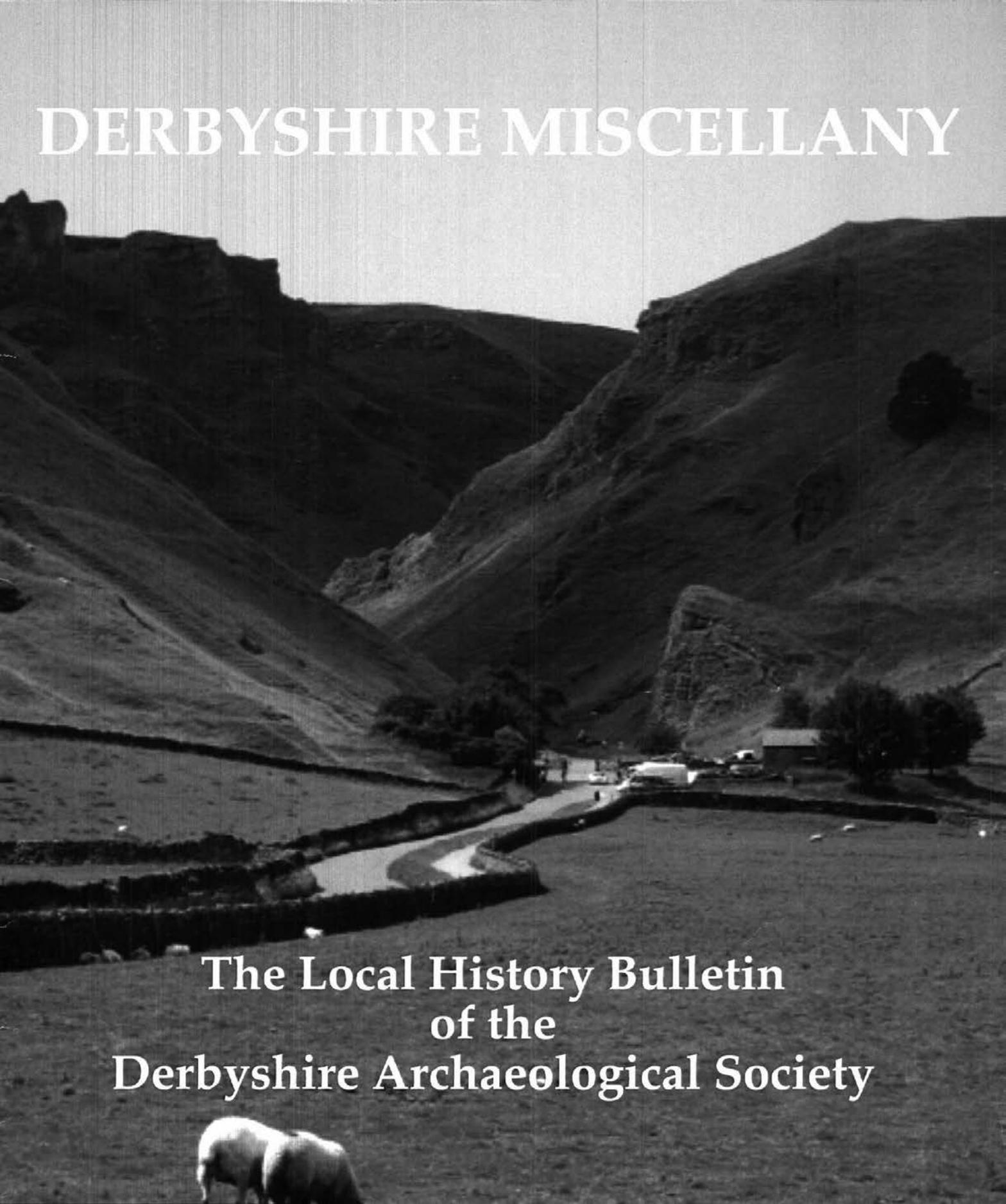


DERBYSHIRE MISCELLANY

A black and white photograph of a valley with steep hills. A winding path or road leads through the valley, and a small building is visible on the right side. The foreground shows a field with a cow grazing.

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A VILLAGE REVEALED: 200 YEARS OF BRASSINGTON WILLS

(by Ron Slack,

Abstract

An examination of the social, economic and architectural information contained in the probate documents drawn up in Brassington, and the changes they reveal over a period of two hundred years.

Introduction

Before the introduction of civil registration in 1837 and the ten-yearly census which, from 1841, included names and personal details, most people in Brassington, as elsewhere, left little record of how they had lived their lives. For a few, however, there are personal documents, their wills, deposited either at the bishop's court in Lichfield,¹ for the Derbyshire parishes were then in his diocese, or at the Prerogative Court at Canterbury.² From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century the wills are accompanied by inventories of property, drawn up by 'appraisers' immediately after death. These inventories provide the only surviving lists of household goods, farm animals, crops and tools and many of them list the rooms of the villagers' houses, providing us with the number, names and uses of the rooms. They are the best evidence there is of the villagers' houses and possessions and from 1536, the date of the earliest Brassington will at Lichfield, they provide a unique insight into the standards and style of living of some of the people of the village. They do not however include the poorest and in fact most of the wills were made by the yeomen and gentry who had most to leave, but there are wills from miners, poor farmers, craftsmen and traders. The wills are personal documents and, in addition to the evidence of the village houses and economy, personality is also evident in many of them. These yeomen, miners, widows often speak plainly as they reveal what it is that worries them as they contemplate the future - John Goodwin in 1634 to his executors *'would intreat them to see that the sheepe that I have given my daughter Anne's children put forth to the use of them and that Rbt their father shall not meddle with them'*.

'Into the hands of Almighty God'

The wills all begin by invoking the person of God, his son Jesus or, while England was still Catholic, the mother of Jesus. Thomas Lawne's will of 1545 bequeaths *'my soule to almyghtie God and to his blessed mother'*. Henry Trevis's in 1647 was typical of later ones. He was *'weake of bodie but in good and perfect memory praised be God for it'*. His first bequest was of his soul to God - *'I give and bequeath my soule into the hands of Almighty God my maker and Redeemer trusting... to inioy that felicity which hee is gone before mee to prepare'*. He instructed his executors to bury his body in *'the Church of Brassington'*. This was usual and some wills are more specific - Thomas Alsoppe in 1572 had added *'ny unto my wyffe'* and in 1631 Richard Buxton specified *'where my Ancestors were buried'*.



St James's church, Brassington 1984

Providing for the family

Widows were usually named as executrix and provided for only while they remained unmarried. Children were always given some part of the estate, though married daughters and sons who had already been provided for were often left a standard nominal sum of 12d *'in lewe and full payment of their childe part'*. This was the widow Dorothy Gratton in 1602. Her *'three daughter already married'* got the shilling while three unmarried daughters had *'the residue equally divided'*. Roger Jackson followed the same custom in 1614, leaving his married daughter Margaret Slack 12d, while for two unmarried girls *'which remainder my will & mind is shalbe equallie divided betwixt Elizabeth Jackson and Allice Jackson my daughters'*. Eldest sons were given the lion's share of a man's estate after his widow had been provided for. This was as firm a rule for poor men with little to leave as for rich ones making sure their land and property passed intact to their sons and heirs. George Harrison split his meagre estate in this way in 1614 - *'Roger Harrison his sonne xxviii [28s] and to each of the rest of his children 12d a peece'*. Eldest sons were often instructed to pay a sum from their inheritances to other children. William Gretrax in 1645 left leasehold land at Hopton to his eldest son John, instructing him to pay £4 *'of current English money'* to his widow's unborn child *'yf it soe please god that... (it)... be borne alive'*. The yeoman Ralph Walton in 1636 similarly left freehold land in Carsington and Brassington to his son Richard and instructed Richard, when he had reached the age of twenty-one, to pay his sister Elizabeth £10, his sister Mary twenty marks (£13 6s 8d) and a third sister, Dorothy, £10, as they each became twenty-one years old. Debts were settled in wills. The widow Katherine Lawne left 3s 4d in 1554 to Richard Blackwall *'wylling that my executors shall pay unto him all that I oweth hym accordyng unto hys owne boke'*. George Harrison was scrupulous enough to acknowledge among his debts one of 5s to *'his wyffe'*.

Provision for children extended to their education, at least among the better off. When John Lane died in 1636 his will provided for his wife Elizabeth to use the profits from his farm to educate their four children and to pay them £10 each. Henry Trevis bequeathed an annuity of £5 to his son Henry and instructed him to bind himself apprentice *'to any trade'*, while the boy's mother was told to pay him £10 before the will's provisions were carried out and to deduct any expenses incurred by him during his apprenticeship from the *'five pounds a year'*. A later Lane will has the widow Anne Lane in 1674 leaving £5 to her nephew John Lane *'for and towards binding him an apprentice and my will and minde is that my said Executors shall put him to some considerable trade according to his abilities and capacities within twelve months next after my decease keeping the said John Lane to schoole to be instructed some considerable time that hee may the better be fitted for an apprentice'*. Anne sounds like the sort of sensible rich aunt that any young man would be pleased to have, though the good sense implicit in the phrase *'according to his abilities and capacities'* and in the provision for schooling also prompts her to mention the usual limit of seven years on John's apprenticeship.

While almost all the wills demonstrate the care felt by the villagers for their children. Richard Gretton's in 1624 conveys the father's urgent anxiety about his daughter's future. Gretton was an illiterate husbandman. His household goods were valued at £1 16s 4d and he had debts of £6 7s 5d. He and his son Richard had a farm of about fifty acres, sharing draught animals, implements and fodder with a richer neighbour. They paid 15s annual rent. The son had died in 1620 however, leaving a debt of £15 to their landlord, £15 to Edward Toplis *'and to divers others divers sumes'*. Gretton's anguish over his daughter's bleak future is plain from his language as he dictates his will - *'... my daughter Joane Gretton being impotent simple and lame & nowayes able to get her living by her hand labour my full will & my one intent and meaning is... that my daughter Joane shall have to her owne... use & behoof to and for her better mayntenance... all my goods and cattells and chattells what so ever'*. He made his surviving son, Robert, his executor and *'I request and intreat Edward Knowles & Richard Walton the elder to be overseers thereof'*. Robert may well have succeeded in carrying out his father's wishes, as by 1647, when he died, he seems to have overcome the family's problems, having a flock of thirty sheep, two horses with their harness, harrows and other farming equipment and three cows, a heifer and a calf. The total value of his inventory goods was £58 2s 6d, and he had no debts unsettled.

Keeping it in the family

It was normal for a husband to make his widow's inheritance depend on her remaining unmarried after his death. Richard Buxton was typical of the landed interest in taking pains, in his will of 1631, to ensure that his property remained in Buxton hands after his death. He prepared for the possibility of three of his sons failing to produce male heirs by instructing that the Buxton property pass from any son without male heirs to the next one, down the line. However, the will is very individual in Buxton's efforts to prevent his eldest son John from upsetting his arrangements. It instructs that John, who had already been provided for, should lose his inheritance and be cut off with a shilling if he obstructed the executors or failed to allow his sister Elizabeth *'peaceable and quietlie to have hold use occupie and inioy'* a cottage and land in Brassington. After meticulous and detailed provision for

his other children Buxton disposed of his wife's future in a sentence - *'to my loving wife the bed with the furniture thereto belonging wherein we usually lye in full satisfaccion of all her rights titles claymes and interests in and to my goods and cattels whatsoever'*. No doubt Elizabeth had already been provided for, and the will was making her legal position clear. It is, however, an extreme example of a rich man's preoccupation with passing on his property to succeeding generations bearing his name. Most wills show more consideration for the widow. Buxton's misgivings about his son John's behaviour are matched by an apparent mistrust of his son Henry's ability to carry out the duties of executor. Henry, as co-executor with *'my lovinge good friends Thomas Knyveton and William Savile gent'* was told that if Knyveton and Savile request it he *'shall enter into a bond of one thousand marks unto them'* and do nothing without their consent.

Anthony Lane left his wife well provided for in 1646, *'she keepinge herself unmarried'* and Ralph Walton in 1636 left his land to his wife Elizabeth to pay his debts and maintain his children. If she remarried however it was to go to Elizabeth's father, the clear implication being that Ralph did not trust a remarried Elizabeth to bring his children up. An example of a father using his will to coerce his daughter is found in Henry Trevis's will of 1647. He left his daughter Alice £10 at the age of twenty-one *'conditionally that shee continue with her mother in a dutifull manner or otherwise match herself with her mother's consent'*. This is a similar concern to Richard Buxton's about his sons, though Trevis's will is a more humane document. He recognised need, leaving £30 each to his sons Henry and Ralph, *'with as much speed after my decease as with conveniency my executors can imploy it with safety'* and secured his widow's future by leaving her half of *'all my goods quicke and dead moveable and unmoveable'*. Characteristically for the time, Trevis was particular in his bequests, his son Henry, for instance, receiving a list of items which included *'my Bible and a Book which is part of Perkins workes'*. By owning and bequeathing one of *'Perkins workes'* Trevis reveals his religious standpoint - William Perkins (1558-1602) was a Calvinist writer.

Two eighteenth century wills are examples of poorer families helping their relatives. When the yeoman, Anthony Briddon, died in 1731, he left his married daughter Alice Slack *'twenty pounds of good and lawfull money upon Condition that she shall pay back all debts which I have past for upon her account & that the said money to be paid at Christmas next into the hands of John Briddon to buy her a dwelling house to be hers and her heirs for ever & if it prove that there be any of the said money to spair for it to be paid into her own hands for her own disposing ...'*

The will left by Anthony's son Mark when he died in 1733 also shows a determination to help his sister's family. He leaves *'the little Cow'* to Alice and *'I give unto my nephew Thomas Slack one Theve and Lamb which my wife thinks fit to be reserved for him and not to be disposed of or made away'*. A theve or theave was a young ewe. Mark directs that after his wife's death Thomas should have the choice of his (Mark's) house or *'one that is to be purchased by a sum of money devised for that use by my late father Anthony Briddon but if he refuse it then I give it to my nephew Job Slack'*. He clearly intends that the family should eventually have both houses. The will also provided that if his wife Anne remarried part of the household furniture she had inherited from him should be divided equally among his nephews and nieces.

Getting personal

The wills are personal and personalities emerge. Roger Jackson, the only miner to leave a will before the last quarter of the seventeenth century, is seen to be at loggerheads with his wife. Ann Jackson had a mind of her own - she is in a list of villagers fined on the 18th of May 1578 for *'waering hatts'* on Sunday when they should have been wearing woollen *'statute'* caps as prescribed by an Act of Parliament passed in 1571. This Act, one of many designed to protect the wool trade, directed that on Sundays and *'holy days'*; all above six years old should wear *'a cap of wool, knit, thicked and dressed in England'*, and we can imagine that Ann Jackson preferred something more becoming. Her husband, who had done well from his mining and farming, died in 1614 *'hopeinge that she will not wastfullie and vainelie spend'* her inheritance, and *'that she wil soe bestowe yt upon necessaries for her selfe as there remaine after her decease some reasonable portion of good'*.



When Thomas Slack died in 1800 his will revealed a family at loggerheads (photograph shows his house in 1983). Thomas was clearly suspicious of his wife and of two of his four children. The will has a threatening tone. *'It is my will that neither my said wife*

Elizabeth Slack nor my said Son Christopher Slack nor my daughter Bennet Bacon the wife of John Bacon or by the order of any of them shall have any power to meddle or concern themselves in my affairs if they do it is my Will that they shall forfeit their share or shares of what I have left them'. He was unhappy at the thought of his wishes being ignored. '... my Executors to take a proper and just account of my just Debts and Property I have left and to make out a proper Dividend ... without the let will or molestation of my said son Christopher Slack or my said daughter Bennet Bacon'. He seemed to expect trouble after his death, and instructed his executors 'to take an Inventory of all my effects and Inspect them from time to time to see that any thing is disposed of and if that so should happen to take such measures as is necessary to recover the same'. However, 'my Executors shall not be accountable for any misapplication or nonapplication respecting my affairs'.

Money

While money is mentioned in most of the wills, only the few prosperous villagers make any considerable money bequests. Substantial yeomen like members of the Knowles, Lane and Westerne families had cash. Edward Knowles, whose rent was the second highest in a rental of 1620, left bequests of £10 to his son George, £60 to his daughter Elizabeth and £60 to be divided among three other children. This was in 1628. In 1646 Anthony Lane left £20 each to a son and daughter. Thomas Westerne, whose inventory goods were priced at over £200 in 1622, arranged for two payments of £20 to his son Richard. Richard himself, his mother Anne and his brother-in-law Henry Trevis all made considerable money bequests. Anne left £20 to one grandson, £12 each to Henry Trevis's children, £20 to her sister and £10 to her son-in-law William Gretrax. German Buxton was able to leave £400 each to his daughters Alice and Anne when he made his will in 1652/3, and when Anne died, unmarried, in 1674, she had £120 for her brother German, £90 for her brother-in-law Robert Dale, £40 for her *'father-in-law'* (step-father) Richard Goodwin and £10 for Alice, as well as a list of smaller money bequests. Brother German left one bequest of £200 and three of £100 in 1685/6.

Haves and have nots

The men and women who left wills were the most prosperous in the village, but for most of the 16th century it seems they were well off only in comparison with their poorer neighbours. The highest valuation put on anyone's goods until the 1580s was the £24 5s 6d on John Buxton's and six inventories were appraised at under £10 and three between £20 and £30. The villagers with such meagre possessions were still the peasant farmers of earlier centuries, but change was coming. There was an inventory of over £90 in the 1580s and one over £100 in the 1590s, and manor rentals of the 1580s show that a few larger land holdings had been put together.³ Hugh Crycclowe had a leasehold of about 100 acres and the two John Lanes, father and son, had about 80 acres of freehold between them, plus a leasehold of about 60 acres. An even more successful entrepreneur was Thomas Westerne, innkeeper and holder of 200 acres at his death in 1621. By this time Westerne was bailiff to the earl of Kent, who had succeeded to one of the two manors in the village at the death of Gilbert, the seventh earl of Shrewsbury, in 1616. Rapid price rises during Elizabeth's reign had benefited these men. Sheep prices had risen from about 1s or 2s before 1550 to about 5s after 1600. Cattle, which had been appraised at less than £1 in the first half of the sixteenth century, ranged around £2 3s 0d after 1600, with a few higher valuations. As the larger land-holders grew richer, especially those who dealt in wool, the small men found it harder and harder to make a living from the land. They found too that when they hired themselves out as labourers that wages were not keeping pace with price rises.

Goods, chattels and cattle

Characteristic of these wills is a careful and precise attempt to dispose of goods. The villagers, rich and poor, left close instructions about their animals and clothes, pots and pans, beds and bedding. Alice Adam, husbandman's widow, died in the Spring of 1594. Alice had been living with *'two coverlets one blankett & two paire of canves sheets'* to sleep in, *'one lytle old pan two pewter dyshes & one litle skellet'* for cooking and eating, and *'one cheare & two stooles'* to sit on. Her inventory mentions no money in her purse and she had only 12d for her son-in-law. What the old lady did possess, however, she carefully apportioned among her children. Her eldest son Thomas was left *'one hogg (young sheep) in full recompense of his child part & pcon (portion) of all my goods whatsoever'*. Her youngest son John got a ewe and two hoggs. Alice left her *'best gowne... & two redd petiecouts'* to her daughter Margery. She divided the rest of her linen and clothes, priced at 10s in the inventory, between Margery and her daughter-in-law, another Margery. Forty years earlier Katherine Lawne had made similarly careful arrangements. One of her bequests, for instance, was *'to Agnes Day my best ewe lambe my best keytell (kettle) a newe smocke a newe kercheff & a newe apronne one shete & one pewter dyshe'*.

The big farmers showed the same care in distributing their goods. Hugh Crycclowe, a prosperous sheep farmer when he died in 1582, left a lamb to each of his children, and a sheep *'to each servant that is dwelling with me at my decease'*. William Benet got five sheep and Crycclowe's nephew Thomas ten, while to William Harrison went *'one bushell of beanes'*. Crycclowe's inventory included two hundred and eighty sheep and sixty-eight lambs, and his widow Agnes would have had no difficulty in honouring these bequests. A bequest of one sheep to the church was in a tradition of restrained charity in the village.

Another of the leading yeomen whose bequests were of goods was John Charlton in 1558. He willed *'one sword & my best Cape'*, *'my black fustyan dowblet'*, *'my black kysecote'* and *'my tow handed sword'*. The only mention of money in his will was in a list of debts. In 1563 Thomas Lawne's bequest of *'so much clothe as will make him a cott'* to *'Johana Bynet my daughter-in-law boye'* is the most striking in a will which included bequests of *'a whyte peticote'* to his sister, a *'hogg sheep'* to another young relative and *'the occupation & psll of one oxgange of Lands & miydowe... that I have taken of Richard Gratton thelder... for 2 years'* to his daughter Elen.

The widow of a seventeenth century member of the Charlton family, like most of the women who made wills, was careful to leave her executors in no doubt about who got what. This was Anne Charlton in 1636. To her son-in-law, John Briddon, Anne left *'the greatest mattress & a coverlid neither of the best nor of the meanest sort but of the middle sort, the greatest brasse pott & two pewter dishes one of the best and an other of the meanest sorte'*. Anne had money to leave to her children, John, Richard and Ann - £4 13s 4d each - but her executor, Richard, would have had to discriminate between best, middle and meanest of cattle, sheep and chairs, as well as bedding and utensils.

Nine years later William Gretrax was similarly concerned for his daughter Elizabeth. He left her *'the best bedsted I have at Hopton; and also one new fetherbed one green Rugg a boulster and a payre of blankets'* and *'two brasse panns and two brasse potts of the best I have at Hopton'*. Greatrax's most remarkable bequest is one to his wife, the daughter of Thomas Westerne, the richest man in the village in his time. *'Also i doe give to my wife fower loggs of Tymber which lye in the streete there being fyve in number and the largest peece save one belongs to my sonne'*. A document of 1620 by which a group of Brassington farmers had sought to persuade their landlord not to raise their rents had stressed, among other drawbacks to farming, the absence of woods in Brassington.⁴ The fact that Gretrax, a land holder in Brassington, Hopton, and Staffordshire, married to a rich man's daughter, should be so concerned about the disposal of five logs *'which lye in the streete'* seems to confirm that timber was scarce and therefore valuable in Brassington.

When the old bachelor husbandman, Thomas Knowles, died in 1649 he seemed to have something for everyone. His brother Richard had married Elizabeth Gratton and Elizabeth was left a cow. To brothers, brothers-in-law, *'cozens'*, godsons, kinsmen, servants Thomas left at least a token of his affection, a cow, a sheep, a pot, 12d. His special care, however, as befitted a bachelor farmer, was for his servant Jane Browne. Jane was left a cow, two sheep, a spinning wheel, a kettle, a skellet, a landiron (fire grate), a pair of tongs, a pair of bedsteads, one coverlet, one pair of sheets and, for the time when she would have no more need of these household articles, one *'sheete to wind her in'*.

Farming

The inventories of men and women dying between 1535 and 1600 support other evidence that arable farming was the major part of a sixteenth century Brassington farmer's livelihood, with hay and corn listed among their possessions. Only one man, John Lane in 1597, is identified as growing wheat, but later inventories name wheat, oats, barley and flax. Their ploughs were simple wooden tools, as were their harrows - the valuations of these implements in their inventories make it clear that these were nothing like the expensive machinery of later years. They were made by the villagers themselves, perhaps by carpenters, though making a plough or a harrow was probably a normal part of the skill of a sixteenth century farmer. There is evidence that these ploughs and harrows had by the end of the century begun to be improved by the addition of iron at their cutting ends and edges. Hugh Crycclowe's goods in 1582 included iron *'culters and shares'* listed separately from his *'waynes and plowes'* - the appraisers were listing iron and wooden goods separately. The wains, or waggons, too, had by the end of the century begun to have the iron tyres on their wheels which were soon to become universal. John Buxton's inventory of 1574 lists *'one bouden (iron bound) weyne'* and his, too, lists *'one culter one sherre'* separately from his plough, and the fact that his harrow is listed with them may mean that it had been improved by the addition of metal tips, forged by the blacksmith in the village. These are the only implements mentioned in the sixteenth century inventories, and the appraisers may have regarded such items as forks and sickles not important enough for mention. They were obviously part of every farmer's stock and in fact the miner/farmer

Roger Jackson owned *'two pickforkes & two sickles'*, together valued at 8s, when he died in 1614. Three of the inventories include the yokes used to harness oxen to plough and wain and one, Hugh Crycclowe's, has *'iron teames'*, the chains used with both oxen and horses. None mention horse harness in spite of the fact that seven of the men had horses. It is likely that for most of the century the heavy work of ploughing and carting was still carried out by ox-teams.

The villagers relied on the bigger farmers to provide the oxen, in the same way that modern farmers borrow or hire the more expensive machinery from each other or from contractors. Only six of those who left wills in the sixteenth century could afford to own oxen, which were given the highest value of the village animals by the appraisers. Thomas Charlton's six were valued at 10s each in 1535, and by the end of the century the valuation had risen to 55s. This figure was not reached by horses until the middle of the seventeenth century.

Much of the farming throughout the sixteenth century continued to be arable. There are too few cattle in the inventories for them to have been reared primarily for the market. These *'kyne'* and *'heyfers'* were for the milk and meat drunk and eaten in the village. Most of the inventories list a few sheep and cattle – the widow Katherine Lawne had *'too kyen'* and *'xi sheepes'*, valued at 26s 8d and 13s 4d respectively, in 1554, and forty years later another widow, Alice Adam, included *'ten ewes and ten lambes & viii hoggs'* and *'one cow & a heyfer'*, appraised at £4 and £3. There were four sizeable flocks of sheep: William Bucstone had 100 sheep in 1541, Hugh Crycclowe 217 in 1582, John Buxton 60 in 1574 and John Lane 74 in 1591. These flocks would be grazing the moors while their owners ploughed their holdings on the village land – all four were also arable farmers since all had ox-teams. In addition to the draught animals, cattle and sheep, the villagers kept pigs. Only two of the inventories list them but the manor court ruled that pigs should not go unringed, showing that there were enough in the village to damage grazing land if they were allowed to grub freely in the fields. They were probably owned by the majority of the people, the ones who did not make wills. There were also hens, only listed in two inventories, but likely to have been found in most houses – some of the seventeenth century inventories list them with the furniture in the living room. Like the cattle they were kept for home consumption. The occasional roast chicken must have been a welcome dish.

The seventeenth century saw the beginning of a gradual change in the type of farming in the village, documented in 1667 in a collection of papers concerning a dispute over the payment of tithes.⁵ A lawyer's briefing paper notes that the value of the tithes of hay and corn had fallen because some of the village farmers had switched from arable to animal farming, partly because lead mining had attracted men away from farm labouring – *'the poorer sort who are numerous employ theyre labour in lead grounds'*. Animal farming required fewer men than arable. It was also logical to abandon crop growing on soils as thin as Brassington's. The improvements in arable farming taking place elsewhere would not have improved the farmers' incomes as much as switching from arable altogether. There is evidence in the inventories for Anne Lane (1674), German Buxton (1685/6) and John Tomlinson (1692). Anne Lane's *'ten strikes (bushels) of barley beans a little malt & blencorne (a mixture of wheat and rye)'* were valued at 25s. Buxton's appraisers put a value of only £13 10s on *'about 80 strikes of oates winoed & in the Chaffe & about six score & tenn thraves (a thrave was twenty-four sheaves) of oates in the sheaves'*. Sixty thraves of barley were put at £5 (1s 8d each). A thrave of *'corn'* in the inventory of John Tomlinson, a miner, was priced even lower, at 1s. These valuations may be underestimates, but it is known that appraisers were more consistent with farm animals and crops than with household goods. It is probable that, in spite of the obvious undervaluing of the household goods of, for instance, Anne Lane, the valuations of the cereal crops are near enough to indicate a good reason for converting ploughland to grassland.

The change had only just begun, however. In spite of the testimony of the tithe document Anne Lane's and German Buxton's wills are adequate evidence that there was still plenty of arable farming in late-seventeenth century Brassington. Its virtual disappearance only came much later, during the nineteenth century, and the oats and barley in such abundance in German Buxton's barns show that there were still fields of corn around the village at the end of the seventeenth. The implements listed in Buxton's inventory leave no doubt as to the nature of his farming. There were eight ploughs and twenty *'plough-heds'* (shares). Sheep had formed the main element of the village stock until the latter half of the century. Edward Knowles had 160 in 1628 and his son George, a husbandman, had 140 thirteen years later. There were 6 others who had 50 or more and Brassington had plenty of *'wastes and moors'* suitable for grazing sheep. The land transfers in the manor court books refer characteristically to a man's *beastgates* in Over and Sides Pasture, and to his *sheep gates* on the *'wastes and moores of Brassington'*.⁶ One mid-century inventory has enough information to estimate a sheep farmer's living. In 1652/3, German Buxton left a flock of 230 sheep, giving him an income of 2s per fleece. The sheep themselves were appraised at £74 (7s 9d each), and if the valuations are accurate there can have been little profit in sheep farming by then. The flocks diminished as the century proceeded and the export of wool to the

Continent fell. The title document ascribed the fall in the number of sheep to the farmers' letting their meadows for winter pasture for miners' cows, and said that of the village land '35 oxgangs (about 525 acres) have not one sheep belonging unto them'.

The seventeenth century saw the disappearance of one animal which had been vital to the village's existence since its foundation. There were oxen working the fields at Brassington until the second half of the century, when they were finally ousted by horses. The fall in their use can be seen in the fact that of the fifteen people whose inventories include oxen between 1535 and 1650, thirteen died before 1630. The total number of oxen in this period was 43. 32 people in those years owned 63 horses, and mention of a '*hackney riding saddle*' in William Westerne's inventory and of '*2 pacsadles*' in William Adam's will are reminders that horses were more versatile than oxen. It was only the bigger farmers who owned either horses or oxen during the sixteenth century and earlier, and this remained true of oxen in the seventeenth. During this century, however, some of the smaller men owned horses and it seems likely that by then the oxen were used only on large arable holdings, where their slowness was counter-balanced by their superiority in the heavy work of ploughing, while horses, cheaper to buy and needing less pasture, were used for riding, light transport and harrowing. The survival of oxen into the seventeenth century may also have owed something to their value for meat. Whatever the reasons, these very large and very powerful animals, yoked in teams of two, four or six, depending on the ground they were ploughing or the weight they were hauling, continued their work until the second half of the century.

Houses

Comparing the early inventories with those from the seventeenth century it is apparent that many of the village houses were rebuilt during the reign of Elizabeth I. While there is no evidence in the sixteenth century inventories to identify house types, the small amounts of furniture and equipment must mean that they were small and single-storied. John Buxton (1574) lived in greater style than his forebear William Bucstone, who died in 1541, but his household goods would still have taken up little space. His inventory has only four items for household goods. Buxton's house was likely to have had a hall, the main, central living room, with a fireplace (there are fire irons valued at 3s), a parlour (bedroom) and a buttery. In contrast to this document, nineteen of the thirty wills or inventories proved between 1620 and 1650 name a room or rooms. Naming one room implies others, and these houses, built at the turn of the century or later, were evidently bigger than the ones they replaced.

Most of the early seventeenth century houses were still the single-roomed clay-walled structures often, though not always, implied by the word '*cottage*' as it was used then. These houses were easily built and the manor court was alert to new ones appearing illegally on the common land - '*We prsent Alice Topplis dwellinge upon the waste in a Cottage*' (1641).⁷ Alice was breaking a law of 1589, designed to reduce the nuisance caused by a new class of squatters created by the economic upheaval of the sixteenth century.

Larger houses were built by the men who had done well out of the economic changes of the Elizabethan age. In Brassington the outstanding example of this class seems to have been Thomas Westerne. His will, proved in 1622, described him as '*gentleman*', a status supported by his flock of 120 sheep and his 13 oxgangs (about 200 acres) of land in the village, ploughed by his seven oxen. Westerne had two houses, the larger one having six named rooms and an unspecified number of '*lower chambers*' (cellars). The six named rooms are three first-floor rooms named as '*great chamber*', '*little chamber*' and '*corne chamber*' and, on the ground floor, a parlour, a buttery and the hall. The corne chamber may have been a corner chamber. However, it contained flax, hemp and '*other things*' as well as a bed, and may in fact have been used as a store room. Bedrooms often doubled as stores

at that time. The hall in Westerne's house is almost unique in these inventories - only John Buxton in 1641 had another.



This house (pictured in 1989) is the only one named in the inventories of this time which can be identified. It was a '*copyhold*' property, meaning that its changes of ownership were approved and recorded by the manor court, and, very unusually, it was given a name, New Hall, when Westerne's widow surrendered it to her son Robert in 1636. It was named as New Hall in subsequent transactions in the seventeenth century, until 1680, when it passed to an innkeeper/yeoman from

Bonsall called Ralph Marple.⁸ When Marple died in 1695, the list of rooms in the inventory included one called the '*Captain's Chamber*', identifying it as the same house as the one described in his grandson's will. The grandson, Job, died in 1755, and his appraisers produced a most detailed inventory, including the contents of the Captain's Chamber. The house's history after 1755 is well documented up to the end of the nineteenth century, when the name '*Tudor House*' was carved on the date stone which Westerne had set up in 1615, with his and his wife Anne's initials - TW and AW.

The generality of yeomen's houses in Brassington were on a more modest scale than Westerne's. Of the other houses in the wills proved in the first half of the seventeenth century, and likely to have been built at the end of the sixteenth, four have five rooms - John Buxton's (1641), George Wilcocke's (1637), Robert Gratton's (1647) and the house left by Thomas Westerne's son-in-law Henry Trevis (1650). There were two with three rooms and two with two. In addition there were eight houses which can be assumed to have had several rooms since there were goods listed in their inventories additional to those in a single named room - there must have been other rooms. To these seventeen houses may be added the house of William Gretrax. He was one of the leading yeomen and though his will, proved at the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, has no inventory, it is unlikely that his house was smaller than the rest of the yeomen's houses.

The parlour was usually the bedroom of a single-storey house. First floor bedrooms of two-storey houses were generally known as chambers. The blacksmith Henry Spencer's house contained a '*house*', the Derbyshire name for the main living room, parlour and chamber in 1632. The use of each room is clear from the inventory - '*one bedstead standinge in the parlor & one square table standinge in the dwelling house*' and bedding in parlour and chamber. This house's evolution during the seventeenth century can be traced in the manor court book. Henry Spencer's son Thomas, blacksmith at Tissington, first let and then sold it to his son Anthony. Anthony left it to his son William who sold the house to Richard Gratton in 1659, immediately on Anthony's death. The entry in the court book recording this last transaction has an agreement that a door '*shall be sett at the north side of the house*', Henry Spencer providing the stone and Richard Gratton building it. The mention of stone probably means that this house at least was built from the same material, local limestone, as the houses now standing in Brassington. When Gratton, who was a lead miner, died in 1676, his inventory listed goods in house and parlour and in chambers over each of these ground floor rooms.

The full list of named rooms in these early seventeenth century houses is house (named fourteen times), parlour (eight), buttery (two), hall (two), kitchen chamber (three), backhouse (two), chamber over the house (three), little chamber (two), and store, bedchamber, chamber, great chamber, corne chamber, lower chamber, upper chamber and '*seiled*' (panelled) chamber once each. Chambers were upstairs bedrooms, often used as store rooms as well as for sleeping, and parlours were ground floor bedrooms.

Building, extending and improving went on through the century. German Buxton's 1686 inventory names parlour, kitchen, house, chambers over kitchen and house and a third chamber which contained nine bedsteads and two trundle beds, which were low and were pushed under the normal high beds when they were not being used. This chamber may have been sleeping quarters for Buxton's servants - he was a considerable farmer, with oats, barley, hay, cattle, sheep and pigs listed in his inventory, together with equipment which included eight ploughs. Buxton's was clearly a large house and the list of fire irons indicates fireplaces in four or five of the rooms - there were '*5 iron grates 4 payre of tongue 4 spits ... 4 payre of pot hookes*'. This was a far cry from the little places in which Buxton's sixteenth century ancestors had lived.

When old Thomas Tissington died in 1668, the last of his line, he gave an unusually detailed description of his farmstead, left to his daughter Alice Travis (Trevis). Tissington's careful definition of Alice's inheritance tells us what the exterior of these seventeenth century yeomen's homes were like. The house was at the west of the village, facing south and near to an enclosed field called Banwoods. The outbuildings attached to it included a bakehouse, a stable and a pigsty and there was a 48 feet long barn. On the west of the farmyard, Tissington had an orchard of '*longe-peare*' and '*round pear*' trees, and at the north of the house a garden. The buildings, yard, garden and orchard were all at the side of the village street as farms were until the nineteenth century enclosures, when new ones were built on the outlying allotments of common land.

The same picture of a large well-equipped house was given in Anne Lane's inventory in 1674. The rooms were a house, including a space behind the '*chimney back*' for '*two loomes and one great kan*', a parlour, a kitchen, a buttery, a bakehouse and three first floor chambers. Anne's inventory is detailed and revealing - no household list could be more comprehensive than one which included a clothes line, or '*one line to dry clothes upon*'. It gives a fair picture of the style of the comfortable yeomen of late-seventeenth century Brassington. The beds

included two panelled ones and the inventory lists all the bedding for each. As an example one of the two in the chamber over the parlour had a chaff bed (mattress) and a feather bed, two pillows and a bolster, three blankets, two coverlets, *'one suite of yellow hangings'* and *'five bedstaves'*, perhaps to support the hangings. There was also one *'mat'*. This lay on the rope net formed of cords threaded tightly through holes in the sides and ends of the bed frame. Also in this room was a coffer, and its contents were listed - *'one cofer one red cradle cloath two greene cushion toppes one bed hilling (covering) one red cradle rugg (covering) one old greene carpet (for covering furniture, not floors) one new blanket one pin cushion one hand towel and eight napkins all in ye same cofer'*. Cushion covers, towels, table cloths, pillow cases, napkins, coloured cloths for their children's cradles, all demonstrate some style and comfort in the Lane household.

Bedrooms were still store rooms and in the chamber over the Lanes' parlour the appraisers listed *'a box some old bookes in it'* and forty-one cheeses, ten bushels of barley, beans, malt and *'blencorne'*, or wheat and rye sown and harvested together. In an adjoining chamber, among the beds and bed clothes, were *'one old side saddle & one old padde'*, baskets, hampers, a cradle, sieves, the clothes line and *'one peice of course linen cloath for miners'*. The Lanes seem to have been in business for more than just farm goods, such as the 41 cheeses. The cloth for miners' (and others') working clothes was also, presumably, stock-in-trade. The Lanes made woollen cloth - among the articles in the chamber over the kitchen *'& within ye lathes'* (stored in the roof), were spinning wheels. Also in this room were a vat and a pitch pan, for boiling the pitch used to mark sheep. The main room, the house, was also used as a store room. In addition to a table, two forms, three chairs and four stools, it contained three fitches of bacon, no doubt hung from the beams, and five stones of wool. There was one luxury item, a *'looking glass'*. The house had a fire and a chimney, but the cooking was done in what seems from its contents to have been a large kitchen. It had four shelves, three dressers, one dish board, two forms and a cheese press. All the apparatus for making cheese and butter was there. There were *'costills'*, large bottles with ears which were carried to the fields suspended from a man's belt, and the Lanes' retail business was no doubt why they had *'one payre of butter waighes'* and *'one seaven ston waight one half ston waight two pound stones'*. There was a bakehouse with a table and *'one new table leafe and two tressles in ye barne to it'*, though the baking equipment was in the kitchen - not an oven, but two *'bakestones'* and a *'bake sprittle'*. The bakestones were flat stones or iron plates on which oatcakes or bread were baked over the fire. The bakehouse had a good supply of cooking fat - *'twenty-seaven pounds of swine grease'*.

Some of the poorer people seem from the inventories to have lived in houses with the *'house'*, parlour and two chambers arrangement. John Madder, for instance, left his daughter two rooms in his house while she remained unmarried, a bedroom and a second room for her possessions. This sounds like two up and two down. In another case Robert Wayne left *'fowre bedds with the furniture'*, strongly suggesting two bedrooms at least. Most of the houses were smaller than these. George Steple, the miner, seems to have had a two- or three-roomed house. He was assessed for a single hearth in 1662 and omitted from the tax list altogether in the later assessments. His inventory in 1685 confirmed the fireplace by listing his fire irons. However, there is no mention of rooms, and it is probably significant that he had only one bed in his house. Another miner, William Scattergood, was listed among the *'persons not chargeable'* in the 1664 hearth tax return. When he died in 1700 his inventory was explicit about the nature of his house. He left goods valued at £4 in three rooms - house, parlour and chamber. Many of the surviving houses in Brassington are from Scattergood's time. Most have been extended, amalgamated or otherwise adapted to changing circumstances and fashion. However, there is at least one which looks as though it has survived unchanged. This is a small house near to the former George and Dragon pub. It has mullioned windows, carved out of limestone, and is very low. It has been uninhabited for many years and used as a store shed. This limestone cottage is tiny to modern eyes, but in the seventeenth century comparison would have been with its one-roomed, clay-walled predecessors.

Furniture, fire irons, bed and board

Inside their houses, as the Elizabethan years went by, and into the following century, the villagers became more comfortable. The early inventories had revealed that members of the Buxton, Charlton and Lawne families had neither stools nor chairs, and only the *'bord'* and trestles which preceded tables. They sat on forms. Later members of these families, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, lived in greater style and enjoyed some comfort. John Buxton, in 1574, still ate his meals from a board but had two *'cheyres'* as well as a form. He and his family slept in a bed (there were two in the house) on mattresses. In 1562 Thomas Lawne's house had two beds and two stools. By 1582 Hugh Crycclowe, who had been in the wool trade when it prospered and still had a large flock at his death, had eight coverlets for his beds (number unstated), two bolsters, six pairs of sheets, three blankets. Crycclowe's house had other refinements - two table cloths, an *'almerye'* or large cupboard, with doors, a *'chupborde'*, without doors and, uniquely for that time in Brassington, a shaving pot and a basin.

Among the surest indicators of comfort in a house were the fire irons. They give clues to both the heating and the cooking arrangements and, like the bedroom furniture, chairs and tables, became more versatile in the late sixteenth century. John Lane's inventory of 1591 was the first to include a *'landiron'*, the large grate for supporting burning wood or coal. The full entry reads *'one Land Yron brandyron & yron sopitte cobards raykens & toungs'*, valued at 6s 8d. In addition to the large landiron to hold the fire, Lane's fireplace had a pair of cobards which, like so many other things in these documents, are spelled in a dozen different ways (cobirons, cobyrons, goberde, colborte, coborde, cubbord and the rest). These, on either side of the fire, supported the sopitte (spit). The brandiron was a stand or trivet from which cooking pots were suspended over the fire, and the raykens (singular) was a vertical iron band hanging over the fire from which hooks were suspended to take pots and pans. Earlier inventories had listed brandiron and tongs, implying that the fire was burning on the floor of the house. The presence of a raykens in Lane's inventory implies a chimney to hang it from. The earlier inventories suggest fireplaces in an older style, with smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. The late 1500s was the time when houses began to be built with chimneys and John Lane's may have been one of the first in Brassington. His fully-equipped fireplace was typical of later ones among the well-to-do in the village.

By the seventeenth century those villagers who made wills all had tables and chairs. An example is Roger Jackson, described as a miner but whose living came from a combination of mining and farming in a very old tradition in Brassington. His house had two tables and three chairs at his death in 1614, as well as a form and trestles. He also had plenty of storage space for his family's crockery and clothes - two cupboards, a *'dishboard'* and a *'dishcradle'* for the pots and five chests for the clothes and linen. Jackson's is the only inventory to mention *'the glasse in the windowes'*. It was only during Elizabeth's reign that windows began to be glazed. They had formerly been quite open, though there were often internal wooden shutters which could be drawn across to keep out bad weather. The fact that Jackson's appraisers listed his window glass means that they regarded it as separate from the fabric of the house - it was probably still unusual in 1614. Roger Jackson's house had a form of decoration which had been the only one in earlier times - *'painted cloths'* on the walls.

At the beginning of the 17th century the gentlemen and yeomen lived in houses with one living room, the hall or *'house'*. This contained tables and chairs, utensils and fire irons, and at that time was the only room in the house with a fireplace. Richard Walton's 1627/8 inventory in fact calls it the *'fire house'*. Thomas Westerne's hall had a table and two chairs, three *'joined stools'*, properly jointed that is, and articles to be proud of, one form and *'2 boards for stooles'*, together with nine cushions for his family and customers. The very full list of fire irons - three spits, two brandrethes, two landirons, two pairs of pothooks, tongs, potracks and gallows - indicate the great hall fireplace which heated the whole building and cooked the meals. There was no kitchen. The pots were hung on the brandrethes or gallows over the fire burning in the landiron. Also in the hall were the salts (salt cellars), a kimmell (wooden tub), a kneading trough, barrells, loomes (tubs or vats), kitts (wooden vessels for milk, butter and other food) and a *'hand millne to grind mealte'* (malt), which Anne, her daughters and their servants needed for brewing, baking and storage. The hall also contained a store of sheets, table cloths, two dozen napkins and six pillow *'beares'* (cases).

The smaller houses of the yeomen farmers became comfortably furnished in the seventeenth century. George Wilcocke's equivalent to Westerne's hall, his *'house'*, had two tables, two buffet forms (jointed forms for use at a long table), three chairs, three stools, a cupboard and a *'dishboard'*. Among the well-to-do the table in the house or hall was big enough to seat a large family. Richard Goodwin's two tables required table cloths *'betwixt three and four yards loung'*, and *'betwixt four and five yards loung'* respectively, bequeathed by his widow Joane in 1686. Wilcocke had three flitches of bacon and three of beef in his *'house'* at the time of his death, and this impression of an all-purpose living room is given by other wills, though only William Kempe's house in 1641 housed livestock - poultry. The only evidence of decoration in these rooms is in the inventory of German Buxton's goods in 1616, which has *'certaine old painted clothes'*.

The houses were lit by candles, and there were brass and pewter candlesticks listed in the villagers' inventories. Anything of silver was found only in the houses of the well-to-do. In an age when outdoor sanitation was usual Trevis's rooms had items unique in Brassington - *'two pewter chamber-potts 2/4d'*. Trevis had another item rarely mentioned at the time, a warming pan, perhaps the same one as had been listed in his father-in-law's inventory. *'Siled'* or *'seiled'* (panelled) furniture became common among the better-off in the seventeenth century. Ralph Walton left a *'siled bedstead'* to his son Richard in 1636. Beds were the furniture most often embellished by panelling; other items included chests and chairs. Robert Gratton had a panelled chest and chair in his bedroom in 1647. A further refinement to the beds is revealed in the inventories, like Anne Lane's, which mention bed curtains and valences.

Brass pots and pans, including frying pans, are common in the inventories, as are pewter dishes. There are, however, few mentions of cups - a pewter cup in Robert Gratton's inventory in 1647 and another in Henry Trevis's three years later. Trevis's inventory also includes a *'pynt pott'*, but the general rarity of metal or pottery eating or drinking ware suggests that most of the eating and drinking in Brassington up to the middle of the century was from wooden vessels. Anne Lane had three wooden plates as late as 1674. The twelve trenchers listed in Richard Walton's inventory, along with eight dishes and four *'boles'*, all valued at 2s 6d, were wooden and must have been what Walton, his family and their customers usually ate and drank from - wooden bowls were for drinking, trenchers were wooden plates. Walton also had two pewter cups. He was a prosperous farmer and innkeeper and his house was well equipped for his time. The cups were perhaps only to be found in houses such as his at the time of his death in 1629.



Brassington Hall 1987

By the middle of the seventeenth century the upper layer of village society, the yeomen with their flocks and herds, fields of corn, their comfortable, well-stocked houses, had the village squire living among them. The will of John Buxton, who died in 1699 *'of great age'*, and the inventory of his goods, drawn up in 1703, show the gulf between the yeomen and the gentlemen. Buxton left property in Ashbourne, Buxton, Compton, Hognaston and Brassington, including his part of the Brassington manor, the former Duchy manor. He lived in a house, probably the one now known as Brassington Hall, boasting seventeen rooms and two cellars. The rooms were generously furnished with high-quality furniture including, for instance, in the hall chamber *'a Black Japan Glas, Table & Stand'* (varnished, and fashionable - the varnish originally came from Japan), and *'A Stand, Glasse & Sett of Dressing Boxes'*. The cellars were well stocked with hogsheads and barrels, the brew house had a full set of brewing vessels, and the kitchen had plenty of pots, pans, dishes and cooking equipment. The amount of brewing equipment, the eighteen barrels and hogsheads, and the *'twenty dozen of glass bottles'* may mean that Buxton, like Thomas Westerne and the barmaster William Blackwall among earlier gentlemen in the village, was an innkeeper.

The 17th century houses of the miners and small tenant farmers were better furnished than most of the village houses had been in the 16th century, sparse though their household goods were when compared with such as the Lanes'. Madder's little house contained brass cooking pots and pewter dishes, a cupboard and *'three little coafers'*, three chaff beds with pillows, sheets, blankets and coverings, table cloths and napkins, shelves and a dish board, chairs, stools, a form, a frying pan and fire irons. Some inventories are uninformative about the separate items of *'pewter and brasse'*, *'irons about the fire'*, *'chaires and stooles'*, but Madder's house was furnished in a manner typical of the small husbandmen and miners who left wills in the latter years of the seventeenth century.

There was one house, however, whose furnishings may exemplify the style in which most of the villagers lived - the large majority who left no will. This was the three-roomed house left by William Scattergood to his wife Katherine in 1700. The *'house'* contained a table, a dish board, a cupboard, one seat (presumably a form), and *'puter and Brass'* - all valued at £2. The parlour had a bed, two coffers and a box at 20s and in the chamber were two beds, two coffers and a kinnell, also put at 20s. There is no mention of table-cloths, napkins or other linen.

The appraisers seem to have found no other bedclothes than those on the three beds, and the Scattergoods had even less cooking and storage equipment than the Madders. This sparsely furnished little cottage must have been the usual dwelling of most of the people of Brassington at the end of the seventeenth century. There were no doubt some who lived in worse circumstances.

Sharing the poverty of the labourers and the unemployed was at least one poor scholar, George Beresford, described as '*late Minister of Brassington*' in his inventory in 1693. Beresford's sad little list of possessions included one bed at 9s. '*other small things*' at 7s 6d and '*other small things out of sight*' at 2s 6d. However, his books were valued at £1 5s 0d in an inventory whose total value was £2 17s 0d and we can perhaps assume that he, like his appraisers, valued them the highest of his possessions.

Books

Very few of the villagers included reading among their pleasures. Henry Trevis's '*book which is part of Perkins worke*', was perhaps Perkins's most famous one, the '*Armillæ Aurea*', which was published in 1590 and achieved 15 editions in 20 years. Trevis's brother-in-law, William Westerne, had an entry in his inventory in 1635 which implied that he was an exception in the village in having a small library of books - '*all his bookes and a prospective glasse*'. A prospective (or perspective) glass could be either a telescope or magnifying glass or a fortune teller's crystal ball. Westerne seems more likely to have used the former than the latter. Apart from Trevis and Westerne the only villager whose house contained a book in the first half of the 17th century, on the evidence of the inventories, was William Kempe, who died in 1641. Kempe had a bible. There were more later in the century.

Eleven of the villagers dying between 1651 and 1700 had books in their houses. All were from the yeoman families with the exception of the minister, George Beresford. The minister's books, valued at 25s, presumably included his bible. This valuation was much higher than the books in any other inventory and it can be assumed that Beresford's library was for use. In some cases there seems doubt - both Edward Lane and his widow Anne were unable to sign their names and their illiteracy was the likely reason for the way in which they stored their books - '*one box some old books in it*'. It was perhaps the rise in the number of books being published by the late seventeenth century that prompted these village notables to add books to their furniture, but they were a very small minority, and in at least two of the houses the few books were not read.

A village shop

Anthony Kempe the mercer, and his wife Frances, died in 1613 and 1617 respectively, and their shop must have been in business in the late 1500s, when their surname first appears in the manor court rolls. They were a Wirksworth family and Frances's inventory has goods in shops there and in Brassington and Bakewell. This inventory has 338 entries for shop goods, 60 of them in Brassington, and her husband's earlier one even more - 404, listed with no indication of where the shop or shops were. The two inventories have a remarkable variety of the shops' main stock-in-trade, cloth - fustian, linen, scotch cloth, '*sleasie holland*' (a flimsy linen cloth), cambric, silk, taffeta, buckram, velure, velvet, baize, lawn, cotton, buffin (a coarse cloth), canvas, satin and harden (a coarse, hard cloth used for bed clothes and table cloths). There were '*statute lace*', binding lace, broad lace, ornamental lace, curled and tufted lace, crewel lace and parchment lace, or lace worked on parchment patterns. The shops sold ribbons, knitted and worsted men's, women's and boys' stockings, silk and brass buttons, silk girdles, pins, combs, thread, string, inkle (tape). The villagers looked for variety in their garters - they were silk, woollen and '*cruell*' (crewell or embroidered), as well as simply garters or gartering. There were caps for sale which may have included woollen '*statute caps*'.

The cloth in the Brassington shop in Frances Kempe's inventory was mostly mundane cotton, linen, sacking and scotch cloth. There was half a pound of coloured silk and some '*od lace*', and it may be that the village shop kept a less varied stock at all times than the one in the larger community at Wirksworth. However, the Kempes lived at Brassington, and it seems likely that they would make the full range of their goods available to their neighbours, including some not generally stocked in the village. It must have been a pleasure to visit the shop, perfumed by a quarter of a hundredweight of corande (coriander), two pounds of '*synamon*', a pound and a half of mace, half a pound of cloves. For the children of the village the shop had four pounds of '*browne candy*', valued by the appraisers at 6s. There were seven pounds of '*woome seeds*' to cure the villagers of their intestinal complaints, and to enliven their cooking the shop offered them pepper, nutmegs, aniseed, cloves, ginger and liquorice. There were starch, brimstone, soap, '*turmericke*' (an East Indian powder useful as both a dye and a medicine), and two gallons of '*aquavite*', a spirit which could have been brandy. The quantities in the

Brassington shop were small - two firkins (a hundredweight) of soap, six pounds of onion seed, twenty yards of linen, twelve pounds of sugar, for instance.

Silk and lace apart, the Brassington shop's goods had obviously been chosen for a generally workaday set of customers. The presence of eighteen 'cards', used to comb and separate the fibres of hemp and wool, tells us that the villagers made their own rope and spun their own wool. Mrs Kempe's shop made coloured clothing possible. The wives of the village could improve the garments they made with the help of indigo (blue), madder (red) and 'coples' (green). Men and women from the gentlefolk, the Westernes and Buxtons, were presumably the customers for the perfumed '*oile de bay*' to anoint their hair. It was also perhaps the same families who bought the '*accidenses & grammers*' and the horn books - a horn book was an alphabet and numbers mounted on an object shaped like an oblong table tennis bat and usually covered in transparent horn for protection. It was intended to make the alphabet and numbers familiar to a child by being ever-present - it was often hung from a child's belt by its handle. However, in both education and fashionable dress and perfume the customers probably, by the end of the sixteenth century, included the flourishing yeoman families - the Lanes, Allsops, Knowleses, Cryclowes. They too would have been able to afford sugar, a luxury at 1s 2d a pound, and the only ready-made garments in the Brassington shop, four pairs of stockings at 1s 3d each.

Some of the products listed in the two Kempe inventories which are not mentioned among the Brassington goods but which must have been sold there, since they are the everyday things which would sell as well in the village as at Wirksworth, are vinegar, treacle, honey, liquorice, turpentine, sugar candy, garters, caps and abacuses. Tobacco, only recently brought to England by Sir Walter Raleigh, may not yet have caught on at Brassington, and one commodity does pose a problem - gunpowder. Firearms are not mentioned in the Brassington inventories before German Buxton's 2 '*fowling peeaces*' in 1686 and the use of gunpowder for blasting in the lead mines is believed to have come late in the seventeenth century. Perhaps the sale of gunpowder was restricted to the larger population of the market town, where there probably were guns. Much of the cloth not listed in the Brassington shop must have been sold there - fustian, canvas and buckram were the cheapest working cloth. Perhaps the expensive calico at 1s 8d a yard and taffeta, very costly indeed at either 6s 10d or 8s a yard, may only have been available at the Wirksworth shop. Fustian varied around 1s 2d a yard, canvas was about 1s and buckram, a coarse linen or cotton fabric, was valued at about 8d a yard.

Blacksmiths

Every farming community needed a blacksmith. The growing number of horses in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was increasing the need for iron shoes for draught animals, since oxen were shod only on the front feet and needed shoeing less frequently. Iron shares were needed for the wooden ploughs, iron tips for the spikes of the wooden harrows. The villagers needed nails, door handles, hinges, spades, forks, chains and a score of items which a blacksmith could make for them. Working in the village during the last quarter of the sixteenth century was Henry Spencer, one of a family who were blacksmiths for at least three generations. When Henry died in 1632 he left a will and an inventory. The appraiser's handwriting is so bad that the inventory is almost indecipherable, but the contents of the blacksmith's shop can be made out. A manor court entry of 1628 described the '*smythes shoppe*' as containing one bay. This twelve foot long smithy, half the size of Henry Spencer's cottage, had a hammer, a shoeing hammer, a bellows, three pairs of tongs, a pair of pincers and a '*punger*' (possibly a punch), showing that the English blacksmith's tools changed little over the centuries. A near contemporary of Henry Spencer's, Henry Allsop, had the same equipment, plus a '*stiddie*' - an anvil. We can only assume that the appraiser with the bad handwriting was also careless, since Spencer must have had an anvil too.

Inns and alehouses

Alehouses, being simply houses whose occupants sold ale or beer, were as elaborately or as simply furnished as the host could afford. Thomas Westerne's house was furnished grandly for the time. One of his contemporaries in the trade, a later member of the Walton family, left an inventory which reveals that his customers sat on forms at a large table and shared the room with '2 *piggs and 4 henns*'. What his house had in common with Westerne's was a fire, probably as welcoming to his customers as his ale. The alehouses were valuable meeting places, unofficial and free-and-easy. They gave credit when money was scarce, and the debts amounting to £6 3s 4d still owed at the death of another Walton alehouse keeper were an occupational hazard.

Westerne's New Hall, by then called the Red Lion, was still a fine inn in the eighteenth century, when an unusually detailed inventory was prepared after the death of the current owner, Job Marple, in 1755. There was

good oak furniture in the '*great parlour or dining room*' and in the eighteenth century equivalent of the tap room. The dining room had decent crockery, including flowered china coffee cups, and was decorated with pictures and maps. There were six bedrooms, with ash feather beds, and the kitchen and cellars were well stocked with food and drink.

Eighteenth century change

In the 18th century the village, judged by the inventories, changed from a poor community with a few rich farmers and landowners to one which, while still poor, and having no wealthy families at all, had considerably more families who were enjoying a limited and modest prosperity. Whereas there had been 11 inventories with values of more than £100 in the second half of the seventeenth century, 29% of the total, there were only 2 in the next 50 years - 4% of the whole. The contrast is in fact greater than these figures suggest, as there had been two inventories between £200 and £299, three between £300 and £399 and one of £632 in the seventeenth century, while the only one over £200 in the first half of the following century was John Buxton's £215 in 1703. Most of the inventories, about 60%, were of under £30 in both periods. The difference lay in the figure of 34% spread between £40 and £99 in the eighteenth century, compared to 14% in the seventeenth.

The eighteenth century picture of a workaday village, a village without squire or gentlefolk, given by the overall inventory valuations is accentuated if the valuation figures for household goods alone are considered. Most of the Brassington men and women whose goods were listed and described for probate were living in a similar style to the 17th century miners described above. Apart from John Buxton's inventory in 1703, where his household goods were put at £169, there were 54 up to 1750. In only one of these were the household goods valued at more than £20 - John Allsop the baker had his valued at £21 14s 0d in 1731. This 1 in 54 is a great contrast to the 10 in 36 between 1651 and 1700, nine of which were in fact over £30 and one as high as £71 1s 3d (German Buxton in 1652/3).

Taking the probate inventories as evidence, there were many more villagers with a few cows than there had been a hundred years earlier. The tithe document of 1667 had noted that the miners owned cows and grazed them on land rented from the farmers. The result of this development can be seen in the 41 inventories which included cattle in the period 1701-1750 - there had been only 27 during 1651-1700. The same document had also commented on the fall in sheep farming and there were in fact no large flocks in the inventories between 1701 and 1750. There were, however, very many more men owning a few sheep than there had been in the previous half-century - 41 compared to 14. Typical of the miners of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries was James Spencer. He died in 1713, leaving his copyhold house, barn and garden to his wife Mary, who was admitted to them by a jury of her neighbours at a manor court meeting on 15 April 1714. Spencer's inventory includes 3 cows and a calf, 43 sheep and £5 worth of hay and corn. However, in spite of owning his own house and livestock, he and his wife lived in the most spartan style - the inventory lists only a grate, tongs and pothooks at 1s, pewter and brass at 5s, and a pair of beds at 5s. Other wooden furniture, not described, was valued at 10s. There is no mention of rooms, but the Spencers obviously lived very poorly, in a small cottage.

The tradesmen, among the leading men in the village, were living in considerably less style than such yeomen families as the Lanes and Goodwins had enjoyed in the preceding century. Even so, they had more possessions around them than most of the eighteenth century farmers. Another John Allsop, who died in 1728, had a set of furniture and equipment similar to the miners and it is notable that, although his description in the probate document makes him a farmer, he had in fact fewer animals than the miner James Spencer. Some families seem to have come down in the world. In the late seventeenth century one of the most substantial men of the village had been the innkeeper William Dodd - his inventory goods were valued at £200. His namesake, most probably his son, who died in 1748, lived a much more straightened life. He was described as a husbandman and had 10 cattle and 52 sheep. He and his wife lived in a four-roomed house - two up and two down. The '*house*' contained a dresser, tables and some pewter, the parlour a bed and a table, one chamber had a bed, five chairs and another table, and the second chamber two beds and two chests, with linen in one of the latter. It is difficult to see why the couple's only chairs should have been in one of the bedrooms, and there are no fire irons in the list. Like most of the inventories this one leaves unanswered questions. It is clear, however, that the Dodd house had no luxuries. Another husbandman with the surname of one of the more prosperous of the seventeenth century yeoman was Joseph Lane, who died in 1729. His widow inherited a set of fire irons valued at 2s 6d, pewter at 4s, brass at 2s 6d, a dozen '*trenchers*' at 6s and '*an old smoothing iron*' priced at 6d.

An eighteenth century baker, John Allsop, who died in 1731, was making a better living from his trade than either the farmers or miners from theirs. He was living in a house with two downstairs living rooms and two bed

chambers above, plus a cellar, brew house, malt chamber and, of course, a bake house. Here was a baker who brewed beer and perhaps sold it. He also farmed. At his death Allsop was keeping 3 pigs, 2 horses '*& their Tackle*', 13 cattle and 89 sheep. Allsop's house had no luxury, but there was some comfort, with a bed in the '*best chamber*' and four more in the '*parlour chamber*', which also contained a '*kimnel*', or tub, a table and an old coffer. The appraisers noted that most of the Allsops' furniture was old. There were 6 old chairs, a chest of drawers and an old clock in the parlour, while the '*house*' was furnished with an old seat and squab - a wooden settle with, usually, an upholstered seat - fire irons and pewter and brass. There were 3 little settles in the cellar. There were also table cloths and napkins stored in the best chamber and valued at £1, an indication of a certain social aspiration in the Allsop household.

For two hundred years the appraisers' inventories reveal the changing social and economic character of the village, but from the middle of the eighteenth century the practice of including them in the probate documents fell away. For those years, however, they shine a light on the villagers' lives provided by no other documents of the time.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to the staff of the Joint Record Office at Lichfield, Derby Local Studies Library, National Archive and Sheffield City Library for their help with this research.

References

1. Lichfield Joint Record Office: Probate Records B/B/11.
2. National Archives: Prob 11.
3. Sheffield City Archives: 128.
4. National Archives: DL43/1/19.
5. Derby Local Studies Library: Gale Bequest bundle 3.
6. Derbyshire Record Office: 166M Manor Court Books.
7. Derbyshire Record Office: A 166M/M1 Manor Court Book.
8. Derbyshire Record Office: D161 B/6/52.

APPENDIX 1: List of people mentioned in the article

	Occupation	Will date	Inventory date	Probate date
Alice Adam	Husbandman's widow	30 April 1594	18 May 1594	18 May 1594
William Adams	Husbandman		4 Jan 1634	16 Jan 1634
Henry Allsopp	Blacksmith	5 July 1672	12 July 1672	10 Mar 1673
John Allsop	Farmer	4 Nov 1728	11 Dec 1728	22 Apr 1729
John Allsop	Baker		27 May 1730	23 Apr 1731
Thomas Alsoppe		20 Dec 1572		5 Feb 1573
George Beresford	Minister of Brassington	19 Feb 1692	27 Feb 1693	13 June 1693
Anthony Briddon	Yeoman	8 May 1731	15 May 1731	19 Oct 1731
Mark Briddon	Miner	14 Mar 1733	22 Mar 1733	3 May 1733
William Bucstone		11 Nov 1540	nd	7 July 1541
Anne Buxton	Spinster	nd	15 Jan 1675	6 Feb 1675
German Buxton		17 Jan 1616	nd	19 June 1616
German Buxton	Yeoman	19 Feb 1652/3	2 Mar 1652/3	17 Sept 1661
German Buxton		5 Nov 1684	18 Jan 1685/6	15 Jan 1685/6
John Buxton		15 Mar 1572	13 Oct 1573	22 Apr 1574
John Buxton	Gentleman		21 Sept 1641	24 Sept 1641
John Buxton	Gentleman.	22 June 1699	6 Apr 1703	19 Oct 1699
Richard Buxton	Gentleman	11 Feb 1631		7 Apr 1632
Anne Charlton		4 Jan 1636	nd	26 Mar 1636
John Charlton		25 May 1558	nd	9 Sept 1558
Thomas Charlton		17 Apr 1535	24 Apr 1535	1 July 1535
Hugh Crycclowe		20 June 1582	nd	16 July 1582

	Occupation	Will date	Inventory date	Probate date
William Dods (Dodd)	Yeoman	23 Aug 1695	1 Oct 1695	4 Oct 1695
William Dods (Dodd)	Husbandman	18 Oct 1747	nd	26 Apr 1748
Joan Goodwin	Widow	5 Feb 1686	16 Oct 1686	10 Nov 1686
John Goodwin	Husbandman	26 Nov 1634	21 Feb 1639	1 Mar 1639
Richard Goodwin			nd	13 Nov 1678
Dorothy Gratton	Widow	1 Sept 1602	nd	29 Jan 1605
Richard Gratton	Lead miner		29 May 1676	15 June 1676
Robert Gratton			nd	4 Oct 1647
William Gretrax	Yeoman	16 Nov 1644		30 Dec 1645
Richard Gretton	Husbandman	1 Nov 1624	6 Nov 1624	20 Jan 1625
George Harrison		nd	nd	5 Dec 1614
Roger Jackson	Miner/farmer	2 Dec 1613	nd	1 Feb 1614
Anthony Kempe	Mercer		29 Oct 1612	9 Feb 1613
Frances Kempe	Mercer's wife	23 Jan 1617	14 May 1617	3 June 1613
William Kempe	Husbandman	nd	13 July 1641	28 July 1641
Edward Knowles	Yeoman	5 July 1628	29 July 1628	21 July 1628
George Knowles	Husbandman	1 June 1640	26 Seot 1640	8 June 1641
Thomas Knowles	Husbandman		20 Dec 1648	12 Oct 1649
Anne Lane	Widow	20 Mar 1674	nd	11 Sept 1674
Anthony Lane	Yeoman	21 Mar 1646	nd	12 Oct 1649
John Lane	Yeoman	27 June 1591	nd	10 Sept 1591
John Lane	'The Elder'	20 Jan 1597	nd	21 July 1597
John Lane	Husbandman	11 May 1636	nd	26 Mar 1636
Joseph Lane	Husbandman	26 Apr 1729	Apr 1729	14 Oct 1729
Katherine Lawne	Widow	22 May 1553	nd	5 Apr 1554
Thomas Lawne		15 Jan 1545		8 May 1545
Thomas Lawne		1 Feb 1562/3	6 Feb 1562/3	22 Apr 1563
John Madder	Miner	21 Oct 1673	1 Nov 1673	12 Dec 1673
Job Marple	Innkeeper	5 Aug 1755	nd	5 Oct 1755
Ralph Marple	Yeoman	21 Aug 1695	15 Oct 1695	17 Apr 1696
William Scattergood	Miner	9 June 1700	11 June 1700	4 Oct 1700
Thomas Slack	Miner	9 June 1800		17 Oct 1800
Anthony Spencer	Blacksmith	14 Apr 1657		28 Feb 1660
Henry Spencer	Blacksmith	12 July 1632	nd	15 Jan 1633
James Spencer	Miner	23 Oct 1713	2 Nov 1713	2 Apr 1714
Thomas Spencer	Miner	14 Dec 1711	21 Jan 1712	11 Apr 1712
George Steple	Miner	10 Mar 1669	21 Sept 1685	28 Sept 1685
Thomas Tissington	Yeoman	24 Sept 1666	2 June 1668	22 July 1668
John Tomlinson	Miner	15 Dec 1691	28 Dec 1692	28 Apr 1693
Henry Trevis*		13 Sept 1647	1 Nov 1647	25 Oct 1650
Henry Trevis**		13 Sept 1647		4 Feb 1652
Ralph Walton	Yeoman	3 July 1636	11 July 1636	14 Oct 1636
Richard Walton			7 Jan 1627/8	2 Feb 1628/9
Robert Wayne			25 Dec 1684	8 Dec 1684
Anne Westerne	Widow	20 Apr 1636	nd	27 Feb 1637
Thomas Westerne	Gentleman, Bailiff to the Earl of Kent. Innkeeper			15 Feb 1622
William Westerne		20 Oct 1535	31 Oct 1535	31 Oct 1535
George Wilcocke	Yeoman	20 Aug 1634	24 Mar 1636/7	4 Apr 1637

Henry Trevis: * dates given on Lichfield Record Office documents; ** dates given on PCC will and probate.

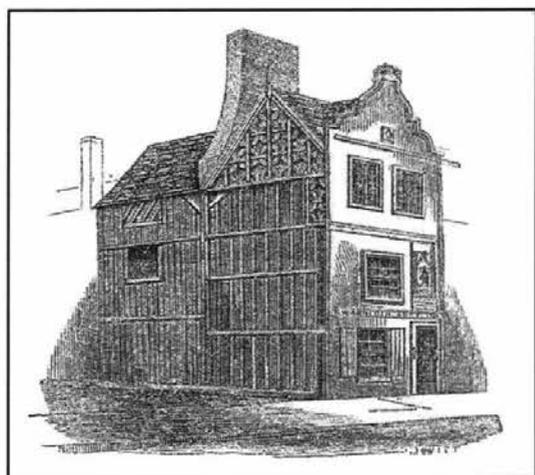
The above list gives the names of the 69 people whose wills or inventories are mentioned in the article. 235 people living in Brassington left wills or inventories between 1535 and 1800 and the complete list, compiled by Ron Slack, can be found on John Palmer's Wirksworth website on www.wirksworth.org.uk/B60-WBRA.htm.

THE ELEPHANT AND CASTLE INN 1613-1782

LATER THE ANGEL INN, CORNMARKEt, DERBY

(by Jane Steer,

It is not often that the history of a building in the centre of Derby can be traced back to the early 17thC but in the case of the Angel Inn, formerly called the Elephant and Castle Inn, documents exist which not only enable the ownership of the building to be followed for nearly four centuries but also give a few clues to its development during the 17th and 18th centuries. The history of the building from the late 1700s to its demolition in the 1970s to make way for a new building for Littlewoods (currently Primark), mostly derived from documents in Derby Local Studies Library, is discussed in my article *'The Angel Inn, Cornmarket, Derby formerly the Elephant and Castle Inn'*.¹ The Inn also featured in Peter Billson's article *'The Three Angel Inns and the Elephant & Castle Inn in Rotten Row and the Cornmarket, Derby'*² where he was looking for the site of the Angel Inn which existed before the dissolution of the College of All Saints in 1549. This article traces its transition from a town house in the early 17th century to an Inn in the 18th century from documents in the Strutt Archive.



This engraved sketch of the Angel Inn was drawn by Llewellyn Jewitt in 1836³ when the adjacent Old Rodney Inn to its north had been demolished. The exposed side elevation revealed that the Angel had originally been a timber framed building which later had been re-fronted with brick and topped with a curvilinear parapet Dutch gable. Peter Billson thought that the building had undergone at least three stages of building. The close oak timber framing on the north side showed two building phases, very possibly of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the road elevation had probably been re-fronted in the late 17th century. The Inn was 16 feet 6 inches (a rod or pole) wide and built on a burgage plot that was 22 feet wide and 320 feet 6 inches deep in 1782 (see plans on p 45).

The Inn began life as a house which possibly belonged to the Priory of St James's. In 1532 the Priory owned a tenement on the Cornmarket and an orchard⁴ and it can be assumed that these were part of the *'St James's Chapel and lands'* which were granted by Queen Mary to the burgesses of Derby in 1555.⁵ These *'lands'* were later leased to Thomas Kniveton who is recorded as paying £6 a year for them in 1591 and 1596.⁶ In 1611⁶ the tenancy was held by [Sir] William Kniveton [of Mercaston] who must have purchased them soon after as on 23 September 1613 he sold Edward Large and his mother Mary the messuage on the High Street (the Cornmarket) where they lived which was bounded by land belonging to Anthony Lyster to the north, Ales Blythe to the south, Thomas Large to the east and the High Street to the west.⁷ On the same day he and his son, Gilbert, sold Lawrence Draper, a butcher, *'all that orchard near Sadler Gate, in Derby, to a yeard called St James' Chappell Yard, eastward and southwards; to the Ode Brook westward; to the lands of Thomas Olleyver, and of Francis Morreys, and William Stamford, and of Nathaniel Hallows, and to the lands of Lawrence Draper, northward'*.⁸

In the 17th century members of the Kniveton family owned several estates in Derbyshire: at Mugginton, Mercaston and Bradley. Sir William Kniveton of Mercaston was an influential and wealthy man. His father, Thomas, married Jane Leche, a half sister of Bess of Hardwick, and William, who was involved in land transactions and money loans over a large area of the East Midlands, was created one of the first hereditary baronets by James 1 on 29 June 1611. Recruited from old untitled landed families, the minimum requirement was the possession of an estate worth at least £1000 because a baronet cost £1095 (approximately £160,000 today). He had formerly held office as a Knight of the Shire in 1603, as a Member of Parliament for Derbyshire from 1604 to 1611 and was High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1587 and 1615. His son was knighted in 1605.⁹

An Edward Large held office in Derby as Bailiff in 1628 and was Mayor in 1640, 1649 and 1658 when he died in office in 1659.¹⁰ It is possible that the same Edward Large held all these offices but it may have been father and son as the house purchase took place in 1613. No will was left by Edward Large in 1659 but after an

inventory had been made of his goods on 20 June 1659 the administration of his estate was awarded to his natural son, Robert Large in August 1660.¹¹ The inventory shows that Edward Large was a comparatively wealthy man as his property and goods were valued at £573 5s 2d. His house contained a hall, 6 chambers including a 1st chamber, a chamber over the hall, servant's chamber and maid's chamber, kitchen and pantry cellar. '*Goods in the dyehouse, ready money and debts owing to Mr Large*' amounted to £80. '*His purse and wearing apparell*' were valued at £10 and he had £7 of '*money in his purse*'. The house appeared to be well furnished. Some of the more interesting items were the 6 leather chairs and cushions, '*sealed cubbard and buffet stooles*', a '*warming pan and a hanging brass candlestick*' and 3 '*halbarts*' in the hall, the '*sealed bedstead with blew val[ance] curtins*' in the 1st chamber, a '*paire of virginalls and frame*' in the cheese chamber and the 2 silver beakers and other silverware in the white chamber. There was wool in a closet worth 10s and spits, racks and dripping pans, brass pans, pewter dishes and candlesticks and a chamberpot in the kitchen. A large quantity of linen: tablecloths, napkins, hand towels and sheets were also listed.

Besides his house on the Cornmarket Edward also owned a cottage and 59 acres of land in Thurstaston which he and his father bought from Sir William Withypool and others on 25 May 1632.¹² Here he grew wheat, corn and peas and owned 29 '*beastes*', 2 cows, a few sheep and pigs as well as 2 draught oxen (£13), 3 draught horses (£18) and several other horses.

By 1670 Robert Large had moved to a six hearth property in All Saints parish.¹³ He too had a son named Edward who died in 1709 and left a widow, Thomasin. Edward was a trustee for the Liversage Charity and named as '*Edward Large son and heir of Robert Large son and heir of Edward Large*' in a trust deed dated 26 and 27 March 1706.¹⁴ He also set up a charitable trust of his own in his will dated 3 June 1709. Lands and tenements in Nuns Green, Derby to the yearly value of £50 were put in trust to provide five small almshouses for five poor parsons or vicars' widows which became known as Large's Hospital on Friargate. The rest of his lands and tenements were left in trust for Thomasin Large and Letters of Administration were granted to Mrs Thomasin Parker, formerly Large in 1711.¹⁵ Thomasin had married Benjamin Parker of Chaddesden at Spondon on 2 June 1710 and Edward's land at Thurstaston formed part of her marriage settlement.¹⁶

The house on the Cornmarket was sold to Matthew Saywell who left '*a messuage known by the name or sign of the Elephant and Castle near the County Gaol in Derby and lately by me purchased of Benjamin Parker, Gentleman, Thomasin his wife and others*' to his wife, Mary in his will dated 14 July 1715,¹⁷ thus ending 100 years of ownership by the Large family. After Mary's death, the Inn passed to his son, William Saywell.

William was a shopkeeper and by the time of his will dated 2 April 1743¹⁸ had built himself a new house at the bottom of the Inn's garden. He kept a quarter of the garden for his own use as well as a '*little messuage*' in the yard behind the Inn where his mother Mary had lived (used as a warehouse) and a cellar. He also retained the right to use the necessary house, the water cock in the yard and to have access to his new house through the entry, yard and backside. The Inn and the rest of the garden were rented out. The Inn with its brewhouse, stables, outbuildings, a necessary house, pigsty, yard and backside was rented out to Anne Greatorex, a widow, and the garden to Richard Matlock. William left his shop goods and household goods to his wife, Elizabeth with instructions to sell them to pay his debts. The property was left to his wife, then to his son, Matthew, with the Inn then passing to his grandson, Bold Saywell and the house to his granddaughter, Sarah Saywell. Probate was granted in 1744.

The next owner of the Inn was Joseph Corbett, a victualler, who according to his will dated 4 September 1767,¹⁹ was living in the Inn and renting out the [new] house to John Webbster and the furthestmost garden (but not the little garden) to Mr Joseph Bakewell the elder, his tenants and undertenants. The tenants also had free use of the pipe and cocks in the yard which conveyed '*water from the River Darwent thither*'. Corbett left all his property to his wife, Sarah. After her death, most of his property, including the Inn, was left to his son, William. His other son, John, was left the house John Webbster lived in with the proviso that John was to pay 1/3rd of the water rent and to maintain the pipe and cocks. Joseph leased the Inn to Samuel Dawson on 18 May 1771 but must have died shortly afterwards because probate of his will was granted on 23 September 1771. William had already conveyed a little stable and a garden on 11 September 1771 to John and sold the Inn to Samuel Dawson on 14 March 1772 for £475, his brother John selling the backside (house, small garden and stable) to Dawson on 8 August 1772 for £160.²⁰

In 1780 Dawson needed to raise some money. Perhaps he was in debt or perhaps he wanted to improve the Inn. As a result he took out a mortgage for £200 with Joseph Wright, gentleman, (now the internationally known Derby artist) on 6 March on the Elephant and Castle on the Cornmarket, Derby, its brewhouse and stables, a

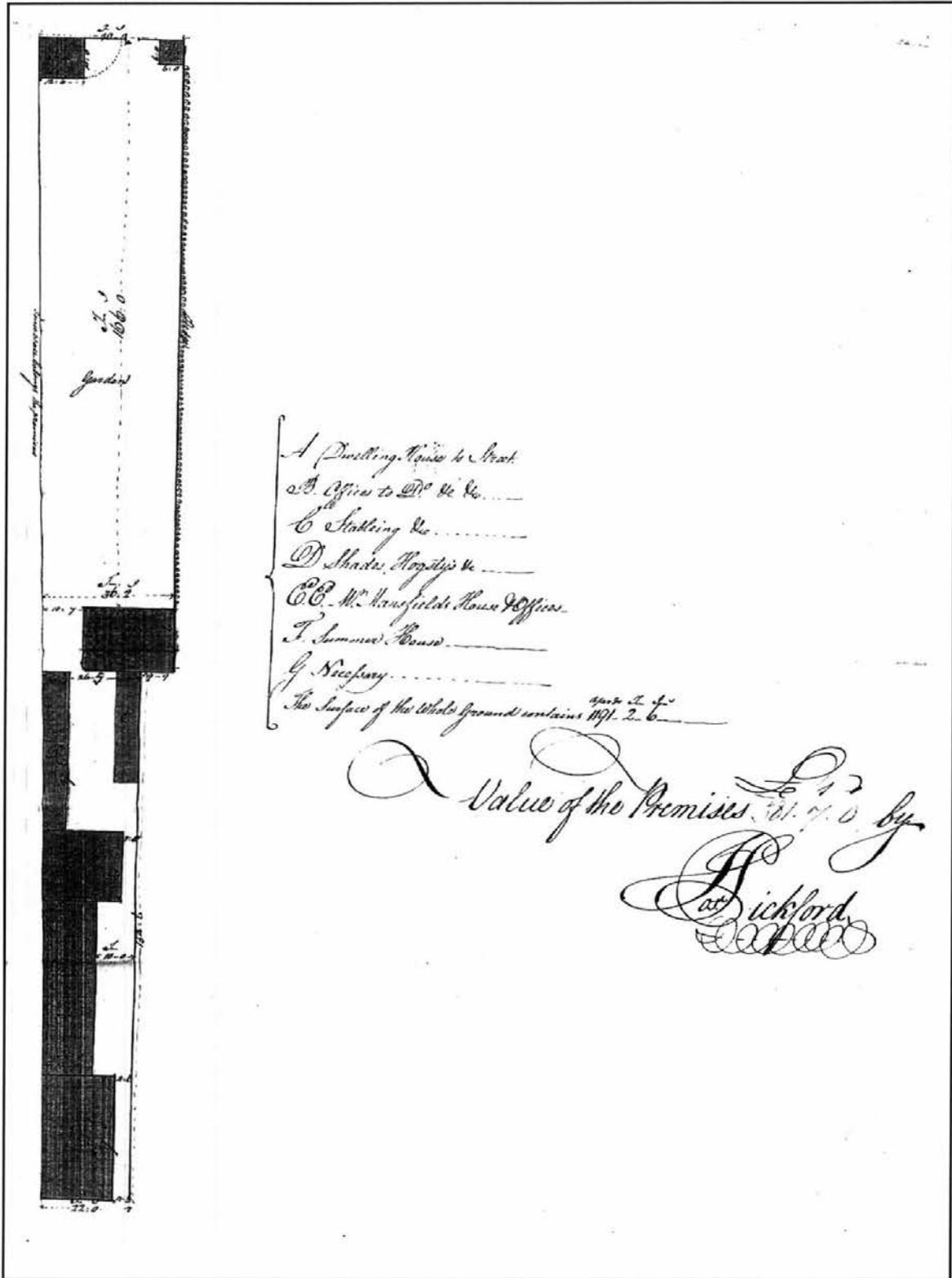
dwelling house in the yard of the Elephant and Castle tenanted by Robert Fletcher, a small stable or standing for two horses near the house and two gardens on the east side of the house.²¹ The loan was not repaid and two years later, on 9 April 1782, Joseph Wright assigned the mortgage to Jedediah Strutt and Dawson sold his interest in the property to Strutt for £630.²²

However, at this time Strutt, who had already built a silk mill on the north side of the Markeaton Brook, was acquiring parcels of land between the Gaol Bridge (St Peter's Bridge) and Morledge Street on which his son, William, later built the Derby Calico Mill in 1792-3. The property he was really interested in was one further south on the Cornmarket with the Brook on its eastern boundary. It belonged to the trustees of Wilcox's Charity of St Peter's parish and an Agreement of Exchange was made between the two parties on 12 June 1782.²³

Jedediah Strutt commissioned plans and a valuation of the two properties from two well-known Derby architect/builders, Joseph Cooper (1742-81) and Joseph Pickford. (1736-82).²² Joseph Cooper valued the Elephant and Castle Inn at £620 and the Charity's property at £580. Pickford's valuations were £640 16s and £581 7s respectively. Cooper's more detailed valuation is shown below. (Note: The documents include the draft valuation of one of the architect's.)

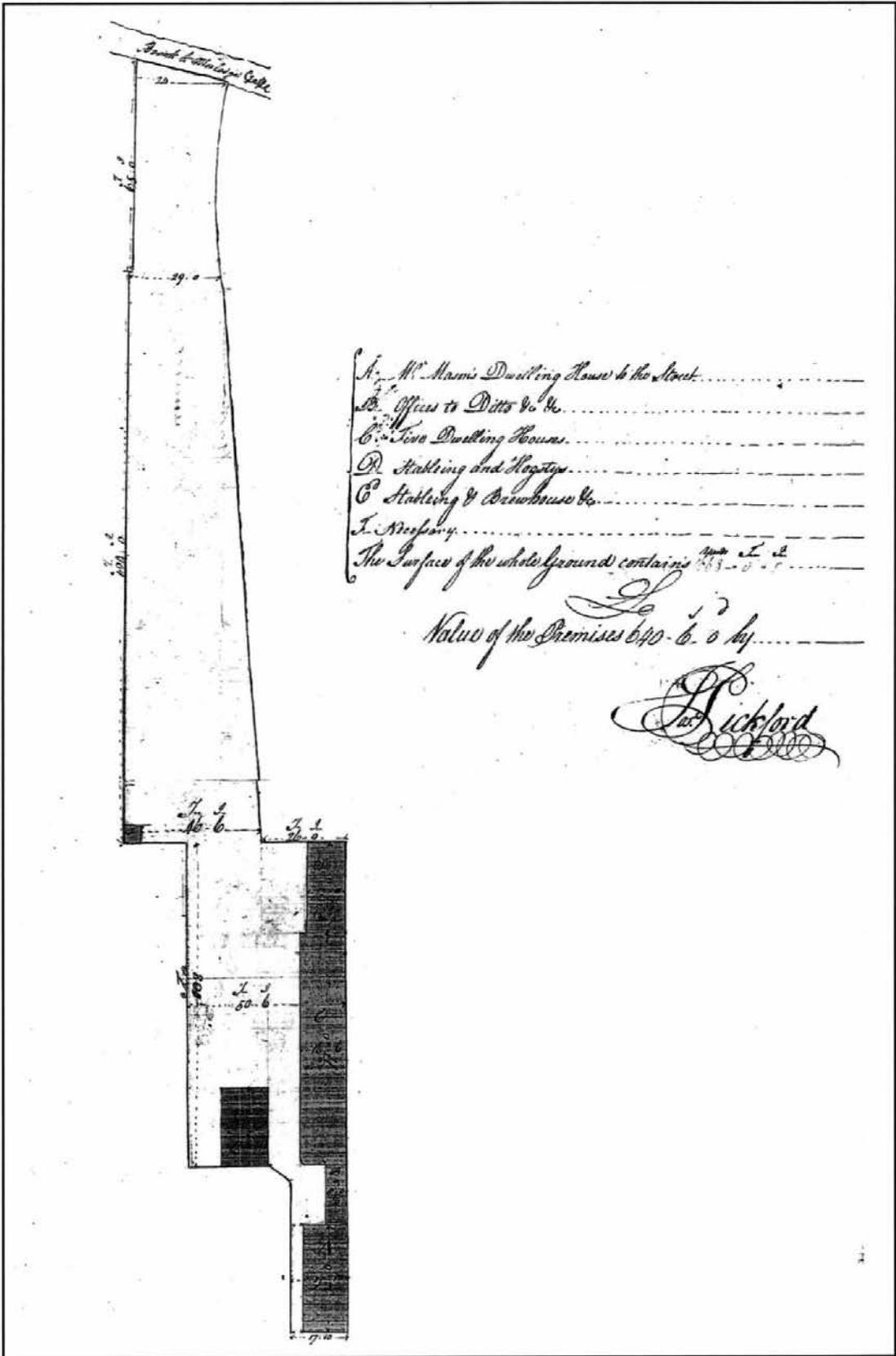
Joseph Cooper's Valuation dated 18th June 1782

An Explanation and Estemate of Buildings & Gardin Known by the sign of the Elephant & Castle in the Cornmarket in Derby being an Estat of Mr Jedediah Strut		An Estemate & Explanation of the Buildings & Gardin of Mr Mason at the Gaol Bridge in Derby being Mrs Willcoxes Charity Estate	
Summer hous & Nessary House		A Mr Masons Hous 3 Storey High	
Garden		B a small Building	
Mr Mansfields Hous 3 Storey High		C 4 Houses	
2 stable & Brewshous & Chamber		E Brewhous & Wash Hous	
2 Hous 3 storey High		D Stables & Shead	
2 long stable		J K Nessary Hous & waist Ground	
The Front Hous 3 Storey High		G H Nessary Hous & Gardin	
Front Hous Gardin Stables Brewhous & shead valued at Twent Pounds a year	£20 0s 0d	Mr Masons Hous & Gardin Stables & Washhous valued at seventeen Pounds a year	£17 0s 0d
Mr Mansfields Dwelling Hous at seven Pounds pr year	£7 0s 0d	the four Houses Devided in the Plan at three Pounds a year Each	£12 0s 0d
The Hous next to the front Hous at Four pounds pr year	£4 0s 0d		
	£31 0s 0d		£29 0s 0d
The Gardin measures in sq ² yards	704	The Gardin measures in sq ² yards	955
The Ground the Buildings stand on measures	426	The Ground the Building stans on & waist Ground	669
	1130 sq ² yds		1,617
The above Estate is valued at	£620 0s 0d	the Above Estate is valued at	£580 0s 0d
We Whose names are hereto set & subscribed do agree to the above Estemate & valuation of the several Estates Comprised in the said valuation. Witness our Hands 18 th June 1782 John Ward Jos ^h Cooper		We Whose names are Hereto set & subscrib ^d do agree to the above Estemate & valuation of the several Estates Comprised in the said valuation. Witness ouer Hands 18 th June 1782 John Ward Jos ^h Cooper	



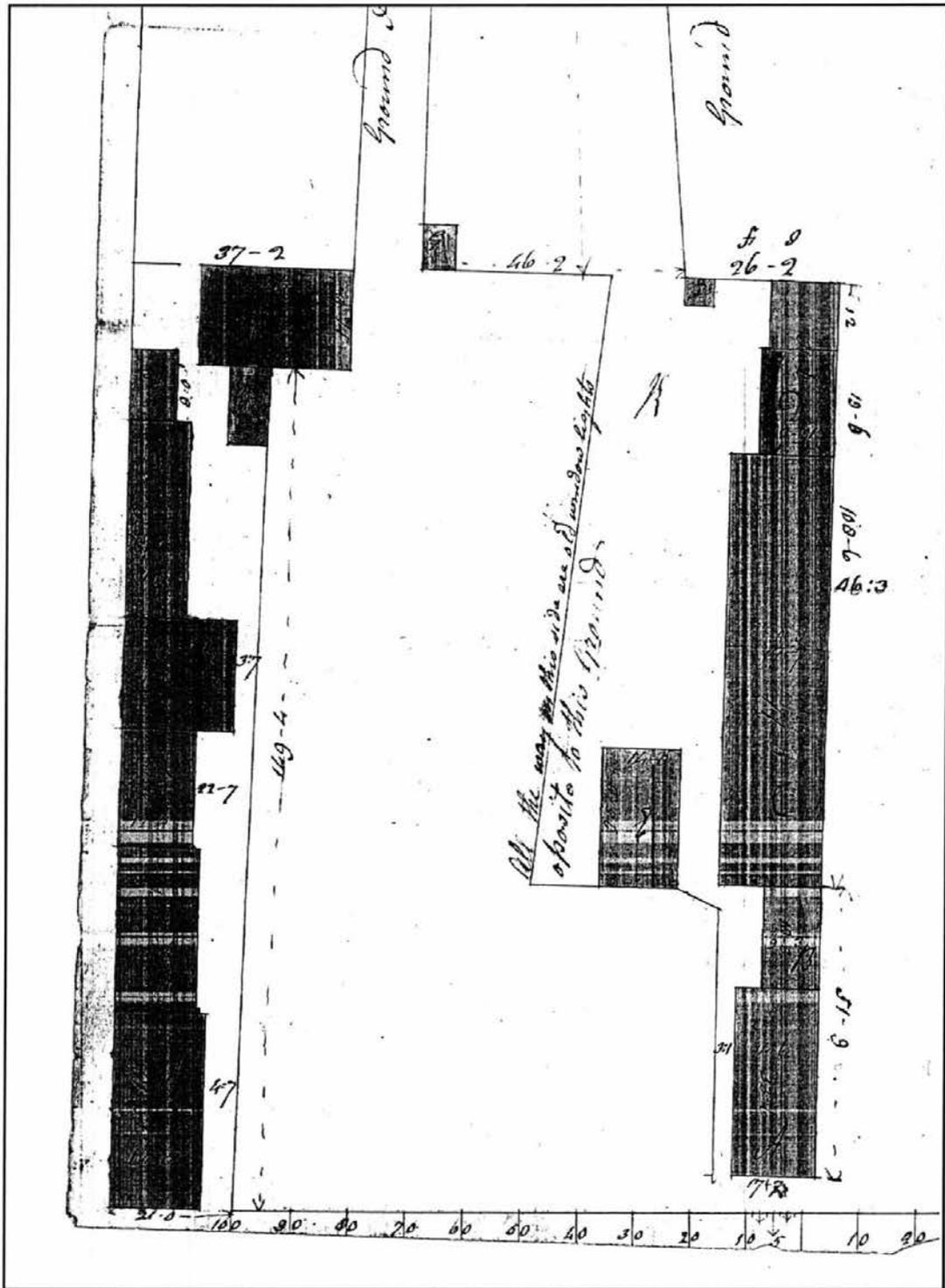
Joseph Pickford's ground plan of the Elephant and Castle.

Note the stone wall on the northern boundary and the hedge on the southern boundary of the garden.



Joseph Pickford's ground plan of the lands belonging to the Wilcox Charity.

Note: the Markeaton Brook on the eastern boundary.



The western half of Joseph Cooper's ground plan of the Elephant & Castle Inn and the land belonging to the Wilcox Charity includes the intermediate property. The Markeaton Brook is not shown on the eastern boundary

Note: the comment on the northern wall of Charity land which reads:
 'All the way on this side are old windows lights opposite to this Ground'.

Some idea of the legal costs incurred in the exchange of the two properties can be gained from a bill dated 20 August 1782 for £13 submitted by William Fallows, one of the Charity's Trustees, to William Strutt.²⁵ It included two items for the valuations carried out by Joseph Cooper and Joseph Pickford as follows:

<i>paid Mr Joseph Cooper for drawing a Survey & Valuation of both the Estates, for Satisfaction of Mr Strutt & the Trustees of the Charity Estate, as per Receipt</i>	<i>£1 1s 0d</i>
<i>The like to Mr Pickford's Executors as per Receipt</i>	<i>£1 1s 0d</i>

Joseph Pickford died on 18 July 1782 and the valuation and plans for the two estates must have been one of his last projects. (Pickford is well-known for his work on large houses for wealthy clients, such as St Helen's House, Derby for John Gisborne. This plan is a rare example of his work for a more mundane commission.)

The final item on this bill is uncoded and reads:

ffor several Journeys to Mickleover & Brailsford to wait upon Mr Turner & Mr Christopher Heath two of the Trustees of the Charity Estate, to bring about an Exchange of these Estates, & for several Attendances upon Mr Strutt in the Course of this Business, & for my Extraordinary Trouble therein, What Mr Strutt pleases.

A note at the bottom of the bill reveals that Mr Strutt not only paid £13 0s 0d for the work listed in the bill but also 'Made him a present' of £10 10s. A good result for Mr Fallows' 'Extraordinary Trouble'.

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17. DRO, D3772/T1/6/7: Matthew Saywell's will..
18. DRO, D3772/T1/6/13: William Saywell's will.
19. DRO, D3772/T1/6/19: Joseph Corbett's will..
20. DRO, D3772/T1/6/20, 21, 22 and 24: lease and sale to Samuel Dawson.
21. DRO, D3772/T1/6/29: mortgage by Joseph Wright.
22. DRO, D3772/T1/6/32 and 33: purchase by Jedediah Strutt.
23. *Derbyshire Miscellany*, Vol 18, Part 2, Autumn 2007, p44.
24. DRO, D3772/T1/6/37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45 and 46.
25. DRO, D3772/T1/6/36: William Fallows' bill.