

DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

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THE SEARCH FOR LUTUDARUM, EVIDENCE AND SUPPOSITION.

(by Anton Shone,

"The country was once famous for its twenty-eight noble cities as well as innumerable fortified places equally well guarded by the strongest of walls and towers, gates and locks."

The failure to find Lutudarum

This is a history of a city and its church, a history which has been lost for too long. The reasons for the loss are many and varied, but in modern terms, essentially, there are two key reasons:

The first stems from an apparent difference of approach by historians to Roman towns: one view tends to be that based on assumed continuity between the Roman and post-Roman in certain areas. Another, predominant in Derbyshire, and expressed by Turbutt (1999), is one of assumed discontinuity almost everywhere. This latter is all very well south of the Trent, but we are looking for Lutudarum north of the Trent, and, for this reason, and many others, we are looking for somewhere that still exists. Dark (1998, p136) is extremely clear that understanding the fundamental division between those areas of the East Midlands which passed into Saxon occupation and those areas which remained British, during the fifth century, is central to the understanding of the issue of continuity and discontinuity in terms of location.

The second reason appears to be the lack of assessment of all known data taken together. There has been a very broken up, even compartmented, approach to trying to find Lutudarum, which, for example, has resulted in the historians of lead mining being preoccupied with the concept of Lutudarum as a lead mining district rather than as the chief town of its region (Rieuwerts, 1988, p13) and, similarly, the archaeologists of Derbyshire have been so active around Carsington that this appears to have overwhelmed analysis of other locations. Many others have muddled the waters by claiming Lutudarum for their own, on the most spurious of evidence. If it was a town, village or some other location, then it might be Ashbourne, Chesterfield, Crich, Carsington, Matlock or Middleton by Wirksworth, Rainster Rocks (or any number of other unlikely and baffling suggestions), but not where it truly is: Wirksworth. Rahtz has noted that evidence of urban continuity in (west) Mercian towns has tended to suffer from the inability to assemble and assess data from all possible sources together. This had, at the time when Rahtz wrote (1977), only been undertaken in the study of Worcester and it has not been, until now, attempted here.

On Lutudarum as a town, district and administrative centre.

First, there is the issue of whether Lutudarum was a town, as opposed to being a mining company or a geographical district. The answer is given in the late Roman list of towns and cities of the empire; a list copied in the seventh century and known as the Ravenna Cosmography. Ravenna gives a number of things, but its chief British list is towns and fortresses. There, next to Derventio, is Lutudarum (Toco, 2005). However, this is all the information Ravenna provides, it is a list, not a map, and it is in little discernible order, though is thought to possibly represent a series of road itineraries or quadrants of a lost map. Some have argued that this name might still represent a district not a town, but this is to ignore the normal Roman practice of naming districts after their chief towns anyway. Alternatively, in some cases, naming the chief town after the tribe in the area around it: either way, you still have a town and a district. Dennis (1971, p15) noted: *'The occurrence of the name Lutudarum in the Ravenna Cosmography and it being found on all the lead pigs from this area, leads to the conclusion that a place with this name must have existed within the lead mining area of the Peak District'*. Indeed, it is necessary to bear in mind that the essential unit of Roman civic organisation was the city state, however much these varied in size and importance (Salway, 1997, pp 410-442) a view supported by Dark (1998, p123) who observed that all civitates had their own capitals. So this appears to solve our first problem – was Lutudarum a Roman town? Yes, this is a reasonable conclusion. It also clarifies the issue of the district too: both are normal and necessary in the Roman governmental organisation of that time.

Secondly, there is the question of the function of Lutudarum. Was it a fort, such as Derventio (Little Chester)? There is, as yet, no physical evidence for it being so. Was it a place of recreation, such as Aquae Arnemetiae (Buxton)? There is no evidence for this either. Some evidence for the role of Lutudarum comes from lead ingots, often referred to as pigs of lead, many of which have been found down the years and a number of which are

inscribed, often with just the weight, but sometimes with more useful inscriptions. That found at Cromford in 1777 was inscribed IMP CAES HADRIANI AUG MET LUT, or translated as '*Property of Caesar Hadrian Augustus from Lutudarum*' (Anderson, 1985, pp10-15). A number of other Pigs of Lead have been found locally with varying inscriptions, at various dates, as well as others further afield bearing varied inscriptions including '*Product of the Lutudarensian Partners...*', etc (Turbutt, 1999, gives, in appendix, a fuller list; Dennis, 1971, also gives an extensive list). Thus, part of the administrative role of Lutudarum is also clear. It was a principal administrative centre for the Roman lead mining industry, and if the inscriptions on the various ingots are viewed as a whole, some of the lead production was taken in tax by the imperial government in Rome, which argues for imperial officials, based locally, to deal with the measurement and approval of the lead being mined and smelted. Equally, not all the lead produced was despatched to the imperial government. The presence of one or more lead mining companies (associates or partners) argues for a reasonably successful and profitable industry that was not sending its entire production to Rome, but to other markets as well, which would account for the finds of Lutudarum ingots in other areas of Britain, in addition to the general concentration of finds in the south east of the Derbyshire ore field and at Brough on Humber, the Roman port of Peturia.

In all the research which has been done in many long years about the civic organisation of Roman Britain, it has always been known that there were 28 civitates, or administrative centres, though no scholar has yet succeeded in identifying all of them with any certainty, and those in the midland region have been the most elusive. In the case of this district, if any other town or fortress were the civitas capital then the Pigs of Lead would tell us. They would not say 'Lut', they would say 'Nav' (Navio – Brough by Hope), or 'Der' (Derwentio - Little Chester), but they do not, they say Lut – Lutudarum. If we are content that Lutudarum represents both the town and its district (Leicester is a well known example, the town being Ratae Corieltavinum, the district of the Corieltavi), then Lutudarum is the governing town of the Lutudarenses, which means that those lead pigs inscribed as from the '*Lutudarensian Partners*' are not simply referring to a company of associates or some vague lead mining district, they are correctly referring to a company of associates in the civitas district of the Lutudarenses. In short, Lutudarum would have provided a market, administration of the local lead industry, and both local and ecclesiastical government for its district. This also means that certain other pieces fall into place. The extensive research carried out by the Barwick-in-Elmet Historical Society (Cox, 2005) which had concluded that the southern boundary of Elmet was the River Sheaf, not the Trent, left a puzzling gap between the Elmetiaco and the Corieltavi: the missing district is that of civitate of Lutudarum.

On the matter of location

So, being certain enough that Lutudarum genuinely was a town and its chief role was the business of lead mining and administration, this brings us to the very thorny question of its location. Above all, it has to be within the area in which lead is being mined in the Roman period, otherwise there is no attributable significance to the lead ingot inscriptions or the pattern of finds. The Peak District ore field stretches from Castleton in the north to just below Alstonefield in the south. Lead veins are commonest around Castleton, also east of Tideswell, west of Bakewell and north of Wirksworth. From this information, we can immediately dismiss a number of the possible candidates for Lutudarum, as being beyond the main ore field. Transport in Roman times was slow and expensive (packhorses on the roads and boats on the rivers) and lead is very, very heavy, thus there would be nothing to be gained by transporting it long distances to be assessed, measured or taxed.

The locations to be immediately dismissed as unsuitable because of their distance from the main ore field are Chesterfield and Ashbourne. Both towns are also ruled out by their own local historians. In the case of Chesterfield, Bestall's view (1974, p9) was that Lutudarum should be sought around Matlock or Wirksworth. But we can rule out Matlock as also being relatively inconvenient in transport terms and too late in terms of the known origins of the town (Naylor, 2003), though there was a Saxon royal estate around Matlock Bridge. Crich similarly can be ruled out, for much the same reason, and it is too far from the main ore field, although there is some lead locally. Its claim rested on there being lead smelting recorded in Domesday (Bunting, 1998) and that Roman coins were found on Crich Hill (Davis, 2003). However, Roman coins are evidence of Romans, not of Roman lead mining, and in due course, Davis, in his definitive work on the history of Crich, makes no claim for it to be Lutudarum, nor can it be. Rainster Rocks was considered by Dennis (1971) but although it is in the right kind of geographical location in terms of the ore field, the known archaeology is, according to Dennis, of '*too native an origin*' and too small for what should have some Roman context or hinterland.

Within the ore field, Middleton by Wirksworth provides little except for the inevitable pig of lead or two. Although mentioned in Domesday (as are all most of the other places discussed here) it shows no signs of any historic importance, except that local tradition (noted by A.E. & E.M. Dodd) recalls Middleton's existence as the

place where Roman convicts resided as a labour force for the lead mines. (A similar tradition exists in relation to convicts at Bradwell kept by the locals of Brough, where a Roman fortress existed). We may simply not have found enough evidence at Middleton, but the basis for it being Lutudarum is unpromising and tradition points to Wirksworth as the supervising centre. However, if Middleton were the residence of convicts used to mine lead, we may not be able to find substantial building remains, there being a view that the convict 'town' might resemble something more like a current Brazilian shanty town, with convicts scraping a living from mining and being accommodated in assorted shacks. On the other hand, we are dealing with Romans here, not Brazilians, and it is possible that we should be looking for a barracks block. Details of a recent building find at Middleton Cross have not yet been fully assessed, but may support this.

In many modern texts and journal articles, Carsington is confidently stated as being Lutudarum. This is not so, the key reason being that Carsington has no pre-conquest church (an issue to be discussed below) and is described, accurately, in Domesday, as being an 'outlier' of Wirksworth. Carsington has benefited greatly from much archaeological work associated with the construction of Carsington Water; as such it has received more archaeological attention than many other parts of the county. This has naturally given rise to many interesting finds, amongst them a number of pigs of lead, and evidence of fourth century mining activity from a deep pit containing lead scrap, galena (lead ore), ash and daub (Branigan, 1986); and in addition, and most exciting, the nearest thing to a villa so far found in Derbyshire (Ling, 1981; Ling, 1990; Dearne, 1995), upon which some have speculated that this might have been the administrative location of the Procurator Metallorum. But let us be clear, this '*nearest thing to a villa*' is, in practice, a building with maybe five rooms, only one of which had rudimentary heating, together with an added-on bath house and a few sheds. Lullingstone it is not. A country house for an important family to live in, besides their townhouse, it might be. It is certainly an improvement on the circular huts thought to be common in the area at this period, and on the Romano British farm identified at City Folds, north of Wirksworth (Greenhough, 1991). Finds in the area have indeed included galena, and lead scrap as well as a selection of knives, agricultural and other tools, lead spindle whorls and the occasional ornamental phallus; phalluses being popular in this period, as they are in some places today. These finds give proof to the understanding of there being widespread settlement at Carsington not only in the Roman period but afterwards. Lomas in 1960 reported on a Romano-British site at Owsley and even place name evidence supports this. Griff Grange was historically known as Britte Griffe, or translated: '*Farm of the Britons*' (Cameron, 1959). Therefore we can see good evidence of Roman and post Roman settlement and activity at Carsington. The area south of Carsington and Wirksworth is also much settled in the period, between there and Derby considerable evidence of Romano British pottery making ('Derbyware') has been found at Hazelwood and Shottle. However, "extensive settlement" is just that, it is not '*an extensive settlement*'. Thus far Carsington has been the focus of considerable archaeological activity and exploration, but all this work, crucially, has not found a town or a pre-conquest church (St Margaret's at Carsington is twelfth century and Domesday, of 1086, records no church at Carsington). This view is supported by Barnatt and Smith (2004, p49) who, describing the Carsington excavations also note that the site (as Lutudarum) is unproven and that other locations should be considered in the Wirksworth and Matlock areas. Matlock we have already eliminated. Indeed, Naylor (2003, pp10-16) in his history of the Matlocks, says it may be Wirksworth or Carsington, but not Matlock.

Finally then, this brings us to Wirksworth, and to a predictable problem. If Wirksworth is Roman Lutudarum, where are the Roman remains? The issue of the lack of physical evidence is, at first glance, intractable. In some ways it is more difficult than any of the other locations whose claims we have so readily dismissed. This is because, if Lutudarum exists, it is buried under modern Wirksworth. However, to regard Wirksworth as in any way modern, except perhaps in the outlook of its inhabitants, is to commit a grave error. The town creaks under the antiquity of its buildings, its pedestrian layout, and its mining heritage. Until recently, Wirksworth appeared to be a grim, dusty little quarrying town. A moment's examination of the records of the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal on the subject of Wirksworth indicate that between 1925 and the present day, only twice has any mentionable archaeological interest been shown in the town and one of those was the much overdue consideration of the origins of the Wirksworth Stone. The other part of this problem has been inadequate recording and analysis of those finds which are known.

There are several reasons why this has happened. First, the amount of professional archaeological effort which has been expended on Wirksworth could be recorded on a postage stamp, the town has hardly attracted the attention of archaeologists and barely registered on the horizons of historians. Only Hilary Dennis is known to have dug a small area within the town precincts, which resulted in various mediaeval finds and a sceatta. (Editorial, 1986, p1). For over a century, the town could best be described as grim, dust covered, and overwhelmed by quarrying. It has lacked the romance by which other cities and towns of less history but prettier walls have behaved themselves to the scholarly. We know all about the Corieltavi, by comparison, so too about

the Elmetiaco and the Lindenses, but the Lutudarenses are almost invisible, only a few pigs of lead have spoken for them down the years. Nevertheless, coins and pottery have been found, there is extensive place name evidence and both the antiquity of the church and the curious mediaeval drainage system of the town deserve attention.

Finds have included lead ingots and other items, such as Roman pottery shards near Summer Lane, the Roman coin hoard ('of the five emperors') recorded in the *Derby Mercury* of 8 May 1735 (and in Hart, 1981), and the find of a Northumbrian Sceatta of 750 at a site in Church Street in 1986 (Priestley, 2003, p12) but of buildings, there has been no recorded search of the town itself. Indeed, it is suspected that any datable remains may be very deeply buried. The medieval level of Coldwell Street, for example, is thought, by the Civic Society, to be at least three metres lower than the current surface and the (undated) medieval drainage system is even lower. The issues of the various finds at Carsington and the few finds at Middleton should, perhaps, not been seen as separate from Wirksworth, these locations are in Wirksworth's immediate hinterland, indeed some of the major finds, such as the villa at Carsington may better be seen in this context. Some Roman towns are notable for having only one or two villas associated with them, in a landscape which is otherwise predominantly agricultural or with a few industrial sites: what has been found at Carsington (seen in relation to Wirksworth) is not terribly different from the villa found associated with the roman salt mining town of Droitwich (Dark, 1998, p130) and similar villa finds elsewhere.

Evidence of history and continuity

Place names

Lutudarum is variously considered to mean 'Muddy River', 'Cindery Oakwood' or 'Lead Water' depending on who you read, but these are all, essentially, unhelpful, as we have no means of referencing them to any other source. Wirksworth is considered to mean '*Weorc's enclosure*' (Weorchesuorde): Weorc, apparently, being a common enough Saxon name (Cameron, 1959). Not a lot of enlightenment there either. However, Wirksworth is at the head of the Ecclesbourne Valley. Eccles means church (very old church, that is, a Roman or British church) and Bourne means stream or river (Brotherton, 2005). So, we have a very old church somewhere in the valley. How old and where? That's easy, the oldest church in the valley, by a very long way indeed, is St Mary's in its oval compound in Wirksworth, near the point at which the river rises. Thus the place name evidence suggests a place of significant antiquity, the name being early, and identifying a feature, the church, that was there, and perhaps obvious, when the Mercians arrived in 616.

There are a number of other place name survivals in the immediate area, we have noted Owslow and Britte Griffe already. In Wirksworth there were other hybrid British-Saxon name (linguistically speaking Celtic-English) survivals, including Bannokhill and Brefeld as field names. This is unusual; there are counties in the south east of England where there are no more such survivals in the whole county as there are in this little area of Derbyshire. These names, and most significantly the 'Eccles' of Ecclesbourne can only have been transmitted to the incoming Saxons by the existing British population. No Saxon called his own church 'Eccles'. Indeed these place name hybrids suggest that a sufficient British population survived for enough time to become integrated in the Mercian period and see a few of its place names survive rather than be completely lost, as happened elsewhere. Later, the Mercians had become sufficiently well established to hold an estate around Derby (Northworthy) and a further place name 'Cumberhills' (Hills of the foreigners – if you were a Saxon, the foreigners would be the British of Lutudarum) sits noticeably between the northern edge of Derby and the southern edge of the Ecclesbourne Valley. Roffe's map (1986, p24) of the Northworthy estate shows it going no further north than Quarndon, immediately at the southern edge of the Cumberhills area.

Continuity of government

It is extremely common for historians, when considering the period between 400 and 650, to take the view that the invasion of Britain by the Saxons and others resulted in widespread destruction and the consequent loss of continuity between the old and new inhabitants. Indeed, Turbutt, in his excellent history of Derbyshire makes this very point. However, it is a point of some error. It may be correct that there was a loss of continuity south of the Trent as the possession of the former lands of the Corieltavi by the invaders came relatively early, but it is entirely untrue north of the Trent, where the vestiges of late Romano-British rule survived for two more centuries after southern Britain had fallen to the Saxons. Equally important in looking at the progress of Saxon dominance in general is an understanding of the role played by the early Mercians. It is this understanding which informs our judgement of the impact of the Mercians on the area north of the Trent. The early Mercians were allies of the British and did much to contain the more aggressive Northumbrians.

To illustrate the issue of continuity, one of the questions that we might ask if there is to be any consideration of continuity is when did Roman (and post-Roman British) government cease and Mercian government begin, and does this represent an actual break? This is a complicated question to answer, because the written record is both slight and fragmented. However, let us take the often given (and misused) 'rule of thumb' for Roman withdrawal of 410. What actually happened was that parts of the Roman army were withdrawn from Britain and other provinces to defend Rome: which they failed to do, were annihilated and Rome fell (several times, it might be said). Britain then gets invaded by the Saxons and others, and a long slow war of attrition begins. So slow, that the Saxons, in this case specifically the Mercians, only reach the south bank of the River Trent by about 600. Indeed the Mercians do not make any attempt to take the north bank of the Trent while the Britons there still prevail: There are few Mercian cemeteries north of the Trent dated before 600 (Morris, 1973, p298) and these are in areas apparently away from the areas still inhabited (and ruled at that time) by the British, especially those with 'Eccles' place names. (Barnatt and Smith, 1997, p54).

So in 600 the north bank of the Trent was still in British control and part of the supposed 'Kingdom of the Peak' (Morris, 1976, p240) but we have no well-grounded names or secure sources for any kings or lords of the Peak for this period. In due course the Peak and the kingdom of Elmet to its north, around Leeds, were overwhelmed. The date was 616, and the Mercians had come to Wirksworth, but not in conquest. The Kingdom of the Peak and the Kingdom of Elmet had been overwhelmed by the Northumbrians who had grown aggressive, but had not the immediate inclination to stay, thus the Mercians oversaw the government of the land north of the Trent, to a new border with the Northumbrians north of Leeds. '*Oversaw*' in this case implies that the Peak, like the similar kingdom of the Hwicce, (Bassett, 1989, pp216-256) retained some independence under the Mercians. The finding of the Benty Grange Helmet, with its boars head and silver cross on the nose guard, dated to a few years either side of 650, is perhaps evidence of the continuance of the local Christian British aristocracy here, the incoming Mercians not being Christian until a little later.

The sequence of dating of events in and outside the borders of the Peak deserves attention, as it helps enlighten us to the state of its independence. In 616 the Northumbrians had attacked the north Midlands and expelled the government which existed in Elmet and probably the Peak, but this had not completely destroyed British power. In 633, the last effective British King, Catwaullan, went north with his ally, Penda of the Mercians, and broke the Northumbrians, as Morris reports (1995, p240). So, the British were still able to subdue the Northumbrians and it was done with Mercian help, and with the Mercians as subordinates, because it was Catwaullan who ruled, briefly. A year later this had all been lost, the Northumbrians had regained the supremacy and the British were never able to assert themselves again. It was left to Penda to defend the frontier, which he did for another 20 years until he himself was killed fighting the Northumbrians in 655. The curiosity of this is that we can see that both the Northumbrians and the Mercians are conceivably English, yet they do not come to a peaceful agreement and divide the country up between them, once British power is broken, as one might think they should. Whilst we may feel that the Mercians and Northumbrians continued fighting for the supremacy of the north and midlands out of sheer brute antagonism, an alternative explanation of this is that the Mercians were not attempting to destroy the British (which the Northumbrians probably were), they were their allies and it is possible that they were sufficiently integrated into what had remained of British political structure and thought that they regarded themselves as its proper descendants and guardians: this explanation enables us to understand why the former British states on the borders of Mercia from the Hwicce in the west to the Peak in the north were nominally independent for so long afterwards: they were supposed to be, and this state of affairs shows itself in the Mercian Tribal Hidage of 661. Tributaries they may have been, part of Greater Mercia they were not, until much later.

Mercia eventually prevailed, partly due to internecine strife amongst the Northumbrian nobility and kings. Wirksworth appears from the beginning to have been one of the royal estates of the Mercians, which included Darley, Matlock Bridge, Ashbourne and Parwich, even though, for a period after 679, it was the Northumbrians who held authority. By the 760s it was firmly back in the Mercian sphere, as the power of the Mercian kingdom had endured, while that of Northumbria had drained away in civil wars (Morris, 1995 p517). Only a few more years of Mercian stability remained though before the Vikings began to raid seriously in the 800s.

Work by Sidebottom (1999) suggests that the vestiges of the Kingdom of the Peak long survived, and that some town crosses built in later Saxon years (about 920-926) were political monuments restating Saxon, (by then West Saxon rather than Mercian), dominance over the Peak following the submission of the Vikings who had invaded the area. The primary monuments being those at Bakewell, Eyam, Hope, Bradbourne and Wirksworth (although the cross at Wirksworth only survives as a fragment built into the church wall). Sidebottom includes the Wirksworth Stone in this group, ignoring that it is a funerary monument, not a political one, and of greater

antiquity). The nature of the Kingdom of the Peak is one which, if anything, is more difficult to see even than its fellow Kingdom of Elmet, but some writers, such as Brotherton (2005), suggest that the district of the Roman Lutudarenses corresponds to that of the Mercian Pecsæte, this being the case, it would be reasonable to propose that the 'continuity' of government was: Roman civitas (district) of Lutudarenses; Romano-British Kingdom of the Peak; Mercian District of the Pecsæte; early mediaeval hundreds of Wirksworth, High Peak and Totmanslow; Soke & Wapentake of Hamenstan (Wirksworth). A useful map of the Hamenstan Wapentake can be found in Roffe (1986, p14).

Continuity of Christianity

It must be noted that the late Romans and the Romano-British were Christian: remember the Ecclesbourne place name? For a church to exist, there had to be enough money to build it and maintain it and there had to be a congregation to use it. You don't build churches in the middle of nowhere, even though we have tendency to regard late Roman church building as some kind of 'rural' activity, even that the Christian population worshipped in fields: this does not represent the true picture, churches were in urban areas and specific to the civitas capitals. In the Peak, where agriculture is poor and the population spread thinly, the church must be in a town, and one that has a sufficient source of income, such as from lead mining: having enough wealthy Christians in and near it (note the Benty Grange Helmet) to warrant, build and maintain a church. Even accepting the dubious argument that 'Eccles' might represent a congregation not a building, the supposition of a town can still hold. The presence of one of the earliest and richest Minster Churches in Mercia (Turbutt, 1999, p243) or, in this case, its buffer province of the Pecsæte, can only be because Wirksworth was an important administrative centre, a royal estate, a major source of revenue, and had had a long Christian heritage.

Let us also bear in mind, in the general matter of continuity of Christianity, the case made by Bassett (1992, pp13-40) about the continuance of Christian church activities in the West Midlands. Bassett laid out the case for the smooth transfer of church authority from the British bishops in the West Midland part of early Mercia to the Mercian bishops and the continuance of the precedence of the former British churches in their original parishes, which he equated, convincingly, to the late Roman civitates. If this was so there, why should that same transfer of ecclesiastical responsibility and authority not be the case in the Pecsæte? Bassett also noted, from his studies of Worcester, Gloucester and other towns, that even where British administration of a civitate had failed and the town declined, the ecclesiastical authority did not fail. Indeed, St Mary's in Wirksworth can only be the mother church of the Pecsæte: its antiquity and the topographical evidence of the size of its original parish, match anything Bassett has found elsewhere. We know nothing of its bishops, though, (except that each civitate had a bishop: Morris, 1995, p351). This is not surprising – the chief authority for the ecclesiastical history of the period is Bede, and Bede had no regard for the work of the British church, in consequence he is invariably silent about it. The gap, Bassett argues, which this leaves, is almost as instructive as anything Bede actually says. In the case of the conversion of the Mercians, it has been speculated that Peada, returning from Northumberland with four priests in 653, may have despatched one of them (Bette, who does not appear again in the historical record) to the Pecsæte. This is not so. The Pecsæte were already Christian, had their own long established churchmen, and had no need for Bette to preach to them, but the Mercians, pagans all, certainly had.

There is also the Wirksworth Stone. In 1820, during building work, a stone sarcophagus lid was found upside down under the high altar, covering a skeleton. The location under the altar suggested a person of holy status. The lid, still in the church, is an extremely rare and fine example of early religious funerary sculpture. Whatever its date, it is Wirksworth's greatest treasure. Examination found that one of the panels of the stone contained the representation of the Lamb on the Cross. This emblem was banned by the church in 692. Cockerton (1962) therefore considered that the Stone dated from between 653 and 692, for that reason (Cockerton had no way of knowing at the time that the church was earlier than 653). Kendrick in 1938 (p164) had taken the view that its date was before 800, and Cramp (1977, pp 191-231), thought that it could be associated with the 'Bakewell School' of Mercian sculpture of about 820. Sidebottom (1999) associated it with the region's stone crosses of 920. In short, we are not presently able to satisfactorily identify the date (or the person whose sarcophagus lid this was), however, nothing would be lost by spending less time comparing it with Mercian sculpture and more time comparing it with material from other civitas churches. Indeed, the church at Wirksworth has many other fragments of sculpture built into the church walls. Walker (2000, p155, p173, p189) describes these many remarkable fragments as being '*able to stand comparison with any in Mercia*', as well as noting that some fragments are suspiciously Romanesque. Kurth in 1945, (pp114-121) had concluded, of the iconography of the Wirksworth Stone itself, that: '*On the whole, the analogies are so numerous that the slab might well be considered as a late legacy of Roman Britain*'.

The 'Eccles' place name, the oval enclosure of this pre-conquest church (which indicates its Romano-British origins) and the survival of the ceremony of church clypping (from 'yclepping', meaning 'to embrace'), which has lived down the years only in Wirksworth and at Painswick in the Cotswolds, argue for its early beginning, as does the Stone and fragments of sculpture found built into the church walls. This is an early church, how early is (as ever) obscure, but of earlier and greater importance than many, not even excepting Repton and Brixworth. All the civitas churches are difficult to date, but the years between 350 and 400 are their mostly likely foundation, this is because Christianity became the state religion with the accession of the Emperor Constantine in 312, and by 359 we know that a large number of bishops, including 'the British Bishops' attended a conference in Rimini, though it was noted, with some candour, that the British Bishops were rather poor. From historical sources we know that the churches of St Alban in St Albans and St Martin in Canterbury had been founded before 390, and by 400 the whole population of the western empire was considered Christian (Morris, 1995, pp 12-27). The British Bishops appear again in 597 when they are recorded as meeting the overbearing Augustine, then appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, who promptly alienated them (Bassett, 1992, p20). One cannot pick a date out of thin air for the foundation of St Mary's in Wirksworth, for we have no specific sources; yet Wirksworth was the civitas capital, it was wealthy from lead revenues and although its first church may be thought (for lack of other evidence) to be small and wooden, thus leaving no archaeological footprint, it is perhaps possible that it existed in the years before 400. It was certainly in existence by 616 and still being used as a sacred Christian place when the surviving British population watched their new masters arrive. It is likely that its own churchmen continued to serve it until 679 when, at last, Archbishop Theodore had enough educated Saxons to appoint them to the reformed sees of the midlands and the north.

Continuity of industry.

Lead production is a very ancient practice which has been carried on in many parts of Britain including the Mendips, Flintshire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire since pre-Roman times. Lead was extracted in pre-Roman times by following a lead vein with bell pits, many of which were found locally when the new road along Porter Lane was constructed in connection with the reservoir at Carsington. Lead was also extracted alluvially, that is, dug out of riverbeds, and in Roman times through open cast mining. The Roman miners used bronze picks, which leave characteristic marks and one such open cast mine with these marks has been found at Godfrey Hole, at Wirksworth, by historian Tony Holmes; the difficulty, though, is that such picks continued to be used down to the twelfth century, so dating proof is difficult without having found coinage or other datable evidence.

Lead production would have continued after the Roman army was withdrawn and the imperial government in Rome disrupted. There is no reason to suppose it should not: there are many uses for lead and we have said there is continuity of (British) government until 616. Lutudarum would still be there in 616, its miners (who might also be farming as well) producing lead, its townspeople going to market, its government taking the revenues from lead production which might formerly have gone to Rome (Welch, 2001, p153) and continuing to export it to other parts of Britain and elsewhere. Dark (1998, p140) takes a view that industrial production may not have continued on the mass scale it had achieved during the Roman period, but that industry did continue on a lesser scale in all manner of activities from pottery to tin mining; so much so, in the latter case, that merchants from Byzantium are recorded as visiting Britain to trade for that metal throughout this period. If this is true of pottery and tin mining, there is no reason to suppose it is any less true of lead mining.

Lead was not only used for obvious things like plumbing, roofing and small tools and artefacts (e.g. spindle whorls), it was also, in Roman times, used for the production of pewter, and, significantly, in the later Roman period and then the Saxon period, for salt boiling pans (Walker, 2000, p152), baptismal tanks (many of which have been found) and for coffins (Salway, 1997, pp 455-460). One of the frequent difficulties expressed by historians of the lead industry is the inability to find evidence of lead mining activity by way of tools and so on, but this approach, which might be called 'supply side' evidence, repeatedly overlooks the presence of 'demand side' evidence – we have boiling pans, we have baptismal tanks, we have all manner of lead artefacts from the late Roman and early Saxon periods: that these things exist and have been found in dated contexts is evidence of the activity going on, even if we have not yet found a lead mine with a dead Roman holding a pick on one side and a dead Saxon holding a kibble on the other. Indeed, the history of the church of Durham notes that Abbott Eadberht, Bishop of the Northumbrians, rebuilt the church at Lindisfarne with a roof entirely covered in lead in 688, though its source is not recorded. However, source is evidenced in 714 when Abbess Eadburgha of Repton is recorded as sending a coffin of lead for the burial of St Guthlac of Crowland Abbey from her estates (the only ones having lead being those at Wirksworth). Indeed Wirksworth appears again, this time named in a charter of 835 when Abbess Kenewara of Repton leased some lead mines at Wirksworth to Duke Humbert (Birch, 1885, pxxvi) and when Wirksworth lead was used to line the roof at Canterbury Cathedral.

Thus, Wirksworth has a written record much earlier than many towns whose recorded history only begins with Domesday in 1086, and any 'gap' in the historical record of industrial activity in lead mining can be no such thing. Even if all the anecdotal evidence of finds of, say, Romano-British lead mining tools are dismissed, as well as dismissing the clear demand side evidence, support for the continuance of the lead mining industry from the Roman to the Saxon period is still gained from the interpretation of the grave goods found in the Derbyshire barrow burials of the mid seventh century: Brotherton (2005, p121) argues that the wealth associated with these goods could not have been generated from revenues from the poor agriculture of the district alone, revenues from the lead mining industry must have supported the wealth of the local magnates, accounting for the quality and diversity of grave goods found.

Communications

We have said that the key economic activity in the town of Lutudarum was lead mining. We have also noted that, in the days of the highest form of transport being a horse, lead was very difficult to move because of its weight. If some of the lead produced was being sent to the imperial government in Rome then Lutudarum must have had the road or river network to despatch it. (A network to collect it would not be required as the small amounts being produced from various mines would be transported by horse or mule along pack horse tracks, though some of these have survived). To be despatched to Rome, lead from Lutudarum must have reached a point where it could be sent easily by ship. Some have considered (Lane, 1976, pp57-61) that it might have been possible that the Derwent was navigable as far north as Cromford, but this cannot be the case. The first indication of the navigability of the river comes in an instruction from King Charles the First to Derby Corporation in 1638 to make the Derwent navigable from the town to the Trent. Nothing was done and the works to make the river navigable, as far as Derby, did not take place until 1720 (Priestley, 1831, p197). It has been thought that the point of despatch could be considered as Sawley, near Little Eaton, on the Trent. This is much more plausible, as the Trent is still navigable as far as Burton, today, for vessels of a similar draught to those of the Roman period, which could then sail to Brough on the Humber (the Roman port of Peturia), for further trans-shipment to ships sailing to the Mediterranean. Sawley is where the Trent meets a well known Roman Road to Little Chester.

In their famous book on Peakland Roads and Trackways, A.E. & E.M. Dodd (2000), highlight the many known and conjectured examples of Roman Roads in the Peak and note the considerable evidence which has to be assessed in their identification, from place names such as 'The Street' or 'Stretton' to known field boundaries and actual remains. The difficulties of assessment cannot be underestimated; even now, the line of the Buxton and Little Chester road is partly speculative south of Kirk Ireton. In his discussion of the 'lost' town of Lutudarum, Branigan (1985, pp39-41) felt that the Ravenna list was based on a known road itinerary of the Roman period and that the failure to find Lutudarum was partly due to the failure to find the road on which it lay. One route would be Wirksworth to Carsington to join the presumed course of the Buxton to Little Chester road. Dennis (1971, p14) feels that this former, part of the road from Chesterfield to Rocester (via Matlock, Cromford, Wirksworth and Ashbourne, but mistakenly named Hereward Street, (Henstock, 1980, pp35-42), would render the itinerary of the Ravenna Cosmography correct. That the Chesterfield and Rocester Road is significant can also be considered from the tendency of lead pigs to be found near it, and the Derbyshire finds of ingots listed in Turbutt, (plus two unlisted finds at Ashbourne), bracket this road very firmly: Matlock Bank finds; Cromford finds; Wirksworth and Middleton finds; Carsington finds and Ashbourne finds, all follow the route.

The Mercians were no less interested in making money from lead than the Romans and British had been, thus the material had to be transported to its various markets and this was no less arduous for the Mercians than their predecessors. A.E. & E.M. Dodd write extensively about the (Saxon) Portways and careful research found the occurrence of 'portway' references in place names in the district to be very prevalent, and also found various remains in terms of boundaries and later guide stones to be common. (Dodd, 2000, pp 44-49). A.E. & E.M. Dodd felt that the main Portway in the district ran from Hope, Brough, Ashford and Bakewell to Wirksworth, and then possibly via the Gilkin and Street's Rough to Broxtowe and Nottingham. In all, A.E. & E.M. Dodd took the view that five portways converged on Wirksworth, more than any other town in the district.

The nature of the reporting by the Dodds of their work, in their book, (primarily a guide book), has however, obscured some of its clarity. First, the argument about the incorrect naming of the Chesterfield and Rocester Road as 'Hereward Street' has served to disguise its significance: it is universally agreed that it is a Roman Road, but the mistake, originally by Cockerton, with the name, has long confused matters. Secondly, the manner in which the way between Brough and Wirksworth was described as '*the most important portway in the district*' also obscured the Dodd's comment that the portway was ancient and had been used by the Romans. A road used by the Romans is, well, a Roman road, or to speak plainly, if we consider it the Brough and Wirksworth Roman

road, this assists our clarity better than calling it a Portway, no matter how important a portway, because our purpose is to find Lutudarum, and its road network. Given this road linked the major settlements through the Peak from Brough southwards to Wirksworth and then possibly to Broxtowe (Nottingham), it should certainly be considered as important as the Buxton and Little Chester Road, yet, in the context of its Roman role, it is invariably ignored.

The Borderlands

It is considered that the boundaries of Roman civitas districts were as often roads as they were rivers or other 'fixed' features, and here and there we continue to find ancient parish boundaries running along former Roman roads. In looking at the extent of the lands of the civitas district of the Lutudarenses our evidence can be based on what the Romans themselves said, plus what we know from modern research. Dennis (1971) quotes the Roman historian Tacitus, who noted that when the district surrendered to the Romans in the first century (in the form of Agricola in 78AD) it was '*surrounded by garrisons and forts*', but none were placed within its territory, at that time. If we consider the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (1997), we find that, with the exception of Brough and Rocester, forts and camps do indeed march around the Peak. Starting at a known point in the circuit, at the border with Elmet in the area of the River Sheaf (Cox 2005), there is a fort at Templeborough by Rotherham, then south along Ryknield Street, probably the border with the Lindenses, through Chesterfield (another fort) south to Little Chester. Continuing south west Ryknield Street follows the Trent for a little way as far as Alrewas, this section was probably the border with the Corieltavi. At Alrewas the Trent turns north east and runs in that direction through Rugeley and Stone, south of which was the civitas district of Letocetum (Wall by Lichfield) as noted by Bassett (1992). Forts continue along the line of the Trent at Trent Vale (Stoke) and again at Chesterton by Newcastle under Lyme, south west of which would be the Cornovii. North from Chesterton we have much less evidence, but there is a camp at Wallhill by Congleton and then an apparent gap (via Macclesfield) until the fort at Melandra Castle, then in a north westerly direction to Castleshaw and Slack by Huddersfield, beyond which would be the Brigantes. The border would then probably have returned in a south easterly direction to Templeborough.

This leaves us with two exceptions: the forts at Brough and Rocester. Brough is central to the north of district when conceived by these borders, another centre for the administration of lead mining and connected by road within a day's march of Wirksworth. Rocester has a similar central location to the south part of the district, helps guard the approach of the Dove Valley and is again connected by road to Wirksworth easily. Some writers have expected to find a fort at Carsington, but from the Roman perspective it would serve no purpose and indeed given that Wirksworth is the district's capital, should there be any other fort still to be found, it is to Wirksworth that we must look, equally, the town is sufficiently well guarded that it may have had no fort.

In summary

Rahtz (1977, pp 107–127), as noted in the introduction, made the most salient point in his work on the West Mercian towns. He said that, with the then exception of Worcester, no survey had been made which attempted to bring together the historical, topographical, numismatic or other sources and relate them to what archaeological evidence existed. If this was true for such great cities as Chester and Gloucester or ancient towns such as Shrewsbury and Tamworth, how much the more so for Wirksworth. The case against Wirksworth has long rested on the narrow pillar of the shortage of physical evidence from within the town itself, but to date little such evidence has been sought or analysed. The means and ability to search and consider it should be given thought by those with the remit and money to do so. An expert assessment of the date of the mediaeval drainage system of the town or of the 'Romanesque' fragments in St Mary's might prove an easy and convenient place to begin.

The interminable search for Lutudarum seems to hold local historians and archaeologists in some kind of awe: the assessment of the totality of available contextual evidence does not seem to have occurred, particularly in the absence of finding bits of things buried in the ground. Nor does there appear to have been any recent work which attempted to assess Lutudarum in the context of what is known of late Romano-British and early Mercian history.

The case for Wirksworth being Lutudarum is as follows:

Lutudarum is a recorded Roman town intimately involved in the production of lead and in the administration of its production, as well as the administration of its surrounding district.

Of the many candidates for Lutudarum, only Wirksworth sufficiently speaks its case, the indicators of this case are: the local place names, both in Wirksworth and nearby; the situation of government in the district at the time of early Mercia; continuity of Christianity established in a location with a big enough population to sustain it; continuity of the lead mining industry due to the revenues to be gained from maintaining it; the longevity and importance of Wirksworth in the written historical record; and that Wirksworth lies at route centre of two Roman Roads: the Rocester and Chesterfield Road; the Brough and Wirksworth Road, and a third, the Buxton and Little Chester Road, runs in its hinterland.

Above all, it is the matter of the antiquity and importance of St Mary's Church in Wirksworth, as the mother church of the Peak, which, when taken into consideration alongside Bassett's work on St Helen's in Worcester and the ancient churches and their parishes of Gloucester, Lichfield and Wroxeter, leads to the inescapable conclusion that the presence of such a church is representative only of those found in the late Roman civitas capitals (Dark, 1994, pp64-68). Even were we to set all other evidence aside, this alone would make Wirksworth the lost capital of the Lutaderenses, Lutudarum.

For the casual visitor, there is much to see. There is no better starting place than the Moot Hall, meeting house of the Great Barmote Court, possibly the oldest industrial court in all England, dealing with lead mining, of course. This court was described, in a recent inquiry, as being of great antiquity. The recent inquiry was in 1288. Upon the frontage of the Moot Hall, are two bas reliefs dating from 1773. The one bears the obvious tools of the lead miner: pick and shovel, cap and measuring dish. The other bears a set of scales, signifying justice, and on top of the scales, a curious axe placed in a bound wood surround. These are the Fasces, the ancient symbol of Roman authority, and here they are, unrecognised and forgotten, on a little building, in a small English town.

Conventions

For clarity and ease of understanding, the Romano-British (in this case the post-Roman British) are often referred to throughout this text as British. Similarly, those who might technically be called Anglians, Saxons, Mercians or similar, are often simply referred to as Mercians. It saves confusion, which in this period, there is a lot of. The opening quotation '*twenty-eight noble cities*' is from Bede (Bassett, 1989, pp225-256)

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**A BRIEF HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS OF
BROOK STREET CHAPEL, DERBY: A GENERAL BAPTIST CHAPEL 1802-1854
AND
A WESLEYAN REFORM METHODIST CHURCH 1856-2002**

(By Peter Billson,
with contributions from Joan D'Arcy,

Introduction

Brook Street Chapel, an unpretentious, simple building, dates from the early nineteenth century. It is located on the north west side of the City of Derby (SK 348367), in an area commonly known as the West End until, from the late 1950s, its older housing was cleared away. The name West End was only given to the area in the nineteenth century, before which it was known as Nuns Green. After the dissolution of the nunnery of St. Mary de Pratis, which lay on part of the tract, it was acquired by the Borough Burgesses in 1554 as part of Queen Mary's Charter of lands to the town. It remained a fairly extensive open stretch of land until 1768 when an Act of Parliament allowed the Corporation to sell part of it, in plots, for building. In 1792 the Corporation obtained a further Act of Parliament, allowing it to sell off all the remaining land, which was likewise divided into plots for new building.



Brook Street chapel in 1828.¹

The chapel was built and opened in 1802. The frontage is set back from Brook Street, with its small burial ground lying in front. At the rear, the building backs up to the junction of the older Willow Row and Lodge Lane. It is dwarfed on its immediate north-west side by a towering seven storey Ribbon Mill, built in 1837-8 by the former Thomas Bridgett & Company's silk mills complex, established here from 1803. Together with its ancillary buildings, it has long been listed Grade II and has also been recorded and briefly described in the first volume of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England 1986 (now incorporated within English Heritage).

Background: The Origins of the Baptist Movement in Derby

The English Baptist movement was founded in Amsterdam in 1611 by separatists who had broken away from the rule of the Established Church of England. The following year the first Baptist church was created in London. A fundamental tenet of the movement was the rejection of infant baptism and a belief that only mature believers should be admitted as members, by full immersion in water. Some years later, in 1633, a group in Southwark, who believed in the Calvinist concept of predestination, broke away to form the sect of Particular Baptists, the remaining original members becoming known as General Baptists. By the end of the century the Particular Baptists had become the more numerous.

There may have been a small number of Baptists in Derby by the mid seventeenth century although the source, William Hutton, was writing at the end of the eighteenth century. In his *Life*, Hutton states that his grandmother, Elinor Jennings, observed that her father, who was living in St. Alkmund's churchyard, Derby about 1660, *'was a Baptist Preacher one day in the week, and a Shoe-maker the other six'*. Even if this were so, this phase of Baptistism left no lasting mark on the town and neither William Hutton nor Rev. James Pilkington, writing at the end of the nineteenth century, make any mention of a Baptist church in Derby in their histories.²

The Particular Baptists were the first to establish themselves in Derby with a chapel of their own. That was in 1796 with the building of a meeting house in Agard Street, west of the course of the Markeaton Brook.³ In 1768, when the Borough Corporation obtained an Act of Parliament allowing it to sell part of Nuns Green, it divided the land into building plots which it sold to raise monies for improvements in the Borough. This was followed in 1792 by a further Act for similar purposes. The first Act enabled new development on Friar Gate between Ford Street and Brick Street. The second permitted the sale, in plots, of the rest, and larger part, of Nuns Green. The Board of Commission, under the chairmanship of the notable William Strutt, prepared a scheme of roads and plots for sale across the Green. Bridge Street was laid out as a broad central road across the lands, crossed by Brook Street with Agard Street running off to the south.

The General Baptists' gatherings in Derby can be dated from 1789 when a prominent preacher of the movement, the Rev. Dan Taylor, en-route to his home in Yorkshire, delivered a sermon in Willow Row. Rev. John Deodatus Gregory Pike, who would for many years serve the Baptist congregation as minister, described the event in his unfinished and unpublished history of Derby as follows: *'In May 1789 Mr. Dan Taylor who had long been distinguished for his zeal to promote the prosperity of the New Connection of General Baptists preached on Nuns Green in the open air'*.⁴

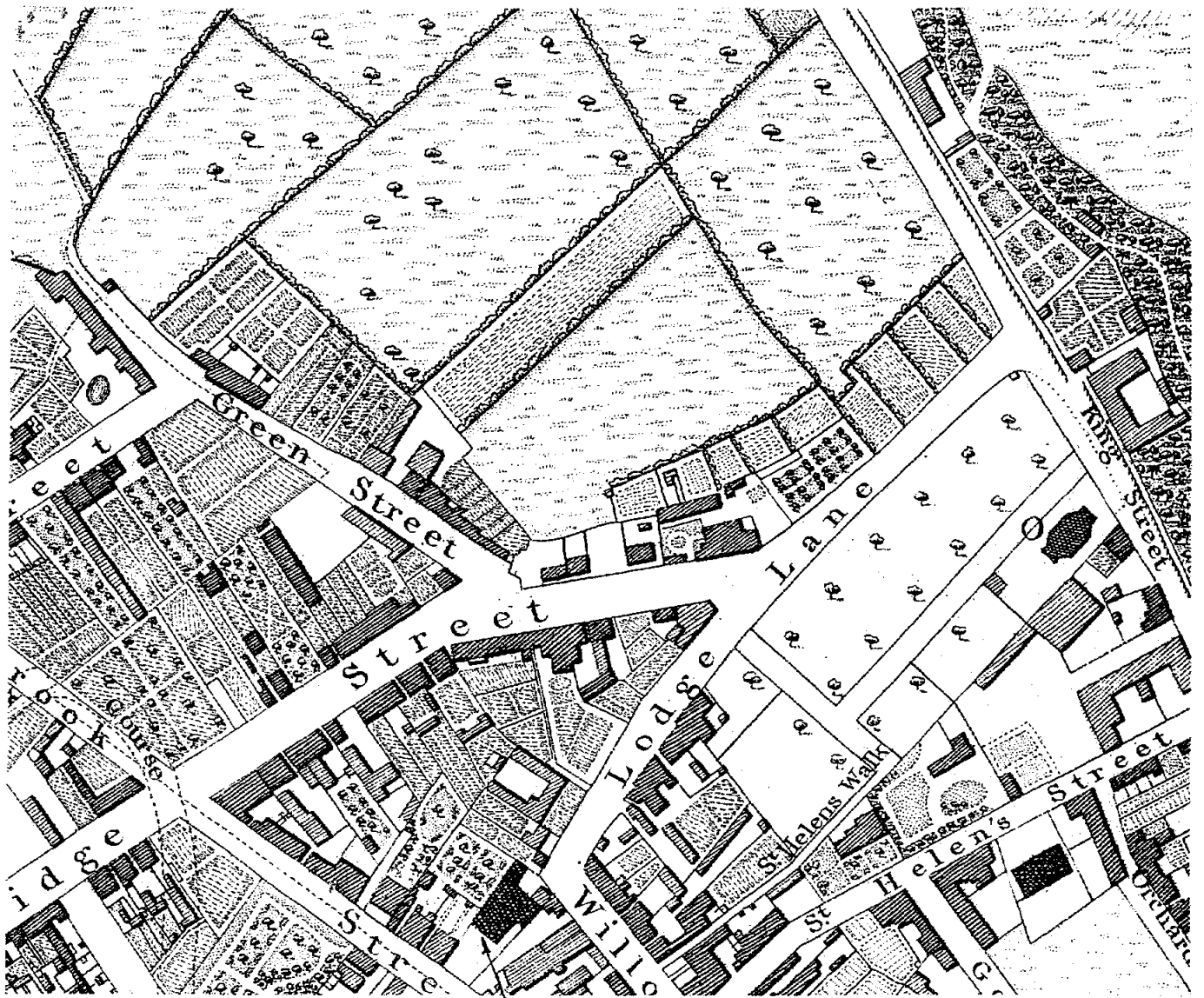
Some earlier interest had been encouraged by occasional visits to the town by preachers from already established village chapels in the south Derbyshire and Leicestershire localities. Following Taylor's visit, more regular open air meetings were held in Willow Row. The success of these outdoor meetings soon led to the hiring of a room for worship in Friar Gate, near to the location of the old County Gaol where *'preaching was continued by different ministers and in 1791 the foundation of this church was laid by the baptism of 9 persons'*.⁵

Without facilities for baptisms at the room in Friar Gate, these were held in the River Derwent, near to Cockpit Hill, the first being on 21 August 1791. At a later date in the 1790s the gatherings appear to have moved to another room in the locality, but this was described as *'very low, the place of worship uncomfortable', and 'no week night services could be held there on account of the rattle of the (weavers') looms below'*.⁶

History of Brook Street Chapel

By 1800, fluctuating ups and downs of membership had seemingly stabilised at a regular 30 to 40 people, plus other attenders. On 30 November of that year the members determined to *'seek a better room'*. The outcome was that funds were raised to purchase one of the Nuns Green Commissioners' plots of land - no 34, of *'six hundred and sixty eight square yards in area ... for the sum of £80. 14s. 6d'*. This plot fronted Brook Street and ran back to the junction of Willow Row with Lodge Lane - quite close to the spot where Dan Taylor had preached in 1789. Further monies were soon raised which enabled the building of their own Meeting House, opened on 20 July 1802. The opening was a significant event for members. Preachers attended from Kegworth, Ilkeston and Melbourne chapels - with the devotional parts of the service being assisted by ministers of the Agard Street Particular Baptist chapel and other Independent churches in Derby.⁷

Earlier in 1799, the membership had decided that they needed the benefit of a resident minister, and persuaded James Taylor, the nephew of Dan Taylor, to come and take up residence in Derby. Like many other small chapels of the 18th and early 19th centuries, funds to pay for a full time minister were limited, so many shared



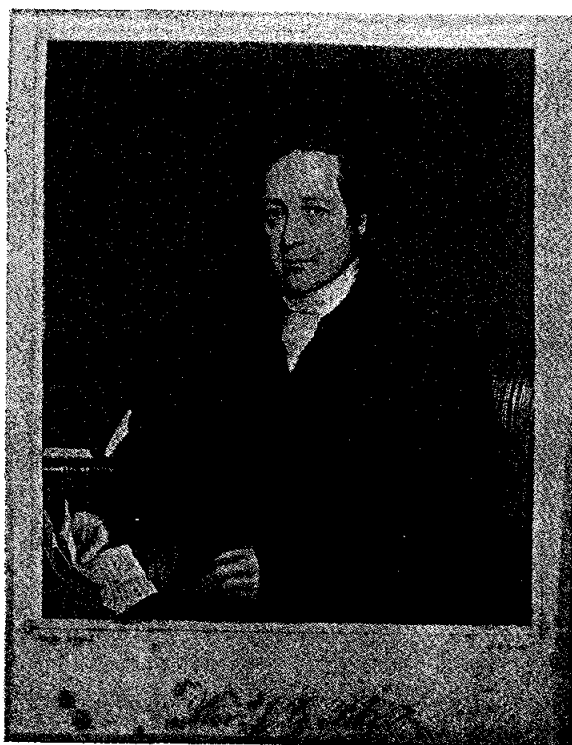
Brook Street General Baptist Chapel

J. Chatterton and J.T. Swanwick Survey of Derby 1819 (enlarged)

their ministering roles with that of some other activity. For instance, well known preachers like Samuel and John Deacon and Joseph Donisthorpe in Leicestershire, were also clockmakers. In the case of James Taylor, he opened a school to provide an additional income. It was not until 1804 that the small community felt able to invite Taylor to become their full time minister, following which he was ordained on 30 March that year. The Rev. James Taylor stayed at Brook Street until late 1807, when he moved to a chapel in Yorkshire. This move seems to have been partly influenced by some decline in attendance. Following his departure, ministers and preachers from other chapels in south Derbyshire and neighbouring Leicestershire, were invited to fill the gap by visiting on a rota.⁸

Numbers gradually improved again so that the community became able to contemplate appointing a new minister. The Rev. John D.G. Pike came on a probationary visit in September 1809. Born in Edmonton in 1784, he studied at the Dissenting College at Wymondly and soon after he was introduced to the vacant church by Rev. John Deacon of Leicester. Attendances greatly increased during his trial spell, so much so that on one Sunday *'the place was too full for its seats to accommodate the hearers'*. Pike, after also preaching at Duffield, felt more disposed to prefer that chapel, then still a branch of Brook Street. After visits elsewhere, however, he was prevailed upon to return and become the minister of Brook Street at a stipend of £56 per annum, starting in 1810. This was to be a significant step as Pike proved to be a man of considerable energy and charisma.⁹

Baptisms had continued to take place in the River Derwent, Samuel Deacon from Barton in the Beans, Leicestershire, preaching at one on 15 May 1808 to a large congregation and a considerable number of curious spectators. On 10 October, another baptism took place in a brook at Alvaston with the visiting Samuel Deacon preaching and the Rev. Pike baptising the candidates. Apparently, occasionally the baptistry of the Particular Baptists in Agard Street was also used by arrangement, but river baptisms still continued. Rev. Pike recorded after one session, *'The River Derwent is here the only baptistry, and on its banks, and on the bridge which crosses over just at this place, several thousand spectators can accommodate themselves with stations for observing the impressive ceremony. I know of none more impressive. It is so when administered in a confined building, and you may suppose it much more so when 16 or so persons at a time are baptised in the view of hundreds or thousands of spectators ...'*¹⁰



Rev. John Deodatus Gregory Pike (6 April 1784 - 4 September 1854)
Minister of Brook Street Chapel and St Mary's Gate Chapel (8 September 1810 - 4 September 1854)

Pike had set down his views of the Brook Street chapel building as being essentially '*very small and damp, and entered by several descending steps*'. It was an aspect which had initially almost discouraged him from taking up the post. At the beginning of 1810 there were 63 members of the chapel but during his first year of tenure, 58 new ones were added through baptisms. It was decided that the building needed improving and enlargement. Other possibilities were considered, including the purchase of a new site in Silk Mill Lane or the purchase of a plot of land near to the existing chapel building, but that parcel was sold. Finally it was agreed that some sort of extension, including a gallery, would be made and this was executed in 1811.¹¹

The exact nature of what was carried out has not been recorded. The footprint of the 1802 chapel building was only half the area of the building we see today and the alterations probably included a small gallery and maybe a vestry at the north east end. One thing that must have been included at that time was a small baptistery because it is recorded that Sarah Sanders '*was baptised in the chapel*' on 21 April 1811. A few months after the baptism, Sarah and Rev. Pike married. Although not previously a member, she and her sister had given liberally of their limited means to the extension fund.¹²

It must have been at this time that the covered well, found in the chapel in 2004, was installed to serve the baptistery and Sarah Sanders' baptism was most likely the first baptismal ceremony carried out within the Brook Street chapel. Although a baptism in the River Derwent had been held as late as 15 May 1808, it must have become more appropriate to hold the ceremony within the chapel in future. Possibly this was occasioned by the increasing industrialisation of the Morledge - Cockpit Hill area of the Derwent.

This modest increase in accommodation did not satisfy the Baptist community's expanding aspirations. Only two years later, in February 1813, the members resolved to '*attempt to build a new chapel*' but the proposal was delayed due to insufficient funds. An energetic fund raising effort was carried out during the first six months of 1814 led by Deacons John Etches and Samuel Johnson, the Rev. Pike making his own contribution by undertaking a strenuous tour, travelling up and down the country preaching, along with his '*begging case*'. By these means, and the distribution of a printed letter appealing for funds, he raised almost £400. He later wrote the draft of his unpublished '*History of Derby*' on the back of unused letters.¹³

Following his return, the works were started. The original chapel building was largely demolished, apart from some portions of the west side and rear end wall. The replacement chapel was built to the same width, incorporating the part retained walls, but to twice the original length and was increased in height. The new building was lit by windows in the end walls and by skylights in the roof. The present surviving gallery at the south west end was also put in at this time. The whole cost was around £1,000. The rebuilt chapel was '*opened for public worship in April 1815*'.¹⁴

It is also recorded that two '*moderate sized schoolrooms*' were added in 1815, although these cannot have been the two storey Schoolrooms standing at the time of closure in 2002, whose external envelope still survives after the 2004 conversions.¹⁵ What must have been built in 1815 was a smaller building housing upstairs and downstairs schoolrooms. Their outline is clearly depicted on both the Chatterton-Swanwick survey map published in 1819 and William Rogerson's map of Derby of the same year. To enable the schoolrooms building to be extended to its later size, the Chapel Trustees eventually purchased the rear half of the adjacent land plot (The Commissioners' original Plot 33). The actual date of this purchase and the Schoolroom extension date is not recorded. All that can be said is that it may well have been in 1824 or just after, as will be argued later. On the 1819 survey map houses are depicted on Plot 33, fronting Brook Street, with yards and privies behind. These occupy the front half of the plot. The rear half is laid out as a garden with trees - possibly a small orchard. The Trustees actually purchased the nearer half of this garden plot for their needs. The frontage houses all survived until the Borough Council clearances of the 1960s. The other half of the garden section of Plot 33 was acquired by Thomas Bridgett & Co. in March 1837 and now lies under part of their substantial South (ribbon) Mill built in 1837-8.¹⁶

Between 1815 and 1820 church membership rose from 163 persons to just over 200 and, with other attenders, was causing a pressing need for more seating. In April 1819 '*A proposition was brought forward for adding side galleries to the chapel*' and '*think it advisable if it come to more than £80 the members will raise a subscription*'. These side galleries were eventually added in 1819, increasing the total seating capacity to around 750. A chapel house was also added around this time, fitted into the wedge shaped space alongside the south west wall of the chapel building and up to the plot boundary. It extended back from Willow Row, where it had its entrance, with just a small forecourt in front. An internal door gave direct entrance from the house into the chapel, a factor which would lead to a near total disaster in 1961. By 1827, there were about 250 Members. Like other

nonconformist Chapels at this time, there were three Sunday services and a Thursday Evening Lecture by Rev. Pike.¹⁷

The Nuns Green area saw an appreciable increase in housing over the years to 1840. Landlords had been packing in mean one up-one down cottages in numerous Courts, created in what had hitherto been the rear gardens of the principal street fronting larger terraced houses. This was due to the considerable demands for cheap housing for the rapidly increasing industrial working population in the Nuns Green, Willow Row area. Between the years 1824 to c1842 the surviving four large silk mills of Thomas Bridgett & Co. had been built nearby. By 1840 Bridgett & Company was the largest silk mill complex in Derby.¹⁸

By 1841, the chapel membership had risen to 426 and an increase in seating and other accommodation had again become a serious consideration. An architect was engaged to survey the building and produce a plan for enlargement. After reading his Report it was decided that this was not a satisfactory solution. The only serious answer was to move and rebuild on a new site, or acquire and adapt a suitable alternative building. Not far away, in St. Mary Gate, stood St. Mary's Gate House, a fine Palladian style mansion built for the Osborne family in 1750. About 1800 it had been bought by Thomas Evans, banker and cotton entrepreneur of Darley Abbey Mills. Following his decease, it passed to his grandson William Evans, M.P. of Allestree Hall. By 1840, Evans, having no further need of the house, put it up for sale at a price of £4,500. With some enterprise, the congregation, led by Rev. Pike, negotiated with William Evans and acquired the house for £4,000. After gutting the interior, it was extended and refitted to form the new chapel with seating for 1200. Completed in 1842, the opening services were held there on 18 May. This building was subsequently abandoned in 1937 when the congregation removed to a brand new church on Broadway, where they still remain.¹⁹

Just before the congregation moved to St. Mary's Gate, a disastrous flood hit the town on the night of 31 March. Exceptionally heavy rainfall caused the rapid overflow of the Markeaton Brook. At that date the brook still ran almost entirely as an open watercourse through the town centre. (Brookside, now Victoria Street, through to the River Derwent had been culverted in 1837). The waters, rising to about 4½ feet in Brook Street, burst open the front doors of the chapel, flooding the interior up to the third step of the gallery stairs. The chapel would endure a comparable flooding almost a century later on 1-2 May 1932 when Markeaton Brook again overflowed and inundated the Nuns Green area and much of the town centre.²⁰

When the move to St. Mary's Gate was made one month later, some members insisted on staying at Brook Street and Rev. Pike held both ministries for a short time. They later became independent and were joined by some secessionists from the Sacheverell Street chapel. In 1851 a Religious Census was taken during the ministry of Rev. G. Needham at which time Brook Street's average general morning attendance was 95 with an average of 90 children in the Sunday school. The average evening attendance was 190. In comparison, Rev. Pike could attract an evening congregation of over 700 at the St. Mary's Gate chapel.²¹ The Brook Street congregation decided to sell and the premises were offered for sale from 1854. Initially there were no takers, but on 27 July 1856 a group of Wesleyan Reform Methodists, who had been holding services in the Lecture Hall at the Mechanics Institute, transferred to the chapel which they rented for £25 per annum. They eventually bought the premises for £650 in October 1862. It was following this that the original name tablet on the chapel's frontage was removed and the one bearing the legend Wesley Chapel substituted.²² They later merged to become part of the United Methodist Free Church.²³

Following their acquisition, the Wesleyans would have made alterations at the east end to suit their own liturgical needs. Minute Books record that in 1887 they bought a pipe organ, built by Harrisons, from a Mr. White of Grantham for the sum of £120. It had all metal pipes throughout - Great and Swell, together with a 16 foot Pedal organ - and was manually blown. There is record that at a certain period the person doing the hand blowing was remunerated at a salary of 15 shillings per year. The organ was put into use from 24 July 1888.²⁴ What was being used to accompany the singing before this date is not known but there may have been a piano or harmonium, although there is some mention of singing and an accompanying instrument in the earlier records of the Baptist chapel. Minutes state:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| January 1812 | No musical instrument be introduced without the consent of the church and without the church approving the person who may be proposed to play it. |
| 9 Feb. 1812 | Mr Street be allowed to introduce his violincello |
| 6 April 1812 | The order for Mr Street playing his violoncello rescinded conditionally |

- 1 Aug. 1813 Permission given without one opposing hand to the introduction of a bass Viol. (ie a string Double Bass)
- 5 Feb. 1816 The church desires the singers to avoid singing after the service, and not to use more than one new tune on the sabbath.²⁵

Additional voice pipes were added to the organ over the years ahead and then it was finally revoiced on increased wind pressure in 1932, when an electric blower was installed.

Original lighting in the chapel would have been by candlelight. At some time in 1862, when the Wesleyans bought the premises, gas lighting was introduced, this being improved in 1901 and finally replaced in 1910 by electric lighting.

In 1870, pressure for more accommodation resulted in the building of the Young Men's Room in the yard to the north west of the Chapel. This was enlarged in 1878 when, at the same time, the glazed ridge lantern light was added.²⁶

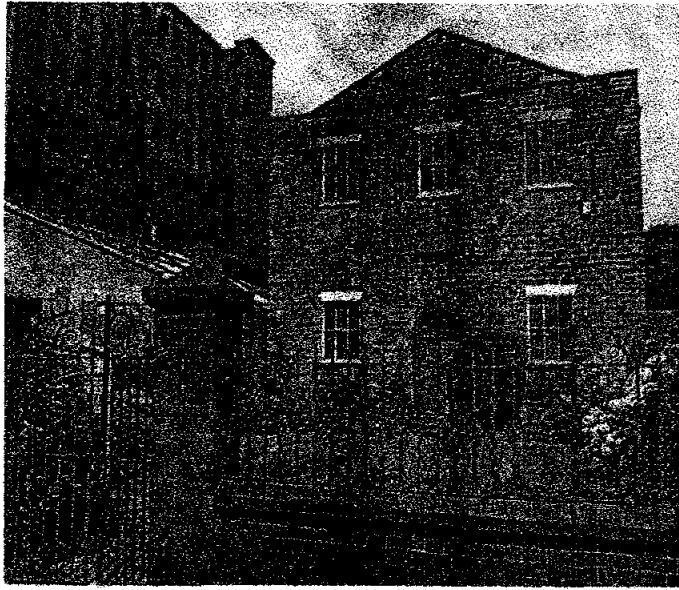
In 1908, plans were drawn up for extending the Schoolrooms, but these were turned down by Derby Borough Council on the grounds of '*lack of [adequate] air space*'. It is surprising to see the application, since membership was beginning a downward trend from an all time high of 172 in 1897 to 98 by 1907. No doubt at the time it wasn't realised that such a trend would continue, and maybe it was thought that an increase in accommodation space would encourage a resurgence in membership and Sunday School attendance. The latter had fallen from a high of 300 scholars in 1895 to 136 by 1905. Although there was a decline in the actual registered members, it must be remembered that attendance was at all times higher through the many who attended but were not registered.²⁷

It is also of some interest to note that the chapel ministers record that in 1877 pew rents were '*3/6d per whole rear or 1/- per sitting [space] per quarter [of each year]*'. Pew rents continued until abolished in 1923, as an obsolete practice.²⁸

In the nineteenth century, this chapel, along with virtually all the other religious establishments in the town, was an important provider of basic education and Sunday and evening schools continued to expand until the Education Act of 1870 brought the State positively into education by providing for the establishment of Local School Boards to build and manage schools. In 1880, all children were henceforth compelled to attend day school full time up to the age of 10 years. Glover cites the numbers of children attending these voluntary schools in 1842-3. The Brook Street chapel Sunday school is not included in his list, perhaps because almost all its members had just removed to St. Mary Gate, but there the figures given are '*attended by 485 scholars and 40 teachers ... 426 belonging to this chapel*'. Following the acquisition of Brook Street chapel by the Wesleyans, they then built up their own Sunday school to an attendance of 210 scholars and 24 teachers by 1862. This then rose to a peak of some 610 scholars and 44 teachers in 1880.²⁹

The chapel was once again inundated by floodwater during the night of Saturday 21 May 1932, when the Markeaton Brook overflowed through torrential rain. On the Sunday morning the water was found to be knee deep in the body of the chapel. Fortunately, the waters soon receded, leaving only the area to be scrubbed clean.³⁰

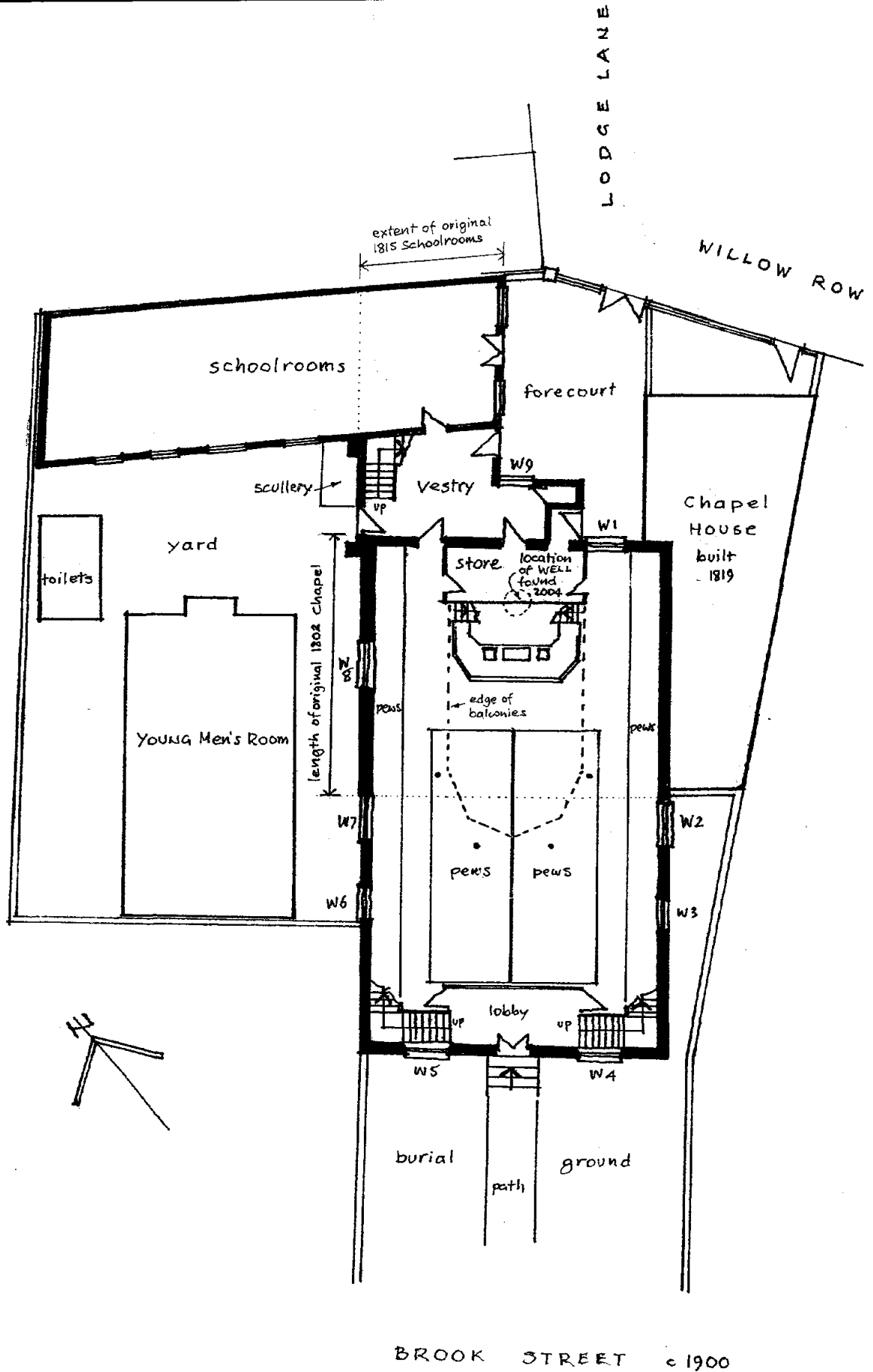
Changes in the patterns of society, the effects of two World Wars, and general social change led to a decline in attendance in the first half of the twentieth century, as with other churches and chapels in the town. The most devastating impact, however, was the relocation, by Derby Borough Council, of the indigenous population of the Nuns Green area (or West End as it became known) to new housing in the suburbs. The process of demolition and clearance of the old houses, which began in the Willow Row area as early as the 1930s, had some earlier impact upon attendance at Brook Street Chapel. By 1960 membership had fallen to 40 and Sunday school numbers were in the 50s. In this year the Young Men's Room, its usefulness now gone, was sold to the adjacent Rykneld Mills (the new name from 1930 of the former Thomas Bridgett & Co's mills) for £700.³¹ In the following year, fire broke out in the cellar of the chapel keeper's house while it was in course of clearance, having been condemned as sub-standard for continuing occupation. The fire quickly spread to the chapel itself. By some fortune, a policeman on patrol gave the alarm. His action saved the chapel, confining fire damage to one corner, but the organ was severely damaged by smoke and water. The total damage caused by the fire was estimated at £1,400.³²



Brook Street frontage - 2002

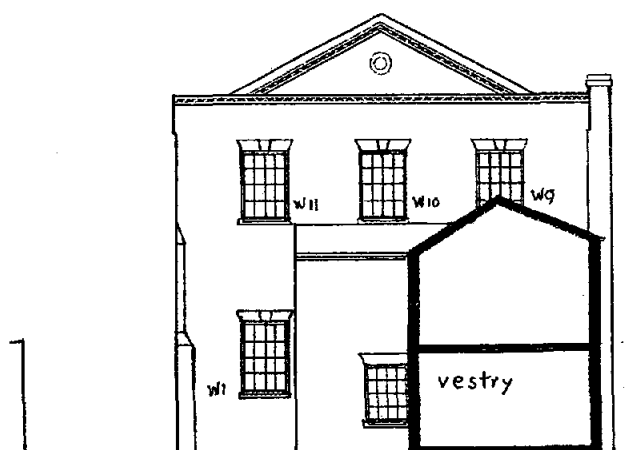


Chapel interior - 2002

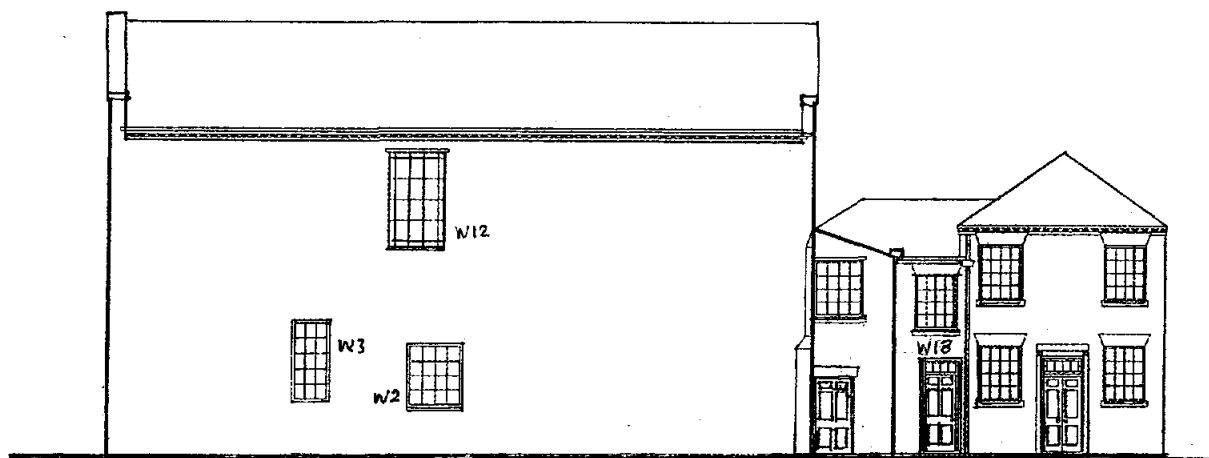




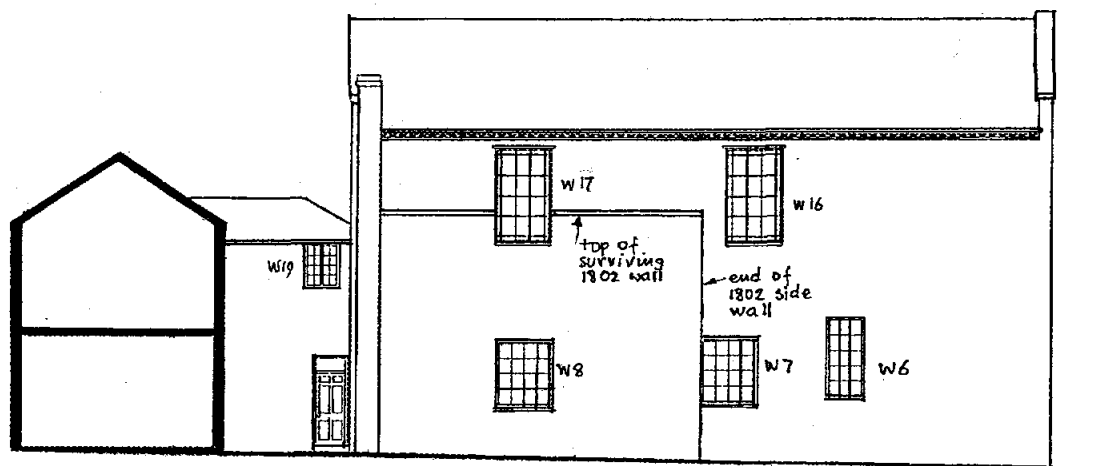
BROOK STREET FRONT south-west



WILLOW ROW FRONT north-east



NORTH WEST SIDE



SOUTH EAST SIDE

By 1965, a large part of the West End had been demolished and cleared and chapel membership had fallen to 34, with only 8 children now attending Sunday school. With resolution, the dwindling congregation continued to hold on to their roots and attend their spiritual home but by the end of the 1990s it was clear that they could not continue for much longer. In August 2002, the Trustees put the chapel premises up for sale at auction. The hammer fell at £81,000. The buyer paid his deposit, but mysteriously failed to complete his purchase. In March 2003, after considerable damage to the internal fabric had been caused by rain entering through holes in the roof where slates had been removed, the premises were again put up for sale in auction - and were finally properly sold. Its new conversion to a restaurant/bar retains much of the former interior character although the organ and many of the pews have been removed. Its exterior, following sensitive repairs, remains intact.

Buildings Analysis

As seen today from Brook Street, the chapel is a small, neatly proportioned building of two storeys, typical of its Georgian date. It is set back from the road, behind a low brick wall, topped by iron railings, both dating from 1901. A short path leads through a former small burial ground to an arched entrance, also centrally placed in a stone faced three bay facade. Above the door is a plaque which marks it as Wesley Chapel and the facade is completed by a triangular pediment.

The chapel exterior

In 1814, it was recorded that *'the building was largely demolished apart from portions of the side wall'* An examination of the chapel and its ancillary buildings was carried out in Summer 2004 when, as part of the restoration programme, builders had stripped out internal fittings and the wall plaster had been removed, revealing a clearer picture of the nineteenth century structure. It could be seen that the original 1802 chapel was almost wholly taken down in 1814, and had a length of only 30 feet from rear north east wall to south westentrance wall. In 1814-15 the chapel was doubled in length to 60 feet, by means of an extension towards Brook Street. The overall width measurement was essentially retained at 36 feet.

The examination showed that for a 30 feet length the thickness of the north west side wall is a nominal 18½ inches, or two brick thickness, whereas the north east end wall and the wall on the south east side of the building are a nominal 13½ inches thick (1½ bricks) throughout. The differing thickness of these walls helps to determine the stages of building. This 30 foot length of the north west wall is a remain of the 1802 chapel, built of coarse local red bricks of size nominal 9½"L x 2⅝"H x 4¼-4⅜"W, in Flemish stretcher bond. The face of this wall was clearly built up to the line of the original plot boundary. This wall stops a few feet below the later (and present) eaves line, indicating that the 1802 building was most probably of a lower height than the 1814-15 rebuild. The wall of the rebuild is set back 4½" behind the older face line and continues, similarly, forward to the Brook Street frontage elevation. Why there is this 4½" setback behind the plot boundary is not now particularly clear. The newer wall is also of coarse local rick, slightly differing in size at nom. 49"L x 2½"-2⅝"H x 4¼-4½"W; but this time built in English Garden Wall Raking Bond. The two new side walls were finished at eaves level with a single slightly corbelled-out course, with another above of alternating header dentils.

At the time of the examination, the major part of the south east side wall was still largely obscured by a covering coat of cement render, over what would have been the extent of the 1802 original wall. The application of cement probably dates from 1961 when the former abutting chapel house was taken down. Beyond the render, the later wall of 1814-15 continues on the same face line to the Brook Street frontage. This brickwork and bond is identical to the same date opposite side wall.

The north-east rear end wall facing Willow Row appears to consist of the original 9" thick 1802 wall which, from its appearance, was refaced externally with a half brick skin in 1814-15. This new skin presents a superior appearance to that of the side walls by using good quality, fairly smooth red bricks of size nom. 9"L x 2⅝"H x 4½"W. It appears to be built in Flemish bond but the headers must have been cut as half bats to fit, and how it is tied into the original wall is an unknown. Confirmation that the original wall was refaced in 1814-15 came from an examination of its interior surface from which the plaster had been stripped. This showed that an original lower window [W1] had been raised. Below is infill brickwork and the side vertical straight joints were still visible although none of this is apparent from outside. The upper part of this end wall is finished with a reduced central gable rising above a coped parapet, the latter carried across the gable on a string course.

Windows divide this frontage into three bays. The three upper windows [W9, W10, W11] still have the vertical sliding timber sashes installed in 1814-15, each of eight panes. Below, to the left, is the window [W1] already

referred to, but its original sliding sashes have been removed at some date and replaced with a single fixed light of six panes. The four windows all have projecting stone cills and splayed end stone lintols. The latter are of an uncommon pattern; they have a keystone with separate stone flanking single voussiers - all flush with the facing brickwork. What is singular, is that the voussiers all have upward cambered soffits. The lower centre and right hand lower sections of this facade are masked externally by the later additions of the Vestry and the Organ chamber.

The 1814-15 Brook Street frontage was finished with a stone face, no doubt to create a little more distinction; but at a limited extra cost. It is simple in appearance and of a general matching pattern to the brick rear elevation. The facework is coursed ashlar with a tooled finish. The wall is wholly stone throughout its 18 inch thickness and is quite probably local Coxbench material. It is likewise of three bays, with three windows at the upper level and two at ground floor level, flanking the central, principal entrance. The windows were all originally double vertical sliding sashes, each of eight panes, but at a much later date in the nineteenth century they were all replaced with single fixed lights of six panes to each opening. The stone lintols above the windows, like those on the rear facade, are all of a similar uncommon pattern. The central entrance has twin, six panelled doors. The present doors are later replacements. Also, originally, there was a timber door surround with side pilasters, carrying an open pediment which the fanlight broke into, as can be seen in the engraved illustration in Glover's *History of Derby*. The fanlight is an original survivor with a round headed top and four radiating glazing bars rising from a lower semicircle. There is now no trace of the original pilasters and pediment.

The brief description in Glover's *Directory of Derby* for 1843 states that the chapel is 'lighted by fourteen windows'. At the lower level along the side walls there are five wooden windows. These, together with the five on the front elevation and the four on the rear, make up the fourteen. The three iron windows on the side upper levels [W12, W16, W17] were not put in until 1910. The five lower windows [W2, W3, W6, W7, W8] were clearly post 1814-15 inserts and have to be post 1819, after the adjacent garden land was purchased. At least those on that side. Two are matching seven feet tall fixed lights, each having fifteen (5 x 3) panes. These windows were inserted to rise up beneath the underside of the rear balcony soffit. The three further wooden windows are each 'squarish' ones with vertically sliding double sashes - each of eight panes. Two are in the north west side wall, and one in the opposite south west wall. It is noticeable that all three fit comfortably beneath the side balconies. Their exact date of insertion is unrecorded, but has to be after the side balconies were put in in 1819 - but clearly before circa 1840. None of these five windows have external lintols. Their brick courses continue across the heads. There were only internal lintols, but somewhat inexplicably the squarish window on the south west side has two flattish cambered half brick relieving arches above. There are no external cills on any of these five windows, except the most northerly one [W8] on the north west side which has a very much later one of blue brick water-tables.

There is a surviving brick chimney stack at the north corner of the chapel. Now of no use, it served the adjacent underground boiler room which lay alongside the north west wall. These facilities were all installed in 1895. The boiler and its room were dispensed with and filled in during the 2004 conversion works.

Chapel Interior

The 1815 south west end balcony (Brook Street end), together with the 1819 extension side balconies with their front panelled balustrades, survive as built. All of the wooden pews on the stepped rakes survived complete until alteration in 2004. The balconies are supported on their original circular columns, two seven inch diameter ones to support the end balcony, with the side balconies each on two slimmer five inch ones. At first sight, the columns appear to be of cast iron, but are in fact of turned wood. Twin staircases are located in the corners next to the front entrance and date from 1814-15; with moulded handrails carried on square stick balusters, and lathe turned newel posts. These had been enclosed, at some later date, with timber panelled full height screens, fitted tight to the outer edge of the handrails. It is likely that, together with the inner pairs of doors between, these were all inserted later to create a draught lobby.

All round the inner walls was a vertically boarded wooden dado. This, with the plain boarded suspended ground floor and the raised four foot wide margins alongside the walls, filled with short pews, would date from 1814-15. A representational few have been retained in 2004. Also of that date must have been the fitted pine pews, filling the central space with a pew height dividing partition down the middle. Two aisles separated the central pews from the short ones on the raised side areas. These central pews were removed in 2004.

The original Baptist chapel's east end arrangement was of course superseded by the differing needs of the Wesleyans after 1856. We do not know for certain what the Baptists' arrangements would have been, but there would most probably have been a preaching pulpit set centrally against the east wall. What is known, is that the remains of a brick-lined well head, roughly three feet in diameter - covered over with stone slabs - was found in 2004, in a position which would have been immediately in front of such a pulpit. This well must have been for drawing water to fill the baptistry pool which would have been immediately in front again. The baptistry would have been filled only for the occasions of Baptism and, most probably at other times, would have been covered over with boards, as would the well head. There would have been a plain, long, wooden table, with four or five chairs set behind it, to accommodate the Deacons of the chapel. This would normally have been placed in front of the pulpit, but moved away to one side when Baptisms took place.

When the Wesleyans took over the building, the original pulpit was removed and replaced by a raised preaching platform, together with a choir gallery behind. The Communion Table, with Elders' chairs alongside, was placed immediately in front of the preaching platform. This change was probably made at, or soon after, take over but is not recorded, although records do state that a new Communion Rail was added in 1874. All these features survived at the time of the closure of the chapel in 2002. There was no pipe organ, as already stated, until one was installed in 1887, built by Harrisons. Space for its installation was achieved by cutting an opening in the east wall from the choir gallery, providing an arch over and adding a small two storey external extension in the corner next to the Vestry to accommodate the bulk of the organ and space for the person operating the manual blower. When eventually converted to an electric blower, this item was positioned in the ground floor space of the extension.

In the summer of 1910, the roof over the chapel was renewed with new slates, and at that time, original skylights in the roof were removed and not renewed. Combining with this, a new overall ceiling was put in, underdrawing the roof.

The Ancillary Buildings

The Vestry and Schoolrooms are somewhat complicated in their building dates. What was surviving, and in use as such, up to the time of closure in 2002, is a Vestry that has been altered and extended, and likewise two Schoolrooms which had had similar treatment. The back wall of the Vestry appears to be the earliest surviving fabric. It is built in English Garden Wall bond, and since its end which abuts the Willow Row rear end of the chapel proper is actually lying under the re-facing courses of that wall (built 1814-15), then logically this back wall of the Vestry must date to the modest first alterations and extensions of 1811. Then, as has already been explained, this early Vestry wall was actually built up against the boundary of the adjacent plot where there was still a garden area as late as 1819 (see Chatterton-Swanwick map). Therefore, the external door and the Yorkshire pattern sliding sash casement above are later insertions, which can only have been put in after the Chapel Trustees acquired the adjacent garden plot - earlier conjectured to have been transferred circa 1824.

The front wall of the Vestry is of a piece with the Willow Row front to the Schoolrooms, and is built in Flemish Stretcher Bond with coarse bricks of nom. size 9¼"L x 2¾"H x 4½"W. The windows are all vertically sliding sashes, each having eight lights. The lintols are plain stone with splayed ends, and there are projecting stone cills. What is unusual is that all five windows have lintols which have been set projecting a nom. 1" in front of the brick wall face. This particular feature is something that also occurs on the nearby Middle Mill of the adjacent group of Thomas Bridgett & Co's mill complex (and solely on that particular building). That mill building has been dated to 1824: it is therefore highly suggestive that the front of the Vestry/schoolrooms is of a similar date.

Thomas Bridgett, who founded the adjacent silk mill business in 1803, was himself of the Baptist faith. He did not, however, attend the Brook Street General Baptist Chapel but was a deacon of the Particular Baptist Chapel in nearby Agard Street.³³ Maybe the link seemingly created by the lintols in the separate buildings derived from Bridgett's support of the Baptist faith. As a silk throwster, he employed a high proportion of children, their ages ranging from eight to eighteen years, and although the numbers are not known in the early years of the mills' existence, there would have been a good demand for Sunday School places. Some part of the impetus for expanding the Sunday Schools would have come from Rev. Pike, who was particularly supportive of female education, but the proximity of Bridgett's mills, and the advantage of a workforce which had basic literacy skills, leaves open the possibility that he contributed towards the cost of the Brook Street Schoolrooms even though it was not the chapel he attended. By the late 1830s, records show that a very high proportion of child silk workers did attend Church and Dissenting Chapel Sunday Schools. Agard Street Chapel had such a Sunday School by 1842, though when its schoolroom was built is not recorded.

To return to the fabric of the Brook Street Schoolrooms, these, like the Vestry, must have been built, then altered and extended in two stages. The Schoolrooms that now stand have a symmetrical facade, with vertical sliding sash windows, arranged around the central entrance of paired doors. The doors are set within a doorcase of moulded wooden pilasters, running up and round the head of the door and over a rectangular glazed fanlight.

It has already been stated that the initial Schoolrooms, built in 1815, were much smaller, occupying only the footprint depicted on the Chatterton-Swanwick 1819 map. Then, possibly in the mid to late 1820s, the Willow Row end was taken out and replaced with what we see today. At the same time, the back wall was also taken out so that the upper and lower schoolrooms could be extended across half of the former adjacent garden plot which had by then been acquired. This extension is likewise what we see today. Parts of the original inner side walls were however retained and reincorporated into the rebuild. This was seen when the wall plaster was removed in 2004, but these walls have subsequently been covered again. The extension across the former garden is of a very utilitarian, cheap quality of large brick, size $9\frac{5}{8}"L \times 2\frac{7}{8}"H \times 4\frac{3}{4}"W$ and built in the uncommon Monk Bond (also known as Yorkshire or Flying Bond). Five of the windows are squarish in shape, each divided into four lights. There are half brick deep, flattish, segmented heads and no cills. There is a sixth window, similar but narrower, possibly a replacement for an original door opening, to give direct access to the yard and the free standing toilet block nearby which was added in 1912 at a cost of £77.

The former Young Men's Room, as already mentioned, was built in 1870 and enlarged in 1878. It was built in coarse, common bricks. The bond is irregular and difficult to ascribe to any specific named bond. It is worth remarking that this Chapel, together with its Vestry, Schoolrooms and other additions, has been built using no less than seven different brick bonds in its walls.

Interments and Wall Monuments

There is a small burial ground at the front of the Chapel, only used for Baptist burials from 1817 to 1834. The front boundary wall and railings are 1901 replacements.³⁴ By 1843 the Borough Council had opened the new Uttoxeter Road Cemetery to relieve the severe overcrowding of the town's churchyards. There were probably about 12 graves in the burial ground and 11 head and/or ledger stones have survived. These were recorded in 1962. They list 21 interments, two thirds of which were of children, ranging from a baby of 13 days, through several infants under 12 months of age, to a boy of 16 years, perhaps a reflection of the high level of infant mortality at that time. Seven only were adults, the eldest being two women, respectively 80 and 84 years of age.³⁵

In April 1877 the gravestones were lifted and moved to stand against the side boundary walls before the area was grassed over.³⁶ These stones were relaid on this grass in the mid-1960s. They were all taken up in 2004 and once more stood against the side walls to avoid damage during building works and they have been left in that position. It is reputed that, at some date in the past, all human remains were re-interred and reburied, either in the Nottingham Road or Uttoxeter Road cemetery. No date for this has been established, nor has any record been found in the City Cemeteries' archive.

During building works in Summer 2004, human remains were found within the Chapel itself when the floor was lifted for renewal. The full remains of two persons were certainly found, but there were apparently a few extra bones. These remains were re-interred in the Uttoxeter Road cemetery on 17 August 2004. With the bones, remains of coffins were found, and one engraved coffin plate on which the name Mary was engraved. Unfortunately the surname was not recorded at the time and cannot now be recalled (although the undertaker's assistant thought the date 1838 could be made out on the plate). The plate is irretrievable as it was re-interred with the bones. It is, however, almost certain that these remains were Baptist interments.

There are eight Baptist Wall Memorials inside the Chapel and one external Memorial on the north wall. The most significant of these records the life and death of John Etches who was a foundation member of the church in 1791, and a deacon from 1795 until his death in 1838 at 85 years of age. Two of the internal Memorials record the name Mary. On one were two Marys, the wife of George Wilkins who died in 1825 and their daughter Mary who died earlier, aged six years, in 1815. Another memorial records a Mary Gretton who died in 1829, and her husband Richard who died in 1833. Were the two adult skeletons found buried within the church, those of Mary and Richard Gretton? And was the date of 1838, made out on the coffin plate, a misreading for 1833? In October 1910 the Wesleyan Trustees received a request from St. Mary's Gate Baptist Church to be allowed to transfer these memorial tablets on the walls at Brook Street to St. Mary's Gate. The request was refused because it was pointed out that many of those named were in fact interred in the Brook Street Chapel burial ground.³⁷

There are also five Wall Memorials to Methodists within the Chapel, four of which date from the first half of the twentieth century, placed there in memory of long serving members of the congregation. It was clearly a mark of great respect to be remembered in this way; three had acted as Trustees and two had been School Superintendents, one of the Girls' and the other of the Boys' School. The fifth, untypically, was erected to a 39 year old by 'his mam, brothers and sisters', in 1952. Although the inscriptions on all of these were recorded in 1962, their positions within the chapel were not.

Closure

Brook Street Chapel finally closed as a place of worship in 2002, primarily because its congregation had dwindled to a mere handful of people after the extensive house clearances of the 1950s-60s. In 2004, following its sale and subsequent rapid resale at auction, the building has been converted into a bistro bar and restaurant. The sensitive conversion retains the chapel's external appearance and a good deal of its interior. This is an important factor in view of the almost complete disappearance from the City of all other examples of early nonconformist places of worship. The 2004 conversion gained an award under the Derby Civic Society's annual ABC Scheme in the Conservation category and also Derby City Council's George Rennie Award, as judged by the Conservation Area Advisory Committee.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are given to Mr Didar Dalkic, the present owner of the chapel who permitted access to the chapel during its conversion into a restaurant. The Section on the history of the chapel owes much to J. Brian Radford's unpublished account, 'A Charge to Keep', written in 1965 (now lodged in Derby Local Studies Library ref. BA 270 RAD). Brian was the Chapel Secretary for over 40 years, and was a Trustee until its closure in 2002. In the preface to his account, he recites his sources, which are given below. Appreciation is also expressed to Rev. Dr. Peter Shepherd M.A. of Broadway Baptist Church, Derby for giving his interpretation of the likely interior layout of the early Baptist chapel. Acknowledgment is also given to the ever ready assistance of the staff of Derby City Local Studies Library.

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31. Radford, B., 'A Charge to Keep', Appendix (v).
32. Radford, B., 'A Charge to Keep', p43.
33. Billson, P., *Thomas Bridgett & Company - silk manufacturers* (forthcoming).
34. Radford, p24. The front boundary wall topped with iron railings and an integral iron central gate are replacements, replacing the originals depicted in the 1820s engraving.
35. 'Transcriptions of Wall Memorials' made by J. Brian Radford in 1962 and deposited with the Derbyshire Family History Society, as above.
36. Radford, B., 'A Charge to Keep', p24.
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THE SHIPLEY POEM

(contributed by Malcolm Burrows.

Introduction

In 1922 Godfrey Miller Mundy left Shipley to reside on his estate in Hampshire. The farms and houses on the Shipley estate were sold over a period of years, mainly to sitting tenants. The collieries were sold to the newly formed 'Shipley Colliery Company', Godfrey becoming a director. Although the collieries had made a healthy profit for many years, it was proposed to increase the annual production; the new managing director, Robert Claytor, supervising mechanical development and the introduction of coal cutting machinery. From being a family owned concern with a caring attitude to working conditions and its employees, it became concerned with increasing profits to satisfy shareholders.

In the mid 1920s an employee of the company, D.A. Mackie, decided to put his thoughts of the change on paper and published these at a nominal charge in the form of a poem. The original publication has been deposited in the DCRO and is testimony to a man whose courage brought him the sack.

SHIPLEY THEN AND SHIPLEY NOW

On this sheet just over leaf, you'll find a truthful poem,
And for the truth my job I lost, so now the streets I roam,
But I'm quite proud of what I've done, for I have made amends,
For deep within my soul I feel, I've made a thousand friends,
Now, friends, I hope you'll pardon me, should you be asked to buy
This sheet whereon a poem's wrote, Who's words will never die.
So when you've bought one, frame it, and hang it on the wall,
For remembrance of the Squire, and the once glorious Shipley Hall.
And this keep too for a remembrance - this poem you have bought -
And when thinking of the Squire, don't forget the canny Scot.

BEGONE! Begone! The cruel hands
Which laid to waste these precious lands.
Your actions have aroused humanity
On seeing this, vast, cruel calamity,
The beauty spot is now in ruin,
And all its natural state you've strewn,
For lust of money, worldly gain,
It makes one think that we're not sane
To let your evil hand destroy,
God's handiwork, we all enjoy.
The birds, the rabbits, flowers and bees,
The splendid Oaks, and elm trees,
Have now deserted this estate -
For scarcely one, has missed its fate,
And in these grounds they laid to rest,
The workers friend - they loved him best -
For when alive, his joy was aye
To give his workers decent pay.
He's gone, and hundreds feel the blow,
For when in need, to him they'd go.
His pits which used to be the best,
Have suffered also with the rest.
The gangers were but school boys then
But now its changed, they need strong men;
The gates then were high and wide
But now the ponies tear their hide;
And wagons then ran smooth and fine
But now, they're seldom on the line;

The gaffers they have changed, likewise,
 Their brains they do not utilise.
 But the deputies are like us lads
 They can't afford to buy knee pads,
 For they have lost a lot of power
 And just like us, they're turning sour.
 Contractors too, look sad and pale,
 And can't afford to buy good ale;
 So this is Shipley, now not then
 And many thought, I'd like to pen
 But if there's something, I've forgot
 Please just remember I'm a Scot.

THE PIT

On the cage we have to be just before seven;
 Down we go without a fear - our first stop may be heaven!
 And when we've landed at the bottom, with our lamp in hand
 There we're greeted by our deputy - not the colliery band!
 So off we go to our dear work - so precious, so divine!
 Some go east and some go west, all scattered over the mine.
 The gangers go for their ponies, for all are in the stable.
 Then they travel to their work, as fast as they are able.
 And what a cheery set of lads are gangers, on the whole,
 And without them there's not much use to try and get out coal.
 It puzzles me how some of them can handle such wild horse,
 For in a pit they should not be, but on a racecourse.
 Now some may think that gangers always want to strike,
 But they won't stand to slavery, a thing that they dislike.
 Now stall men are the workers who do produce the coal,
 And with the pick you ought to see the way that they can hole.
 Their work is hard and risky, but still they do not dread
 For they were born unlucky to have to work like this for bread.
 Now mainway men are just as bad, although not just the same,
 For they have oft to work too hard - it's cruel, it's a shame.
 And when the shift is over and all returning back,
 We all meet in the bottom, and there we have our crack.
 And when we step on to the cage, to ascend once again
 We do not grumble very much, although it's pouring rain.
 For we are glad to see the light, to see the light of day,
 As we have seen just quite enough of the safety lamp's poor ray.
 So off the cage we step with glee - all brother's big and small,
 With thankfulness we breathe fresh air, thank God that's free to all.
 Then to the lamproom haste we forth, our lamps we hand them back.
 (For if they're damaged, lost, or stolen, you're fined or get the sack.)
 And then our 'money' we receive, that precious piece of metal,
 For without this, we may forget, 'we must keep in good fettle.'
 So having loosened all our chains, which tie us to our work,
 We feel so free, that we could dance 'the grand old Duke of York'.
 And just before we make for home, the notice board we read,
 For all depends what's written there, for accordingly we feed.
 A holiday tomorrow, means, that we must get relief,
 It also means that Sunday's dinner is minus the roast beef.
 Now ends the story of the pit, and this is just in brief,
 For what I've missed out is so bad - it's all wrapped up in grief.

Written during the first sixteen weeks of the strike, when courage in its true sense of the word was shown by the men, women and children of the workers' fighting force, for today no one can dispute the fact that the miners are the only fighting body that the capitalist dreads.

Show me courage greater than is shown by miners' wives,
 And show me courage greater than their children, all their lives.
 They suffer, we've no doubt, a lot, in a sixteen weeks' cruel strike
 But what is that compared with the slavery they dislike?
 The men, they slave for an existence, even this can't be guaranteed.
 For each day he enters the death trap, God knows, he may be relieved;
 And then the wife and children - O death's cruel vengeance - leaves
 To struggle on with less than ever; their loved one from them ceased.
 So how can human hearts turn hard, against the British miner
 When they know his risks, and worries - and as men, we've nothing finer.
 The Government tells us frankly, that the coal trade is the key
 Of all the industries in the world; but yet it puzzles me,
 To think of how it's hampered, by the wealthy idlers, free.
 Who laugh with scorn in drunkenness at the miner's only plea:
 Give us a living wage, and a decent working day
 And let us live in decency as other people may.
 Now listen frankly to the call of hungry, angry people
 For the time will come when justice speaks: 'Arise, arise my people!'

PUPIL TEACHERS IN THE DERBY BOARD SCHOOLS: A POSTSCRIPT

(by Sheila Amer ,

Since the publication of her article in *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 17, Part 3, Spring 2005, Sheila Amer has found the following two tables showing the eventual occupations of the boys and girls leaving Gerard Street Organised Science School in 1897. She particularly draws attention to the phrase 'it is to be regretted that there are so few openings in Derby for well-educated girls'.

The following information gives the present occupation of the boys who have left the Organised Science School during the last two years :—

5 Clerks at M.R. Hotels.	1 Apprentice to Farming.
11 " " Goods Dept.	1 " Photographer.
9 " " Passenger Dept.	2 " Chartered Accountants.
7 " " Accounts "	1 " Scale and Weighing
1 Clerk at Colliery.	Machine making.
1 " Club.	Auctioneer.
3 " Banks.	6 Pupil Teachers.
1 " Auctioneers.	2 Electrical Engineers.
2 " Brewery.	1 Engineer and Fitter.
1 " Telegraph Office.	4 Architects (apprentices)
2 " Solicitors' Offices.	3 Draughtsmen in Building trade.
2 " Cook's Tourist Office.	4 Office Boys.
4 Apprentice to Chemist & Druggist.	2 Paper Bag Makers.
2 " Wholesale Chemist.	1 Student at Agricultural College.
2 " Plumbing.	1 " Nottingham Univ. College.
1 " Locksmith.	2 " Derby Technical College.
4 " Grocers.	1 Stationers Business.
1 " Hatter.	2 Errand Boys.
2 " China Factory,	1 Librarian's Assistant.
Designing.	1 Telegraph Messenger.
3 " Printing.	2 Learning General Dealer's Trade.
1 " Watch and Clock	1 Florist and Market Gardener.
making.	1 Carpenter.
2 " Tailors.	1 Stonemason.
1 " Gunmaker.	

It is to be regretted that there are so few openings in Derby for well-educated girls. The post office might be thrown open to girls as it is in several other towns, where some Gerard Street trained pupils have found employment. Out of the five girls employed by the Telephone Co., four have been trained at Gerard Street. The following table shows the employment being followed by the sixty-nine girls who have left the School during the year 1897 :—

Pupil Teachers..	27
Shop Assistants ..	9
Clerks (Telegraph and others) ..	6
Dressmakers ..	2
China Painting ..	1
In Boot Factory ..	1
Domestic Service..	1
Boarding School ..	1
Private School ..	1
Left the town ..	1
At home ..	19
Total ..	69