett which were inside Bowden Middlecale, and Mellor, Ludworth and Chisworth hamlets which were outside it.

For four hundred years, Bowden Middlecale gradually developed into an area of farms and hall-farms on sites which had had their beginnings in the first clearances and encroachments. The study of the subsequent history of

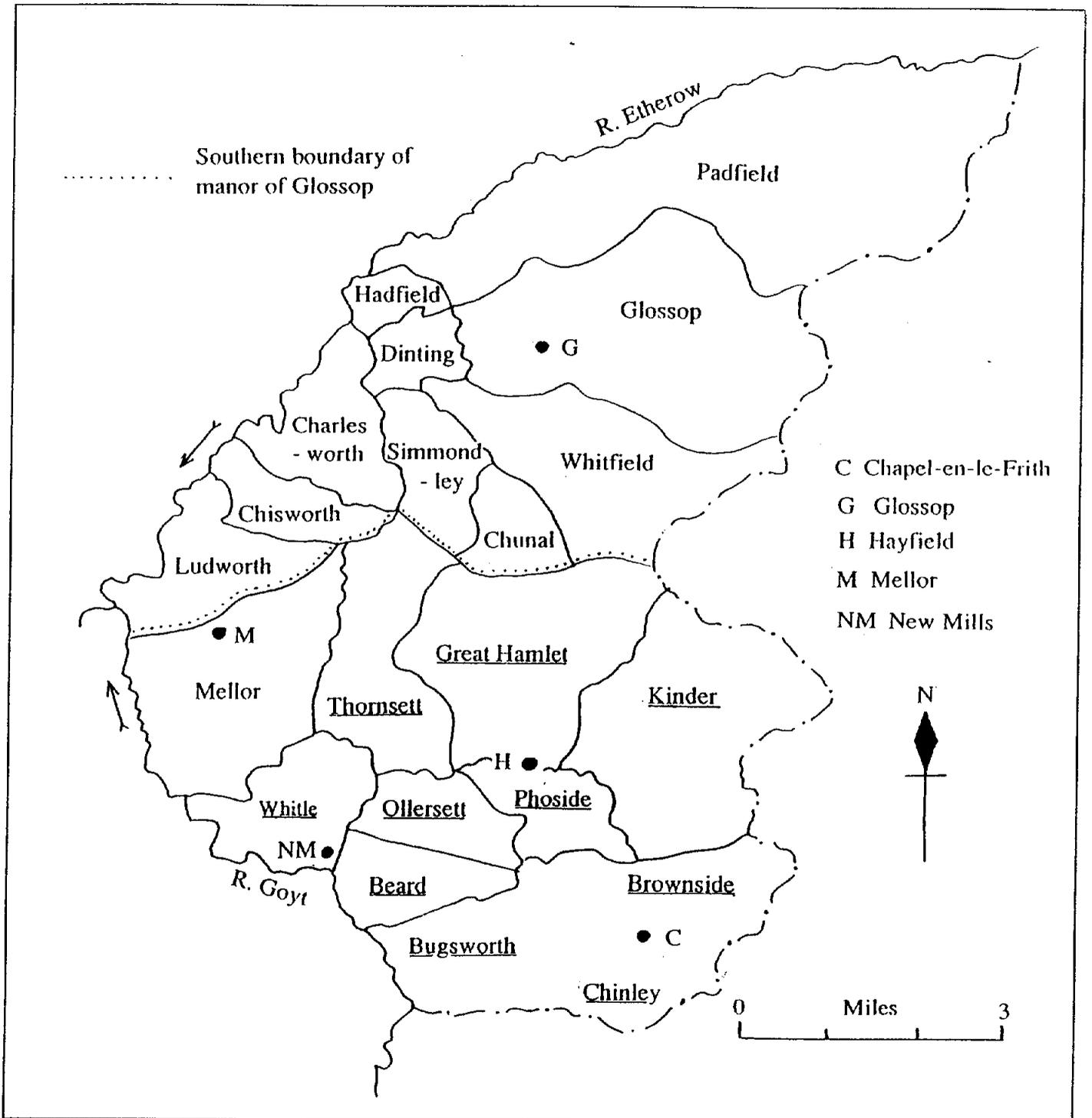


Figure 4: Hamlets of the ancient parish of Glossop. Bowden Middlecale hamlets are underlined.

encroachment, land tenure, disafforestation, and the division of wastes and commons, has provided an insight into how these economic circumstances set the template for the subsequent development of the rural economy.<sup>29</sup> Notable, is that with this growth of individual farms, there was not a communal system of agriculture as was developed in a region of nucleated villages, such as those only a few miles away in the 'white peak'. The area was thus saved also from the impact of enclosures. There was a degree of stability in the social structure, with farm sites dating back to the first medieval clearances, and families living in the region for centuries. In other regions of a more arable nature, enclosures took place suddenly, removing great areas from common use and producing a class of landless agricultural labourers.

This character of Bowden Middlecale is heightened by the great contrast with the much smaller neighbouring manor of Glossop where it was possible for the landlord to keep in close contact with tenants. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, customary tenants in the Glossop manor were forced to become tenants at will at much inflated prices. In the royal manor, however, copyholds were to all intents and purposes freeholds, the fines were certain, and the rents were very low, most remaining at levels set in the thirteenth century.<sup>30</sup> Duchy officials did not keep in touch with inflation and rents remained static for centuries to the great advantage of the freeholders and tenants. Such protection aided the growth of a strong gentlemen-yeomen class and gave the financial ability and confidence to rebuild property, evident in the many halls and hall-farms which are still a strong element in the gritstone areas of Bowden Middlecale and Bowden Chapel.<sup>31</sup> With such influential persons, strong minded and independent, the establishment in the 1660s around Ford Hall near Chapel en le Frith of one of the earliest centres of non-conformity, is therefore not surprising.<sup>32</sup>

There was also the question of the encroachments upon the commons and wastes which had gone for centuries and were recorded by the parliamentary surveys of 1650.<sup>33</sup> They showed that most of the encroachments had been made by, or belonged to, freeholders and tenants. In other duchy forests in the north west, copyholders were in the majority. As a result, the forest of Peak seems to have avoided the copyhold disputes of those areas under James I.<sup>34</sup> The important conclusion is that there was not generally any substantial underclass of poor squatters or landless cottagers, as for instance in Rossendale, and that the rural economy by the mid-late seventeenth century was made up almost entirely of scattered independent farms.

In the first few decades of the seventeenth century, with the growth of population, there was considerable pressure on the crown for the removal of the deer from the royal forest, a relaxation of the forest law, the division of the commons and wastes between the crown and tenants, and the enclosure and improvement of the land. In 1634 the freeholders and tenants petitioned the crown, and after the hiatus caused by the civil war and interregnum, this ultimately led to agreements which divided the commons and wastes, allocating one half to the crown and the other half to the freeholders and tenants. The king's parts of the commons and wastes were sold for improvement to a private individual (Thomas Eyre of Rowtor), who in the late seventeenth century proceeded to sell it off piecemeal to local people.<sup>35</sup> The building of farms together with new tracks and roads marked the beginning of a period of new prosperity with much rebuilding of farms and halls, and the opening up of coal mines on the upper moorlands in the first half of the eighteenth century many years before the industrial period.

In its land dealing, bestowing freeholds and selling off the commons and wastes, the duchy was careful to retain the mineral rights and there are some fine indentures for the mining of coal.<sup>36</sup> These have allowed a study of the changing legal arrangements for mining over several centuries, from the granting of licences for small rents without royalties under Elizabeth I to the notable extension of covenants at the onset of the industrial period.<sup>37</sup> Historians regarded serious local coal mining to be a nineteenth century matter until a unique record of early eighteenth century coal mining - a weekly coal mining private account book encompassing 46 years - was purchased in an auction by the Derbyshire Record Office.<sup>38</sup> It has brought a greater perspective to, and allowed a greater understanding of, the later nineteenth century coal mining in a small but significant coalfield, a study which is also aided by the availability of a complete set of nineteenth century mine abandonment plans.<sup>39</sup>

Wills and inventories of local people up to 1858 are held in the Diocesan Record Office at Lichfield and are invaluable for analysis of the agricultural economy, the levels and distribution of wealth, and crafts and industrial activities. The existence of a printed index for all the local probate documents has removed the labour of going through the record cards.<sup>40</sup> The study of these documents from about 1500 to 1750 shows the growth and stability of a rural economy based on pastoral farming, growing corn, and domestic textiles, mainly wool and linen.<sup>41</sup> The area consisted of scattered hill farms, cottages and hamlets, all with names which we would recognise today. A map of the seventeenth century of the Beard estate shows a complete pattern of fields and roads not dissimilar to those of today.<sup>42</sup> There was a scatter of stone quarries and coal pits, and streams provided

water power sites for a corn mill, two or three fulling mills and a paper mill.

Farming was chiefly concerned with dairy cattle and sheep, and corn (mainly oats and barley) was important well into the nineteenth century for the purposes of animal feed and oat meal for human consumption.<sup>43</sup> Clearly, it was more economical to grow corn rather than buying and transporting it, although climate, soils and the slope of the land were far from ideal. Corn was grown on 83 of the 130 farms in Bowden Middlecale whose inventories were analysed between 1604 and 1778. This would befit a partly self-reliant economy in a difficult region with poor communications, with considerable numbers of livestock to feed in winter and with oats used for oatmeal and oat cakes for human consumption, corn was a vital crop and the unsatisfactory conditions for growth had to be contended with.<sup>44</sup> However, by the time New Mills tithing map and award was published in 1841, no arable was recorded. This almost certainly was due to the fact that in the intervening period communications had improved with new turnpike roads linking New Mills to Stockport and Manchester.<sup>45</sup> No corn is grown locally now but many fields still show evidence of past ploughing.

The local parish registers starting in 1620 are complemented by a nearly complete set of bishops' transcripts held in the Diocesan Record Office at Lichfield.<sup>46</sup> There is the usual wide range of a substantial number of documents held in the Derbyshire Record Office, the most important being non-conformist registers, the quarter sessions records, a full set of land tax assessments, railway plans, records of the turnpike trusts, tithe maps, and enclosure maps. There are also individual documents such as deeds, agreements, poor rate returns and copies of Duchy of Lancaster documents some of which are not in the Public Record Office. High Peak documents have also found their way into other archive centres in Sheffield, Chester and Manchester as part of estate and family collections.<sup>47</sup>

In using church registers and bishops' transcripts to chart baptisms and burials and to estimate the annual balances, by far the greatest handicap is the lack of any closed area within which to operate. There was no simple one-village and parish structure, which normally helps to simplify such studies. Not only did the region of study consist of two chapelries within the ancient parish of Glossop, but persons were not necessarily baptised or buried in the chapelry in which they lived because of the distances involved and the inconvenience of travel, or for other reasons. In addition, those living near the boundaries of Bowden Middlecale were within the catchment areas of other churches.<sup>48</sup>

The present town of New Mills takes its name from a manorial corn mill called 'Berde' mill, dating from 1391, which was located near the present Salem Mill at the bottom of High Street. Soon after 1391 the mill became known as New Mill ('Newmylne'). By the late sixteenth century, the name New Mill was being used as a place name for the small hamlet which had grown up around the corn mill; in the late eighteenth century it was to form the nucleus of the growing town.<sup>49</sup>

The place of the region geographically within the industrial Pennine fringe of south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire led it to an affinity with the dual economy of that region, that is domestic textiles supplementing pastoral farming. The economic organisation is similar to that recognised in north-east Lancashire, remaining essentially the same over a long period. But although domestic wool and linen were common to the whole of the Pennine fringe, cotton appears never to have found its way into the farms of the New Mills area as a domestic industry, unlike the fustian-producing farms of south-east Lancashire, where farmer-weavers brought in cotton.

When Lowe's work on the Lancashire domestic textile industry before the industrial revolution was published in 1972 it was claimed that very little attention had been paid so far to such studies.<sup>50</sup> Seventeen years later Walton found that little had changed.<sup>51</sup> This certainly remained true as far as north-west Derbyshire is concerned despite the clear early lead being given by Ashmore in a perceptive article.<sup>52</sup> Although surprisingly he does not refer to Tupling's work, the comparison with east Lancashire is emphasised by Ashmore, particularly in noting the changeover from wool to cotton. He also showed that the region had commercial links with Manchester and Stockport rather than with the rest of the county, and that it was an extension of the textile region of the neighbouring part of Cheshire and Lancashire. His lead was not followed up until recently. In north-west Derbyshire, on the eve of the industrial revolution, cotton was introduced into workshops and house conversions with carding machines and jennies, and for some years were a distinctive feature of the early cotton industry, pre-dating the water-powered factory mills built in the Torrs gorge, and later running parallel with them.<sup>53</sup> The local rural industry built up over the centuries - spinners and weavers of wool, clothiers, tanners, iron workers, coal masters - had a particular character, which contributed to establishing a pre-industrial base and made the area appropriately prepared for the new industrial age of cotton and the growth of a new town.

## Notes and References

1. Daniel Defoe is among the few to have clearly identified this piece of country as being different, and he did not think much of it. *'There is indeed an extended angle of the country, which runs a great way North West by Chapel in the Frith and which they call the High Peak. This, perhaps, is the most desolate, wild and abandoned country in all England ... a waste and howling wilderness, over which when strangers travel, they are obliged to take guides, or it would be next to impossible not to lose their way ...'.* *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain. 1724-25, 1778, reprinted 1927, p 179.*
2. C.E.B Bowles, 'Agriculture' in W. Page (Ed), *Victoria History of the County of Derbyshire*, Vol II, p 313. O. Ashmore, 'The early textile industry in north-west Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 1, 1958, pp 129-36. J.K. Walton, *Lancashire: a social history 1558-1939*, 1987, p 103.
3. Now part of United Utilities. In 1990, a book called *The rivers of Derbyshire*, published by Wye Valley Press, completely omits any discussion on this part of the county, and on the map of the county's rivers the Goyt, Sett and Etherow are absent, the area being left blank!
4. For instance, it is served by the East Midlands Museum, Libraries and Archives Council (EMMLAC) and the East Midlands Tourist Board.
5. M. Tebbutt, "'In the Midlands but not of them': Derbyshire Dark Peak - an imagined northern landscape', in N. Kirk (Ed), *Northern Identities. Historical interpretations of 'The North' and 'Northerness'*, 2000, pp 163-93. See also M. Tebbutt, 'Centres and peripheries: reflections on place in a north Derbyshire cotton town, 1880-1890' *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol XIII, 1999, pp3-19.
6. K. Cameron, *The Place-names of Derbyshire*. Three volumes, 1959, Vol I, p xxvii.
7. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman conquest of the north: The region and its transformation, 1000-1135*, 1979.
8. PRO Maps MPC 53. A copy is held in the archives of New Mills Local History Society. The maps which cover the study region are listed in H. Nicholas, *Local maps of Derbyshire to 1770. An inventory and introduction*, Matlock, 1980.
9. 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, *Glossop Dale, Manor and Borough*, 1973. J. Hanmer and D. Winterbottom, *The book of Glossop*, 1992.
10. In 1157, the abbey of Basingwerk in Flintshire received extensive grants in Longdendale, part of the forest, from Henry II, which included the manor and church of Glossop. In 1537, with the dissolution of the monasteries, it was granted to the Talbots, earls of Shrewsbury.
11. R. Somerville, *History of the duchy of Lancaster, Vol I, 1265-1603*, 1953; *Vol II, 1603-1965*, 1970. R. Somerville, 'Commons and wastes in north-west Derbyshire in the High Peak "New Lands"', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* (DAJ), Vol XCVII, 1977, pp 16-22. Sir Robert Somerville was Keeper of Records of the duchy of Lancaster. In the Public Record Office (PRO) all duchy documents are indexed under the Class prefix DL.
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## PUPIL TEACHERS IN THE DERBY BOARD SCHOOLS

(by Sheila Amer,

The idea of pupil teachers, a reform of the monitorial system, was introduced to this country by Dr Kay (later Sir James Kay) Shuttleworth, who had observed the practice in Holland and had experimented with it in the workhouse schools for which he was responsible as a Poor Law Commissioner. He opened an experimental pupil teacher school at Norwood, Surrey in 1838 and in 1846 the Committee of the Privy Council on Education launched a pupil-teacher scheme to train the teachers needed to staff the schools being built in increasing numbers by the voluntary societies as a result of government grants, first introduced in 1833.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 not only gave an impetus to further building but also resulted in the setting up of School Boards whose purpose was to provide school places where these were deficient. Derby School Board was established and its first members, eleven in number, elected on 14 January 1871.

<b>Table 1: Religious affiliation of members of the first Derby School Board</b>	
	5 Anglicans
	1 Roman Catholic
	1 Primitive Methodist
	1 Congregationalist
	2 Wesleyan Methodists
	1 Baptist
<i>Source: Derby Mercury</i>	

In March 1872 the Clerk to the Board reported that the number of efficient places in Derby was 8131, provided as shown in Table 2. Since it was agreed that 9369 places were necessary, the Derby School Board decided to build new schools to accommodate the deficit of 1237.

<b>Table 2: Provision of school places in Derby prior to the opening of the first Board Schools in 1872</b>		
15	Anglican Church Schools	5153 places
3	Wesleyan Schools	1394 places
1	British School	685 places
1	Roman Catholic School	551 places
1	Ragged School	225 places
1	approved Dame School	123 places
	Total:	8131
<i>Source: Steer (1937)</i>		

In the meantime Ashbourne Road Mission Hall and Kedleston Street chapel, with places for 256 and 400 children respectively, were rented. The first Board School to be built was Gerard Street which accommodated 450 children on opening in August 1873. Nuns Street, Traffic Street and Ashbourne Road schools followed and other temporary premises rented. Table 3 shows the numbers of children on the registers at the various Board Schools on 1 October 1875, 16 October 1878 and 16 January 1880 respectively.

<b>Table 3</b>	
<b>Numbers of children on register in Derby Board Schools on 1 October 1875</b>	
Devonshire Street	176
Gerard Street	790
Mission Hall	334
Nun Street	468
Total:	1768
<b>Numbers of children on register in Derby Board Schools on 16 October 1878</b>	
Corden Street	118
Borough's Walk	195
Gerard Street	1090
Mission Hall	343
Nun Street	707
Pear Tree	167
Total:	2620
<b>Numbers of children on register in Derby Board Schools on 16 January 1880</b>	
Ashbourne Road	522
Corden Street (temporary)	156
Gerard Street	1222
Nun Street	783
Pear Tree (temporary)	237
St. Chads (temporary)	119
Traffic Street	624
Total:	3663
Source: <i>Annual Reports of Derby School Board</i>	

Although this shows that there was an increasing number of children in Board Schools, they were still only a small proportion of the total number in elementary schools in Derby. The Chairman of the Derby School Board is reported by the *Derby Mercury* of 23 July 1884 as saying that the average attendance in England was 73 per cent while in Derby it was 76 per cent - perhaps the result of enthusiasm on the part of the attendance officer - and that over 60 per cent of the children in the town were attending voluntary schools. The numbers in the various schools in 1875 and 1877 are shown in Table 4.

<b>Table 4: Numbers of children on register in various types of schools in Derby</b>					
	<b>Board</b>	<b>British</b>	<b>C of E</b>	<b>Roman Catholic</b>	<b>Wesleyan</b>
1875	1768	418	4723	461	1452
1877	1879	407	5040	477	1504
Source: <i>Derby School Board monthly statements of attendance</i>					



*"Causes acting during the apprenticeship itself:*

- (i) *The attraction of superior pay offered in some other employments.*
- (ii) *A very common distaste for teaching on the part of boys.*
- (iii) *The length of the period of preparation and the expense of training.*
- (iv) *The laborious life of pupil teachers, both boys and girls, proceeding from various causes, many of which we hope will be removed if our recommendations are adopted."*

In Derby at this time there was no lack of alternative employment for boys. Only six of the 110 boys who left Gerard Street Organised Science School in the years 1897 and 1898 became pupil teachers. With the girls it was a different story. The Report of the Derby School Board for 1898 stated *"It is to be regretted that there are so few openings in Derby for well-educated girls ... "*. Of the 69 girls who left the same school in 1897, 27 became pupil teachers. The minute book of the Managers of the Derby Pupil Teachers School records that on 2 October 1899 a communication was received Mr Cresswell, the master of the school, regarding the salaries of male pupil teachers. It was resolved *"That enquiry be made from other towns as to salaries paid to male pupil teachers"*. On 30 October 1899 *"A return was presented as to the salary of male pupil teachers in other towns"*. An entry for 27 November 1899 reads:

*"Salaries of male pupil teachers:  
Resolved "That the Clerk be directed to enquire whether the increased salary paid to male pupil teachers have enabled the Boards which have so increased salaries to secure an increased number of male pupil teachers."*

There is no record in the minute book of a reply to this enquiry but national statistics produced by Regan suggest that the increase in salary was of no avail.

The salaries of male pupil teachers had always been higher than those for females. The *Derby Mercury* of 21 February 1873 gave the salaries of pupil teachers for the five years of their apprenticeship which began at the age of 13 (see Table 6). In 1878 the age of entry was raised to 14 years and the salaries of male and female pupil teachers for 1879 are also shown in Table 6.

<b>Table 6</b>					
<b>Salaries of pupil teachers in Derby Board Schools at 21 February 1872</b>					
	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year
Male	£10	£11	£13	£12	£20
Female	£8	£10	£12	£14	£16
Source: <i>Derby Mercury</i> , 21 February 1872					
<b>Salaries of pupil teachers in Derby Board Schools in 1879</b>					
	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	
Male	£14 10s	£17	£17	£19 10s	
Female	£10	£12	£14	£16	
Source: <i>Report of Derby School Board for 1879</i>					

One of the other "causes acting ..." referred to in the 1898 report on the pupil teacher system was the "laborious life of pupil teachers, both boys and girls". They were expected to work six hours a day in school, learning the art of teaching, and be instructed by the certificated of the school (after 1876 a certificated teacher in the school), before or after school hours, in the subjects in which they were examined yearly. From 1878 the hours of work in school were reduced from six to "between three and six" and from 1882 to a maximum of 25 in the week. If the pupil teacher also had to travel a distance to the school, he or she had a very full day. The minute book of the Pupil Teachers Centre records that a Mr H - of Belper had written regarding the possibility of his son becoming a pupil teacher. An entry for 25 January 1897 reads:

*"Resolved*

*That Mr H - be informed that the Board declines to appoint youths as pupil teachers who reside out of Derby on account of the difficulty of obtaining punctual and regular attendance at school and classes."*

Mr B - of Duffield wished his daughter to become a School Board pupil teacher. An entry for 25 October 1897 reads:

*"Resolved*

*That Mr B - be informed that his daughter will be permitted to attend the next examination of candidate pupil teachers and that she will be engaged (provided she passes the examination) only on condition that she resides in Derby during her engagement."*

At the presentation of prizes won by pupil teachers and monitors for religious knowledge, held by the Derby Archdiaconal Board in 1883, the diocesan inspector - The Rev. E. Hacking - declared that:

*"When he went into the schools of the diocese, or when he saw a gathering of pupil teachers such as they saw present, he failed to detect in the appearance of their faces any signs of that overwork about which we recently heard a considerable outcry."*

*(Derby Mercury, 5 December 1883)*

The pupil teachers presented for the examination included 15 from the Derby Board Schools. Although the report concerning them was not as good as it might have been it was hoped that an additional number of them in future would "avail themselves of the opportunity".

At least the Board School pupil teachers had Sunday free of commitments. The local press reported that at a Board meeting in 1875 Mr Holmes had been accused of compelling one of his pupil teachers ("a dissenter") to attend a church Sunday School. The allegation was denied and Mr Roe pointed out that "Sunday was expressly excluded from a pupil teacher's indenture".

The religious problem affected all aspects of education during the years of the School Boards. What training colleges there were were built by the denominational institutions such as the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. The prospects of gaining entry to one of them were very slight and even more so for a Board School pupil teacher. The *Derby Mercury* of 22 March 1882 records that at a meeting of the Derby School Board:

*"The Clerk read a letter from the Bradford School Board asking for the co-operation of the Derby Board in the obtaining of additional training colleges for the teachers of Board Schools who were unable to get into the existing denominational training colleges. The Chairman said the existing training colleges were those founded by Particular denominations - by the Church of England, the Wesleyans, the Independents, and Baptists, and Roman Catholics; and there were no training colleges for the ex-pupil teachers of Board Schools except these ..."*

The matter was referred to the General Purposes Committee for its "careful consideration".

The *Derby Mercury* also reported in 1877 that two senior pupil teachers from St. Paul's School had gained first class Queen's Scholarships and were to enter Derby Diocesan Training College. One cannot help but wonder

whether any Derby Board School pupil teachers were ever admitted. In 1882, according to the minute book for the school, one of the pupil teachers at Gerard Street Schools had "gained a position on the Scholarship list" and was to leave at Christmas to enter college - which one was not stated.

But, as Dent (1970, p.22) points out, the opportunity to attend training college was denied to:

*"large numbers of the teachers recruited to man the post-1870 schools ... the training they received as pupil teachers was the only training - other than the hard training of experience which they ever received."*

Such was the case with regard to one of the pupil teachers at Gerard Street School, who, on completion of her apprenticeship in 1881, was appointed assistant mistress at a salary of £20 per annum (*Minute book, Gerard Street Schools*). The numbers of pupil teachers becoming assistant teachers is perhaps revealed by Table 7 which gives the numbers in the different categories of teachers in the Gerard Street Schools for the years 1881 and 1888.

<b>Table 7</b>				
<b>Staff at Gerard Street Schools at 31 October 1881</b>				
	Teachers	Assistants	Pupil teachers	Monitors
Mixed School	1	4	8	-
Girls School	1	2	4	1
Infants School	1	1	3	6
<b>Staff at Gerard Street Schools at 26 November 1888</b>				
Mixed School	1	7	2	-
Girls School	1	4	4	1
Infants School	1	5	3	1
Source: <i>Minute Book, Gerard Street Schools</i>				

Although the pupil teacher system was the main source of recruits to the teaching profession, as Dent (1970, p.20) points out:

*"By 1870 pupil teachers were no longer regarded, as they had been in the 1850s as the heaven-sent answer to HMI's prayer. On the contrary, head teachers, training college staffs and inspectors alike were complaining about their low educational standard and their lack of teaching skill."*

The Derby School Board, ever desirous of improving the education of its pupil teachers, in 1875 granted an application for the use of a room at Gerard Street School by Mr Goudie "the purpose of its occupation being instruction in languages to pupil teachers" and its rent being 5s per week. (*Derby Mercury*, 18 August 1875) The pupil teachers were, as previously mentioned, instructed before or after school in the subjects in which they were to be examined, but as Bagley points out (1969, p.61):

*"The system of training teachers in board schools, however, suffered from a grave weakness - the quality of the training depended far too much on the enthusiasm and ability of head teachers."*

It was for this reason that pupil teacher centres were set up and, following the lead of those in other large towns, the Derby School Board resolved at a meeting of the Staff Committee on 15 January 1889:

*"That the Board be recommended to appoint a certificated master to take special charge of the instruction of pupil teachers. That the Board be recommended to discontinue after the next examination the division of the grant under Article 110 between the pupil teachers and head teachers but that the grant referred to be retained by the Board and applied towards the payment of the salary of the Special Instructor of Pupil Teachers."*

(Minute Book, Pupil Teachers' Centre)

This development was only made possible by the Code of 1880 which changed the regulation regarding instruction of pupil teachers from "*the certificated teacher of the school*" to "*a certificated teacher*" (Regan, 1971, p.29).

Mr W. Cresswell, BA, himself a former pupil teacher at Traffic Street School was appointed from 1 March 1889 at a salary of £130 per annum, increased to £150 per annum three months later in consideration of his superintendence of the Certificate as well as the Scholarship classes. A separate account book for the school was to be kept, any balance of expenditure at the end of the year to be apportioned among the various Board Schools according to the number of their pupil teachers. The classes were held in a room at Firs Estate School which had opened the previous year, but attendance was not always what it should have been and dismissal from the Board's employment was threatened. The timetable shows that day time, out of hours and Saturday morning classes were held.

By 1892 there were 13 male and five female assistant teachers on the staff of the Centre "*selected from teachers engaged in the various Board Schools. They are paid 4s per hour for one hour per week, and 3s per hour for each additional hour per week, in which they are actually engaged in teaching these classes*" (School Board List of Teachers in Board Schools, 1 January 1892). Browne (Vol. 22, p.135) states that "*All the School Boards that set up Centres claimed better results for their candidates in the Queen's Scholarship but they had to face the charge that they existed to cram for this and other examinations. Perhaps naturally they took pride in the success of their pupils*". The Minute Book of the Derby Centre and the Annual Address by the Chairman of the School Board record the "*very satisfactory*" results by the pupil teachers at the Centre. Some of these are shown in Table 8 overleaf.

The success of the assistant teachers in the Certificate examinations for which they were "crammed" at these centres is demonstrated by the fact that pupil teachers became a smaller proportion of the teaching force as the numbers in the other categories increased.

Table 8

**Success of pupil teachers in annual examinations at Derby Pupil Teachers' Centre**

Year	Passed well	Passed fairly	No grant gained
1890	19%	69%	12%
1891	53%	40%	7%
1896	75%	23%	2%
1897	73%	23%	4%
1898	89%	5%	6%

Source: *Minute Book*, Pupil Teachers' Centre and *Annual Address* by the Chairman to Derby School Board for 1898.

The Derby Board had difficulty in providing accommodation for the classes. The minute book entry for 28 December 1898 refers to the transfer of the day classes to Gerard Street School. In 1900 a temporary home was found for them at St James Road Board School. At this time pupil teachers in the denominational schools were admitted:

*"The Board believes that this arrangement will tend to improve the education of the future, because all pupil teachers in the town will receive a thoroughly good systematic training."*  
(Chairman. - William Bemrose - Annual Address to Derby School Board, 21 May 1900)

The Derby School Board, which like those in other towns had endeavoured to provide more and more advanced education for the children of the working classes and had created "higher grade schools", was replaced in 1902 by the local education authority set up with powers to establish secondary schools. At the end of August 1906, the Pupil Teachers Centre was transferred to one of these - Parkfield Cedars School on Kedleston Road. County pupils were also in attendance at the classes at this time. A report to the Higher Education Sub-Committee on 16 February 1909 stated that:

*"In Derby, over 95% of the pupil teachers are transferred on their appointment as pupil teachers, from the Municipal Secondary School to the Centre."*

The Board of Education contended that this transfer caused a break in their course of instruction and that they should remain at the Secondary School for the first year as Bursars and for the second year as Student-Teachers. Mr Cresswell, principal of the Pupil Teachers Centre was recommended to superintend:

- (1) *the selection and examination of bursars;*
- (2) *the training of student teachers;*
- (3) *the organisation and supervision of classes for acting teachers; and*
- (4) *to undertake such other duties as Superintendent of Elementary Schools as the Education Committee may from time to time direct."*

(General Purposes Committee, Borough of Derby Education Committee, 20 June 1910)

The Centre closed on 31 July 1910, and so, pupil teachers, like the School Board, disappeared from the Derby scene. But their part in helping to educate thousands of the town's working-class children should not be forgotten.

*"It is a sobering thought that throughout the public elementary school's first decade as a statutory institution it was very largely run by children between the ages of thirteen and eighteen."*

(Dent, 1970, p.21)

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## **Editorial Note**

Since the preparation of this article, all the original Derby Pupil Teacher Centre records referred to in the text have been transferred to the Derbyshire Record Office.

## SMALLPOX AMONG THE NAVVIES: THE RESPONSE OF BAKEWELL RURAL SANITARY AUTHORITY

(by Clive Leivers,

On December the 3rd 1892, the Bakewell Rural Sanitary Authority (RSA) received a report from Dr Philip Fentem, the Medical Officer of Health (MOH) for its Northern division, that an outbreak of smallpox had occurred in Hathersage. By the end of that month Dr Fentem had confirmed that the disease was prevalent in the village and in the huts in Padley Wood occupied by the construction workers building the Dore and Chinley railway.<sup>1</sup> Over the ensuing months, the Sanitary Authority faced perhaps the most formidable challenge to public health in its existence to date. Boards of Guardians had been designated as Rural Sanitary Authorities by the Public Health Act of 1872; their responsibilities included public health and hygiene, removal of nuisances, infectious diseases, water supply and the repair of roads. Bakewell RSA employed two Medical Officers and an Inspector of Nuisances. The deliberations of the committee members and the attitude taken towards the navvies and their employers provide a revealing insight into the prevailing ethos in a relatively new era of local government (County Councils were established in 1889), the relationships between elected members and their officials, the influence of the local press and the real problems faced by communities affected by an epidemic of an infectious disease.

The Dore & Chinley railway was constructed between 1888 and 1894 to link Sheffield and Manchester, leaving the Midland main line from Sheffield to London at Dore (then in Derbyshire, now part of Sheffield) and linking at Chinley with the line which then ran through the Peak District from Derby to Manchester (see Figure 1). The main engineering features of the line are the two tunnels at Totley and Cowburn; that at Totley is three miles 950 yards long, the second longest railway tunnel on the system; Cowburn runs for just over two miles. And it was at the respective tunnel ends that the labour force was concentrated - at Totley, Padley and Hathersage, Edale and Chinley.

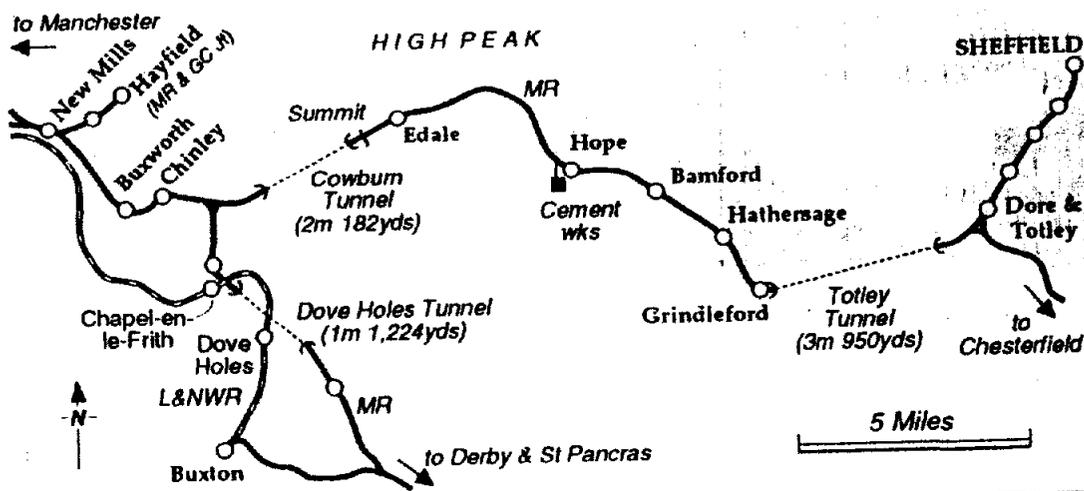


Figure 1

In the Hathersage area, there were 25 temporary huts erected by the contractor, Thomas Oliver, housing - at the 1891 census - 104 workmen and 89 dependants. Another 80 or so construction workers found accommodation in Hathersage village and the surrounding hamlets, with 13 of these lodging in the local inns and lodging houses. There was a larger workforce in the Edale valley - just over 400 in 1891. Of these 147, with 111 dependants, lived in an encampment of 29 huts near the eastern entrance to the Cowburn tunnel. Another 60 or so workers lived in Hope, Castleton and other villages adjoining the line of the railway. (Figure 2)

Bakewell RSA was not alone in facing a smallpox epidemic at that time. In 1893 there were major outbreaks in Chesterfield (92 cases in the Urban district, 178 in the rural area), Newbold and Dunston (176 cases), Whittington (95 cases) with another major eruption among the navvies in Totley which was in the Ecclesall Bierlow RSA which reported 222 cases. The total number of cases reported in Bakewell was 121 in the Northern area (covering the navy gangs) and six in the Southern area. Edale escaped lightly, with only 19 cases reported for the area covered by Chapel en le Frith RSA.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 2: Navvies descending the Cowburn tunnel

In considering the response by the Bakewell authority comparisons will be drawn with the actions of their counterparts at Ecclesall Bierlow and Chapel en le Frith which both faced the same threat to public health arising from the presence of the navvies in their communities. The main sources for this study are the surviving RSA minutes (for Bakewell and Ecclesall) and contemporary press reports of the RSA meetings (Bakewell and Chapel)

After a brief overview of the course of the outbreak, the implementation of the remedies available to the Sanitary Authorities will be considered. These were, in essence, prevention by way of vaccination; the requirement for notification of cases of infectious disease; and isolation of the individuals affected.

### **The Course of the Epidemic**

The first outbreak among the navvies was in November 1892 in a house at Green Oak Totley when five cases were identified; Dr Aldred, the MOH to Ecclesall RSA reported that the disease had been contracted at a lodging house in Dronfield and "*evidently followed the line of march of the navvies to and from the great centres of their employment*". The following month three new cases were reported to the Authority, two of which were "*imported*" from Chesterfield and Wigan. The number of cases then increased steadily over the next four months, with 15 cases reported in January 1893 rising to 80, with nine deaths, in April. In May numbers had fallen to 40 and the last reported cases were in July 1893.<sup>3</sup>

It was only a matter of weeks before the disease spread from Totley to Hathersage, with the illness being "*kept secret for 5 or 6 weeks*". Dr Fentem arranged for immediate vaccination and isolation but was pessimistic about the effectiveness of any precautions due to the reckless attitude among the navvies. The disease quickly spread

to the huts at Padley Wood and then to a lodging house at Stoney Middleton. The first fatality was a 43 year old man living at Padley who was buried at Hathersage on 9 January 1893 followed the same month by the death of the nine week old Albert Bird from Hathersage. After a further death in February the disease reached its peak in the two months from the middle of March. In that period Hathersage church saw the burials of eight more victims, five of whom were children under five. Overall 69 cases had been identified in the area in the first four months of 1893, with an additional 52 reported in May and June. 48 patients had been admitted to the isolation hospital in the three months from March 1893 but by the beginning of July the worst was over and the last patient was discharged on 20 July.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of January 1893 the *Glossop Times* reported that a navvy suffering from smallpox had travelled from Padley to Chapel where he had been taken to the isolation hospital at the Union workhouse. One of the Chapel Guardians suggested that any patients should be kept at Edale but it was accepted that there was "ample provision" at the workhouse. In the event of an epidemic, they should consider the erection of additional accommodation in the workhouse grounds. Within a couple of weeks, five smallpox patients were in the isolation hospital. No further cases had been reported at the beginning of March and at the May meeting of the Guardians it was thought the outbreak was under control. Although a further case was identified among the Edale navvies in May, the outbreak in the Chapel district never reached the crisis levels of the Bakewell and Ecclesall areas and the individuals affected appear to have been effectively and quickly identified and removed to the workhouse isolation hospital.<sup>5</sup>

But as well as the efficacy of the actions of the appropriate authorities, the living conditions of the navvies clearly played a crucial role in the speed and extent of the spread of the disease. Here again, Chapel RSA seems to have been more active in taking action against overcrowding, as well as perhaps being more fortunate in the standard of accommodation provided by the railway contractor - in this case J.P. Edwards of Nottingham.

#### **Navy accommodation**

In his annual report Dr Barwise, the County MOH, identified as one of the contributory causes of the epidemic the fact that "*the navvies were overcrowded; the accommodation provided... by the contractors being altogether insufficient*". The grouping of people who "*were not the most scrupulous... in the world*" in temporary accommodation with usually rudimentary sanitary provision almost inevitably led to the rapid spread of any infectious disease.<sup>6</sup>

There had been numerous examples of epidemics at earlier construction sites. The appalling conditions at Woodhead, where 40 people died of cholera in one night in 1832, have been graphically described. And 40 years later, 80 navy people died of smallpox on the Settle & Carlisle encampment at Batty Green.<sup>7</sup> Conditions had improved only marginally by the end of the nineteenth century.

On the Dore & Chinley line almost every navy household included lodgers or boarders, in many cases in large numbers. In Edale, William Alderman headed a household at Nether Meadow which comprised his wife, two children and 13 lodgers. In the huts, Robert Whitfield, an overlooker, lived with his wife, two young daughters and 13 boarders. As well as these regular boarders, the census enumerator also listed 17 casual workers in the hut. This was an extreme case but five to eight lodgers was not uncommon. In a two roomed railway hut at Malcoff near the western entrance to the Cowburn tunnel, Edward Picton lived with his wife, five children, his brother and sister.

A similar density of occupation existed in the Padley huts; Robert Astill, a foreman gave room to nine boarders in addition to his family of six. Elizabeth Bond, a widow with three dependent children, provided board for seven tunnel miners.<sup>8</sup>

At Topley the conditions appeared even worse. The *Sheffield Independent* reporter saw "*one house, consisting of two bedrooms and an attic, and the ordinary downstairs apartments, in which 41 navvies are lodging, with the landlord, his wife and family*". He remarked on a row of houses at Topley Rise where "*ill-smelling slops and sewage [was] flowing in a sluggish stream from the back doors*". Some dwellings were "*in a state of filthiness which cannot be described in a newspaper*".<sup>9</sup>

In 1889, following an outbreak of enteric fever, Chapel RSA had taken action to reduce overcrowding in cottages at Chapel Milton occupied by the navvies by serving notices to reduce the number of lodgers. Yet in

November that year the Inspector of Nuisances for the authority reported favourably on the standard of the hutted accommodation (probably at Chinley rather than Edale) - "*they were substantially built, dry, well ventilated... & had a reasonable amount of accommodation*". He was surprised to find no case of sickness in the camp. The sanitary conditions at the Padley huts were however regarded as "*very imperfect*"; one of the RSA members described the place as a cesspool and warned that if remedial action was not taken there might be a cholera outbreak.<sup>10</sup>

Conditions in the lodging houses were a cause for equal concern. One of the Stoney Middleton lodging houses was licensed for 35 occupants but Fentem reported that the beds were in use for 24 hours with day and night shifts occupying the same beds. Even in June 1893, six months after the epidemic had started, Fentem expressed his disgust that liquid from a pig sty was soaking into ground adjacent to the lodging house, with a "*nasty, filthy urinal*" discharging into the open ground. The number of lodgers still exceeded the licensed number.<sup>11</sup>

### **Vaccination**

Since 1871 Boards of Guardians had been required to appoint vaccination officers to facilitate the compulsory vaccination of infants which earlier legislation had introduced. However there was growing opposition to compulsory vaccination and the activities of the Anti-Vaccination League encouraged "*stronger and more effective opposition than the current campaign against the MMR vaccine*". In his annual report for 1893, Dr Barwise, the County MOH, warned that, on the evidence of the recent Derbyshire epidemic, "*we are rapidly going back to the condition we were in at the end of the last century, when smallpox claimed 90% of its victims from children under 5 years of age*". The number of un-vaccinated children had more than doubled in the past seven years and he argued that "*the huge experiment of the anti-vaccinators has now surely been carried on long enough*".<sup>13</sup>

The attitude toward vaccination amongst the nomadic navy families drew comment from the Medical Officers involved in dealing with the outbreak. Dr Aldred in Ecclesall stated that "*because of their unsettled and wandering life... the vaccination law is practically a dead letter*". Their disregard of all precautions was seen as one of the chief causes of the spread of the disease. In Bakewell Dr Fentem was sceptical about the navvies willingness to be vaccinated if it should cause them to lose more than two days work. Warning notices urging re-vaccination which were posted in the affected neighbourhoods had little effect. Dr Anderson at Chapel en le Frith reported that, in a two hour session for vaccination, only four women had attended. Not a single person attended a vaccination centre established at Grindleford Bridge.<sup>14</sup> On this evidence it is clear that the navvies were particularly exposed to the spread of the disease, partly through their living conditions and partly due to their disregard for any precautionary measures. The actions of the authorities to encourage (re-) vaccination proved ineffective in the face of this indifference.

### **Notification**

The Infectious Disease Notification Act of 1889 empowered Sanitary Authorities to place a duty on medical practitioners to report cases of infectious diseases by way of certificates provided by the authority. The doctors were to be paid 2s 6d for certificates arising from private practice and 1s from their practice as a medical officer of a public body. The Act was a permissive one and needed to be adopted by resolution passed at a meeting of the appropriate authority. At their December meeting the Bakewell RSA were informed of a circular from the Local Government Board requesting adoption of the Act. One member suggested "*they had better keep out of it ...or they would need 40 doctors (instead of four)*" and further discussion was deferred. In sharp contrast Chapel RSA unanimously adopted the Act at their December meeting.<sup>15</sup>

When the smallpox outbreak appeared in the Bakewell area three years later Dr Fentem pointed out that the delay in identifying the illness was due directly to the Authority's failure to adopt the Notification Act. The argument about whether this step was required was to dominate the discussions of the Authority for the next few weeks. An editorial in the *Glossop Times* of 7 January 1893 reminded readers that the two Medical Officers had been urging the Union to adopt the legislation for months; it was now time "*that the world rubbed its eyes*" and that the opponents of the measure realised that they had been appointed to the Board of Guardians "*not for the purpose of pursuing a cheeseparing policy, but ... for looking after the health and comfort and well being of ...humanity*". It was obvious that continued refusal to adopt the legislation was a "*suicidal policy*". Two weeks later the newspaper contained a readers' letter accusing the Board of losing its head in the face of the rapid spread of disease, failing to initiate any remedial action.

At the January Guardians meeting Fentem again urged the immediate adoption of the notification legislation. Infected men were leaving the sites and spreading the disease to other areas of the country. One member asked about the cost of adopting the measure and the newspaper reports then described the Board as having "*dissolved itself into an Anglicised Babel*" when "*the wordy warfare here waxed very hot and loud*". The meeting broke up without any agreed action or advice to the MOH.

It was not until the beginning of March 1893 that the RSA finally agreed to adopt the Notification of Diseases Act (by 14 votes to four) which the *Glossop Times* reported under the heading "*The Authority Climbs Down*". The *High Peak News* found it "*quite soothing*" to see "*a lot of actual legislation*" as well as the usual "*any amount of talk*" that characterised the meetings of the Authority.<sup>16</sup>

### Isolation

In the Chapel area, an isolation hospital, attached to the workhouse, was already available when the epidemic reached the area and the advantages of its existence were "*now made manifest*" in the words of the *High Peak News*. The RSA continued to review the need for additional temporary accommodation, either in Chapel or at Edale and the railway contractor was contacted about the terms on which he would erect a temporary hospital. In May 1893 the Chapel Guardians agreed to the erection of a hut for the purpose in the grounds of the workhouse despite a warning from an inspector of the Local Government Board that "*hospitals for the treatment of smallpox should be erected away from centres of population*".<sup>17</sup> But in the event it appears that the outbreak in the area was effectively contained by the use of the existing isolation accommodation.

The Ecclesall authorities immediately recognised the need for isolation and had made an approach to a landowner in Totley for the erection of a hospital on his land by early December 1892. This was unproductive and the RSA then arranged with the contractor for the use of one of the existing navy huts at Totley for isolating smallpox cases. Oliver provided the hut free of charge but asked that it be "*removed to an isolated spot*" away from the construction works at the Authority's expense. No immediate decision was made on this offer and at a special meeting of the Authority on 22 February it was agreed to purchase a hut at Totley Bank for £60. But by the middle of March, Oliver had grown increasingly concerned about the lack of action. In a letter to the RSA dated 13 March he wrote that "*the disease... is spreading in rather an alarming way... something should be done at once to isolate these cases*". This brought an immediate response for the following day he met the RSA chairman and clerk on site and agreed to erect a new building for use as an isolation hospital which would cost him about £70. On 15 March the RSA accepted the offer with thanks. The hut was erected about 200 yards away from the navy camp and its position is marked on the OS map for 1899.

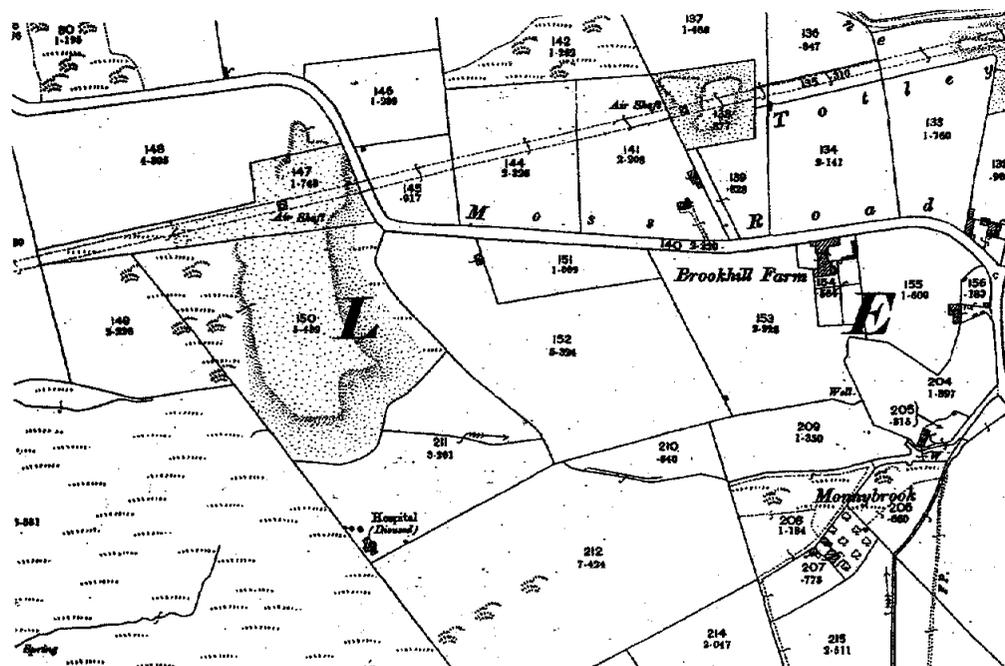


Figure 3

On 5 April the Medical Officer of Health (now Dr Gale) reported that the building was very good and would accommodate 12 patients and two or three attendants; to be complete it needed the addition of a mortuary and washhouse and the necessary furnishings. These additions were agreed and the former MOH, Dr Aldred was appointed Medical Officer at a salary of £3 per week with the assistance of three nurses. The hospital opened about a week later and was immediately filled to capacity with patients. By the end of April the RSA had recognised the need for further isolation facilities and had written to the Midland Railway asking if they could help in its provision. (At the end of May the Authority received £200 from the Midland Railway.) To meet the pressing need - 80 cases had been reported in April - the navy mission hut was moved and erected next to the other hut providing room for a further 14 or 15 beds - this seems to have been used as a female hospital. By May it was thought that the worst was over and on 13 June Oliver wrote to the Authority suggesting that they might now wish to purchase the huts since in the next few weeks most of his men employed at Totley would have left the neighbourhood. He offered the two huts for £120, agreeing to forgo payment of £53 for "*sundry work done in connection with the smallpox hospitals*" if the sale went through. In Aldred's report to the August meeting only one patient, a convalescent boy, remained in the hospital.<sup>18</sup>

In the Bakewell area, the need for effective isolation facilities was constantly stressed by Dr Fentem but the reluctance of the RSA to take any action which would entail expenditure was the subject of harsh criticism in the local press.

At the RSA meeting at the end of December 1892 the MOH urged that the Board of Guardians should ask for one of the huts to be made available for the isolation of the infected individuals; this would cost about £60, otherwise they would have to spend £1500 to £2000 on the erection of a proper isolation hospital. But unless some immediate action was taken the disease would "*spread like wildfire*".

At the Guardians meeting on 21 January, Dr Fentem reported on his visit to the huts. After discussion with the contractors representative, a hut had been made available for the infected persons. However it was pointed out that men were continually coming to the site seeking work and there was no way of alerting them to the presence of smallpox in the area.

Dr Barwise thought the "isolation" hut too close to the rest of the encampment but would not recommend the expense of erecting a hospital elsewhere unless there were further outbreaks.

At the RSA meeting at the end of January the Authority chairman felt they were powerless unless they had an isolation hospital. A member pointed out that every house in a block of five at Hathersage - just 10 yards from the National schools - was affected by smallpox; he urged the closure of the school since people were becoming frightened. A committee of seven members of the Authority was appointed to consider further action, including the need to close the schools at Hathersage and Stoney Middleton.

Following this meeting the *High Peak News* complained that "*with smallpox on every hand*" it did no credit to the Guardians to "*quibble about the expenditure of a few pounds*" and that the lack of a proper isolation hospital was due to their shortsighted policy. It was now time for the Guardians to "*show the country that they do not deserve the reproach which it has been hinted rests upon them*".

Within a week the committee had recommended the renting of Higger Lodge, on the Duke of Rutland's Longshaw estate, for use as a temporary isolation hospital, obviously recognising the need to remove the infected individuals from the immediate vicinity of their workmates. This would cost £6 per year. A vehicle to transport patients and the services of a nurse would be required. Posters were to be displayed in the neighbourhood "*warning the public against exposing infected persons or things*". Again the local press urged prompt action. The *High Peak News* repeated its concern that "*there was again a great deal said and very little done*". It thought that the "*authority was about to incur such an enormous expense as £6 for an isolation hospital*" caused two or three members to oppose "*such reckless proceedings*". The *Glossop Times* wondered why RSAs and local Boards were formed; was it not to "*keep their districts healthy and free from disease*"? From recent proceedings it rather appeared that "*they were called into existence to cavil over the possession of a few chairs [and] to defer important questions*".<sup>19</sup>

Whilst the Duke of Rutland was willing to make Higger Lodge available rent free, his tenant was reluctant to move and it was therefore proposed to lease a piece of land at Hathersage Booths and erect a hospital there with the "*necessary out-offices and appurtenances*".

This wooden building - 40 feet long, 15 feet wide and about 11 feet high and accommodating a dozen patients and a nurse - was finally erected early in March. Dr Taylor of Hathersage was appointed as Medical Superintendent with an initial weekly salary of £2 12s 6d and was assisted by two nurses, a washerwoman and a caretaker. Within a month Dr Taylor's remuneration had increased to three guineas due to the growing number of patients.

At their meeting on 1 May the Authority considered a report that the hospital was constantly visited by navvies taking drink to the patients and it was agreed to post notices warning against this practice - action which seems unlikely to have been very effective. At county level Dr Barwise had written to the Midland Railway asking for some financial assistance as almost all the smallpox patients were employed on the railway works. His recommendation of the purchase of a tent in which to house convalescent patients was accepted.

A month later Dr Taylor provided the Authority with statistics: since the opening of the hospital 48 patients had been admitted, 3 had died, 30 had been discharged and 15 remained in hospital. He also acknowledged the beneficial effect of a gift of champagne by Mr Cammell, one of the local JPs., which he believed "*the means of saving one poor fellows life*". Obviously alcohol provided by a JP was not subject to the prohibition previously agreed!

Typical monthly expenses for running the hospital totalled some £84, covering the salaries of the staff (which now included a messenger), provision of groceries and coal. Flooring for the convalescent tent had cost £110 including carriage and fixing. By the middle of June 1893, by which time the epidemic had almost run its course, the Authority had expended a total of £625 2s 6d. By the middle of July there were only three patients in the hospital, two of whom, John and Mary Boon, had been inmates for some two months. The last patient was finally discharged on 20 July. In September the Authority received a cheque for £200 from the County Council, the total amount received from the Midland Railway.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Changes for the better**

Despite the rather sorry story depicted here, the impact of the epidemic did bring some worthwhile changes as far as future provision for navy accommodation and health facilities were concerned - at least in Derbyshire.

In his report to the RSA in April, Dr Fentem had urged that the County Council should in future insist on the provision of "*sufficient dwelling accommodation... with proper sanitary arrangements... [and] an isolation hospital*" in the event of further temporary construction works. It was "*most unfair to the community to have sent into their district waifs and strays of every grade*".<sup>21</sup>

At the meeting of the County Public Health Committee on 24 May it was resolved that the Local Government Board be urged that all future railway (and similar construction) bills should contain a clause providing that "*temporary barracks should be erected by the undertakers for at least 75% of the men employed*". In the opinion of Dr Barwise, had this been done on the Dore & Chinley, the disease would have been restricted to the navy encampments and not "*carried... into the cottages where [the men] were lodging*".<sup>22</sup>

When the next major construction works took place in the county, this was indeed a requirement placed on the contractors - not surprisingly since the County Council was one of the local authorities forming the Derwent Valley Waterworks Board responsible for the erection of the Howden and Derwent Dams between 1901 and 1916.

Section 64 of the Derwent Valley Water Act provided that the Board should erect "*hospitals or infirmaries and temporary huts... for the accommodation of the... workmen employed by the Board and their contractors*" which should be to the satisfaction of the County MOH. The village subsequently erected at Birchinlee - "Tin Town" - was described as "*a model of excellent provision*".

As well as living accommodation the village was provided with an accident/general hospital and an isolation hospital and a dedicated medical practitioner. As an additional health precaution applicants for employment on

site had to remain in the "doss house" for a week before being allowed to take lodgings in the village, thus allowing time for clothes to be disinfected and any infection to be identified. The success of these measures was such that only 16 cases of smallpox were admitted to the isolation hospital in the 11 years between 1902 and 1912, all but one of these occurring in one year - 1904 - and all the cases occurring not in the village but at Grindleford, where stone for the dams was quarried. In the event the isolation hospital was used chiefly for infectious diseases among the children of the navvies - scarlet fever, measles and whooping cough.<sup>23</sup>

But the welfare provision at Birchinlee was not universal. Whilst directly employed labour on public works tended to be adequately housed, some sub-contractors providing navy gangs were still negligent of their men's welfare. In 1906 no huts were provided for men working on the Water Orton to Kingsbury line through the Birmingham suburbs and the men building the Brooklands racing track in Surrey slept rough in the surrounding gorse. It was not until 1911 that Parliamentary Committees had to be satisfied about adequate housing when considering Public Works Bills.<sup>24</sup>

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